'A machinery for the moral elevation of a town population': Church Extension in Glasgow, 1800-1843

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Abstract

This thesis considers the various church building schemes that took place in Glasgow during the early nineteenth century, focussing upon one particular model – that of church extension – to examine the way in which the Established Church of Scotland negotiated a space materially and culturally within the rapidly shifting socio-spatial dynamics of a city in the midst of processes of urbanisation and industrialisation. In so doing, the study asks what such schemes reveal of the Church's understanding of both the city and its own role within society. The arguments used to persuade influential actors within the city to support the cause of church building are examined, and it is claimed that these arguments both drew upon and reiterated a series of claims that C. Brown has identified as belonging to a discourse of the 'unholy city'. The material plans of church extension are next considered, detailing the mechanisms by which it was thought to work and the role of social élites in its establishment. It is claimed that, while clearly in keeping with earlier church-building plans, church extension was fundamentally different in concentrating upon churches not as means of accommodating worshippers but as centre points of a mechanism for evangelism, capable of impacting upon the manners and morals of wider society. Attention is drawn to the key influence of the Reverend Thomas Chalmers in the creation and application this model. Finally, the impacts that this was designed to have upon the city are considered, and used as a means of gaining insight into the shape of society sought by proponents of church extension. The thesis concludes by suggesting that while church extension can be interpreted critically as a tool of the Establishment, it is better conceived as a form of evangelism in which social improvement was a fundamental part, inseparable from the movement's spiritual aspirations. Thus, it argues for the importance of understanding the Church as a religious community whose task is to engage theologically with society, and as a collection of individuals who are each a part of the very society upon which they seek to impact.

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> "Every word that you write is a blow that smites the Devil".

Chapter 1

Introduction

Defining the Problem

Since Augustine, describing the decline of Roman civilisation in the fourth century AD, first wrote of the need to establish a 'City of God', some Christian communities have sought to achieve this perfect urban form in one way or another. Of course, Augustine was speaking on a dual plane of the metaphoric and literal: this City was a representation of the true Christian community, a collection of the faithful that might be called the Church, whether visible or invisible, bound together by a spiritual connection, but he also wrote directly in response to the Roman social and political context, declaring that the city had foundered because it had lost its way by embarking upon a path of iniquity, wickedness, godforsakenness and desires of the flesh.[1] It was because the residents of that place had failed to live godly lives, he said, and continued to stare at themselves rather than at the heavens, that they were overwhelmed by revolution, and the pinnacle of civilisation sank under the tyranny of Barbarian rule. The City of God required a centrality of the spiritual but equally the reform of the temporal.

Centuries later, and at a time of similar upheaval within European society, Edward Gibbon offered a different perspective of the same event.[2] The decline and fall of Rome, he claimed, must be attributed at least in part to the rise and establishment of Christianity. Far from Augustine's suggestion that a city founded upon the rock of divinity would be unshakeable, firm in its foundations, Gibbon interpreted the growing dominance of Christianity as a weakening force that ultimately caused the collapse of the Empire and descent into the Dark Ages. While Augustine wrote at a time when Christianity was gaining importance as a political and cultural institution, the late-eighteenth century Britain of Gibbon was moving through processes of modernisation and Hogarthian images of social dysfunction that saw a lessening of

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[1] Augustine (trans. Bettenson, H), *City of God* (Book 1) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972). For a critical commentary on Augustine's *City of God*, see Donnelly, D.F. (ed.), *The City of God: A Collection of Critical Essays* (New York: P. Lang, 1995).

[2] Gibbon, E., *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Chapters 15, 16, and 'General Observations' in Chapter 38) (London: Allen Lane, 1994).

the role of the Established Church[3] in state affairs and the gradual disintegration of traditional authorities of King and aristocracy. In parallel, political and religious dissent became widespread and the place within society for the middle and lower ranks began slowly to change, a trend that eventuated in wider suffrage and greater religious tolerance. Historians differ over the extent to which society was becoming less religious, but clearly the monopoly of the Established Churches in mainland Britain was slowly diminishing and their influence upon the state declining. This was not the drastic collapse of the *ancien regime* as witnessed across the Channel, but, slowly and with occasional reverses, the pillars of the 'old world' were rebuilt into the new shape of society, with the anvils of industrialisation and urbanisation crucial to the process. Ironically, at the moment when Gibbon was equating the fall of Rome with the rise of Christianity, the established religion of state was seemingly in decline as numerous urban centres around the country emerged and embarked upon a period of sudden, remarkable growth and entered a new, more 'distanced' relationship with organised religion.

Glasgow through the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries became transformed from a moderately sized University town and bridging point of the River Clyde to a thriving and quickly expanding centre of industry central to the work of the developing Empire.[4] Numerous local advantages were capitalised upon, from the situation on the west coast of Scotland for trading links with America to the nearby availability of coal, and through trade and industry, driven by the new technology of steam power. With these developments came a series of changes to the cityscape and urban society. The city grew in size, moving beyond the old centre found around the Cathedral and University, swallowing up countless smaller settlements and crossing the river to expand on the south bank. Reflecting and driving this was a significant growth of population to support the industrial developments which, numbers aside, was changing in social structure as different groups began to materialise and impact upon the workings of society.[5] A significant factor was the new urban middle class

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[3] The Established Church being the Church accepted and supported by the state as the national religion of the country. In England this was the Church of England; in Scotland, the Church of Scotland.
[4] Gibb, A., *Glasgow the Making of a City* (London: Croom Held, 1983). Devine, T.M. & Jackson, G. (eds.) *Glasgow* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
[5] This will be discussed in Chapter 3, but as an indication of this growth, the population of Glasgow rose from thirteen thousand in 1707, to seventy-seven thousand in 1801, and two-hundred thousand in 1830. This was, however, the period before the largest growth of the city, which took place in the

who, often having risen in status from humble beginnings through business success, sought greater representation in the running of the city and the institutions designed for that task. Additionally, the working class population was quickly increasing, partly through migration from the rural lowlands and Highlands, and latterly from Ireland, forming a heterogeneous group united by a common discomfort in circumstances which became extreme poverty for many.

In this newly urbanised and industrialised society, the classical picture of a pre-industrial world of workers supported by the paternalism of a landowner with whom they shared regular and respectful associations, living alongside them as the organisational basis of the 'community', was replaced by a more anonymous 'society'[6] where market capitalism superseded traditional communal relations, widening the distance between the employer and the employee. Resulting from this shift was a growing sense of difference and separation on both sides that was manifested in societal unrest as the working class sought to find fairer conditions for employment, and capture for themselves the benevolence that was generally missing from their employers, while those who had wealth in the community saw in this the threat of violence and revolution. This social division could be seen in a marked spatial division, since the city's geography gradually showed a distinction emerging between the residential areas typically occupied by these two different, increasingly polarised classes. The middle and upper ranks, ill at ease living next door to the potentially unclean and dangerous poor, began to move to new residences in the expanding area west of the centre. The poor, meanwhile, remained in the districts abandoned by the rest, colonising the cheaper land in the east which was often closer to the workplace, but being unable to afford decent accommodation. With the moneyed who could pay for maintenance and improvement of the local infrastructure moving out, conditions were often squalid and overcrowded, with poor sanitation amongst other ills causing high mortality, illness and deprivation.[7] The Rookeries of London found their match in the Wynds of Glasgow.

second half of the nineteenth century. See Smout, T.C., *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (London: Fontana Press, 1985): pp. 355f.
[6] The references here to 'community' and 'society' deliberately echo the famous transition identified by Tönnies from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*. Tönnies, F. (trans. Loomis, C.P.), *Community and Association* (London: Routledge, 1955).
[7] Gibb, A. (1983) *op.cit.* Robb, J.G., 'Suburb and slum in Gorbals: social and residential change, 1800-1900', in Gordon, G. & Dicks, B. (eds.), *Scottish Urban History* (Aberdeen University Press:

Encountering this new urban world, the Church of Scotland[8] was faced with a set of challenges and a society radically different from what had been experienced before. Divinely ordained and charged by the state to carry religious ordinances to every corner of the country, the Church found in the mutating urban centres like Glasgow an environment that was entirely novel, and for which it had neither the requisite organisational structures nor the required material apparatus. Rather, the Church operated upon a model of ministry created for the small rural parish communities that had been commonplace at the ascendancy of Presbyterianism in the seventeenth century, which offered a model of one church, one parish and one minister for every three thousand people. The clergy began to recognise that this model was unsuitable for the realities of modern city life where over ten thousand people crammed into single parishes and the local church held room for only a thousand. A dichotomy was thus presented: there could be change or there could be decay. The Church, it was said at the time, must either adapt to the new shape of society or become a victim of it.

This is the central problematic of the thesis: how did the Church in Glasgow adapt the traditional methods of ministry, organisation and ecclesiastical apparatus to fit the needs of a new urban society so drastically different from the city in the past, and from the form of community for which the parish system was originally devised. On one level this was simply a question of provision, as the Church needed to improve the ecclesiastical infrastructure to allow more of the population to be accommodated at worship and thereby 'ministered to'. At a deeper level, though, this is potentially revealing of broader relationships between church and society, as the Church of Scotland was required to rethink its whole approach to and understanding of the urban, exposing in the process what it considered its purpose to be, what it was hoped would be achieved. Putting matters in this way opens up a further set of questions about how the Church as both an institution and a collection of individuals interacted

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Aberdeen, 1983): pp. 130-167. Dicks, B., 'Choice and constraint: further perspectives on socio-residential segregation in nineteenth-century Glasgow', in Gordon, G. (ed.) *Perspectives of the Scottish City* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985): pp. 91-124.

[8] The Church of Scotland was recognised during the Scottish Reformation of 1560, ratified at the Revolution of 1690, and established as the national Church of Scotland by the newly formed British State by the Articles of Union in 1707. Presbyterian in structure, reformed in character and theology, it adheres to the Westminster Confession as its (subordinate) standard of faith. See Hazlett, W.I.P., *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland: An Introduction* (London: T & T Clark, 2003); Burleigh, J.H.S., *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).

with other institutions and individuals within the urban political realm, and about the terms – the arguments, the discourses – that it used to convince those in the civil sphere of the need for serious changes to the religious landscape.

The proposed response revolved around the extension of the ecclesiastical apparatus: in short, building more churches, as material structures, to accommodate the deprived population.[9] A number of schemes of church building in (and beyond) Glasgow took hold, with the most important – and the focal point of the thesis – being that which came to be known as 'church extension'. Critically, church extension did not restrict itself to the provision of extra places of worship, however, but, in seeking to manipulate space and social networks, sought actively to evangelise and to moralise the whole parish area, encouraging with what was thought to be a sure and certain regularity the 'Christianisation' of the community. Churches were therefore seen as 'machines for moral elevation', as a means not only of accommodating the worshipping community, but also as the centrepiece of an evangelising mechanism. Thus, in keeping with Augustine's vision of the City of God, church extension was promoted as means of improving both the spiritual and the secular simultaneously. Its goal was also not just the evangelism of the parish, but a wider and more inspecific improvement in the manners and morals of the community, based upon the conviction that the latter was reliant upon the former and that both are required for there to be cohesion between the classes and attaining an end to societal unrest.

Curiously, this field of church extension has remained almost wholly unploughed and largely forgotten, with historical accounts preferring to look at the Church's provision of social services, from education to poor relief and programmes for the material improvement of the urban.[10] Despite this, I contend that the study of church building initiatives is valuable precisely because it considers the Church of Scotland as a Church, as a worshipping community, as a body with an ultimate concern that it is obligated to share, rather than merely as an agency for urban improvement. Indeed, the examination of theological understandings necessitated by the study of church extension reveals something of the inspiration behind addressing the social problems

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[9] 'Deprived' as in potentially deprived of physical room to attend services of worship.
[10] Cheyne, A., *The Transforming of the Kirk* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1983). Brown, C., *Religion and the Development of an Urban Society: Glasgow 1780 – 1914* (University of Glasgow: unpublished PhD thesis, 1982).

linked to rapid urbanisation. By looking at the Church as an institution attending to its primary concern, its mission to a local populace, there is hence offered a window upon the role of the Church in that historical context in its relation to wider society, while raising questions about the balance between the theological concerns of the worshipping community as a whole and those of individual members who, although directed on one level towards the spiritual, nevertheless remained thoroughly complicit and involved with the society to which they would take their message.

Organising the Material

Prior to the analysis of the various schemes of church building that form the empirical centre of the thesis, the topic is framed and contextualised conceptually and historically. Chapter 2 performs the task of both a review of relevant literature and an introduction to the conceptual debates to be considered later in the empirical sections. It touches upon four main areas of concern: previous accounts of church extension, the emergence of a new urban politics in the early nineteenth century, contested claims of secularisation and the identification of discourses of the 'unholy city', and an examination of 'moral' (and 'immoral') geographies and the spatialisation of disciplinary power. Chapter 3 introduces the historical context of Glasgow, the structures and role of the Church of Scotland, and the nature of the relationship between church and state. Making use of the imagery of church extension as a 'moral machinery', the thesis is divided into three empirical chapters which reflect a three-staged production process: from an analysis of raw materials – the city as it was – through a consideration of the workings of the mechanism of extension, to the shape and function of the end product, namely the reformed urban community. The major attention of these chapters is as follows.

The first substantive chapter (Chapter 4) considers why church building schemes were thought necessary in the first place, and from where the initial calls for reform were voiced, tracing how religious 'deprivation' came to be framed as a problem and the different understandings of the role and purpose of the Church that this framing then revealed. The chapter concentrates upon the various arguments that were advanced for church extension, analysing statistical and textual evidence of levels of churchgoing against population not as absolute facts, but as building blocks of a discursive claim made by the Church as a means of empowering statements in favour of extension. In

this sense, and following Brown,[11] the chapter draws upon a wider selection of texts, not necessarily restricted to the immediate issue of provision, to suggest that a discourse of the city as an unholy place, of the immoral and ungodly working classes, and – conversely – of the saving power of the gospel and the middle class who brought it, gradually increased in authority until accepted as orthodoxy. Judgement as such is not made upon the merits or accuracy of arguments that proposed church extension; rather, it is the establishment of a discourse that acted as a tool to convince the powerful of the need to build more churches that is the focus of the chapter.

Having established the reasons why church extension was thought necessary, the second empirical chapter (Chapter 5) addresses the workings of the new ecclesiastical model of extension through a study of the life and practice of the Rev Thomas Chalmers, a key player in projects of church building in Glasgow and Scotland. Attention is given to the precise method through which church extension was thought by him and his followers to transform the sacred and secular within parishes, detailing the workings of the 'locality principle' which was deemed central to its operation, whereby different surveillant bodies should be arranged through the spaces of the parish to encourage affection and docility amongst parishioners for the benefit of the whole community. This mechanism offered a compass pointing towards the motivations of extension, and the chapter questions whether the desire to build more churches was purely an ecclesiastical imperative or tied up with broader societal concerns. Additionally, this chapter discusses the implications of the urban 'transubstantiation' that Chalmers advocated in seeking to create within the material structures of the city the community and social relationships of a country parish, and considers what this meant for church extension and how its proponents interpreted the urban environment.

The final empirical chapter (Chapter 6) deals with the intended aim of the church building schemes: the specific urban community that the moral mechanism was designed to create. The image of the society that was sought is described and unpacked, exposing a series of temporal and spiritual intentions that are revealing of those who advocated the schemes. Through this, the many contested visions that were

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[11] Brown, C.G., *The Death of Christian Britain* (London: Routledge, 2001).

held of what the Church should be and what role it should play within society are discussed, with focus falling upon the arguments made for churches as a means of improving the morals and manners of the population, duly opening up wider questions of the role of state-sanctioned religion. Additionally, this chapter also considers the theological influences on church extension and the implications of these influences upon the development of the movement, looking at two issues of particular relevance: namely, the doctrines of salvation and divine judgement, the former of which determined to whom it would be fruitful for the Church to take the gospel, whether as an universal offer or belonging to the elect alone, and the latter of which provided a glimpse at those things thought encouraged or frowned upon by God, thus indicating the form of living and society to be sought by the Church.

Such is the focus of the substantive concerns of the thesis, unpacking and exploring the situation of the Church in Glasgow at the time of early urbanisation and industrialisation, considering the challenges it faced to (re)establish itself as a force of political, social and cultural significance within a world radically different from the pre-modern and early-modern societies where it had originally developed, at a time when it was believed – accurately or otherwise – that individually, and as a state, modern society was turning away from religion and the hegemony of an Established Church. On another level, though, the study of church extension offers a related but equally important tale of any church or organisation that holds onto the notion of an ultimate ground of being, yet seeks to engage with the contemporary world. All such groups are faced with the fundamental paradox of taking the immutable to the changing: and thereby being, on the one hand, charged with knowledge of what is thought to be an unchangeable truth, but, on the other, responsible for taking that truth to a world that is constantly in flux, necessitating constant re-evaluation of the method of communication and evangelism. How the Church of Scotland used church extension as a means of negotiating this divide in the particular context of early nineteenth century Glasgow is hence at the heart of concern within the thesis.

Fundamental to the answering of this question is another which asks for whom a church should act, and, more relevantly, for whom were those advocates of church extension acting? In other words, can a church serve but one master, and who should that master be? Again, this raises complex issues touching upon the motivation of

religious groups as both institutions and of individual members, as well as the definition of what constitutes a church in terms of aims and ends. For the purpose of the thesis, 'the Church' is taken pragmatically – even at the risk of over-simplifying – to refer to a homogenous organisation whose standard of orthodoxy is located in the decisions and texts of the numerous courts of the Established Church of Scotland.[12] This is not to imply universal concurrence amongst all members of that Church regarding every decision made and position held, and where opposition is found to the orthodox position that is relevant to the thesis I endeavour to incorporate the argument. Similarly, differences in opinion between church courts operating at separate levels are noted by the distinction given to voices from the local or national church. This legalistic interpretation is limiting, failing to recognise the ecclesiastical sphere in its cultural and social contexts, but neither intending to demean the importance of this fact nor the different theological contentions of what constitutes a 'true' church, but instead to provide a shorthand for an institution that operates in and through society not as a spiritual community but as a homogenous actor, a single body, operating in numerous overlapping realms within and beyond the urban political, social and cultural environment.

'Whose they are and whom they Serve'?

Various candidates emerge and are considered through the thesis as the master of the extensionists, from the divine to the market, the ideal to the pragmatic. Through the course of the empirical chapters four suggestions are put forward as to whom church extension serves, and what this tells us of the purpose and hope of extension and the Church. First, the master is God; second, the Church serves itself; third, the Church acts to legitimise and secure the state; and lastly, extension reflects the needs of societal elites.

In its purest form the purpose of the church is to worship, and therefore serve, God, acting as an agent of the divine in the world. Certainly there are aspects of the godhead that were agreed universally within the Church of Scotland, principally the notion of a personal, immanent deity, acting in and through creation with salvific

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[12] Presbyterian in structure, the Church of Scotland is governed by a series of hierarchical courts, constituted by ministers and elders from each parish across the territory under the jurisdiction of the court in question. See Chapter Three, pp. 90f.

intent,[13] but an understanding of how to serve this conception of divinity rests upon the particular comprehension of the nature and character of the divine that was often in contestation. Likewise, different understandings of what God is and seeks resulted in many interpretations of how best to enact divine will within society. For instance, a theology of works promoting a judgemental deity who requires appeasement would engender a quite different form of church building scheme from another based upon a hyper-Calvinist model of election and reprobation, pre-ordained by divine whims, regardless of faith or moral living. The thesis will thus consider, albeit implicitly, the conception of God revealed by church extension, and the practical implications of this conception, using this approach as a means of assessing how best the Church served God through the different church building projects, while recognising an important caveat that this does presume there to be a clear link between theological conviction and practical action, an association that, while demanded within Reformed theology, may not find an accurate translation into reality.

As the thesis seeks to show, the Church was also involved through church extension in serving itself. Plans to extend the ecclesiastical apparatus were designed primarily to preserve and strengthen the Established Church, to encourage more people to attend and so to recover both the population from heathenism and to strengthen the role of the Church within society. An additional driving motivation for many was concern at the growth of religious movements dissenting from orthodoxies of the Church of Scotland and departing from its fold. This was for reasons of politics and fear of the unsettling of the established order, as well as the concern that the Church of Scotland could lose its status as the national church if it became a minority group. Intriguingly, this issue opens another theological distinction between the visible and invisible church, with the former representing the earthly institution and its members, and the latter a spiritual union of all the elect of God. Neither need find expression or commonality in the other, although a 'true' visible church should find a likeness in the invisible – like looking through a glass, darkly. Asked implicitly through the thesis is what church extension reveals of the ambitions and motivations of those who spoke for the Church of Scotland to find success as an organisation of this world – in greater

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[13] See Torrance, T.F., *Scottish Theology: From John Knox to John McLeod Campbell* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996).

numbers and temporal strength – or as a contribution to the earthly extension and manifestation of the invisible.

The Church of Scotland as the Established Church of the country also carried a responsibility to the state, and, as the thesis seeks to demonstrate, church extension served at least partly for political interests of the wider establishment and found legitimisation therein.[14] Unlike under the Erastian system of church-state relations that held elsewhere in mainland Britain,[15] the Church of Scotland was not under the headship of the monarch or the rule of Government, but nevertheless its establishment was founded upon principles that saw the state as the legitimate form of temporal rule as ordained by God, and so it had a responsibility to support the mechanisms of law and government. The nature of this support and the extent to which it derived from theological principles and legal responsibilities, or rather from (party) political convictions of the elite, will partly be assessed through the lens of the church building programmes, questioning the complicity of the Church through extension as a proponent of the status quo, and asking, where this did happen, the extent to which it was motivated for political or ecclesiastical reasons.

Likewise, as many of the church building schemes were organised voluntarily, the thesis will consider to what extent the Church, through church extension, served the needs of shareholders, urban elites, landowners and industrialists who, financially and in other ways, were able to support the process, and to what degree the interest and benevolence of these individuals was philanthropic or designed for ulterior motives of a return of sorts. At times the presumed benefits that extension was thought to bring to the interests of business and industry were drawn upon explicitly to encourage the largesse of the wealthy within Glasgow, but it requires balance to gauge the extent to which opportunities to benefit were genuine or simply a means of securing popular and monetary support for the movement. Likewise, the other side of the relationship will also be examined, looking at how those involved in church extension, often elites within the community, negotiated the conflicting motivations of Christianity and capital between the desire to evangelise and the want for social stability and a settled

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[14] For a discussion of the relationship of the Church of Scotland with the state, see Lyall, F., *Of Presbyters and Kings* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1980), or Herron, A., *Kirk By Divine Right: Church and State – A Peaceful Co-existence* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1985).
[15] Whereby the head of state claims headship over the Church. See Lyall, F. (1980) *op.cit.*

status quo. The theory that such ideas could be complementary will also be considered.

A Story of Élites

Following from this point, much of the thesis is indeed concerned with the élites involved in church extension: theirs are the stories uncovered and told, the voices predominantly heard and the attitudes revealed. That it is the élites one hears is partly a methodological issue because, as will be seen later, the sources which have survived and hence form the basis of the study are, almost inevitably, those of official bodies and public organisations that were set within the effectively exclusive domain of the middle and upper classes of the city, rather than those for whom the schemes were designed. This is not to deny the importance or necessity of a wider social history which places emphasis on recovering marginalised voices, although that may be a neglect of the thesis, but nor does it mean that the working class do not feature within the story told herein: indeed, in many respects this *is* their story, but told through the words of those further up the social hierarchy. Rather, it is precisely to allow the emancipation of a more balanced portrayal of the poor that the rhetorical prison of the elites will be exposed. For as much as this is a study of church extension, it is also a study of the attitudes of those of higher status towards the poorest in society, and the way that these ideas built from and reinforced notions of poverty, tying together theological concerns of salvation with social norms of morality, the value of hard work, the correct order of the social realm, and the implications that the sum of such statements and discourses would have when transformed into action. In part this focus involves determining the motivation of church extension and the accuracy or otherwise of claims about the working class, not necessarily as a means of criticising such schemes, but rather to highlight the need for critical wariness when dealing with them, and to recognise that the interaction between church and society is not a simple relationship built upon either an attempt to offer salvation or as a tool for social cohesion that reaches to the very soul of the individual, but as a thoroughly entwined set of needs and wants, hopes and fears, interpretations of the world as it is and imaginings of what it could be.

The middle class was at the heart of church extension, providing the financial and human capital through which the building programmes could take place. This was

especially so in the early nineteenth century when, as a result of historical land ownership and parish structure, the Church could not provide additional accommodation in Glasgow without permission and monetary support from the Town Council and central Government, both of whom, for various reasons that will be considered later, would not provide the requisite resources to extend ecclesiastical provision. In response, private church building schemes started with the blessing of Presbytery,[16] running entirely on voluntary donations that, with one exception, offered no return other than a voice in the initial management of the new sanctuaries. By virtue of the minimum donation required for membership of a society, these were exclusively the preserve of the moneyed classes who had the wherewithal and inclination to invest.

This context raises two aspects which further entangle the tale of church extension and will be addressed in the study. First, many of those who became involved in the extension were drawn from the new, aspiring middle class who had made their fortunes through the opportunities that a newly urbanised and industrialised community offered. Seeking to establish themselves locally and nationally but blocked by the closed political world prior to the various reforms of the early-1830s, this may have provided them with an outlet for authority, providing an arena within which they could have an impact upon local affairs and gain influence. Secondly, and following from this, church extension was invariably driven by the Evangelical wing of the Church which was particularly popular amongst the same middle class and for much the same reason as it offered them influence in the ecclesiastical sphere, but also to promote Evangelicalism as the dominant position within the denomination. Both of these aspects are beyond the immediate concern of the thesis, but will be traced, albeit lightly, through the substantive chapters.

Recovering Extension

A subsidiary but no less significant task of the thesis is to rediscover a period of the history of the Church of Scotland that has been largely forgotten. In part this is to consider the limitations of the historical record. Much historiographical emphasis has been placed upon the work of Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847), and while even his

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[16] Presbyteries are the regional court within a Presbyterian system of church governance, made up by and responsible for the oversight of individual parishes. See glossary.

involvement in church building projects has been neglected, common currency places his influence on the movement as crucial. This study will contextualise Chalmers within the wider histories of extension within the city, judging the extent of his influence and thinking about the city not as an empty container of people but as an active agent, shaping the urban environment to which he was reacting. In the process, and importantly, there will be a recovery of some of the stories of extension that have hitherto been neglected, to show the various schemes that were designed to improve the ecclesiastical infrastructure that emerged at this crucial juncture of urban growth. In part this is to locate a prehistory (as it were) of church building before the involvement of Chalmers, to identify the many people and groups involved in extension who have since disappeared from the historical record.

Furthermore, the re-discovery of extension, albeit limited in scope and concern, may shed some light and a different perspective upon the Disruption of 1843, a monumentally important event in ecclesiastical life in Scotland when the Established Church was torn in two.[17] As one of the crucial stages leading to schism was the dispute over who had the right to create new parishes, it would seem important to consider a concurrent movement whose purpose was precisely this, but the church building projects have generally been considered uncritically as a simple response to the problems of overpopulation. Through the aforementioned assessment of the motivations and purpose of extension, the thesis aims to correct this neglect and to provide a window from which a different perspective on the Disruption is revealed, while remaining cautious to avoid a Whiggish history wherein extension is seen solely in the light of schism.

The study of different angles of church extension therefore forms the focus of the thesis, whether considering the Established Church's reaction to the new contexts of a modernising city, as a way of addressing the new class relations therein and especially the role of an elite in guiding the church, or offering a contextualised example of how religion and society interact not as homogenous institutions and groups but as connected and involved narratives of diverse motivations, intentions and aspirations, glimpsing how within these relations the spiritual and temporal react and co-exist,

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[17] See Fry, M & Brown, S.J. (eds.) *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993).

whether in confrontation or unison. Church extension offers a unique space where the theological and geographical, the political and social, and the temporal and spiritual meet on common ground, if not with one accord. A study of church extension allows questions to be framed about the role of religion within society and *vice-versa* through accounts for the adaptations and negotiations that a religious body undergoes in a new and dynamically shifting social context.

Methodology

The research upon which this thesis is based was entirely historical, conducted using classical techniques of historical (geography) scholarship.[18] Empirical material consulted in the study was hence drawn exclusively from archival sources, using a variety of materials to reconstruct the many church-building projects and the debates surrounding them. The documents analysed included those published and intended for public consumption, public records and private documents (whether personal correspondence or things restricted to members of churches, the Town Council, voluntary societies), sometimes handwritten and sometimes printed. Some of the original manuscripts were printed and published at a later date but, following the advice of Hoggart *et al* regarding the editing of these, where possible the original texts were used to ensure full coverage.[19] Printed records were used on occasion, however, for purposes of clarification where the manuscript was either faded or obscure, or if the original handwriting was difficult to decipher.

In keeping with the post-structuralist epistemology espoused within the thesis, the search was for meaning and the construction of discourse. As such, each text was considered valuable not only as a source of historical 'facts' – names, dates, events – and substantive content, but as a discursive product infused with and producing a set of broader claims. In practice this meant that various types of document were used, both running and episodic accounts, from the banal (financial records, minute books) to the exceptional (theological texts, diaries, sermons) in the search to identify the discourses lying beneath. Triangulation of evidence was necessary to verify information derived from the archive. 'Facts' were cross-checked against other

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[18] For a guide to these techniques, see Fines, J., *Reading Historical Documents* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1990).
[19] Hoggart, K., Lees, L. & Davies, A., *Researching Human Geography* (London: Arnold, 2002).

sources to ensure accuracy, with, for example, dates being referenced against Presbytery and Council minutes, and statistics of parish size measured alongside census information. The overall content of arguments and the 'message' derived from them was also checked to ensure that the positions represented in the thesis were in keeping with the content of the documents. Equally, documents that offered a message contrary to the standard were noted precisely for the reason that they deviated from discursive orthodoxy.

The research process was necessarily reactive and iterative. Rather than approaching the archive with a firm set of topics that would be used to determine the relevance or otherwise of the empirical material, each document was analysed for its own meaning, allowing the content of the archive to emerge, as opposed to being interpreted, through a certain lens and therefore having a particular meaning placed upon it. These findings shaped the subsequent analysis of materials and sometimes required a return to previously examined texts to consider them afresh in light of different contexts. Nevertheless, while being careful to avoid leading questions, some thematic headings were used as a guide and tool for interpretation. These headings are as follows:

- Material relating to official Church of Scotland church building schemes
- Material relating to church building schemes run by voluntary societies
- Comparisons made between the countryside and the city
- Comparisons made between the present day and the past, especially those referring to or suggesting any 'Golden Age' of religiosity
- Statistics or discussions outlining or interpreting levels of religiosity within Glasgow
- Motivations behind the building of new churches
- Interpretations of city life or the urban environment

During the process of research these headings became increasingly more detailed, considering, for example, the different uses of the terms church accommodation and church extension, or whether motivations for church building were theological, economic or social.

The process of analysis involved the intensive study of documents and an element of immersion into the archive. Although documents were considered individually, a number of questions were asked of each, using methods developed from Hoggart *et al*[20] and Aitken[21]:

1. When was the text written, and what was the immediate context of its production?

2. Who is the author, and for whom does s/he speak?

3. What is the intended meaning of the text?

4. For what audience was the text written and what would they have taken from it?

5. Why was the text produced?

6. What role does the author play – expert, confidante, polemicist, etc. – and how does the rhetoric and language used show this?

7. What are the main points proposed within the text, and what evidence and arguments are used to justify these claims?

8. Does the document relate to a specific debate or event, or refer (implicitly or explicitly) to another text?

9. Is there any evidence to explain why was the document preserved?

Clearly these questions require an appreciation of the specific and wider political, cultural and social contexts within which the documents were produced. While recognising with Hoggart *et al* the impossibility of the historical scholar ever abandoning one's own shoes for a pair from the past,[22] Scott nevertheless encourages us to consider texts from the perspective of the author and the intended audience.[23] This necessitates an awareness of the conditions within which the documents were produced and read, otherwise they may cease to carry historical meaning and become instead relics interpreted solely from the perspective of the present. As such, at times answers to these questions could only be considered after more empirical materials relevant to the research had been located and read; secondary accounts were also useful for this process of contextualisation. Additionally, a range of other archival

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[20] Hoggart, K et al (2001) *op.cit.*
[21] Aitken, S.C., 'Analysis of texts: armchair theory and couch-potato geography', in Flowerdew, R. & Martin, D., *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing A Research Project* (Harlow: Prentice Hall, 2005).
[22] Hoggart, K. et al (2002) *op.cit.*
[23] Scott, J., *A Matter of Record* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990).

materials, relating to the same historical context but not specifically dealing with church extension, were also examined in an attempt further to understand personalities, attitudes and other potentially informative debates. If a document referred to another text, this was also examined where possible, and this often allowed an insight into how texts were received by contemporary audiences. Aside from potentially uncovering such an insight, an awareness of intertextuality, as Atkinson and Coffey[24] remind us, also allows the identification of 'webs' of distribution and exchange of ideas, a crucial part of the production, reiteration and sustaining of discourses.

Material for analysis was selected according to criteria of topical, denominational, historical and geographical relevance.[25] As church extension took place during a comparatively short time frame – no formal organisation was in place before the early 1830s and the Disruption of 1843 saw a shift in policy and *raison d'etre* that effectively ended the movement in its former guise – research focussed on the period between the turn of the nineteenth century and the subsequent schism. Beginning at an earlier period allowed the roots and precursors of church extension to be located, while providing an opportunity to assess how the discourse of urban irreligion developed and increasingly informed demands for the building of new churches. The church extension movement would gain fresh impetus in later years – a further two phases stretching into the twentieth century can be identified – and Glasgow also underwent a period of even more rapid growth in the years that followed, but to concentrate upon the period from 1800 to 1843 allows consideration of the moment of first engagement between the Church and the city transformed from a substantial town to an urban centre. This was a period of development when the characteristics of and problems associated with urbanism could first be recognised in Glasgow, and when the Church, also for the first time, were having to conceive and react to this new environment and all that it entailed, establishing the foundations for later ecclesiastical activities in the city as it continued to grow. The rate of development may have been greater after 1850; the ecclesiastical response, however, had already been set and shaped in earlier years. Furthermore, the Disruption provides an obvious,

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[24] Atkinson, P. and Coffey, A., 'Analysing documentary realities', in Silverman, D. (ed.) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice* (London: Sage, 1997): pp. 45-62.
[25] For details of the archives used, see Appendix 1.

perhaps even necessary endpoint, as the Established Church, sole mover of church extension in the early nineteenth century, was shattered and the church-building projects suddenly halted. When it started again, church extension was undertaken by the Established Church and the newly-formed Free Church, and the movement became complicated by the relationship between the two denominations, which was to a large degree played out through competitive church-building, thus at least partially altering the original aims of church extension and hence changing its nature. Equally, this second phase of building, which coincided with the heaviest expansion of the city, was rendered more complex by the emergence of a series of related social problems different in form and scope from those addressed by the earliest proponents of the movement, not least the mass Irish immigration and subsequent questions about the status of Roman Catholicism. Both this and the denominational rivalry between the Established Church and the Free Church serve to occlude the dynamics of the relationship between Church and city which are more evident and transparent during the early period studied in this thesis. This is not to say that other motivations were not at work prior to schism: clearly issue of political representation, ecclesiastical politics and social concern informed earlier debates; yet they were not, perhaps, so dominant.

Research was geographically focussed within the boundaries of the Royalty of Glasgow, the area which contained Glasgow's inner-city. The original parish area of the city, the Royalty had been separated into different ecclesiastical portions but remained intact as a civil parish, and formed the area of jurisdiction for the Town Council. Using this field of reference allowed an insight into how different actors within the city – religious, political, economic – engaged with one another, revealing lines of authority, differing motivations, and the convergence and divergence of opinion. This was not a strict boundary, and analysis was extended to where the Presbytery or voluntary societies were involved in projects of church building in the adjoining parishes of the Barony, the Gorbals, Govan and Calton. This was in part to see if procedure or approach was different in non- and sub-urban areas, while offering further evidence of the way in which church extension operated and perhaps even the 'mindset' of those involved.

As the building of new churches in the nineteenth century required civil and

ecclesiastical assent, documents relating to both were important to uncover the full picture of church extension.[26] As church extension was, until the Disruption, a movement exclusively attached to the Church of Scotland, material relating to it formed the basis of the study. Some documents espousing the views of Dissenting churches were analysed, but only where the question of religious provision or church extension was the subject matter or discussed within. Most documents were taken from the level of the Presbytery, as it is the court with jurisdiction over the whole of Glasgow – the level at which church extension operated – and was involved in the planning in some of the schemes to build new sanctuaries. Details from local parishes and Kirk Sessions were used to uncover local concerns, and often for the purpose of cross-checking and triangulation, although being at a smaller scale they were less involved in the broad schemes of extension. Records from the national Church were also used to contextualise the Glasgow movement within the broader national plan, although the independence of this local movement from the rest of Scotland perhaps made the latter less significant.

Following from this, and given the empirical focus upon the Royalty, records from the Town Council of Glasgow were analysed to consider the role of the civil authority in church building, and their reaction to extension. The Council had control over municipal matters within the city, and through this remit was the manager of the ecclesiastical infrastructure: paying for the building of parish churches and having the final say over their location.[27] Like the Presbytery, the city-wide jurisdiction of this body and its close involvement through membership and management of some schemes for extending the religious provision necessitated that their records be examined. Similarly, several voluntary societies involved in some way with church extension across Glasgow were also researched. Although such societies were formally unattached to the Church of Scotland, members of the former were invariably members of the latter, with the lack of direct ties between the societies and the Church reflective of their desire for independence from the civil regulations that restricted the Church's ability to erect new buildings, rather than a sign of opposition to the denomination.

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[26] For details on the location of sources analysed, see appendix.
[27] For a discussion of the duties and responsibilities of the Town Council see Chapter 3.

All archival research, however, is limited by the breadth of material on record. As Hoggart *et al* note, those limits are not necessarily arbitrary but result from the selection of materials which have survived, an end that depends upon, first, an initial ability to produce material, and second, the decision that the document is worthy of preservation.[28] The additional problem of safe and adequate storage complicates things further. The archive of the official bodies – the Town Council and Presbytery of Glasgow – are preserved comparatively intact, partly because of legislative obligations, and partly as records were of contemporary value as evidence of policy and decisions made. Even so, problems still arise. Many of the Presbytery records prior to 1750, for instance, were destroyed in a fire in the Tron church which held minute books dating back to the Reformation.

Records of unofficial and voluntary bodies suffer especially from poor preservation, with the archive being at best sporadic and fragmentary, often built entirely from printed materials. Details of membership, finance and the organisation of such societies were sought but often unavailable, reflecting the preservation of printed records rather than unpublished documents and manuscripts. Records from the Glasgow Church Building Society, for example, were, apocryphally, destroyed during the mid-twentieth century following damage to the house of the heir of William Collins, the secretary of the Society, leaving on record only materials printed by the Society at the time of the movement's height. Likewise, many Church records below the level of the Presbytery are in a state of incompleteness, with Kirk Session materials being especially limited. This is inevitable given that it was only in the 1980s that Session minute books, rolls of membership, and baptismal and marriage records were legally to be deposited with local archives. Prior to this it was the duty of individual Kirk Sessions to look after them, often under the custodianship of Session Clerks, to varying degrees of success, as numerous stories describe. For instance, the curse of the aforementioned Tron, the church of many of the most influential exponents of church extension, struck again in the early-1980s when, according to a former Session Clerk, record books likely dating back beyond the nineteenth century were ruined when the room where they were kept was flooded.

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[28] Hoggart, K. et al (2002) *op.cit.*

While frustrating for the scholar, the incompleteness of the archive adds a new concern: namely, the possibility that the material which remains, whether by design or providence, is not representative of the past but skewed in an indiscernible way. As Scott remarks:

> While all scientific research involves the 'construction' of facts, the use of documents whose representativeness is unknown involves the possibility that 'facts' constructed from the document may be purely functions of the bias inherent in selective survival and availability.[29]

The aforementioned method of triangulation is an important tool to prevent the historian from becoming captive to the happenstance of selective survival, presuming that enough materials remain through which verification can take place. Equally, it could be argued that discourse analysis mitigates against this problem, at least when dealing with content rather than 'facts'; even those who conceive of discourses as permeating each nook and cranny of every production through a web of totality would, however, still recognise an implicit danger in drawing large conclusions from a limited sample. In general, the sources used when researching church extension are sufficient to allow clarification and cross-checking, and this empirical evidence is presented in the chapters of interpretation that follow. Where limited evidence was available the claims are treated with caution, and this has been signalled within the text.

Questions of documentary survival have wider implications for the interpretation of the texts that remain. Preservation of one minister's sermon or the records of a society's minute-books may suggest that they were vested with authority on a particular issue; the absence of accounts from other sources may imply that their expertise or perceived knowledge was deemed less weighty. As Hoggart *et al* comment, "to an uneven degree, both across time and between institutions, archives tend to reflect the power structures of society".[30] It was for this reason that the research questions adopted in this thesis were mostly focussed on the middle-class exponents of church extension rather than those for whom the churches were being built. Ideally it would be possible to reconstruct the attitudes and opinions of the working classes towards church extension; realistically, despite Brown's detective

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[29] Scott, J. (1990) *op.cit.*, p. 28.
[30] Hoggart, K. et al (2002) *op.cit.*, p. 136. Withers calls for a similar wariness when considering the construction of the 'geographical archive', in Withers, C.W.J., 'Constructing the "geographical archive"', *Area* 34 (3) (2002): pp. 303-311.

work in recovering these lost voices in the same temporal and geographical context,[31] the specifics of their views on church extension cannot be surmised from surviving material.

In the same way, that the thesis concentrates upon plans for church extension and its associated parochial organisation, rather than with the actual practice that followed the building of new sanctuaries, was determined by the content of the archive. The material available from which it is possible to reconstruct the day-to-day involvement of churches in parishes is limited, placing any comment on concrete practice in the realm of conjecture and difficult to triangulate or verify. Evidence of these practices do exist and are used here with caution, but the abundance of documentary evidence outlining the fine details of proposed church extension made concentrating upon the ideal rather than the reality safer, an approach validated by the discursive focus of the thesis. It is also worthwhile to recall the brevity of the church extension movement. The Disruption took the pieces of Glasgow's ecclesiastical chessboard and threw them up in the air, landing in an entirely new configuration. Thus, in the few churches where it can be surmised that the new parochial practice took place, it did so for less than a decade. Similarly, and at risk of tokenism, the silent but overt masculinity of the archive silences the thought of those few women directly involved in church extension. The early nineteenth century was still a time when the Town Council and courts of the Church were exclusively male environments, and even although some women were involved with church extension societies they are unrepresented in the preserved account. That the silence is continued in this account is not intended to reinforce this absence, but merely represents the reality of the period and, indeed, the limits of this study.

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[31] Brown, C.G. (2001) *op.cit.*, pp. 58-87.

Chapter 2

A Review of Literature and Conceptual Discussion

Introduction

As a place where the theological and the geographical, the practical and theoretical, and the imagined and material all come together, a study of church extension necessitates the consideration of the interaction between various fields of concern. This chapter hence fulfils a dual role, being both a review of the multifaceted literature that is relevant to the story of church extension, and a discussion of theoretical and interpretative perspectives that will inform the remainder of the thesis. The chapter is enacted through four main areas of concern, each of which contains key literatures of relevance – or, of equal significance, a lack of literature, the absence of which the thesis seeks to resolve – in addition to particular perspectives relevant for framing the empirical content of the study. The first section of the chapter addresses previous studies of church extension, noting how the movement has been largely ignored or treated pragmatically as a necessary practical response to urban growth. Looking at the 'absences' implicit in such accounts, an attempt is made to uncover a space for church extension as a subject worthy of examination in its own right, rather than as a subsidiary aspect of studies focussed elsewhere. Doing this, of course, requires that church extension be contextualised within a wider conceptual framework; and such a framework is outlined in the remainder of the chapter.

Given that the interplay between church, city and class was significantly altered during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the next section of the chapter unpacks the impact of urbanisation and industrialisation in the development of a new urban politics, and considers how this impacted upon social relationships within the city and between church and state. The emergence is traced of a coherent middle class, the group most involved in schemes of church extension, focussing on their attempts to engage with civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and also on the nature of their relationship with lower orders. This allows for an appreciation of the social and political world within which the movement took place, while opening a window onto some of the reasons and motivations behind the rise to prominence of the middle class, thereby highlighting different factors driving the church extension agenda.

The question of church extension is, in essence, one concerning the religiosity of society. A call for extra churches presupposes that there is a surplus of churchgoers frustrated by a deficit of accommodation, and more broadly that spiritual matters are important for the health of society. As such, the chapter next introduces debates on the secularisation and irreligiosity of the nineteenth-century city as a framing for the various calls for church extension, defining what is meant by a secularising world and considering the conflicting claims made about whether and when this process took place. This section will raise questions as to whether the movement can best be seen as a response to the seeming decline of the role of religion within society, as a reflection of ecclesiastical strength contrary to orthodox accounts of secularisation, or, indeed, as a contribution to and reflection of contemporaneous discursive claims describing the declining social significance of religion. Tying these arguments with debates raised in the earlier section on urban politics, this section allows reflection on how secularisation and discourses of irreligiosity became caught up in the emerging and contested social structure, especially as the ideas came to be used by the middle class.

As church extension can be read as an attempt to (re)invigorate a spiritual layer to the city's geographies by imposing practices of an active parochial ministry and by way of material landscape change, the final section of the chapter turns to the related literature on 'moral geographies'. The aim here is to introduce theoretical conceptions of how disciplinary power is enacted through space and surveillance, against which the geometries and organisation of space implicit within church extension can be compared, testing whether ecclesiastical practices can be understood to draw upon, share, or, indeed, derive from schemes designed to order society, thus potentially implicating church extension in motivations other than 'pure' evangelism. Taking a broadly Foucauldian perspective to interpret these disciplinary geographies, this section considers the importance of going beyond simple and abstract geometries of power to identify the various configurations that such techniques can take, as well as the role of the individual human subject as their producer and consumer.

Contextualising church extension in this way allows for a conception of the Church (and those involved in it) that portrays it not as distinct from society, merely reacting to changes taking place in the social world and the realm of politics, but – at least in

its capacity as an 'earthly' institution – as an organisation, and as a collection of individuals, intimately involved in shaping the world that it cannot but inhabit. What is claimed here is that those involved in church extension were, and continued to be, both constituted by and constitutive of the city that they sought to reshape. The relevant literatures are indeed diverse, deriving from often quite unrelated scholarly bases such as church history, theology, missiology, social and urban history, Scottish history, urban historical geography, and cultural and social geography. Given the breadth of material to be covered, a 'light touch' rather than comprehensive expertise is inevitable; nevertheless, it is necessary to attempt to contextualise church extension in the various 'sites' where such different perspectives and disciplines intersect.

Church Extension

The practice of church extension developed in the early nineteenth century as a response of the local Church of Scotland in Glasgow to the changing conditions of urban industrial life, based upon the idea that building extra churches could positively impact upon the morality and stability of the community. In common with what many see as a general lack of work on the relationship between religion and society in the Scottish context, it has provoked but a meagre amount of academic study.[32] Reflecting a decade on from Marwick's suggestion that that "the social development of modern Scotland must be among the most neglected fields",[33] Mechie noted that, while this neglect had been rectified to some extent, we "still lack [...] a survey of the place of the Church in that social development".[34] The intervening half century has seen an upsurge in the former, but despite several contributions to the latter the role of religion in Scottish society remains a fertile but neglected field.

The main texts on Scottish church history, notably Burleigh[35] and Drummond and Bulloch[36], tend to be written from the perspective of the Church reacting to changing

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[32] There are studies of the church extension movement in England, but they concentrate on a later period than considered here, and on a substantively different form of movement. See Thompson, D.M., 'Church extension in town and country in later nineteenth-century Leicestershire', in Baker, D. (ed.), *The Church in Town and Countryside* (Oxford: Studies in Church History, 1979); Green, S.J.D., *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870-1920* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1996).
[33] Marwick, W.H., Review of 'The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare', *English Historical Review*, 64 (1949): p. 377.
[34] Mechie, S., *The Church and Scottish Social Development, 1780-1870* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960): p. ix.
[35] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.*

economic, social and political trends within Scotland rather than as an active agent shaped by and shaping society, as do accounts more focused on the events of the early nineteenth century, like Cheyne.[37] Fry and Brown offer snapshots of the role of religion in society at the time of Disruption,[38] but the attention of the text is upon different aspects of schism itself. Recent studies of the history of Scotland have been more successful in incorporating religion into the country's story, with Smout devoting sections to the contribution of the Church of Scotland in the development of culture and especially its role as the educator of the nation,[39] while Devine looks at the interactions between society and religion both prior to and following the industrial revolution.[40] Again, though, the aspects of Church and religious observance remain peripheral to the main endeavour of the authors, with the interest in such matters of subsidiary rather than central importance.

An exception to this neglect is found in the work of C. Brown,[41] whose initial concern to consider the "effect of urban development on religious thought and institutions, of the changing nature of the relationship between religious and non-religious institutions, and of the comparative impact of religious and non-religious thought on popular ideology and social policy"[42] has developed more recently into a powerful critique of secularisation and social science methodologies as tools to provide narratives of the supposedly irreligious city. His work on Glasgow traces the reaction of religious groups to the dual challenges of industrialisation and urbanisation, especially the Evangelical response in the re-modelling of traditional religious social policy, framing church extension as one such response alongside Sabbath schools, the temperance movement, evangelically sponsored slum clearance and sanitation projects, all of which he suggests were designed as means of tempering the threat of violent working-class revolution as feared by those of a middle-class, evangelical

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[36] Drummond, A.L. & Bulloch, J., *The Scottish Church, 1688-1843: the Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1973).
[37] Cheyne, A.C. (1983) *op.cit.*
[38] Fry, M & Brown, S.J. (1993) *op.cit.*
[39] Smout, T.C. (1998) *op.cit.*
[40] Devine, T.M., *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2000* (London: Allen Lane, 1999).
[41] Brown, C.G., *Religion and the Development of an Urban Society: Glasgow, 1780-1914* (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Glasgow, 1981)
   - *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London: Methuen, 1987)
   - *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997)
   - *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2001).
[42] Brown, C. (1981) *op.cit.*, p. 2.

mindset. Brown steps away from orthodox historiographical accounts which place extension as a contributing factor to schism and focus solely on Thomas Chalmers[43], offering instead a more critical interpretation than most historical accounts which place church extension as the logical, perhaps inevitable response to the growing urban population.

Burleigh, for example, notes that 'extensionism' was "[o]ne of the most clamant needs of the Church at the beginning of the nineteenth century [...] particularly in those areas in which in consequence of the Industrial Revolution there had been a vast increase in population".[44] Laying the impetus for the movement squarely at the feet of Chalmers and as a response to the squalid conditions of an overpopulated urban environment that he first encountered during his ministry in Glasgow, Burleigh goes on to outline the national scheme of extension as an Evangelical attempt to "save the working classes of Scotland from lapsing into heathenism and moral degradation",[45] implying that social control was a key aspect of the project, but also as a reaction to increasingly vocal Dissent. Echoing this, Mechie sees church extension as a product of Chalmers' time in Glasgow: the proposed solution to increasingly unmanageable urban growth, drawing out in particular how this fitted as part of Chalmers' strategy for the reform of the Poor Law.[46] Describing how this was to happen, he mentions (but neglects to explain) Chalmers' 'principle of locality', noting that this involved a subdivision of parishes and the extension of a rural form of ministry into the urban setting, in keeping with Chalmers' "plan for dealing with the poor [which] was to multiply the religious and educational establishment of the cities and towns many times over".[47] Seemingly, this approach would "demonstrate how irreligion, demoralisation, and poverty could be overcome".[48] As such, both Mechie and Burleigh effectively categorise church extension as a form of ecclesiastical social policy at best, or a method of social control at worst, as an Evangelically-sponsored

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[43] Rev. Thomas Chalmers, minister of the Tron Church and St John's in Glasgow and a key figure in the church extension movement. This thesis will discuss Chalmers, but will contextualise his contribution and, indeed, trace his antecedents.
[44] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.*, p. 319.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 321.
[46] Mechie, S. (1960) *op.cit.*, p. 51.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

means of tempering working class social unrest through the use of an empowered ecclesiastical apparatus.

They do recognise, however, that this was not the sole reason for building new churches, with Mechie in an earlier article suggesting that there was an undeniable need for extra accommodation due to population growth, but that other motivations were clearly in play as well.[49] He suggests, for instance, that "in some cases the chapel [new building] was intended not primarily to meet an increasing population, but to afford means of escape from an unpopular parish minister".[50] Furthermore, since most building was done by Evangelicals against Moderate ministers, some extension could be seen as motivated by ecclesiastical politics. Campbell's study of church extension in Inverness during the 1830s – the only study of extension in a local context – bears this out, as he shows how the building of a new church to the north of the town was the result of a congregational split following dispute over selection of the new minister.[51] Significantly, the Evangelically dominated local Presbytery was keen to build more churches, and so "the break-away group's aim of increasing the seating available in the town's churches dovetailed with the aims of the majority party in the Presbytery".[52]

Aside from ecclesiastical politics, C. Brown suggests that local politics may have had some influence upon church building projects in urban areas where the existing churches were controlled by the Town Council. Noting the lessening concentration of civic authorities on the maintenance and management of the city churches under their control following the Reform Act, and the subsequent rise of political power amongst Dissenters following enfranchisement who objected to this situation, Brown comments that increasingly "Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland abhorred the way in which town councils raked in profits from inflated pew rents whilst leaving thousands unaccommodated at Sunday worship".[53] Church extension was offered as a

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[49] Mechie, S., 'Church extension in Scotland in the last two centuries', *Expository Times*, 66 (1955): pp. 136-9.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 136.
[51] Campbell, N., 'Church extension and division in 1830s Inverness', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 32 (2002): pp. 93-113.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[53] Brown, C. (1997) *op.cit.*, p. 100.

response, as by opening up newer churches with cheaper seat rents, council revenue was reduced and councils were forced to lower the prices of seats to be competitive.[54]

Others, although stressing Chalmers' influence upon extension, are less sure that the movement was entirely in keeping with the Evangelical cause. Chambers, for instance, in the only study of the national programme of church extension within Scotland, argues that "the ideology behind the Church Extension movement of the 1830s was that of Chalmers as an individual. True, Chalmers' ideas had their roots in the pastoral and village society for which the Reformers had legislated, but some of his basic ideas on parochial management were alien to the mainstream of Scottish Evangelicalism".[55] Cheyne, meanwhile, is disinclined to promote an explanation of church extension as social control, but favours a more pragmatic reason for the building projects, suggesting that the country was "being transformed by the population explosion and the growth of large towns which accompanied the Industrial Revolution",[56] and so more churches were required to fill the gap in provision, with the process of extension necessary to circumnavigate regulations imposed by the state on the creation of new parishes within the Established Church. This utilitarian interpretation is the standard line of earlier analyses, as already indicated, with MacKenna again positioning Chalmers as the main impetus behind extension, remarking that it was whilst in Glasgow that "[t]he clamant need of more churches and chapels for the expanding city was impressed on him".[57] This line is also taken by White, who is clear that the purpose of building the new churches was "to provide for a rapidly increasing population", as "the population of Scotland had more than doubled, and the number of churches and parishes had not been increased".[58]

In a wider context, Green suggests the increase of church building in the nineteenth century was for a variety of motivations.[59] On one level churches were symbols of their respective denominations and therefore proclaimed in the landscape a particular

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[54] Brown, C.G., 'The costs of pew-renting: church management, church-going and social class in nineteenth-century Glasgow', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38(3) (1987), pp. 347-361.
[55] Chambers, D., 'The Church of Scotland's parochial extension scheme and the Scottish Disruption', *Journal of Church and State*, 16 (1974): p. 280.
[56] Cheyne, A.C., *The Practical and the Pious: Essays on Thomas Chalmers* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1985): p. 23.
[57] MacKenna, J., 'The story of the Glasgow Church Building Society', *Life and Work* (1933): p. 405.
[58] White, J., 'Church extension a century ago', *Life and Work* (1933): p. 404.
[59] Green, S.J.D. (1996) *op.cit.*, pp. 117f.

spiritual truth, while sometimes reflecting an ambition to become the main religious group within a community, often as a direct challenge to other churches. This could also be a response to the migration of the population within and between areas, both spatially and socially where patterns of segregation by class and wealth took place, while some churches were provided in poorer areas specifically as acts of charity and "concrete forms of Christian evangelical effort".[60]

Recently, consensus has tended to walk a steady path between the pragmatic and critical interpretations. In a study of events leading up to the Disruption, S.J. Brown discusses the Chapels Act, a key piece of legislation for the legitimisation of church extension in the 1830s, and suggests that its purpose was, at least in part, to "stimulate new church building", stemming "from a serious deficiency of parish churches, particularly in the new urban areas",[61] yet he argues that this also allowed parish churches to "reassert control over religious instruction, moral discipline, poor-relief and education [...] modelled on Chalmers' parochial ministry in Glasgow"[62]. By now Cheyne had also moved to this position, noting that the Chapels Act "gave a tremendous fillip to Church Extension" by allowing the creating of two hundred new charges,[63] and hence "may be regarded as embodying the Church's response to social change".[64]

Sefton strives for a similar balance, pointing to Chalmers' preference for the term 'church extension' rather than the previously used 'church accommodation' to suggest that extension was about more than just the provision of extra places of worship.[65] Rather, its chief purpose was to extend the territorial reach of the Church. Regrettably, Sefton does not distinguish in any detail the differences between the two terms, a neglect that the thesis will attempt to correct, although he does mention that extension churches were to be territorially or parochially organised as a means of reaching out and pervading the community. This concern is developed by Chambers, who hints at

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[60] *Ibid.*, p. 117.
[61] Brown, S.J., 'The Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption of 1843', in Fry & Brown (eds.) (1993) *op.cit.*, p. 7.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 8
[63] Cheyne, A.C., *The Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption: An Overview* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1993): p. 2.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[65] Sefton, H., 'Chalmers and the church: theology and mission', in Cheyne, A.C. (ed.) (1985) *op.cit.*, pp. 166-177.

the important emergence of an active laity, as the "whole vision of church extension [...] was not just a question of putting up buildings but of achieving living regional units of active churchmen".[66] This interpretation of church extension as a tool of reaching out to the community, while more encompassing than the pragmatic approach but not necessarily contrary to more critical accounts positing the movement as a means of social control, does imply a 'purer' motivation of evangelicalism as a driving force of Chalmers and church extension. Certainly Sefton would argue that Chalmers' view of an Established Church was consistent with this vision, as, to use his own words, he saw the Establishment providing "'a universal home mission'", with its object "'not to extend Christianity into ulterior spaces but thoroughly to fill up the space that had already been occupied'".[67]

Despite the centralisation of church extension with the founding of the Church of Scotland's national committee on extension in 1834, extension remained fundamentally a local response to local issues, especially in Glasgow where greater independence from central direction was granted. In spite of this, with the exception of C. Brown's brief discussion of the movement in Glasgow[68] and Campbell's work on Inverness,[69] there are no studies of church extension at the local scale. This is especially surprising for Glasgow, partly since extension there predates the national movement, as this thesis will show, but also given the key place attributed to Chalmers in the development of 'extensionism'. Chambers, for instance, argues that more emphasis should be placed upon the reshaping of Chalmers' thought, especially his socioeconomic ideas, "in that whirlpool of industrial revolution chaos, Glasgow",[70] while Cheyne stresses again the importance of Chalmers' experience in the city, noting that his chief concern was to find a resolution to the related problems of irreligion and poverty.[71]

Chalmers is evidently considered the central figure of church extension, with Mechie, when discussing the appointment of the national committee on extension in 1834, claiming that even before this "steps had been taken for church extension in Glasgow

[66] Chambers, D. (1974) *op.cit.*, p. 282.
[67] Sefton, H. (1985) *op.cit.*, p. 168.
[68] Brown, C.G. (1981) *op.cit.*
[69] Campbell, N. (2002) *op.cit.*
[70] Chambers, D. (1974) *op.cit.*, p. 280.
[71] Cheyne, A.C. (1985) *op.cit.*, pp. 15f.

in line with Chalmers' wishes and plans".[72] Elsewhere MacKenna describes his effect on the local church building society in Glasgow as that of a "visionary" who "had for many years advocated a national church extension scheme", and whose "enthusiasm stirred the minds of many thoughtful citizens".[73] While speaking more broadly of the need perceived by evangelicals to 'reclaim' cities for Christianity, C. Brown speaks of Chalmers as the "key inspirer", especially in "the most obvious product of the evangelical call to action [:] the construction of churches".[74] Perhaps because of this consensus, earlier incidents of church extension in Glasgow have been mostly passed over. This neglect, which this thesis attempts to address, is curious given the scholarly agreement on Chalmers' centrality to extension, since it was in Glasgow that he first became involved with church building projects, and so to understand church extension would require an appreciation of the experience that is presumed to have shaped his own understanding. Further, considering extension in Glasgow also offers an opportunity to assess the extent of his involvement and influence, logically and chronologically, and so test the historiographical consensus.

The interpretation of most accounts hence places church extension as a form of ecclesiastical social policy, developed by an evangelical majority who sought to reshape the church's response to an industrialising and urbanising world, all under the pervasive influence of Chalmers. In this sense, extension is much the same as evangelical-sponsored schemes to educate and moralise, from the founding of Sunday schools to the provision of libraries for the working class. Interpretations are not unanimous, however, with some questioning the extent to which this activity was derived from Evangelical ideals and others seeing the need for more churches as a pragmatic response to a shortage of accommodation, or even as a form of dissent against the influence of council or landed classes in the election of clergy and the provision of adequate accommodation. Most accounts are nonetheless in agreement with C. Brown's assessment that:

> Church extension was only one part of a much wider evangelical social
> policy, providing an overarching moral and religious interpretation of
> the cities' social problems which, from the evangelical point of view,
> were all interrelated products of spiritual failure of the individual.[75]

[72] Mechie, S. (1955) *op.cit.*, p. 137.
[73] MacKenna (1933) *op.cit.*, p. 405.
[74] Brown, C.G. (1997) *op.cit.*, p. 102.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Crucially the majority of accounts approach the subject from a perspective encapsulating extension as part of another picture rather than as worthy of study in its own right. C. Brown's studies, while valuably contributing to the understanding of religion and society in Scotland, by necessity frame church extension as just another interaction between church and community. Mechie's perspective on social policy work to the same effect,[76] while the biographical focus on Chalmers by S.J. Brown (1982), Cheyne[77] and Sefton,[78] amongst many others, inevitably concentrates upon his role and so brings it into full focus. Each account provides another piece of the jigsaw but is limited in scope and fails to offer a complete picture or systematic analysis of church extension *not* as it relates to other topics but as *in itself* a worthy focus. It is with this portion of 'space' that this thesis engages, addressing church extension not as an example of social policy or a product of Chalmers' thought, although both are important aspects, but by uncovering the mixed and multiple historical processes shaping the movement in Glasgow, the motivations and theological and political concerns of those involved, and the interaction with dominant social norms. To do so requires an appreciation of the people involved in church extension, whether by or for whom it was organised, as well as an awareness of the social and political milieu in which the movement took place. This, in turn, necessitates a consideration of the complex relations that developed through the socio-spatial changes taking place from the eighteenth century onwards as new social groups emerged and the balance of civil and ecclesiastical power shifted. This issue will now be addressed in the section that follows.

Church, City and Class

The temporal context of the thesis is bound together with questions of urbanisation and industrialisation, and the new urban politics that were forged through these processes, reshaping relations within and between social groups, in local and national politics, and between the state and the churches. As Morris suggests, the commercial and industrial changes that took hold after 1780 rendered towns more diverse and complex, altering the nature of previous societal relations and resulting in conflict between different, newly establishing social groups whose demands and needs were

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[76] Mechie, S. (1955) *op.cit.*
[77] Cheyne, A.C. (1985) *op.cit.*
[78] Sefton, H. (1985) *op.cit.*

often contradictory.[79] The old authority of paternal aristocracy was increasingly diminished as urban industrial society developed, and the distance between classes was growing geographically, materially and in terms of power. A new élite emerged, made up of those whose wealth and authority derived from and consolidated the changing shape of society. Typically professionals or 'self-made' through trade and industry, they sought to break the closed hierarchy of the urban community and establish themselves as important members of society, able to use their influence for the benefit of their class. To do this involved either supplanting the power base of the old élites, or entering into an unstable alliance with them, with both ways inflected by the specifics of the regions and localities involved. The new economy dramatically affected patterns of employment, prioritising capital and unsettling in the process the relationship between the emergent bourgeoisie and labour. Continued urban growth was to exacerbate these social distinctions.

McLeod identifies the beginnings of these changes at the early period of the industrial revolution in the rural setting where,[80] as C. Brown suggests, modern economic conditions were first experienced, and an increased antagonism developed between rich and poor resulting from population growth.[81] The increased numbers of people put additional pressure on the land, creating a "growing gulf between the large landowner [...] able to profit from cheap labour and rising demand for food, and the growing number of impoverished smallholders and rural labourers,[82] while large farms replaced open fields just as machines replaced labour, concentrating economic power in a few agricultural and industrial hands, and encouraging urban migration. At the same time, the bourgeoisie were rising to dominance in society as more markets were opening and private property was becoming the basis of the economy, creating a new diverse and fragmented élite who would form the basis of the middle class. The growth of cities, largely driven at this time by migration from rural areas, was reinforcing social divides as the poorer were increasingly found in densely built

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[79] Morris, R.J., 'Class, power and social structure in British nineteenth-century towns', in Morris, R.J. (ed.) *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-Century Towns* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986): pp. 2-22.
[80] McLeod, H., *Religion and the People of Western Europe, 1789-1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).
[81] Brown, C.G., 'The mechanisms of religious growth in urban societies', in McLeod, H. (ed.), *European Religion in the Age of Great Cities* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 239-262.
[82] McLeod, H. (1981) *op.cit.*, p. 22.

housing where standards of living were meagre and limited, as the industrialisation and commercialisation of society put additional pressure on demands for land in cities,[83] increasing the dichotomisation between a "large propertyless working class and a small elite of large property owners".[84]

The development of the new urban élite into a coherent middle class, a process that Briggs identified as taking place in England from 1780 until the middle of the nineteenth century,[85] and has been identified by Nenadic as taking place in Scotland around the same time,[86] involved the creation of a common identity and ideology amongst what was a fragmented group made up of individuals of mixed status, and this would prove key to the reshaping of urban society. Nenadic further suggests that to understand the evolution of community and identity within this group, consideration has to be given to their relations with other social groups, namely the landowning élite and the working class, as bourgeoisie thinking and action was framed around the response to both,[87] although in an earlier essay she stresses the importance of recognising material status and economic function, which offers the primary definition through which status, authority and power was held.[88] Kearns and Withers, drawing upon the work of Marx[89] and E.P. Thompson,[90] offer concurrence, proposing that class is a concept that can only be understood in the mutual interactions between groups, in the context of practices and relations through which it is mediated.[91] They suggest that the "construction of communities of interest was a cultural and political process and this was the context in which segregation took its meaning".[92] This is reflected in a slightly different context in Withers' essay on Gaelic chapels, where he shows how churches acted as social and cultural institutions

[83] Dicks, B. (1985) *op.cit.*
[84] McLeod (1981) *op.cit.*, p. 24.
[85] Briggs, A., *The Age of Improvement, 1783-1867* (London: Longman, 1979).
[86] Nenadic, S., 'The rise of the urban middle class', in Devine, T.M. & Mitchison, R. (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland, 1760-1830* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988): pp. 118f.
[87] Nenadic, S., 'The middle ranks and modernisation', in Devine, T.M. & Jackson, G. (eds.), *Glasgow* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995): pp. 278-311.
[88] Nenadic, S. (1988) *op.cit.*, p. 110.
[89] Marx, K., *Capital*, 1896 (trans. Moore & Eveling) F. Engels (ed.), 3rd Edition.
[90] Thompson, E.P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin, 1991).
[91] Kearns, G. & Withers, C.W.J. (eds.), *Urbanising Britain: Essays on Class and Community in the Nineteenth-Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

to create an ethnic identity of migrants, while also reproducing pre-existing class identities within the urban community already divided by status.[93]

Morris, in his account of Leeds, underscores the need for a relational understanding of social groups by explaining the emergence of the middle class as a reaction against threats to the stability of society from both rich and poor, arguing that this rather than capital accumulation was the chief end sought by them.[94] On the one side there was a fear of working-class violence that might endanger the status quo, driven by a lack of education and religion, as well as the changes to the relationship between workers and the needs of capital which had led to the trade union movement. On the other hand was dissatisfaction with the rule of the old élite of upper-middle class and landowners who were closely bound to the state. Nenadic argues similarly, claiming that it was in the seeking of middle-class authority in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that dissatisfaction with the position of other classes within society was reflected, while expressive of an increasingly coherent middle order identity.[95] Innes and Rogers see the beginnings of this process from the 1730s, accelerating during the American war "when a wide range of propertied opinion became disillusioned with the Government's intransigent and increasingly unsuccessful policy",[96] and intensifying by the imposition of income tax and the economic problems that followed the Napoleonic wars. Morris suggests that the rise of a powerful and coherent middle order was thus to oppose those who then still held sway over the workings of the state with the goal of stabilising class relations, seeking to claim this authority for themselves. Representation in the political sphere was vital if middle-class dominance in the cultural, social and economic worlds attached to commerce and industry was to be translated across the whole of society. Municipal government was generally the preserve of a "relatively narrow elite of townsmen",[97] often drawn from the pre-industrial trading community rather than an urban aristocracy, and they were a self-electing oligarchy, increasingly the subject of opposition for holding political and

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[93] Withers, C.W.J., 'Class, culture and migrant identity: Gaelic highlanders in urban lowland Scotland', in Kearns & Withers (1991) *op.cit.*, pp. 55-79.
[94] Morris, R.J., *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
[95] Nenadic, S. (1988) *op.cit.*, pp. 118f.
[96] Innes, J. & Rogers, N., 'Politics and government, 1700-1840', in Clark, P. (ed.) *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol.2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): p. 568.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 538.

religious views at odds with much of the population. Parliament was becoming more powerful and interventionist at the start of the nineteenth century as the balance of power between central and local government was redrawn through the Reform Act and the Municipal Reform Act in the early-1830s. These Acts also served to extend enfranchisement to all male property owners whose annual rent exceeded £10, increasing the number of voters in Glasgow from thirty-three (members of the Council) to seven thousand, but prior to this Parliamentary representation was an exclusive privilege of municipal corporations, and added to the list of critiques that new powers in the urban community offered against the old élites. Increasingly, then, as the city developed, so conflicts of politics intensified between the old and new élites,[98] as the developing middle class sought representation and greater authority. At the same time, caution is needed in assigning a universality to the middle order at this period of formation as it was a greatly diverse group, whether by status – often the lower-middle class was less subservient in attitude towards the old élite than others of their order,[99] with the upper reaches of the bourgeoisie often intent upon imitating the aristocracy above them – or by the clear differences in party politics and religious denomination.[100] Notably too, as Maver identifies, in Glasgow many of the civic leaders already represented on the Council were leading the calls for reform, partly to allow the city greater independence from its neighbouring burghs which, though smaller, under existing arrangements wielded equal authority.[101] As such, there is a need to be alert to local cultural and political geographies, rather than assuming that all elements of the aspiring élite were motivated by the same factors.

A similar demand was found in the religious sphere where the state-supported Established Churches were led by the same ruling élite who stood on a glass ceiling to prevent the newly empowered of the community from asserting control. Trainor, in his study of Black Country élites, shows how conflict developed between the established rulers of the local Church of England, mostly landowners, and a variety of iron-masters and middle-class businessmen who "sought civil equality with [...] [the]

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[98] McLeod, H. (ed.)(1995) *op.cit.*, p. 6.
[99] Morris, R.J. (1990) *op.cit.*, p. 166.
[100] *Ibid*. See also Innes & Rogers (2000) *op.cit.*
[101] Maver, I., 'Politics and power in the Scottish city: Glasgow town council in the nineteenth century', in Devine, T.M. (ed.), *Scottish Elites* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1994): p. 103.

powerful, often arrogant, Anglican élite".[102] In many respects it was a clash between equally powerful figures from different parts of society, as Trainor recognises when he suggests that the presence of the middle orders who had "considerable capital and, in their own circles, social prestige meant that the resentment generated by the Anglicans' privileges and attitudes ignited into a clash between rival elites".[103] The solution for the new élites was found in non-conformity, where, unhindered by existing or state-sanctioned hierarchies, the middle order could claim authority and pursue their interests. This point is echoed by McLeod, who suggests that the attack upon the power and privilege of the establishment instigated by the developing middle class was easily extended to the Established Churches, often ending in adherence to non-conformity.[104] Indeed, McLaren goes so far as to claim that the Disruption of 1843 was the product of friction between such rival élites, as the aspirant bourgeois laity clashed with the established order, finding an outlet of authority in the creation of a new denomination when unable to achieve their objectives through the existing church.[105] Cox offers a cautionary note to such an analysis, albeit from 'south of the border', showing that it was in fact precisely the new urban élite who found allegiance in the Church of England and provided the encouragement and finance that supported revivals in the nineteenth century.[106]

Furthermore, while acknowledging with Morris that religion was bound up with questions of class and politics,[107] in the starkest interpretation of this argument there are dangers of reducing religion to the purely functional, writing over and therefore failing to recognise the deeper questions of belief which may have motivated denominational adherence. Indeed, it would be inconsistent to claim that religion was used solely as a means of securing middle-class authority and not based upon any personal faith, but later to suggest that working-class belief offered a genuine hold over them, unless presuming a substantive difference between both groups. More effective are the subtler interpretations which recognise the commonality between the

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[102] Trainor, R.H., *Black Country Elites: the Exercise of Authority in an Industrialised Area, 1830-1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993): p. 185.
[103] *Ibid*., p. 186.
[104] McLeod, H. (1981) *op.cit.*
[105] MacLaren, A.A., *Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen* (London: Routledge, 1974): pp. 208f.
[106] Cox, J., *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
[107] Morris, R.J. (1986) *op.cit.*, p. 6.

new élites' desire for wider representation and the more democratic system found in ecclesiastical non-conformity which offered motives and ideology supportive of them, as in Seed's account of Unitarianism.[108]

The rise of non-conformity has been considered significant in the reshaping of urban politics, particularly in the implications for the relationship between the Established Churches (of Scotland and England) and the state. In addition to the middle-class support for Dissent outlined above, there was also a sizeable working-class shift from the ecclesiastical establishment, a trend explained as reflecting a general resistance to authority as class resistance intensified and working class culture developed, with Dissent providing a forum where those of a lower station could find responsibility, identity and self-affirmation, and also perhaps seeing non-conformist religion as a provider of hope for the oppressed away from the oppressors.[109] This development was intensified with the growth of the urban community, partly as migration from rural areas (which had a higher proportion of non-conformists) grew and partly as the poorer increasingly became alienated from the rest of the urban community. Relatedly, the Established Churches initially lacked the flexibility of Dissenting denominations to respond to the changes within and the growth of industrialising cities,[110] or indeed found it hard to offer an adequate level of accommodation to the working classes because much was given over to the élite.[111] The implication, alongside the changes wrought by the events across the Channel which Ashton identifies as a turning-point in the understanding of religion as a part of the public sphere in Europe,[112] was to loosen the bonds between church and state, transforming Established Churches in the popular imagination into denominations like any other, rather than being the 'natural' system of religion, a change of mindset that opened the ecclesiastical as an arena where class conflict could be played out.[113] Dissent became a louder voice and began to seek authority, causing the Government to offer

[108] Seed, J., 'Theologies of power: Unitarianism and the social relations of religious discourse', in Morris, R.J. (1986) *op.cit.*, pp. 108-156.
[109] Brown, C.G. (1985) *op.cit.*; McLeod, H. (1981) *op.cit.*; Thompson, E.P. (1991) *op.cit.*; Hobsbawm, E., *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964).
[110] Brown, C.G. (1995) *op.cit.*; McLeod, H. (1981) *op.cit.*
[111] Machin, G.I.T., *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832 to 1868* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).
[112] Aston, N., *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe, c.1750-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
[113] Brown, C.G. (1995) *op.cit.*

concessions through legislated tolerance. Machin identifies this increasing non-conformist power with the new urban élites' opposition to the existing authorities, proposing that:

> Dissent had greater potency than mere numbers would indicate, owing to the fact that its urban leaders, whether of old mercantile or new manufacturing stock, attained great wealth and a high social station. Dissenters came to form a good proportion of the urban élite and often competed with the landowners on political and commercial grounds. In the towns, therefore, Nonconformity obtained political and social strength from the possession of an upper crust and a concentrated following.[114]

In other ways religion played an important part in the development of middle-class consciousness, ideology and identity, consolidating the position of the middle orders within society. Nenadic, for example, identifies evangelical religion as one of the "essential elements in the making of the middle class".[115] Seed's account of the middle orders within Unitarianism is a touchstone in this regard. He suggests that the denomination offered specific social and ideological functions by providing a local and national network of people of similar belief and status, allowing them a space for social intercourse and integration into wider political and social life.[116] In addition, the dominant denominational theology recognised wealth as divinely-ordained, but carrying with it a duty towards others, thus justifying prosperity and the means of achieving it, but also giving authority to schemes for helping the more lowly within society. Seed places particular emphasis upon "the role of religious discourse and practice in constructing and reinforcing specific social values and specific patterns of social relations",[117] indicating how Unitarianism offered its middle-class members a set of meanings that confirmed their values, expressed their aspirations and legitimised their social position.

Discourse was also reinforced by practice, as congregations and other networks within the denomination remained riven along the class division of the wider community as "informal networks of social contacts [...] , despite the rhetoric of community and brethren [sic.], did reproduce the wider social barriers between different strata".[118]

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[114] Machin, G.I.T. (1977) *op.cit.*, p. 10.
[115] Nenadic, S. (1988) *op.cit.*, p. 124.
[116] Seed, J. (1986) *op.cit.*
[117] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Social intercourse between classes was rare, and attending worship further legitimised social differentiation, as status was reflected and reinforced by where in the sanctuary a person could afford to sit, a claim that finds concurrence elsewhere.[119] This claim echoes Trainor's conviction that religion "assisted the more general social strategies of well-off religious leaders",[120] with churches and chapels provided by the élite considered as tools which "symbolised and reinforced the existing social structure"[121] by encouraging deference amongst the working class to their masters, and establishing a close relationship between work and faith, a trend also recognised in Seed's analysis. Joyce, meanwhile, suggests that chapels "were as much social and political centres as religious ones",[122] strengthening the hierarchy of the factory by placing the owner on the highest strata of the social scale. Furthermore, he argues that this process emphasised the values of the élite, as regular church attendance and acceptance of the values promoted therein was, for those of a lower order, considered necessary for security of employment. This was not only the case in non-conformist denominations. As Cox shows, "new urban as well as old rural élites [...] regarded the Church of England as a useful social institution [...] and upheld churchgoing as a model of social responsibility for the deferential farther down the social scale".[123] Religion was therefore important to middle-class formation as a means of establishing them in their own and in the eyes of others as authoritative and associated with a particular set of values, in addition to providing a social context for interaction. Thus, as Seed comments, religion "was a crucial nexus of class formation among the middle class".[124]

Another important aspect of this, reflective of the pattern of secular politics and the stratification of wider society, was that in both Established and non-conformist churches where an élite existed within a congregation and denomination,[125] it was they who were inevitably involved in church government at the local level, regardless

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[119] Brown, C.G. (1987) *op.cit.*; MacDonald, F., 'Towards a spatial theory of worship: Some observations from Presbyterian Scotland', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 3 (2002), pp. 61-80.
[120] Trainor, R. (1993) *op.cit.*, p. 184.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 183.
[122] Joyce, P., *Work, Society and Politics* (Aldershot: Gregg Revivals, 1991), p. 174
[123] Cox, J. (1982) *op.cit.*, p. 5.
[124] Seed, J. (1986) *op.cit.*, p. 146.
[125] By 'denomination', I refer to a group of individuals untied by shared doctrinal statements and form of ecclesiastical governance, with some form of organisation and commonality, often defined against that of other such groups.

of the congregational make-up, thus establishing their authority within another sphere. Trainor notes that the Black Country élites "did much to shape congregational life", as "socially diverse congregations [were] directed by lay élites who were heterogeneous but largely drawn from middle-middle and upper-middle classes",[126] with wealthy professionals and industrialists fulfilling roles of trusteeship and management. In the Scottish context MacLaren suggests that the constitution of Kirk Sessions reflected the middle class dominance of congregations,[127] with the Established Church courts invariably made up of the old élites and the Dissenters usually drawn from the aspiring middle classes. Hillis contests MacLaren's claim that it was the middle orders alone who were involved in church life by showing that the membership was in fact drawn from all sections of society, albeit that the ecclesiastical hierarchy was dominated by and unevenly skewed towards the élite.[128] Seed suggests that the precise make-up of the élite within a congregation varied according to the local situation, but that whether merchants, traders or professionals, the middle class formed "the directing élite and it was their influence which shaped the whole ethos of these particular chapels".[129] They also wielded a large influence over the clergy, who, in Dissenting congregations, were dependent upon the moneyed (who provided funds for their stipend) for their position, and so the social power of the élite, whether indirectly or otherwise, often shaped the ideological principles espoused in the pulpit to reflect their conceptions of society and appropriate behaviour. Smith describes a similar trend in chapels constructed by local élites or by means of voluntary subscriptions.[130] As such, as Seed concludes in a comment that could be extended beyond Unitarianism to other denominations:

> [W]hat was crucial in the shaping of the social meanings of Unitarianism was not just the social constituency of its membership as a whole [...] but precisely which sections of that membership had the determining role. The values that were legitimised in such congregations were, in other words, a function of institutional power.[131]

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[126] Trainor, R. (1993) *op.cit.*, p. 180.

[127] MacLaren, A.A. (1974) *op.cit.*, pp. 216f.

[128] Hillis, P., 'Presbyterianism and social class in mid-nineteenth century Glasgow: a study of nine churches', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32 (1981), pp. 47-64; Hillis, P., 'Church and society in Aberdeen and Glasgow, c.1800-c.2000', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 53 (2002), pp. 707-734.

[129] Seed, J. (1986) *op.cit.*, p. 129.

[130] Smith, M., *Religion in Industrial Society: Oldham and Saddleworth, 1740-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

[131] Seed, J. (1986) *op.cit.*, p. 145.

Religion was thus clearly important in the development of the middle class, and Morris suggests that voluntary societies, like those involved with the promotion of church extension and many of which found origin in religious or denominational motives, were useful in further pulling together a class still fragmented by wealth, status, party and sect by providing a space for common responsibility and action, where uniform expression reinforced their authority, social stability was ensured and the control of property secured.[132] This argument is echoed by Nenadic, who, in her study of élites in Glasgow, identifies voluntary societies and other similar institutions as offering influence to the middle class in areas beyond the control of local government but which still impacted upon the city as a whole, reinforcing their claim to dominance.[133] Furthermore, she suggests that the aims of these organisations often reflected middle-class fears of a moral or physical threat to the city, while their administration was based around values of democracy that were characteristic of the group, as well as providing a space where social and business networks could be developed and ideologies constructed to achieve social order. By establishing a line of connection and commonality from the upper to lower echelons of the group, there was "asserted a middle-class identity across the whole membership",[134] liberating a "power derived from an ability to express the fragmented and uncertain identity".[135] This also allowed the élite leadership to "counter some of the divisive structural problems [...] [of] urban politics",[136] introducing, for instance, the potential for those of lower-middle status to take leadership of the radical movement. That voluntary societies were often national, with local societies set up in association, added to the development of a single class consciousness nationwide. Furthermore, as Morris adds, voluntary societies provided a clear sense of middle-class superiority, empowering their authority to act, while mediating élite values to the lower orders. In this way, such societies were vital in consolidating the middle order while allowing them to forge a place of authority with the wider community and over the poorest in society.

By outlining the emergence of a diverse, fragmented middle class and their subsequent search for authority and coherence, this section has sought to show how

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[132] Morris, R.J. (1990) *op.cit.*, pp. 249f.
[133] Nenadic, S. (1995) *op.cit.*, pp. 292f.
[134] Morris, R.J. (1990) *op.cit.*, p. 260.
[135] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[136] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

spheres beyond the establishment, such as (non-conformist) churches and voluntary societies, were important in providing the emergent bourgeoisie with a space where a common identity and ideology could be cultivated. Church extension, a movement that was religious in outlook and voluntary in organisation, can be seen to offer such a space. That the bourgeois demand for authority derived from fears of social instability – indeed, that this fear provided coherence and direction for the middle class – links with arguments made earlier in this chapter where it is suggested that church extension could be portrayed as a form of social policy. As devising social policy implies that something needs policed, so, therefore, did the suggestion that the city, and the working class in particular, was becoming alienated from religion highlight irreligion as a form of deviance in need of control. The strength and accuracy of this claim of irreligion and the ability of the bourgeois to act upon it, raises various questions concerning the thesis of secularisation that has become the orthodox way of thinking about religion within the nineteenth century city, and is addressed in the next section.

Secularisation

The call for church extension was premised upon the concern of an ecclesiastical group that society was growing at a pace apart from the Church; or, to frame this from another perspective, that there were too few churches for the size of the population, and the working class were moving away from religious ordinances. It is in this context that urban religion in the nineteenth century can be interpreted through the lens of secularisation, positing the industrial world and urban society in particular as set on an inexorable path of religious decline. This is an especially relevant concept for a consideration of church extension, a movement that was itself predicated upon the fear of those involved in the early- to mid-nineteenth century church that too many people were not attending religious ordinances. Furthermore, this issue gains extra relevance from the *shared* fears of those involved in 'extensionism' and critics of secularisation that it was the working classes who were most alienated.

As C. Brown suggests, the secularisation thesis has been the dominant means of understanding religion in industrial society over the past two hundred years.[137] A

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[137] Brown, C.G. (2001) *op.cit.*, p. 2f.

much-contested theory, any clear definition stumbles upon disagreement over first principles of what secularisation is and means, and what is understood by the term 'religion', but despite these difficulties a set of common strands can be identified. An initial point is that there has been a shift from the original formation of the concept of secularisation, which specified the displacement of responsibilities once belonging to the Church towards the state, to one reviewing and perhaps critiquing a wider ideological shift within society from the religious to the non-religious. Wallis and Bruce,[138] in keeping with most contemporary interpretations, follow Wilson[139] to understand secularisation not to mean the decline of religion *per se,* in real terms of, say, declining membership or decreasing faith, but as "the diminishing social significance of religion".[140] In this respect the secularisation thesis conceives less of the disappearance of religion but rather of its objectification, suggesting that it will play a lesser role within civil and personal life worlds, instead becoming an increasingly personal thing, a choice rather than an obligation. Adherence to a spiritual code in a secular world is, it is claimed, a personal decision rather than an act of obedience, as supernaturalism gives way to the practice of religion and the force of spirituality is superseded by the force of materiality. As Wallis and Bruce argue, it is "the claim of the secularisation thesis that religious belief and practice will tend to become more individualised, fragmented, and privatised".[141] Cox, meanwhile, extends this analysis to see modern society as removing social function from the ecclesiastical sphere and encouraging a pluralism which, in the British context, competes with a Christian worldview, but he also identifies that many scholars offer a less nuanced interpretation by suggesting that "religion is, or soon will be, a merely marginal phenomenon in all advanced industrial societies".[142] This claim is moderated by Green, who argues that "religious faith [will] continue [...] to be important in the lives of many religious persons. But neither as a social institution nor as a body of legitimising beliefs was it, or could it ever be again, socially significant".[143]

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[138] Wallis, R. & Bruce, S., 'Secularisation: the orthodox model', in Bruce, S. (ed.), *Religion and Modernisation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992): pp. 8-22.
[139] Wilson, B.R., *Religion in the Secular Society* (London: Watts, 1966).
[140] Wallis & Bruce (1992) *op.cit.*, p. 11.
[141] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[142] Cox (1982) *op.cit.*, p. 11.
[143] Green, S.J.D. (1996) *op.cit.*, p. 7.

The cause of this, it is commonly held, is the modernisation of society. C. Brown argues that the modern world is traditionally understood to have robbed religion of its foundations within society, having "destroyed both the community foundations of the church and the psychological foundations of a universal religious world-view. Secularisation, it is traditionally argued, was the handmaiden of modernisation, pluralisation, urbanisation and Enlightenment rationality".[144] McLeod echoes this interpretation, proposing that in orthodox accounts modernisation is placed at the heart of an increasingly secular world,[145] while Cox goes further, claiming that secularisation is considered to be "the religious counterpart of the theory of modernisation".[146] Wallis and Bruce concur, and offer three processes which explain how the coming of the modern world affected the place of religion within society, although not all of which are required for secularisation to take place.[147] The first, social differentiation, is a two-pronged process whereby social tasks that previously were within the ecclesiastical realm become spread amongst different societal groups, usually, like air rushing to fill a vacuum, moving from sacred to secular institutions. At the same time, the fragmentation of society into different classes subverts pre-modern conceptions of a single moral universe, fracturing relations within the increasingly divided community and increasing the gap between the religious and the non-religious. The second process, societalisation, was first identified by Wilson,[148] and follows on closely from the first. It suggests that the changes brought by the modern industrial world upon the shape of communal relations – changing from small, often rural, paternalised communities wherein classes live in closely bound relationships, to the anonymous and stereotypically urban societies based upon capital accumulation – erodes the concept of a shared moral order that is necessary for religion to take hold, as society relies "more on the utilisation of efficient technical means of eliciting and monitoring appropriate behaviour".[149] As a result, religious systems, which claim this universality, become privatised and individualised.

The third claim relates to the rationalisation of the world that is said to develop from modernisation, and offers perhaps the most significant explanation. Berger, for

[144] Brown, C.G. (2001) *op.cit.*, p. 10.
[145] McLeod, H. (1995)) *op.cit.*
[146] Cox, J. (1982)) *op.cit.*, p. 10.
[147] Wallis & Bruce (1992) *op.cit.*
[148] Wilson, B.R. (1966) *op.cit.*
[149] Wallis & Bruce (1992) *op.cit.*, p. 13.

instance, argues that the rationalisation implicit within any industrial society is the cause of the move to secularise,[150] as Gilbert also recognises[151] and McLeod positions as central to hegemonic interpretations of the secular world.[152] Underpinning this argument, which develops from Weber's original formulation on the rational foundation of modern society, is the claim that how people think and act within the West is based upon a Judaeo-Christian conception of a transcendental and monotheistic God, a mindset that encourages a view of the world as secular, and hence open to rational enquiry. This, Wallis and Bruce suggest, resulted in the rationalisation of theology, which in turn allowed the rationalisation of other areas of life, including the pursuit of technology, to provide a sense of understanding of the world and reducing uncertainty,[153] thus, as Cox describes it, after Weber, 'disenchanting' and undermining any broader religious system which offers meaning, so causing the decline of religious values and institutions.[154] Gilbert extends this argument, suggesting that the material improvements brought by modern society further widened the gap with those of a previous age who had less material security.[155] Drawing upon a Weberian understanding of religiosity as a product of circumstances, he suggests that "the rationality and comparative material security of society as a whole offers sufficient insulation from these transcendental issues to produce a popular consciousness for which religious beliefs and their values retain little of their traditional authenticity". McLeod frames things slightly differently, arguing that the urban-industrial world, in its implicit objectifying of the natural, removes the perceived need for supernatural assistance, as a mechanised economy relies upon understandable and controllable human factors rather than divine whim.[156]

As is implicit throughout such an account of secularisation, the theory is closely aligned to urbanisation, as has been recognised by C. Brown[157] and McLeod amongst others,[158] with C. Brown suggesting that this relationship is built upon two

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[150] Berger, P.L., *The Social Reality of Religion* (London: Faber, 1969).
[151] Gilbert, A.D., *Religion and Society in Industrial England* (London: Longman, 1976).
[152] McLeod, H. (1995) *op.cit.*, p. 10.
[153] Wallis & Bruce (1992) *op.cit.*
[154] Cox, J. (1982) *op.cit.*, pp. 8f.
[155] Gilbert, A.D. (1976) *op.cit.*, p. 186.
[156] McLeod, H. (1981) *op.cit.*, pp. 26f.
[157] Brown, C.G., 'The mechanism of religious growth in urban societies', in McLeod, H. (1995) *op.cit.*, pp. 239-262.
[158] McLeod, H. (1995) *op.cit.*

interlocking discourses that posit the growth of the industrial city in the nineteenth century as the cause of the decline in religion, and the working classes within cities and small towns as the most alienated from churches.[159] Both of these claims, he suggests, developed from a dichotomisation that took place in the late-eighteenth century that saw the rural as a pre-industrial and holy place, and the urban as the industrial, heathen wasteland[160]. Aside from the symbolic relevance of this distinction and the implicit binarisation, as Brown[161] following Cox[162] notes, it is also revealing in how it establishes a clear link between secularisation and social change, rather than understanding religious decline as the effect of changes in the intellectual climate, a position that Gilbert outlines,[163] while perceiving religiosity to be environmentally determinable to some degree. As Green points out, the connection between secularisation and modernisation reflected in urbanisation has deep roots in sociological theory, with the transformation to modern society being identified with the emergence of the structural differentiation of society.[164] Deliberately echoing Tönnies' distinction between 'community' and 'society', Green argues that, while there is disagreement over the precise nature of this differentiation, there is consensus over its immediate impact:

> Structural differentiation emphasised the fundamental separation of
> different types of human activity, ensuring that work, family, education
> and religion, which had once been intimately bound up with each other
> in the life of self-sufficient *communities*, evolved into separate
> activities, staffed by specialised personnel, and discretely practised in
> complex *societies*.[165]

In this analysis, the emergence of modern society will inevitably lead to secularisation, providing a bedrock upon which discourses associating the urban and the secular are founded.

The dual specifications of the unholy urban and the alienated working class are, as C. Brown recognises, fundamental tenets of the 'pessimistic' histories of religious decline which interpret the world as being on a teleological path of increasing and

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[159] Brown, C.G. (2001) *op.cit.*, pp. 18f.
[160] For a discussion of this within the context of Glasgow, see Lafferty (2003) (unpublished).
[161] Brown, C.G. (1995) *op.cit.*
[162] Cox, J. (1982) *op.cit.*
[163] Gilbert, A.D. (1976) *op.cit.*
[164] Green, S.J.D. (1996) *op.cit.*
[165] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

inevitable secularism from the emergence of modern cities to the present day.[166] This view was for a long time held as orthodox, finding voice as early as the nineteenth century in Engels' studies of Manchester, where he claimed that religion did not exist for the urban working class,[167] or Molesworth's description of the alienation of the poor,[168] and continues in influential recent accounts, including Wickham's study which found low working class religiosity in Sheffield[169] and Inglis' interpretation that explained this phenomenon by reference to the complicity of churches in the cause of capitalism.[170] These ideas retain contemporary currency and continue to provide the basis of analysis in, for example, Martin,[171] Wilson[172] and Chadwick[173], amongst others.

Precise interpretations of this pessimistic approach differ, but each stresses the fundamental and inevitable decline of religion within urban society with the onset of industrialisation. While latterly some accounts have taken into consideration the periods of revival and religious growth that critics note as marking the nineteenth century, such moments are generally explained as short-term aberrations largely irrelevant to the longer-term relentless development of a secular world. Gilbert, for example, suggests that religious fortunes can be explained either in terms of short-lived revivals, or through competition between the Established Churches and eruptions of Dissent, with the latter being evidence of secularising processes which relieve the state's hold upon religion.[174] Wallis and Bruce accept that modernisation, in opening greater links between the core and periphery – in a geographical sense and in reference to those at the centre and edges of society[175] – encourages the centre to spread its values, thus potentially resulting in short-term religious growth, but again, within the context of long-term decline.[176] Religious growth in urban areas, including

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[166] Brown, C.G. (2001) *op.cit.*, p. 10.
[167] Engels, F., *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1936).
[168] Molesworth, W.N., *The History of England from the year 1830-1874* (London: 1874).
[169] Wickham, E.R., *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957).
[170] Inglis, K.S., *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge, 1963).
[171] Martin, D.A., *A General Theory of Secularisation* (Oxford: Blackwood, 1978).
[172] Wilson, B.R., *Religion in Sociological Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).
[173] Chadwick, O., *The Secularisation of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
[174] Gilbert, A.D. (1976) *op.cit.*, pp. 162f.
[175] See Shils, E., *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macro-Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975): pp. 3-16.
[176] Wallis & Bruce (1992) *op.cit.*

the likes of church extension, can thereby be treated as the exception to prove the rule of relentless secularisation. This school of thought also found consensus with Marxist scholars, who, as McLeod notes, took the perceived religious alienation of the poor and increasing secularisation as a reflection of a growing working-class consciousness.[177] Presumably, however, those adopting this perspective on 'the Left' would not consider it to be pessimistic, but the means through which the proletariat became 'self-conscious' and aware of its oppression, as a necessary precursor to the emergence of class-based solidarity movements.

Contesting such claims, an 'optimistic' school has emerged which is unconvinced by the central doctrine of the pessimists that the urban is inherently irreligious, and seeks instead to reconfigure the concept of secularisation. This approach has been based upon new theoretical arguments and empirical evidence which appear to contradict many of the earlier claims, with some adherents of the new approach nearly going to the opposite extreme, suggesting that, contrary to the deterministic argument that the city is innately unholy, "the city does not prevent people from being religious [...] religion appears to thrive, not expire, in crowding and density".[178] Cox[179] and C. Brown,[180] for instance, have led the charge by opposing the notion of inexorable and inevitable religious decline, arguing that, on the one hand, constant recourse to secularisation masks the consideration of how religion became translated to the modern world, while, on the other, increasingly accounts are suggesting that the period of supposed decline in the nineteenth century is in fact one of growth, and a time when social status was closely aligned to religious adherence. Cox comments that those who would explain this development in terms of secularisation are "forced to resort to convoluted and sometimes unintelligible metaphors".[181] McLeod, meanwhile, points to the uncritical use of evidence supplied by the nineteenth-century middle class as fundamental to the pessimistic accounts of working class irreligiosity, proposing instead that "the working class had their own different, but equally valid

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[177] McLeod, H. (1995) *op.cit.*, p. 10.
[178] Cox, H., *Religion in the Secular City: Toward a Post-Modern Theology* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984): pp. 80f.
[179] Cox, J. (1982) *op.cit.*
[180] Brown, C.G. (1992) *op.cit.*
[181] Cox, J. (1982) *op.cit.*, p. 11.

approach to religion",[182] a claim that Williams,[183] Obelkevich[184] and Roberts[185] have evidenced in different ways, introducing conceptions of religious belief that are alien to previous accounts. C. Brown takes this point further, claiming that the predominance of secularisation, in spite of evidence to the contrary which suggests the continued strength and influence of the churches during the period in question, was thanks mainly to "the script-writing talents of a predominantly bourgeois intellectual triumvirate: the cleric, the intellectual and the historian",[186] with the industrial worker being silenced. The optimists, then, see the urban not as unfailingly unholy, but as a place where religiosity was possible and had been high at various times in the nineteenth century, a potential new ground for revival. C. Brown,[187] Cox[188] and McLeod[189] hence all seek to resist and to revise the pessimistic perspective, recognising the significance of religion in the industrial city while stressing the continuities that existed between this world and rural settlements. Meanwhile, Hillis,[190] Roberts[191] and Yeo[192] show that the working class formed the majority of churchgoers in city congregations, thereby piercing a hole in a fundamental principle of the pessimist argument. Given, however, that the majority of the population were drawn from that group yet they formed a lower comparative proportion of the congregations, the relevance of this claim is perhaps questionable. In any event, the optimistic claim is not that the secularisation thesis is inherently wrong, but that the timing of it should be pushed back from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the end.

Yet C. Brown reveals a change of heart which moves the debate beyond the schools of either the pessimists or optimists to question the concept of secularisation on the ground of discourse, adopting a post-structuralist critique of the central claims of

[182] McLeod, H., *Religion and the Working Class in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: MacMillan, 1984): p. 11.
[183] Williams, S., 'Urban popular religion and the rites of passage', in McLeod, H. (1995) *op.cit.*
[184] Obelkevich, J., *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsay, 1825-1875* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).
[185] Roberts, E.A.M., *Working-Class Barrow and Lancaster, 1890-1940* (Lancaster: University of Lancaster, 1976).
[186] Brown, C.G. (199) *op.cit.*, p. 241.
[187] Brown, C.G. (1987) *op.cit.*
[188] Cox, J. (1982) *op.cit.*
[189] McLeod, H., 'New perspectives on Victorian class religion: the oral evidence', *Oral History*, 14 (1986), pp. 31-49.
[190] Hillis, P. (1981) *op.cit.*
[191] Roberts, E. (1976) *op.cit.*
[192] Yeo, S., *Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis* (London: Croom Helm, 1976).

pessimists, while being equally scornful of the revisionist optimists for whom he had once batted.[193] This critique is based partly upon empirical evidence which points to clear church growth in the mid-twentieth century, but more fundamentally upon a dissatisfaction with members from both sides of the debate who continue to err by treating secularisation according to its own terms: namely, upon the grounds of the hegemonic discursive territory of social science tools and definitions which are a product of an Enlightenment mindset that, making use of an empirical rationalism, relegates religion to an object by focussing on the quantifiable at the expense of meaning, and hence dichotomising people into categories of 'religious' or 'non-religious'. C. Brown suggests that this approach is inappropriate, as the "social science method obliterates whole realms of religiosity which cannot be counted",[194] while, adopting a Foucauldian perspective on the production of the secularisation discourse, he argues that the various forms of contemporary evidence that were produced to empower this discourse were fundamentally judgemental, "laced with a medley of prejudices about poverty and prosperity, social class and ethnicity, religious bigotry, and the nature of belief or unbelief",[195] contributing to the legitimisation of Enlightenment narratives of rationality and the hierarchy of knowledge, instead objectifying religion as something to be quantified, detailed and understood. The purpose of his critique is not to eradicate the concept of secularisation, but to detach it from a stifling social science methodology that identifies religion by its role within society, whether institutionally, as an evangelising body, or as an agent in shaping societal ideas or acting within the civil world. Instead, the proposal is to recognise the meaning of religion that is found within a wider discursive Christianity resting 'beneath' society, the decay of which is necessary for the occurrence of secularisation, but which acts as the foundation of religiosity. In a sense, this claim builds upon an earlier critique of the pessimistic approach by Smith, who hints at how the difficulty for the historian in measuring internal faith explains the emphasis upon quantification and narratives of religious decline.[196]

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[193] Brown, C.G. (2001) *op.cit.*, pp. 11f.
[194] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[195] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[196] Smith, M. (1994) *op.cit.*, p. 4.

Central to this critique is the concept of discourse as developed within a Foucauldian analysis.[197] For Foucault, discourses are collections of statements (of one form or another) which, being referential of each other and containing an internal logic, serve to both interpret the world and to shape it as a form of knowledge and a system of rationality. They are produced, he suggests, by the words and thoughts of supposed 'experts' (often self-regarded), whose statements work through a series of levels: that of the object spoken of, the context in which the statement is spoken, the concepts through which the object is imagined, and the intellectual themes by which the object is understood. Discourses filter through a variety of disparate contexts, existing in and through "a hypothetical space occupied by speeches and sayings, academic papers and books, imaginative novels and poems, governmental publications, and all manner of other productions",[198] and as such have an ontological, material reality. Equally, as arguments which construct understandings of the real, they have a historical effectivity in so far as they 'programme' the real, and thus have productive effects, impacting upon events and actions made by seemingly autonomous agents.

Importantly, C. Brown suggests that the academic theory of secularisation developed directly from the new power relations established at the beginning of urban, industrial society, when members of the establishment – religious, political and social élites – identified what they perceived to be an increasing threat to the social hierarchy that was closely associated with irreligiosity. Drawing upon similar arguments about the role of élites in the early nineteenth century city, this argument can perhaps be related to attempts by the new middle class to establish themselves as influential figures within the community, being concerned especially with such threats in regard to the working classes. C. Brown places particular emphasis upon the role of the clergy, echoing Cox's suggestion of a deep-seated clerical fear that the Established Churches would not survive in an ecclesiastical free market that led directly to the formulation of the secularisation thesis,[199] in part since, "[l]ike no other profession, the clergy of Britain were the first to engage with the theoretical and practical problems of urbanity

[197] For his clearest statement on the nature of discourse, see Foucault, M., *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2002). For a critical commentary on Foucault's position, see Philo, C.P., 'Thoughts, words and "creative locational acts"', in Boal, F.W. & Livingstone, D.N., *The Behavioural Environment: Essays in Reflection, Application and Re-Evaluation* (London: Routledge, 1989): pp. 205-234.
[198] Philo, C.P. (1989) *op.cit.*, p. 217.
[199] Cox, J. (1982) *op.cit.*

and the human condition".[200] Again, this bears comparison with Foucault's conception of the role of 'serious speech acts' in contributing to the production of discourses, with the clergy and other 'expert' witnesses of ecclesiastical authority performing a vital role in the construction of the secularisation thesis by lending to the cause their pens and their pulpits, and thus their authority as enshrined not only by the Church but also, they would claim, by the divine. Noting the key role of Chalmers in popularising both the narrative of the unholy city and the social-scientific techniques through which this could be recorded and 'proved', C. Brown suggests that this amalgam "became a central tenet of the British churches in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries [...] [and] one of the enduring principles of social science itself".[201] As such, the roots of secularisation (as an idea with powerful implications) can be seen as a product of an elite, wrought by a set of social fears and ideals predicated upon the changing power relations being shaped by urbanisation and industrialisation. Ironically, in this sense secularisation can also be seen as the product of modernisation, but in a very different way than is claimed in pessimistic accounts.

C. Brown's claims are not unproblematic, however, as the same argument about the location of secularisation as a theory could be turned back upon itself, and the discourses of religiosity identifiable in and under such multifarious texts considered as manifestations of post-modern social science that no more get close to the identification of faith than do the statistics which it attempts to subvert. Nevertheless, by the theoretical move that he proposes, C. Brown allows for claims of religious decline to be recognised as discursive, and the various 'facts' and evidence drawn upon to support such statements as not neutral measures but contextual, based upon particular perspectives of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was the means of achieving an authoritative voice within a context where such evidence was required; or, as Brown argues, this "mass of 'evidence' gave secularisation theory its discursive power in the age of Enlightenment rationality".[202] His subsequent interpretation seeks to recover this discursive Christianity rather than measurable levels of adherence, thus focussing upon the meaning of the faith as opposed to its functional role within society, uncovering feminine voices which were written out of traditional accounts,

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[200] Brown, C.G. (2001) *op.cit.*, p. 20.
[201] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[202] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

and suggesting that the erosion of this discursivity and the resulting decline in Christianity's social significance – the moment when secularisation can really be said to have started – was not until the 1960s.

The merits of these broader claims are beyond the realm of this thesis, but the manoeuvre of detaching the 'facts' of secularisation from any ground of absolute being opens a space from which the claims of church extension can be treated discursively. This is not to reject the accuracy of reports of churchgoing or levels of accommodation any more that it is to comment upon the merits of narratives supporting secularisation, as neither is the real concern. Rather, it is to consider how such discourses were formed, how they gained authority, and what this reveals of the power relations within the community, uncovering in the process contemporary ideas on the role and function of religion within society. Importantly, this allows the secularisation debate to be cast in a new light, away from the optimists and pessimists whose focus on the 'when' and 'whether' occludes the reasons of why and how a discourse of secularisation was (and maybe continues to be) constructed within a particular social context. By opening this space, C. Brown provides a conceptual framework through which the claims of those arguing for church extension can be examined, offering in the process an insight into the social relations that allowed these ideas to become translated into practice, since it was the identification of social problems – or, more accurately, the thought framework within which problems were identified and conceived – that both determined the shape of its solution and revealed the form of society that was being sought. This link between the conceiving of problems of irreligiosity and immorality, on the one hand, and the nature of the proposed solutions, on the other, will be considered in the next section.

Moral Geographies, Power and Discipline

Hand in hand with fears over the spiritual decay of the urban environment went concerns of morality: worries that church extensionists were not alone in sharing. Their attempts to impose a spiritual and moral order upon the city by changing its geographies were matched by other attempts to cleanse and purify the city for various moral and physical reasons. Numerous accounts within the geographical literature have looked at some of these attempts made by nineteenth-century urban investigators

to map the 'problematic' spaces of the city, and to detail the various means devised to improve the urban environment and the people within it. In so doing, they utilise similar arguments on discourse as made by Brown. A valuable contribution is made by Driver, who, describing what he calls 'moral geographies', offers a reminder that the growth of Victorian investigations into the city were closely aligned with movements for urban reform, with the findings of the social investigators of the period often providing the basis for the ameliorative responses offered.[203] Social science, he claims, was at once constituted upon scientific analysis and a particular moral perspective. Of course, as is recognised elsewhere, the definition of what constitutes a social problem and the method of resolving it is intimately bound up with a judgement of what forms appropriate behaviour and an acceptable standard from the perspective of the observer, implicating that observer with a charge of authority,[204] extending the Foucauldian analysis that Driver draws upon. To claim what is right and wrong is only a step away from seeking to enforce that judgement, a move that implies a desire to protect or to (re)create the social order that is demanded by the observer.

More specifically, Driver identifies 'environmentalism' as the central discourse of the nineteenth-century urban investigators.[205] Derived from diverse tropes of Victorian social science, sanitary science and medical geography, this equated certain landscapes with particular ways of life, moral and physical problems included, while eschewing previously orthodox theories of (person-to-person) contagionism. Environmentalism, as Kearns describes, "underlines the new ecological relations that big cities create among large groups of people and between them and their natural environments".[206] This discourse presumed that the social and physical milieu of any community was fundamental to its patterns of living, and to the health and moral fibre of its residents, correlating factors like low provision of natural light and obstructions to the free circulation of air with disease and immorality, mapping the moral and

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[203] Driver, F., 'Moral geographies: social science and the urban environment in mid-nineteenth century England', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 13 (1988): pp. 275-287.
[204] Driver, F., *Power and pauperism: the workhouse system, 1834-1884* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
[205] Driver, F. (1988) *op.cit.*, pp. 277f.
[206] Kearns, G., 'Zivilis or hygaeia: urban public health and the epidemiologic transition', in Lawton, R. (ed.), *The Rise and Fall of Great Cities: Aspects of Urbanisation in the Western World* (London: Belhaven, 1989): pp. 96-125.

bodily health of a population according to its physical state. Particular places came to represent danger and were perceived as threats, and it was there that reformers saw their duty to reorganise the physical layout of the community as a means of improving the environmental conditions, with the densely-packed slums considered to be of especial concern. Kearns shows the strength of this discourse within the arena of medicine and public health by outlining the various responses to outbreaks of disease such as cholera,[207] but Driver emphasises that this was equally so for those concerned with social mores.[208] Underlining this, Kearns notes that the behaviour of disease was not considered to be ethically neutral but reflective of the moral basis of the community, thus establishing a clear link between moral and physical health.[209] Where a person's immediate surroundings were dark, dirty and crowded, it was thought that their existence would be at the same level, tainted by the close residence of the immoral, beyond the example of 'civilised' life. Resultantly, as the same causes were attributed to physical and spiritual decay, so places of disease came to be seen as places of immorality, with criminality associated with poverty, and bodily and moral decline understood as one and the same.

Whereas the classic response to contagionism was quarantine, the physical separation of bodies to prevent the transmission of illness,[210] the emergence of environmentalism as the dominant discourse of medical (and social) science in the 1800s demanded a different, but still fundamentally spatial response as a means of improvement, predicated upon the quite different understandings of how disease – whether moral or physical – was spread. In an environmentalist framework, improvement could only be achieved by the manipulation of the environment within which people lived, thus requiring alterations to the architectural infrastructure, the road layout, house furnishings, and so on, intervening at all scales to impact upon the immediate material milieu, rather than impacting directly upon people themselves.[211] If it was thought that the unsanitary conditions of dirt and filth were the cause of problems, then the solution obviously lay in the removal of this unsanitary material and the promotion instead of a cleaner environment where light replaced darkness, fresh water washed

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[207] Kearns, G., 'Private property and public health reform in England 1830-1870', *Social Science and Medicine*, 26 (1988): pp. 187-199.
[208] Driver, F. (1988) *op.cit.*, pp. 276f.
[209] Kearns, G. (1988) *op.cit.*, pp. 195f.
[210] Kearns, G. (1989) *op.cit.*, pp. 108f.
[211] Kearns, G. (1988) *op.cit.*

away sewage and circulating air dispersed the 'miasmas' considered so dangerous to the community; and so living quarters were split up to decrease the density of urban life and to provide open spaces for fresh air. Localities were to be 'cleaned-up' in a physical sense in order to elicit moral reform of the residents of the places in question.

Kearns identifies two implications that can be drawn from this.[212] Firstly, the demand of the environmentalist discourse to improve infrastructure for the sake of public health was problematic in a society where the rights of private property and the *laissez-faire* economy were sacrosanct. To get around this impediment, public health reformers had to frame their arguments to convince the landed that such reforms were in fact for the benefit of the market, cultivating traditional conceptions of capitalism as a 'natural' system of harmony between individual pursuit of profit and long-term societal advantage, while stressing the poor service of private companies in this area. Furthermore, environmentalism was equally at home echoing the invocation of a Smithian 'invisible hand', as this perspective was derived from the same worldview that saw nature as a judgemental master, rewarding those who behaved rationally and punishing those who did not. Whereas a contagionist framework implied chance rather than design, the new theory allowed illness of mind, body and spirit to be interpreted as a result of previous failings, linking the "immediate threat of disease both to environmental conditions and to earlier individual acts of intemperance or stupidity",[213] again opening the door for the links between morality, disease and poverty that Driver discusses. Environmentalism, as Kearns argues, therefore offered an encompassing worldview "integral to the linking of nature, morals and markets in one continuous chain of reasoning".[214] At first glance this has little to do with church extension, but just as many devotees of the latter movement were involved in producing detailed 'maps' of the irreligious geographies of the city, drawing upon similar tropes as the urban investigators, so too did church extension involve manipulating the environment, sometimes in quite detached and precise ways, to create a religious community.

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[212] *Ibid.*, pp. 195f.
[213] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[214] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

The reshaping of the environment to impact upon those dwelling within has clear resonances with the claims made by Foucault about the changing nature of disciplinary power.[215] Addressing transitions in the form and purpose of disciplinary techniques in Western Europe and America into modernity, he traces the changes in emphasis from the bodily torture of earlier times, when submission to sovereign authority was accomplished through fear, to seeing punishment as an educating sign to the guilty and the wider population of the transgression committed, thus defining criminal conduct while at the same time presenting a sign and assurance of discipline. These principles were soon themselves replaced by modern penal punishment, defined by a fundamental shift in the direction of the gaze, from subjects staring at the prisoner as either a manifestation or sign of power, to it becoming a twofold mechanism of discipline from the condemner to the condemned that becomes internally effective, leaving an imprint on the soul of the prisoner to "restore not the juridical subject, but rather the obedient object".[216] As Jay argues, "it was here that the disciplining and normalising function of the gaze was at its most blatant", as the gaze that before stared on the prisoner as a victim of punishment becomes transformed into the actual means of disciplining.[217] In the most substantial section of his analysis, Foucault dissects the development of the prison, arguing that, as a technology of power, it was established to allow the regulation of every moment, constantly examining the convict while seeking to establish patterns of behaviour by acting upon the body and soul to produce a normalised 'object', a 'docile body' valuable to society, and thus enacting the transformation of criminals into moral, active citizens.[218]

Such forms of penal practice were not simple punishments to take the liberty of the convicted as a penalty for the crime, but "were designed to act upon the person of the prisoner, to create 'docile bodies' where before there had been unruly hearts, and

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[215] Foucault, M., *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1977).
[216] Driver, F., 'Power, space, and the body: a critical assessment of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 3 (1985): p. 427.
[217] Jay, M., 'In the empire of the gaze', in Hoy, D.C. (ed.), *Foucault: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986): p. 191.
[218] For a critical examination of Foucault's ideas of Panoptic disciplinary power in the context of prisons, see Philo, C.P., 'Accumulating populations: bodies, institutions and space', *International Journal of Population Geography*, 7 (2001): pp. 473-490 and Driver, F. (1985) *op.cit.* For an analysis of how such ideas were enacted in the context of England and Wales, see Ogborn, M., 'Discipline, government and law: separate confinement in the prisons of England and Wales, 1830-1877', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 20 (1995): pp. 295-311.

thereby to reform individuals with the aim of returning them to society as new additions to the productive labour force".[219] Disciplinary power could therefore act positively to produce people with a 'place' in society and an active, normalised, and docile workforce, a Marxist element that was embodied in the 'economic geometry' of Bentham's model prison, the Panopticon,[220] an architecture that Foucault calls "the diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form".[221] Here control was to be created not through the hands of the guard, but in the mind, body, and soul of the prisoner subjected to a potentially perpetual field of surveillance:

> He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection.[222]

While Foucault's account describes the erection of prison walls, it also serves to open up spaces beyond, as he argues that a mark of modern disciplinary power is the potential for its mechanisms to be diffused throughout society. Principles of 'panopticism' are recognisable in a number of institutions, with Foucault mentioning, amongst others, schools, hospitals and military barracks. Indeed, he spoke of the development in the modern disciplinary age – from the 1840s onwards – of a "subtle, graduated carceral net, with compact and diffused institutions, but also separate and diffused methods",[223] as techniques of disciplining were no longer bound behind prison walls but worked through other bodies designed to keep the population in check. Thus, settlements for abandoned children and penal colonies sat alongside orphanages and factory convents as part of a carceral network, extending even into "a whole series of mechanisms that did not adopt the 'compact' prison model", but made use of similar methods, such as "charitable societies, moral improvement associations, organisations that handed out assistance and also practical surveillance".[224] Even further, "this great carceral network reaches all the disciplinary mechanisms that function throughout society",[225] with, for instance, the establishment of a police force

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[219] Sharp, J.P., Routledge, P., Philo, C.P. & Paddison, R., 'Entanglements of power: geographies of domination/resistance', in Sharp, J.P. , Routledge, P., Philo, C.P. & Paddison, R., *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance* (London: Routledge, 2000): p. 13.
[220] Foucault, M. (1977) *op.cit.*, p. 202.
[221] *Ibid.*, p. 205.
[222] *Ibid.*, pp. 202f.
[223] *Ibid.*, p. 287.
[224] *Ibid.*, p. 298.
[225] *Ibid.*, p. 298.

being described by Ogborn as the prime example of a mechanism designed to survey the wider social space in a Foucauldian fashion for the purpose of state control.[226]

Although not explicitly making the link, Driver's analysis of the city colonies proposed by William Booth[227] in the late-nineteenth century bears similarity to all of this.[228] Booth's suggestion was that the way to moralise the urban was to build a series of institutions within and without to act as 'bridges' out of the 'darkened' slums and dangerous 'swamps' of city life, drawing upon tropes of environmentalism and imperialism in the process. Workhouses, industrial homes, shelters for the homeless and various other reformatories of a kind for the demoralised population were to be established as colonies in the city, providing "permanent bases within working class districts in order to foster a sense of community and individual work", as spaces designed to carry disciplinary methods that would act to create the docile bodies amongst the population of a city outside of prisons.[229] As Foucault would argue, the carceral landscape that resulted in part from the emergence of a range of institutions was a means of enacting the normalisation of society through the definition of norms of behaviour and appropriate social conduct, with transgression from such norms and expectations demanding an individual's segregation from wider society. Institutions, then, contribute to the enshrining, extension and enactment of judgements of normality by the authorities of such places, be they doctors, teachers or social workers. In this sense, as Philo drawing upon Foucault's analysis notes, although institutions were intended to reform the individual, by segregating the deviant into a space apart from the rest of society, the element of transgression and difference is reproduced, reinforcing the norms and values of that society through the organisation

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[226] Ogborn, M., 'Ordering the city: surveillance, public space and the reform of urban policing in England, 1835-1856', *Political Geography*, 12 (1993): pp. 505-521.

[227] William Booth (1829-1912), founder of the Salvation Army and author of *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: Salvation Army, 1890), a text which promoted a social welfare scheme based upon the establishment of 'colonies' within cities and beyond, to which the most 'uncivilised' of society could be sent for the purpose of moral and physical recalibration. Famously, Booth compared the poorest areas of London to 'darkest' Africa, perceiving that both needed to be civilised. See Driver, F., *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), and Hattersley, R., *Fire and Blood: William and Catherine Booth and the Salvation Army* (London: Abacus, 2000).

[228] Driver, F. (2001) *op.cit.*

[229] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

of space.[230] This claim fits in with Driver's broader proposal that questions of moral regulation and reformation were central to debates on social policy in the nineteenth century, with the aim being "to reform the undisciplined impulses of paupers, criminals and delinquents, cultivating within them a sense of moral agency".[231] In particular, he suggests, this cultivation was tied up with the development of institutions such as the jail, the clinic and the prison, and a key issue swiftly become how their very (spatial) design could serve as a "mechanism of moral discipline".[232]

Following from this, various studies of different institutions have sought to show how the spatial arrangement within them can be vital for their management, with Driver arguing that, while there were many different types of institution, all of which "addressed a wide range of problems, what united them was their common interest in the link between environmental design and moral reformation".[233] Importantly, however, Philo warns against seeking a panopticism therein that is merely a replicated geometry of Bentham's original, instead suggesting that it is in the reproduction of certain disciplinary techniques designed to act upon the incarcerated body that Foucault's account identifies similarities with the model jail.[234] Bearing this in mind, Driver identifies two principles that were common in the spatial organisation of nineteenth century institutions: associational and spatial functionalism.[235]

The first considers space as a network of signs, where physical stimuli and perception work to emphasise a message of moral improvement; the second takes the spatial to be "a mechanical system designed to promote moral subjects".[236] Both principles echo the centrality of environmental reform as a means of impacting upon the conduct of the individual, and, resultantly, emphasise that every aspect of design is significant, as "to each environment there was a corresponding form of life".[237] For Driver, both aspects are found in Foucault's panoptic prison, wherein the Enlightenment semio-

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[230] Philo, C.P., ''Enough to drive one mad': the organisation of space in nineteenth-century lunatic asylums', in Wolch, J.R. & Dear, M.J.(eds.) *The Power of Geography: How Territory Shapes Social Life* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989): pp. 258-290.
[231] Driver, F. (1993) *op.cit.*, p. 10.
[232] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[233] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[234] Philo, C.P. (1989) *op.cit.*
[235] Driver, F. (1993) *op.cit.*
[236] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[237] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

techniques of punishment meet the disciplinary ideas implicit within a precise spatial arrangement, elements that informed the 1834 New Poor Law which combined strategies of deterrence with the disciplining of institutional regimes. As such, the new workhouses were explicitly designed to instil fear within the poor as a means of deterrence, while encompassing spatial arrangements that ordered and disciplined those inside, effecting the "centrality of disciplinary order within the new workhouse system" to ensure that inmates be "subject to the rule of official regulations".[238] Fundamental to this, and echoing a theme developed by Driver, was the strategy of classifying and segregating inmates according to factors such as age, sex and deviance,[239] a device identified by Foucault as key, and intended *inter alia* to impose a "moral geometry" that would prevent contagion of immorality and disease. The new workhouses, then, operated through deterrence and disciplining, being designed to encourage recognition of the merits of work and independence, not necessarily as tools of repression, although often so, but actively to shape behaviour. Studies of other institutions reveal similar traits. In his study of lunatic asylums, Philo suggests that the incarceration of the 'mentally ill' symbolised the difference between them and the rest of the population, while he recognises that the precise geometries and inspections of the Panopticon were not generally followed: "but this is not to suggest that a Foucualdian 'panopticism' – as a subtle 'calculus of power' acting on human materials to produce 'docile bodies' – was not present in all manner of different institutional and non-institutional arrangements designed to shelter, restrain, and cure the nineteenth century lunatic".[240] Other studies have focussed on the role of a variety of other institutions as disciplinary bodies, from prisons, workhouses and reformatories to hospitals and schools.[241]

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[238] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[239] Driver, F. (1988) *op.cit.*, p. 281.
[240] Philo, C.P. (1989) *op.cit.*, p. 283.
[241] Crowther, M.A., *The Workhouse System, 1834-1929: The History of an English Social Institution* (London: Batsford, 1981); Driver, F., 'The historical geography of the workhouse system, 1834-1883', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 15 (1989): pp. 269-286; Driver, F., 'Discipline without frontiers? Representations of Mettray reformatory colony in Britain, 1840-1880', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 3 (1990): pp. 272-293; Foucault, M., *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (London: Routledge, 1976); Markus, T.A., 'The school as machine: working class Scottish education and the Glasgow normal seminary', in Markus, T.A. (ed.) *Order in Space and Society* (Mainstream, 1982): pp. 201-261; Ogborn, M. (1995) *op.cit.*; Ploszajska, T., 'Moral landscapes and manipulated spaces: gender, class and space in Victorian reformatory schools', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 20 (1994): pp. 413-429; Philo, C.P., '*The Birth of the Clinic*: an unknown work of medical geography', *Area*, 32 (1998): pp. 11-19; Porter, R., *The Hospital in History* (London: Routledge, 1989).

Yet to concentrate on such institutions and the limited populations within them alone runs against Foucault's thesis regarding the widespread nature of such techniques, ignoring the majority of society that remained outside the enclosures. Instead, he argues that techniques of surveillance and normalisation effectively seeped beyond the walls of the prison into the everyday spaces of living, to create a perfectly panoptic society where "disciplinary norms have become so thoroughly internalised that they [...][are] not experienced as coming from without".[242] Thus, we live in "the empire of the gaze".[243] Importantly, and contrary to the interpretation of Soja[244] or Wright and Rabinow,[245] although Foucault does stress the significance of space in the workings of power, he is clear that disciplinary techniques cannot be essentialised into a set geometric pattern, nor is the social space of society physically shaped by the specific geometries and architectures of the Panopticon. Rather, Bentham's model prison offered an idealised blueprint for the mechanisms of disciplinary power – segregation, surveillance and enclosure – used, if unevenly and imperfectly, in the wider world to discipline the individual. As Driver argues, "[i]t was not architecture that was paramount; this could be adapted according to circumstances. It was the disciplines themselves, the technologies for division rather than association and contagion".[246]

This extension of disciplinary power into the spaces of everyday life can be identified through several developments during the nineteenth century, and it is here that church extension is best placed. Perhaps the chief aspect is the emergence and establishment of the police, as described by Ogborn.[247] Associated with the requirements of the state to bring order and control to the urban environment, 'moral regulation' and surveillance were considered vital aspects of police work as reflected in the rigorously planned patrols of time and territory which was a exercise in both the prevention of

[242] Fraser, quoted in Sawicki, J., 'Feminism, Foucault, and 'subjects' of power and freedom', in Hekman, S.J. (ed.) *Feminist Interpretations of Michel Foucault* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996): p. 162.

[243] Jay, M. (1986) *op.cit.*, p. 195. For an alternative interpretation which stresses the imperfection of panopticism, see Hannah, M., 'Imperfect panopticism: envisioning the construction of normal lives', in Benko, G. & Strohmayer, U. (eds.) *Space and Social Theory – Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).

[244] Soja, E. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989).

[245] Wright, G. & Rabinow, P., 'Spatialisation of power: a discussion of the work of Michael Foucault', *Skyline* (March, 1982): pp. 14-5.

[246] Driver, F. (1985) *op.cit.*, p. 434.

[247] Ogborn, M. (1993) *op.cit.*

crime and supervision. Suggesting that a "new degree of control was being exercised over public space" by the police,[248] Ogborn notes that their ability to prosecute 'street crime' such as drunkenness or prostitution allowed them to 'affect' as well as to survey the space that was being policed, with new regulations such as the provision of street lights – while ostensibly to increase visibility – being equally designed to increase order in the streets. This was less about catching criminals *per se*, and more about instilling a new order into public space. The cleansing, regulation and identification of deviance is reminiscent of Driver's comments on the clearance of slums and the will to open up, in a very real sense, the tightly packed urban areas, as it was to such spaces that public apprehension was directed, precisely because they were beyond the public eye.[249] A more banal example of this spreading of disciplinary techniques is found in Kneale's study of public houses, where he shows how the public house became associated with gendered discourses of danger and criminality as the portrayal of alcohol as a cause of immorality and poverty gained credence, leading to regulations on the external and internal geographies of pubs based upon separation and visibility as a means of disciplining drinkers and moralising the community.[250] Kneale also offers a critique of the regulating of public house space as "an example of a pre-existing social space which became subject to disciplinary technologies as these became ubiquitous in the nineteenth century",[251] a claim that could be extended to describe the whole disciplinary network that Foucault identifies.

In representing society as a 'careceral archipelago', "infused at all levels with a network of institutions and disciplinary techniques",[252] Foucault's account could be read as presenting dominating power as inescapable, constantly acting to produce the 'subject' of discipline and removing any possibility for the autonomous self, resistance or emancipatory projects, seemingly at odds with his assertion that where exists power there must also be resistance. This is the "fundamental tension" to which Sawicki points,[253] for, as McGowan comments, "power seems to have rendered

[248] *Ibid.*, p. 518.
[249] Driver, F. (1988) *op.cit.*
[250] Kneale, J., ''A problem of supervision': moral geographies of the nineteenth-century public house', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25 (1999): pp. 333-348.
[251] *Ibid.*, p. 345.
[252] Driver, F. (1985) *op.cit.*, p. 429.
[253] Sawicki, J. (1996) *op.cit.*, p. 161.

humanity impossible".[254] Sharp *et al* turn to Foucault's later work on *The History of Sexuality,* finding a subtler appreciation of the workings of power that opens a space for resistance beyond the halls of domination. By addressing his concern for governmentality and the "triple domain of self-government, the government of others, and the government of the state", that, when coming together may conflict and allow the possibility of a slippage whereby resistant acts can take place, they find the possibility of individual action within a world where power is ubiquitous, while avoiding recourse to humanistic explanation.[255] This move allows a reconstruction of power as complex and entangled, with the orthodox binary being rejected for an alternative understanding of domination and resistance not as loaded with or empty of power, but as different moments within the process. The relation between the two, they argue, is one of hybridity rather than possession, as "one [is] always containing the seeds of the other, the one always bearing at least the trace of the other that contaminates or subverts it".[256] As no moment of domination is complete without moments of resistance; no resistance is complete without aspects of domination – and power traverses the whole.

Adopting this perspective, Robinson reconsiders the workings of power relations and disciplinary power, contrasting the silent, anonymous, masculine surveillance of the Panopticon with the noisy, embodied, feminine surveillance encapsulated in the 'friendly' form of housing management pioneered by Octavia Hill.[257] Recognising that a notion of the mutuality of power between both parties within a surveillant relationship is more easily identified within this feminised form of surveillance, she suggests that this is a feature of all power relationships, thus providing the possibility of agency and resistance to domination. This is the result of several obstructions which act to interfere with the objective, objectifying gaze. For one thing, the gaze itself is not enough: its content and demands cannot be known by the technology alone, but must be explained by processes of education and instruction, requiring that

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[254] McGowan, R., 'Power and humanity, or Foucault among the historians', in Jones, C. & Porter, R. (eds.) *Re-Assessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body* (London: Routledge, 1993): p. 95.
[255] Sharp, J.P. et al (2001) *op.cit.*, p. 18.
[256] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[257] Robinson, J., 'Power as friendship: spatiality, femininity and 'noisy' surveillance', in Sharp, J.P. *et al* (2000): pp. 67-92. Octavia Hill (1838-1912) was a Victorian housing reformer who devised a 'method' of housing management administered by 'Christian ladies' who were to establish friendly relationships with tenants as a means of encouraging self-respect and, eventually, social improvement.

it be embodied and located, a process that will always take place in specific social and geographical settings. It is also noisy in a very real sense, involving people who talk and move and build relationships, and who bring social and cultural subjectivities that enact upon their understandings of themselves and others, and constitutes all relationships between them. This is a model of surveillance which works precisely because of, rather than in spite of, its subjectivity, far from the objectifying namelessness represented in Bentham's panoptic ideal, where the internalisation of discipline may be deliberately displaced or unwittingly misunderstood. Crucially, Robinson sees in all power relations another form of noisiness, as for surveillance to be effective it requires a moment where the gaze recognises the subjecthood of the subject, the ability – the power – of the gazed upon to choose to accept the internalisation demanded by surveillance. The moment of absolute domination when the subject becomes subjugated to the demands of power is therefore equally the moment when power is most fragile, when the action of choosing to adhere to domination opens the possibility for resistance. Hence, as Robinson suggests:

> The spatiality of surveillance, then, is characterised by disturbances, discontinuities, displacements, interference – it is 'noisy' – and is necessarily a muted process, actively involving both the gazing subject and the subject of the gaze.[258]

Such a model of disciplinary power appears more befitting to the carceral net outside of penal establishments, where the perfect geometries and anonymity of the watching and the watched cannot be sustained. Thus, if church extension, as a moral geography, can be identified as a disciplinary practice, at least in part, it is more likely to follow this model than the tight, relentless domination offered in Panopticism.

Conclusion

An empirical focus upon church extension offers a useful way into the debates mentioned in this chapter. Linkages between questions of secularisation, discourse, class and moral geographies intersect on common ground in this study's religious and social context. The thesis also serves as a contribution to the sub-field of geographies of religion, a neglected area that has recently seen a renewed interest. Maligned by some as "a field in disarray",[259] partly on account of the lack of core theories,

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[258] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[259] Tuan, Y-F., 'Humanistic geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 66 (1976): p. 271.

prescriptive methodologies or even a settled definition of the core term, 'religion', many studies ostensibly set within the subfield look away from this heritage and place themselves in the bounds of other fields of concern. For Kong, this heterogeneity of interest, theory and approach is a sign of strength rather than weakness, reflecting a broad concern in multifarious areas of research; indeed, it could be argued that this diversity is not only healthy but also necessary as a way of encompassing the varied conceptions and forms of religion, allowing geographers of religion to remain open to these differences of experience, albeit at the cost of a coherent field.[260] It is partly for this reason that the present chapter has sought immersion in broader concerns.

C. Brown's[261] espousal of Foucauldian discourse as an appropriate way of addressing secularisation is key for this study of church extension. Following this move, detaching the various calls for extension from the realm of 'fact', and relocating them within a wider field of contemporaneous discourse, allows for a wider consideration of how irreligion was diagnosed at the time, as different pieces of 'evidence' came together and were interpreted as gradually building up a case for the building of new churches. This epistemological shift, in turn, opens up the possibility of enquiring about the motivations of those who insisted upon the dangers of a society untouched by the spiritual, asking why they were so fearful and what it was they hoped to achieve. Furthermore, this demands an awareness of the social structures out of and within which these discourses were spoken and authorised. In practice, this means thinking more critically about the Church and those who represented it, including the various church building societies. Crucially, this also involves recognising precisely how the middle class was feeding into the discussion surrounding social change and the reorganisation of social relations in the early nineteenth century city. As such, a necessary (if implicit) question is the extent to which church extension provided a 'space' for the bourgeoisie to become constituted, and, similarly, if the middle-class fears of social disorder identified by Morris[262] and Nenandic[263] – with working-class irreligion an example of one such fear – can be traced through the solutions offered for a city scripted as irreligious. Additionally, this allows consideration of how

[260] Kong, L., 'Mapping 'new' geographies of religion: politics and poetics in modernity', *Progress in human geography*, 25 (2001): pp. 211-234.
[261] Brown, C.G. (2001) *op.cit.*
[262] Morris, R.J. (1990) *op.cit.*
[263] Nenandic, S. (1995) *op.cit.*

middle-class ideology may have been reproduced and sustained through the cause of church extension.

Taking this claim further, considering how these ideologies, alongside particular conceptions of the urban environment, fed into practices that sought to create and impose a moral geography onto the landscape through church extension is equally revealing of the roots and intentions of the movement. That the will to reshape the Church in this way presupposed a right to manage the town population for moral and spiritual ends hints, as Driver[264] might suggest, at a social policy designed to police the deviance of irreligiosity, while also pointing to other questions about the right claimed by some groups within society to rule. The way in which church extension was manifested through a particular spatial arrangement to achieve influence over the social and the moral is therefore a key concern.

Beyond the conceptual move offered by C. Brown,[265] his discussion of secularisation is also important substantively. It is no more the purpose of the thesis directly to consider whether this process was or was not taking place at the time of the extension movement than it is to debate the accuracy or otherwise of statistics outlining the number of people attending worship on a Sunday: of greater relevance here is how those involved in extension came to believe and argue that there was a spiritual neglect within the city. Nevertheless, the social significance of religion is clearly an important context, particularly so in certain manifestations. The willingness of local government to accept the cost and organisation of the ecclesiastical infrastructure, the voluntary giving of people within the community to provide more churches, the need for churches in particular areas of the city, the changes in legislation relating to church building – all of these subject-matters fall within the remit of the thesis and reveal a glimpse of the role of religion within society. The question of secularisation is therefore one that, while implicitly addressed, still lies at the heart of its concerns.

By reflecting upon this diverse range of issues, the study is able to address and constitute church extension as the response of the Church to a rapidly developing, industrialising city; in so doing, it reveals the extension movement to be itself worthy

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[264] Driver, F. (1993) *op.cit.*
[265] Brown, C.G. (2001) *op. cit.*

of study, rather than as a tangential concern. Church extension in this framework moves beyond reductionist accounts which look at historical details of where, when and how, and into a web of class conflict, discourses of religious alienation, mixed motivations of social control balanced with benevolence, and the spatial manifestation of disciplinary techniques. In so doing, the thesis engages with the city not as an actor upon a stage, but in a relationship of mutual construction and reaction.

Chapter 3

The Church in Glasgow: An Overview from late 1700s to circa 1850

<u>Introduction</u>

In ecclesiastical terms, the nineteenth century has been described as the 'Age of Revolution'.[266] The foundations of organised religion in western society were increasingly being shaken theologically, politically, and culturally, as Enlightenment became establishment; new philosophies questioned the traditional relationship between church and state; even the Bible – formerly an unquestionable authority and bearer of truth – had its veracity questioned both from within and beyond the Church. At the same time the structure of society was undergoing transformation as processes of urbanisation and industrialisation gathered pace, driving forward dissatisfaction with the status quo and demands for the popular reform of Government. Into this the Church was faced with the challenge of finding new ways to communicate truths that were seen as eternal and immutable, to speak to people who seemingly lacked the means, will and faith to listen, and to re-establish a connection to a society and culture that was becoming progressively distant from them in every sense.

This chapter will sketch these changes in the context of Glasgow from the late-eighteenth to early nineteenth century, outlining the many actors and institutions in the social, political and economic scenery, using a mixture of primary and secondary materials upon which a more detailed critical analysis can be painted through later empirical chapters. The growth of the urban community and changes in its structure will be discussed, in terms of both the fabric of the city and the intangible (but no less real) societal impacts, highlighting the tensions that resulted from these. Next, the civic administration and management of Glasgow will be considered, detailing the role of the Town Council and assessing its reaction to urban change and the movement for reform. The ecclesiastical scene will then be discussed, introducing the differences and relationships between the many Presbyterian churches, Established and Dissenting, before turning to the Established Church of Scotland to look at how it was administered and organised at the national and local scale. Focus then falls upon the Church's reaction to the shifting urban landscape and society, painting with broad

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[266] Cheyne, A.C., *The Transforming of the Kirk* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1983).

strokes how church extension can be traced through the various initiatives and legislation that followed from this reaction. Finally, the chapter introduces the distinctly Christian visions of the city that contextualised and partly informed these responses of the Church, outlining the inherent tensions implicit within a system of thought which portrays the city as at once a space of damnation, yet with the potential for salvation. Through this, the chapter signals the dialectical visions of the earthly city and the City of God upon which the remainder of this chapter rests.

Glasgow's Urban History: late-1700s – mid-1800s

The early nineteenth century witnessed a period of remarkable development in Glasgow, changing the city from a provincial University town into a thriving centre of industry. The sudden growth in trade and manufacturing from the middle to the end of the eighteenth century continued on an upward path, and was added to by the relentless expansion of the urban area and population, transforming the city's material and societal structures in ways unimaginable to the previous generation, and starting it upon a trajectory that would not climax for another century. James Watt's invention of steam technology precipitated the development of textile manufacturing in the urban centre, freeing the industry from the need to harness water power, and Glasgow's eleven cotton-spinning centres in 1795 had risen to ninety-eight by 1839,[267] while by 1815 there were thirty thousand people – a quarter of the population – working as handloom weavers, making them the largest workforce in the city.[268] Population growth throughout Scotland and increasing urban migration from rural areas and Ireland, encouraged by the rise of industry in the city, saw a threefold rise in the number of people in Glasgow, from just below thirty-two thousand in 1755, to eighty-four thousand in 1801,[269] before reaching over a quarter of a million in 1841.[270]

Growth was not matched by prosperity, and the failure to increase housing stock or improve the urban infrastructure apace with population growth resulted in overcrowding and the formation of slums plagued by poverty and disease. The

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[267] Devine, T.M., *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2000* (London: Penguin, 1999): p. 157.
[268] Brown, S.J., *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth of* Scotland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982): p. 95.
[269] Smout, T.C., *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (London: Fontana Press, 1985): p. 243.
[270] Devine (1999) *op.cit.*, p. 163.

cityscape also began to expand, driven by the needs of industry, an increasing population and a growing segregation of social classes within the community.[271] To the west of the centre there developed new, invariably middle-class residences, ordered according to a grid-iron pattern; in the centre and to the east, where industry was increasingly being found, some new housing was built for workers but existing properties became more and more crowded, yearly pushing up levels of population density.[272] There was also some expansion on the south side of the river. Attempts to establish middle-class properties there were unsuccessful in the long run, but new developments at Laurieston and in the Gorbals increased the number of people residing within walking distance of the town centre.[273] The Royalty of Glasgow, an area encompassing the inner city and commercial district of Glasgow across eighteen-hundred acres on the north bank of the River Clyde, was home to the majority of urban dwellers. Its boundaries equated to the original parish of Glasgow, which had also been the sole area of Council jurisdiction until this was expanded in 1800, and took in what had been the heart of the city during the eighteenth century before urban growth precipitated developments of surrounding areas of the Barony and Calton on the north of the river, and Anderston and Gorbals to the south.[274]

The Royalty was increasingly afflicted by the onset of social problems as the new century progressed. Where people of all stock had lived cheek by jowl in the eighteenth century, by the 1800s there was a growing distance – socially, financially, geographically – between the moneyed and those at the lower end of the scale.[275] This was accentuated by the economic depression that followed the Napoleonic wars. The higher classes continued to support industry during recession, thus stabilising the economy, but to do so they had to reduce production at times, resulting in a surge of unemployment.[276] The depression added to the problems facing the poor, many of whom had already suffered a drop in wages due to an oversupply of labour as

[271] Gibb, A., *Glasgow the Making of a City* (London: Croom Helm, 1983); Dicks, B., 'Choice and constraint: further perspectives on socio-residential segregation in nineteenth-century Glasgow', in Gordon, G. (ed.) *Perspectives of the Scottish City* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985): pp 91-124.
[272] Gibb (1983) *op.cit.*
[273] Robb, J.G., 'Suburb and slum in Gorbals: social and residential change, 1800-1900', in Gordon, G. & Dicks, B. (eds.) *Scottish Urban History* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1983): pp. 130-167.
[274] Maver, I., 'The guardianship of the community: civic authority prior to 1835', in Devine, T.M. & Jackson, G. (eds.) *Glasgow* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995): p. 241.
[275] Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.*
[276] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

population increased;[277] the war, meanwhile, through death and disability, decreased the number of breadwinners able to support families,[278] while the demobilisation of thousands more, all of whom sought new employment, exacerbated already high levels of unemployment and poverty.[279] High immigration levels added further fuel to the fires as migrants tended to locate in the already poor parishes of the inner city, adding to the high levels of poverty and population density.[280]

Unsurprisingly, the standard of living throughout much of Glasgow was low. The crowding of the inner city increased annually, from an average of over four persons per household in 1819 to over five in 1841, although these figures mask differences between parishes.[281] Drainage, where it existed, was ineffective, high levels of unemployment rendered clothing and food unaffordable, and the palliative of poor relief was insufficient in both amount and extent to service the levels of poverty.[282] Disease contributed to high infant mortality and mortality rates, both of which rose during the 1820s and 1830s,[283] with epidemics of typhus and cholera reflecting the lack of sanitation and clean water. As Gibb comments, the "industrial city was on the verge of choking on its own effluent".[284] The trend for the wealthy to move away from the inner city towards to the suburbs in the west did little to help the problem,[285] hastening the descent of some areas into slums, with the geographical distance achieved by segregation reflected by an increasing social distance, an end that Dicks suggests was deliberately sought by some wealthier citizens who sought refuge in exclusively middle-class communities.[286]

Gaudie suggests that there is little evidence of a direct correlation between worsening living conditions and sedition in the context of nineteenth-century Scottish cities,[287] but related issues such as destitution and poor working conditions did lead to societal

[277] Smout, T.C. (1985) *op.cit.*
[278] Gibb, A. (1983) *op.cit.*
[279] Smout, T.C. (1985) *op.cit.*
[280] Gibb, A. (1983) *op.cit.*
[281] Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.* p. 96.
[282] Gibb, A. (1983) *op.cit.* p. 108.
[283] Gibb, A. (1983) *op.cit.;* Smout, T.C. (1985) *op.cit.*
[284] Gibb, A. (1983) p. 110.
[285] *Ibid.*, pp. 95f.
[286] Dicks, B. (1985) *op.cit.*
[287] Gaudie, E., 'The middle class and working-class housing in the nineteenth century', in MacLaren, A.A. (ed.) *Social Class in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1976): pp. 12-30.

unrest amongst the lower classes, and subscription to radical political ideals grew throughout the city, sparking moments of popular protest and industrial revolt. Groups of weavers, who had already left their looms in protest at the end of the eighteenth century, mobilised again in 1812 in protest at the failure of City Magistrates to support demands for both a minimum wage and tighter regulations protecting those employed in the profession.[288] Thousands took part in the Bread Riots of September 1815, remonstrating against the Government's Corn Law which put higher duties on foreign imports of grain, increasing the cost of food for a population already struggling to survive. Several grain merchants and Kirkman Finlay, Tory MP for Glasgow and a keen supporter of the Bill, were fortunate to escape unharmed from the hands of a mob as hostilities continued into the following year when forty-thousand people gathered at a public meeting to call for an end to the unpopular law and for Parliamentary reform.[289] In 1820, political radicals sought to capitalise upon the events at Peterloo a year prior, and positioned placards around the city to encourage a general strike in support of reform, a threat that the Council treated seriously enough to station troops for three months to counter any uprising.[290] In short, the development of the city was matched by increased social tensions, as the gap between the working classes and those above them seemed to grow, and the problems that such an environment created became increasingly apparent.

Urban Politics and Civic Administration

Civic jurisdiction in Glasgow was held by the Town Council, a corporate municipal and self-elected body established by Parliament during the fifteenth century with the purpose of keeping the merchant guilds as the "unchallenged ruling oligarchy".[291] By the 1800s it was made up of members from both Merchants' and Trades' House – the Guilds of the city's traders and craftsmen – with the former retaining a numerical majority. Their responsibilities included managing all matters financial, the upkeep of public lands, markets and properties (including jails and schools), responsibility for legal processes, and general administration.[292] As representatives of the Burgh, they

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[288] Smout, T.C. (1985) *op.cit.* p. 397.
[289] Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.* p. 97.
[290] Gibb, A. (1983) *op.cit.* p. 109.
[291] Maver, I. (1995) *op.cit.* p. 256.
[292] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

were also entitled to representation in the national courts of the Established Church, and appointed a member to attend the General Assembly each year.

The reputation of councils prior to municipal reform in the 1830s has suffered at the hands of historians. Smout is typical of many in describing them as "self-seeking and corrupt [...] an oligarchy of merchants and tradesmen from old guilds";[293] but, according to Maver, while the Town Council of Glasgow "inevitably became tainted by association under the unreformed system", it was generally efficient, certainly in comparison to its contemporaries, with city coffers remaining in robust health even during the post-war economic depressions.[294] Furthermore, the Council was relatively forward thinking in several ways, developing a role beyond its traditional remit as far as was legally allowed "to service the needs of the growing community",[295] not least by sponsoring several semi-autonomous organisations designed to enhance the urban landscape and raise the standard of living. They became involved in a variety of schemes to improve the city's infrastructure, building new roads and improving the Clyde for navigation as an aid to mercantile traffic and industry,[296] and encouraging private companies in a series of initiatives to introduce gas and running water into the city. This was not, however, mere philanthropy: a chief motivation was the benefits that such measures would offer to industry and trade.[297] From the early-1820s, magistrates even came to recognise that self-election was not in the public interest, and that the current system of organisation was inadequate to deal with the changes taking place in the city. Attempts at municipal reform, even on a minor scale, were resisted by Government until the Act reforming Parliamentary representation in 1832, and the Burgh Reform Act of 1833.[298]

As landowners of the Royalty, the Council were patrons of all the Established Churches within the city. Patronage had been part of the ecclesiastical scene in Scotland since Medieval times, but was deeply controversial and caused a series of secessions from the Church. Landowners, or 'heritors' as they were legally known, were "under obligation to build and maintain a church and a manse, to provide a

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[293] Smout, T.C (1985) *op.cit.* p. 356.
[294] Maver, I. (1995) *op.cit.* p. 264.
[295] *Ibid*. p. 243.
[296] Gibb, A. (1983) *op.cit.* p. 83.
[297] Smout, T.C (1985) *op.cit.* p. 247.
[298] Maver, I. (1995) *op.cit* .p. 240.

glebe, and to pay a stipend" for all parishes under their ownership. In return they were granted the rights to present a minister of their choosing to these churches when they became vacant.[299] This right was not unlimited. Candidates had to be ministers of the Established Church and approved by the Presbytery, and the heritor did not have the authority to remove an incumbent not to his liking.[300] Patronage was deemed contrary to the laws of the Church and abolished by the Revolution Settlement of 1690 in favour of a more democratic process, but was reintroduced in 1712 by the newly united British Parliament.[301] This was in spite of major opposition from the Church of Scotland who continued to petition Parliament for the law's repeal until 1784, although gradually this became habit more than principle as it was accepted that, while the law was not ideal, it nevertheless remained the law and must be worked within.[302]

Balancing this right, the Town Council had a number of responsibilities towards those churches under its care. All temporal and financial matters relating to churches were dealt with by the Council, burdening it with a remit that included the payment of stipends to ministers, the assessment of the level of ecclesiastical accommodation and the cost of building new churches where necessary, and managing the 'seat-rents' of the parish churches. The Council also spent a considerable amount in making the churches comfortable, introducing heating systems in several churches and regularly whitewashing walls, while they sanctioned the reorganisation of several church interiors to allow them to hold more seats. This was perhaps in response to continued pressure from the Church that accommodation levels were insufficient, although, as C. Brown argues, the Council also viewed such a step as an investment, as the practice of seat-renting was commonplace, whereby each seat holder paid the Council an annual rent for the privilege of a place at Sunday worship.[303]

Non-conforming Churches were beyond Council authority, but Established Church chapels of ease remained within their control until 1833, when the Council surrendered their authority to those who had voluntarily funded the building of the

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[299] Herron, A. (1985) *op.cit.*, p. 50.
[300] *Ibid*. p. 50.
[301] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.*, p. 277.
[302] Devine (1999) *op.cit.* p. 19.
[303] Brown, C.G. (1987) *op.cit.*

chapels. In real terms, though, since many councillors contributed funds towards the costs of chapel building, control did not travel very far. Indeed, the majority of Council members were, to a greater or lesser extent, already involved in the Church, with many involved in their local Kirk Sessions and some being members of higher courts of the Church. Such was the amount of time spent on ecclesiastical matters, the Council had appointed a Standing Committee 'On Churches and Churchyards' during the eighteenth century with limited power to consider and investigate all church business, and report back to the Council for a decision. Ecclesiastical expenditure was the largest single municipal expense during the first half of the nineteenth century, with city accounts from 1812, for example, showing that over five-hundred pounds was spent on "repairs on the different churches, including expenses at the sacraments", over a third of the total expenditure.[304]

The reforms of the Council in the 1830s made them more representative of the community by granting the public a right to vote in both Burgh and Parliamentary elections, although this was not in any sense universal suffrage. Voting for parliamentary representatives was restricted to males whose annual household rent exceeded ten pounds, enfranchising only three and a half percent of Glasgow's population.[305] It was also proposed that all citizens should have a say in the make-up of the Council, but the Bill was altered by the House of Lords to ensure that the Guilds of Merchants and Trades were heavily represented, and thus remained in control of the Council property.[306] Wider enfranchisement initially promised a change of guard, with the first election following the Burgh Reform Act seeing the return of only four of the thirty-three pre-Reform councillors and a substantial shift in the political balance from Tory to Liberal,[307] a result that Miller suggests can be explained by the new voters reacting against those who they believed would not have granted them voting rights.[308] Over the next few years, though, over forty percent of the former councillors would be returned to power, perhaps suggesting that, despite being previously self-elected, they were not thought poor leaders by their

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[304] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 20th March, 1812.
[305] Miller, in Gordon (1985) *op.cit.* p. 182.
[306] Maver, I. (1995) *op.cit.* p. 267.
[307] *Ibid*. p. 267f.
[308] Miller, in Gordon (1985) *op.cit.* p. 182.

constituents.[309] Furthermore, reform did not lead to a fundamental shift in the social make-up of the civic authority, with the middle class, and especially merchants, still dominating.[310] As Maver comments, drawing upon work on municipal reform in England, the changes of 1833 may have opened up local and national government to those of non-conformist political and religious beliefs, but no fundamental change took place as, instead, one group of élites were replaced by another.[311]

Religion in the City: Establishment and Dissent

The Established Church of Scotland was the largest single denomination within Glasgow throughout the nineteenth century. In 1800 there were eight Established Churches within the Royalty, with the oldest – the Inner High Kirk or Glasgow Cathedral, the original parish church of the city – having roots that stretched back a millenium and beyond. The city parish had been divided as new churches were built in response to urban growth, firstly in 1602 with the creation of the Tron Church, and six times over by the beginning of the nineteenth century.[312] In addition to the eight parish churches there was a chapel of ease in Albion Street attached to the Established Church, and a chapel for the use of Gaelic speakers in the city. Another two parochial churches, St Johns and St James, were added in 1819.

The Church of Scotland was by no means the sole provider of Christian worship within Glasgow.[313] Levels of Dissent rose quickly during the first half of the century, and, when taken as a single group, the non-Established churches were greater in number and provision of seats than the national Church. In 1800, for instance, there were fifteen churches within the city boundaries from eight non-Established denominations, providing accommodation for between twenty to twenty-five thousand people, in contrast to the nearly thirteen-thousand seats provided by the Church of Scotland. Meanwhile, the twelve Dissenting churches within the Royalty itself could hold fifteen-thousand worshippers, just over five-thousand more that the ten-thousand provided for by the Established Church. By 1820 the number of Dissenting denominations had risen to twelve, made up of twenty-six congregations,

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[309] Maver, I. (1995) *op.cit.* p. 268.
[310] Miller in Gordon (1985) *op.cit.* p. 182.
[311] Maver, I. (1995) *op.cit.* p. 268.
[312] See Table 3.2.
[313] See Table 3.1.

Figure 3.1

The High Kirk of Glasgow c. 1820

CATHEDRAL OF GLASGOW.
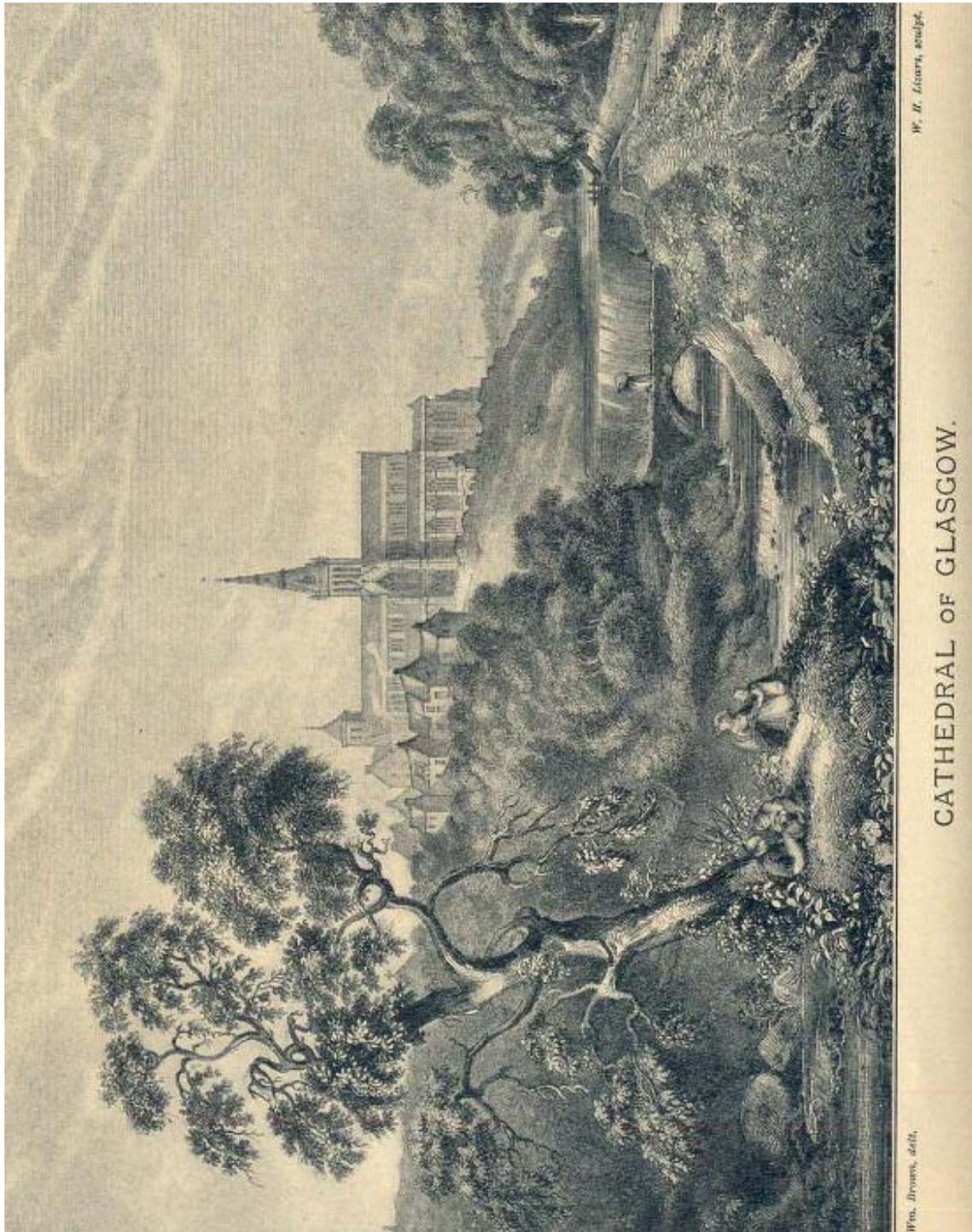
Reproduced from Renwick, R. (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow with charters and other documents, vol. 10, 1809-1822* (1915).

compared to twelve parishes within the Established Church; within the Royalty there were nineteen non-conformist churches, nine more than the Church of Scotland.

The church building schemes of the Established Church peaked during the 1830s, resulting in an increase in the amount of accommodation offered across the country and in Glasgow in particular. The twenty-four Established churches of Glasgow in 1831 had become forty-four by 1841, with the number in the Royalty growing in the same period from fifteen to twenty, raising accommodation in that part of the city by over six-thousand seats to nearly twenty-five thousand. The Dissenting churches also continued to grow, albeit at a slower rate, and during the same period the sixteen non-Established denominations increased from thirty-seven churches (of which nineteen were in the Royalty), to forty-four churches (twenty-two in the Royalty) representing nineteen denominations, and giving an increase of over three-thousand seats.

Glasgow was also home to denominations that were neither originally derived from the Established Church nor Presbyterian in polity. Episcopalians and Methodists totalled around four and a half thousand in all; yet, while they voiced favour for the principle of an Establishment, they were still viewed with suspicion by many within the Church. A few could also be found in the city alongside a reasonably large Roman Catholic population. Estimates suggest that there were only twenty Roman Catholics in 1778 and sixty in 1791, but this figure rose steadily to nearly two and a half thousand in 1808, and ten-thousand in 1820.[314] By 1836, their number had grown to thirty-five thousand,[315] yet in 1841 there was church accommodation for less than three thousand people. Taking all denominations into account, by 1841 it was possible for one-hundred thousand people to attend worship at any one time in Glasgow, over a third of the total population of two-hundred and eighty thousand people.

Caution is required when considering such figures, as level of accommodation is a spurious measure of actual religiosity, not least given that the statistics were usually

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[314] Brown, C.G. (1997) *op.cit.*, p. 32.
[315] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Wm. Collins, 1836): p. 9. As several of the archival materials are similarly titled, the full title of all primary documents will be referenced in the footnotes.

Table 3.1
Denominational information relating to the largest Churches in Glasgow in the early-nineteenth century.

Church of Scotland	United Secession Church	Relief Church
Established in 1560/67 by the Estates of Scotland as the national Church; position as the Established Church of Scotland ratified by the Treaty of Union (1707).	Formed in 1820 following union of New Licht Burghers and New Licht Antiburghers, both groups originating from the secession of 1733.	Seceeded from the Established Church in 1761 in protest against patronage.
Established and endowed, favouring state connection.	Voluntary, against state connection.	Voluntary, against state connection.
17 congregations in Glasgow (1800)*	4 congregations	4 congregations
28 congregations in Glasgow (1836)*	10 congregations	8 congregations
Sum of average attendance per Sunday in Glasgow congregations (1836) – 28,374 persons	9, 691 persons	9,350 persons

* Figure includes both endowed and non-endowed churches attached to the Church of Scotland.

Table 3.2
Population of *quoad sacra* parishes within the Royalty, according to the
Parliamentary Census of 1831.

Parish name	Date of parish erection	Population (1831)
Inner High (St Mungo's)	Pre-Reformation	10,295
Tron	1602	7,529
College (Blackfriars)	1622	7,569
Outer High (St Paul's)	1648	9,137
St George's	1687	15,242
St David's	1720	6,268
St Andrew's	1765	5,923
St Enoch's	1782	7,921
St John's	1819	11,746
St James'	1819	8,217

Data taken from Cleland, J., *Enumeration of the inhabitants of the city of Glasgow and county of Lanark for the Government census of 1831; with population and statistical tables relative to England and Scotland, classified and arranged by James Cleland* (Glasgow: J. Smith, 1982) and Scott, H. (ed.) *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: the succession of ministers in the parish churches of Scotland from the Reformation, A.D . 1560, to the present time* (Edinburgh: Paterson, 1866-1871).

collected by those with a vested interest in the outcome.[316] Bias aside, provision of seats must be differentiated from the number of 'sitters'. Many churches would have two services on a Sunday, and perhaps another during the week, with each intended for a different portion of the population. Every seat may therefore have been used by several different people. In 1836 the Inner High church, for example, had a total of one-thousand and one hundred seats, and yet their minister reported that around seventeen-hundred people regularly attended worship. It was estimated that twelve and a half thousand Roman Catholics regularly attended worship in the 1830s, despite their chapel containing only four-thousand seats. This worked the other way, too: St David's church had accommodation for over one-thousand people, yet had only nine-hundred and fifty regular worshippers, while Duke St United Secession Church was capable of holding over twelve-hundred people, far more than the seven-hundred who commonly turned up.[317]

The United Secession Church and the Relief Church were the largest of the Dissenting churches within Glasgow, amounting to half of all the non-Established churches in the city during the first half of the century, with the former being marginally the bigger of the two. Both could trace their roots back to different secessions from the Church of Scotland in the eighteenth century over the ever-thorny issue of patronage, and they remained practically identical to the Established Church in matters of theology, worship and organisation, diverging only in their understanding of the relationship between church and state. Curiously, although both denominations had left the Established fold, in their early years they maintained a connection of sorts, styling themselves as Synods or Presbyteries rather than claiming the title 'Church', as they argued that they were merely members of the Church of Scotland who had been freed from the yoke of patronage. The Relief Church in particular considered itself "an ally rather than an enemy of the national Church".[318] Indeed, the seceders' problem was not with the notion of Establishment *per se*, but rather its overbearing manifestation in the rights of patrons. By the 1800s this had changed, with both denominations moving alongside other non-conformist Churches to eschew the Establishment principle and espouse in its place a faith in voluntaryism,

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[316] Brown, C.G. (2001) *op.cit.* See also comments on the 1851 census of religion in Drummond, A.L & Bulloch, J., *The Church in Victorian Scotland* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1975).
[317] Second Report by the Religious Commissioners, pp. 14-19.
[318] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.* p. 284.

claiming that the true Churches are "founded by free consent, and supported by the free contributions, of the members, and thus distinguished from those churches which are established and endowed by the state".[319]

In the 1820s some of the Dissenting Churches temporarily put aside their divisions to defend the Voluntary principle and promote its cause against an Established Church that they saw as increasingly powerful, leading to the 'Voluntary Controversy'. Troubles in Ireland had convinced the Government to pursue Roman Catholic emancipation. Despite opposition from the Established Churches of both England and Scotland on the grounds that this endangered connections between the state and the national Churches, in 1829 a Bill was published promoting the extension of Roman Catholic rights. Dissenters, stirred by the zealous thumping of a Glasgow pulpit by Andrew Marshall, minister of Kirkintilloch Secession Church, saw this as a conspiracy to re-establish Roman Catholicism and grant it state support and protection.[320] Following Marshall's lead, non-conformists argued that that the only way to prevent the Church of Rome from taking control of Britain was to disestablish all churches from the state.[321] The Church of Scotland responded that Establishment protected 'true' religion and was the sole means through which the spiritual needs of the entire population could be satisfied, since voluntary churches relied entirely upon willingness and ability to fund churches privately; the Voluntaryists replied that the schemes of the Established Church to build new churches and seek endowments for them was purely an attempt to eradicate Dissenting churches from the city. Thus, over the next ten years the two parties fought a bitter war through sermons and pamphlets, with debate ranging from the deeply theological to more pragmatic, practical and political issues.

The Glasgow Voluntary Church Society was formed in 1832 by members of ten non-conformist denominations to argue for the principles that they held in common: the end of established religion, the repeal of patronage, and the organisation of churches on a congregational rather than parochial model. They responded in particular to the local situation by disputing the need for new churches as proposed by the Established

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[319] *Report of the speeches delivered in Gordon Street church, Glasgow, at the formation of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society, on Monday, 12th November* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1832): p. 3.
[320] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.* p. 325.
[321] Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.* p. 220.

Church, protesting especially against the use of their taxes to fund the operations of a church that they disagreed with in principle. Not all Dissenting churches adhered to Voluntary principles. The Associate Synod, Original Seceder congregations, Reformed Presbyterians, an independent congregation and Methodists and Episcopalians all supported the Establishment principle even although they did not benefit from it, remaining separate from the Church of Scotland for other theological reasons.

The controversy eroded a degree of conviviality between the Church of Scotland and non-conformists, but relations were for the most part positive. Indeed, ministers of all denominations were well-acquainted and often moved in the same social circles. The attitude of the Church towards the Roman Catholic population was more mixed. A kernel of narrow-mindedness at times showed clearly, foreshadowing the sectarian intolerance present in the Church of a later period. In early-1813, for example, the Presbytery of Glasgow opposed a Bill designed to extend Roman Catholic rights on the grounds that it might "impune and put in hazard, those great Civil and Religious blessings, in the enjoyment of which this country hath so long been prosperous and happy".[322] This decision was reiterated in 1829 when the Presbytery petitioned the King, Prime Minister and Parliament against the Roman Catholic Relief Act, which would allow Catholics to sit in Parliament.[323] Despite some high profile support for the Bill from within the Church, most notably from Thomas Chalmers,[324] and the concession that MPs must take an oath of allegiance and recognise the supremacy of the Crown, the Presbytery voted unanimously against the Act.[325] There are other more petty examples, not least the decision from the 1830s to stop naming new churches after saints, on the grounds that it was a 'Popish' practice.[326]

On other occasions the Church displayed a sympathy and respect that seems at odds with other behaviour and attitudes towards the Roman Catholic population. Towards the end of his ministry, Robert Buchanan, minister of the Tron Church, employed a Catholic missionary to cater for their spiritual needs. Similarly, in 1819 the Presbytery

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[322] Minutes of Glasgow Presbytery, 17th February, 1813.
[323] 10 Geo 4 cap 7.
[324] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.* p. 325.
[325] Minutes of Glasgow Presbytery, 4th March, 1829.
[326] Minutes of Glasgow Presbytery, 5th December, 1838.

supported the Town Council's proposal to abolish the Burgess Oath.[327] This was an oath that each burgess was obliged to take before being sworn into office, promising adherence to the "true religion" of the realm – i.e. that of the Established Church – and "renouncing the Romish religion called Papistry".[328] By supporting the removal of the oath from the statutes, the Presbytery therefore allowed non-conformists and Roman Catholics alike the right to seek election to the Council within Glasgow. Furthermore, the Church as the national church believed that it had spiritual oversight over all people in Scotland, and so Catholics were treated like all parishioners, being visited by the minister and entitled to a seat in church.

The Established Church: Administration and Politics

The Church of Scotland was accepted as the national Church at the time of the early Scottish Reformation in the 1560s, when, following the initial acceptance of Protestantism as the official religion of the country by the Estates of Scotland,[329] the Scottish Parliament approved the doctrine of the Church expressed in the *Scots' Confession of Faith* as that of the state and granted the Church sole ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the country.[330] By this move Parliament enshrined the Church's understanding of church-state relations based upon a Lutheran concept known as the doctrine of Two Kingdoms, which, distinct from the Erastianism of the Church of England, argues for a clear separation between the powers of church and state on the basis that God ordained both for separate ends: the former to be responsible for governance, law and order, and the latter to have authority in all areas of religion, free from the interference of civil powers.[331] Of equal importance, the Church soon adopted the Presbyterian polity outlined in the *Second Book of Discipline*, contrary to the Episcopalianism practised in England and favoured by the Crown.[332] This polity, initially approved by the Scottish Parliament in 1592, was ratified in 1690 and secured in 1707 under the articles of Union between Scotland and England, with the system

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[327] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 25th March, 1819.
[328] Quoted in Herron (1985) *op.cit.* p. 72.
[329] Hazlett, W.I.P., *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland: An Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2003): pp. 135-168; Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.,* pp. 143-285.
[330] Lyall, F. (1980) *op.cit.*, p. 18.
[331] For a discussion of the Two Kingdoms theory, see Kirk, J., *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989): pp. 232-279; Donaldson, G., *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press: 1985): pp. 232-237.
[332] *Ibid.* pp. 15f

inherited by the Church at the beginning of the nineteenth century virtually unchanged in any fundamental sense from that of a century previous.

Presbyterianism is a conciliar form of government in which authority is vested in a series of courts organised according to a hierarchy of spatial scales, rising incrementally from the parish to the national level.[333] Despite the hierarchy of courts, fundamental to this polity is the parity of individuals. This is reflected in the courts where all members – ministers and elders – are ordained and equal in right to vote and voice opinion, while every local church is represented in the higher courts, with each Presbytery being made up of representatives of Kirk Sessions and from which the court appoints members to the Synod and the General Assembly. As such, while Kirk Sessions must adhere to decisions made by higher courts, these decisions represent the collective will of local churches. Indeed, Presbyterianism was designed as a 'bottom-up' method of governance, with matters coming from the parish level to the higher courts only when guidance over the appropriateness of an action or decision was required, although practically this soon developed into a 'top-down' model.

At the smallest scale each parish was governed by a Kirk Session, the lowest of the courts of the Church, made up of the parish minister and those elders associated with the local congregation. The Session had spiritual responsibility for all people residing within this parish area, and it was the duty of the Session to attend to all matters of spiritual oversight, make necessary provisions for weekly worship, exercise discipline and manage the church, as well as administer parochial education and poor relief. Each Kirk Session was subordinate in the first instance to the Presbytery, a local court with an area of jurisdiction extending across several parishes. According to Cox, the Presbytery is "the characteristic and in some sense the fundamental court of the Church since, on the one hand it directly superintends not only Kirk Sessions but the whole ecclesiastical activity within its bounds, and on the other hand elects annually those ministers and elders who are to constitute the General Assembly".[334] Presbyteries had a broad remit that was partly theological and partly practical, with

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[333] Weatherhead, J., *The Constitution and Laws of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Board of Practice and Procedure, Church of Scotland, 1997); Cox, J.T. (ed.) *Practice and Procedure of the Church of Scotland (sixth edition)* (Edinburgh: The Committee on General Administration, The Church of Scotland, 1976).
[334] Cox, J.T. (ed.) (1976) *op.cit.* p. 140.

much of their time devoted to banal matters of administration, from ensuring that public worship took place in a proper way in each parish, to examining the moral and doctrinal fitness of candidates for the ministry, making arrangements for public worship in vacant charges, examining schoolmasters, and – crucially – reorganising parish boundaries and assessing the need for, and location of, new churches.

The Presbytery of Glasgow met monthly, or more regularly if business demanded, with its membership being made up of two representatives from each parish within its bounds, namely the minister and a representative elder, alongside a representative from the local Burgh and the University of Glasgow. Its ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all lands owned by the Town Council, in addition to several rural parishes located well beyond the limits of the city. Those which lay outside the Royalty boundaries – the landward parishes – included the parishes of Barony and Calton which immediately surrounded the Royalty on the north side of the Clyde, with Campsie, Kilsyth, Cadder, Cumbernauld, and Kirkintilloch further out. The ancient parish of Govan was to the west of the Royalty on both the north and south banks of the river, and on the south lay the Gorbals parish which was surrounded by Cathcart, Eaglesham, Carmunnock, and Rutherglen. There were several areas of overlap between the duties of the Presbytery and the local civil authority, and shared responsibilities on the management of poor relief, the appointment of clergy and petitioning for the erection of parishes all ensured regular correspondence and co-operation.

In the event that a Presbytery decision was contested, an appeal was taken to the Synod, a regional court with an area of jurisdiction extending across several Presbyteries.[335] The Presbytery of Glasgow, for example, formed part of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr alongside the Presbyteries of Ayr, Irvine, Paisley, Greenock, Hamilton, Lanark and Dunbarton. Synods could not legislate, but had "power to handle, ordour [sic.], and redress all things omitted or done amiss".[336] At the top of the hierarchy was the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the national and supreme court of the Church and final (earthly) authority on spiritual matters. Although intended to be a permissive rather than legislative court, by the late-

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[335] Synods were abolished by the General Assembly in 1992. Weatherhead, J., (1997) *op.cit.*
[336] *Ibid*. p. 189.

eighteenth century powers had become centralised and the Assembly rather than the Presbytery was in the process of becoming the engine of the Church, sending down dictates to be enacted at the local level. For the same reason, despite there being no requirement for an Assembly to be held other than when occasion called for it, from 1718 onwards it took place annually.[337]

As an inheritance from the Reformation, parishes in the nineteenth century had civil as well as ecclesiastical purposes, with the demarcation between the two not always clear cut.[338] The provision of extra parish churches, for example, was not simply a matter of building, but required the approval of the civil powers. To understand more fully the implications of this point, however, we must digress briefly to consider the function of parishes and the role of church and state in their creation. The parish is "a district within ascertained boundaries, and allocated to a particular church, the inhabitants of which district are in theory [...] entitled to claim the spiritual superintendence of its minister, and [...] bound to contribute to his maintenance and that of the church and manse by their representatives, the landowners of the district".[339] Originally these were purely ecclesiastical divisions of territory, with each parish being the area given to each church, with jurisdiction to create, disband or alter boundaries lying solely in the hands of the Bishop. At the Reformation, all lands previously belonging to the old church were granted to local landowners and the state, and the churches within them were assigned an additional set of civil and judicial functions. The Bishop's authority in creating and uniting parishes was gradually taken over by the Scottish Parliament, until 1619 when jurisdiction was vested in the Teind Commission, an arm of the state charged to manage land and finance belonging to the now defunct monasteries and bishoprics. By the 1707 Act of Union the Teind Commission was made part of the Court of Session, but some changes were made to ensure that the rights of landowners were observed. Under this arrangement, the Commissioners retained the right to disjoin or unite parishes and build new churches within, but the consent of three-quarters of the heritors – local landowners – of the parish was required. This effectively remained the situation until after the Disruption.

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[337] *Ibid*. p. 198.
[338] The Church retains a parish system today, but the non-ecclesiastical functions have been handed on to civil authorities.
[339] Black, W.G., *A Handbook of the Parochial Ecclesiartical Law of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Green, 1888): p. 5.

In practice, then, for a new parish to be erected heritors had to propose to the Presbytery that a new church and parish may be needed, who in turn would make a recommendation to the Commission, with whom the final decision rested.[340] As such, parishes could only be created when the financial, ecclesiastical and legal spheres were satisfied. The Commissioners did have the right to refuse to erect a new parish, but only on the grounds that the proposed new district was too heavily populated for only one church, if the teind[341] of the parish could not support the minister or the building of a new church, or if the proposed location of the new church was inconvenient and its size inadequate.[342] Excess population itself was not accepted as an adequate reason to erect a new parish until 1844.

Until 1707 all parishes within the country were parishes *quoad sacra et omnia* (shortened to *quoad omnia*), meaning that the parish was the territory of all things, ecclesiastical and civil. The Kirk Session of the parish therefore had duties that extended beyond the ecclesiastical and into the civil sphere, notably organising and allocating all monies for the poor, and supervising the parish school.[343] It also acted as a civil court for crimes such as extra-marital sex and minor theft that, although not necessarily against the law of the land, were against the moral law of God.[344] The Act of Union in 1707 provided for the development of another type of parish, *quoad sacra tantum* (*quoad sacra*), new parishes that had been annexed from an original territory and had "all the spiritual jurisdiction but none of the secular authority of the older parishes".[345] When created, parishioners of the quoad sacra parish would belong to it for all ecclesiastical matters, but remain under the original church with regard to all things civil. This was the case in Glasgow, where the Royalty marked the parish of the original Inner High church and remained the civil boundary of authority, but ecclesiastical jurisdiction was ceded to the new churches within the area.

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[340] Connell, J., *A Treatise on the Law of Scotland, respecting the erection, union, and disjunction of parishes* (Edinburgh: Peter Hill & Co., 1818): p. 88f.
[341] Scottish equivalent of the tithe. The term relates to the value of the land owned by heritors of a parish, and the amount that they were obliged to give for the support of the church. The power of the Teind Court was passed to the Court of Session at the Union of 1707.
[342] Black, W.G. (1888) *op.cit.* p. 10.
[343] Lyall, F., 'Quoad sacra parishes', in Cameron, M. deS. et al, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (T&T Clark: Edinburgh, 1993); Black, W.G. (1888) *op.cit.*; Eliot, N., *The Erection of Parishes Quoad Sacra* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1879).
[344] Devine, T.M. (1999) *op.cit.* p. 84.
[345] Lyall, F. (1993) *op.cit.*; Black, W.G. (1888) *op.cit.* p. 6.

The process of building and altering churches, as distinct from any changes to the parish, was comparatively simpler, but not unproblematic. The duty of providing and maintaining churches belonged with the heritors of the parish, but, as the House of Lords ruled in the case of Minister versus Heritors of Dunning in 1807, the authority to insist upon any changes to the fabric of the buildings belonged to Presbyteries.[346] Any minister, heritor or parishioner had the right to complain about the state and suitability of a church building, but the Presbytery alone could pursue this, with any dispute being resolved by the Court of Session. Even so, the Presbytery could only act within certain prescribed limits. The inadequate size of a church was not in itself deemed good reason to impose the expense of enlarging a building or providing a new one upon heritors – indeed, even if heritors wanted to extend the building for this reason, they were not allowed to do so. Rather, the church had to be "in a state of disrepair involving substantial and extensive repairs" before they could proceed.[347] Similarly, while the Presbytery was to ensure that any new building within its bounds was appropriately large, its authority did not extend to dictating the shape or form of the building; that remained the domain of the heritors. There was also legal precedent regarding the amount of accommodation that should be offered within each parish. In 1787 the Court of Session, presiding over the case of the Minister of Tingwall versus the Heritors, ruled that the "province of the Presbytery is to see that church is of the proper size for accommodating those who attend public worship", and fixed the appropriate amount of accommodation as two-thirds of all 'examinable' persons within the parish over the age of twelve years old.[348]

There was, however, one avenue for building new churches that did not require civil consent. A "response to population growth and mobility",[349] chapels of ease were non-parochial churches built to 'ease' the pressure of accommodation on the parish church. They were usually found in either heavily populated inner-city districts or rural areas of extensive parish bounds where the distance from parts of the parish to the church was unreasonably far. Treated with suspicion by many from the Moderate wing of the church as breeding grounds of evangelicalism, chapels were often built as alternative places of worship if the minister of the parochial church was unpopular.

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[346] Black, W.G. (1888) *op.cit.*
[347] *Ibid*. p. 57.
[348] *Ibid*. p. 57; Eliot, N. (1879) *op.cit.*
[349] Lyall, F. (1980) *op.cit.* p. 28.

Congregational and unendowed, chapels could be built by anyone connected with the church, but being reliant upon a financial sponsor or congregational donations, in practice they were run on a voluntary basis. The right to present a minister to the chapel was, however, retained by the heritor rather than the congregation, and following a ruling in 1798 it was the General Assembly rather than the local Presbytery to which applications had to be made for these chapels to be connected to the Established Church.[350] Furthermore, chapels of ease were effectively second-class churches as they were not allowed Kirk Sessions, nor could their clergy sit in church courts as the congregation was officially under the spiritual authority of the parish church. Chapels were the obvious and easiest solution to the lack of accommodation in the city, not requiring application to the lengthy legal process necessary for the creation of a parish, but many were loathe to support their creation while they remained under the control of the Council and for so long as the Church refused to recognise them as full charges, complete with all the requisite rights and responsibilities.

Two separate but related developments took place in 1834 to amend the laws of patronage and make it easier for churches and parishes to be erected. Firstly, in 1834, John Colquhoun, MP for Glasgow and Vice-President of the Glasgow Society for church extension, successfully petitioned Parliament to change the rights of patrons so that this did not include the right of presentation for churches built within the parish bounds.[351] This was a right which the Town Council had ceded the previous year, thus removing a stumbling block to many potential benefactors who were prepared to build chapels but only if they could have a say in the running of their investment. Secondly, and consolidating this, that same year the General Assembly – under Evangelical majority for the first time – accepted two acts that would change the laws of patronage and assert the place of chapels of ease as of full and equal status.[352] The Veto Act allowed the Presbytery to refuse the induction of the heritor's choice of minister to a vacant church if the majority of heads of families within the congregation opposed the intrusion, thus introducing a degree of popular control and

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[350] Burleigh, J.H.S (1960) *op.cit.* p. 320.
[351] *An act to regulate the appointment of ministers to churches in Scotland erected by voluntary contribution*, 4 & 5 Gul IV, 1834 Cap XLI, 30th July, 1834.
[352] Fry, M. & Brown, S.J. (1993) *op.cit.*

reducing the authority of the patron.[353] The Chapel Act, meanwhile, granted chapels of ease full parochial status as churches *quoad sacra*,[354] bestowing upon them parish areas and a right of representation within church courts, although civil responsibilities were still vested in the parent church. By accepting the latter Act especially, and as a result of the Parliamentary concession achieved by Colquhoun, the previously blocked path was now opened up for church extension. The two main barriers preventing the building of new churches was removed, making it not only easier to have a parish created but also more likely that people would be willing to contribute towards the cost of new churches, spurring a pioneer spirit amongst those who sought the extension of the Church into previously neglected areas of the country.

It was not only with other denominations that the Church of Scotland found conflict. From the middle of the eighteenth century the Church had been spilt internally between two different theological and world views, manifested in two parties known as the Moderates and the Evangelicals. The Moderates were the party of civilised society, favouring a rational religion based upon a Common Sense philosophy,[355] believing that through "objective enquiries into the human mind, history, and the natural world [...] men [sic.] could discern the natural laws governing the world",[356] and therefore come to a greater understanding of God. Despite this, they remained essentially orthodox in theology,[357] accepting and teaching the Calvinist tenets expounded in the Church's Confession of Faith, but theirs' was a 'softer' version, "emphasising works as well as faith, reason as well as revelation, and charity as well as religious certainty".[358] Indeed, as Machin suggests, the Moderate position could be seen as questioning the authority of the Westminster Confession from the standpoint of Enlightenment thought and an increasingly liberal outlook,[359] although others argue that they were not personally opposed to orthodoxy but, instead, welcomed open

[353] *Ibid.*, pp. 6f.
[354] *Declaratory enactment as to chapels of ease*, 31st May 1834, Acts of the General Assembly.
[355] Voges, F., 'Moderate and evangelical thinking in the later eighteenth century: differences and shared attitudes', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 22 (1986): p. 144.
[356] Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.* p. 44.
[357] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.* p. 303.
[358] Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.* p. 44.
[359] Machin, G.I.T. (1977) *op.cit.*, p. 115.

opinion and were not prepared to engage in heresy trials,[360] having a "more relaxed attitude to the standards of Presbyterian discipline, preaching, and morality".[361]

Moderates were involved in the Scottish Enlightenment and sought to propagate its doctrines throughout society, causing one commentator to suggest that their contribution "was to the intellectual and cultural development of Scotland rather than to its evangelisation".[362] In addition to their clerical duties, it was commonplace for them to be involved in a variety of learned activities like mathematics, rhetoric, philosophy, and history, with many advancements being made in these fields by ministers of the Church.[363] Indeed, one commented as late as 1805 that "after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure, for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage";[364] some even held Chairs in Universities whilst retaining their parishes. Moderates tended to keep company with the intelligentsia and aristocracy, and so it is perhaps unsurprising that they supported patronage, based upon the reasoning that the upper classes of society, as patrons invariably were, comprised an enlightened elite with superior reasoning abilities which made them 'fitter' for choosing the best candidate for the ministry of a parish.[365] Furthermore, they believed that, since patronage was enshrined in civil law, then the Church of Scotland was bound to obey, lest it lose the right of Establishment.[366] In fact, on several occasions during the eighteenth century, the Moderates sought censure in the General Assembly for Presbyteries who failed to comply with a patron's wishes and refused to induct their presentee.[367]

Moderates dominated the church courts in the mid- to late-eighteenth century, but their influence started to wane in the 1800s as the Evangelical party, rooted in the old Orthodox or Popular party, grew in number and influence, gaining control of the

[360] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.* p. 303.
[361] Brown, C. (1997) *op.cit.* p. 19.
[362] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.* p. 303.
[363] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.* p. 301.
[364] Anonymous [Thomas Chalmers], *Observations on a passage in Mr Playfair's letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, relative to the mathematicalpretensions of the of the Scottish clergy* (1805).
[365] Voges, F. (1986) *op.cit.* p. 142.
[366] Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.* p. 44.
[367] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.* p. 298.

General Assembly in 1834.[368] This came partly through the impetus of the Romantic revival, while the expansion of urban areas and populations saw an increase in support for the evangelical cause amongst middle and working classes. As a cause and effect of this, the majority of those involved in church extension were allied to the Evangelical camp. Evangelicals were "dissatisfied with the rationalism of the Enlightenment [...] [and] sought to awaken souls and consciences",[369] seeing religion not as an intellectual endeavour based around logical agreement to a set of doctrines, but dependent upon a personal response of repentance and conversion that was encouraged through an emotional style of preaching.[370] They accepted Westminster orthodoxy and its view of humanity as fundamentally depraved and corrupt, and hence thoroughly dependent upon the grace of God for salvation,[371] thus rendering the philosophical reflections of Moderates valueless.

Like the seceders of the last century, Evangelicals within the Established Church were a heterogeneous group, holding a range of theological and political views, but they united in opposition to patronage.[372] In keeping with their belief that the "gospel addressed itself to the learned and unlearned alike"[373] – a claim not difficult to reconcile with the cause of church extension – many rejected the Moderate position which held social élites as more capable of choosing a minister for a congregation (prompting the more accurate description of such members of the Evangelical party as 'non-intrusionists'), and preferred instead that congregations be given the right to choose through means of a popular vote.[374] For as much as this democratic tendency concerned both the Moderates and government as revolutionary,[375] from the late-eighteenth century onwards the Evangelical party gained the support of Scottish Whigs who "were anxious to use the anti-patronage agitation in the Church to further their own political campaign for Parliamentary and burgh reform".[376] In contrast, the Moderate cause was favoured by the Tories, who saw Evangelicalism, "with its impassioned sermons on the equal depravity of all souls, as a threat to the

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[368] Brown, C. (1997) *op.cit.* p. 21.
[369] Machin, G.I.T. (1977) *op.cit.* p. 116.
[370] Voges, F. (1986) *op.cit.* p. 146.
[371] Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.* pp. 46f.
[372] Brown, C. (1997) *op.cit.* p. 19.
[373] Voges, F. (1986) *op.cit.* p. 146.
[374] Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.* p. 40.
[375] *Ibid.* pp. 20f.
[376] *Ibid.* p. 48.

subordination of social ranks". The parties were not, however, split entirely upon political lines. Several high profile Moderates and Evangelicals were known to be batting politically for the other side, and allegiance was loose and dependent upon the cause in question. Likewise, politicians of both sides often courted the religious parties for political reasons and would willingly shift position when politics demanded. Importantly, though, the majority of Evangelicals were in favour of the Establishment principle – indeed, it has been argued that their position strengthened the Established Church against Dissenting and Voluntary opposition[377] – and their resistance to the state lay purely in the belief that by approving patronage the state had stepped beyond its sphere and into the rightful realm of the Church.

As Voges warns, the similarities between Moderates and Evangelicals far outnumbered the differences,[378] and any attempt to define them according to a set of opinions is both erroneous and bound to create caricature. Rather, the difference was "mostly one of mood or sentiment".[379] In terms of theology, interpretation of scripture, adherence to the Westminster Confession and even the general understanding of the Church-state relationship, it would be difficult to separate many within either party. Both parties fell within orthodoxy, albeit at separate ends of the spectrum, and the difference in the middle ground, where Church court decisions tended to rest, between an Evangelical Moderate and a Moderate Evangelical was paper-thin. It was only with regards to patronage that there was major disagreement, and yet this proved to be a fundamental difference that would rend the Church apart at the time of the Disruption.

Entangling the Church and the City

The growth of the country's population, especially in the urban community, gave the Established Church a significant challenge, as the ecclesiastical apparatus was being rendered increasingly inadequate. As discussed earlier, the extent of population far outstripped the available provision of seats at worship, while the clergy found the task of giving pastoral care and religious guidance to parishes of over ten thousand people

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[377] Machin, G.I.T. (1977) *op.cit.* p. 116.
[378] Voges, F. (1986) *op.cit.*
[379] *Ibid*. p. 143

beyond their abilities.[380] Nearly all agreed that "the present parishes are too populous and large for the labours of one individual – that the best interests of the people are suffering – that many are perishing for lack of knowledge".[381] The ecclesiastical provision that was arguably already insufficient was nearing meltdown.

At the same time, the parish churches within the Royalty were increasingly segregated as the Council began to operate seat rents as a commercial operation.[382] Previously seats were allocated to different sections of the parish population (provided that they could be paid for), with revenues used to maintain the fabric of the churches and pay expenses such as clerical stipend.[383] This policy gradually shifted in urban areas to a system based upon free market principles, putting more seats on the open market and pushing prices up until the provision of cheaper seats was effectively discarded in 1813, causing, as C. Brown suggests, the "swift exclusion of virtually all non-paying worshippers – predominantly the working classes and the poor".[384] As a result, churches increasingly became dominated by the middle and upper class, many of whom lived outside the parish but could afford to pay for their pew while parishioners missed out.[385] The Tron Church, considered the premier church of the urban élite, was, for instance, notorious as being attended predominantly if not exclusively by those who had long since moved from the area that had since become a slum and that formed the large part of the parish. This was an extreme case, but to a lesser degree the pattern was commonplace in the other congregations of the city. This in turn had many implications for religious provision, not the least of which was the complication of simple assumptions that could be made about church accommodation relative to local parochial need.

Aside from the financial constraints that prevented many from renting pews, there were a host of societal pressures that prevented the poor from attending worship. Many were reportedly dissuaded from going because of the social shame they felt at

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[380] For an example of some of the problems the growing cities were causing ministers, see Lapslie, J., *Letters addressed to the magistrates and Council of Glasgow [...] anent accommodation in churches* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1811): pp.25f.

[381] *Report of the speeches delivered before the Presbytery of Glasgow, on the motion for inducting the Rev Dr McFarlane* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1823): p. 29.

[382] Brown, C. (1987) *op.cit.* p. 354.

[383] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

[384] *Ibid.*, p. 352.

[385] *Ibid.*, p. 352.

making a visible descent to the cheaper seats which – inadvertently or otherwise – tended to be located in obvious positions at the front of churches and around the pulpit,[386] feeling that this publicly demeaned them in front of their peers.[387] Others were unable to afford new clothes and had only their daily rags to wear, and were ashamed to attend worship in this state.[388] Furthermore, Brown suggests that in addition to these pressures, the wealthy were increasingly drawn to discourses of hygiene which made them less inclined to mix with the 'unclean' poor, paralleling concerns about the spatial proximity of the 'impure', the dirty, identified by Sibley.[389] Indeed, the Council received a variety of complaints opposing the continuance of the regular Thursday and Sunday afternoon services that were attended predominantly by the poor.[390]

Many within the Established Church expressed concern at the increasing separation of classes and the attendant alienation of the poor from religious ordinances, believing that this prevented the churches from fulfilling the very task for which an Establishment was designed: to provide religious support for those otherwise unable to afford it. Others, while not unsympathetic to those in extreme poverty, saw the hierarchical division of society as a reflection of divine ordination.[391] Even so, there was near unanimity of agreement that religion was not the preserve of the wealthy, but should be held openly and unreservedly to both the rich and poor. For some this was based upon principle; others were more pragmatic, arguing that only religion could (re)create a moral community in the city and contain the potential societal combustion and air of revolution that seemed to dwell especially in the 'darker' corners of the city parishes. For many believed, as Maver comments, that there was:

> A malaise which seemed to be gnawing at the city's heart, as the rapid
> pace of industrialisation coupled with increased destitution and disease
> began to overwhelm the urban infrastructure. The disturbing and
> potentially destructive forces fuelled the notion that somehow moral
> values had become distorted.[392]

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[386] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Wm. Collins, 1836):p. 14.
[387] *Ibid.*, p.15.
[388] *First report of St Enoch's Parochial Association for Promoting the Interests of the Church of Scotland and the General Welfare and Improvement of the Parish* (Glasgow: 1838): p. 4.
[389] Sibley, D., 'Purification of space', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 6 (1988): pp. 409-421; Sibley, D., *Outsiders in Urban Societies* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1981).
[390] Brown, C. (1987) *op.cit.* p. 353.
[391] Cheyne, A. (1983) *op.cit.*
[392] Maver, I. (1995) *op.cit.* p. 253.

In response, the Church, motivated in particular by a strong middle-class evangelical spirit, engaged in a number of initiatives to re-establish a meaningful presence in the city and to create a more effective ecclesiastical landscape, in the hope that it could (re)claim a place at the heart of society and provide the growing population with satisfactory religious accommodation.[393] Such initiatives took place on a variety of scales, from nationwide campaigns with local manifestations, to those operating across the city or Presbytery. Indeed, many congregations developed societies to engage in small social innovations that related to the specific needs of their own parish. Schemes included renting rooms in schools and houses in the outer reaches and denser areas of the parish to be used on Sundays as 'preaching stations', the provision of more Sabbath Schools, employing missionaries to work in the most destitute corners of the city, mobilising the eldership to take responsibility for small districts within each parish, and encouraging the clergy to forego other pursuits and concentrate instead upon a full-time pastoral ministry.

Church extension was the largest in scope of these initiatives, seeking to increase the number of seats available for public worship by increasing the number of church buildings, and perhaps the most fundamental, as a spatial strategy designed to extend the Church's influence across the urban environment and as a way of providing the bases from which these other initiatives could launch. Calls to increase the number of places of worship in the country were receiving support nationally through growing support for the Evangelical cause, and were answered in part in 1824 when Parliament approved a grant of £100,000 for the building of forty new churches in the rural Highlands. Repeated calls for relief in urban communities were ignored, however; in response, in 1828 the General Assembly set up the 'Committee on Church Accommodation' to apply to the Government for additional aid. This too had little success until re-branded the 'Committee on Church Extension' in 1834, attempting instead to raise funds through the voluntary giving of church members, hoping that the state would be more likely to provide endowments if a basic infrastructure of buildings was already in place. The cause received a major setback in1838 when the government closed the door on funding for additional churches following the publication of the findings of the Select Committee on Religious Instruction, who

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[393] For a detailed study of the social initiatives sponsored by the Evangelical wing of the Church, see Brown, C.G. (1982) *op.cit.*

concluded that, between Establishment and Dissent, the religious needs of the country were more than satisfied.[394] Despite this, the General Assembly Committee, under Chalmers' direction, achieved success, building over two-hundred churches within a decade thanks to public donations that totalled more than £200,000 within four years. In practical terms this was aided by the recent changes to the laws on patronage and the creation of parishes that "open[ed] a door of enlargement for the extension of the Church"[395] and started a decade-long explosion of church building, with growth reaching a scale unprecedented before or since in Scotland.

Already by this time there were various local schemes springing up throughout the country with extension on their minds. The first, predating the national Committee by a matter of months, was formed within Glasgow, where a number of middle-class church members who were concerned with the lack of ecclesiastical provision in the city grouped together to form the 'Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs', setting the somewhat lofty aim of building twenty new churches in the city over ten years, and a further two per annum for as long as population growth created a need. The national Committee were content to let the Glasgow Society operate independently on an official level at least, save for one or two instances of mutual co-operation, effectively delegating all church building duties in the city to its care, and the Glasgow Society were successful too, building or sponsoring twenty new churches in the city between 1834 and 1843.

The fruitful decade of growth would soon wither, as the civil Courts, following a series of test cases, ruled that the Church had gone beyond its legal jurisdiction, making decisions that rightly rested with the state, and so judged the Veto and Chapels Acts to be *ultra vires*, and therefore illegal. The General Assembly appeal was rejected by the House of Lords, and it became increasingly obvious that the Evangelical, non-intrusionist wing, already aggrieved at the subsequent reintroduction of patronage and abolition of *quoad sacra* parishes, saw the interference of the state in overturning the Assembly's decisions as an intrusion too far. In the end those opposed to civil interference and those content with the status quo could not be reconciled, and

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[394] Fry, M. & Brown, S.J. (1993) *op.cit.*, pp. 9f.
[395] *Second annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs, for the year 1836* (Glasgow: 1837): p. 7.

around a third of ministers and members of mostly Evangelical persuasion left the Church of Scotland to form the Free Church in 1843, in a schism that came to be known as the Disruption.

Conclusion

Glasgow in the early part of the nineteenth century was a city undergoing significant change on a number of fronts, from the expansion of its population and material infrastructure to the political and religions debates located and acted out within its boundaries. Such changes formed the situation to which church extension was a reaction, and the context in which it was enacted, entangling the movement with a variety of civil and religious matters not strictly within the realm of church building *per se*. Thus, the world of church extension was also a world of social concern, of political reform, of ecclesiastical division within and without the Established Church, of consternation at the civil patronage of things considered sacred. It was in and through this world that those involved in church-building projects had to negotiate a path for the Church to regain a foothold, not only in the material landscape of the city, but also at the heart of the society that filled it.

Chapter 4

The Unholy City? Irreligious Geographies of Glasgow

<u>Introduction</u>

Over the first forty years of the nineteenth century calls for the building of more churches in Glasgow within the fold of the Church of Scotland grew from a murmur to a roar. Initially the thrust of this claim was founded upon legal obligation and practical expedience: the law demanded that a certain proportion of the population be accommodated at religious ordinances, and the numbers who sought worship were substantially higher than the seats provided. Underpinning this, though, was a deeper concern regarding the role of religion in urban civil society, specifically the belief that it was the growing irreligion, both reflected and caused by the lack of ecclesiastical provision, that lay at the heart of many of the social problems facing the city.

The purpose of this chapter is neither to judge the merits of arguments for additional churches on the basis of specific evidence, nor to consider the accuracy or otherwise of claims which tied irreligiosity with poverty and vice. Rather, by listening to the different voices calling for the building of extra churches, the chapter allows a viewing of how such discourses were developed, refined and mobilised, offering in the process an insight into how these claims became legitimated and empowered in the social sphere, and illuminating the various roots and motivations that lay behind the voicing of the discourses. These arguments are organised chronologically to show how they developed in content and authority, building upon each other to achieve increasingly ambitious material ends. This also involves unpacking the relationship as it was understood to exist between church and society, while detailing the complex and ambivalent understandings of the city that lay at the base of arguments for greater ecclesiastical provision, taking into account the areas of overlap between religious and cultural ideals. More specifically, the different claims regarding want of church accommodation within the city will be posited as a collection of arguments that created, reinforced and perpetuated a series of discourses within which the city was framed as a place of heathenism, the poor as ungodly, and religiosity as an object that could be understood and verified by statistical and social science methods of analysis.

As Brown argues, the unholy city discourse – of the industrial urban as a place of religious decline where the working classes are increasingly alienated from the churches – has filtered through from contemporary commentators in the nineteenth century to the present day.[396] This chapter will seek to show how such discourses were present in Glasgow in the first half of the nineteenth century, and how they informed the calls for more churches. I would, however, seek to extend Brown's analysis and argue that the discourses produced went beyond depictions that characterised the city as ungodly and the dwelling place of alienated working classes, creating instead a narrative within which poverty and irreligion became thoroughly entwined with criminality, intemperance, vice, disease and the threat of revolution, reinforcing the distance that existed between rich and poor even where attempts were being made to narrow it. At the same time, the discourses fed upon the notion of an evil other – of a city full of the ungodly, those resistant to God's word. By introducing these debates, the chapter charts the shifting contexts through which projects of church extension in Glasgow were authorised and could be mobilised. Furthermore, by considering the varied evidence produced to 'prove' these discourses of irreligion, the chapter will begin to weave a tapestry of the immoral and unholy landscape, piecing together the visions and geographies of the city that inspired those involved with church extension, and which they sought to reform. As such, while ecclesiastical provision may seem a deceptively simple, one-dimensional issue, the desired reconfiguring of the material landscape wrought by the building of new churches masks foundations fraught with diverse and contested religious, moral and political imaginings.

Laying the Foundations

Lapslie's Memorial

Although the growth of Glasgow would escalate as the nineteenth-century progressed, the first calls for an increase in ecclesiastical provision were sounded in its early days. In 1808, the Rev. James Lapslie,[397] minister of Campsie, an area to the north of the

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[396] Brown, C. (2001) *op.cit.*

[397] For more on Lapslie, see Cameron, J., *The Parish of Campsie* (Kirkintilloch: McLeod, 1892) and Donnelly, M., *Thomas Muir of Huntershill* (Bishopbriggs: Bishopbriggs Town Council, 1975). Although barely mentioned by any historical study, Lapslie was well known in the West of Scotland during the early nineteenth century as the informant whose evidence secured the prosecution of the Radical lawyer Thomas Muir of Huntershill, a role which saw him variously commemorated in a local

city, petitioned his local Presbytery on the grounds that "the inhabitants within the bounds of the Presbytery of Glasgow are not sufficiently accommodated for attending Divine worship within the pale of our ecclesiastical Establishment, as the law of the land, and the interests of our Church and people require",[398] and asked that accommodation within each parish be investigated. Despite spending his entire ministry in a rural charge, far from the crowded streets of the inner city, he had long complained about the lack of accommodation on a national basis, having petitioned the General Assembly and the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr on several occasions to little success,[399] but this was the first time that he had addressed his concerns to one specific portion of the country. Importantly, it is likely that he had the support of Stevenson MacGill, the Evangelical minister of the Tron church in the city centre and an influential figure in the Presbytery. MacGill's experiences in one of the poorest parishes in the city prompted his involvement in a variety of schemes designed to improve social conditions and provide care for the most helpless of the growing population. Indeed, he became known as an advocate of prison reform and the education of prisoners, and as a supporter of schemes to assist the insane, delinquent children and even 'fallen' women.[400] Although the extent of his support for Lapslie is not apparent from the records, his record in supporting similar measures, his membership of the committee appointed to investigate Lapslie's claims, and the strong backing he would later give to the cause of church building, all suggest that his sympathies would lie with the proposal.

The Presbytery concurred with the petition and in response formed the 'Committee Anent the Law Relative to Accommodation in Parish Churches', to which Lapslie was appointed chair.[401] The committee was charged with ascertaining present levels of religious accommodation, whether any provision was made for the poor, and the convenience of the church's location,[402] using data furnished by the clergy of the

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nursery rhyme and a Boosey and Hawkes operetta. Lapslie also greeted Vincent Lunardi, the balloonist, who landed in the Parish of Campsie in 1785 following one of the first manned flights.

[398] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, June, 1808.

[399] Lapslie, J., *Letters addressed to the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow [...] anent accommodation in churches* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1811): p. 2.

[400] Mechie, S. (1960) *op.cit.,* pp. 41f.

[401] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 18th January, 1809. Also serving on the committee were Mr Dow, William Porteous (minister of the Outer High Church and well-known opponent of Evangelical schemes), Stevenson MacGill and Mr McLean.

[402] *Ibid*., 18th January, 1809.

parishes to undertake a statistical analysis that could determine the extent of any neglect and offer 'proof' of deficiency to the Council. This was the first time in Glasgow, and possibly in Scotland, that a Presbytery acknowledged that the ecclesiastical infrastructure might be insufficient and sought to investigate the matter. Despite this, Lapslie's intervention has been largely forgotten from the history books, and he appears as a marginal figure if at all. The Committee on Church Accommodation, as it came to be known, reported that there was a large deficiency in accommodation throughout the entire Presbytery. This was especially true in the case of the Royalty, where there were just over nine-thousand seats (thirteen-thousand if including the non-parochial chapels for Gaelic speakers) spread across eight parish churches for a population of just under sixty thousand. The neighbouring Barony parish was similarly poorly provided for, with only five-thousand of its nearly forty-thousand residents able to attend worship at any one time.[403] Using the standards demanded legally for church accommodation, and judging that three-quarters of the population was over the age of twelve,[404] the Committee calculated that two-thirds of the 'examinable' population amounted to one half of the populace. On this basis, within the Royalty alone fifteen thousand people who were legally entitled to seats within the Established Church could not be accommodated.

The Committee proposed that application should be made to the Council and respective heritors for funds to build three new parish churches within the Royalty, "in such quarters of the town as may tend more particularly to accommodate the laborious and poorer class of inhabitants",[405] and another three between the adjoining Barony and Gorbals parishes. The Presbytery accepted the tenor of the report, but some doubts were expressed as to the politics of asking for a specific number of churches for fear that this may offend, and a shortened and amended version of the report (or 'Memorial', as it was termed) was sent to the Council instead.[406] This

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[403] Figures reproduced in Lapslie, J., *Letters addressed to the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow [...] anent accommodation in churches* (1811): p. 35. The initial report of the Committee is not preserved in the archive, but can be partially reconstructed using a pamphlet published later by Lapslie, as will be discussed later in the chapter. Population figures were taken initially from returns by parish ministers, and corrected where necessary by the Government ordered census that took place soon after.

[404] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 2nd August, 1809. For statistical details on population, the Committee used the Census of 1801.

[405] Lapslie, J., *Letters addressed to the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow [...] anent accommodation in churches* (1811): pp. 28f.

[406] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 28th June, 1811.

outlined the statistics showing deficiency, the law as it related to accommodation, and the number of churches required, but left out potentially inflammatory comments that might sour the otherwise cordial relationship between court and Council. Indeed, the Presbytery would only use what they described as the 'Law and Fact' surrounding the issue, avoiding any statement that could not be backed up by analysing data on population and attendance. Lapslie, meanwhile, was granted the Presbytery's permission to publish an expanded version of the original report under his own name, which contained a more extensive interpretation, a copy of which was sent to each member of the Council and made publicly available.[407]

The first half of Lapslie's paper reproduced the substance of the Committee's work, offering a series of statistics regarding accommodation within the city as well as an analysis of the law to prove the "legality, necessity, and expediency" of extra churches as of benefit to the "civil and religious interests of the community".[408] This was backed up by a series of statistics which showed that "the religious accommodation has, by no means, kept pace with the wealth and population of this great community",[409] meaning that the law of accommodation was not being fulfilled. Despite the Council having sanctioned the building of three new churches during the previous century, the growth of the city meant that in every parish there were thousands who, though legally entitled to a seat at worship, found no room in the church.[410] In addition, Lapslie argued that there were a further fifty-five thousand who were not entitled yet "would wish to hear the preaching of the word of God, if the means were afforded them",[411] and even more who were not legally 'examinable persons' but would benefit from churchgoing. Furthermore, he claimed that the "peculiar local advantages"[412] of Glasgow meant that the city would continue to grow, deepening levels of deprivation, although precisely what he meant by this claim he left undefined. On this basis, he concluded, the 'Law and Fact' dictated that a minimum of three churches were required within the Royalty.

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[407] Lapslie, J., *Letters addressed to the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow [...] anent accommodation in churches* (1811).
[408] *Ibid.*, pp. 34f.
[409] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[410] *Ibid.*, p. 25; data used from p. 35.
[411] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[412] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

The total cost to the Council of building these three new churches was estimated to be just under £1,500, minus the £200 liable to be raised through seat rents. Lapslie suggested that this sum be covered by a tax on citizens, with each expected to give between 6s. and 1s.5d. according to their wealth, while five-thousand of the poorest families would not be expected to contribute.[413] This, he thought, would be eminently affordable, given the "great and rapid increase in the value of heritable and moveable property in the City of Glasgow, within these last thirty years"; and, since the Magistrates had been able to fund a variety of other improvements in the city, they could surely do so for the religious needs of the community. Lapslie argued further that this was not just a legal necessity, but reflected a want within the community, commenting that "in every company where ecclesiastics and laity meet together, the want of proper accommodation in our parish churches forms a common and interesting topic of conversation". He also suggested that people were querying why the Council was "expending so much money in the frivolous decorations of the external fabric [...] when they ought rather to have attended to the internal conveniency, to suitable and decent accommodation",[414] with the latter comment perhaps a gibe at the Council's regular improvement of church aesthetics as a means of making seat rents more attractive.[415] Furthermore, this suggests that Lapslie's concern was not with the symbolism of spires and sacred spaces, but with adding to the material landscape, augmenting the ecclesiastical infrastructure through which the business of the sacred took place.

Lapslie closely associated the prevalence of religion with high standards of morality, and argued that the "proposition is founded in the imperious necessity of the case, and proceeds from a sincere desire to promote religion and virtue amongst the community".[416] His arguments thus went beyond statistical analyses and legal obligations, resting instead on the claim that the want of churches had serious political and religious implications for both the Council and the Established Church, describing "the want of accommodation for attending Divine worship within the pale of our

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[413] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[414] *Ibid.*, p. 68f.
[415] Brown, C., 'The costs of pew-renting: church management, church-going and social class in nineteenth-century Glasgow', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38 (1987): pp. 352f.
[416] Lapslie, J., *Letters addressed to the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow [...] anent accommodation in churches* (1811): p. 64.

national church, as a great political evil".[417] He argued that there was a clear rise in atheism and radicalism in the country, and that it was the task of the Establishment in all its civil and ecclesiastical guises to protect the interests of civil society against this threat, with churches being one of the best defences of the Establishment, and necessary for the security of the country. Indeed, Lapslie suggested that the regular attendance of the military at worship was vital to inspire them to duty and good conduct.[418] Furthermore, he focused upon the working class as most in need of proper accommodation, and suggested that the new churches should be located in poorer districts, while condemning the lack of seating reserved for those unable to pay anything or nothing for a seat as a particular problem. Given the implicit conservatism that pervades the document, this may be read as a call for religion to act as a means of tempering any potentially insurrectionary threat from the working class, bearing in mind the context of the recent French Revolution which was still within living memory, although, importantly, Lapslie does not explicitly make this point.

Extending this, he argued that additional accommodation was necessary to counteract the growth of Dissenting churches on the grounds that they undermine the authority and religious discipline exercised by the Established Church, thus endangering public virtue in the community:

> You may depend upon it as a sacred truth, that every species of secession from its government, its worship, and wholesome discipline, is detrimental to the interest of the state, and prejudicial to the public morals of the country.[419]

Lapslie argued that there was a direct causal link between the growth of Dissent and increasing levels of licentiousness and vice within the community. This was not because Dissenters actively promoted immoral behaviour – although he did not exclude this possibility – but because only an Established Church had moral and popular authority, with every breach or opposition diluting this authority and weakening the influence of the Church upon the morals of the people. This was especially the case in Scotland, where the ecclesiastical establishment was not represented in Parliament or maintained by a strong hierarchy, but by the influence of its teachers and preachers upon the people, the justness of its acts and common

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[417] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[418] *Ibid.*, p. 121.
[419] *Ibid.*, p. 451.

assent.[420] Any form of Dissent would therefore weaken the ability of the Church to check the population's behaviour, and result in a decline of public morality. Lapslie's arguments were not entirely negative: he also believed that the structure and doctrine of the Established Church allowed it to act as a force for civil good, providing a mechanism for the safety and stability of society that could benefit the collective soul of the population. Furthermore, unlike non-conforming churches which could only be built when the public had both a want for religion and the ability to pay for a church, the Established Church was not subject to the laws of supply and demand, and so had a permanency that neither relied upon the changing religiosity of the community, nor required the assent of those "who, if left to their own discretion, would never seek knowledge to enlighten their minds".[421]

The cause of growing secession could, however, be traced back to those in authority neglecting their religious duties. Indeed, Lapslie attributed "the rapid increase of Secession from the Church of Scotland, particularly of that branch of it styled the Presbytery of Relief [...] chiefly [...] to the want of proper accommodation to the inhabitants in their respective parishes".[422] Had the population been adequately accommodated over the previous forty years in keeping with the changes taking place in the city, then those who became Dissenters purely to allow them to afford worship would have been able to remain within the Church of Scotland, as they wanted. Since the Council acted as heritors in the city, he argued, there were no 'violent' uses of patronage, the cause over which most Dissenting churches seceded; and, given that there were no complaints of erroneous doctrine within the Established Church, it seemed that the only possible reason for people attending Dissenting churches was that they could not find accommodation within the Church of Scotland. He spoke of ministers of the Relief church who said openly that, opposition to patronage aside, their chief reason for opening chapels was "to grant relief to their poor, industrious, and pious countrymen, who through the culpable neglect of the constituted authorities, are improperly accommodated for attending the ordinances of the gospel, in our ecclesiastical establishment".[423] Churches belonging to the original secession, meanwhile, which held stronger grievances against the Church of Scotland, were

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[420] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[421] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[422] *Ibid.*, pp. 40f.
[423] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

barely able to maintain a presence due to low numbers. If, therefore, Dissenting churches eroded the disciplinary authority of the Church of Scotland, but were allowed to flourish through the lack of accommodation within the Establishment, then the Council in Lapslie's view was surely obliged to build the extra churches as required by law, and so end this great political evil.[424]

Unsurprisingly given his views on seceding churches, Lapslie did not include the seats offered by the thirty-five Dissenting congregations in his statistics on ecclesiastical provision, on the basis that they were not instruments for worship but of harm. Even so, he noted that there would still be a shortage of accommodation even if Dissenting churches were counted. The twelve Dissenting chapels in the city contained fifteen-thousand seats as a maximum, which, when added to the Established Church numbers, still only gave a total of just over thirty-thousand seats, twenty-thousand short of the accommodation required by law.[425] Indeed, even if the proposed six churches were built, over ten thousand persons legally entitled to accommodation would remain without provision. This did little to endear Lapslie to Dissenters, while the Presbytery also seemed less convinced and left these arguments out of the application to the Council. Despite this, Lapslie noted that he had received "flattering" comments from members of the Court, and was satisfied that his interpretation would "gain their approbation".[426]

Lapslie's parish experience may help to explain both his zeal for church building and his opposition to Dissent. Campsie was a small but growing town, and he warned in the entry in the *Statistical Account* of 1794 that if "the population of this district continues to increase, there will be an absolute necessity of building a more commodious church in a more centrical spot, for the better accommodation of the inhabitants".[427] Furthermore, he had continual problems with the Relief Church in his parish that began at the time of his election when, against the will of the people, the patron imposed him upon the Church, a move that the Presbytery refused to oppose, stirring dissent against the Established Church and causing many within Campsie to secede. Despite Lapslie being an object rather than subject in this debate, resentment

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[424] *Ibid.*, pp. 55f.
[425] *Ibid.*, p. 64
[426] *Ibid.*, p. 106
[427] *The Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Wm. Creech, 1791-1799): vol.15, p. 368.

lingered and his early ministry was marred by hostility from Dissenting parishioners
that engendered within him resentment against the Relief Church and hostility to
Dissent in general. Lapslie was also known for his political allegiance to the Tories
and a fervent belief in every form of Establishment, achieving notoriety as an
informant during the capture and trial of the Radical lawyer Thomas Muir in the
1790s, for which he received an annual honorarium from the Government.[428] This
political aspect, tallied to his Evangelical theology, is evident in some aspects of the
proposal, not least in the suggestion that churches are barriers that can protect the
safety and security of the State.

Council Response, Public Reactions
The Council responded to the proposals in 1812 by agreeing to build one new church
in the poorer east end of the town,[429] and, following a petition from members of the
Established Church chapel in North Albion Street, by entering into negotiations to
purchase the building and secure its erection as a full parochial and endowed
charge.[430] The latter was discontinued soon after, but a Committee – imaginatively
titled the 'Commitee on the Proposed New Church' – was formed to investigate a
viable location for the new church and to enquire after the likely cost. A site was
selected near the deprived area of the Gallowgate, which was "more convenient for
the class of inhabitants for whose accommodation this church is chiefly intended",[431]
signalling that the Committee accepted Lapslie's premise that it was the working
classes who were most in need of additional religious provision. To meet the cost of
this building and to provide for an increase in ministerial stipends that they hoped to
grant, the Council looked into ways of finding additional capital, and it was even
hoped that enough might be raised to allow the building of a second new church.[432]
The Lord Provost, perhaps moved by the spirit, suggested that the least offensive
means might be to levy "a tax upon spirituous liquors consumed within the
Royalty",[433] and it was decided that such a tax should be supplemented by a tariff on
all properties rented at over £5 per annum. A Bill was drawn up along those lines and

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[428] Cameron, J., *The Parish of Campsie* (Kirkintilloch: McLeod, 1892); Donnelly, M., *Thomas Muir of Huntershill* (Bishopbriggs: Bishopbriggs Town Council, 1975).
[429] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 20th March, 1812.
[430] *Ibid*., 23rd July, 1812.
[431] Committee on Proposed New Church, Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 25th September, 1812.
[432] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 16th September, 1813.
[433] *Ibid*., 10th September, 1813.

the Council petitioned Parliament for permission to adopt the measures "for the said necessary and beneficial purposes".[434]

Raising money through taxation rather than relying upon existing funds was an unusual step for the Council to take, and it is instructive that this was suggested by Lapslie rather than by the Presbytery, perhaps suggesting that it was his publication rather than the official document from the local Church that best persuaded the Council. Certainly, others were quite clear that he was the key influence behind the scheme. One author, for example, noted that upon reading Lapslie's pamphlet when first published, he had ignored it as a "folly", but the Bill showed that the Council had listened.[435] Another, speaking of the "intolerant spirit [...] [and] repulsive cant" streaming from the pen of the Campsie clergyman, condemned him as the "sole mover and supporter of the measure, and that to his single, and almost unassisted labour, the people of Glasgow have to ascribe the present bill".[436]

Reaction against the Bill was immediate and strong, with numerous meetings held and a flurry of pamphlets produced, both in condemnation and in support of the measure. A glance at some of this material indicates the extent and nature of the public response to the proposal. One wit, for example, published an account of proceedings written in a faux-biblical style, castigating Lapslie as "that strange Priest that dwelt beyond the wilderness, and had made himself hateful to the people",[437] and implored the city rulers to "not trample upon the people, for [...] they are become wise, and their burdens are already sufficiently grievous".[438] Another paraphrased this account and printed it in the form of a hymn sheet.[439] Trades' House responded immediately with a statement declaring that "the principle was objectionable and obnoxious", their objection being that it was contrary to the law for people to be taxed without their consent, especially since the public was clearly, they claimed, against the proposal. As such, they urged the Council to "abandon this measure altogether, on the grounds that

[434] *Ibid.*, 2nd November, 1813.
[435] 'Obscure' [anon.], *Letter from a citizen of Glasgow* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1813): p. 4.
[436] 'A Writer' [anon.], *Observations upon the representation and memorial of the Rev James Lapslie* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1813): p.7.
[437] Anon. [Neil, G. & Duncan, W.], *Chronicles of the Isles* (Glasgow: Walter Duncan, n.d. [1813]): chpt. LXXII: verse 13.
[438] *Ibid.*, verse 15.
[439] Anon. [Neil, G. & Duncan, W.], *Song of Triumph! For the citizens of Glasgow; or, a paraphrase on chapter LXXI and LXXII of the Chronicles of the Isles* (Glasgow: Walter Duncan, n.d. [1813]).

it is odious and disagreeable to all classes of the community",[440] signalling a serious threat to the civic authority's intentions, given the close ties between the two bodies.

Notably, while it was claimed by some that "all citizens" were in opposition to the Bill, it was the voices of the moneyed that dominated and which have been preserved. Opposition was especially strong amongst the middle class who, as property owners, would be hit in the pocket, but had little legal means of objection, as they were without representation on the Council. A group of public bodies, including the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, the Committee of Fourteen Incorporated Trades and the Grocers' Company, joined forces to condemn the "breach of the rights and privileges" of citizens, who would be liable to a burden imposed on no-one else in the country. A group of Quakers even petitioned the Council in opposition.[441] Others objected to the Bill on the grounds that there was no want of religious education or knowledge within the city, contradicting entirely the position advocated by the Church and Lapslie, and thereby insisting that the Bill was unnecessary. The letter to the Council from the group of public bodies, for instance, claimed that:

> [N]o-where in the British empire are the wants of the people in these respects more amply or more successfully supplied than in Glasgow, that there is not a city or town in the British empire having a population so numerous and so much employed in manufactures where there is so general a diffusion of religious knowledge, and where, under the hardships and privations of the late distressing times, the labouring classes have conducted themselves in a more loyal, peaceable, and exemplary manner, and that no city in the British empire has manifested a greater zeal for the honor[442] of true religion and enjoyed at the same time a more complete freedom from religious animosities and dissentions.[443]

Other groups extended this argument, noting that the population was not demanding that more churches be built, and arguing that it was only in Lapslie's interpretation of the statistics that any shortfall of provision was found,[444] effectively rejecting any claim of the unholy city. Such opinions were, however, exceptional. The majority,

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[440] 'Memorial and representation of the Trades' House to the magistrates and council of Glasgow', Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 26th November, 1813.
[441] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 7th December, 1813.
[442] Gendered language was considered unproblematic within the mind-set of the early- to mid-eighteenth century and occurs repeatedly in quotations from primary documents. While acknowledging that this is problematic, I will not correct every instance of such language.
[443] Memorial of public bodies, Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 26th November, 1813.
[444] 'A Writer' [anon.], *Observations upon the representation and memorial of the Rev James Lapslie* (1813).

though opposed to the Bill, did not contest that there was a lack of accommodation, but that this was not a problem because, despite this deficit, there were fewer people actually attending worship than there were pew-spaces. Fifty years previously, it was suggested, the Burgh Churches were overfilled with ten thousand people every Sunday, "whereas now, notwithstanding the additional population, there is not near that number of sitters".[445] Further:

> It is also vain to calculate upon the number of seats that are set[446] –
> though still they are not all set – as it is certain that there is not a few
> that take seats, who are determined never to occupy them; or, which is
> the same, they never do use them.[447]

Indeed, in some ways such opposition to the Bill served to reinforce the narrative that underpinned it – namely that the city was becoming increasingly irreligious as people therein were increasingly not associated with any church. In this sense, Glasgow was understood already to be an unholy place, with changes to the ecclesiastical infrastructure unlikely to reverse the emerging irreligiosity. Perhaps adding weight to this claim, it was argued that there was no desire within the community for greater provision, and that if "there must be an Established Church, there should surely be no more of them [churches] than there are persons who want them".[448] Elsewhere, referring explicitly to the theories of Adam Smith that Lapslie had rejected, a critic argued:

> Do the people of Glasgow complain of the want of churches? They
> most certainly do not. They have nearly *forty churches*, and all of
> them sufficient to contain the hearers except the Established
> Churches, *which, to be sure, are never half filled, and what is more
> remarkable, never fully set*. [...] [F]rom whatever reason, the badness
> of the established clergy, or the badness of their cause, their churches
> have yet room for a greater portion than at any time occupies them.[449]

In response, one writer sympathetic to the scheme commented that churches were unlike other commodities, and that, while supply may presently outstrip demand, although not the supply demanded by law, extra churches would encourage more people to attend, partly for practical reasons of being more conveniently located for some. They would allow more seats to be offered to those prepared to attend,[450] unlike

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[445] 'Obscure' [anon.], *Letter from a citizen of Glasgow* (1813): p. 5.
[446] I.e. occupied.
[447] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[448] *Ibid*, p. 15f.
[449] *Ibid.*, p. 18. Original emphasis.
[450] 'A Coach', *Reasons for and against the proposed measure* (Glasgow: D. McKenzie, 1813): p. 5.

the present situation where many rented seats but did not attend, thus excluding those who might wish a seat but could not afford one.[451] Others questioned if there was any real problem with the present system of raising funds. As one anonymous author, going by the name 'Saint Kentigern' – the sixth century saint alleged to have founded Glasgow – commented:

> Many of the churches are never filled. Yet, if from the increasing population, what are already erected shall be completely crowded, surely if more places of worship are necessary, the former mode of paying the stipends from the seats of the church, is more consonant with the feelings of the citizens, than any new law imposing fresh and unnecessary tythes upon a loyal, ingenious, liberal-minded, and charitable community.[452]

Again, the implication that there was no want in the community for religion serves to strengthen the underlying claim that in the city there was a lack of religiosity – or, to be more precise, a lack of Established religiosity – and that the city was therefore an unholy place, despite this claim being made *in opposition* to the building of more churches. That many churches were already unfilled only added to the narrative of urban dwellers being alienated from the church. Thus, the discourses of the urban as unholy may be considered to filter through as the starting point of both the proposal and the contestation, naturalising and perpetuating the discourse of the godless urban in Glasgow. Nonetheless, there is perhaps a danger in over-emphasising some of the objections made to the Bill when much of the opposition appears to have been founded not upon theological or ecclesiological concerns, but questions of political representation, and, indeed, objections to the cost of the tax. This does raise an important question about the motivation of Lapslie and the Town Council, though, and whether they sought to encourage religious adherence generally or specifically that of the Established Church. Was the concern the city devoid of God, or the city devoid of the orthodox worship of God? For Lapslie, who was far from an ecumenist, it amounted to one and the same thing: only the Established Church offered true religion, and therefore a lack of Established religiosity or the prevalence of Dissent within the urban community equated to a city alienated from God. For the Council the

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[451] 'Philos-Ecclesiae' [anon.], *Examination of the eight resolutions adopted by a meeting of gentlemen [...] anent building and endowing additional churches* (Glasgow: J. Hedderwick and Co., 1813): p. 44.
[452] 'Saint Kentigern', *A serious address to the inhabitants of Glasgow* (Glasgow: D. McKenzie, 1813): p. 2.

answer is less clear, as while the Bill was for the benefit of the Church, it was the Council's duty under law to attend to this matter.

Notably, there was a strong backlash from Dissenters, who argued – not entirely without cause – that the Bill was an instrument of collusion by the Established Church and Government, designed to eradicate their presence in the city by way of public money. This was intensified by Lapslie's refusal to acknowledge Dissenting churches in his survey of accommodation. Critics claimed that, since the country accepted principles of religious toleration, then all churches must be counted, and that it was incorrect to take figures based on the entire population, despite many being Dissenters, adding weight to their claims that the scheme was more an attempt to repress secession.[453] Indeed, it was noted that if Dissenting churches were added to the Presbytery's accommodation statistics, there would be no need for more buildings. Given that many of the Dissenting churches fundamentally opposed the principle of state endowment of religion, they were especially offended that they could be taxed for the maintenance of a Church that they did not support, using a method that they opposed, as a means of eliminating their own denominations. Furthermore, they especially objected to the presumption that secession flourished primarily due to poor levels of accommodation and that the differences between the churches were minimal, arguing instead that Dissent was "occasioned by a far higher and less reconcilable point than the want of a few seats".[454] Thus, contrary to Lapslie, from the perspective of non-conformists the Dissenting city was precisely *not* the same thing as the unholy city.

Lapslie was not without supporters, especially amongst those who were equally opposed to religious dissent. One suggested that opponents to the Bill were motivated primarily "by the mere saving of their purse";[455] another argued that, "if a death-blow could be given to the rage for dissenting in this place, it would be a sufficient reason for the whole scheme",[456] adding that if this "great object [be] accomplished, [it] might contribute greatly to the peace, security, and glory of our church [...] in this

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[453] 'A Writer' [anon.], *Observations upon the representation and memorial of the Rev James Lapslie* (1813): pp. 14f.
[454] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[455] 'Philos-Ecclesiae' [anon.], *Examination of the eight resolutions adopted by a meeting of gentlemen [...] anent building and endowing additional churches* (1813): p. 3.
[456] 'A Coach', *Reasons for and against the proposed measure* (1813): p. 16.

city".[457] Lapslie's supporters were arguably less tactful in their condemnations of Dissent, describing how "the different sectaries, now violently agitate society, they frown defiance on each other, and by their fury, prove to the world that they are the true sons of the *church militant*",[458] building up the connections that Lapslie had suggested existed between Dissent and civil unrest, and thereby associating the seceding churches with immoral behaviour and casting them as a danger to the State.

Those in favour of Lapslie's scheme, however, attempted to convince those contesting it that it was not the proposal *per se* that they were against, but rather the means of direct taxation,[459] again reinforcing the idea of the irreligious city as 'fact'. Certainly, opposition to the Bill was not only ecclesiastical, being tied up with debates on Parliamentary reform and wider suffrage, with political reformers especially amongst the middle class using the controversy to draw attention to the lack of accountability amongst the self-elected Council, and so to call for popular elections. It was reported, for instance, that at a public meeting in Tontine House, it was suggested that people should be elected from each ward of the city to manage civic funds rather than said funds being left in the hands of an unelected body.[460] One author argued that the church tax was a perfect example of the unanswerable and unconstitutional nature of the Council, whose members continue to persist in this "measure which they know to be decidedly disapproved of by their constituents".[461] Another suggested that that the Bill "developes a grand and deep laid plan of the Clergy", and allowed all parties relief, with the Church gaining some independence from the Court of Teinds, and the Council increasing their own authority yet disburdening themselves of the costs of new buildings by passing this sum onto citizens.[462] Others concentrated upon the precedent that would be set if the Council was granted the right to tax, arguing that this would be contrary to the constitution as only Parliament can tax,[463] while there was also concern at the discretion being sought by the Council in the matter that

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[457] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[458] 'Philos-Ecclesiae' [anon.], *Examination of the eight resolutions adopted by a meeting of gentlemen [...] anent building and endowing additional churches* (1813): p. 18.
[459] *Ibid.*, p. 42; 'A Coach', *Reasons for and against the proposed measure* (1813): p. 3.
[460] *Ibid.*, pp. 13f.
[461] Anon., *The Root of Evil from which the proposed church tax originates, and a remedy suggested* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1813): p. 6.
[462] 'Obscure' [anon.], *Letter from a citizen of Glasgow* (1813): pp. 3f.
[463] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

might lead to it applying "in a year or two hence [...] for a still further extended tythe upon the citizens".[464]

Again, however, those against the Bill on constitutional grounds rarely questioned the need for extra churches, but rather the means by which the expense of building them was to be met. To this extent, the controversy can be seen as a power struggle within society rather than a theological debate, highlighting the religious sphere – especially involving an Established Church – as an arena where the social hierarchy was contested. Those in opposition were, for the most part, those emergent élites unrepresented in the civil sphere and already involved in calls for reform; and, as the Bill proposed measures contrary to every principle that they sought to promote, it provided them with a cause through which their position could be highlighted and they could gain public support. The immediate issue of what they saw as unfair taxation was important, but it was the wider concern of establishing themselves on the ladder of authority that likely lay behind the resistance.

In the end, the Council yielded to the opposition and resolved that at that time it would be "inexpedient to introduce into Parliament the proposed Bill",[465] although the Lord Provost commented that this decision was taken purely to comply with the wishes of the public and did not reflect a change of heart regarding the merits of the proposal.[466] Indeed, this could be seen as a concession to forestall any further calls for reform. Other means were subsequently found to augment the clerical stipend, but no funds were available to continue the building of the new church and the plan was indefinitely postponed. The debate surrounding the Bill had nonetheless brought public and official, civil and ecclesiastical attention to questions regarding the nature and extent of religious provision in the city, importantly drawing the major battle-lines for the most part not around the question of whether or not there was adequate accommodation, but, rather, how any shortfall was best dealt with. That patterns of allegiance for or against the Bill formed, to some extent, along fault-lines of denominational adherence is revealing of the relationship between established and Dissenting churches at the time. That a debate on church accommodation became so

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[464] 'Saint Kentigern', *A serious address to the inhabitants of Glasgow* (Glasgow: D. McKenzie, 1813): p. 3.
[465] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 7th December, 1813.
[466] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 28th December, 1813.

tied up with political arguments for reform is equally revealing of the relationship between the Council and the Church, and of the importance of the ecclesiastical sphere as a realm where the emergent middle class sought to establish authority. This adds weight to interpretation of McLeod, who suggests that the Established churches were open to the same criticisms of the bourgeoisie as faced by other sectors of the establishment.[467]

The Chalmers Revolution

Discourses of the 'unholy city' would continue to gain authority, especially following the arrival of a new minister to the inner city. Thomas Chalmers[468] began his ministry in the Tron Church during the summer of 1815, translating on the authority of the City Council from the rural parish of Kilmany, before moving to the newly founded parish of St John's, created from one of the poorest districts of the Tron. Initially Moderate, by the time of his arrival in the city he had been converted to the Evangelical cause, although he retained political leanings towards Toryism and was already an important and respected figure. The Tron parish was a large, poor area to the east of the town centre, containing over eleven-thousand people who lived in conditions of squalor unmatched elsewhere in the city. Nonetheless, the church was considered the town's premier place of worship, with the distinctly non-parochial congregation being made up of the suburban élites, merchants and traders. It was the home church of the city Council, with each councillor granted a ringside pew around the pulpit, yet only one in every ninety-seven parishioners attended worship, mainly because they were unable to afford the seat rent.[469]

Chalmers and Church Extension

Soon after his arrival in Glasgow, Chalmers grew aware that there existed a "fearful deficiency indeed of congregational attendance and congregational habits among the people", with the majority of his parishioners having little contact, if any, with the church. This was precipitated by a year long visitation to the entire Tron parish that he began in 1816, a practice commonplace in rural parishes but that had become unfeasible in urban areas due to their extensive population. Accompanied by an elder,

[467] McLeod, H. (1981) *op.cit.*
[468] For more on Chalmers, see Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.*; Hanna, W., *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1850).
[469] Brown, C. (1982) *op.cit.*, p. 94.

he briefly visited every house and family in the parish, regardless of their denominational affiliation, asking questions on church attendance and educational attainment, and making some general observations, before holding a service in each district.[470] His time amongst the "tenements of want and wretchedness"[471] confirmed in his mind that there was an ungodliness and immorality within the city, and he was particularly concerned at the limited practice of religion and church attendance within the poorer areas of his parish, which meant that "the great mass of our city families are as effectually separated from all intercourse with their clergymen, as if they lived in a state of heathenism".[472] At the root of this problem was the insufficient accommodation that was offered within the parish church, and – echoing Lapslie[473] – he acknowledged that the cause of this was "that the population of these cities has greatly outstripped the provision of churches that has been made for them by the establishment".[474]

During the course of the visitations, information regarding the conditions and societal make up of the parish was collected to allow comparison between this data and patterns of religious adherence. This material offered far greater detail than the statistical data used by Lapslie, covering not only population and accommodation figures, but adding comparisons of areas of his parish based upon wealth and class, and including those who attended a Dissenting church. From these surveys, Chalmers had firm 'evidence' of the immorality and lack of religiosity that existed. His suspicions could now be backed up by the facts implicit in the statistics, and, as C. Brown suggests, he became the first to use such data publicly as a means of proving patterns of low church attendance in towns, gaining the interpretation of the unholy city a rising authority as 'fact', while by default defining religiosity purely in terms of

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[470] Hanna, W., *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1850): p. 109.

[471] *Ibid*, p. 118.

[472] Chalmers, T., 'Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism', *Edinburgh Review* (1817): p. 438 [reproduced in Hanna, W., *Select Works of Thomas Chalmers*, 9 (Edinburgh: Constable, 1856): pp. 413-444].

[473] There is no direct evidence to suggest that Chalmers was familiar with Lapslie's earlier scheme, but given that both served together on the Presbytery, and that Chalmers moved in the same social circle as many who had been on the Council at the time of the debate, it seems likely that he would have some knowledge of it.

[474] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1817): p. 39.

church attendance.[475] In some families there was not one pew that could be shared amongst ten people, while less than three and a half-thousand of his parishioners regularly attended worship, and even of that number nearly two-thirds belonged to Dissenting churches. The Established Church, meanwhile, offered accommodation for less than a sixth of the seven-thousand people for whom by law there ought to be provision.[476] As Chalmers commented to one elder:

> A very great proportion of the people have no seats in any place of worship whatever, and a very deep and universal ignorance on the high matters of faith and eternity obtains over the whole extent of a mighty visitation.[477]

For all that Chalmers shared Lapslie's concerns that Glasgow, and the Royalty in particular, was underprovided by the Established Church, his position was based upon a still darker vision of Glasgow as a place of moral waste and irreligion. At the heart of this was a personal dislike of city life in general,[478] explained by Mechie as partly resulting from a reality shock felt after moving from a quiet country church to the densely populated and deprived streets of the Tron parish.[479] Certainly, Chalmers' dominant vision of the city was not of the civic receptions in the ornate town halls that he was called upon to attend, but of the side streets with crowded tenements and five people to a room. Rather, he spoke of "these recesses of human depravity, at which the heart sickens almost to despair".[480]

Chalmers' concern was not solely ecclesiastical. The lack of churchgoing habits amongst the population was considered a problem, but it was even more so as the cause of a deeper malaise resting at the heart of the city, for he became "convinced that the degraded condition of large masses of the city population […] might mainly be attributed to this ecclesiastical neglect".[481] It was the lack of religion that was the root cause of the moral evils and poverty spreading through society, and he believed that only when the Established Church was suitably accommodated and could be incorporated deeply into the lives of parishioners would living standards improve.

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[475] Brown, C.G. (2001) *op.cit.*, p. 146.
[476] Chalmers, T., *A Sermon Delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the Death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): p. 40.
[477] Chalmers quoted in Brown, C.G. (2001) *op.cit.*, p. 110.
[478] Brown, C.G. (1982) *op.cit.*, p. 94.
[479] Mechie, S. (1960) *op.cit.*, p. 47.
[480] Chalmers, T., *Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism* (1817): p. 441.
[481] Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.* p. 108.

Otherwise, the poverty and lack of education uncovered during his visitation of the Tron would never go away, for it was not enough to build schools or give poor relief: such things dealt with symptoms but not the disease, and were bound to be ineffectual unless backed up by an ecclesiastical apparatus that pervaded the spaces of heathenism and encouraged people to live their lives in a proper, Christian way. At the same time, in making a clear causal relationship between temporal distress – poverty and poor living conditions – and religious adherence, the narrative of the unchurched urban dweller was being extended to include associations of poverty and ignorance, deepening the discourse whilst positing the poor as irreligious.

Furthermore, and derived from the theories of Thomas Malthus with whom he regularly corresponded,[482] Chalmers argued that the high and dense population found in the poorer parts of the city was a heavy burden upon the country. The only solution was for restraint and control to be shown in order to bring the population down, an object that Christianity alone could adequately encourage.[483] Thus, he concluded that the only way to improve the condition of the city would be to put the Church back at the heart of society by increasing the amount of personal engagement between the minister, elders and deacons on the one hand, and the parishioners on the other, preventing the anonymity that the crowded city parishes allowed, and effectively transforming the city parish into that of a country parish. In this model, which he called 'church extension', the building of a church was not merely about accommodation, but was seen as a means of encouraging people back to Christianity and extending the influence of the religion throughout the city, even into the souls of its citizens. This could only be achieved, Chalmers believed, if parishes could be made smaller, of no more than three thousand people, but the only way for this to happen would be to increase the number of churches within the city.

The structure of Chalmers' thought on the city, and on the role of churches within it, echoes the arguments of Driver on moral geographies and the role of institutions within the nineteenth century.[484] In describing the quarters of immorality and irreligion, by focusing on the heavy concentration of people and buildings, by

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[482] Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*
[483] Mechie, S. (1975) *op.cit.*, p. 48.
[484] Driver, F. (1988) *op.cit.*; Driver, F. (2001) *op.cit.*

utilising localised facts and figures – collected according to the best practise of contemporary social studies – that showed the levels of churchgoing and irreligiosity within his parish, he was able to construct a geography of heathenism that matched up patterns of religious adherence with levels of poverty and immorality, creating a model not dissimilar in type or, indeed, content, to those of contemporary social investigators. Equally so, his conviction that the way to 'moralise' the community lay in reshaping the environment by building churches resonates with the reasoning behind the institutional landscape derived from the plans for urban reform created by those same investigators, reflecting Driver's assessment that the collection of social statistics and data was inseparable from schemes of ameliorative intent.

Exactly how many more churches were needed, Chalmers left undefined. On one occasion, he suggested that the size of the city demanded another thirty churches and clergy,[485] although later he argued that twenty would suffice;[486] and, while his critics thought otherwise,[487] he was clear that this was more a rhetorical than real figure to illustrate the fundamental need for more churches.[488] In keeping with his understanding of the problems in the city, he insisted that churches could not just be places to worship, but should be actively working at the heart of any settled and privileged society. Drawing upon both the traditional model of ecclesiastical duties advocated by the early Scottish reformers and the practice of churches in rural communities, he proposed that churches should be involved in the provision of poor relief and education. Poor and pauper relief was to be reclaimed from the City Hospital by Kirk Sessions and run by elders who regularly visited their parishes and collected statistical data in order to ensure that the greatest want was identified and money directed to where it was most needed. It was also planned that parish churches would provide cheap schools for parish children unable to afford education. In this way alone could the threefold problems of irreligion, poverty and ignorance be cured.

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[485] Chalmers, T., *Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism* (1817): p. 442.
[486] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): p. 27.
[487] Anon. [Alexander Haldane], *Two letters to the Reverend Thomas Chalmers* (Glasgow: A & J Duncan, 1818).
[488] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): p. 43.

The discourses of the unholy city and unchurched poor were also extended in a political direction. Although less concerned than Lapslie about the danger of Dissent, Chalmers was equally convinced that ecclesiastical neglect could impact negatively upon the political safety of the country. He also associated the godlessness of the city with potential overthrow of the establishment, claiming that "towns are the great instruments of political revolution [...] the favourite and frequent rallying places for all the brooding virulence of the land", a familiar narrative amongst the contemporary élite.[489] The urban environment, when mixed with dense populations was certain to lead to dissatisfaction with the organisation of society, which was beyond the reach of the tempering and cooling influence of Christianity. The upshot was to entwine these narratives with contemporary political concerns over societal unrest and the threat of revolution. As he warned, using almost apocalyptic terms:

> On looking at the mighty mass of a city and its population, I state
> my apprehension, that if something be not done to bring this
> enormous physical strength under the control of Christian and
> humanised principle, the day may yet come, when it may lift against
> the authorities of the land its brawny rigour, and discharge upon
> them all, the turbulence of its rude and volcanic energy.[490]

On the day of national mourning following the death of Princess Charlotte, heir to the throne, Chalmers preached at a memorial service before the Council. He addressed them directly, warning that revolutionary fever was fermenting in every parish, and that new churches must be erected, for the underlying cause of unrest was the lack of religious provision:

> Would it not have been most desirable could the whole population of
> the city have been admitted to join in the solemn services of the day?
> Do you not think that they are precisely such services as would have
> spread a loyal and patriotic influence amongst them? It is not
> experimentally the case, that, over the untimely grave of our fair
> princess, the meanest of the people would have shed as warm and
> plentiful a tribute of honest sensibility as the most refined and delicate
> amongst us? And, I ask, is it not unfortunate, that on the day of such
> an affecting, and if I may so style it, such a national exercise, there
> should not have been twenty more churches with twenty more
> ministers, to have contained the whole crowd of eager and interested
> listeners?[491]

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[489] *Ibid.*, pp. 34f.
[490] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[491] *Ibid.*, pp. 26f.

Pursuing this theme, he believed that the Established Church was necessary as a means of securing acceptance and peace between the classes, with the neglect of accommodation adding seriously to the "mighty unfilled space interposed between the high and low of [...] [the] city"[492] – a social space that he sought to close. Not that Chalmers was in any sense a 'class warrior', nor a revolutionary: rather, he favoured the status quo but thought that the goal of a safe society, free from revolution, necessitated that each class was content, understanding its role and place in society. This, he believed, was a task that religion alone could accomplish. If so, however, then the opposite was also the case: if religion was a means of achieving social stability, of spreading the loyalty and patriotism, then the alienation of people from the churches must invariably lead to the unsettling of the class relationship, thereby endangering the Establishment. Again, the best way to ensure that this did not happen was to build more churches as barriers against heathenism and as a means of encouraging faith, with worship being seen as a means of tempering radicalism by offering a calming influence, turning the thoughts of the hearer heavenwards from worldly matters. For:

> [W]hat is more likely to achieve this than a larger ecclesiastical accommodation? – not the scanty provision of the present day, by which the poor are excluded from the church altogether, but such a wide and generous system of accommodation, as that the rich and poor might sit in company together in the house of God?[493]

The vision of Chalmers was therefore not just one of sufficient accommodation, but also of social mixing: of 'inferiors' learning from their superiors, of religious adherence transformed into social discipline.

Turning Words Into Stone

By this time, though, the Council had already resumed "consideration of the proposal made some years ago to build a new church" – as initiated by Lapslie – on the grounds that the present Established churches were inadequate to cope with the increased population, and in light of the "recent improvement in the state of the funds

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[492] Chalmers, T., *The advantages and possibility of assimilating a town to a country parish* (1823): p. 28 [reproduced in Hanna, W. (ed.) *Select Works of Thomas Chalmers*, 10 (Edinburgh: T. Constable, 1856): pp. 13-41].
[493] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): p. 30.

of the community".[494] They duly invited architects to submit plans for a new building on McFarlane Street, where land had already been purchased for a new church.[495] With this church liable to cost no more than £7,000 to build in addition to maintenance costs of no more than £250 per annum once money raised by seat rents was added, it was decided that this sum could be met from existing funds "without its being materially felt", and the Council resolved to erect and endow the church and parish named as St John's.[496] Coincidentally,[497] not long after plans for this church had begun, friends of Chalmers had sent a letter to the Council proposing that he should be removed from the Tron for reasons of health – for the "Tron Church [is] not at all calculated for his delicate habit, and [...] his health is already much impaired"[498] – to a new church, the building of which said friends were willing to fund with a loan.[499] After initial consideration, this was taken no further by the Council, but behind the scenes deals were being made to induct Chalmers as minister of St John's, a move designed to put in practice his new parochial ideas and innovations on the workings of the poor law. The Council, meanwhile, was offered the chance in 1819 to purchase a new but disused Methodist chapel in the east end for £3,500, an offer that they accepted.[500] A request to have this building made a parish church with suitable boundaries was successful,[501] and St James' was opened in 1820, increasing the division of the city to ten parishes.

The Council's plans met with little opposition this time. Certainly there was no public reaction at the level of five years previously, and it is perhaps not insignificant that the churches were to be funded through existing monies derived from seat rents rather than by direct taxation, making a direct link between those attending the Church and the building of new churches, yet perhaps vindicating those who had claimed that the previous objections were directed more at the means of funding than contesting the need for more churches. Indeed, while Chalmers was at St John's there were two

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[494] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 17th January, 1815.
[495] Although the Council minute implies that the land had been purchased previously – presumably at the time of the unsuccessful Bill – there is no mention of this purchase anywhere in the earlier records.
[496] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 15th October, 1816.
[497] S.J. Brown offers an alternative interpretation, suggesting that Chalmers and colleagues may have had designs on the new church and were deliberately seeking a move. Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.*, pp. 123f.
[498] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 5th April, 1816.
[499] *Ibid*.
[500] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 19th November, 1819.
[501] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 6th September, 1820.

chapels of ease built within the parish, with the money raised by voluntary giving. There was, however, some controversy over the authority granted to Chalmers as regards poor relief, despite his experiments having the support of the Council. The new method that he advocated, whereby Kirk Sessions took charge of distributing to the poor money collected at church doors following worship, was a break from the traditional method of poverty relief that had rested in the hands of the Town Hospital and the General Session (an ecclesiastical body made up of members from each Session within the Royalty who managed poor funds). Some criticised such schemes as being inhumane,[502] and there was political controversy over whether the Council had the right to grant Chalmers this authority. Even fellow Evangelicals were critical of the experiment.[503]

Those voices that did oppose Chalmers' desire for extra accommodation were confined to Dissenters. Again, the opposition arose less on the grounds that more churches were not needed – it was already a given that this was the case, although the level of destitution was contested – but rather arguing once again that most current churches were poorly attended, adding weight to the claims of irreligion within the city. One notable critic, the Independent or Congregationalist pastor JA Haldane, wrote an anonymous series of letters criticising Chalmers' claims for extra accommodation, contesting in particular Chalmers' assertion that in matters of religion the laws of supply and demand do not matter. Haldane argued instead that, contrary to the presumption that people will not seek religion by their own will, "amidst all this apparent indifference, a sense of the necessity of religion, is deeply rooted in the human breast".[504] That the new churches should be Established Churches was also contested by Haldane who, touching upon the heart of the disagreement between the Established Church and Dissenters, suggested that accommodation offered by the Church of Scotland can never be truly effective, for an establishment is nowhere sanctioned biblically and cannot flourish without divine support.[505] Nor, he argued, can any true religion be under the arm of the state, for it deals with matters belonging to the conscience, a place beyond the realm of the

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[502] Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.*, p. 120.
[503] *Ibid*, p. 124.
[504] Anon [Haldane, J.A.], *Two letters to the Rev Thomas Chalmers* (Glasgow: A & J Duncan, 1818): p. 5.
[505] *Ibid*., p. 19.

government,[506] hence deconstructing the possibility that churches of the Establishment could be the barriers preventing unrest and transforming the morals of the population. As he commented:

> We may dream of creating a supply for religious instruction by a national establishment; but although we should succeed, it must be at the expense of corrupting the doctrine of Jesus. The tendency of every national church is to substitute the *form* for the *power* of religion. It is a company incorporated by royal charter, to supply the demand for religious instruction; but it uniformly adulterates the genuine article, and gluts the market with an inferior commodity. It is appointed to watch over the state of the currency; and it fills the country with base and counterfeit coin.[507]

After Chalmers

Chalmers left Glasgow in 1823 to take up a Chair in Moral Philosophy at the University of St Andrews, and without the chief cheerleader little was achieved for a time following the erection of the ninth and tenth parishes. Exactly why is unclear, although C. Brown suggests that the 1820s was a time of quietened growth for the Evangelical party, while noting that a veil of social stability had been drawn over the city, causing the Council to cut back its ecclesiastical expenditure.[508] Nonetheless, throughout the Church and in the Presbytery particularly, the discourse of the unholy city was increasingly being rehearsed by individuals and congregations in a variety of different contexts, perpetuating and normalising the narratives that were progressively gaining acceptance. During the 1820s there was a rise in the number of applications to the Presbytery for the admittance of chapels of ease, with the justification for their building invariably given as the growth of the parish and increasing detachment of large sections of the population from the church, and with statistics being increasingly and unquestioningly used to prove the religiosity, or lack thereof, of each parish. The Kirk Session of St George's, for example, in its application that a new chapel be recognised spoke of "such a large proportion of the population [...] destitute of the means of religious instruction", and so of the "expediency and urgent necessity" of "obtaining to the numerous and destitute population of that district, the means of religious instruction and ordinances".[509] More concretely, the Session observed that the parish contained nearly ten-thousand people, mostly poor, and many of whom

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[506] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[507] *Ibid.*, pp. 8f.
[508] Brown, C. (1982) *op.cit.*, pp. 370f.
[509] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 27th March, 1822.

lived up to five miles from the church, but there were only twelve-hundred seats for worship. A new chapel was proposed for the Kelvin Dock area of the Barony parish on the grounds that "the Inhabitants have now increased to many hundreds, some of whom are between five and six miles from the Parish Church, without any accommodation for them in it, hence many of them attend only very irregularly, or desert the public ordinances of Religion altogether".[510] Even the new parishes sought relief, with St John's application suggesting that the new parish was already too extensive as only sixteen-hundred worshippers could be accommodated out of eight-thousand parishioners,[511] while St James reported that of the seven-thousand people in the parish only fourteen-hundred could find a seat therein.[512]

In 1825 the Presbytery returned officially to consider the deficiency of accommodation and appointed a Committee to garner statistical data as relevant to furnish an application to the Government for support.[513] Although two parishes had been added since Lapslie's time, Presbytery figures suggested that this was still nowhere near sufficient to keep pace with the growth of population, and that the deficiency of accommodation had increased, with the seventy-six thousand people within the ten parishes of the Royalty having only seventeen thousand seats, while the surrounding Barony parish had a seat deficit of fifty-three thousand.[514] Around the same time "a number of respectable inhabitants" living in the north-west of the Royalty prepared a petition for the Council, asking that there be built an additional parish church "within the bounds of the Royalty, but as far west as the limits of your [i.e. the Council's] jurisdiction will permit".[515] Claiming that the two closest churches were too far away and already too small given the size of population, and that as a result some were travelling over two miles to find worship within the Established Church, the petitioners asked that a new church of over twelve-hundred sittings be built in the vicinity. Significantly, the addresses of these petitioners, the claim that they were "all connected in business with the city", and their willingness to pay high

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[510] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 5th February, 1823.
[511] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 27th March, 1822.
[512] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 5th February, 1823.
[513] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 7th November, 1825.
[514] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 29th March, 1826.
[515] Memorial from inhabitants in St Vincent St, Gordon St, and other streets to the west and north of the city, Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 25th October, 1826.

seat rents as a means of "compensate[ing] the interest on the outlay",[516] when added to C. Brown's claim that this was a period of increasing social segregation, suggests that this may have been an attempt to establish an exclusive congregation within a middle-class area. The Council, however, made short shrift of the petition, with the minute simply noting that it "decline complying with the request".[517] Another motion was raised in the Presbytery in 1832 to consider "the exclusion of the poor from the Churches of the City on account of the high rents of the seats".[518] Although this was not taken further, the Presbytery noted that it was a matter of "great importance that more extensive Church accommodation should be given to persons of every condition in the Parishes within the Bounds of the Presbytery".[519] Indeed, they appointed a Committee to investigate the question, and it seems likely that they produced the report mentioned to the Council by the Lord Provost in 1833, although no immediate response was made to this report.[520]

Discourses of the unholy city even seeped into matters ostensibly unrelated to religious provision, increasingly gaining credence as justifications for certain ends. This can be traced, for example, through the ongoing debate of the early 1820s over the role of clergy in parishes. Traditionally, many ministers divided their time between parish affairs and teaching at Universities, but the General Assembly of 1817 enacted that two positions could only be held simultaneously providing that the parish and University were located within the same town.[521] This was derived in part from a conviction that a minister's first commitment must be to the duties of the Church, but also reflected a growing concern that the changes in society, and especially within the urban community, rendered part-time ministry inadequate as a means of providing spiritual superintendence.

This view was tested when the Crown presented Dr McFarlane, Principal of the University of Glasgow, to the Inner High Church in 1823. The Presbytery refused to proceed on the grounds that "the Parish [...] contains a population of inhabitants requiring the undivided time and exertions of the most active Minister", and that to

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[516] *Ibid.*, 25th October, 1826.
[517] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 9th November, 1826.
[518] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 25th April, 1832.
[519] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 13th June, 1832.
[520] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 22nd January, 1833.
[521] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.*, p. 318.

appoint McFarlane would "be injurious to the interests of learning and religion, [and] incompatible with the full and successful discharge of the duties of Minister".[522] McFarlane's appeal was subsequently sustained in 1824 by the Synod, but the speeches made in Presbytery against the presentation suggest how ministers in Glasgow were recognising that society had moved from the time when clergy were able to fulfil dual roles, and that the sheer scope and condition of much of the urban environment demanded a far more engaged and organised ministry in which all energies were devoted to the parish. Opposition to clergy holding a second post was not just a principle, then, but on the basis that the depth of spiritual want and alienation from the church in many communities made this impractical, as affirmed by the majority of ministers in the Presbytery in the vote. Stevenston MacGill, Lapslie's supporter of earlier years, spoke at length on his opposition to 'pluralities', tying it up with questions of accommodation and the inadequacy of the ecclesiastical apparatus of the time by drawing upon narratives that posited the city as irreligious, and those within it in a form of distress that could be resolved only by spiritual comfort:

> What, then, must we say respecting a parish of great magnitude and extent [...] to whom these numerous, varied, and infinitely important duties are to be performed? I appeal to the experience of my brethren of this city – to the most faithful and diligent – to those who have, with the greatest zeal and perseverance, mingled with, and sought to benefit, the great mass of human beings, in every varied condition of life, of which their parishes are composed [...] if they have not often felt their spirits sink into despondency at the thought of how little they have done for their people – or if a pang like remorse has not sometimes pierced their souls, when they followed a fellow-mortal to the grave, and thought of the numbers whose fate was sealed for ever, and of the little they have done to promote their salvation? I appeal not only to the experience of individuals – I appeal even to the recorded opinions and judgements of this Presbytery. Have you not long ago declared the necessity of additional churches and ministers in this city? Have you not declared the importance of a greater number of parishes? Have you not encouraged the erection of chapels? [...] What was the meaning of your application for new churches and parishes, which many years ago you made, and when this city was one-third less than it is at present? [...] What, but that the present parishes are too populous and large for the labours of one individual – that the best interests of the people are suffering – that many are perishing for lack of knowledge? And can you with

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[522] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 2nd July, 1823.

consistency declare, that the duties of t[he] parish [...] are not sufficient to occupy the time and talents of its own minister?[523]

Although there is perhaps little other than circumstantial evidence to suggest this, it is perhaps more than coincidental that the leading opponents to pluralities within the Presbytery, MacGill and Chalmers, had both ministered in the Tron parish, deemed to be amongst the worst deprived and godless wastelands of the city. Indeed, Chalmers had previously spoken before the General Assembly in favour of clergy holding other roles, but his experience of the urban community changed that opinion. Notably, MacGill's argument echoes the themes of the unchurched masses of every condition and the ignorant multitude in the city, not as a matter for debate, but rather as a factual and uncontested interpretation of the urban environment, signalling that such narratives were increasingly being accepted, not only in themselves but as grounds for making other decisions. That the Presbytery was willing to oppose both the Crown and a higher church court on this basis indicates that the discourses were invested with a significant level of authority.

Churching the Unholy City: The Glasgow Church Building Society

Despite the authority granted to discourses of the unholy city and the continual pressure maintained by the Presbytery in calling for the extension of the ecclesiastical apparatus from the start of the century, the Church had been ultimately unsuccessful in championing the cause of church extension. Indeed, in the forty years after 1801 the population of the city rose by just under two hundred-thousand, yet by the early 1830s only two new parish churches had been built by the Council, alongside some privately funded chapels of ease that did not have full parochial status. That an additional twenty churches would be added within the nine years from 1834 to 1842 was testimony to the benevolence of a group of middle-class Evangelicals who were persuaded to donate large sums of money for no financial return, in a scheme designed to transform the religious landscape of the city, driven by a genuine concern that the perceived irreligion of Glasgow was impacting negatively upon the life of the community and could lead to societal unrest.

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[523] *Report of the speeches delivered before the Presbytery of Glasgow, on the motion for inducting the Rev Dr McFarlane* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1823): pp. 28f.

Analysis and Proposals

The Voluntary controversy that was stirring at this time had concerned many within the Church of Scotland, and a series of bodies was formed throughout the country to consider ways to protect the Established Church from the Dissenting threat. One such group, the 'Society for Promoting the Interests of the Church of Scotland', met in Glasgow at the beginning of 1833,[524] in part to consider methods to strengthen the Church against rising Dissenting opposition to Establishment, but with the broader remit of investigating areas where the Church was weak and finding resolutions. The question of church extension was recognised as a key issue, with statistics once more produced showing the lack of accommodation within Glasgow, setting up this matter as an urgent one in need of consideration. As a result, the following January a meeting was held "for the purpose of forming a Society, in connexion with the Established Church, for increasing Church Accommodation and promoting the spiritual interests of the people" within the bounds of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr.[525] In attendance were several ministers and middle-class laity from Glasgow and surrounding areas, who agreed that for an Established Church to work effectively, "it is absolutely necessary that its Ministers or Places of Worship should in number bear a just proportion to the population over which it is placed";[526] declaring that, if this was not done, then the surplus population would either become Dissenters or sink in "hopeless heathenism".[527] A Society was thereby established with the aims to "aid in increasing the means of religious instruction generally, and, in particular, by erecting places of worship connected with the Established Church, in the populous areas cities, towns, and parishes". It was proposed that funds would be raised through collections "at church doors and by private subscriptions, and employ every other means likely to restore our whole population to habits of attendance on divine ordinances, and to interest, in this most important object, the Heritors, Magistrates, Ministers, and Members of the Church".[528]

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[524] *Speeches delivered at the public meeting held in St George's Church, Glasgow, for the purpose of forming a society for promoting the interests of the Church of Scotland* (Glasgow: Wm. Collins, 1833).
[525] *A sermon preached in behalf of the Church Accommodation Society, at Glasgow, on Sabbath the 10th of January* [Stevenson Macgill] (Glasgow: McPhun, 1834): p. 6.
[526] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[527] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[528] *Ibid.*, pp. 6f.

Recognising "the present destitution of a large proportion of our population",[529] the Society saw this "evil deficiency" not simply as a result of the growing population – though this was acknowledged as a major factor – but also as a legacy of the laws of patronage. The greatest offender was the 1706 Act of Parliament that required the consent of three-fourths of heritors before a new church could be built, a decision that the Society claimed "amounted almost to an absolute prohibition upon the extension of the Establishment",[530] as heritors were often unwilling to fund a new building and so would not give their consent. Similarly, the Society claimed that the law which granted the patron of a parish the right to choose the minister of any chapel of ease therein, even when privately funded, was a significant hindrance to growth, as people were unwilling to invest in the building of a church unless they had a voice in the appointment of the clergyman. That chapels were non-parochial and treated as second-class churches, being under the authority of the parish church's Kirk Session and unrepresented in any Church court, was another drawback, causing some to consider them to be less effective. Crucial, then, to the continuance and success of the Society was the passing into law of three acts during 1834, two in the General Assembly and one in Parliament. These acts amended the law of patronage to grant chapels a more equitable role within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and gave to those who funded the building of a church the right of election.[531]

The Society does not appear again in the records, but a new organisation – the 'Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow' (or the 'Glasgow Church Building Society') – emerged almost immediately after, sharing aims and membership with the original group, suggesting that it was likely the same body in a different form, with the only difference being that the new society had as its area of jurisdiction the Presbytery rather than the Synod. Again, this new organisation took as its purpose the need to consider the level of accommodation with the city, and to act as necessary to remedy any deficiencies. The key figure and founder of the Society, and its honorary Secretary, was William Collins, close friend of Chalmers from his

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[529] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[530] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[531] As discussed in Chapter 3.

Figure 4.1

William Collins

WILLIAM COLLINS.
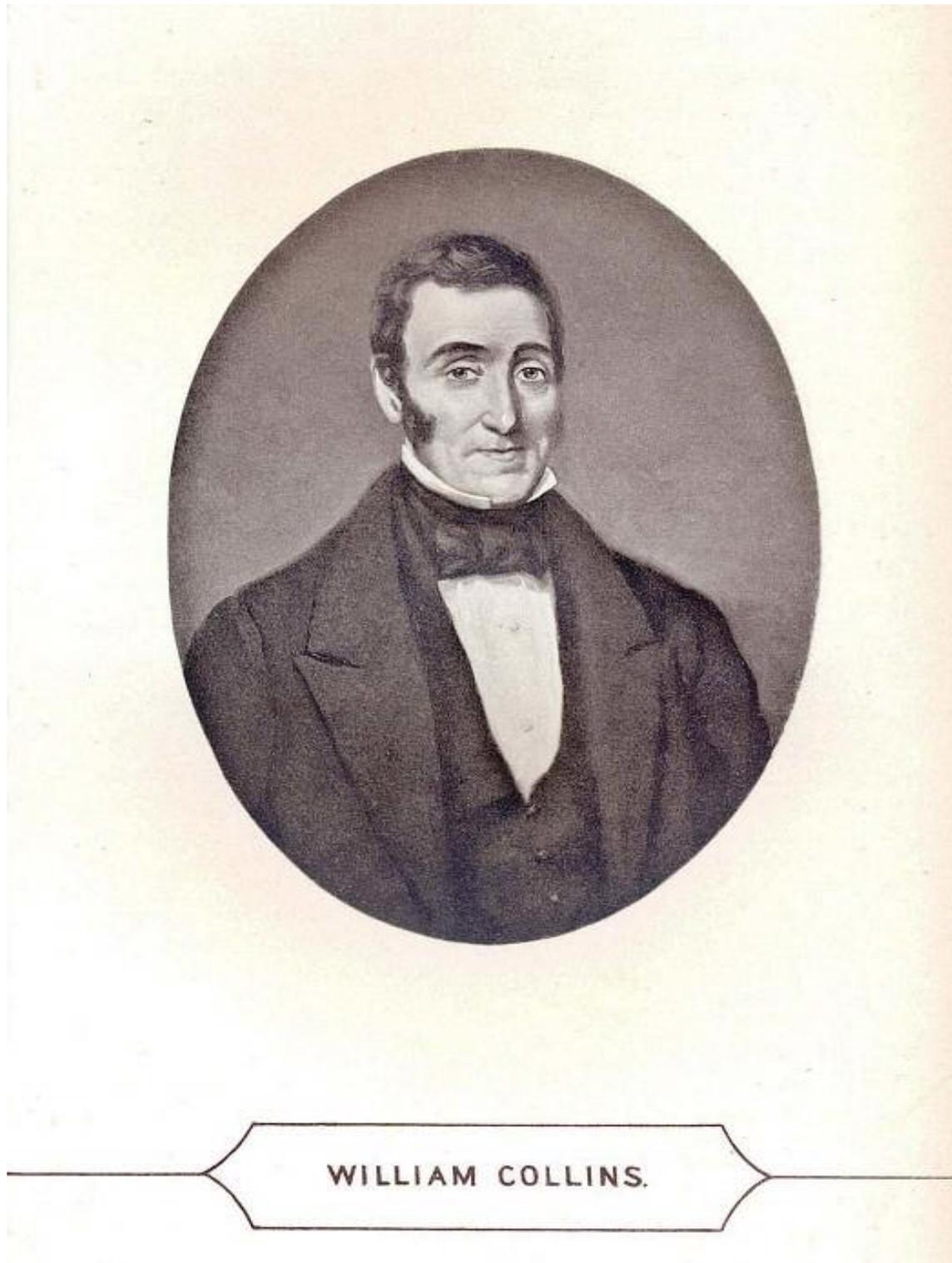
Reproduced from Wylie, J.A. (ed.), *Disruption Worthies: A Memorial of 1843*
    (Edinburgh: Greig, 1876).

time at the Tron and St Johns and the publisher of his work.[532] Collins' biographer suggests a more sentimental origin for the Society than a story of recognising religious neglect, claiming that Collins was moved by the pity shown by his dying daughter toward the distressed, churchless families of the city's slums, and was subsequently inspired to "build churches for the poor, churches with ministers and towers and spires that would bring the radiance of Heaven to the halt, the blind and the poor".[533]

The Society published two documents – the *Proposal for Building Twenty New Parochial Churches in the City and Suburbs of Glasgow* (1834) and *Statistics of the Church Accommodation of Glasgow* (1836) – that sought to "entreat our fellow citizens deeply and solemnly to ponder the fearful spiritual destitution which exists *in our own great city*".[534] In these documents the Society made immediately clear that its intention was to support those within the community unable to afford to attend church, being "formed chiefly with the view of making a more extensive provision for the religious institution of the poor and working classes [...][and] that the churches shall be erected in the poorest and most destitute districts".[535] The 'Proposal' was the Society's original pamphlet designed to encourage the wealthy within Glasgow to sponsor the work of the Society, laying out what those involved saw as the problems within the city as well as the aims, means and intentions of the Society. These were clarified by the publication of the 'Statistics', produced primarily to persuade the Royal Commissioners, appointed by Parliament to investigate the issue of religious provision in Scotland, of the depth of problem in the city.[536] It was argued, using statistics from the 1831 census,[537] that the growth of the city meant that, even if every seat was taken, twenty-thousand people would still go without worship each week, while in reality thirty to forty-thousand had no regular contact with the Church and

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[532] William Collins was the founder of the publishing firm that bears his name, and served as an elder in both the Tron and St John's churches. For more on Collins, see Keir, D., *The House of Collins* (London: Collins, 1952).

[533] Keir, D. (1952) *op.cit.*, pp. 105f.

[534] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 68.

[535] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[536] The Royal Commission on Religious Instruction in Scotland was appointed in 1835 by the government to investigate the need for additional church accommodation, partly as a result of the pressure that the Established Church was exerting for extra funds to build more churches. The Commission spoke to representatives of the Established Church and Dissenters in all parishes, concentrating especially upon lowland, urban areas. See Fry, M. & Brown, S.J. (1993) *op.cit.*, pp. 8-9.

[537] Cleland, J., *Enumeration of the inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and County of Lanark, for the Government Census of 1831* (Glasgow: Smith, 1832).

were not prompted to attend by an efficient ecclesiastical machinery.[538] That many of the claims made by the Society built upon existing narratives of the religiously destitute urban and can be identified in particular with the ideas of Chalmers is no coincidence: many members were intimates of his, and, indeed, he too was a member of the Society, albeit an inactive one.

The Society produced a picture of the city as deep in a malaise of ungodliness that was increasingly manifested in immorality and low standards of living:

> Thus, so far as the means of grace are concerned, a large portion of the population are left in the most neglected and desolate condition; and, have been allowed to settle down into the most deplorable state of ignorance, irreligion, and depravity. [...] It is indeed a fearful consideration, to think that, in a city more highly privileged perhaps than any other on the face of the earth, so many of our fellow-citizens are 'perishing for lack of knowledge'.[539]

Like Chalmers, the Society turned to statistics for in-depth evidence of levels of heathenism in every parish of the city, using numerical returns filled in by each parish minister on the basis of data collected by elders' during the visitation of their individual portions of the parish.[540] Collins readily admitted that he had learned the use of statistics during his time in the Tron and St Johns, and the emphasis upon numerical evidence may also be explained by James Cleland, Master of Works and statistician for the Town Council, being a member of the Society. That these figures were accurate in representing the (limited) religiosity of the city was unquestioned, "resting as they do on the basis of rigid arithmetical calculations, which can neither mislead on the one hand nor be impugned on the other".[541] Neither was it considered whether figures of church attendance were an adequate measure of religiosity, although the Presbytery did appear uneasy in reducing questions of faith to statistics, querying the assumption "that the numerical amount of the avowed adherents to the Church [is] a fair criterion of the usefulness of the Establishment, – an assumption [...]

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[538] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (Glasgow: 1834): p. 2.

[539] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[540] Interview with Wm. Collins , *Second report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland* (1837): p. 710.

[541] *Fifth annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs, for the year 1839* (Glasgow: 1840): p. 19.

[we] have nothing to dread, but the soundness of which [we] cannot possibly admit".[542]

Members of the Society, meanwhile, attempted to raise both public awareness of the lack of accommodation and funds for the scheme, publishing pamphlets, preaching on associated themes, giving lectures and holding public meetings. It was estimated that one such meeting held in the centre of Glasgow in 1837 attracted over four thousand people.[543] In so doing, the Society continued to give weight to the narratives of the unholy city by speaking of the claims not as opinion, but as certainty. Robert Buchanan, minister of the Tron church and active member of the group, for example, spoke of the "fact, which does not admit of contradiction, that in this City and Suburbs alone, there are not fewer than forty thousand persons [...] who are living in entire estrangement from the ordinances of the Gospel" as "notorious and indisputable",[544] while another participant spoke of the "fearful destitution of the means of grace" as "unquestionable".[545] The assertion of the city as a godless place had now been firmly embedded as an established 'fact', verified by statistical analysis and the testimony of both clergy and laity, who claimed expert knowledge of their parishes, and granted authority by the powerful within the community who possessed the will and influence to shape the cityscape accordingly.

A lack of accommodation and all its associated ills was not a problem unique to Glasgow. In 1828 the General Assembly, concerned at the lack of religious provision nationally, appointed a 'Committee on Church Accommodation' with the remit of persuading the government to provide financial support for new churches, building upon the encouragement given in 1824 when the state bestowed £100,000 for the building of churches in the Highlands and Islands.[546] Around the same time as the Society in Glasgow was finding its feet, the Church, fired by the new Evangelical dominance, resolved that the present Committee was ineffective in achieving its aims

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[542] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 28th August, 1835.
[543] *A full report of speeches delivered at the great meeting [...] to further and promote the interests of the General Assembly's church accommodation scheme* (Glasgow: McPhun, 1837): p. 3.
[544] *Speech of the Rev Robert Buchanan, of the Tron Church, Glasgow, delivered at a public meeting [...] held in Trades' Hall* (Glasgow: Collins & Co., 1835): p. 1.
[545] *A full report of the speeches delivered at the great meeting [...] to further and promote the interests of the General Assembly's church accommodation scheme* (1837): p. 6.
[546] Burleigh, J.H.S (1960) *op.cit.*, pp. 320-1.

and renamed it the 'Committee on Church Extension', placing Chalmers at its head and recharging it to be an active rather than a passive body. However, further attempts to open the Parliamentary purse drew blanks, and the Committee charted instead a voluntary course. Notably, as S.J. Brown comments, Chalmers was impressed by the work in Glasgow and suggested that a series of similar societies could be established throughout the country, under his loose direction.[547] Indeed, the process had already started as another church accommodation society had been founded in Aberdeen not long after the emergence of the Society in the west.[548]

Importantly too, the Committee recognised the particular problem facing urban communities, noting "the moral wilderness of our cities and large towns which require the most to be done for them".[549] In doing so they echoed the findings of the Glasgow Society, which claimed that so deep were the problems precipitated by the want of accommodation, "[e]verything pleads for an immediate and strenuous effort in behalf of the outcast thousands of the people".[550] As such, the Society proposed a scheme designed to improve the ecclesiastical apparatus of Glasgow by allowing a more just proportion of the population to attend worship, specifically by building twenty new churches, each large enough to hold one thousand people. These churches were to be completed over a five-year period, with the focus upon areas of the greatest poverty and ecclesiastical neglect, followed by a further two churches per year for as long as the rate of population increase remained steady. The initial scheme would cost over £40,000, with money to be given charitably in instalments by wealthy citizens over the same five-year period. In line with the new legislation, these were to be full parochial churches, with the right of election of clergy vested, in the first instance at least, in the buildings' funders. New parishes were to contain no more than three-thousand people, two and a half-thousand in the most destitute areas, and parishioners had the first claim on seats therein,[551] with the majority costing 2s., cheaper than in any of the Burgh churches. Application was made to the government for an endowment to defray the expense of this scheme and allow those without much

[547] Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.*, pp. 236-7.
[548] Chambers, D., 'The Church of Scotland's parochial extension scheme and the Scottish Disruption', *Journal of Church and State*, xvi (1974): pp. 263-86.
[549] *Report of the Committee of the General Assembly on Church Extension* (1835): p. 4.
[550] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 7.
[551] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

disposable income to attend,[552] although this was eventually unsuccessful. The willing contributions of those able to support the building and sustaining of the new churches was therefore important.

Class, Status and Space

The presence of a wealthy middle class sympathetic to the Evangelical cause was vital to the success of the Society. Most obviously, they were able to invest towards the significant outlay required to build new churches, voluntarily funding a proposal that offered no financial return, and the aims of which – to strengthen the Established Church and improve society – were entirely benevolent. At a time when the average ministerial stipend was £300 per annum, some members were prepared to offer a starting donation of between £100 and £200, and others even more; equally, a few industrialists and landed members granted land in prime positions to be used for churches. Noting the claims of Cox[553] and Seed,[554] this involvement may perhaps be seen as not entirely benevolent, but part of the desire of the new middle class for authority within civic society. The Society duly offered this in two ways, both providing a voice at the city-wide scale in the reshaping of the urban religious landscape, and at the parish level where benefactors had certain rights over the churches they had funded. Furthermore, the Society could be seen as an organisation subverting the authority of the Presbytery and the Council; for, while remaining a part of the Church of Scotland, by its voluntary and independent nature it effectively by-passed both bodies and took control of the planning of churches and chapels. This also echoes the claims of Nenadic, who sees bodies like the Society organised according to voluntary principles as effectively reinforcing the hegemony of the middle class.[555]

Not entirely incidentally, for ordinary church members the change of personnel in charge of their churches merely meant that they were now being controlled by a different group than before, reflecting Trainor's analysis of competing élites.[556] A glance at the Society's membership list does, however, suggest a more complicated

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[552] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[553] Cox, J. (1982) *op.cit.*
[554] Seed, J. (1986) *op.cit.*
[555] Nenadic, S. (1995) *op.cit.*
[556] Trainor, R. (1993) *op.cit.*

picture than a simple case of old élites against new.[557] Clearly, many members belonged to the new middle class: Charles Tennant served as a hand-loom weaver before making his fortune through chemical engineering; James Campbell relied upon the investment of his old employers to start his clothing business; Robert Dalglish worked in a warehouse prior to starting a calico-printing firm with two friends. Indeed, William Collins himself was born of humble station in Eastwood, near Glasgow, and had been a junior clerk in a loom and a teacher until entering the publishing world with the support of Chalmers. Many of the Society's members were already part of the city's establishment, however, and amongst the first group investing in the Society were five former Lord Provosts of Glasgow – James Ewing, James Black, Henry Monteith, John Alston and Robert Dalglish – in addition to two MPs (Ewing again and Lord J.C. Colquhoun) and several former and current members of the Council, including the merchant William Brown and the aforementioned James Cleland, both of whom had served as Dean of Guild. Others, like David Stow and Walter Buchanan, came from moneyed backgrounds or established families already sitting at the city's top table.

Such ties were invaluable in terms of finance and influence. For example, it was Lord Colquhoun who proposed and secured the Act of Parliament removing the ties of patronage from new churches built by voluntary contributions, and there is evidence to suggest that Alexander Dunlop, an advocate from Edinburgh and member of the Society, supported him in the drafting and preparation of the Bill.[558] Seed's interpretation of religious groups offering the middle class a 'space' to build relationships that extended into private and business life is borne out here,[559] with a tight network linking nearly all of those involved in the Society, allowing new bonds to be built and reinforcing those already made elsewhere. At the same time, these connections were at times vital in achieving certain ends. To trace one example of this network, Collins, Matthew Montgomerie, John Wilson, Henry Paul, William Brown and James Dennistoun all moved from the Tron to St Johns with Chalmers, while the latter three all served together on the Town Council with William Rodger, another member of the Tron, who had proposed Chalmers' move. As another example, Walter

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[557] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): pp. 14f.

[558] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 55.

[559] Seed, J. (1986) *op.cit.*

Buchanan – an associate of Chalmers and deacon within St Johns, as well as a prominent Whig and keen supporter of parliamentary and municipal reform – was a member of the Society alongside his brother, James, who served as vice-president. In his political campaigning, Walter Buchanan was known to work with Charles Tennant and Andrew MacGeorge, both prominent advocates of reform, and with James Oswald, who was not a member of the Society but was the business colleague of Nathaniel Stevenson, a director of the Society. To tie the loop, David Stow – also a director of the Society, associate of Chalmers and a member of the Tron and Council – was a friend, and proponent of the educational ideas, of Samuel Wilderspin, whose work had first been adopted within Scotland by another friend, James Buchanan, brother of Walter. As such, the Society was tied up in multiple religious, business and social circles, and indeed formed a 'space' where these relationships could be developed and influence utilised. To this end, supporting philanthropic ends could be seen as an investment into a wider world of contacts that might be beneficial in other walks of life, as suggested by Seed,[560] while linking the established middle classes with those emerging at the lower end of the scale, thus homogenising the middle class into a single unit in the manner that Morris identifies[561] and so cementing its authority within society.

Significantly, the Society fits the template that Nenadic offers as a prototype of such groups, being constituted of "among the wealthiest and most influential men in the city", as well as being democratic in organisation and decision-making, holding public meetings and publishing reports, and with voting rights and authority dependent upon financial contributions.[562] Indeed, while all donations were gratefully accepted, a minimum sponsorship of £50 was demanded before a donor was given a say in the proceedings of the Society,[563] with the number of votes accorded to each member being dependent upon the amount that they had invested. The aims of the Society can also be seem as akin to other groups which intended to civilise and modernise society through various mechanisms "for creating order, stability and control within urban society", invariably finding the solution in institutions, taking

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[560] *Ibid*., p. 132.
[561] Morris, R.J. (1990) *op.cit.,* p. 259.
[562] *Ibid*., p. 294.
[563] *Constitution and regulations of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow* [n.d.].

"problem people [...] to be analysed, categorised and removed from the community to be treated by professionals, in the hope that by their removal and treatment they would be reformed and the community would be saved from further pollution".[564]

Following from this, Nenadic suggests that a typical mark of voluntary groups was their focus upon issues perceived by the bourgeoisie to be of societal danger,[565] usually predicated upon a fear of the poor. Again, this can be identified in the Society, which extended the existing arguments about the problem of religious destitution being especially bad amongst the working classes, demanding that the new churches were most immediately required "in the poorest and most destitute districts of the city".[566] Indeed:

> [T]he deeper we sank our shaft into this almost hitherto unexplored mine of spiritual destitution, we make the more dark and melancholy disclosures of its unimagined extent, and almost exclusive concentration on the poor and working classes.[567]

Although intended as a metaphor, the spatial imagining at work in this quotation is perhaps revealing of deeper prejudices held by the middle class, through the opposition of higher and lower, light and darkness – even, perhaps, in the description of the working class as a poor and concentrated assemblage. Here, the Society is utilising binaries at work in wider society with those that tie together the poor and the ungodly. This kind of metaphor then recurs throughout documents produced by the Society, usually to describe parts of the town "sunk lower" than other areas of the city.[568]

The social malaise identified by the Society was partly seen as a result of the recent seasons of distress that had afflicted the city and particularly affected the conditions of the working classes, such as the outbreak of cholera in 1832 and the economic depression, causing habits of attendance to be broken.[569] Yet again, statistics were used to back up this claim by comparing the percentage of seats held by different classes within individual parishes, showing that the poorer invariably held fewer

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[564] Nenadic, S. (1995) *op.cit.*, pp. 295f.
[565] *Ibid.*, p. 296.
[566] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[567] *Statistics of the Church Accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): pp. 3f.
[568] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs, for the year 1841* (Glasgow: 1842): p. 8.
[569] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 13.

sittings than the wealthy. Precise detail was provided in these figures, allowing areas within parishes, and even individual streets, to be analysed and compared. In the Goosedubs, for example, the poorest area of St Enoch's parish, only six sittings were held for over two-hundred and fifty people (2¼%), compared to the middle class St Enoch's Square in the same parish, where one-hundred and twelve sittings were held by one-hundred and fifty-one people (74%). Similarly, in the middle-class dwellings at Monteith Row in the Tron parish four-hundred and twenty-two residents (65%) rented seats, while the densely populated Old Wynd had but twelve sittings for nearly four-hundred and fifty persons (2½%).[570] In the land at the back of the College where the thirteen families paid the lowest rent in the parish, not one single seat was taken; in comparison, the lands at the front of the College contained only nine families yet twenty-two sittings.[571] Positing the poor as less associated with the Church had been implied in the earlier concerns over church accommodation, echoing the narrative of working-class alienation from religion identified by C. Brown. The Society was explicitly restating the relationship suggested by Chalmers, albeit from a sympathetic perspective seeking to remedy this "evil" but still establishing a direct connection between levels of wealth and religiosity, consolidating and reinforcing the notion of the unholy city while mapping out the precise spaces most in need of moralising and evangelising. In this attention to the detail of specific parishes, the Society effectively bought into social scientific practice, tying the scientific examination of the city together with moral and theological precepts in the same manner as identified by Driver,[572] and constructing an environmentalist model of the city within which the crowded, hidden spaces became identified with immorality and irreligiosity.

The Society was especially critical of the Council's practice of renting pews, claiming that this was the crucial obstruction that dissuaded the working class from attendance, with rents operating "as a powerful check to their church-going habits, and [...] continu[ing] to operate as a barrier to their return, until so great a reduction be effected as to render them accessible".[573] It was suggested that there were too few of the cheaper seats, costing one or two shillings per year, available for purchase in each

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[570] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[571] *Ibid*., p. 10.
[572] Driver, F. (1988) *op.cit.*
[573] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 4.

church, and that this was skewing the make up of the congregations towards the wealthy and excluding the poor, contrary to the entire purpose of the Established Church, which sought to provide religious instruction to the entire community.[574] The dominance of one class within a congregation was not an accurate representation of the composition of society, for while:

> [T]he poor and working classes form three fourths of the population, not one twentieth part of sittings in the various churches are at price suited to their circumstances. Nearly the whole church accommodation of Glasgow is available only to the middle and upper classes, while a scanty fraction of it only is accessible to the working classes.[575]

Given the high levels of poverty within the city, it was claimed that many were already unable to afford any seat for themselves or their families; others would be forced under the breadline if they took them.[576] This, the Society argued, explained why so many of the churches were never filled despite the high population, and why it was unfair to blame the poor for something that was beyond their control:

> And what an unjust and ungenerous argument against the poor, on the one hand, to make the price of the sittings so high as to render the churches inaccessible to them, and on the other, to point to unlet sittings, which they *cannot take*, as a reason for providing no more church accommodation for them![577]

By making this claim the Society reflected the view taken by the national Church's Committee on Church Extension, which, in a report to the General Assembly of 1835, suggested that:

> What we aim is not accommodation only, but cheap accommodation: – so cheap as to congregate the lower orders in the house of God [...]. We shall never be able to achieve this while the produce of the seat-rents forms the only fund out of which to support the clergyman; and unless this be helped at least from some other quarter than the means of the people themselves, we despair of ever conducting our establishment back again to that state of efficiency which it had in other days, when it found its ways into the bosom of every household, and opened its solemn assemblies to all the population.[578]

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[574] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[575] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 15.
[576] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 4.
[577] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842): pp. 29f. Original emphasis.
[578] *Report of the Committee of the Church of Scotland on Church Extension* (1835): p. 5.

Rather, the only cause of this was the poor management of the Council, who operated seat rents as a money-making scheme. Indeed, the Society both challenged and criticised the 'City rulers', declaring it as their object that seat rents in Burgh churches be lowered in response to this increasing competition, to "render them, what they are not, but what they ought to be, accessible to the poor",[579] and warning the Council against putting the financial interest of the town above spiritual needs. For:

> It is making that provision for the destitute population which it was the duty of our city rulers and heritors to have made. And is there a man so blind to the true welfare, and so regardless of the true interests of the community, as for a moment to place the city revenue in competition with the piety, intelligence, and worth of a well-educated and Christian population? [...] [W]e sincerely hope, that the diminution of burgh revenue will never for a moment be laid in the balance against the spiritual and eternal interests of their fellow-citizens.[580]

This opposition to the 'City rulers' was unusual, given the links and mutual involvement of Society and Council members, although there were more within the civic authority uninvolved in church extension than involved. The Society may therefore be seen as a form of pressure group, allowing those whose ambitions to extend the ecclesiastical infrastructure from within the Council were frustrated a route for channelling their hopes.

It was not just the direct cost of seat rents that dissuaded attendance.[581] Often, the cheapest seats cost least not out of any largesse for the poor, but because they were inferior, inconveniently placed at the back of the pulpit or behind pillars, or offering less 'bottom space', and so in the market economy run by the Council commanded the lowest prices as there was the least demand for them.[582] Likewise, the most expensive seats would be around the pulpit or in the front centre of the gallery, the most effective positions from which to see and hear the minister. The spatial organisation of people within the church interior was therefore manipulated to manifest, and so reinforce, the existing societal divisions in the micro-geography of the building, ensuring that those of a similar class and wealth sat together.[583] On another level, this

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[579] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 24.
[580] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 8.
[581] For a fuller discussion of seat-rents in Glasgow, see Brown, C. (1987b) *op.cit.*
[582] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 14.
[583] For a discussion of micro-geographies implicit in modern worship, see MacDonald, F. (2002) *op.cit.*

spatial organisation was not just a reflection of the segregation of social classes, but also acted to exclude the poor from attending. As "these cheap seats are often placed in a noticeable position, which marks them out as sittings for the lowest grades in society",[584] there was a sense of social shame attached to taking them, as it graded the holder out as belonging to the poorer classes. The answer, suggested the Society, was to make many more cheap seats available, thus reducing the individual shame felt and, as an additional benefit, ensuring that many of the seats would be in an improved location. In this event, many more people would be willing to take a seat, and also be able to do so as the cost would be more affordable:

> The working man who takes a cheap sitting [...] looks around him and sees himself surrounded by *hundreds* of his class in society equal, and many of them perhaps in better circumstances than himself occupying two shilling sittings like his own. In such circumstances, every feeling of degradation is dissipated, for they feel that they are not sunk below the level of their companions. It is not to cheap sittings, as such, that they have an aversion, it is when associated with circumstances that demean them in the eyes of their fellows that their aversion is excited.[585]

Significantly, this would not end the social segregation. The variation in price of pews in different parts of the church would still separate the congregation into those who could afford the best seats and those who could not, albeit that more of the seats would now be available to the lower class.

The Society recognised that the urban environment was a different field within which to sow the Christian message when compared to the traditional rural community upon which the legal level of accommodation was based. It was noted that, aside from contributing to the rapid growth of numbers within the city, migration was altering its societal make-up, as the population was increasingly dominated by people of a working age.[586] As such, the Society contested the claim of Dissenters that only 40% of the population should be accommodated rather than the 45% demanded by law, arguing that rather than reduce the legal proportion there should in fact be more accommodation as there were now more people of an 'examinable' age in the city.[587]

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[584] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 14.
[585] *Ibid*., p. 15.
[586] *Ibid*., p. 6.
[587] *Report of the Scottish Central Board, for extending the principle of voluntary, and vindicating the rights of dissenters* (1835).

Indeed, analysing the proportion of seats taken by "those who are in circumstances to take the requisite number for their families are actually found to take"[588] – in other words, the proportion taken by those in the community who need not be concerned about cost – and presuming that the price of rents should not be a barrier to attendance at worship, the Society suggested that 60% should be the legal proportion, as in richer areas of the Royalty the minimum percentage of sittings taken was 60%, rising in some places to 78%.[589] Furthermore, they proposed that the stopgap nature of city living and the regular movement of the poor around the Royalty made it "indispensable to a right moral state of the community" that there should be more seats in churches than are necessarily needed, thus providing for new residents a space at worship. Otherwise, "by not finding a ready access to the sanctuary, they would be in danger of losing their church-going habits".[590]

Raising the Fallen

The deficiency of churches was considered to be the cause of another problem aside from the lack of accommodation, for "the desire of attendance at church has become to a fearful degree extinct".[591] As the provision of churches had become so inadequate, so the church was increasingly distant – in a literal and metaphoric sense – from the lives of urban dwellers and the ministers were denied regular intercourse with the population, preventing them from being able to persuade or to encourage attendance at worship, and thus allowing free reign to the baser instincts of the populace to ignore religion:

> From the invariably downward tendency of human nature to
> ignorance and irreligion, wherever hindrances or discouragements to
> the acquisition of Christian instruction exist, the never-failing result
> is, a growing indifference, and an increasing neglect, of the
> ordinances of Christianity, and a declension of the people into a state
> of heathenism.[592]

It was the neglect of provision that was identified as the underlying cause of low levels of attendance, rendering empty the argument that more churches were not needed as those already built were not fully used, for a church was not just a place for

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[588] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 5.
[589] *Ibid*., p. 6.
[590] *Ibid*., p. 19.
[591] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 5.
[592] *Ibid*., p. 4.

holding worshippers but was in itself a tool of evangelism. Had the Society taken the line of certain Dissenters and considered that many in towns were "avowedly irreligious" and beyond hope of salvation, then building more churches would have been fruitless, for nothing would encourage such people to attend. Alternatively, if people were naturally disposed to religion then churches would be there simply to fulfil a basic function of accommodating the religious at worship. The Society, though, saw churches not as something that should be reliant upon laws of supply and demand, for often there would be at best a latent demand, nor a simple question of population, accommodation or legality. Rather, a church that was fully equipped with a minister and active laity was indeed a machinery for transforming the morals of a community.

Church extension stood not only for the expansion of the ecclesiastical apparatus, but as a vision of a church that extends into the heart of communities and the daily lives of individuals. Indeed, it was suggested that "whenever the means of religious instruction furnished by the Church of Scotland ceased to be commensurate to the increasing population, the people began to sink [...] into a deplorable state of ignorance and irreligion",[593] for people do not naturally hunger after religion but need first to have divine truths communicated to them:[594]

> When we complain of the worthless, and profligacy, and disregard of the ordinances of Christianity, which prevail among the lower classes, does the reflection never force itself across our minds, how much our own unchristian neglect of them has contributed to render them so? We lament the profanity, and irreligion, and absence of even the form of godliness, which so extensively exist, without ever reflecting that those means of grace, by which alone an opposite spirit could have been produced, have been denied them. There was a period when the church accommodation in Glasgow was commensurate with the wants of the population, and that period was characterized by piety, church-going habits, decent Sabbath-observation, and the prevalence of personal and domestic religion. But a woeful degeneracy in these respects now extensively prevails.[595]

This romanticising of the past, creating an image of a 'golden age' of suitable accommodation in which the godly population all worshipped, is one that recurs frequently, perhaps to provide historical evidence of the link between provision and

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[593] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 36.
[594] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[595] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 6.

adherence, although exactly when this age was is left unsaid. Alternatively, it may be an attempt to engender a sentimentality to the call for better ecclesiastical infrastructure. The emphasis upon adequate provision as necessary for the religious condition of a community was underpinned by an understanding that was vital for how the Society explained the purpose of a church, positing humanity as having the potential for religious belief but unwilling to seek it naturally and thus in need of encouragement. As a supporter of the Society commented:

> This is the first principle which the Society starts with. They say that man's nature is fallen, and he requires to be reclaimed from his fallen state, and lifted again to the state of purity in which he was created.[596]

This, however, was only possible if room could be found within the dominant discourse of the unholy city and heathen poor. If the dominant discourse was so tight that it allowed no possibility of establishing religion within the city and amongst the poor, the scheme would have been pointless, as prompting and persuading people to attend would not be enough to counter the effects of the irreligious environment. Entangled with this was the theological question about the limits of salvation. If, as some believed, redemption was limited to an elect who would naturally seek religion, there would be no need for such a scheme, but the Society's underlying Evangelical theology presumed an open, though not necessarily universal, atonement, allowing at least the possibility that all people could be saved and that everyone was to have the chance to receive the Christian message. As a supporter explained, it was the will of the Society:

> [T]hat to every creature the Gospel is to be preached. We are not to suppose, that because men are criminal they must necessarily continue criminal. We are not to admit that the state of any man is a hopeless task; no, this Society feels it to be its duty [...] to do what in them lies to extend the knowledge of the religion of Christ.[597]

Establishment versus Dissent

Notwithstanding that the Society's scheme to build more churches was dependent upon voluntary contributions, the Society was in no sense against the Establishment principle, nor was it sympathetic to the voluntaryism espoused by Dissenters. Rather,

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[596] *A full report of the speeches delivered at the great meeting [...] to further and promote the cause of the General Assembly's church accommodation scheme* (1837): p. 32.
[597] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

it was hoped that these measures, by allowing the extension of a parochial ecclesiastical apparatus, would enhance and safeguard the Established Church. The Society believed, like Lapslie, that had the Church of Scotland "been extended with the increasing population, a vast mass of the dissenters would have remained within her pale".[598] As such, providing new places of worship would therefore have encouraged more people to return to the established fold and a diminution of the Dissenting threat. It is perhaps not coincidental that the period of highest church growth coincided with the peak of Voluntary opposition to the Establishment, with reports from both the General Assembly's Committee on Church Extension and the Society often explicitly explaining their schemes as means of protecting the Church of Scotland against this threat. However, the apparent sectarianism of the Society was not unfounded. For instance, in a letter petitioning the Council to build a new church to the west of the Royalty in 1826, the petitioners noted that, such was the distance to the nearest Established Church, many resorted instead to "take seats in some of the dissenting meeting houses which are erected or are erecting in their vicinity", but suggested that they would return to the Church of Scotland if a church was built closer.[599]

The Society also argued that it was wrong to suggest that Dissenting churches could provide religious instruction for the whole community, for despite the strong presence of Dissenters in Glasgow, it was claimed that there still remained over sixty-thousand people who could not be accommodated, despite there being over fifteen-thousand seats unlet within churches outside the Establishment.[600] The dissenting mode of operation had therefore failed adequately to provide for the population of Glasgow even when working alongside a state-supported Church, and so it was unlikely to give proper accommodation if acting alone. The irreligion of the urban environment was equally recognised by the Dissenters, who suggested that:

> [I]n all our large towns there unhappily exists a very large population, composed of the avowedly irreligious, and of all those classes who fill our jails and bridewells, and infest our streets, for whom, to provide church accommodation as the means of reclaiming them from their evil courses, would betray a lamentable degree of ignorance of human nature. By making proper allowance for these classes, the quantity of

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[598] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 66.
[599] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 25th October, 1826.
[600] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): pp. 33f.

church accommodation required in all our large towns will be considerably reduced. Again, although the legal quantity of accommodation may be requisite where the population is composed of the ordinary proportions of the wealthy, the middling, and the poorer classes, in places where there is a very large proportion of the lower orders, the same quantity of church accommodation never can be requisite, even for the families of all the church-going poor.[601]

It was not, the Society suggested, anything implicit in the teaching or worship of the Dissenting churches that rendered it unable to provide for the whole community, but was entirely as a result of its financial support base, as a Voluntary system is reliant upon the willingness and ability of people to pay for religion, thus limiting the number of people who can or desire to get involved and making it difficult to reclaim a neglected population which cares little for religion.[602] Where a community is poor, and thus unable to pay for a church, or where there are not enough people willing to support one, the area would go without religious provision, meaning that there would be nobody able to 'reach out' to the masses. As such, voluntaryism could never be 'aggressive' in Evangelism nor a church of the poor, as it could only be maintained where there was financial security and existing beliefs. In particular, churches beyond the Establishment were:

> [O]nly able to meet the necessities of the better-conditioned classes, and hence it is that in our large towns the poor and irreligious have to a great extent been left neglected.

As a result of this, Dissent had caused the evil "that a vast mass of the people are allowed to remain in a fearful state of destitution, by their resistance to the alone means [i.e. an Establishment] by which their spiritual necessities can be supplied".[603] The Established Church, meanwhile, had a more secure form of funding and could reach into areas of irreligion, regardless of the desire or wealth of the community, spreading Christianity to all the faithless of the city, rich and poor alike.[604]

Immoral Geographies, Unholy Cities: entwined narratives of religion and morals

Far from expressing a generalised picture of Glasgow as impoverished and entirely beyond the reach of religion, the Society displayed a thorough knowledge of the city that was informed by recognition of the differences within and between parishes in

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[601] *Statement relative to church accommodation in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Wardlaw, 1835): p. 8.
[602] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 35.
[603] *Ibid*., p. 56.
[604] *Ibid*., p. 60.

terms of a variety of social factors, from wealth, class and profession, to religious denomination and age. These were not mapped in the traditional pictorial sense but deployed detailed descriptive accounts and statistics which outlined the areas most in need of ecclesiastical relief, and also those deemed the most immoral. As the proposed new churches were primarily for the poor, understanding the places that the Society considered to have the greatest want is vital to appreciating the direction of the plans being made, and the way in which the religious landscape was to be changed. Most obviously, the Society was concerned to build new churches in areas of greatest ecclesiastical neglect where there existed a high population but only one church, allowing very few of the population to be accommodated. Parishes covering large areas were targeted as well, especially where people had to travel several miles to get to their church, while poverty and physical destitution were deemed important, in particular when manifested in a densely packed population. Using this criteria, four parishes within the Royalty stood out as being most in need: St George's, St Enoch's, St John's, and the Tron.[605] It was in these "portions of the moral waste [where][...] a vast and wide-spread scene of moral desolation reigns everywhere"[606] that the Society hoped to concentrate its efforts.

The north-west parish of the city, St George's, contained a sizeable middle-class population and was not the poorest in Glasgow, but a church there was considered a high priority mainly as a result of its territorial size, with the parish bounds covering a very large, disparate area split into three separate sections and a population of over fourteen thousand. Research by the Society indicated that the section of the parish around the Broomielaw on the banks of the Clyde was especially neglected, having six-thousand people without a single suitable church nearby,[607] and the Society worked in conjunction with a newly established local group, the Brownfield Church Society, to fund a new building.[608] It was, however, in the inner city parishes of the Tron, St John's and St Enoch's that the Society perceived the need of ecclesiastical

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[605] *Second annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs, for the year 1836* (Glasgow: 1837): p. 14.
[606] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842): p. 34.
[607] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 8.
[608] *Address by the Brownfield Church Society, on the propriety of erecting Brownfield into a new parish* (Glasgow: 1835).

relief to be most urgent. In the streets around High Street, the main thoroughfare, and in the notorious Goosedubs and Stockwell quarters,[609] church attendance was lower than in any other part of the city, with as few as six seats taken for nearly three hundred householders.[610] This was paralleled by extreme poverty and low standards of living. Of St John's, the Society claimed that the parish was "composed almost entirely of the poor and working classes, among whom great spiritual destitution was found to exist",[611] with the equivalent of five new churches needed to cover the neglected population, and over five-thousand five-hundred people untouched by association with any religious organisation.[612] The parish also covered a large territorial area beyond the eastern extent of the city, and this, added to the location of the church in the west of the parish, made the journey long for any dwellers in these parts who wanted to attend worship.

Similar descriptions abound with regards to the nearby St Enoch's parish. A group associated with the Society working within the parish offered a particularly withering assessment:

> When the wretched character of many parts of St Enoch's parish, and the great extent of it, are known, a very small preface indeed would be requisite to convince even an ordinary observer that there existed an imperative necessity [...] in cultivating and improving so vast a field of religious, moral, and temporal destitution.[613]

Thus, within these parishes:

> [A] great mass of the people are sunk in the deepest physical as well as moral wretchedness. Poverty and disease and profligacy and vice are deepening and extending among them, and making them wretched; and the physical wretchedness of a great mass of our people at present is immeasurably great. And much, very much of this wretchedness arises from sparing the cost of their religious instruction; for we hesitate not to affirm, that it is their spiritual destitution which, to a vast extent, produces their temporal destitution.[614]

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[609] *Fourth annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs, for the year 1838* (Glasgow: 1839): p. 12.
[610] *Second report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland* (1837): p. 711.
[611] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 9.
[612] *Fourth annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1839): p. 8.
[613] *First report of St Enoch's Parochial Association* (1838): p. 3.
[614] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 17.

That religious destitution and temporal distress went together was no coincidence but inevitable, according to the Society, for if religious instruction was seen as the only long-term solution to societal problems, then the converse was also taken as true, with the absence of Christian morals reckoned inevitably to engender the depression of a community. As McCorkle, an observer sympathetic to the aims of the Society, noted, "[o]ne Chapel attached to the Establishment, in the midst of such a large manufacturing population, in which the operatives, being congregated in dense masses, the natural tendency of society was to irreligion and infidelity".[615] Certainly there were grounds to argue this way on a practical level, as at this time the Church was responsible for the majority of educational provision within the city, and so in areas without churches there were lower rates of education; but, intriguingly, the Society extended its interpretation to include questions of morality, claiming that these areas were also the places where crime and vice flourished. It bemoaned, for example, that in the Wynd district of the Tron parish a church had been removed thirty years earlier and relocated for the benefit of the middle classes who had left the area for the suburbs, since which time the local people had continued to sink into increasing poverty and immorality:

> It is a matter of well known experience to our Public authorities that profligacy and vice and wretchedness abound more in this than in any other quarter of the city; and who can tell them how much this is owing to the removal of their church from the midst of them? And when men complain of the crimes and wretchedness and profligacy of these neglected and outcast people, does the conviction never force itself across their minds, how much such unenlightened and, we may add, improper policy may have contributed to render them so?[616]

To explain how this happened, the Society drew upon arguments of 'moral contagion' and the influence of the environment, reflecting contemporary understandings expounded by Driver[617] and Kearns.[618] It was claimed that in the poorer, densely populated parts of the city where people lived in close proximity to one another and "evil contagion is so rife"[619], immorality diffused throughout, partly since no example of Christian behaviour had ever been shown to residents and partly down to the

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[615] McCorkle, R., *Lectures on church establishments No. 8* (Glasgow: Wm. Collins, 1835): p. 19f.
[616] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 14.
[617] Driver, F. (1988) *op.cit.*
[618] Kearns, G. (1989) *op.cit.*
[619] *A full report of the speeches delivered at the great meeting [...] to promote the church accommodation scheme, 27th January, 1837* (Glasgow: Simon McGregor, 1837): p. 32.

degraded environment. At the same time, the narratives of the unholy city and the alienated working class were being extended and deepened, equating a lack of religiosity with not only poverty, but also immorality, vice, ignorance, intemperance, crime and even disease. Indeed, the Society produced evidence from the Police and Magistrates to show that in the areas of lowest church attendance, crime rates were highest, and that it was those areas which furnished the prison with most inmates.[620] Again, lack of adherence to religion was continually posited as the single cause of this ill, and so extra churches were considered the solution:

> [M]ultitudes, in every quarter, are living without God and without hope [...] [I]gnorance, irreligion, open profanity, and the most debasing profligacy form the prevailing character of many wide and populous districts. [...] Our population has increased beyond the provision made for their spiritual wants; but still the means of grace are not afforded. Multitudes are excluded from the blessings of a Christian ministry [...] [a]nd how many, alas! lie down insensible to their wretchedness – so sunk in vice, as to not feel their disease, or desire its cure. Thousands in every quarter are wandering as sheep without a shepherd – perishing for lack of knowledge – under an ignorance rendered doubly fatal, by the profanity and vices of a corrupt and degraded civilisation.[621]

Despite coming from a perspective of sympathy for the poor, such an interpretation nevertheless reflected the tendency to place the working class as the irreligious, immoral, uneducated masses living in darkness and in need of the light of the gospel, thus perpetuating the discourse of the working classes as alienated from the Church. The opposite was also true, backed up by a series of binaries constructed to position wealth with education, moral behaviour and Christian faith, as even the Society would recognise:

> We live in times when a new, and singular, and perilous state of society has arisen, where the extremes of poverty and wealth – of knowledge and ignorance – of piety and profligacy – meet together in strange alliance.[622]

Thus, while the poor were being stigmatised as the irreligious in need of provision, the wealthy – specifically the middle class – were being established as the Christian class of the community. This was not only implied through such binaries, but was

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[620] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 38.
[621] *A sermon preached in behalf of the Church Accommodation Society, at Glasgow, on Sabbath the 10th of January* [Stevenson Macgill] (Glasgow: McPhun, 1834): pp. 26f.
[622] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 14.

actively built up within texts, allowing, for example, the Society to describe unquestionably the "well-conditioned, educated, and Christian population",[623] or prompting the presumption that those who cared for the religious state of the city were the wealthy, whose duty it was to provide for the poor. Indeed, the Society spoke of "our duty to our people who we have too long most criminally neglected",[624] appealing for financial aid from "those on whom God has conferred wealth, and thus conferred on them the capacity of blessing their poorer brethren".[625] Such paternalism had infused the theories of Chalmers, from his desire that middle-class elders be present regularly in their districts to act as an example to the poorer parishioners, to his encouraging of the elders to give private charity to those who they oversaw and knew to be in need.

In addition to this influence, the Society also invoked a related colonial imagery that was of contemporary currency and, as in Driver's analysis of 'Darkest England',[626] imagined an underclass residing in the dark places of the city, almost as much in need of a civilising and evangelising influence as those in the farthest reaches of the Empire. The corollary of this imaging, of course, was the placing of the 'burden' for remedying the situation squarely on the shoulders of the middle class. For:

> To allow such a condition of things to remain unremedied, would
> reflect the deepest disgrace on this wealthy and Christian community;
> and amply possessed as it is with the means of providing for the
> religious instruction of its population, it would be highly criminal to
> allow so many around us to continue nearly as much strangers to the
> gospel of the grace of God, as if they lived in the deserts of Africa.[627]

The associating of wealth with religiosity happened in more subtle ways too: pamphlets that bemoaned seat rents as exclusionary by showing that only the wealthy could afford to purchase a seat, continued, even while opposing the measure, to add authority to the idea that the rich attended church and the poor did not. Likewise, statistical analyses designed to show that poorer areas of the city were badly accommodated did so by comparing such areas to wealthier and better attended

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[623] *Second annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1837): p. 9.
[624] *Fourth annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1839): p. 16.
[625] *Ibid*., p. 15.
[626] Driver, F. (2001) *op.cit.*
[627] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 2.

parishes, reinforcing the sense that the rich were more likely to be associated with the church. Similarly, the claim that religiosity would improve a person's temporal situation perpetuated the equating of religiosity with wealth. This, in turn, reinforced and extended the binary of the 'churched' against the 'unchurched', rich against poor, education versus ignorance, spiritual fruits against temporal wants, making it only a short step to extend further into pairings that tied wealth with health, good behaviour, temperance and citizenship, as opposed to poverty which led to disease, vice, drunkenness and lawlessness.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to spell out the particular thought system – and certain variations within it – that was central to the understanding of those involved in church extension, showing the reasons why it was thought that church building schemes were needed, defining the problems that these schemes were supposed to resolve, and in the process, shaping the nature of those responses. Through this, using C. Brown's claims about the unholy city, it has been suggested that the discourse was fashioned slowly, developing from an argument in favour of extra churches to accommodate the growing population into a wider claim that encompassed societal ideas of poverty, class and morality. Furthermore, the discourse was inscribed upon and subsequently read from the landscape of Glasgow, as a series of binaries – the religious and irreligious, the moral and immoral, the wealthy and the poor – became entangled together, with the end product being authorised by 'scientific' evidence showing an overlap between areas of poor church attendance and provision with places of want, ignorance and vice, thereby fostering a closely defined geography of the city's heathen spaces and ungodly corners. This was a self-justifying vision and a self-fulfilling prophecy, being driven by the middle class yet also helping to constitute it as a corporate, unified actor and as the rightful, moral authority able to reform the city for the better by empowering the transformation of Glasgow's ecclesiastical landscape. This conclusion gives weight to both Seed's argument that sites of organised religion provided a crucial arena in which middle-class formation could take place and find justification,[628] and Brown's suggestion of a discourse of

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[628] Seed, J. (1986) *op.cit.*

secularisation and the unholy city being the product of an élite.[629] Furthermore, the irreligious geography that was painted was central to the vision, as it suggested that the presence of more churches alone, especially more Established churches, could break through the emerging binary distinctions to provide the opportunity for those outside the fold to come back into the light. The means through which it was intended that this transformation could take place are addressed in the following chapter.

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[629] Brown, C. (2001) *op.cit.*

Chapter 5

The 'Moral Machinery' of Church Extension: Thomas Chalmers' Distinctive Contribution

> You know that a machine, in the hands of a single individual, can often do a hundred-fold more work than an individual can do by the direct application of his own hands. He who makes the machine, then, is more productively employed than he who, without it, engages immediately in the work. To produce a steam-engine, which sets one hundred looms agoing, is a far larger contribution to the goods of the country than to work at a single loom. This principle, obvious enough in manufactures, is sadly overlooked in the business of human society.[630]

Introduction

Having considered how the discourses of the unholy became empowered through the frame of church provision and were woven through the related tapestry of Glasgow's immoral geographies, this chapter turns to the workings of the church extension as one of the proposed solutions, asking how this model was thought to transform the landscape from immorality to morality, from the unholy to the godly. Church extension represented a break from the form of ministry that had previously dominated in the city, adapting techniques used in rural parishes to fit in with the different and ever-changing shape of the newly urbanising and industrialising society. The idea was to re-engage the church in the urban community and to reintroduce its physical presence in the landscape, and it would become the archetypal model of ecclesiastical arrangement encouraged by the church building schemes in Glasgow until the Disruption.

Significantly, Chalmers' model of church extension did not just seek to build more churches and provide a higher level of accommodation for the growing population, but involved an active evangelical impulse in which threads designed to 'Christianise' and 'moralise' society were tied together in a manner that required changing the geographies of the religious landscape so as to engineer a greater sense of community amongst parishioners, and to allow for mutual observation and the establishment of personal relationships between them and representatives of the church. Such was the expected 'mechanical' certainty in the achievement of this objective, or cluster of

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[630] Chalmers, T., 'Explanatory remarks', in *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns* (Glasgow: 1821).

inter-related objectives, that the Church was posited as a 'moral machinery' for the elevation of an urban community. To this extent, church extension was designed to shape the urban environment and to reconfigure its spatial relationships, along the same lines as General Booth's 'bridges' out of the immoral spaces of the city identified by Driver,[631] with churches thought to be "like small but beautiful oases in the moral desert".[632]

The aim of this chapter is to weave together a narrative of Chalmers' theory and practice as a means of explaining what church extension entailed, offering a case study that both engages with reasons for its emergence and unpacks the various 'cogs' required for the mechanism to operate, while uncovering in the process certain presuppositions that rested beneath, a not unimportant concern give the major influence that Chalmers held on church extension in the city and, later, across the country. In so doing, the chapter considers how the mechanisms of surveillance and visibility that Chalmers outlines as a means of encouraging morality compare to other accounts of disciplinary power analysed by Foucault, primarily through reference to his work on prisons,[633] and other critics, in particular Robinson's embodied, subjective, 'noisy' form of power.[634] Furthermore, the chapter suggests that Chalmers' specific model of church extension was the model that those involved in later schemes of church building within the city would, with some reservations, seek to replicate, thereby providing a window on the connections between Chalmers and those following in his footsteps.

The Keys to the Parish

Despite the effective death of the traditional parish system in Glasgow by the beginning of the nineteenth century,[635] ministerial support was still heavily weighted towards the organisation of churches along traditional parochial arrangements, as shown in the 1837 Report of the Select Committee charged with investigating religious provision within Scotland, when the ministers of Glasgow almost unanimously rejected all forms of ministry and ecclesiastical organisation save for the

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[631] Driver, F., *Geography Militant* (2001).
[632] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842): p. 34.
[633] Foucault, M. (1977) *op.cit.*
[634] Robinson, J. (2000) *op.cit.*
[635] See Chapter 4.

parish church. Opposition to other methods was not usually advanced on grounds of theology but rather those of pragmatism and practicality, as other forms of ecclesiastical organisation – chapels of ease, preaching stations, urban missionary societies and parochial missionaries – were all considered to be fundamentally ineffective when compared to the parish church in opening up every corner of the parish to the Word of God. "Till there be both ministers and churches more abundantly provided", it was claimed, "the people will never be reclaimed. They have never been reclaimed without them before".[636]

At the time of this report there were numerous religious bodies operating across the city at various scales, from small parochial missions that concentrated upon one portion of larger parishes, to those that attempted to cover the entire urban area. These bodies usually had no fixed place of worship, or perhaps only a small rented room, and it was this lack of a settled, spatially-fixed and visible ecclesiastical apparatus that many believed made missions ultimately ineffective. Even those working in the field accepted this objection. Mr Grant, a missionary for the High Church, admitted that, while he had been accepted by the people of the parish, "to endeavour to get them to attend on preaching, would require an agency of a very different kind".[637] It was argued that missionaries were looked on as second-class ministers[638] and as such were "totally useless for reclaiming the great mass of the people",[639] while their preaching stations, often schoolrooms or small halls used on a Sunday in the most destitute areas of the city, were considered to be places for the poor, creating "an aversion to attend a mission station, as [people] have the idea that they would be considered mere paupers, if not persons of irreligious and immoral habits".[640] All in all, for the majority of people in the city, "missionary labours are little influential to improve their morals, and lead to church-going habits".[641]

Likewise, despite having recently been designated a parish area to cultivate following the Chapels Act in 1834, the unendowed status of chapels of ease led many to believe that these could only be of limited good as they were reliant upon the financial

[636] *Second report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland* (1837): p. 54.
[637] *Ibid*, p. 13
[638] *Ibid*, pp. 62f
[639] *Ibid*, p. 54
[640] *Ibid*, p. 251
[641] *Ibid*, p. 250

support of those attending, a situation which it was believed would cause the minister to focus upon the congregation at the expense of the parishioners to ensure the safeguarding of their wages, and hence negating their ability to engage in mission work. On the Moderate side of the divide there was opposition to the building of these chapels, in part perhaps because they were further from the control of the Establishment, but also because they tended to attract the theologically evangelical. On the other side, the fact that the congregation was expected to provide financially for the church and minister rendered chapels beyond the financial reach of the poor within the city.[642] This factor further manifested dissent against the high seat rents demanded by the council-run parish churches.

Such sentiments were hardly new. Lapslie, writing twenty-five years previously, was merely the most prominent and vocal of those who stated a clear preference for the parish church over chapels,[643] although many of the criticisms had seemingly been resolved following the chapels legislation.[644] More recently, the Glasgow Church Building Society had spoken in clear support of the parish system based upon endowed and territorial churches, claiming that only a parochial mechanism was capable of reclaiming souls,[645] and the staunchly sectarian (in every sense of the word) Church of Scotland Magazine ran a feature comparing the different ecclesiastical systems in Glasgow, and also put its marker down firmly on a parochial form of ministry.[646] What was it that led the parish economy to be considered so superior to all other forms of ministry? Two answers were invariably given: endowment and territoriality. Indeed, fundamental to a place of worship belonging to the Established Church, from the time when the Church of Scotland first emerged, was that each church be organised with a territorial delineation and secure financial endowment for the support of the minister and upkeep of the building. Only when both aspects were in place could a church be considered effective as a place for the entire population, and thereby claim to be the national church. For, as one minister commented:

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[642] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 34.
[643] Lapslie, J. (1811) *op.cit.*, pp. 76f.
[644] See Chapters 3 and 4, sections on Chapels Act and Veto Act.
[645] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 27.
[646] *Church of Scotland Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 16 (1835): pp. 146f.

[U]nless we have an *endowed and parochial church* brought to bear on these outcasts, there is nothing done effectually to bring them under the influences of the gospel.[647]

Endowment

Each Established Church was provided with an endowment by the local heritor, or, as in the case of Glasgow, by the Town Council, but application could also be made to the state for additional support. This financial plus was understood to be necessary for several reasons. First, it kept the cost of attending worship to a minimum, in theory at least, ensuring that the congregation did not have to support both church fabric and clerical stipend, while allowing seats to be rented at a less prohibitive price than would otherwise be possible, ensuring that the barrier of finance could not prevent even the poorest from attending worship if they wanted. After all, "[t]o get at the poor in the lanes and alleys of our plebeian districts, is the grand purpose of an endowment".[648] Secondly, an endowment prevented there being a direct relationship between the minister and the congregation, ending what might erroneously be perceived of as a servant-master relationship and putting a barrier against the expectation amongst congregations that they, rather than the entire parish, should be the focus of ministerial attention. It was for this reason that many objected to chapels of ease, for even after the Chapels Act restored them to charges of full status, they remained unendowed. As Peter Napier, minister of the chapel of St Georges-in-the-Fields, noted, this forced him to "devote so large a period of my time to my congregation exclusively",[649] to the neglect of the souls outside.

The Church had long sought additional financial aid, with the Church Accommodation Committee of the General Assembly, forerunner to the Committee on Church Extension, dedicated to petitioning the Government for extra endowments. These were not forthcoming, however, and in the absence of state handouts some saw the only option as being to provide endowment privately. For example, for each of their new churches, the Glasgow Church Building Society provided £2,000 to be invested, with the aim of reaping around £80 per annum in income, while there were

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[647] Buchanan, R., *Speech of the Rev Robert Buchanan [...] delivered at a public meeting of the friends of the Church of Scotland* (Glasgow: W.Collins & Co., 1835): p. 6. Original emphasis.
[648] Chalmers, T., *On the distinction between parochial and congregational, and between endowed and unendowed churches* (Glasgow: W. Collins & Co., n.d.): p. 3.
[649] *Second report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland* (1837): p. 234.

many incidents of individual liberality, with William Campbell, a wealthy merchant of the city, promising twenty guineas for each of the first hundred churches built under the national scheme of extension.[650] Neither was realistically sustainable, steady or sufficient, though, given that between £200 and £300 would be required annually to cover the ministerial stipend alone, even before the precentor and beadle were paid and any building repairs attempted, and so support from elsewhere was necessary.

Dissenters, describing this as the 'compulsory' system, were opposed to the provision of state endowments on several grounds, not least since the money was taken from the obligatory taxes of the whole population. Indeed, the one commonality binding the many Dissenting groups beyond the Established Church was their favour for a 'voluntary' system of religious provision, hence the description of 'Voluntaryism' and 'Voluntary' churches, which saw churches being "founded by free consent, and supported by the free contributions of the members".[651] Working on principles of supply and demand, the congregation of each Dissenting church was responsible for the maintenance of fabric and provision of stipend, either by means of seat rent or giving money at the church after worship. In areas where there was not enough money or people to provide for a church, none existed, and so this was criticised by those attached to the Established Church as a system reliant upon wealth and willingness,[652] predicated upon the assumption that people had an inherent desire for religion and did not need any apparatus for evangelism. This view was in contrast to the national Church, for whom:

> An endowment can make the seat-rents so cheap as to render the church accessible to the poorest of them, and enable the minister to carry the gospel to those who have no *previous disposition to seek after it*.[653]

On this basis the Voluntary model was said to be the church of the few, lacking any inherent power or "effective aggressive means"[654] to reclaim a neglected population, although critics from the Established Church were not blind to the fact that a voluntary system was effectively in place for chapels of ease. Indeed, given that

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[650] *A full report of the speeches delivered at the great meeting [...] to promote the church accommodation scheme, 27th January, 1837* (Glasgow: Simon McGregor, 1837).
[651] *Report of the speeches delivered in Gordon Street Church, Glasgow, at the formation of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society, 12th November, 1832* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1832): p. 3.
[652] *Speech of the Rev Robert Buchanan, of the Tron church, Glasgow, delivered at a public meeting [...] held in Trades' Hall* (Glasgow: Collins & Co., 1835): p. 6
[653] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 37. Original emphasis.
[654] *Ibid*, p. 57.

Brown[655] identifies "a direct connection exist[ing] between seat-rent incomes and the provision of worshipping facilities", it is perhaps possible to describe all Established churches in the city as voluntary, as the bottom line was the determinant for religious provision. Voluntaryists responded that endowments were not sanctioned by scripture,[656] for "Christ's Kingdom is not of this world, and therefore [...] cannot be dovetailed into human governments, and made dependent on them for its very existence".[657] Furthermore, it was argued that endowments were contrary to the long sought laws on religious freedom and tolerance, ostensibly displaying a state's preference for one denomination over others, but also potentially dangerous to the Church, for "the state cannot ally itself with a division of the Christian church, without imparting an injurious influence to the interests of true religion in the church".[658] For the Established Church, though, this was not a question of theology – although some apologists did offer justifications on this basis, drawing mostly upon models of Old Testament theocracies – but rather a question of the most appropriate method of providing religious instruction, with the advantages of endowments as a means of reaching more people with the Christian message outweighing all other concerns. Again, the key was practicality: there was nothing wrong with voluntaryism as such, but the provision of an endowment was deemed more effective.

Territoriality

The parochial or territorial system was also a central aspect of the organisation of the Established Church from the Reformation onwards.[659] Reflecting a localisation of the National Church's position as master of the spiritual sphere within Scotland, the 'parish economy' split the country into a series of territories – parishes – and put each under the designated authority of a local church, representatives of which had a responsibility for the pastoral care and spiritual welfare of all people within that district. As the *Second Book of Discipline* described:

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[655] Brown, C.G. (1987) *op.cit.*, p. 349.
[656] Anon. [Alexander Haldane], *Two letters to the Reverend Thomas Chalmers* (Glasgow: A & J Duncan, 1818): p. 8.
[657] Kettle, R., *Compulsoryism and endowments exposed: in a letter to William Collins, Esq.* (Glasgow: George Gallie, 1836): p. 12.
[658] *Report of the speeches delivered in Gordon Street Church, Glasgow, at the formation of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society* (1832): p. 8.
[659] Parishes had, however, existed as ecclesiastical divisions prior to the Scottish Reformation.

> [S]eing the haill cuntrie is devydit in provincis and thir provincis agane
> ar divydit in parochis [...] in every paroche of resonable congregationis
> thay wald be placit ane or ma pasturis to feid the flok.[660]

Everyone within the parish was entitled to attend worship within this church, but this arrangement was also of secular importance as the parish church became the body responsible for education and the administration of the poor law.[661] Notwithstanding the presence of non-parochial chapels prior to the Chapels Act, it was the model of organisation that the Church affirmed throughout the nineteenth century.

In contrast, Dissenting churches eschewed a system based upon spatial division in favour of a congregational model where spiritual oversight was restricted only to those members belonging to the church and on the congregational roll, regardless of how near or far they travelled to attend or whether or not they resided closer to another place of worship. Nor did they claim pastoral responsibility over anyone who did not contribute to the church in some way, either through membership or financially. As such, as one critic complained:

> There is no geographical relation between the church they go to and the
> house they live in; and apart, therefore, from the influence of any such
> relation, they simply go, because on other grounds they have a
> preference either for the place of worship, or for the minister who
> preaches in it.[662]

Like the disagreement over endowments, the difference between the parochial and the congregational was not entirely a theological dispute, although this was perhaps a more important element than in the corresponding dispute, but arose mostly from a practical concern over which was more effective in the sense of 'reach'. For the Established Church, the parochial system allowed access to those who would otherwise have little to do with religion; for the Voluntaryists, territoriality was no more than an imposition:

> [T]hey do not satisfy themselves with coming to the door of every one
> of their own adherents, but to every occupant of the land, and in some

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[660] *The Second Book of Discipline*, Chapter 12 part 2 (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1980): p. 230. In modern English: "Seeing the whole country is divided into provinces, and these provinces again are divided into parishes [...] in every parish of reasonable congregation there should be placed one or more pastors to feed the flock".

[661] Indeed, the parish remained the organisational basis of the Scottish poor law following the 1845 Scottish Poor Law amendment Act.

[662] Chalmers, T., *On the distinction between parochial and congregational, and between endowed and unendowed churches* (n.d.): p. 1.

districts, to every dwelling within a certain geographical boundary ... however loudly its inmates may protest.[663]

Although at times claiming a theological justification for their more 'inward' religion, limited funds tied the hands of most Voluntary churches from being able to sustain a wide-scale provision, opening up an avenue of criticism from the Established Church. Speaking of "the Parochial being [...] of tenfold greater efficacy than the Congregational",[664] Chalmers expressed his own criticisms of the latter:

> Why, a merely congregational church is filled by those who have the will already, and is utterly powerless in its bearings on those who want that will [...] But how can such an apparatus as this be made to bear on the mighty intermediate spaces, all in a swarm with misguided, and misthriven, and neglected families? – who, under the system which we are now endeavouring to expose, never will be reached by any aggressive or pervading influence whatever.[665]

Voluntaryists tended to shy away from questions of effectiveness when retorting, focusing instead upon their opposition to the reliance of the parochial model upon endowed funds. Yet, despite these perhaps more political concerns, they were not untouched by the theological issues, not least the implication underpinning many statements that the true Church is not for all people but only professing Christians, a position that is in keeping with a congregational rather than territorial focus. Robert Kettle, for example, preferred to "let believers be gathered into the church as soon as they make a credible profession that they are such, and no sooner".[666] Although never explicitly unpacked, the implications here do suggest a deeper division in ecclesiologies between Dissenters and the Church of Scotland, with the former implying that the visible church – that which is manifested as an 'earthly' ecclesiastical body – is the sole and entire church, contrary to Established orthodoxy which, drawing upon the theology of Augustine and Calvin, recognised an invisible, 'unearthly' church constituted by those both within and beyond entry on a congregational roll. Indeed, the latter was the pillar upon which the parochial system stood, for if only those already Christian were the sole inheritors of salvation, then extending the limits of pastoral attention to those beyond the church walls would be

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[663] *Report of the speeches delivered in Gordon Street Church, Glasgow, at the formation of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society* (1832): pp. 23f.

[664] Chalmers, T., *On the distinction between parochial and congregational, and between endowed and unendowed Churches* (n.d.): p. 1.

[665] *Ibid*, p. 3

[666] Kettle, R. (1836) *op.cit.*, p. 5.

futile. In this sense, the geographical model of parochial ecclesiastical arrangement reflected the theological position of the Church of Scotland.

The Challenge of the City

While the Church espoused the ideal of endowment and territoriality, the local reality rendered its achievement difficult.[667] Even once chapels of ease were granted *quoad sacra* constitutions, they could still not claim outside funds, being reliant instead upon congregational giving, while inflated seat rents in the Burgh churches balanced the benefits of endowments, putting worship beyond the affordability of most people. Territoriality, meanwhile, was constrained by the increasingly overgrown size of parishes, making ministerial visitations and superintendence practically impossible. Likewise, in many city centre churches the bulk of the attending congregation was constituted by middle-class members living beyond parish bounds, taking the minister further from the people of the parish to attend instead to those who lived outside and should technically have been under the superintendence of another parish. The civic duties expected of the clergy were an additional burden that reduced the amount of time spent on parochial duties.

These drawbacks did not diminish the high place given to the traditional economy of a parochial and endowed church. Over and again, the claim was made that this model was the most effective means of ecclesiastical organisation to provide for those who wanted to attend and to encourage those who did not, and most of the innovations in church building could be read as attempts to recreate the circumstances whereby this model would be rendered effective – if it was ever really thus – once more. The creation of *quoad sacra* churches was an important first step in re-empowering the parochial system and certainly helped to reduce the average parish size in Glasgow, while encouraging the building of more chapels. Yet at the same time, there was developing in Glasgow a model of ecclesiastical organisation known as church extension that went beyond all earlier models, taking territoriality and endowment as the capstones for a new form of ecclesiastical organisation that was fundamentally different in both means and ends from any that had gone before.

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[667] As discussed in Chapter 4.

Thomas Chalmers and Church Extension

In many respects, church extension originated in and was exemplified by the ministry of Thomas Chalmers during his incumbency at the Tron Church and St John's in Glasgow. He was not the first to promote church building in the city, nor the first to suggest that an effective ecclesiastical infrastructure could benefit urban society – others like Lapslie had already suggested as much – but Chalmers brought something new to the mix, expanding the traditional role of a church from being a centre for accommodation to a tool of evangelism, capable of lifting the manners and morals of the population. In part this was to be achieved by the reshaping of the ecclesiastical palimpsest: building more churches and reducing the number of parishes. It was, however, in his re-imagining of the parish church as a 'moral machinery', acting in a variety of ways to manipulate the souls of parishioners, that he provided a template for church extension, offering the example that later schemes of church building in Glasgow and throughout Scotland would seek to follow. To this extent, church extension is distinguishable from other church building schemes in being not just about providing places for the faithful to worship, but stretching out into the soul of the community to encourage more people to come in.

Taking Chalmers' model as the archetype of church extension, the remainder of this chapter will unpack and inventory the different cogs that were central to the machinery. Prior to this, though, it is necessary to consider the roots of his thought, and establish the nature of the links between him and later proponents of the movement in Glasgow, asking whether it is appropriate to regard him as the 'founding father' of church extension and the extent of his influence over later practitioners. This is especially important given the ten-year gap between the end of his ministry there and the founding of the Glasgow Church Building Society that was so involved in the cause of extension. Through this we can begin to draw an outline of what was meant by church extension, and the many ways in which it took place.

Chalmers and the Country Roots of Church Extension

The cause of Chalmers' enthusiasm for the parochial system as the only method of recovery for the urban can be traced back to his experience, as a younger man and minister, of the workings of a rural parish. Although perhaps immediately tangential to the story of church extension, given the key role of Chalmers in promoting and

directing church extension nationally during the 1830s and his influence upon many local schemes of extension, it is perhaps worthwhile to consider the roots of his thought, uncovering in the process some latent preconceptions and understandings at rest beneath the plans that he influenced. Before this, though, it may be instructive to consider the explicit, though perhaps not inherent, negativity that Chalmers attached to the urban environment.

Not unlike others at the time,[668] Chalmers was less than enchanted with the urban world. Indeed, he seemed to develop a personal dislike of city life, commenting in a letter that while "[t]he country is quiet, and in abundance [...] in towns all is clamour and noise and broad manifestation",[669] and noting elsewhere that "it is a shocking place Glasgow".[670] The squalor met in the daily walk through his parishes reinforced and extended this view, as he observed firsthand the manifestations of poverty in the low living standards, cramped conditions, and illnesses of body and soul, and his writings are peppered with descriptions of "the assimilating mass of corruption which has got so firm and so rooted an establishment in the town",[671] of Glasgow as "almost given over to idolatry",[672] and of "the great mass of our city and suburb population [who] lie open to every rude and random exposure".[673] Indeed, seemingly drawing upon environmentalist ideas of 'moral miasmas' identified by Driver as so prevalent within the nineteenth century,[674] he even warned that:

> The atmosphere of towns may at length become so pestilential, as to wither up the energies of our Church, and shed a baleful influence over all that lustre of ministerial accomplishment, which otherwise might adorn it.[675]

In this respect, Chalmers was at one with the 'pessimist' interpreters of the secularisation thesis, suggesting a decline in religiosity as the urban environment developed, tying in with C. Brown's claims regarding the key place of Chalmers'

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[668] For a discussion of contemporary attitudes of the churches in Glasgow to the city, see Brown, C.G. (2001) *op.cit.*; Lafferty A.G.M. (2003) *op.cit.*
[669] Chalmers, T., quoted in Hanna, W. (1857): p. 36.
[670] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[671] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[672] Chalmers, T., *Address to parishioners on the opening of St John's first school* (1819): p. 244 [reproduced in Hanna, W. (1857) *op.cit.*, pp. 238-246].
[673] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): p. 27.
[674] Driver, F. (1988) *op.cit.*
[675] Chalmers, T., *The advantages and possibility of assimilating a town to a country parish* (1823): p. 41.

discourse in the establishment of secularisation as a concept. Yet, and again like his contemporaries, Chalmers did not think of the city in a simplistic way as inherently bad. The historical 'fact' that Glasgow was, to his eyes, an increasingly godless society did not mean that irreligion was the inevitable end of urban life. Rather, it was the arrangement of society, or more particularly the want of a mechanism to distribute the gifts of heaven, by which "a mass of heathenism has deepened, and accumulated, and attained to such a magnitude and density in our large towns",[676] that he understood to be the main cause of malaise within the urban environment.

Glasgow had the potential to recreate itself as a city of morality and faith, an opening that church extension sought to exploit, as "a few simple and practicable reformations, might be the instruments of sustaining the cause of theology, and of sending abroad over the face of our country, a most vigorous and healthful impulse".[677] This does not place Chalmers within the 'optimistic' school of secularisation either, however, as he spoke only of the *possibility* of urban redemption rather than its empirical reality. He also rejected any binarised view of society that damned the urban outright as an ungodly Other:

> It is utterly a wrong imagination, and in the face both of experience and of prophecy, that in towns there is an impractical barrier against the capabilities and the triumphs of the gospel – that in towns the cause of human amelioration must be abandoned in despair […] that elsewhere a moralising charm may go forth among the people, from village schools and Sabbath services, but that there is a hardihood and a ferocity in towns which must be dealt with in another way, and against which all the artilleries of the pulpit is feeble as infancy – that a foul and feverish depravity has settled there, which no spiritual application will ever extinguish.[678]

That said, Chalmers did maintain an affection and preference for the country that stemmed from his childhood in Anstruther and early ministry in rural Kilmany. Both operated under a traditional rural parochial economy and appear to have infused his thought: indeed, he often reflected back to the practices of these places to find an answer to the problems of his present. It was, for example, by drawing upon these experiences that he derived his model for the administration of poor relief whereby control was removed from the central body in the city and placed back in parish

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[676] *Ibid*, p. 25.

[677] *Ibid*, p. 41.

[678] Chalmers, T., *On the dissipation of large cities* (1821): pp. 290f.

Figure 5.1

Thomas Chalmers

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. L.L.D.
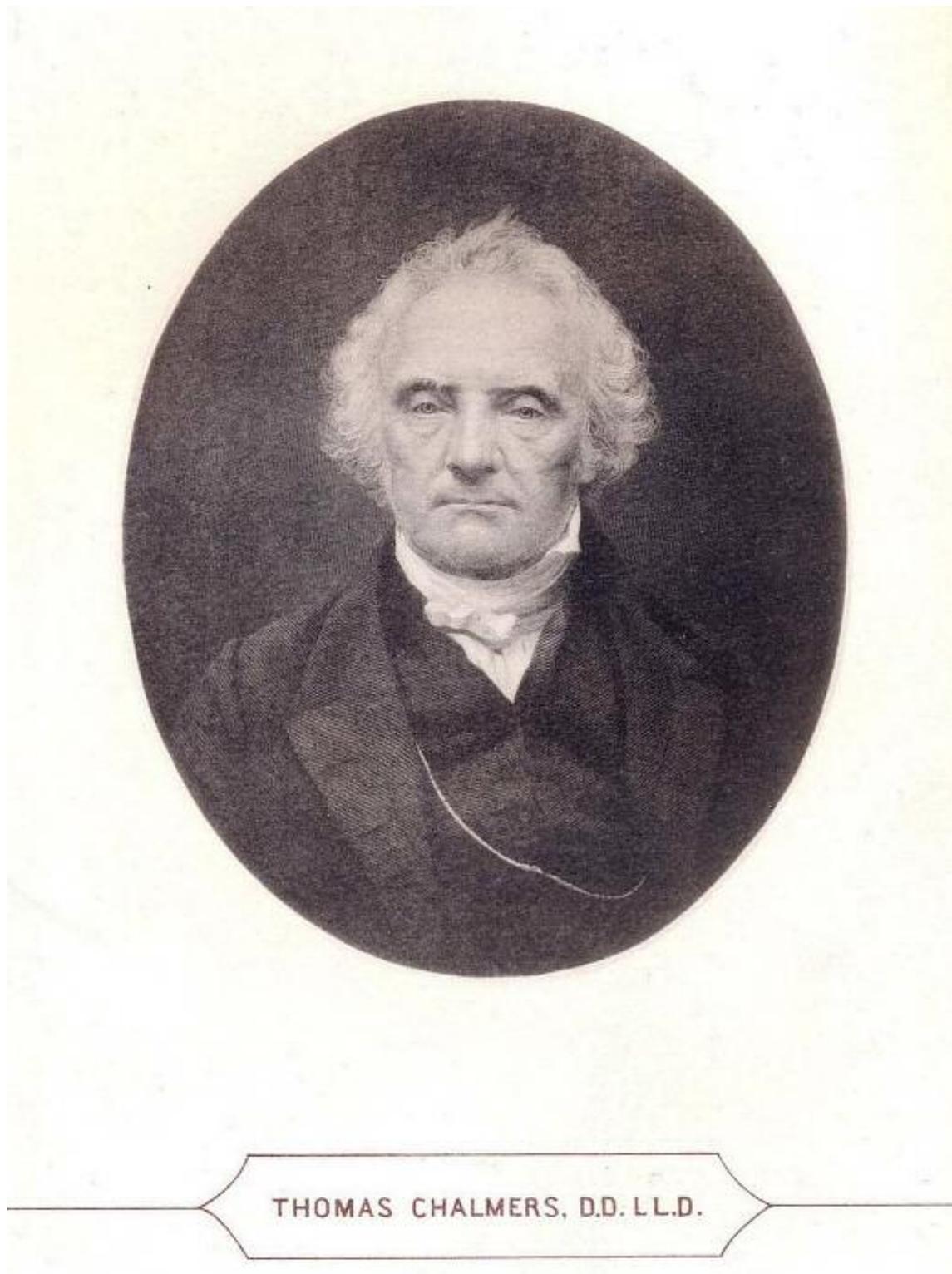
Reproduced from Wylie, J.A. (ed.), *Disruption Worthies: A Memorial of 1843*
(Edinburgh: Greig, 1876).

hands, and he spoke openly of his preference for the rural type of schooling by which he had been educated, claiming that it was "a far closer and more effective security for the diligence of the young".[679] Such was the effect of his country upbringing that William Hanna, his son-in-law and early biographer, was moved to say that:

> The one dominant idea which Dr Chalmers carried with him from Kilmany, and which ruled the efforts of a life-time, was that all those peculiar parochial means and influences which, among the peasantry of Scotland, had secured such an almost universal education of the young, and such an intellectual and moral elevation of the general community, could be employed, and would be equally efficacious amid the densest city population.[680]

Religious and educational instruction he considered to be far superior in the country, and he admired the close bond that existed in such areas between people from all orders of society, especially between the minister, parish representatives and members of the parish, although such memories may have acquired a veneer of rose with the distance of time and space. The preference for a parochial ecclesiastical arrangement may also have derived from these times, and, while wary of over-interpreting parental influence, there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that Chalmers inherited this leaning from his father. As Hanna further reflected when recalling a family tale:

> A strong feeling of attachment to the old parochial economy of Scotland was a hereditary sentiment with Dr Chalmers. His father had carried it so far that, although the churches of Eastern and Western Anstruther stood but a few hundred yards apart, he did not go to hear his own son preach when his doing so would have carried him across the separating burn and away from his own parish church.[681]

That such affection for parochiality was a less commonly held sentiment in the city did not prevent Chalmers from prosecuting a parochial rather than congregational ministry from the outset, even in Glasgow, as was suggested by his desire to visit the parish immediately upon arrival and before he was aware of the degradation of the urban landscape.

Notwithstanding his certainty that urban society could be reformed, Chalmers appears to have seen the country as an ideal, as the proper and perfect arrangement of society, and as such he suggested that the path of progress involved reshaping, metaphorically

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[679] Chalmers, T., *Considerations on the system of parochial schools in Scotland* (1820): p. 523 [reproduced in Hanna, W. (ed.), *Select Works of Thomas Chalmers*, 9 (Edinburgh: Constable, 1854)].
[680] Hanna, W. (1857) *op.cit.*, pp. 229f.
[681] *Ibid*, p. 229.

yet also in a very real sense, the city in the form of a country parish. In this, his description of, and preference for, a community based upon close personal relations and tight social bonds encompasses ideas associated with Tönnies' *gemeinschaft* model[682], later applied by Wirth[683] to relate specifically to country populations, in contrast to an anonymous, mechanical *gesellschaft* society stereotypically perceived to be found in the urban setting. Indeed, in an article tellingly entitled *The Advantages and Possibility of Assimilating a Town to a Country Parish*, Chalmers argued that:

> [W]e cannot doubt the advantage of assimilating a town to a country parish. We think that the same moral regimen [...] in her [Scotland's] country parishes may, by a few simple and attainable processes, be introduced into the most crowded of her cities, and with as signal and conspicuous an effect on the whole habit and character of their population.[684]

This was not an isolated call, but reflected the germination of an idea that had been steadily growing, in which he "proposed to circulate throughout the mass of a crowded population, as powerful and pervading an influence [...] as that which has been diffused over the face of our Lowland country parishes",[685] in the hope that "the whole system of a country parish [...] might still be established amongst our city population, and be made to send a healthful circulation through the interior of its most crowded and depraved assemblages".[686] Perhaps not unsurprisingly, the shape of his proposed 'moral machinery' allowed for the replication of the conditions within which a country parish was run: the country model encouraged smaller parishes, allowing the minister to "make his exertions and ascendancy as much felt in a city as it were [...] in the general run of the country parishes",[687] while the personal acquaintance that Chalmers sought to engineer in the mechanisms of church extension mimicked the development of strong relational bonds that he thought existed in rural areas. Even so, it was not that the urban was to be transformed into an exact replica of the country:

> The assimilation does not lie here in the external framework; for, in a small country parish, the minister alone, or with a very few coadjusters

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682 Tonnies, F., *Community and Association* (London: Keegan Paul, 1955).
683 Wirth, L., *On Cities and Social Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).
684 Chalmers, T., *The advantages and possibility of assimilating a town to a country parish* (1821): p.26.
685 Chalmers, T., *Considerations on the system of parochial schools in Scotland* (1820): p. 524.
686 Chalmers, T. *Connexion between the extension of the church and the extinction of pauperism*, (1817): pp. 434f.
687 Chalmers, T., *Address to the parochial agency of St John's Church* (1821): p. 321 [reproduced in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, pp. 320-344].

of a small session, may bring the personal influence of his kind and Christian attentions to bear upon all the families. Among the ten-thousand of a city parish, this is impossible; and what therefore he cannot do but partially and superficially in his own person, must, if done substantially, be done in the person of others [...] and so raising as it were a ready intermedium of communication between himself and the inhabitants of his parish, may at length obtain an assimilation in point of result to a country parish, though not in the means by which he arrived at it.[688]

As such, the proposal was not merely to copy the shape and order of a rural community, but nonetheless to learn from the principles of acquaintance and observation considered to be the forces driving a rural parish. Such proposals, it was argued, could be reproduced in the city by manipulating the spatial and social arrangements of the urban community in a way that would let them be enacted most effectively. By implication, the form of the machinery that Chalmers advocated for Glasgow was an amalgamation of the principles he saw at play in the country, tempered and adapted by his experience of the newly industrialised and growing landscape of the city. The socio-spatial dynamics of the urban, so different when compared with the country, necessitated a modification of the means to empower the underlying principle of locality, with the creation of a *gemeinschaft*-like community in place of the anonymous *gesellschaft* of the urban crucial to the development of a Christianised, moral society. Notably, Wilson perceives of this shift from personal community relations to an impersonal society as a reflection of secularisation,[689] a claim that, given the link that C. Brown makes between the work of Chalmers and the secularisation thesis,[690] could be seen either as adding weight to the notion that secularisation is related to the form of social relations emerging from the reshaped urban environment or, conversely, as confirming Brown's suspicion that much contemporary analysis is essentially still rooted in Chalmers-like thought. Either way, this material clearly reinforces the sense that the core of Chalmers' concern rested on a reaction to the changing urban environment.

Perhaps as a further trace of his time in the country, Chalmers regularly invoked imagery and analogies based on farming or agricultural parlance. He equated people

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[688] Chalmers, T., *The advantages and possibility of assimilating a town to a country parish* (1821): p.26.
[689] Wilson, B.R., *Religion in Sociological Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).
[690] Brown, C. (2001) *op.cit.*

with plants that needed watered and tended in order to flourish to their fullest extent and potential, with churches and other aspects of the machinery as the water or gardening tools best fitted for this purpose, being "the fittest and most powerful instrument of moral cultivation".[691] He spoke of the city as an "ample field"[692] and "local and geographical vineyard"[693] for the attentions of an ecclesiastical apparatus, and described a religious and moral form of behaviour as "a cultivated life".[694] He asserted that "not one corner in the mighty field of Christian benevolence should be left to lie uncultivated",[695] as the churches should instead reap from it "the plenteous harvest of so mighty a population".[696] Although such images were used to add colour, there is something revealing in the role attached to each aspect of the metaphor. The plant, representing the individual, is something that can be made to grow if acted upon in the right way; the church or religious apparatus is what is needed for growth, either as water that nourishes or a tool for replanting and pruning, wielded by an unnamed but well-meaning gardener; society, the field or vineyard, is brought into order by the active role of that gardener in maintaining and nurturing. This can be seen in another example:

> [T]his chapel might be the organ of a religious blessing to the families
> who reside within their portion of the vineyard, and I affirm of such an
> economy, set up and prosecuted with ardour, that it is indeed the
> likeliest instrument I know, under the countenance of God's Holy
> Spirit, for clearing out a well-watered garden in the midst of this vast
> moral wilderness.[697]

The role given to the individual within this metaphor is quite revealing about the understanding that Chalmers had of human nature, as for him every person was essentially the same, with similar customs and habits, and bound to react to certain cues in a predictable way. Just as a plant would grow if fed and watered, or flower in

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[691] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): pp. 41f.

[692] Chalmers, T., *Speech delivered on the occasion of the ordination of new elders to the Tron church* (1816): p. 509 [reproduced in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, pp. 507-512].

[693] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): pp. 41f.

[694] Chalmers, T. *Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism*, (1817): p. 436.

[695] Chalmers, T., *Speech delivered at the anniversary meeting of the Glasgow Bible Society* (1817) p. 506 [reproduced in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, pp. 501-506].

[696] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): p. 28.

[697] Chalmers, T., *Address to parochial agents on the occasion of the opening of the chapel of ease within St John's parish* (1823): pp. 380f [reproduced in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*].

one direction if turned towards the sun, so there was a universality to the motivations and behaviour of people that allowed the manipulations of the 'moral machinery' to be effective. This can be seen, for instance, in Chalmers' conviction that local schemes were bound to impact more upon the heart of the individual than would those operating across the whole city, caused by an attachment to and affection for the local, and so encouraging the individual to be more industrious in their work for that cause. Or note his comments on pauperism, where he claimed that "it holds true of human nature, that every quality is valued and held in reverence in proportion to the need for it";[698] while elsewhere he felt it justified to remark that "men will not demand very urgently of each other, that which does not very nearly, or very immediately, affect their own personal and particular interest".[699] This supposition was manifested in his rationalising of the role of the machinery, being predicated upon a deterministic position: namely, that if the social and spatial conditions can be manipulated in a certain way, then society will inevitably take a particular form. For him, society was something that acted with a mechanical certainty, while humanity was something that could be studied and comprehended. In this sense, Chalmers posits the individual as the perfect Enlightenment subject, acting and reacting in rational and self-reflexive ways, able to be known, understood and controlled. Furthermore, his thinking could be conceived as derived from ideas associated with John Locke, perceiving the mind to be a blank canvas shaped by the environment. Hence, to change the environment – as church extension was intended so to do – was to change the individual. Again, this ties Chalmers into the environmentalism that Kearns[700] and Driver[701] identify as at the foundations of Victorian social studies, and to this extent church extension can be seen in the same way as the various social schemes advocated by urban reformers such as slum clearance and the provision of sanitation, as an attempt to manage the urban population by changing their surroundings from 'dirt' to 'purity', immorality to morality, always as defined by those managing the reforms.

At the same time, Chalmers also contended that the machinery would be entirely ineffective if it did not operate in accordance with the will of God. This did not mean

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[698] Chalmers, T., *Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism* (1817): p. 426.
[699] Chalmers, T., *On the dissipation of large cities* (1821): p. 200 [reproduced in Hanna, W., *Select Works of Thomas Chalmers*, 3 (Edinburgh: Constable, 1854): pp. 200-215].
[700] Kearns, G. (1989) *op.cit.*
[701] Driver, F. (1988) *op.cit.*

that no apparatus for Christianising and the encouragement of moral behaviour was required: an ecclesiastical device such as this could be the means of fulfilling divine intention, but it nevertheless derived its power solely from the godhead. Curiously, this paralleled the Reformed ideal of the salvific balance between grace and works. Just as salvation was understood to be solely a product of divine grace – a good work cannot justify a person's salvation but is, to the contrary, symbolic of being amongst the elect – so to save the city, grace was required. If the moral apparatus was to be effective, then, it would be on the basis of this grace rather than as a result of any inherent power or authority. As Chalmers explained to the elders of St John's:

> We are apt to confide in the efficacy and wisdom of our own arrangements – to set up a framework of skilful contrivance, and think that so goodly an apparatus will surely be productive of something – to please ourselves with parochial constitutions, and be quite sanguine that on the strength of elderships and deaconships and machinery of schools and agents and moralizing processes some great and immediate effect is to follow. But we may just as well think that a system of aqueducts will irrigate and fertilize the country without rain, as think that any human economy will Christianize a parish without the living water of the Spirit. [...] Still it is right to have a parochial constitution, just as it is right to have aqueducts. But the supply of the essential influence cometh from above. God will put to shame the proud confidence of man in the efficacy of his own wisdom, and He will have all the glory of all the spiritual good that is done in the world, and your piety will therefore work a tenfold mightier effect than your talents in the cause you have undertaken; and your pains without your prayers will positively do nothing in this way, though it must be confessed that prayers without pains are just as unproductive, and that because they must be such prayers of insincerity as cannot rise with acceptance to heaven.[702]

Chalmers, Links and Legacy

During his eight-year ministry in Glasgow, Chalmers certainly cast an influential shadow, in part by the fame of his parochial innovations but also as a result of the nature of the parish to which he was called. All urban clergy at this time were important figures in public life, but the Tron, as the church of the civic great and good, had an established position among the urban elite, being the place of worship of the Town Council, but also attended by a predominantly extra-parochial congregation made up of merchants and traders from the wealthy western suburbs. Despite Chalmers' regret that so few 'local' parishioners could attend, the success of his plans

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[702] Chalmers, T., *Address at the first setting apart his elders to their office in St John's* (1821): pp. 295f [reproduced in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, pp. 293-296].

for church extension relied to a heavy degree upon the network of influential contacts and the possibility of financial benevolence offered by the congregation. This was used to its full advantage as Chalmers came into contact with a wide range of persons of influence across a variety of different constituencies. Politically many of the Council were onside, with the Tory Councillors and later MPs, James Ewing and Kirkman Finlay, being instrumental in the building of St John's and the translation of Chalmers to it, and supporting his experiment there with the 'moral machinery'.[703] Lord John Colquhoun, MP for Dumbartonshire, was another close associate. Support was also forthcoming amongst many of the wealthy merchants, and indeed it was Robert Tennant, later made an elder by Chalmers, and his son John, who initially proposed him for the vacant charge of the Tron. Charles Parker, owner of the McInroe Parker Company which had trade links with the West Indies, was another intimate acquaintance, with his familial relationship with the Tennent family, who owned a large brewery in the city, opening yet another door.

As mentioned earlier, William Collins was a particular confidante and established a close working relationship with Chalmers, as his publisher, while both John Blackie and John Smith, also local publishers, were elders and would later serve on the Town Council. The ability to publish and so disseminate his thinking to a wider audience was vital to establishing Chalmers as an important ecclesiastical voice, while, from a Foucauldian perspective, adding to the material supports of discourse as embodied in such tangible documents in circulation.[704] He was clearly popular, with one sermon on *The Importance of Civil Government to Society* selling over fifteen-thousand copies within a month;[705] another, *On Universal Peace*, sold one-thousand copies in four days and was reprinted twice by Collins;[706] a series of discourses on astronomical discoveries applied to theology ran to over twenty-thousand copies within a year, and nine reprints.[707] This also helped establish his celebrity beyond the city walls, and Chalmers' memoir recalls reviews of his work by luminaries such as William Hazlitt, regular intercourse with Malthus and William Wilberforce, meetings in London with

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[703] As addressed in Chapter 3.
[704] Furthermore, in terms of methodology this was the production of the 'archive' which forms the basis of the thesis.
[705] Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, p. 268.
[706] *Ibid*, p. 74.
[707] *Ibid*, p. 89.

senior Parliamentarians and the Prime Minister,[708] and even, later, an attack by Karl Marx.[709]

Despite the decade between the ending of Chalmers' ministry in Glasgow and the major stirrings of church extension there in the 1830s, there are clear connections between the two in terms of both the work that later parochial societies undertook and the parochial practice that was encouraged, and several factors contributed to this continuity. Chalmers remained involved in the promotion of extension even after leaving the city, turning out several pamphlets explaining further the advantages of the 'moral machinery' and the different ways that it might be enacted, adding significantly to the work on the subject, while he attempted to put these ideas into practice once more at West Port in Edinburgh. In recognition of his place as the 'High Priest' of extensionism, the General Assembly appointed him head of their Committee on Church Extension in 1834, effectively handing him the baton to conduct proceedings throughout the country, although as mentioned earlier the local Glasgow Society, uniquely, remained independent. Exactly why this was is unclear, but it perhaps reflects the close links that existed between members of the Society and Chalmers – links so close that formal ties and direction were not required – and certainly the approval of the latter towards the former. At the same time, his successor at the Tron, Robert Buchanan, was something of an acolyte and wholeheartedly took over the reins of the work there, lauding the same principles and getting involved in extension at both the local and national level by becoming the Presbytery's representative on the national extension committee. Equally, several influential proponents of Chalmers' ideas remained present in the city and became involved in the later church extension movement, most notably Collins and David Stow, the latter of whom also developed Chalmers' thought on schools.

Other ministers gradually moved towards the practices that Chalmers advocated, meanwhile, and – as tensions between Moderates and Evangelicals increased and battle-lines became more firmly drawn – so the Evangelical presence in the city, the main constituency of support for church extension, solidified. This process was given

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[708] Brown, S.J. (1982) *op.cit.*; Buchanan, R., *The Ten Years' Conflict: being the history of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland* (Glasgow: Blackie, 1849).
[709] Marx, K., *Capital* (1896) (trans. Moore & Eveling) F. Engels (ed.), 3rd Edition, p. 630. Marx's critique culminated in a description of Chalmers as the "high priest" of Malthusianism.

added impetus as the local extension group, the Glasgow Church Building Society, retained the right to select the first minister for each of their Chapels, and candidates broadly sympathetic to the aims of church extension were generally introduced, increasing support within the city. Indeed, the founding of the Glasgow Church Building Society was perhaps the germination of a seed that Chalmers had sown fourteen years earlier, as in a sermon from 1817 he noted that:

> A growing demand for accommodation on the part of the people, and a liberal arrangement with those wealthy individuals who would willingly undertake the expense and the hazard of the erection of as many churches as should be called for, would be another mighty and decisive step in this great progression.[710]

The Society retained several other links with Chalmers, not least by paralleling his thought, from the emphasis on the need for more schools and increased superintendence of parishes, to the call for endowed parishes of no more than three-thousand people and a further twenty parishes within Glasgow, echoing exactly the demand that Chalmers made to the Council two decades previously.[711] In stressing the necessity of endowment and territorial ministry, the need for more churches and smaller parishes and, above all, the importance of an active parochial agency as the engine driving church extension, the Society was clearly 'singing from the same hymn sheet'. This is not to say that they were entirely alike: the focus of the Society was more on providing the apparatus from which the 'moral machinery' could operate rather than detailing or putting in place the mechanism itself, and in one important respect the Society did not follow his lead. When unable to persuade the Council to fund an additional chapel of ease within St John's parish, Chalmers established a scheme whereby a number of wealthy citizens would sponsor the building of the church, with shares being given according to the amount donated, similar to the model of '5% philanthropy' developed by Tarn.[712] Unlike the Society, this was seen as a business venture, offering donors the chance to recoup their money with additional interest raised through seat rents once the chapel was opened. Indeed, as he wrote to one prospective investor, he:

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[710] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): p. 44.
[711] *Ibid*, p. 27.
[712] Tarn, J.N., *Five percent philanthropy: an account of housing in urban areas between 1840 and 1914* (London: University of Cambridge Press, 1973).

[D]oes not ask them to subscribe to it as a scheme of benevolence, but simply lays before them a scheme which bids fair for an adequate remuneration, and to which, if any, shall subscribe, he becomes a sharer in property.[713]

Chalmers invested £750 from his own pocket and persuaded several wealthy colleagues and associates to do likewise, and when in the 1830s the chapel of ease faltered and eventually closed, he suffered a not insignificant loss. Despite this, he later willingly contributed £100 to the Society, and was at one with their broad aims, intentions and form of organisation.

Significantly too, members of the Society recognised themselves as the inheritors of Chalmers' legacy and saw their work as following clearly in his tradition. Explaining the decision in 1838 to name a church after him, the only time that they bestowed this honour upon a non-biblical individual, it was recorded that:

Dr Chalmers, indeed, is a name which stands among the highest and most distinguished of the philanthropists of the present age; and your Committee, engaged as they are in prosecuting, in their own sphere, the same important object, cannot omit this opportunity of testifying how highly they appreciate his enlightened zeal and untiring energy in prosecuting the noble work of extending the church[.] The memorials of his labours, during his residence among us, are seen in the church and four parochial schools which he erected in his parish; and the memorials of his continued exertions, in the more enlarged sphere which he now occupies, are seen in the numerous churches which are rising in every quarter of our country.[714]

Elsewhere they traced similar connections, noting that the "appeal of Dr Chalmers in 1817, for twenty churches, was not responded to [...] till 1834 when your Society issued their proposal".[715] Such plaudits were not restricted to members of the Society, but were found amongst most supporters of church extension. For instance, at a meeting held in Glasgow in 1837, apparently attended by over four-thousand people, one speaker lamented that ill health had prevented Chalmers from attending, going on to describe him as "the Father of the Scheme".[716] On the same occasion, Collins spoke of Chalmers – "that illustrious individual whose absence we this evening despair" – as

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[713] Chalmers, T., quoted in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, p. 379.
[714] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 10.
[715] *Ibid.*, pp. 27f
[716] *A full report of the speeches delivered at the great meeting[...] to further and promote the interests of the General Assembly's Church Accommodation Scheme* (1837):p. 5.

he who *first* "impressively and eloquently called attention to the state of destitution which, even then, existed";[717] lending credence to the claim that all later schemes in the city found their roots in Chalmers' thought by suggesting that, while "the facts were slow and long in making their natural and legitimate impression on the community; and it is only within these very few years indeed, that what was impressed on them twenty years ago took root, and sprung up, and brought forth fruit [...] [i]t has produced a most vigorous and abundant crop".[718] The cheers and acclaim reported by one observer suggests a popular approval of this sentiment, echoed by the comments of Buchanan preceding a vote of thanks to Chalmers, "that distinguished man",[719] where he reinforced the sense that Chalmers was the founder of the recent church building movement, positing him as a prophetic voice in the wilderness whose message was only now being heard and proved correct:

> It is a memorable fact that, twenty years ago, when the convenor of the General Assembly's Church Extension Committee was labouring in Glasgow, and when he employed the same eloquence and energy as he now devoted to the cause to which he had consecrated his life, to arouse the magistracy of Glasgow to a sense of the necessity of building churches in some of the destitute districts, which his practiced eye saw clearly the necessity of, it was found impossible to make any decided impression on the public mind, situated as it was at the time.[720]

Later proponents of church extension were establishing Chalmers as the key figure in church building, but, while he was certainly the originator of the former, his importance in the latter was, perhaps overstated. In a sense this did not matter, though, as the discourse of his centrality was empowered and accepted, which at once secured his legacy and granted him authority. This may also be understood as a rhetorical strategy, venerating the origins of the idea of church extension in a way that could not easily be countered, thus legitimising and securing its future.

The 'Moral Machinery'

Fundamental to the working of Chalmers' plan for church extension was what he described as the 'moral machinery'. This was a collection of techniques and arrangements that operated within a model of church extension to create an effective

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[717] *Ibid*, p. 9. The accuracy of this statement is, however, questionable if the actions of Lapslie and the Presbytery five years earlier are considered (see Chapter 4).
[718] *Ibid*, pp. 9f.
[719] *Ibid*, p. 39.
[720] *Ibid*, p. 39.

tool for the Christianisation of a parish by manipulating societal pressure and the human psyche. This unique form of ministry was developed first by Chalmers during his time in the Tron parish, as his experiences working amongst the 'sunk' quarters of the nearby population encouraged him to rethink the accepted methods of ministry, with the result being a more structured parochial organisation and an increase in lay involvement. It was not until he moved to the parish of St John's and was effectively given *carte blanche* by the Council to organise the parish as he wanted, that he could implement a more wide-ranging scheme incorporating what he saw as the three key and interlinked areas necessary for an improvement of the city: namely, education, poor relief and religious instruction, with all three aspects being organised along the pattern of the machinery. Although there are shades of difference between the schemes in both churches, the innovations were essentially based upon a central core of ideas that he continued to refine during the course of his ministry and in later writings after he left Glasgow.

The Cogs of the Machine

The machinery can be said to be made up of two distinct parts, both of which involved changing the geographies of Glasgow's ecclesiastical landscape to create a spatial arrangement that would re-empower the parochial economy within the city and open up space for the church to become present and visible within every corner of the city. Both were designed to engineer a sense of belonging to the church and the community, and to build up the social bond between parishioners. Importantly, although Chalmers often used it in relation to the Church, the moral machinery was based upon principles thought applicable to any scheme for moral improvement. Thus, he often explained the working and benefits in terms of poor relief and education, the other foci of his work, rather than always using the religious aspect as an example. Indeed, the workings of the mechanism were the same in all spheres, with only the end product changing where required.

A first 'cog' and a precondition for the machinery to work was the necessity that the size of parishes be significantly decreased to give each church a smaller, more manageable area, decreasing both the amount of work expected of the minister and laity and the portion of land that they were expected to cover. For this to happen, there was a need for extra churches to be built, not simply as an accommodation for a

growing population, but as a means of achieving greater involvement with the parish, giving the workers in that field a realistic chance of sowing and harvesting the whole area. Thus he proposed that "the mass of every city population should be broken up into sections",[721] small parishes totalling no more than around three-thousand people, allowing representatives attached to the church, be they minister or laity, a more direct access to the parishioners in terms of physical nearness and through an increase in the connections engendered. This plan was founded upon Chalmers' belief that operations taking place across the whole territorial span of society were bound to be ineffective, as they engendered anonymity and so weakened the ties through which an example of proper behaviour from one to the other could be set and moral example encouraged.[722] This was based upon his conviction that by human nature the nearby, the familiar, has more of an impact upon a person than the distant and anonymous; and, as such, he was convinced that a local as distinct from general scheme was bound to stimulate more of a person's interest,[723] and thus encourage the parochial worker to be more fully devoted to the cause.[724]

It was not only the city that the machinery required to be separated into different units: the resultant smaller parishes were also to be split up internally, arranged into individual portions or districts, as they were known, each of which was to be given to the spiritual oversight of an elder from the local church, alongside other parochial agents such as a deacon or Sabbath school teacher.[725] Thus, in the complete parochial economy that Chalmers enacted in St John's, the parish was split into a number of individual portions, each of which was served by three separate parochial agents – elders, deacons and teachers – who individually attended, respectively, to matters of religion, finance or education, in addition to the parish-wide pastoral concerns of the minister. This was the second 'cog' of the machine. Each agent was effectively

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[721] Chalmers, T. *Connexion between the extension of the church and the extinction of pauperism*, (1817): p. 433.

[722] Chalmers, T., *On the influence of locality in towns* (1821): p. 42 [reproduced in Hanna, W., *Select Works of Thomas Chalmers*, 10 (Edinburgh: Constable, 1856): pp. 42-62].

[723] Chalmers, T., *Considerations on the system of parochial schools in Scotland* (1820): p. 531.

[724] Chalmers, T., *On the influence of locality in towns* (1821): p. 531.

[725] Kirk Sessions and Deacons' Courts, the courts to which elders and deacons were appointed, chose new members from the congregation to which they were attached whenever they saw fit. Elders were ordained for life, although they could choose to resign from the Session and forego related duties; this could also be the case for deacons, although more often they were elected for a period of a few years. Church law did provide for the democratic election of both by the congregation, but this had been little practised since the Reformation.

'minister' in their portion, almost reducing the changes that were taking place in the parochial system across the entire city to the micro-scale of the district, with each agent understood to be the master of their sphere, and the boundaries of each district tightly sealed and not to be transgressed. A clear hierarchy of command was hence mapped onto the spatial structure of the parish, and, again, this worked upon the principle of the familiar having greater efficacy. As Chalmers explained:

> Each would have its own manageable task; and each would be freed
> from the distractions of too manifold and cumbersome an operation;
> and each would not only have less to do, but have more in proportion to
> do with; for it is of importance to remark, that, by thus dividing the
> mighty field, and assigning its own separate locality to each separate
> agency, the interest is greatly heightened, and the activity is greatly
> promoted; and even the feeling of rivalship gives a laudable impulse to
> each of the distinct undertakings; and the solicitations for aid are carried
> through each parish and congregations, far more closely and
> productively, when the attention and desire are thus devoted to one
> small portion of the territory, instead of being weakened by dispersion
> over the face of the extended whole.[726]

With regard to the religious element, the role of the elder was to attend to parishioners within a district, practising pastoral care by enquiring after the welfare of the people and attempting to resolve any spiritual problems that might exist. Elders were also to encourage 'moral' behaviour, Christian adherence and regular church attendance. While in the Tron church, which had over ten-thousand parishioners, Chalmers increased the Kirk Session to twenty elders, each of whom took at least one of the twenty-five districts. In St John's, where the population was nearly as large, there was the same number of districts, served by the threefold agency of broader concerns. For Chalmers, having smaller parishes that were split into several different districts was of fundamental importance to the workings of the machinery and the long term Christianisation of a parish, for as he told the new elders at St John's when consecrating them to their duties: "never till the rights of parishes come to be better respected, never till the attentions of ministers and elders be more restricted to the population of a local territory [...] will there be anything like a revival of religion".[727]

This assertion reflects two further points significant to understanding the effectiveness and operation of the moral machinery. First, and echoing his criticisms noted earlier

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[726] Chalmers, T., *Considerations on the system of parochial schools in Scotland* (1820): pp. 528f.
[727] Chalmers, T., *Address at the first setting apart his elders to their office in St John's* (1821): p. 293.

of philanthropic societies that operated across the whole spatial range of a community, it reinforced the emphasis that Chalmers placed upon the importance of the familiar, in opposition to any mechanism promoting anonymity. Even the scale of the parish was considered too large: the ecclesiastical landscape had to be divided further to allow the church greater access to each individual within the city, with the church embodied in the figure of the parochial agent who was to become acquainted with those residing within the district. Secondly, the emphasis on an active non-clerical agency, while in keeping with an orthodox understanding of the relationship between clergy and laity within the Reformed tradition, was indicative of Chalmers' concern that ministers were being overburdened with duties to the detriment of their rightful work propagating Christianity,[728] and were prevented from acting where they could be most effective. As such, parochial agents working in the field of education or poor relief could attend to matters which previously fell by default to the ministers, granting the latter time to pursue the matters of faith to which they were called. Furthermore, this extended agency allowed for greater attention and effort to be spent on each area of concern, with the advantage that several ploughing in the urban field would invariably reap a greater harvest than a solitary minister:

> There is a way in which the whole benefit of influence of locality might be realised among its populace to an extent that would greatly multiply the good which it were in the power of any single individual to accomplish; – in a word, what he cannot do in his own person may be done twenty or thirty or a hundred-fold by deputation.[729]

Importantly, the concerns of the parochial agents were not prescriptive: it did not matter whether every parish was attended to in a threefold fashion of elders, deacons and teachers – indeed Chalmers had only worked with elders at the Tron – but instead that the role of the agents be in accordance with the desired goal of the machine. As such, Chalmers opted for the threefold scheme of St John's because his concerns were focussed around the low levels of religion and educational provision, as well as high amounts of poverty. The machinery was thought to have a universality that allowed it to be used for a variety of purposes, and so it was adaptable to the needs of the situation and would work with an equal variety of agencies. It was the person of the parochial agent, and the impact that their friendship and sheer presence could have

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[728] Chalmers, T., *The advantages and possibility of assimilating a town to a country parish* (1821): pp. 29f.
[729] Chalmers, T., *Address to the parochial agency of St John's church* (1821): p. 323.

amongst their portions, that was considered significant and effective rather than the particular task to which they were assigned. This emphasis was matched later by the Glasgow Church Building Society, who shared Chalmers' views on the necessity of an active agency, claiming that "[t]he mere plenitude of accommodation will not overcome the sluggishness of ignorance and depravity",[730] whereas "the concentrated force of a well-appointed Parochial agency would operate with a beneficent and powerful efficacy, and would not fail, in course of time, to rescue the outcast and degraded population from ignorance and vice, and ultimately to secure well-attended churches".[731]

The Locality Principle

Underpinning the different elements of spatial organisation central to the machinery – the reorganisation, reduction and division of parishes – was what Chalmers expressly called the "locality principle".[732] According to this principle, if the industry of a single parochial agent was restricted to the regular attention of one district, it would encourage the development of a strong relationship between the parochial agents and those under their care, and an increase in communal affection for the place of residence that they shared, establishing agents as superior and the setters of an example of good behaviour, and so increasing the moral hold over the habits of the population.

The "charm which we have ascribed to locality",[733] the idea that geographical juxtaposition can foster an emotional affection, was prevalent throughout Chalmers' work. As he told a meeting of parochial agents:

> You are well acquainted with the power and the charm that I have been
> in the habit of associating with locality – how I regard this, in fact, as
> the only principle on which a crowded town can be brought under a
> right or efficient system of management – that by the adoption of this
> principle the population of a city would be in as fair circumstances for
> becoming Christian and moral and civilised as the population of any
> country parish.[734]

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[730] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (Glasgow: 1834): p. 6.
[731] *Ibid*., p. 7.
[732] Chalmers, T., *Considerations on the system of parochial schools in Scotland* (1820): p. 531.
[733] *Ibid*., p. 531.
[734] Chalmers, T., *Address to the parochial agency of St John's Church* (1821): p. 320.

This principle evidently informed the proposals for splitting a parish into separate districts and encouraging regular visitation, reducing the physical distance between different orders of the community, bringing them closer together in every sense, and causing Chalmers to comment that he knew "of nothing which would serve more powerfully to bring and to harmonise into one firm system of social order the various classes of our community".[735] Elsewhere, he commented that where within a community there exist "accidental circumstances of juxtaposition", there "all the asperities of their difference are smoothed away [by] the mere softenings and kindliness of ordinary human intercourse".[736] He also criticised any method which "did not bind, by the tie of a local relationship, the close and contiguous families of a given district".[737] Where there existed no link of locality between the parochial agent and the parishioner, there would be as "little of the feeling of any moral relationship between them, as there is between a shopkeeper and his customers",[738] for in a comparison between "a local and universal interest [...] how greatly the former, by the constitution of our nature, predominates".[739] As for the parochial agent in that district, "his whole heart and endeavour are far more riveted to the cause of its moral cultivation, than if he had merged himself among the generalities of a wider but more hopeless undertaking";[740] for by:

> [D]ividing the mighty field, and assigning its own separate locality to
> each separate agency, the interest is greatly heightened, and the activity
> is greatly promoted [...] and the solicitations for aid are carried through
> each parish and congregation, far more closely and productively, when
> the attention and desire are thus devoted to one small portion of the
> territory, instead of being weakened by dispersion over the face of the
> extended whole.[741]

Locality was, as such, reliant upon the transformation of the landscape from the crowded and overwhelming large-scale urban centre, to a series of smaller portions, each distinct, and within which there was an attempt to create a definite yet separate sense of community. The religious geography of the city had first to be changed to allow this outcome, however, a process that creating smaller parishes and establishing

[735] Chalmers, T., *Speech delivered on the occasion of the ordination of new elders to the Tron Church* (1816): pp. 508f.
[736] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): p. 14.
[737] Chalmers, T., *Considerations on the system of parochial schools in Scotland* (1820): p. 524.
[738] *Ibid*, p. 526.
[739] *Ibid*, p. 531.
[740] *Ibid*, p. 531.
[741] *Ibid*, pp. 528f.

districts within them went some way to achieving. Again, this will to open up the darkened spaces portrayed in the immoral geographies of those involved in church building reflects Driver's account of the urban investigators who sought to cleanse the city and bring light into the hidden quarters,[742] thus identifying the implicit environmentalism within Chalmers' thought: the notion that the only way to impact upon the individual was by reshaping and re-forming the space – indeed, even the physical infrastructure – which surrounds them.

As Chalmers acknowledged, the principle was not easy to explain in the abstract, and so he expounded the basic principles of the system by using the example of a teacher in a parochial school. His reasoning was simple. If, rather than having one body operating over the whole city, a parish was split into suitably small districts, with a school established and teacher assigned to each district who would visit families therein to encourage attendance, then the very visibility and presence of the teacher would have a threefold effect. The teachers, given a visible and defined area, should not only save both money and time and thus be able make more regular visits and get to know the families more, but should also be encouraged by seeing first hand the benefits of their endeavours or alternatively be spurred on by the length of work still to be done. Either should have the effect of encouraging harder work. Furthermore, this regular intercourse, alongside the usual practice of schoolteachers living within the district, was also understood to increase their attachment to the area:

> He [i.e. the teacher] will feel a kind of property in the families; and the very circumstance of material limit around their habitations, serves to strengthen this impression, by furnishing to his mind a sort of association with the hedges and the landmarks of property.[743]

The pupils, meanwhile, would be more inclined to attend school regularly if it was nearby, especially if they could go with others that they knew, for what "children will not do singly, they will do with delight and readiness in a flock".[744] Additionally, if the teacher was to follow each absence by visiting the child's parents, then "he will succeed in controlling them to regular and continued attendance […] to obtain, in that little vicinage over which he presides, all the certainty of a mechanical operation".[745]

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[742] Driver, F. (1988) *op.cit.*
[743] Chalmers, T., *On the influence of locality in towns* (1821): p. 44.
[744] *Ibid*, p. 45.
[745] *Ibid*, p. 45.

An effect is also felt upon the population as the school provides to "the indwellers of the vicinity […] one common place of repair",[746] so encouraging intercourse and the development of a community.

At the heart of this vision was the desire that "a closer acquaintanceship be established between the contiguous members of our population",[747] which was fostered in different ways. Sunday schools, for instance, were operated along the parochial model, with each district to have a teacher to work within. As Mr. Heggie, one of the schoolmasters in the Saltmarket, described the arrangements:

> [I]nstead of having schools for children coming from all parts of the city [...] he [Chalmers] divided the parish into forty different sections, allotting thirty or forty homes to each section. He appointed local teachers for each section; and told each of them that his specific business was instead of taking children from all parts of the city [...] that he should go forth within the limits of his district, and visit every family.[748]

A parochial system based upon the locality principle was therefore seen as a means of creating hundreds of little communities (*Gemeinschaften)* in the city as the inhabitants responded to the visibility of a distinct building and an attached agent's superior status. Although this was explained in terms of schools, the object of the machinery was thought interchangeable as the principles functioned in the same way, and so could easily be applied to both religion and poor relief. Chalmers noted, for instance, that churches would have the same effect, "as contiguous families felt themselves more nearly connected by the tie of a congregational relationship".[749] Locality was a tool to engineer a sense of belonging to the community, by utilising the visibility of both the parochial agent and the population, and from this sense of belonging was supposed to develop loyalty to, and collegiality and familiarity with, one's neighbours. This co-dwelling, in turn, was thought to nurture the situation whereby "one family borrows its practice from another – and the example spreads from house to house, till it embraces the whole of the assigned neighbourhood", and attendance at church "passes at length into one of the tacit, but well-understood properties of the

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[746] *Ibid*, p. 45.
[747] Chalmers, T., *Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism* (1817): p. 440.
[748] Heggie, quoted in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, p. 126.
[749] Chalmers, T., *Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism*, (1817): p. 441.

vicinage – and new families just fall, as if by infection, into the habit of the old ones".[750] Thus, he was convinced of "the firm, mechanical certainty to the operation of a habit",[751] seeing forces of cultural practice initiated by the new parish economy given impetus by an almost biological contagion or diffusion which propagated social habit across space and worked to encourage parishioners into the way of church going.

It was to encourage a feeling of belonging that Chalmers wanted seats in the parish church to be offered in the first instance to parishioners rather than, as was common practice, to the highest bidder, despite the chagrin of his mainly extra-parochial congregation. Indeed, when he moved to St John's, it was with the proviso written into the constitution that the Council committee directed to let pews "should be instructed in letting the seats of that church to give a preference, first, to those persons resident in St John's parish".[752] As an additional measure, he instituted holding a Sunday evening service for the specific attendance of the poorer locals who would otherwise be unable to afford worship. As a local paper reported, despite the popularity of Chalmers across the city, the intended audience surprisingly dominated the attendance:

> The decidedly parochial aspect of the evening congregation was
> scarcely if at all impaired by any great admixture of hearers from the
> general and indiscriminate public [...] The impression was much
> heightened upon observing that the great body of the population, on
> retiring from the church, when they had reached the bottom of
> MacFarlane street, turned in nearly an unbroken stream to the east along
> the Gallowgate, or in the body which leads to the main body of the
> parish and its inhabitants.[753]

It was for the same reason that Chalmers thought that all parochial agents – elders and deacons – should be resident within their districts as a way of making them closer to their constituents, both physically and emotionally, as the locality principle would suggest. Teachers were similarly encouraged. Indeed, despite himself residing outside the parish bounds, contrary to church law but as had become normal practice, he occasionally rented an apartment within parts of the parish he was visiting, and spoke of the "mighty charm of being among the people in the capacity of their next-door

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[750] Chalmers, T., *Consideration on the system of parochial schools in Scotland* (1820): p. 524.
[751] *Ibid.*, p. 524.
[752] Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 5th June, 1818.
[753] *Glasgow Herald*, 27th September, 1819.

neighbour".[754] The ideal was far from the truth, however, as very few elders or deacons came to reside within their districts, while even at St John's a large number of the congregation were still resident outside the parish. Clearly this was a delicate balancing act since, as discussed earlier, it was precisely those wealthier members of the congregation living beyond the parish whose support and capital, both social and financial, was vital for the success of the scheme.

The outlines of this machinery curiously place Chalmers as an early exponent of a form of socio-spatial engineering. In his contention that by rearranging the organisation of the Church across the physical landscape of the city one can change the nature of society therein, he essentially promoted the notion that the manipulation of the space in which we live can influence social outcomes. In this, Chalmers is not far distant from the thinking of planners and architects of the modernist city, who, working over a century after the machinery, proposed that certain forms of the built environment could encourage the development of community and neighbourhood. The work of Clarence Stein, for example, who sought to develop an improved society through the building of New Towns in America, can be taken as a model for comparison. The ideals that Chalmers and Stein were working towards were not necessarily the same, although there are similarities, with Stein describing "the basic evils and limitations of the old cities" in much the same way as his ecclesiastical forerunner would recognise.[755] Indeed, in perfect Chalmers-ian language he spoke of "death at every street crossing perpetually haunting parents" and of "sunless, insanitary, filthy, congested slums spreading blight throughout the towns", wherein "man is lost in the stony urban desert, with increasing distances between him and his natural abode of fields and woods".[756] Thus, he suggested, "man is submerged in the colossal human swarm, his individuality overwhelmed, his personality negated, his essential dignity is lost in crowds without a sense of community".[757]

More fundamental, aside from the parallels in substantive content, are the similarities in approach. For Chalmers, the building of new churches, the reshaping of parishes and the division of districts was not just about providing extra accommodation for

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[754] Chalmers, T., Letter to his wife, reprinted in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, p. 279.
[755] Stein, C., *Toward New Towns for America* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1958): p. 218.
[756] *Ibid.*, p. 218.
[757] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

worship, but creating a moral city, a civilised community and Christianised society. For Stein and his cohorts, the objectives of new towns was "fundamentally social", with their building being a process "that creates a complete, solid, living community";[758] and as such, "[t]he unit of design in New Towns is no longer each separate lot, street or building; it is a whole community; a co-ordinated entity".[759] There are, of course, clear differences between the two. Whereas modernist architects were acting at the level of brick and mortar to re-form the physical shape of the city, in Chalmers scheme, although the building of churches was an important element, the emphasis was more upon the organisation of the Church within the concrete landscape. Nevertheless, in both models the engineering of the spaces of the city was thought to impact upon the lives of the people living in those spaces: to change the environment was to provide a means of changing the individual and the collective.

The Workings of Locality

Having considered and described the 'moral machinery' and its various 'cogs', the chapter now turns to detail the specific workings of the 'locality principle', outlining the specific strategies and tactics of power at work within it. At the same time, the emphasis upon surveillance and the interaction between parishioner and parochial agent within this model will be held against Foucault's understanding of disciplinary power to consider where the accounts meet and diverge, in the process revealing undercurrents of Chalmers' thought. Central to the workings of the locality principle was the creation of a field of visibility through which parishioners, previously able to hide in the darker corners of the city, and parochial agents could become bound together in a personal relationship based upon mutual observation. Again, the right spatial ordering was a necessity for this to happen, with the need for observation requiring the visibility that smaller territorial units offered, to let individuals be made visible and known to the rest of the community.

To enact the power of visibility an observer was also required, and Chalmers used parochial agents to fulfil this role, asking them to make regular visits to their districts to watch and be watched, and to build up a relationship with parishioners. As vital as visibility was to the workings of the locality principle, equally so was the imperative

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[758] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[759] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

that the observer did not remain anonymous: both object and subject of observation required to be constituted in the context of community and personal acquaintance, a point made by Robinson.[760] Indeed, her essay offers a useful counterpoint to the anonymous panopticism outlined by Foucault, opening a space wherein personal relationship, even friendship, can be just as conducive to the tightening of a surveillant net as the use of an unnamed, unknown overseer. Anonymity rendered empty pressure to conform, while being able to observe each person was the only way to check (in both senses of the word) forms of behaviour within a community. As such, both visibility and personal acquaintance were deemed necessary for the effectiveness of the moral machinery. As Chalmers argued:

> In the density of such a compact and crowded mass, individuals and families are scarcely within sight of each other; and the power which lies in that nearer and more intimate observation which is exercised by those few who are familiar with him who is just standing on the brink of pauperism, is in a great measure diluted by the generalities of that more distant intercourse which every inhabitant of a city may carry on with people who take no concern in his affairs, and exercise no inspection over them.[761]

Visitation

A key component of the machinery was the recovery of the practice of parochial visitation. While lay visitation, like its clerical counterpart, had fallen into disuse in urban areas for the same reasons of increasing population, Chalmers was convinced that it was a vital part of church extension, extending the reach of the church into the untouched parts of the city and strengthening its influence over the population. This task of the eldership was based upon the historical tradition of the Kirk Session visiting the parish to test the fitness of parishioners to partake of Communion. As was expressed in the *Second Book of Discipline*:

> Thair office is, als weill severallie as conjunctlie, to witche diligentlie upone the flok committit unto thair charge, baythe publicklie and privatlie, that no corruption of religion or manneris enter thairin,[762]

while they were expected to be involved in the:

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[760] Robinson, J. (2000) *op.cit.*

[761] Chalmers, T., *Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism* (1817): p. 432.

[762] *The Second Book of Discipline*, Chapter 6 part 4 (1980): p. 193. "Their office is, as well severally as conjunctly, to watch diligently upon the flock committed to their charge, both publicly and privately, that no corruption of religion or manners enters therein."

examination of thame that cumis to the Lordis table and in visiting the seik.[763]

By the nineteenth century this practice had gradually softened and, in areas beyond the urban centre where regular visitation still took place, was by now more a method of encouraging attendance and attending to pastoral matters that could be dealt with without the minister rather than a moral check, although Kirk Sessions still regularly took a interest in certain moral offences.

As part of the 'moral machinery', elders were expected to attend to *all* parishioners, regardless of denominational or congregational affiliation, exhorting and comforting them, and promoting moral behaviour and religious adherence, in part by words of admonition and encouragement, and partly by setting an example of 'godly' living.[764] Indeed, it was even suggested that they might offer "some private and delicate mode of relief"[765] to those in seasons of distress to save them 'descending' to public charity. Reports vary as to the diligence of the parochial agents in performing their duties. An elder at the Tron, Mr Falconer, was lauded for spending two hours every day within his district.[766] A questionnaire that Chalmers sent to the deacons suggested that each invested on average only a few hours per month on their districts, however, and one was even congratulated for attending to parochial work for but a few hours per year, with this held up as evidence of the effectiveness of the system.[767]

Chalmers encouraged this mobilisation of the laity. On practical grounds he realised that it allowed a reduction in the work expected of the clergy while being a more effective arrangement, as even in the proposed smaller parishes it would still be impossible for a minister to establish the depth of relationship and pattern of regular visitation that the machinery required. Thus, what was beyond "the power of any single individual to accomplish [...] what he [i.e. the minister] cannot do in his own person may be done twenty or thirty or a hundred fold by deputation".[768] On grounds

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[763] *Ibid*, Chapter 6 part 6, p. 193. "[...] examination of them that come to the Lord's Table and in visiting the sick."
[764] Chalmers, T., *Speech delivered on the occasion of the ordination of new elders to the Tron Church* (1816).
[765] Chalmers, T., *Speech delivered on the occasion of the ordination of new elders to the Tron Church* (1816): p. 551.
[766] Excerpt from Chalmers' diary, 18th June, 1818 [reproduced in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, p. 173].
[767] *Ibid*., p. 311.
[768] Chalmers, T., *Address to the parochial agency of St John's Church* (1821): p. 323.

of principle, the involvement of laity was a way of using talents of eloquence, zeal and piety that were previously untapped, for "they should not leave the topic to be preached upon by clergymen, for their doing so will stamp a narrow professional air upon the whole business".[769] It would also allow an extension of good works across the community, "that not one corner in the mighty field of Christian benevolence should be left to lie uncultivated".[770] Furthermore, this regular visitation would serve to make 'humble' parishioners more respecting of their station in life, while establishing a connection between them, their 'superiors' and the church:

> I know of nothing which would tell more effectually in the way of humanising our families, than if so pure an intercourse were going on as an intercourse of piety between our men of reputable station on the one hand, and of poverty on the other [...] I know not a more wholesome influence [...] than that which such a man must carry around him when he enters the habitations of the peasantry, and dignifies by his visits the people who occupy them [...] and leaves them with the impression that here at least is one man who is our friend [...] amidst all the insignificance in which we lie buried from the observations of society.[771]

This sense of friendship suggests a mutuality in the relationship between the parochial agent and the parishioner, albeit mediated through the context of a social hierarchy, distant from the harsh, oppressive regime characteristic of technologies of disciplinary power and more like the strategies identified by Robinson as fundamental to Octavia Hill's system of housing management. Indeed, there are several empirical overlaps between the scheme of Hill and that of Chalmers.[772] In both an individual observer was attached to a designated district, within which he or she was to visit residents, using the home as the site of moral inspection and stressing the importance of showing respect for the rights of the individual within their own home, while acting nevertheless as a tool of surveillance. Both schemes were designed to bring different classes into close contact and develop interaction between them, building up bonds of affection and allowing the spread of influence from the higher to lower, with acquaintance and friendship rather than charity (alone) considered the primary benefit. Furthermore, the technology of both plans was thought adaptable to different

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[769] Chalmers, T., *Speech delivered at the anniversary meeting of the Glasgow Bible Society* (1817): p. 502.

[770] *Ibid*, p. 506.

[771] Chalmers, T., *Speech delivered on the occasion of the ordination of new elders to the Tron Church* (1816): pp. 508f.

[772] For an examination of the empirical practice of housing management advocated by Hill, see Robinson, J. (2001) *op.cit.*, pp. 68-77.

contexts, working at a level of human consciousness common to all people. Theoretically too the schemes were comparable, being based upon a relationship of mutuality between the parochial agent/housing manager and the parishioner/tenant, with the gaze located and embodied in a manner not found in the anonymity of panopticism (at least as enacted along more strictly Panopticon lines).

Lay visitation was seen as compatible with the work of the minister, as while the elders could deal with most day-to-day situations, deeper spiritual or pastoral issues could be referred back to the minister. The job of the minister in the machinery can best be exemplified by Chalmers' parochial practices, wherein he outlined what he considered to be his duties in an address to the agency of St John's. These involved making regular visits on a monthly or quarterly basis to the sick and dying of the parish (although eventually he passed this on to the elders); visiting every person within the parish over a two year period accompanied by the elder of the relevant district; holding a service every evening for those he had attended during the day; and the taking of parish funerals.[773] In a letter to his wife, Chalmers gave an outline of a typical day:

> I spend four days a week visiting the people in company with the agents of the various districts over which I expatiate. I last week overtook between seven-hundred and eight-hundred people, and have great pleasure in the movement. This I am generally done with in the forenoon[.] In addition to this I have had an agency-tea every night excepting yesternight; and in a few evenings more I expect to overtake the whole agency of my parish. At nine I go to family worship in some house belonging to the district of my present residence, where I assemble the people of the *land* or close vicinity, and expect [...] to overtake in this way the whole of that district.[774]

Again, the role of the minister and parochial agents bears some similarity to that of the housing managers in Octavia Hill's scheme, indicative of an embodied form of surveillance undertaken by an agent who "walked from house to house, frequently covering long distances, climbing staircases in flats, stopping to talk to groups of people gathered in the street, stopping for longer in some houses as problems were discussed".[775] The amount of time seemingly spent on parish business duty does intimate that to deal with the entire parish would have been beyond the capabilities of

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[773] Chalmers, T., *Address to the parochial agency of St John's Church* (1821): p. 323.
[774] Chalmers, T., Letter to his wife reprinted in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, p. 279 – original italics.
[775] Robinson, J. (2000) *op.cit.*, p. 84.

any individual, but that the elder of each district could accompany him for long spells is also indicative of the class status of the Kirk Session, reflecting the claim of Hillis that the eldership was inevitably made up of a moneyed élite not needing daily employment in paid work.[776] Only the wealthy classes would have been able to take such time from secular labour to pursue matters ecclesiastical; their willingness to do so suggests both the extent of their devotion and their trust in Chalmers and his machinery. Notably, according to his biographer, Collins regularly accompanied Chalmers during visitation, a suggestion backed up by entries in Chalmers' diary.[777]

The passage above also draws out the sense that church extension was about more than church building: the purpose was not to establish a 'holy ground' to which the people of the city would flock, but to take the church into and through and amongst the crowded recesses and tenements and workplaces, infiltrating the spaces where society 'took place' and seeking to imprint the gospel message within them. The evening services mentioned in the passage, for instance, occurred "in a cotton-mill, or the workshop of a mechanic, or the kitchen of some kindly accommodating neighbour, with their picturesque exhibition of greasy jackets and unwashed countenances, and hands all soiled and fresh from labour turning up the pages of unused Bibles".[778] This, then, was another form of extension: increasing the reach of the church beyond the walls of a religious edifice by creating temporary spaces of religious commemoration in the districts. By the process of attaching parochial agents to districts and encouraging regular visitation, the moral machinery thus cast a net across the city, even taking religion into the home, and, crucially, reaching the hidden spaces previously beyond the gaze of the church. The importance of making such urban nooks and crannies visible was central to the locality principle and the working of the moral machinery, and will be considered further in the next section.

Visibility

Changes to the spatial arrangement of the city were important for an extended ecclesiastical oversight of the parish, providing the church with a geography that made it easier to peer into every corner of the city, increasing visibility both from the

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[776] Hillis, P. (1981) *op.cit.*
[777] Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, p. 285-6. See also diary entries for August 1818 revealing the presence of Collins with Chalmers during parochial visitation, in *Ibid.*, pp. 165f.
[778] Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, p. 285.

church to the parish and *vice versa*. No place or person was to be beyond the sight of a steeple or outside the range of vision of a visiting minister or parochial agent. Visibility was, in a sense, about presence as much as observation. It allowed the church a presence in every part of the parish, if not in the form of a building then in the embodiment of the parochial agent, in order to fulfil Chalmers' principle that "such a religion as this should be made to circulate throughout all the lanes and avenues of a crowded population".[779] The church had to be present, and so observable, to every person within the parish, acting as a reminder of the expectations of a higher authority, but it also had to be capable of observing, with the parochial agent acting as a 'wandering eye' who takes in all of the happenings within a particular district. The intent was to lay every aspect of each parishioner open to the judgemental stare of an other, be it the representatives of the church or the person's peers and neighbours, necessitating not only the presence of this stare but the knowledge amongst the parishioners of its presence. There would be, in an ideal working of the machinery, nowhere to hide: surveillance would be total as parishioners and parochial agents would be "frequently, if not daily, in the personal view and observation of each other",[780] making the parish a "sphere of moral control".[781] The assessment of one deacon, a Mr Kettle, that "the surveillance in general was very complete",[782] suggests that the machinery succeeded in this respect.

There was no unidirectional gaze emanating from a single central source, capable of pinpointing the behaviour of all within its scope: this was not the rigid Panopticon of Foucualt's account. Rather, the hermeneutic circle of interpretation and misinterpretation implicit in church extension, where each person scrutinised the other and changed themselves accordingly, carries a likeness to the 'forest of gazes' that is central to Foucault's discussion of Mettray, the boy's reformatory in France – a disciplinary environment of a very different socio-spatial form to the Panopticon, but a form of panopticism nonetheless.[783] In Mettray, each person was both the object and subject of a normalising gaze, inspecting and so restraining the conduct of others, just

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[779] Chalmers, T., *A sermon on secularities* (1816): p. 118f [reproduced in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, pp. 114-120].
[780] Chalmers, T., *Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism* (1817): p. 424.
[781] *Ibid*., p. 429.
[782] Kettle, R., quoted in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, p. 303.
[783] Foucault, M (1977) *op.cit.*

as they were being inspected in the same way. Likewise in Chalmers' scheme, there were several different observations taking place during every moment, with the subject and the object perpetually shifting according to the balance of the relationship between the parties of exchange, dependent upon a culturally inscribed power relation. For the parochial agent, as one deemed morally superior and usually of a higher class, the gaze would be directed toward the parishioner, observing moral habits, religiosity and standard of behaviour. But this in itself could be turned around as the parishioner reflected this look back, recognising the agent as one who watches and judges, and so begins to scrutinise the behaviour of the observer, ostensibly to see an example of what is considered appropriate behaviour, but nevertheless putting pressure upon the agent to maintain this standard. People within the parish, meanwhile, were expected to recognise that their lives were visible to the parochial agent and, by comparing their own habits with the example shown to them, modify their own behaviour to avoid slipping below the standards that they thought were expected by the observer. Indeed, while ostensibly pertaining to the observations of the overseer, this was applied equally by an internal gaze which Foucault recognised causes the individual to become "the principle of his own subjection",[784] as the individual changes their own behaviour in accordance with the what they *think* the other is thinking, rather than a knowledge of the others' thought. Thus, it was not to be the gaze itself that disciplined, but its interiorisation.

Robinson identifies a similar relationship in Hill's housing schemes, whereby the person who gazes is caught up in a relationship of observation and (mis)recognition with the person gazed upon, with both bringing personal interpretations into play when perceiving the other. The relationship between the gazing and the gazed upon is therefore based on an uneven mutuality, but a mutuality nonetheless, which presupposes that the subject of the gaze is an active, thinking agent. This point in itself is not contrary to Foucault's account, but Robinson takes it further by recognising that the process of internalisation is not predetermined, as is presumed in the Panopticon model, but involves an active and choosing subject who interferes with the gaze, possibly deflecting its intended impact, and therefore meaning that its internalisation cannot be guaranteed. This is the 'noisy' surveillance of which she

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[784] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

speaks and which could be applied to the model of Chalmers, in which the gaze travels along, through and from countless filtering channels caused variously by misrecognition between object and subject, and the individuality of the subject, complicating the simple relationship between intent and achievement envisioned in Bentham's model prison. Furthermore, Robinson claims that this is the way in which most surveillance takes place in the modern world; and, indeed, it is precisely through the assent of the subject that related disciplinary techniques reach something akin to totality. As such, the establishing of relationships implicit in the plans of Chalmers and Hill creates a more effective method of surveillance than arises in any harsh regime.

There was a further gaze that, curiously, relied upon the invisibility of the observer, but which – when effective – was perhaps far more pervasive than that attained by any spatial arrangement. Although rarely drawn out explicitly, Chalmers did refer to "that unseen theatre where there is no eye but the eye of Omniscience to witness [one's] doings, and no book but the book of Heaven to record them",[785] suggesting perhaps the presence of the all-seeing divinity of the Christian tradition as an active part of the machinery, watching over the world and requiring the individual to guard their behaviour and motivations or suffer retribution. This thought is in keeping with contemporary thinking that posited God as a divine observer who occasionally acts to put creation back on the proper path, albeit reduced from the macro-scale of the city or nation to the micro-scale of the soul. Interestingly, such a model depended upon the invisible yet total presence of the divine: for, while a human parochial agent cannot be simultaneously in two places, thus allowing a potential for resistance beyond the gaze of the overseer, a ubiquitous yet invisible God can be anywhere and everywhere at once. The promise is hence of a perpetual gaze that is not even tempered by the *potential* perpetuality of the overseer in Bentham's Panopticon, making it a surveillance par excellence, requiring no building, spatial arrangement or organisation of bodies, no moral machinery or panopticism, but a believing soul. This, too, finds a corollary in Mettray, where Foucault identifies the centrality of the chapel and suggests that it provided a final, omniscient gaze designed to act as a lasting witness to the lives of the incarcerated. Furthermore, like the self-inspection encouraged by

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[785] Chalmers, T., quoted in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, p. 423.

the parochial agent, in many respects it did not matter whether this gaze could be proved or even that it was empirically present: the disciplining effect took place in the mind of the individual rather than through the actual process of observation, and relied more upon the person's belief that it was taking place. In this sense, it was entirely a product of the individual's conscience.

Visibility and observation allowed for another form of surveillance to take place, creating the conditions for the collection of information and accumulation of knowledge about the parish and the people therein, echoing another key element of Foucault's analysis. Chalmers' biographer outlined the constant flow of information from the centre of the machinery to the districts of the parish and back, noting that a close check was maintained not only upon the local territories but also upon the agents working within them:

> There were the ordinary meeting of the Kirk Sessions, there were monthly meetings of the deacons, monthly meetings of the Sabbath-school teachers, monthly meetings in the church for missionary purposes, and frequent meetings of the Educational Association [...] Regular reports from all quarters were constantly coming in, and messages and requests and suggestions were as constantly being issued. Had his agents but preserved all the brief notes [...] from Dr Chalmers, it would have been seen what an incessant shower of these little billets [...] he was constantly discharging.[786]

The function of parochial agents was, in part, to gather a full and knowledgeable picture of their districts, and so they were encouraged to be "kind and courteous to the people, while firm in your investigations about them".[787] Elders were charged with "a right either of superintendence or of inquiry",[788] and warned to give a "thorough examination of these matters".[789] Deacons, as the administrators of poor relief, were given explicit instructions to find out the smallest details of an applicant's financial status and family situation, from evidence of income and other sources of aid to a "strict ascertainment of his term of residence in Glasgow", as well as receipts of rent

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[786] Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, pp. 287f.
[787] Chalmers, T., *Instructions issued for the guidance of deacons* (1820): p. 300 [reproduced in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, pp. 299-301].
[788] Chalmers, T., *The advantages and possibility of assimilating a town to a country parish* (1821): p. 26.
[789] Chalmers, T., *Instructions issued for the guidance of deacons* (1820): p. 300.

from landlords, the oral testimony of neighbours and the applicant's tendency towards drunkenness,[790] all to ensure that the application for aid was 'genuine'.

The importance placed upon the collection of information is not dissimilar to the centrality of data gathering that Ogborn identifies as a key function of the police at the time of their establishment.[791] In a sense, the parochial agents could be described as a form of religious police: being formed by an overarching central organisation to bring order and control back into the city, patrolling the landscape by way of closely defined 'beats', watching for any sign of immoral behaviour and acting as a visible deterrent. Indeed, Ogborn's description of the police as "a disciplined body of men making regular patrols across a delimited territory, imposing various forms of moral regulation on its population"[792] could easily be applied to the eldership or diaconate. Perhaps it is not coincidental that Chalmers was developing his ideas of church extension around the same time as police forces were emerging in the 1820s and 1830s, with the Metropolitan Police, for instance, being formed in 1829.[793] Significantly, Ogborn argues that police surveillance was similarly focussed upon working-class communities, especially upon the "deviant spaces" of the city, reflecting the emphasis upon the lower classes found in the unholy city discourse. Fyfe identifies a strand of historical analysis that sees the emergence of policing as "an inevitable response to the social disorder caused by rapid industrial and urban development"[794] and the "need for a force which could stabilise relations between conflicting social classes",[795] again a claim that could be appropriated for church extension. Clearly, however, there were fundamental differences between the two, not least in that the police had the backing of a legal mechanism that the Church could not offer, while the spiritual aims of the 'moral machinery' were not replicated in the state mechanism. Furthermore, while the bobby on the beat was, arguably, to be a distant figure of authority (in terms of status rather than geographically) – almost as the anonymous overseer at the centre of the Panopticon, potentially always watching and

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[790] *Ibid.*, pp. 299f.
[791] Ogborn, M. (1993) *op.cit.*
[792] *Ibid.*, p. 507.
[793] Emsley, C., *The English Police: A Political and Social History* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991).
[794] Fyfe, N., 'The police, space and society: the geography of policing", *Progress in Human Geography*, 15 (1991): p. 250.
[795] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

ready to step in to intervene – the parochial agents were encouraged to get to know their flock, to establish relations and become almost friendly with those under their care. To this extent, as Robinson argues, the embodied and known gaze was vital for the establishment of an effective form of surveillance, the significance of which will be considered in the next section.

Acquaintance

Within the moral machinery, visibility and observation were not thought to carry an inherent ability for moral transformation, but to become effective through the building of relationships between the multiple objects and subjects of the gaze. An anonymous observer and an 'empty' look could not fulfil the reform of the gazed-upon: an additional lever of expectation and example was the means of manipulating the emotions of the parishioner to create feelings of pride, shame or desire for attainment, establishing the conditions that would allow the reform of the soul to habits of moral living. Where a relationship did not exist between the looking and the looked-upon, the gaze was effectively diluted and the mechanism unable to attain the sought end-result. It was an embodied eye in the person of the minister or parochial agent that was necessary, able to encourage and admonish, within a communal society where each person was known and concerned about their standing in the eyes of both their peers and social 'superiors'. Acquaintance was therefore important between both the parochial agent and the parishioner, and between people within the district. There was a need to banish the anonymity of a *gesellschaft* type society that militated against the effectiveness of the gaze by engineering *gemeinschaft* in its place, fostering ties of familiarity and, stereotypically, a rural way of life. Again, the spatial reorganisation of parishes was the first step to achieving this, while church extension showed itself as a breed apart from earlier calls for extra church accommodation, since the provision of additional places for worship – while important – was not considered the chief end in itself, but merely another cog in the machinery for the manipulation of urban society.

In order to build up the level of personal relationships with parishioners, Chalmers encouraged parochial agents to become personally known to, and involved with, people within their districts, and he was clear that "it is a mighty element in all your

enquiries [...] the good of a growing familiarity with your district".[796] Each agent was to enter the houses of parishioners and to treat them as equals, to "become the affectionate friend and familiar of the common people within the limits of his territory",[797] in this way building up ties of friendship and so constantly increasing the emotional hold over them. Even more than endowment and territoriality, the emphasis on building acquaintance and strengthening bonds between different parts of the community was not a theological imperative but was used because of its perceived effectiveness, as an efficient way both to impact upon and to manipulate a community, as should it happen that they "cultivate an acquaintance with them founded on good will to our brethren [...] it is found that there will scarcely a shut door or a shut heart be ever met".[798] This project was seen as especially important at a time of civil unrest as it offered a way of letting different classes mix together, with this regular contact encouraging the development of bonds of acquaintance and perhaps even affection, or at least allowing the spread of a balm of kindness that was thought to inevitably emerge where people met, thus softening social abrasions.[799] For such was the nature of the human heart, where people, who normally "abuse, and vilify, and pour forth their stormy eloquence on each other [...] were actually to come into such personal and familiar contact, as would infuse into their controversy the sweetening of mere acquaintanceship, this very circumstance would disarm and do away almost all their violence".[800]

Aside from this idealism, however, there was a highly practical benefit, it being pragmatically acknowledged that, while establishing bonds between people was a desirable end in itself, the main advantage in doing so was its effectiveness in increasing control over parishioners:

> The readiest way of finding access to a man's heart, is to go into his
> house; and there to perform the deeds of kindness, or to acquit
> ourselves of the wonted and the looked for acknowledgement. By
> putting ourselves under the roof of a poor neighbour [...] we render him
> for the time our superior – we through our reception on his generosity,
> and we may be assured that it is a confidence which will almost never
> fail us. [...] [I]n spite of all that has been said of the ferocity of a city

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[796] Chalmers, T., *Instructions issued for the guidance of deacons* (1820): p. 301.
[797] *Ibid.*, p. 384.
[798] Chalmers, T., *Address to the parochial agency of St John's Church* (1821): p. 320.
[799] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): p. 14.
[800] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

population, in such rounds of visitation there is none of it to be met with, even among the lowest receptacles of human worthlessness.[801]

The establishment of friendship thus allowed parochial agents to extend their reach into the heart of the parishioner, accessing deeper parts of the soul that the gaze alone could never reach, and achieving an effectiveness that moral encouragement could never attain. Yet for it to work, the gaze of friendship had to be embodied and embedded within the community, represented within a person who moved and was moved as much as the subject. As Chalmers explained to a meeting of his elders:

> There is something in the very presence of one human being when he comes with the feelings and the desires of friendship, which serves to conciliate and to subdue another human being. [...] This is what may be called an open door for you in the first instance, and the effect of frequent intercourse between the higher and lower orders of life in tranquillising the general spirit of a community, and softening their malignant antipathies which else might ferment and fester and break out into open violence, and consolidating something like a system of open brotherhood through a mighty aggregate of human beings, this I say would confer a civil blessing on the establishment of an eldership that is altogether incalculable.[802]

An important aspect in building up a sense of community and kinship between parishioners was the provision of spaces where people could interact and become known to one another, a role that churches and schools for the benefit of those residing within the locality could perform, notwithstanding their already significant function in providing a space for religion and education:

> [E]very arrangement in itself right should be promoted, which brings out the indwellers of one vicinity to one common place of repair, and brings upon them one common ministration. We believe, that the total want of parish schools, and the total neglect of the right of parishioners to a preference for seats in parish churches, have [...] withheld from our population the great, though collateral advantage that we are now insisting on.[803]

What was needed was "next-door neighbours being supplied with one common point of reference; and their children being led to meet in each others' houses, at one common work of preparation; and all being furnished with one common topic of

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[801] Chalmers, T., *The advantages and possibility of assimilating a town to a country parish* (1821): pp. 28f.

[802] Chalmers, T., *Address at the first setting apart his elders to their office in St John's* (1821): p. 294.

[803] Chalmers, T., *On the influence of locality in towns* (1821): p. 45.

simple, but heart-felt gratitude".[804] There is here a tension between Chalmers'
encouragement of community and the individualism that Foucault identifies as
implicit within disciplinary techniques of modern society, where individuals are quite
deliberately kept apart out of fear of the dangerous impulses of the mob – a very
different form of communality than Chalmers sought to realise – and to avoid the
potential immoral contagion that it was feared could occur where people gathered
together. The centrality of community-building runs contrary to much of Foucault's
analysis which concentrates on the disciplining of the individual, even in communal
settings such as Mettray, save perhaps in the concluding remarks of *Discipline and
Punish* which points forward to the heavy net of disciplinary techniques spreading
throughout society. Nevertheless, the meetings proposed by Chalmers would take
place within the context of a 'forest of gazes', and thus the spaces would still be
carefully regulated. Indeed, this communal spirit was a two-edged sword, as while it
encouraged closer ties of friendship and acquaintance, it also allowed for the
development of social pressure as individuals came to recognise the expectations of
behaviour and morality placed upon them by their neighbours that allowed them to
remain part of that circle, matched by the recognition that to step beyond these norms
could lead to social isolation, condescension or disdain. As a result, self-regulation
was promoted as the effect of the gaze and the perceived judgement of one's peers
became internalised, impacting in turn upon the behaviour of the individual.

As such, the key emphasis on building up a sense of belonging both to the parish and
an individual district was essentially paradoxical, founded on the principle of
increasing community spirit as a positive outcome for the benefit of people therein,
but utilising a tool of fear to sustain it. As Chalmers explained, using the example of
pauperism, if one's moral (or financial) degradation "takes place in sight of these with
whom for years we have been in terms of familiar converse, among whom we have
maintained [...] the standing of an equal estimation", then it would be "quite
unsufferable to make a visible descent amongst the wretched descendants upon the
charity of the parish".[805] Again, though, this could only work where there existed
close ties between people to create such potential feelings of shame and humiliation

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[804] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[805] Chalmers, T., *Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism*
(1817): p. 429.

that acted to guard against a moral fall, for a "degrading exhibition in the eye of [...] new neighbours among whom they have come, is far less insupportable than the same exhibition in the eye of those old neighbours whom they have left".[806]

For similar reasons, acquaintance was also necessary as a means of encouraging moral behaviour, providing a visible and known moral example that could be seen and desired by parishioners. An anonymous gaze was thought to have no mechanism to reform unless there was a pre-existing code of right and wrong, of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. The embodied gaze personified by the minister or parochial agent, by virtue of presence, visible to the population and recognisable as a culturally inscribed figure of godly and moral authority, was to provide the example of good conduct and appropriate Christian behaviour. The good conduct of the observer was hence a performance aimed towards a parochial audience:

> [L]et them come into daily exhibition and comparison with the people of the neighbourhood around them – and their example will spread: An homage will be paid to the superiority of condition and of character, even by those who have not been touched, either by the direct or the indirect influence of Christianity: The standard of feeling and of conception will be elevated throughout the great mass of the population.[807]

Thus, the minister and parish agent were both to "be felt in the full weight of his personal and professional influence throughout the families which are assigned to him",[808] with the "reflective power of dignified and honourable example emanating from the few who receive an impression from Christianity, on the many who do not".[809] As Chalmers would describe later:

> Far more effectual, is the method of patient and personal explanation, carried forward from house to house, and more especially, if prosecuted by men of known character and integrity, who live in the midst of them, or by men who have earned their confidence by repeated demonstration of their worth, and long-experienced services of kindness among the families.[810]

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[806] *Ibid*., p. 429.
[807] *Ibid*., p. 437.
[808] *Ibid*., p. 440.
[809] *Ibid*., p. 437.
[810] Chalmers, T., *Reply to an attempt to connect the cause of church accommodation with party politics* (Glasgow: William Collins & Co., 1835): pg 3.

Robinson concurs that this embodied surveillance based upon "speaking subjects and moving bodies",[811] and in which there was to be mutuality between parishioner and parochial agent, was distinct from that of the Panopticon. She argues that there is a gap in Foucault's account that credits visibility with more efficacy than it is due, as surveillance alone is not enough to transform the individual. Rather, the subject of the gaze must be exposed to and educated in the norms and standards of behaviour expected, and, as such, the gaze will inevitably be located and embodied. Relating this point to Hill's scheme of housing management, it was precisely this role that was taken by the housing managers: they presented to tenants a model of the standards expected, of the level of cleanliness and behaviour to be attained. In church extension, this was the job of the parochial agents, who, moving through the parish and observing, also stood as an example of good, Christian living. The gaze was thus embodied in the persons of the minister, the elder, the deacon, the teacher. Equally, given the emphasis that Chalmers placed upon attendance at school and church, the content of both lessons and sermons could be seen as another means of educating parishioners in the content of the gaze. At the same time, while embodied, the parochial agents still represented the process of surveillance, and so by the process of visitation, by building up bonds of friendship and acquaintance and through this finding their way into the homes and hearts of parishioners, they participated in extending the gaze beyond streets and through walls, placing it firmly in the front rooms of their 'friends'. Both sides were necessary for the moral mechanism to work: the demands of surveillance had to be obvious, and surveillance itself had to be effective.

Developing bonds of acquaintance was thought especially important in making the machinery a device of prevention, stopping the immoral from ever taking place by planting within the community an utter disinclination and disgust towards any manifestation of it. Such a device was in keeping with Chalmers' advice that the "operation must be of a preventive rather than of a corrective tendency",[812] and if successful, then "under such a constitution of matters, there will [...] be an effectual barrier in the working of their [the parishioners'] own hearts, and in the spontaneous

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[811] Robinson, J. (2000) *op.cit.*, p. 67.
[812] Chalmers, T., *On the dissipation of large cities* (1821): p. 213.

movement of their own nature and untaught delicacies".[813] For example, as he discussed in relation to pauperism:

> At the same time, his [i.e. the parochial agent] own sentiment as to the evil and the disgrace of public charity, insensibly spreads itself among the population [...] [i]t is thus that in ordinary times he may conduct them, in a very few weeks, to a habit of most mild and manageable quiescence – a habit from which [...] they will persevere in for ever.[814]

Following their ordination, Chalmers reminded his new elders of the necessity that each was to be "heavenly in his desires, and as peculiar in the whole style of his behaviour, and as upright in his transactions, and as circumspect in his walk, and as devout in his heart and service to the God of his redemption",[815] for as "the most conspicuous among the office-bearers of that Church", their "conduct has now a more decided bearing upon others than it had formerly".[816] They were instruments for the church, and any misconduct would be viewed with far greater disapproval than that of the inferiors whom they sought to raise, and so they were to monitor their daily walk, so that "the religion of which you have now become the declared and visible functionaries be not blamed".[817]

At the same time, there was a definite sense of paternalism implicit in the figure of the Christian visitor who observed, encouraged and moralised over the parish, betraying the class divisions that existed between ordinary parishioners and those involved with the church. Although Chalmers stated that the Kirk Session was not to be the sole preserve of the richer classes, being instead "composed of Elders, who, in general, are men of respectable character, though not always taken from the higher or even from the middle classes of society",[818] as previously discussed, in both the Tron and St John's the reality was that office-bearers and parochial agents were, with barely an exception, drawn from 'higher' stations than members of the parish. Given the class-divided geography of the city, with the middle and upper classes increasingly moving

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[813] Chalmers, T., *Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism* (1817): p. 431.

[814] Chalmers, T., *Statement in regard to the pauperism of Glasgow, from the experience of the last eight years* (1823): p. 625 [reproduced in Hanna, W., *Select Works of Thomas Chalmers* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1856): pp. 612-635].

[815] Chalmers, T., *Speech delivered on the occasion of the ordination of new elders to the Tron Church* (1816): p. 507.

[816] *Ibid*., p. 507.

[817] *Ibid*., p. 507.

[818] Chalmers, T., *Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism* (1817): p. 424.

westwards and social segregation becoming the norm, this was perhaps inevitable, unless the parish residency qualification was more strictly applied. Indeed, despite his preceding claim, Chalmers clearly recognised this fact and saw the difference in class as beneficial to the workings of the machinery, causing him to describe variously the parochial agent as the "man of wealth acting the man of piety"[819] or as a "Christian philanthropist".[820] This was, he claimed, a boon to visitation, as a means of establishing "frequent intercourse between the higher and lower orders of life".[821]

Even the duties of parochial agents implied that they were to be of a higher 'caste', with elders and (later) deacons, for example, being given charge of the administration of poor relief and, as mentioned earlier, expected to supplant official relief with private benevolence where necessary.[822] Parish teachers and ministers, meanwhile, by virtue of the level of education required to reach their respective professions, would almost certainly have required a status above the majority within their districts. This situation appears to chime with Trainor's claim that religion was useful to the middle classes in reinforcing the existing social structure, placing those of a lower class below their supposed superiors in the ecclesiastical realm as well as in the social world.[823] That the hierarchy of the chapel also reflected that of wider society, and that this allowed the values of the elite to be emphasised, as Joyce suggests,[824] further authorised the values of the middle class as those of the church, effectively claiming for such morals and values a heavenly charter.

There is evidence that instances of private charity did take place under this scheme, but the paternal influence was understood to go beyond monetary concerns, as this was but one of the many gifts that the wealthy could bestow. Indeed, the very presence of higher-status individuals amongst the poor was considered a bequest that could raise parishioners to higher moral ground, yet at the same time encourage within them a sense of pride in their place in society, even creating feelings of admiration towards the agent who had granted them this honour and, in the process,

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[819] Chalmers, T., *Speech delivered on the occasion of the ordination of new elders to the Tron Church* (1816): p. 508.
[820] Chalmers, T., *Address to the parochial agency of St John's Church* (1821): p. 320.
[821] Chalmers, T., *Address at the first setting apart his elders to their office in St John's* (1821): p. 294.
[822] Chalmers, T., *Instructions issued for the guidance of deacons* (1820): p. 299.
[823] Trainor, R. (1993) *op.cit.*
[824] Joyce, P. (1991) *op.cit.*

reconfirming the societal and moral superiority of the agent. Thus, both the minister and the agent were said to "enter the habitations of the peasantry, and dignify by his visits the people who occupy them",[825] for, as Chalmers would later explain:

> [T]here is a moral charm in his personal attentions and his affectionate civilities, and the ever-recurring influence of his visits and his prayers, which, if restored to the people, would impart a new moral aspect.[826]

Diffusion

Extending this analysis, it was even suggested that the benefits and go(o)dly living encouraged by the newly-shaped ecclesiastical apparatus could, by the very presence of a church or from the example of a few Christians within a district (including beyond that of just the minister and parochial agent), eventually diffuse throughout the entire community. Chalmers, for instance, was clear, that "there is more than may appear, at first sight, in the very circumstance of a marked and separate edifice [a church], standing visibly out to the eye of the people, with its familiar and oft-repeated designation";[827] while even if only a few were touched by the message of the gospel it could have an impact upon the entire city, as "it is enough that the principles within them, if it does not propagate its own likeness in others, can at least, like the salt to which they have been compared,[828] season a whole vicinity".[829] Just as vice, intemperance and immorality were thought to spread in a contagion, seeping throughout the streets of the city with invisible but inevitable pervasion, so there was a flip side to this coin, as the balm of Christian and moral living might equally diffuse through the cityscape to cool the heats of passion and sin. In part this was perhaps a metaphorical description, describing the deep reach of 'locality' and the moral machinery, the relentless turning of the cogs and grinding of the wheels that would gradually but surely reshape society to the sought end.

Utilising the imagery, churches and schools were hence described as "centres of emanation, from which a vivifying influence is actively propagated through a dead

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[825] Chalmers, T., *Speech delivered on the occasion of the ordination of new elders to the Tron Church* (1816): pp. 508f.
[826] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): pp. 30f.
[827] Chalmers, T., *Considerations on the system of parochial schools in Scotland* (1820): p. 524.
[828] Matthew 5:13
[829] Chalmers, T., *The advantages and possibility of assimilating a town to a country parish* (1821): p. 19.

and putrid mass".[830] In this sense, churches were neither the bridges out of the unholy city envisioned later in the century by General Booth,[831] nor a means to reshape and cleanse the physical infrastructure of the city, but nodes within the urban environment from which a diffusion of holiness and morality could take place, spreading the values of Christian living into the hidden reaches. The certainty was spoken of that "a right and salutary influence will spread itself among the streets of our city by the free and active circulation of it",[832] with each description revealing a further understanding of the city and of the penetration allowed by the mechanism. The imagery suggests that this moral example would spread in and through every quarter, crossing from person to person and leaving behind a lasting change, almost like a contagious yet benevolent disease for the reform of the soul and the advance of the gospel:

> [T]he germ of moral renovation shall at length burst into all the
> efflorescence of moral accomplishment – and the voice of psalms shall
> again be heard in our families – and impurity and violence shall be
> banished from our streets – and [...] shall tell to every stranger, that
> Glasgow flourisheth by the preaching of the Word.[833]

This was crucially not just an image, but was thought to represent the *actual* physical process through which the transformation of a city could take place, for better or for worse. To enable this contagion to work for the moral good of society, however, demanded a reformation of the environment that was shaping the individual, for it was this context that potentially allowed the diffusion of immorality. Utilising contemporary discourses of immoral miasmas ready to engulf the urban dweller, Chalmers argued that:

> [W]ithin the compass of a few square miles, the daily walk of the vast
> majority of our people is beset with a thousand contaminations […].
> [T]here is not one day […] when frail and unsheltered man is not plied
> by the many allurements of a world lying in wickedness – when evil
> communications are not assailing him with their corruptions – when the
> full tide of example does not bear down upon his purposes, and threaten
> to sweep all his purity and all his principle away from him.[834]

Furthermore, underpinning the metaphor of a diffusing example of go(o)dliness was the conviction that the moral machinery was inherently "aggressive" in encouraging

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[830] Chalmers, T., *On the influence of locality in towns* (1821): p. 48.
[831] Driver, F. (2001) *op.cit.*
[832] Chalmers, T., *Speech delivered on the occasion of the ordination of new elders to the Tron Church* (1816): p. 509.
[833] Chalmers, T., *A Sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): pp. 35f.
[834] *Ibid.*, pp. 28f.

Christian living, not so much attracting people to church attendance and faith as inscribing it upon their beings, pervading the lives of parishioners and infusing the morals of Christian living into their everyday habits. The machinery, claimed Chalmers, allowed the Church to "go out to the streets and the highways, and, by every fair measure of moral, and personal, and friendly application, compel the multitude to come in".[835] More so, the reach of the mechanism went further, piercing into the very soul of the individual and, once there, effecting a transformation:

> [I]t is further necessary, to go forth among the people; and there to superinduce the principles of an efficient morality, on the mere principles of nature; and there to work a transformation of taste and of character; and there to deliver lessons which, of themselves, will induce a habit of thoughtfulness, that must insensibly pervade the whole system of a man's desires and his doings – making him more a being of reach, and intellect, and anticipation, than he was formerly – raising the whole tone of his mind; and infusing into every practical movement, along with the elements of passion and interest, the elements of duty, and of wisdom, and of self-estimation.[836]

In many ways this was the real extension of which Chalmers spoke. Building a church in the middle of a previously untouched portion of the city and encouraging people from within that church to go out into the community took the church into places that it had previously not been; but it was what followed from this physical action, the extension of the tenets of the Christian faith and principles of moral behaviour into the habits of the individual, the reach into the soul, that gave church extension its name. The purpose of the machinery was to normalise a pattern of behaviour and thought by surrounding the individual with examples of it, by promoting this as 'good', and by encouraging societal pressure against all those who transgress, a process that was enacted by transforming the environment of living, namely the cityscape:

> A man in cultivated life would recoil from an act of falsehood, not because he has been rebuked out of this vice by the lessons of an authoritative code, but because his whole habit, formed as it insensibly is by the circumstances which surround him, carries along with it an utter disinclination for so odious a transgression upon all right and dishonourable principle. And thus it is with Christianity[.] [T]he main agency of the system of instruction lies in the general refinement and

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[835] Chalmers, T., *On the influence of locality in towns* (1821): p. 50.
[836] Chalmers, T., *The advantages and possibility of assimilating a town to a country parish* (1821): p. 17.

elevation which it imparts to the character of those who are the subjects of it.[837]

It was this that distinguished the form of church extension advocated by Chalmers from earlier calls for additional church accommodation. The aim of those earlier calls had been precisely to accommodate, solely to provide extra seats to allow more people to attend worship, a notion bound up with a concept of a church as concrete, as physical edifice in the landscape to which the congregation would flock. Chalmers sought instead to disembody the church from a brick and mortar state, while re-embodying it in the personhood of the minister or the parochial agent, placing the church not so much in the built form of the city – although this was still important – but impacting upon the physical landscape nevertheless, albeit in different ways, to extend religion into the soul of the community, moralising the immoral and Christianising the unholy by employing spatial strategies of power.

Conclusion

The model of church extension promoted by Chalmers was certainly a break from previous church building schemes, going beyond the idea of creating accommodation for the population into a plan which sought to transform the ecclesiastical landscape and the heart of the community, reshaping society into a model of morality, as he saw it, and Christianity. Church extension was hence a twofold process, incorporating the building of churches and the reconfiguration of the spatial arrangement of parishes, as well as the establishment of the process of the 'moral machinery' which manipulated the nature of humanity and society as it was then understood. The aim was instead to extend the reach of the Church into areas previously without religious provision, and this extension was to be threefold. On the practical level, the provision of more churches extended the ecclesiastical apparatus further throughout the city, into the areas that had previously been untouched or underprovided. Secondly, there was an extension of the church into society, as – through lay and clerical parochial visitation, the holding of services in local districts, the sending of representatives to live and work amongst the people – the presence of the religious in some manifestation was increased, putting all people within view and sight of a sacred of sorts. It was perhaps in the final extension, however, that of the church into the mind and soul of the

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[837] Chalmers, T., *Connexion between the extension of the Church and the extinction of pauperism* (1817): p. 436.

parishioner, pervading and checking the inner being of the individual, that the extension of which Chalmers spoke most effectively took place.

To a degree, church extension could be interpreted as part of the 'carceral net' of which Foucault speaks, with the churches as central institutions and the parochial mechanism as a surveillant practice – its similarities to the workings of the police have already been noted – through which institutional authority and discipline were spread beyond the walls. That the 'machinery' was designed with a benevolent intent, to 'moralise' and evangelise, and was 'softer' in application, need not undermine this critique, as Foucault claimed that the carceral network extended into non-penal disciplinary mechanisms like "charitable societies, moral improvement associations, organisations that handed out assistance and surveillance"[838] – all categories within which church extension could be placed. Perhaps more appropriately, however, Chalmers' model can be interpreted as offering a flexible system. The cogs of the machinery – endowment, territoriality and the organisation of parishes into districts – could be adapted depending upon the raw material of landscape and the workings of society, but the method and tools of transforming them – the moulding and forging powers of observation, knowledge, personal acquaintance and emotional pressure – remained the same. Indeed, just as the Panopticon as rendered by Foucault did not represent the necessary physical shape and spatial arrangement of a disciplinary apparatus but rather the embodiment of certain broader carceral principles, so the moral machinery that Chalmers presented was not intended as a generic model for the Christianisation of a population but a template displaying the means for achieving this end.

The machinery does, however, stand or fall in so far as the environmentalist normativity in Chalmers' thinking – that socio-spatial manipulations can impact at a deeper level of society beyond the built form – is correct. To admit that organising city parishes in this manner can, amongst other things, revitalise the urban, restore a sense of community and allow the principle of locality to flourish, is to presume that Chalmers' analysis and solution is appropriate, and perhaps to ignore other understandings that see society as more than a collection of individuals, or that

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[838] Foucault, M. (1977) *op.cit.*, p. 298.

highlight the inequity of existing social connections that may prevent the machinery from working with the mechanical certainty it was presumed to have. Equally, the model of 'man' that he advocates – knowable by science and reason, rational, liable to react in prescribed ways to certain prompts – is open to the same criticisms directed towards all understandings of humanity conceived through an Enlightenment rationality, not least those which stress the fractured self over the unified subject. Such a critique is however beyond the remit of the thesis, which seeks instead to appreciate the implications of such thought upon the various church building projects. The products that it was thought this moral machine could create, and thus the intended outcomes of its operation, are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6

Building the 'Godly Commonwealth'

Introduction

The description used by Thomas Chalmers of a 'Godly Commonwealth' as the pinnacle of achievement for a church in the world represents the societal and spiritual transformations that advocates for church extension were convinced it could bring. Both aspects are represented in this image. There was a clear evangelical or 'Godly' aspect to the concerns of those who promoted extension, but this was bound up with a concern for the condition of the commonwealth of humanity and a desire to improve the community. Church extension was in the first instance seen as a method of evangelism, of turning the city into a place of godliness by shining the redeeming light of the gospel into every dark and heathen corner. Additionally, advocates for this 'moral machinery' conceived that it could also be a method for the improvement of society, acting as a barrier against civil unrest and as a way of recreating and 'remoralising' citizens. These were hence temporal advantages to the community clearly put forward by those in favour of church extension as reasons for supporting the scheme.

This chapter considers the specific spiritual and secular benefits that church extension was thought to bring, in the process shedding light upon the kind of world that those who supported the movement hoped would be created. In so doing, the perceived relationship between the secular and spiritual realm is discussed, opening up a series of questions about the role of the Church, whether as a body primarily of sacred ends and evangelical intent, or as one focussed upon a broader responsibility concerning the manners and morals of society. In other words, was the evangelical imperative to proselytize accompanied by a desire to achieve social cohesion, or, indeed, to create 'docile bodies' for the benefit of local industry? This involves identifying the different moral benefits that the machinery was thought able to accomplish, highlighting in particular the areas recognised by those involved in the various schemes as aspects over which church extension could have the greatest impact. Through this frame the movement is variously conceived: as a form of home mission capable of reclaiming the lost to the cause of the gospel and reinvigorating faith in the city, or in terms of broader social concerns and functions of state, whether the provision of education, as

a means of policing the behaviour of parishioners, or as a way of producing a well-regulated workforce. In the process the chapter uncovers some of the motivations that inspired those élites driving the movement and examines their role in subsequently shaping the vision of what church extension could achieve. Additionally, by treating the 'moral machinery' as a form of home mission that both questioned and reinforced contemporary social and cultural discourses, church extension will be viewed with particular reference to one strand of the 'local' Enlightenment that developed in Glasgow the century before, considering the extent to which this mission can be seen as a nineteenth-century reaction, continuation, or interpretation of Enlightenment thought and practice.

The Evangelical Imperative? Home Mission and Civic Redemption

In their annual report of 1842, the Glasgow Church Building Society stated as its *raison d'etre* the desire "to advance the interests of our Redeemer's Kingdom in our city, and to promote the spiritual welfare of our destitute fellow citizens".[839] Later in the same report it was argued that, "[i]ndependently of the primary and chief object of our new Churches – the making known the gospel of the grace of God to the people",[840] there were many different ways in which church extension could be of benefit to a community:

> The improvement which education and religious instruction produces in
> the habits, condition, and entire economy of the people operates
> powerfully to diminish the poverty and wretchedness of which are the
> never failing attendants of ignorance and irreligion among the poorer
> classes.[841]

As argued in the previous chapter, extension was not intended as a method for reaching solely into those corners of the cityscape that were without ecclesiastical accommodation, but of expanding the Christian faith into the souls of the population and the heart of society, raising levels of piety and, as a beneficial side effect, causing improvement in temporal standards of living. As the Society was keen to stress, however, it was the spiritual fruits that were to have primacy, and so it was necessary first that churches be built "to illumine the dark parts of the city and spread the light

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[839] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842): p. 7.
[840] *Ibid*., p. 32.
[841] *Ibid*., p. 32.

of the gospel over the generations which are yet to follow us".[842] This was, it was claimed, in the first and most important instance a plan with the saving of souls and the teaching of the gospel as the fundamental goal, with all other benefits considered additional advantages rather than necessary:

> And how admirably *fitted* is the church of Christ for this great object of its destination! Erected amidst a world lying in wickedness, it is the depository of those great principles and truths which give glory to God, raise men to just conceptions of his character and government, and render Him the object of their highest reverence and love. It is a standard lifted up amidst the kingdoms of the world, which unites men in his service, and reminds even the thoughtless and unbelieving of the glory due unto his name. Here it is that the gospel, which is the power and wisdom of God unto salvation, is presented in all its importance to the soul. Here the grateful affections are awakened to life and to action; and here, whatever advances the honour and the cause of God, is made known, supported, and pressed upon the conscience. And how fitted are all its institutions to cherish and maintain those ennobling sentiments, which elevate the soul to God.[843]

While the potential secular advantages of additional churches were recognised, advocates for church extension were convinced that the evangelical imperative to take the Christian message to all people was the impetus for the building of these. This, they argued, was the primary task. Significantly, the evangelical impulse existed at multiple scales and church extension at home coincided with the Church of Scotland's first serious mission endeavours abroad,[844] with arguments underpinning both projects bearing elements of similarity. Torrance is quite clear that that "[t]here can be no question that the missionary activity of the Church of Scotland abroad had an evangelical impact upon the Church at home which coincided with the rapid increase of evangelical ministers in the parishes, and deepened the missionary conscience of the Church";[845] and, certainly, the prime place given to evangelism in church extension suggests that it can be read as a form of home mission. To take the gospel to the heathen, be they near or far, was the driving concern and the duty of those able to do so; and, if this did not happen, then there could be no hope of effective

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[842] *A full report of the speeches delivered at the great meeting [...] to further and promote the cause of the General Assembly's church accommodation scheme* (1837): p. 25.
[843] *A sermon preached in behalf of the Church Accommodation Society, at Glasgow, on Sabbath the 10th of January* [Stevenson Macgill] (1834): pp. 18f.
[844] For an introduction to missionary activity in the Church of Scotland, see Hewat, E.G.K, *Vision and Achievement, 1796-1956: a history of the foreign missions of the churches united in the Church of Scotland* (London: T. Nelson, 1960).
[845] Torrance, T., *Scottish Theology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996): p. 250.

amelioration of the community in any respect, be it from poverty and poor standards of living or through education. As the Church Building Society claimed in its third annual report:

> [R]eligious instruction is the grand remedy; for it is an important truth, which ought never to be forgotten, that you never can substantially and permanently improve the *condition* of a people, unless you improve the *character* of a people; and their characters can only be improved by religious instruction.[846]

Echoing contemporary colonial discourses regarding the dark other lands of the heathen, the Society saw churches as pioneering tools that could penetrate into the crowded territories of the urban community, paving the way for a better city by illuminating the godlessness that was believed to lie at the heart of every urban malaise, through bringing the gospel into the crowded Wynds and corners, for "it is in those retreats of wretchedness where the benign and alleviating influence of the hopes and consolations of the gospel are peculiarly needed".[847] Collins, in his capacity as secretary of the Society, drew upon contemporary colonial metaphors of darkness and light, describing churches as candlesticks and placing the ungodly urban as an unsettled, dangerous space in need of the civilising of Christianity:

> He who walks in the midst of the golden candlesticks, and holds the stars in his right hand, will rejoice to see another and another candlestick planted, on which another and another star may be lighted up, to illuminate the dark corners of our city, and the dark corners of our country, with the light of life.[848]

The centrality of the spiritual was reinforced by criticism directed by advocates of church extension towards those "ready to support every scheme of temporal advantage – [but] dead to every plan for promoting the moral and spiritual interests of man".[849] Time and again such advocates returned to the question of non-spiritual philanthropy, arguing that, while well-meaning, any benevolent scheme would be fundamentally unable to provide a proper solution to the ills of the urban community; as, unless religion was proposed as an integral part of the solution, then any plan

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[846] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 17.
[847] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842): p. 36.
[848] Collins, W., *The Church of Scotland the poor man's Church* (Glasgow: Wm. Collins & Co., 1835): p. 8.
[849] *A sermon preached in behalf of the Church Accommodation Society, at Glasgow, on Sabbath the 10th of January* (1834): p. 23.

would only be able to deal with symptoms, for the ultimate cause of all societal ills was understood to be the lack of religiosity. Responding, for example, to the number of bequests recently made to local charities at the expense of their own cause, the Church Building Society commented:

> Such bequests are made with the view of benefiting the community, but it requires little argument to show that in no way can the community be so largely and permanently benefited by such bequests as by devoting them to the erection of churches and thus providing religious instruction to the poor.[850]

What was needed instead, they argued, was the extension of the machinery of a parochial national Church, as a way of not only resolving these ills for the long term, but stopping them from ever happening again, for churches, it was argued, were "the great means of prevention and cure".[851]

The mechanics of the way in which churches could act as a solution have already been addressed,[852] but the presumption of an effective moral machinery was predicated upon the conviction that it was the spiritual that needed to be improved if there was to be any improvement in quality of living in the city. If this was not the case, then the 'machinery' was without purpose, and any philanthropy, regardless of foundation upon religion or not, would be as effective or ineffective. Given that spiritual destitution was understood to be the root cause of all secular ills, from poverty to poor standards of living, then the converse was also deemed true; and to gain temporal fruits of relief for the community, it was believed necessary for there first to be a deep spiritual soil:

> It is well that the temporal necessities of the poor be cared for, but it is an important fact, which ought never to be forgotten, that the largest portion of their temporal necessities and of their physical and social wretchedness originates in their spiritual destitution. To remedy the latter therefore is the most direct and certain way of diminishing the former. Indeed without religious instruction you never can permanently better the temporal condition of the community, for no amount of money bestowed on an ignorant, irreligious, and profligate people would substantially or permanently improve their condition. The surest and speediest way therefore to recover and to preserve them from the

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[850] *Fourth annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1839): p. 15.
[851] *A sermon preached in behalf of the Church Accommodation Society, at Glasgow, on Sabbath the 10th of January* (1834): p. 30.
[852] As discussed in Chapter 5.

> evils under which they labour is to furnish them with the Gospel of the grace of God.[853]

This necessity to put spiritual before temporal welfare reflected the dominant approach that the church held to missionary activity abroad. Maxwell suggests that there was a debate during the early nineteenth-century within the Church of Scotland over the appropriate method of mission. On one side were rational Calvinists, who insisted that civilisation must precede evangelism and that missionaries should therefore focus first upon educating foreign cultures before teaching Christianity. This position was predicated upon theologies shaped by Enlightenment thought that understood faith to be a reasoned response to rational statements about the divine, and therefore reliant upon the ability to engage with rational discourse. It was claimed that there was a stage of societal development, measured against a marker of European progress, that had to be reached before Christian teaching could be effective, and that it was the task of missionaries to educate until that level was attained. On the other side was an evangelical strand of Calvinism that gave priority to revelation over reason, and saw the power of the Gospel to be such that preaching even to the unreasoned would still be effective and yield a high return of souls. This was the domain of most Evangelicals, who argued that the power of Christianity and the efficacy of the Holy Spirit acting upon the human heart was all that was needed to turn an individual to true faith, even the most uneducated and 'savage'. Furthermore, the benefits that would flow from this faith would then invariably help in the task of civilising, opening the individual to the right morals and manners of a developed society.

It was the latter position which held the ground in Scotland's missionary thought and activity, at least until the General Assembly of 1835 when the Church of Scotland first developed a strategy for foreign mission,[854] but opinion was not just divided into two camps. Chalmers, for instance, agreed that the emphasis upon evangelising should be primary, but offered a more nuanced opinion giving place to both evangelism and the civilising imperative, and he "consistently argued [...] against the view that 'civilization' was the main object of missions; it was simply an

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[853] *Fourth annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1839): p. 15.

[854] Maxwell, I.D., 'Civilisation or Christianity? The Scottish debate on mission methods, 1750-1835' in Stanley, B. (ed.)(2001) *op.cit.*, pp. 123-140.

'accompaniment'. The primary aim and method was to preach Christ".[855] This also appears to have been the position of most advocates of church extension in Glasgow, as, while education was encouraged as complementary to both the project and the benefits to wider society perpetually expressed, it was repeatedly stressed that the most important aim was the Christianisation of the city.

Despite the claims that saving souls was the chief end of church extension, this imperative to evangelise might be conversely interpreted as a necessary precondition for the civilisation of a society. This is not to say that the secular end alone was sought, with the spiritual deemed no more than a pleasant side-effect, but rather to note that, if societal improvement could only be achieved through religious means, then perhaps some were willing to use precisely this element as a means to an end. MacLaren identifies a similar strand of thought amongst practitioners of home missionary activity, suggesting that the "conversion of the individual was the obvious prelude to a total change in the nature of society itself. Any attempt to change society, or the individual, without achieving his spiritual conversion, was doomed to failure".[856] Certainly, the perceived secular benefits of extension to the community were said to derive from spiritual amelioration alone, "for by improving their [the people's] moral character you never fail to improve their temporal condition".[857] This would almost certainly have been denied by Evangelicals in favour of the 'machinery', but the consistent linking that was made between the cause of the gospel and of civilisation suggests that the relationship was not simply that of a main substance with precipitates.

Indeed, most apologists, while stressing in theory the evangelical aspect of this, treated the spiritual and social benefits that extension could bring as two sides of the same coin in practice, with one minister even commenting that "[u]niversal reconciliation and universal improvement are inseparable",[858] describing a kind of 'third-way' in which civilisation does not precede spiritual growth, nor the reverse, but the two work together simultaneously. The benefits of church extension can, in this sense, be traced along a fine line which falls on the side of spiritual welfare, but

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[855] *Ibid*, p. 133.
[856] MacLaren, A.A. (1974) *op.cit.*, p. 168.
[857] Maxwell, I.D. (2001) *op.cit.*, p. 12.
[858] Balfour, R., *Sermons on Interesting Subjects* (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle: 1819): p. 190.

encompasses elements of social development of one form or another. For instance, a society that was established to build a new church in the Brownfield area of St George's parish lamented the lack of church attendance on the grounds that it prevented the spreading of other benefits to the area;[859] while the Parochial Association attached to St Enoch's parish made their object "[t]he promotion of Religion and Morality among the Inhabitants of the Parish".[860] The condition of one aspect was invariably related to that of the other. A degree of caution is required in interpreting the evangelical prerogative as a preface to civilising, however, given that many of the published articles were written with a view to convincing citizens, the Church and local state of the advantages of church extension, and to encourage financial support. As such, this aspect of manners and morals may have been played up as an argument thought effective to sway the audience.

Peeling back another layer of discourse, regardless of whether the argument was made in favour of Christianising ahead of civilising or *vice-versa*, unquestioned at the heart of the debate was the presumption that Christianity is inherently associated in some way with a more civilised society, either as the pinnacle of civilisation as is implied by the rational Calvinist argument, or deriving from an evangelical Calvinist position as the means of creating civilisation. In either eventuality, progress of civilisation was placed somewhere in a causal line alongside the Christian faith. In the sphere of foreign missions, this has in part been attributed to the equating of Europe with Christendom,[861] as a way of prioritising the supremacy of European culture and society over others, but there are obvious difficulties of location in drawing upon this structure of thought to explain mission at home, for the 'heathen land' was already part of Christendom. Perhaps this served instead to reinforce the sense of the irreligious and working classes of Glasgow who, being less than civilised, were understood to be most in need of the benefits of religion, but also to strengthen the conviction that Christianity was the superior religion, the path to both spiritual salvation and societal progress.

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[859] *Address by the Brownfield Church Society, on the propriety of erecting Brownfield to a new parish* (1835).
[860] *First report of the St Enoch's Parochial Association* (1838): p. 3.
[861] Walls, A.F., 'The eighteenth-century Protestant missionary awakening in its European context' from Stanley, B. (ed.) (2001) *op.cit.*, pp. 26f.

The potential advantages of church extension were not restricted to the individual. As Henry Dunlop, member of the Town Council and the Church Building Society, proclaimed at a public meeting, extension of the national Church was the best means of raising moral and religious standards, and in turn "promoting the peace, good order, prosperity, and happiness of our Country",[862] while Robert Buchanan stressed that "our city can be made truly and permanently to flourish only through the abundant and faithful 'preaching of the word'".[863] Champions of church extension consistently employed arguments stressing the advances to be made in the city if religion could be placed at the heart of it, for the "solid and enduring greatness of a city, as of a nation, is moral greatness".[864] This was also recognised at the national level, with the Church calling upon the state to fulfil its duty by attending to the proper governance of preventative paternal care. As was suggested to the General Assembly in the 1835 report on church extension:

> [W]e look to the more powerful hand of a Christian and paternal government – a government that will regard the prevention of disorder and crime as an object worthier of its price, than is the punishment of these; or rather that looks upon the spread of intelligence and virtue among the people as the highest aim of true patriotism, and altogether worthy of the fostering care of the rulers of the commonwealth.[865]

The way in which changes to the individual soul filtered up to impact positively upon the whole of society was presumed rather than fully explained, but it was suggested that the moral transformations that took place in a person created certain virtues that were akin to those needed to achieve worldly prosperity, for "[c]onstituted as man is, a spiritual as well as physical being, his moral state will always exert a mighty influence for good or evil on his social and temporal condition".[866]

At the same time, it was argued that a community that worshipped God and behaved according to Christian precepts was bound to find divine favour and thereby to secure the blessings that flowed there from, for if not:

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[862] *A full report of the speeches delivered at the great meeting [...] to further and promote the cause of the General Assembly's church accommodation scheme* (1837): p. 4.
[863] Buchanan, R., *Speech of the Rev Robert Buchanan [...] delivered at a public meeting of the friends of the Church of Scotland* (1835): p. 8.
[864] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842): p. 35.
[865] *Report of the Committee of the Church of Scotland on Church Extension* (Edinburgh: John Waugh, 1835): p. 6.
[866] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842): p. 36.

> Britain will add her venerated name, to those once prosperous nations, who have fallen under that overwhelming destruction, which God hath inseparably connected with irreligion and depravity.[867]

Extending this, it was argued that Glasgow itself stood or fell by the morality and spirituality of its people, a position predicated upon the conviction that God was not the distant divine of the Enlightened deists – the clockmaker who winds the mechanism and stands at a distance watching it run – but an active and immanent deity, involved and acting in and through the world. Rather, the God as understood by most evangelicals was engaged with and answered the ways of humanity, repaying the sinful and encouraging the just, from the personal level to that of the whole community. That this understanding of a providential deity flowed especially from the ranks of evangelicals is unsurprising, given their belief in the need for individual repentance from sin and the personal offer of salvation, although the sense of needing to assuage divine wrath also implied an element of salvation through works rather than grace, contrary to strict Calvinist teaching. A subtler understanding was usually offered than the stereotypical judgement of directed lightening bolts from heaven, however, with the reason for punishment not normally attributed to the occurrence of any individual event that existed in a direct causal relationship with the retribution, but rather for the sins of the city in general, explaining why the whole community was made to suffer.

This discourse of divine judgement was continually reiterated within sermons from this time, in both Established and Dissenting pulpits.[868] Paralleling biblical narratives of ancient cities like Sodom and Gomorrah burning in the ashes of divine displeasure with descriptions of the iniquities of contemporary Glasgow, clergy regularly exposited texts and evoked images warning citizens to "open our eyes to the true state of our country, before it be too late"[869] and return to the ways of the Lord, otherwise a similar fate would befall their city. Some even claimed that it was only divine mercy that had prevented any punishment so far:

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[867] *A sermon preached in behalf of the Church Accommodation Society, at Glasgow, on Sabbath the 10th of January* (1834): p. 29.

[868] This may, however, be something to do with the make-up of the archive, as sermons preached on days of national mourning or 'humiliation' (i.e. days set aside to ask the forgiveness of God for the sins of the country or city), while not predominating, do appear to have been more likely to have been published than sermons on normal Sundays.

[869] *A sermon preached in behalf of the Church Accommodation Society, at Glasgow, on Sabbath the 10th of January* (1834): p. 27.

We have only to go forth upon our streets – we have only to open our
eyes upon the scenes that are every day exhibited, to be sensible that we
are greatly indebted to the forbearance of the living God for refraining
to inflict judgements.[870]

Times of economic distress, epidemics of disease or any period of public trouble: all
were interpreted as clear warning signs of heavenly displeasure, or the birth pains of
divine retribution. As one Dissenting clergyman argued:

In the heavy gloom that hangs over our city, in the variety and
accumulation of personal and domestic, bodily and mental suffering
that is endured, whether occasioned by the state of trade or the state of
health, it is '*no chance* that has come upon us.' It is the hand of the all-
seeing and all-disposing Ruler of the Universe that is laid upon us, and
laid upon us in merited and righteous judgement.[871]

As much as this sense of judgement can be traced in the words publicly proclaimed,
the practice of the churches carried a similar message. A common practice was for the
Government to appoint days of national mourning at times of public hardship, and as
part of the proceedings the churches would hold services, often attended by local
dignitaries; on other occasions, the churches called for periods of national
'humiliation', prayer and fasting. Although not regular, neither were these infrequent
in the early years of the nineteenth century, with the cause of the 'visitations'
invariably attributed to the immorality and irreligiosity of Glasgow. The underlying
theory behind these days was that a time of repentance when people were encouraged
to reflect upon their lives and seek divine forgiveness might assuage in some way any
possible divine judgements of which the current trouble might be a manifestation.
This was a theme that the preacher would often develop during the day's sermon. The
Rev John Roxburgh, for example, preached in St David's church on a day of
mourning called after an outbreak of cholera, and advised the congregation that they
should spend time "in considering how we may best sanctify, by repentance and
resolutions of amendment, the judgement with which we are visited".[872]

Significantly, the advantages of this practice were recognised beyond the churches.
Prior to the day on which Roxburgh spoke being called, the Presbytery of Glasgow

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[870] Marshall, J., 'Christian humiliation – a sermon preached in St David's Church, Glasgow', in *The Scottish Pulpit* vol.2 (1833): p. 174.
[871] Wardlaw, R., 'On the agency of God in human calamities' in *The Scottish Pulpit*, vol.1 (1833): p. 8.
[872] Roxburgh, J., *The nature and design of God's judgements* (Glasgow: M. Ogle & D. Robertson, 1832): p. 6.

had proposed that a General Fast and day of humiliation be held, and they were clear on both the reason and the cause:

> The Presbytery taking into their consideration the melancholy prevalence of irreligious profanity and wickedness in our Land, the manifest token of Divine displeasure which appears in the present state of this nation, and the rapid increase of that malignant disease with which the country has been partly visited and is generally threatened, direct their Moderator ... to write to the Moderator of the General Assembly requesting him to call a meeting of the Commission for appointing a day of General Humiliation and prayer.[873]

In this instance, however, the request was taken no further as the Government intervened and appointed a fast day by its own accord, drawing upon the same reasons as described by the Presbytery. The importance of tempering divine anger was therefore not restricted to a few fervent voices in the pulpit, but widely accepted.

Education

A key aspect of church extension's agenda in transforming the urban environment was the provision of both extra churches and parochial schools. For as long as church extension rather than just accommodation was the aim, it was proposed that alongside every new church there was to be a parochial school provided for the benefit of children living in the parish, and education was deemed to be the near equal of religious adherence in terms of benefits to the individual and community. Church and school were seen to be mutually compatible, essentially working towards the same goal, with each building upon the other for the improvement of society. Where both existed, parishioners were said to:

> [E]njoy the inestimable blessings of a school for the young as well as a church for the old, the one forming an admirable nursery for the other, and by their combined influence forming the most powerful and effective means for reclaiming a neglected population from ignorance, irreligion, profligacy, and vice.[874]

The emphasis upon education within the Church of Scotland has roots that extend far deeper than church extension, with the *First Book of Discipline* produced in the early years of the long Scottish Reformation articulating the desire of the reformers for a school in every parish and for every child. Urban growth rendered such a provision

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[873] Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 4th January, 1832.
[874] *Second annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1836): p. 11.

difficult, and in Glasgow, as in the other large towns of Scotland in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the reality was of a sparse, incomplete infrastructure that left many unschooled, yet for Chalmers education was a fundamental part of the 'machinery', if not something of a hobby-horse. During his first year in the Tron he encouraged some members to form a society to provide schools and teachers in neglected parts of the parish where classes would be held on Sunday evenings,[875] shaped along the same lines as the parochial model, and at the start of his endeavours in St John's parish he employed forty-one teachers.[876] The impact of his thinking here is clear in the legacy of the 'disciples' who worked with him and carried on the work, and there is a clear relationship between these educational schemes and local church building in Glasgow. David Stow, who established Glasgow's first 'Normal Seminary' and led the call for a wider national educational provision,[877] had been an elder with him in both the Tron Church and St John's, and served as a director of the Church Building Society after subscribing nearly £300 to the cause, following in the footsteps of James Buchanan, a member of the Society and early pioneer of educational initiatives within the city.[878] Collins, inevitably, had also supported the Sunday school movement in the 1820s,[879] while John Colquhoun, MP, held the post of President for both the Glasgow Church Building Society and the Glasgow Educational Society.[880] It is instructive that, although not set out as an objective of the local church extension Society, it was noted that "the dense masses of the poor in our cities stood not less in need of endowed schools",[881] a situation that they hoped would be improved by subdividing the city into smaller parishes, arguably making easier the establishment of a universal parochial school system, and contributing to an increase in intelligence, piety and virtue. Promoted as a means of advancing the cause of the church and spiritual and moral interests of the city, by 1838 it was noted that "schools

[875] Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, p. 122.

[876] *Ibid*, p. 231.

[877] Entry on 'David Stow', in Matthew, H.C.G. & Harrison, B. (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004). Maclehose, J. (ed.), *Memoirs and Portraits of one-hundred Glasgow men* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1886). Markus, T.A. (ed.), *Order in Space and Society* (Mainstream, 1982).

[878] Entry on 'David Stow', in Matthew, H.C.G. & Harrison, B. (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004). Maclehose, J. (ed.), *Memoirs and Portraits of one-hundred Glasgow men* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1886).

[879] Mechie, S., *The Church and Scottish Social Development* (London: OUP, 1960): p. 141.

[880] *Third report of the Glasgow Educational Normal Society's Normal Seminary* (Glasgow: W. Collins, 1837).

[881] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 11.

are either erected or in the course of erection in connection with every one of their new churches",[882] with some poorer areas having more than one built in the vicinity.

Following the pattern established by Chalmers, each school was partly endowed by the congregations to render them cheap and within the grasp of the poorest, but some payment was still required from pupils to ward off the dependence that it was thought might be encouraged by charity.[883] These schools did not provide education in the modern sense, at least in the early days, when it was effectively a religious education alone that was offered, with lessons focussing exclusively upon learning to read through the Bible and the training of 'moral habits',[884] the aim being to train the minds of the young in the Christian way.[885] The scheme gradually extended throughout the city, the schools increasingly becoming more detached from the religious aspect as schooling was unshackled from Sunday alone and spread throughout the week, and as the remit was broadened to include principles of mathematics and technical studies for boys alongside more gentle pursuits suitable for ladies (although the moralistic basis of instruction was maintained). Yet as Mechie comments – echoing claims made for more churches – aside from a genuine concern for the wellbeing of the young, there were other incentives such as the creation of a trained workforce and the maintenance of a secure society.[886] Indeed, nearly identical arguments were put forward for schools as a cheap tool for the prevention of societal ills, with one associate of Stow claiming that, "if the nation will not pay for the schoolmaster to prevent crime, it must pay tenfold for the repression of social disorder, and for coercing an unhappy, dissolute, and reckless population".[887]

An Improved Workforce

It was also recognised that church extension, by encouraging Christian faith, could impact upon a populace in more ways than instilling moral habits, by creating a workforce fit for the needs of an industrial and manufacturing city, partly through

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[882] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 9.
[883] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842): p. 33.
[884] Mechie, S. (1960) *op.cit.,* p. 143.
[885] *Address by the Brownfield Church Society* (1835): p. 5.
[886] Mechie, S. (1960) *op.cit.,* p. 145.
[887] Lewis, G., *Scotland a Half-Educated Nation* (Glasgow: W. Collins, 1834) p. 44.

education, partly by encouraging habits of industry. A religious population, it was proposed, was a clear advantage for any employer. Such benefits were not held uniquely by those involved in church extension. Moore, for example, recognises similar motivations amongst owners of collieries in Wales during the second half of the nineteenth century, who sponsored the maintenance of chapels and promoted religion "because it was believed to provide a compliant labour force".[888] He identified the work of Andrew Ure as a particular influence in encouraging this view, with the latter claiming amongst other things that "Godliness is great gain", and that "animated with a moral population, our factories will flourish in expanding fruitfulness".[889] Moore suggests in a different context that religion allowed workers to see their "occupation as a 'calling' and therefore endowed with a transcendental meaning. [...] The believer ought, therefore, to accept his social position and attempt to fulfil its obligations",[890] just as the mine-owner, too, was merely fulfilling a role and duty. This strand of argument is identified by Hart as commonplace in religious discourse of the nineteenth century.[891] She suggests that work was regularly put forward as one of the "instances of the gracious action of Divine providence in arranging this world", and that it was commonly preached that "work done by even the poorest classes is as great and dignified if they are working honestly as if they were ruling an empire".[892] At the same time, this claim could be used to justify the position of the wealthy in the community, as Seed argues when describing the legitimisation of prosperity as a form of providence in Unitarian circles.[893] In a similar vein, Thompson identifies Methodism as a tool assisting the development of greater discipline amongst the workforce, promoting timeliness and hard work as salvific virtues, and fostering within the church "those elements most suited to make up the psychic component of the work-discipline of which manufacturers stood most in need".[894]

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[888] Moore, R. (1974) *op.cit.*, p. 233.
[889] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 81.
[890] Moore, R. 'The political effects of village Methodism', in *A Sociological Handbook of Religion in Britain*, vol. 6 (1976): p. 166.
[891] Hart, J., 'Religion and social control in the mid-nineteenth century Britain', in Donajgrodzki, A.P., *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Croon Helm, 1992).
[892] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[893] Seed, J. (1986) *op.cit.*, p. 135.
[894] Thompson, E.P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin, 1991): p. 390.

In the context of Glasgow, élites were driven to some extent by concerns that the increasing industrialisation of the city was endangering the foundations of society, and by the conviction that it was in such spaces that religion struggled most to gain a foothold, a manifestation of the contemporary discourse that saw the urban as naturally irreligious. The Glasgow Church Building Society claimed, for instance, that the existing state of society was "operating most adversely on our hopes and expectations for the moral regeneration of our great commercial city";[895] while a minister argued similarly that the "factories have brought a new and dangerous condition of society into Scotland, changing altogether, and deteriorating, in many places, the character of the population".[896] Aside from this desire to create a better and more efficient workforce, many advocates of church extension understood their cause to include a responsibility towards both those involved in the work of industry and those in the wider community whose lives might be affected by it, as for too long "both the bodies and the souls of the operatives have often been regarded by us in no other light than as part and parcel of the money-making machinery".[897] Indeed, it was promoted as the duty of the Christian to support church extension, and particularly that of the wealthy to contribute towards such a project, so "that while the working classes may perhaps be but scantily provided with the bread that perisheth, they may not also be left utterly destitute of the bread of life".[898] One minister summed up this paternalistic approach when he spoke of the need for "those who are placed in circumstances of ease and affluence [...] to provide for your perishing brethren",[899] and this was not to be done just out of fear of the consequences of inaction, but for the sake of the souls of the lost.[900] Likewise, in every annual report the Society implored "those on whom God has conferred wealth, and thus conferred on them the capacity of blessing their poorer brethren",[901] to support the cause, describing it as their "duty and obligation to provide those means of grace which, under all circumstances and

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[895] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842): p. 34.
[896] McCorkle, R., *On the parochial system of the Church of Scotland* (Glasgow: W. Collins, 1835): p. 18.
[897] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[898] *Fifth annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1840): p. 22.
[899] Roxburgh, J., *The nature and design of God's judgements* (1832): pp. 35f.
[900] *A sermon preached in behalf of the Church Accommodation Society, at Glasgow, on Sabbath the 10th of January* (1834): p. 28.
[901] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 15.

amidst all changes, are essential to the present peace and happiness of the community".[902]

This seemingly benevolent approach finds comparison in other accounts, with Joyce's empirical study of owners of large factories in Lancaster, similarly suggesting that the building of churches was understood to be the duty of an employer towards workers and their families,[903] a claim backed up by Smith who suggests that "a common evangelical culture [...] [was] the rationale behind much employer paternalism".[904] Trainor, however, sees such seeming philanthropy within the religious sphere as interventions which "symbolised and reinforced the existing social structure".[905] Indeed, he claims that the élites perceived a growth in working-class consciousness and sought to temper this by introducing norms of middle-class respectability, and so encourage a religion which conveyed "the sturdy evangelicalism that many middle-class religious leaders thought appropriate for working men; their social content was deferential [...][,] resignation in the face of misfortune and the urged appreciation of those wealthy people who were generous".[906]

Not insignificantly, however, commentators like Joyce and Trainor are describing social worlds of small towns and factory settlements, a scale apart from the manufacturing cityscape of Glasgow, and as such they identify a closer connection between work and worship than can be made here. Nevertheless, some of the largest investors in church extension were the owners of large-scale local industries and employed many people in the city. Charles Tennant, owner of the extensive chemical factory at St Rollox to the north of the city, sponsored £200 to the Society;[907] John Blackie, owner of a printing factory, was also a director and gave over £300 during ten years;[908] Hugh Tennent, inheritor of Glasgow's largest brewery, granted them the

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[902] *Fifth annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1840): p. 23.
[903] Joyce, P. (1991) *op.cit.*
[904] Smith, M., *Religion in Industrial Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994): p. 23.
[905] Trainor, R. (1993) *op.cit.*, p. 183.
[906] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[907] Entry on 'Charles Tennant', in Matthew, H.C.G. & Harrison, B. (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004). *Seventh Annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842).
[908] Maclehose, J. (ed.), *Memoirs and Portraits of one-hundred Glasgow men* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1886). *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842).

rights to build on land for no cost,[909] with the Society recording several instances of such charity from a variety of landowners. The coal merchant William Campbell was especially generous, donating thousands of pounds to cover the costs of new churches, even offering private endowment to some.[910] Notably too, the Society framed the building of a new church in areas of industry in a language of duty and care. The new church built in Springburn, for example, near the site of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Company, was justified because it would provide religious instruction for those "in whose character and good conduct the safety and comfort of the public are so deeply concerned".[911]

It is, however, important to note that church extension was reliant upon voluntary giving, and such arguments may have been adapted to offer persuasion for potential investors. Indeed, the Society was quite explicit in calling for local owners of industry to contribute to the cause given the benefits that it would have upon their workers and levels of output, making their philanthropy not entirely benevolent: a profit of sorts was offered for any financial assistance. Similarly, such donations would be a way of either entering or cementing the position of the donor amongst local élites, both as a visible show of wealth and to display willingness to engage with the public sphere. The Society regularly appealed to employers in areas nearby to sites of proposed churches, seeking a contribution towards building costs on grounds of the "importance of having a Church planted in the midst of their workmen and servants", lest they remain in spiritual destitution.[912] Speaking of a new church built in Calton in the east end, located next to a brewery, the Society reported:

> [We] trust that the proprietors of the numerous public works in that
> neighbourhood will be induced to contribute liberally to aid in its
> erection, and thus manifest their desire to benefit the people connected
> with them, a blessing which cannot fail to return into their own bosom
> in the improved character and condition of the people they employ.[913]

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[909] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 11.
[910] *A full report of the speeches delivered at the great meeting [...] to further and promote the cause of the General Assembly's church accommodation scheme* (1837): p. 23. *Report of the Committee of the Church of Scotland on Church Extension* (Edinburgh: Balfour & Jack, 1836).
[911] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842): p. 10.
[912] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[913] *Fourth annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1839): p. 13.

Such benefits could even be reduced to the purely financial. When encouraging the wealthy to donate land for churches, the Society often claimed that it would prove a worthy investment and reap immediate reward:

> [F]or there is nothing which would so much conduce to enhance the value of their property as to be surrounded by a well-conditioned, educated, and Christian population, which churches and schools are so well fitted to produce, while, in witnessing the prosperity of the churches and schools themselves, and the social and spiritual blessings which they never fail to diffuse around them, they would reap their still richer and more appropriate reward.[914]

By such statements the Society revealed a further hint of its understanding of the geographies of Glasgow, identifying the city as being made up of distinctive neighbourhoods that were economically and socially diverse, with some in need of an ecclesiastical infrastructure for moral purposes, and some – as here – to provide a healthy labour market for nearby industrial centres. On one occasion the Society considered the Biblical text, 'There is that scattereth and yet increaseth',[915] and lauded the improvements to the morals and manners of the population where churches existed, as reflected in an improved workforce, commenting also upon the positive externalities that churches could have in improving the value of property in the nearby area:

> [N]ot only are the ground and property likely to be enhanced in value by their vicinity to a handsome church, but their value cannot fail to be enhanced by the improved condition and character of the people who dwell around the church and avail themselves of its ministrations.[916]

The emphasis upon churches as a means of creating a workforce reflects the importance that Foucault placed on the production of 'docile bodies' as a central aim of disciplinary power.[917] The implicit Marxism of *Discipline and Power* suggests that Foucault saw mechanisms of discipline not simply as negative powers enforcing a rule, but as positive producers of subjects able and willing to work within the capitalist system. To a degree, the church extensionists were here arguing for a similar thing: churches and the 'moral machinery' were not just about surveillance and

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[914] *Second annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1836): p. 9.
[915] Proverbs 11:24.
[916] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): pp. 11f.
[917] Foucault, M. (1977) *op.cit*; on the Marxist credentials of *Discipline and Punish*, see Philo, C.P., 'Accumulating populations: bodies, institutions and Space', *International Journal of Population Geography*, 7 (2001): pp. 473-490.

spiritual policing, but to encourage what were deemed the virtues of moral behaviour and hard work. For while faith "teaches them [i.e. the poor] to be fervent in spirit, it teaches them also to be not slothful in business".[918]

Tangentially, the aesthetic value of new churches to the cityscape, although not presented as an important argument, was also touched upon. One anonymous author wrote in favour of building new churches for "the opportunity it would afford for beautifying the city. A stately edifice here and there throughout the city, has a fine effect, particularly if there is a steeple attached",[919] while the employment that would be needed to build these was lauded as yet another advantage.[920] As discussed earlier, this visible aspect of a church was deemed vital in many different ways as part of the 'machinery' of church extension, and as a method of drawing people's attention to the church as another way of infiltrating the daily life of the individual within a given locale.[921]

Again, though, there is need to be cautious in overemphasising the importance of arguments mentioning the monetary rewards of extension, for the machinery of church extension did not promise that people would be transformed into masters of their trade, but rather that they would gain from the ubiquitous moral benefits understood to derive from faith and from the improved education that was offered alongside, making them loyal and willing workers for the benefit of their employers. Echoing the evangelical concern of church extension, it was still argued that the main purpose of these churches was to redeem the lost rather than to improve the workforce, for "[w]hatever skill and knowledge they [workers] may possess for prosecuting their secular employments, yet, without the knowledge of the Gospel, they must be lost to all that is valuable as immortal and accountable beings".[922] As such, advocates of the 'machinery' were at pains to stress that money spent on providing churches was not a waste, but essential to the health and happiness of the

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[918] Chalmers, T., *The advantages and possibility of assimilating a town to a country parish* (1821): p. 19.
[919] 'A Coach', *Reasons for and against the proposed measure* (1813): p. 7.
[920] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[921] See Chapter 5. For a discussion on the aesthetics of power and the power of aesthetics in the context of religious buildings, see Harvey, D., 'Monument and myth', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 69 (1979): pp. 362-381.
[922] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 18.

city. Even so, commercial interests and the balancing of the Town Council's books were comparatively insignificant when compared to the redemption of the soul. Local industrialists, however, may have reached a different conclusion.

'A Nation's Cheap Police'?

The advantages of church extension were not seen purely in terms of building a stronger, more cohesive population of improved morals and manners: it was also taken to be an effective method of deconstructing the immorality and profligacy that many thought prevalent within the city, acting as a disciplinary force to police the behaviour of individuals by directly acting upon their minds and souls. By doing so, the 'moral machinery' was promoted as the prevention rather than a cure of crime, and arguments explicitly drew upon the economic benefits as a means of reducing the burden upon the city jail and decreasing the need for – and hence cost of – a police in the city:

> Plant churches, for the accommodation of the poor [...] and you will do
> more to reform the manners of the age, to check the progress of vice,
> and to advance the peace and morality of the community, than by
> thousands expended in the erection of bridewells and houses of
> correction. Charity employed in the preventing of crime is charity
> indeed: that which is employed in correcting it, is often more
> selfishness.[923]

The Society here offered two distinct disciplinary landscapes: one of churches and a flourishing, stable urban environment of moral, educated inhabitants, against a penal landscape of incarceration and immorality. What appeared on the surface to be an act of benevolence in providing new churches could underneath be interpreted as an attempt at social control. In a different context, writing of faith groups in antebellum America, Griffin suggests that it was fears of civil violence, especially centred on places considered 'ungodly', that encouraged religious societies of ostensibly benevolent intent to embark upon strategies of social control to encourage moral restraint and civil obedience. [924] While the context of which he wrote is quite different from the situation in Glasgow, there were commonalities, such as the fear of social disorder and subsequent conviction that "[o]nly the precepts of religion could

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[923] Brown, T., *On the Church of Scotland as the church of the poor* (Glasgow: W. Collins, 1835): p. 13.
[924] Griffin, C.S., 'Religious benevolence as social control, 1815-1860', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (1957): pp. 423-44.

establish social tranquillity",[925] the assurance that the Bible served as a "moral police",[926] and the certainty that "without the Gospel the body politic would sicken and decline".[927] Examining religious activity in Aberdeen after the Disruption, MacLaren argues similarly that the intent behind missionary work and educational provision in particular was the security of society and its order,[928] creating "a web of institutions seeking to impose values and norms" upon the working class.[929]

It was as an effective means of discipline, preventing societal ills from ever taking place in a way that the police or an apparatus for punishing criminals could not, that church extension was promoted as necessary to the community, based upon the principle that "a moral is a far mightier operation than a physical force in controlling the elements of political disorder".[930] To place religion into the soul of the individual was to transform one's behaviour away from the criminal by using all the subtle mechanisms of the 'machinery',[931] engendering a fear of God therein, outweighing any potential gain from criminal behaviour. For as Buchanan noted, "cultivating a spirit of the fear of the Lord, became the best security for the peace and prosperity of the nation".[932] The presence of fear, though not heavily emphasised, was implicit in many of the arguments in favour of extension, including accounts offering prophetic visions of the future state of the city were the irreligious to dominate, but also as a necessary aspect of preventing trouble, by impacting the dread of consequences into the individual. As one minister commented, drawing upon a Biblical passage, "'[t]he fear of the Lord that is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding'. Without this, corruption and vice will take their natural course".[933]

A form of police had been present in Glasgow from the beginning of the nineteenth century, established in 1800 in accordance with an Act of Parliament seemingly

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[925] *Ibid.*, p. 437.
[926] *Ibid.*, p. 442.
[927] *Ibid.*, p. 434.
[928] MacLaren, A.A. (1974) *op.cit.*, pp. 144f.
[929] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[930] Chalmers, T., *Considerations on the system of parochial schools in Scotland* (1820): p. 533.
[931] See Chapter 5.
[932] Buchanan, R., *Speech of the Rev R Buchanan [...] delivered at a public meeting of the friends of the Church of Scotland* (1835): p. 3.
[933] *A sermon preached in behalf of the Church Accommodation Society, at Glasgow, on Sabbath the 10th of January* (1834): p. 29. The Biblical passage is taken from Job 28: 28.

sought on grounds of "increasing lawlessness in the city".[934] Run under local instruction by a commissioner and police board, independent from the Town Council, the force was made up of officers and 'watchmen', who patrolled the city by a system of beats, initially working at night only. The formation of the force was prior to the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 and subsequent creation of the Metropolitan Police,[935] and remained under local superintendence until the second half of the century, albeit taken over by the Council in 1846.[936] At the time of the church extension movement their duties were primarily of surveillance and the maintenance of order, with that remit extending to all forms of order in the streets, including the task of street sweeping, with such duties leading Ogborn to suggest that the fundamental purpose of the police was to establish order in public spaces.[937]

Lapslie had been clear on the advantages and efficacy of the policing aspect of churches, speaking of them as "the best mode which could be devised to check the growth of vice, to prevent crimes, and preserve decency of deportment and regularity of manners",[938] a claim that chimes with Ogborn's contention. Another, writing at the same time, echoed this remark by encouraging religion as worthy of the promotion of the Town Council on the grounds that it was "a most *efficient police*, the grand agent in promoting obedience to the laws, and giving security to our property, characters, and lives".[939] Such claims were reiterated by the Society, who suggested:

> By the efforts which the gospel never fails to produce on the character and condition of those among whom it is furnished, that Christianity operates more powerfully than all other means to promote the tranquillity and happiness of society.[940]

The emphasis upon the obedience and security that extension could encourage betrayed a concern amongst those in favour of church extension that society was unsettled and in danger of falling into unrest, which manifested itself in another series

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[934] Grant, D., *The Thin Blue Line: The Story of the City of Glasgow Police* (London: John Long, 1973): p. 15.
[935] Emsley, C., *The English Police: A Political and Social History* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991).
[936] Grant, D. (1973) *op.cit.*, p. 28.
[937] Ogborn, M. (1993) *op.cit.*
[938] Lapslie, J., *Letters addressed to the magistrates and council of Glasgow [...] anent accommodation in churches* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1811): p. 48.
[939] 'Philos-Ecclesiae' [anon.], *Examination of the eight resolutions adopted by a meeting of gentlemen [...] anent building and endowing additional churches* (Glasgow: J. Hedderwick and Co., 1813): p. 32.
[940] *Second annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1836): p. 10.

of arguments that promoted the policing aspect of church extension as a way of preventing revolution; for "[i]t is plain, that the only effectual and by far the cheapest remedies for the evils of society are moral and religious, and that something in this way *must* be done, if men would avert revolution and ensure peace and security".[941] The overturning of the status quo was one of the greatest fears for many in the upper stratum of society and thus many involved in the Church, for whom the secularist song of Madame Guillotine and the bloody images of Peterloo were living memories of which the still flammable radical unrest in their own city provided a stark reminder.[942] Revolution came to be a constant theme in arguments in favour of the 'machinery', likely encouraged by the continuing fear of working-class unrest in Glasgow. One clergyman, describing events in France, made clear his concern that the current irreligious state of his own city was in danger of ending up in similar straits of class war and bloodshed, lest religion act as a salve to cool the insurgent fervour:

> And, in more recent times, and in a neighbouring country, have we not seen to what guilty excesses men will run – excesses which carry with them their own punishment in the Reign of Terror which they established – when infidel opinions have taken the place of religious principles, and the restraints of law and morality have been burst asunder by the violence of unbridled passions.[943]

The Society similarly warned that the spread of infidelity and atheism "will speedily be followed by the lightening and the hail of human suffering, in all forms of revolution, bloodshed, and death".[944] Ecclesiastical concerns over the security of the country were evident at the national level too, as the General Assembly had expressed on several occasions in its annual letter to the Crown.[945] Chalmers was meanwhile engaged in regular correspondence with William Wilberforce, MP of an evangelical persuasion and figurehead of the anti-slavery campaign, about the increasing radicalism within the city, although, while lamenting this, he did offer the judgement that it attracted "only a woeful minority of our whole population".[946] Despite being impressed by the willingness of the Dissenting churches to speak against the

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[941] Anonymous, 'Church accommodation – objection of unlet seats', in *The Church of Scotland Magazine*, 1(3) (1834): p. 95.
[942] See Chapter 3.
[943] Roxburgh, J., *The nature and design of God's judgements* (1832): p. 11.
[944] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 48.
[945] *An Abridgement of the Acts of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, from the year 1638 to 1820 inclusive* (Edinburgh: 1821).
[946] Letter from Thomas Chalmers to William Wilberforce, 18th April, 1820 [reproduced in Hanna, W. (ed.) *Memoirs of Chalmers* vol.2 (Edinburgh: Constable, 1850): p. 264].

revolutionary spirit, and lauding especially the Congregationalist clergyman Greville Ewing, he remained convinced that "nothing but the multiplication of our Established Churches [...] will ever bring us back again to a sound and wholesome state of the body politic",[947] a position repeated by many in favour of church extension who recognised "that the religious Institutions and Establishments of our country form the mightiest bulwarks against revolution and overthrow".[948]

Only the building of more churches, it was suggested, could provide a sufficient barrier to subdue the turbulence present within the urban community. Indeed, "[i]t would do more than reclaim a parish – it would go far to domesticate it".[949] Only the truths of the Christian gospel were thought able to cool passions, not through pacification but by realigning the soul:

> It is when the waters of the sanctuary are turned in among them that a benign and healing influence is diffused throughout the corrupted mass. It is when Christianity exerts its sanctifying and subduing power over their hearts that an unseen but gracious operation is going on to melt and mellow down their stubborn, turbulent spirits [...] soft and gentle does the good Word of God fall upon the ears and descend upon the hearts of the people; and entering there with power, it subdues and binds the strong man armed, and casts him out.[950]

The moralising of the individual was one way that churches could be effective in quelling social unrest, but they were also deemed beneficial in providing a space where all classes could interact, allowing the possibility for the realisation of a balm of affection that might spread between people from all levels of the societal hierarchy, "soothing and reconciling" the different classes of the community,[951] while providing the poor with the example of their supposed superiors – a powerful component of the 'moral machinery'. It was also thought that, as it was God's will that society be ordered in this way, making people realise this plan, recognising their (often lowly) place within the hierarchy of the community, would go some way to tempering unrest. Indeed, many of the arguments around the issue of church extension were revealing of the attitudes held towards questions of class and the rightful ordering of the community, the condition that was thought necessary for society to prosper. That

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[947] *Ibid.*, p. 264.
[948] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 45.
[949] Chalmers, T., *Considerations on the system of parochial schools in Scotland* (1820): p. 534.
[950] Letter from Thomas Chalmers to William Wilberforce, 18th April, 1820 [reproduced in Hanna, W. (ed.) *Memoirs of Chalmers* vol.2 (Edinburgh: Constable, 1850): pp. 38f.].
[951] Chalmers, T., *Considerations on the system of parochial schools in Scotland* (1820): p. 535.

society should be categorised into separate orders, as was political orthodoxy at the time, was held almost unanimously, but even more so – and thus granting it extra authority in the ecclesiastical sphere – this shape of society was understood to be the materialisation of divine ordination, in which the social division of labour was functional to the social whole:

> It is the manifest will of Heaven that mankind should subsist together in different orders. God has wisely diversified their condition, that society might thereby be more closely bound together; their differences of condition creating their mutual dependence on, and rendering them mutually beneficial to each other.[952]

As Hart notes, this notion that social inequality descended from on high was a closely held, nearly universal agreed standard throughout the majority of the nineteenth century, suggesting that the "social system derives from God, who willed different grades and orders of society and an inequality of ranks, wealth and power".[953] Parsons reinforces this analysis, claiming that Christianity in Victorian Britain "was indeed addicted to the presentation of Christian doctrine and morality as a means of supporting and justifying the existing social order and controlling the lower social classes".[954] Furthermore, he adds another strata of explanation by tracing this position to an understanding of the economy not dissimilar to that offered by Adam Smith, whereby poverty and wealth are seen as determined by economic laws based upon natural principles that reflect the divinely organised world. As such, "it would be impious as well as fruitless to contemplate the transformation of the social structure itself".[955]

Curiously, a similar set of arguments is uncovered by Kearns as justification for public health strategies around the same time. He suggests that orthodox claims about the market, as a phenomenon which "rested on natural forces and replicated the morality of nature",[956] became transposed to incorporate environmentalist themes which presumed disease to flourish in spatial settings of poverty and dirt, much as irreligion became tied to poverty and intemperance in the minds of the church extensionists.

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[952] Brown, T., *On the Church of Scotland as the church of the poor* (1835) p. 2.
[953] Hart, J. (1992) *op.cit.*, p. 108.
[954] Parsons, G., 'Social control to social gospel: Victorian Christian social attitudes', in Parsons, G. (ed.) *Religion in Victorian Britain: II – Controversies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988): pp. 40f.
[955] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[956] Kearns, G. (1988) *op.cit.*, p. 194.

Extending this, Kearns claims that it was thought that state intervention was a means of returning the natural harmony to the markets that had been lost, as "[n]ature ensured a harmony between the short-term pursuit of rational self-interest and the long-term welfare of both individual and society".[957] This is not dissimilar to Seed's identification of Unitarian theology as a means of legitimising the social position of the middle class, justifying wealth and worldly success as the blessing of Providence, and in the process vindicating certain social values and the means of achieving this success.[958] As such, the ordering of society was considered to be divinely ordained in the sense that merits considered holy were seen to help individuals prosper, justifying the wealth of the bourgeoisie while granting them spiritual superiority to back up their elevated social position. As Griffin describes, the teaching of many religious societies was that "[t]hose who succeeded in their earthly life had trod the right path; thus, those who did not deserve to be rich remained poor".[959] This, he suggests, reflected the leadership of most societies, which was usually made up of people "of rising social and economic station"[960] who "saw in the benevolent groups a hopeful means of keeping society godly and orderly, stable and quiet".[961]

This viewpoint was reflected in the operation of the Society too, as it openly indulged in discrimination based upon wealth and protected the decision-making process of the élite by granting voting rights only to those who contributed a minimum donation of £50,[962] an equivalent criterion to the ownership of property for civic municipal and Parliamentary elections, but with a far higher threshold. Similarly, a change in the by-laws of the Society during the late-1830s allowed members to retain the rights of ministerial election in each church even after a Kirk Session had been appointed; and while this was in part to do with the coming secession, it can be seen as an indication that the Society's overseers did not have confidence in the ordinary, poorer members. Thus, church extension can be seen as being driven by a paternalist élite, content to secure their authority by means of an open purse at the cost of the voice of those who they sought to help. Such ideas did not go without resistance. St Mark's congregation,

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[957] *Ibid.*, p. 196.
[958] Seed, J. (1986) *op.cit.*
[959] Griffin (1957) *op.cit.*, p. 439.
[960] *Ibid.*, p. 426.
[961] *Ibid.*, p. 428.
[962] *Constitution and regulations of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow*, (n.d.) Regulation VI.

for example, opposed interference in congregational affairs by the Society and regretted that elitism on the basis of financial status was allowed, claiming that this was a way of "giving the merely rich a controlling and prepondering influence in the Church", [963] and contesting "whether, because you have subscribed a given sum of money, you are therefore entitled to use this spiritual franchise". [964] In contrast, they argued that spiritual rights should not be vested in the rich alone, but in all people – or more specifically all men, as they did not propose universal franchise – because still more important than the amount given was the means available to the giver and the motivations for giving:

> The rich man does not discharge his duty more effectually than the poor man, because he contributes more; neither does the poor man discharge his duty less effectually, than the rich man, because he contributes less. [965]

The clearest exposition on the order of society that church extension sought to maintain was found in the work of Chalmers, whose influence can be traced through later work of others. For him, church extension could only be a means, with the end found in the continuance of an ordered, hierarchal and Christian society that many believed to be the will of God:

> There appears to be nothing in the progress of religion which is at all calculated to level the gradation of human ranks, or to do away the distinctions of human society. Not to annihilate poverty, for it is said of the poor that they shall be with us always; not to bring down from their eminence the authorities of the land, for there is positively nothing in the Bible that can lead us to infer that even under the peace and righteousness of a millennial age there will not be kings and queens upon the earth. […] The kingdoms of the earth may become the kingdoms of God and of His Christ with all the external frameworks of these present governments, and at least with all these varieties of outward condition which are offered at this moment to the view of the observer. [966]

While concerned with the "mighty unfilled space interposed between the high and low of […][the] city", [967] reflecting both the material inequalities and the spatial distance between the classes, and clearly showing concern for the welfare of the poorer, Chalmers nevertheless believed in the status quo and did not intend to upset it. The

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[963] *Memorial from St Mark's congregation, Anderston, to the Glasgow Church Building* Society (1842): p. 16.
[964] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[965] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[966] Chalmers, T., quoted in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, pp. 202f.
[967] Chalmers, T., *Statement in regard to the pauperism in Glasgow* (1823): p. 28.

poor were not to become improved so much as to rise in status, but rather made to understand and accept their role at the bottom of the class hierarchy. As Chalmers told a gathering of his parishioners at the opening of one Sabbath school:

> [M]ost assuredly it is not that they [the poor] may aspire after an elevated condition that I would have them all to be learned, but to bless and dignify and to pour a moral and literary lustre over the condition they already occupy.[968]

For the purpose of education was:

> [N]ot to hoist, as it were, the great ponderous mass of society up into the air where it could have no foundation to support it, but supposing that mass to rest and be stationary on its present basis, to diffuse through it the light both of common and of Christian intelligence.[969]

This was to use churches and the parochial mechanism as a means of pacifying radical tendencies, of allowing a certain accommodation to prevent a larger tide of unrest. Chalmers' concerns certainly appeared less related to the amelioration of social inequity out of principles of fairness or appreciation of basic rights, and more to do with the giving of 'a little' in order to assuage moral and political danger or the cost of dealing with uprisings:

> [I]f vice and ignorance stand together in nearly perpetual association – if an uneducated people be more formidable in their discontent, and more loathsome in their profligacy, and more improvident in their economical habits, and more hardened in all the ways of wickedness and impious profanation, than a people possessed of the Bible, and capable of using it, – then, we cannot look on the progress of that undoubted decay [...] which is every day becoming more conspicuous in our towns, without inferring a commensurate progress in those various elements of mischief, which go to feed and to augment all our moral and all our political disorders.[970]

The role of religion within Britain during this period as a factor in preventing revolution has been well documented, especially with reference to Dissenting denominations. Halévy's classic thesis contends that, alongside bourgeois religious motivations as robbing the proletariat of leaders, the teaching of non-conformism promoted a Puritanism that encouraged individualism and restraint rather than collective action. Some, like Hobsbawm[971] and Yeo,[972] counter that religion was not

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[968] Chalmers, T., quoted in Hanna, W. (1850) *op.cit.*, p. 244.

[969] *Ibid.*, pp. 244f.

[970] Chalmers, T., *Considerations on the system of parochial schools in Scotland* (1820): p. 527.

[971] Hobsbawm, E., *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964).

necessarily contrary to radicalism and that both could and did operate together; others, such as Thompson[973] and Moore,[974] note the implicit radicalism of all non-conformism, but point to the anti-revolutionary teaching of Methodist leaders. Crucially, though, the church extension movement was attached to the Established Church of Scotland rather than Dissent, and thus the situation was inevitably different. Hart, however, points to the theme of civil obedience as commonplace in the teaching of churches at this time. As she claims, it was argued that:

> [T]he world of mankind as it is, society in its conventional forms and in all its civil and domestic institutions, was created by God and is part of his divine purpose. The machinery of society is approved by him [.][...] Some preachers go so far as to see value in obedience itself, and not in its object; but it is more usual for some goal such as the maintenance of order or of the *status quo* or of religion to be at least implied.[975]

While similar themes echoed throughout the many arguments for church extension, very few offered explicit comments on the social task of the movement, and, notably, the Glasgow Church Building Society did not once express openly the nature of societal ordering that it felt most appropriate, although discussion of other matters suggests consistency with the thought of Chalmers, as do the writings of some influential members. The Society was clear though that, as in the eyes of God, so in churches all people were to be treated equally, asking if it be right that "churches should be erected accessible to the rich, while the poor are excluded".[976] Indeed, some of the churches that they built, St Matthews in Anderston for instance, were built for the specific purpose of accommodating both the wealthy and the working class,[977] creating social mixing through spatial engineering. At the same time, not all were convinced that the Church's role lay in creating societal order. James Gibson, minister of the College Church and supporter of church extension, wrote a pamphlet intended for the poor of the community, arguing that the General Assembly's scheme was designed purely for their benefit;[978] the Rev JG Lorimer of St David's Church, another proponent of the Society, lauded its ambitions in helping the 'humbler

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[972] Yeo, E., 'Christianity in Chartist struggle, 1838-1842', *Past and Present* (1981): pp. 109-139.
[973] Thompson, E.P. (1991) *op.cit.*
[974] Moore, R. (1973) *op.cit.*
[975] Hart, J. (1992) *op.cit.*, p. 124.
[976] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 15.
[977] *Fourth annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1837): p. 11.
[978] Gibson, J., *The poor man's enemies exposed, being a plain statement of matters of fact, principally for the consideration of the poor themselves* (Glasgow: W. Collins & Co., n.d. [1835]).

classes'.[979] Buchanan spoke on the importance of endowment as a means of securing worship for those unable to otherwise afford it,[980] while Collins eloquently argued that "[t]he Church of Scotland, in short, must again be made what she was originally designed to be, the church of the people, and especially the church of the poor".[981]

Banner suggests that this is an often overlooked aspect of religious benevolence by those who favour an interpretation of social control, as religious organisations did not necessarily take up social activities to establish order, but as a reflection of their humanitarian ideologies or as a reflection of their adjustment to changing conditions of society.[982] In this analysis, church extension could be seen as a manifestation of both: reflective of an evangelical impulse especially directed towards the poorest in society, but also an attempt to reinforce the Church of Scotland's place in the new world of industrialisation and urbanisation. Studying the provision of education by religious bodies in Glasgow a short time after church extension, Hillis agrees with Banner than an interpretation of social control alone is "too simplistic a theory since it ignores several other important motive forces",[983] not least the social kudos gained from supporting philanthropic schemes and a genuine evangelical drive to take the gospel to all people.

Nevertheless, while more sympathetic and perhaps 'purer' in motivation, these claims were not necessarily inconsistent with the views of Chalmers, who stressed the importance of people from all steps on the social hierarchy meeting together, so that a bond of 'affection' might be created between them, an idea that both T. Brown and McCorkle would later reinforce.[984] The aforementioned Lorimer, for instance, also found room to note that "religion is essential to the temporal welfare of nations,

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[979] Lorimer, J.G., *The poor man's church defended* (Glasgow: W. Collins & Co., 1835).

[980] Buchanan, R., *On the nature and importance of the question at issue* (Glasgow: W. Collins & Co., 1835).

[981] Collins, W., *The Church of Scotland the poor man's church* (Glasgow: W. Collins & Co., n.d. [1835]): p. 2.

[982] Banner, L.W., 'Religious benevolence as social control: a critique of an interpretation', *Journal of American History*, vol. 60 (1973): pp. 23-41.

[983] Hillis, P., 'Education and evangelisation, Presbyterian missions in mid-nineteenth century Glasgow', *The Scottish Historical Review*, LXVI, 1, 181 (1987): p. 52.

[984] McCorkle, R., *On the parochial system of the Church of Scotland as essential to the christianisation of the country* (1835): p. 20. Brown, T., *On the Church of Scotland as the church of the poor* (1835): p. 3.

preventing poverty and crime, and securing good order and subjection to law".[985] Even Collins, while seemingly speaking in support of the poor, hints at an understanding of faith as a tool to effect something akin to what Thompson describes as the "chiliasm of despair":[986]

> Let them multiply her [i.e. the Church of Scotland's] churches, until the whole poor of the people may have access to her sanctuaries, and there enjoy the light and the lessons of that blessed gospel, by which, through divine grace, they may be fitted, after the toils, and sufferings, and privations of the present life have closed, to ascend into the regions of celestial light and beauty, to minister around God's holy throne for eternity.[987]

The most explicit comments on the rightful ordering of society tended to be delivered at times of particular tension between different classes in the city, explaining perhaps the rush of texts around the late-1810s and early-1820s when civil unrest in Glasgow was at its height, compared to the comparative quietude of later years that may be reflective of less turbulent times. As Rev. John Roxburgh preached in a sermon in St David's:

> [I]f we fail to minister to the spiritual cravings of the poor, while seeking to sustain them against the pressure of sickness and want, the world abounds to those who would minister to their passions – who will industriously disseminate amongst them the moral poison distilled from their own corrupted hearts, until the whole mass has become depraved and polluted: And, from the ruin thereby brought on the nation, will the peaceful, and the intelligent, and the opulent, as assuredly suffer in their dearest interests.[988]

In 1820, at the time when the Council had stationed the army in the city over fears of an imminent radical uprising, the Rev John Ferrie preached before the city Magistrates a sermon on 'The Distinction of Rich and Poor, in Society', which so impressed the Councillors that they encouraged him to publish it on the grounds that "it might have some influence at the present period, on the minds of the labouring part of the community",[989] suggesting that it was an opinion acceptable to them. In the sermon he proposed that, while the superficial observer may conclude that society is

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[985] Lorimer, J.G., *The poor man's church defended* (1835): p. 1.
[986] Thompson, E.P. (1991) *op.cit.*, pp. 411f.
[987] Collins, W., *The Church of Scotland the poor man's church* (n.d. [1835]): p. 8.
[988] Roxburgh, J., *The nature and design of God's judgements* (1832): p. 37.
[989] Ferrie, J., *The distinction of rich and poor, in society, of God's appointment, and highly illustrative of his goodness* (Glasgow: Andrew & John Duncan, 1820): p. 3 (preface).

unfairly ordered, "the distinction of rich and poor is of God's ordaining"[990] and is based upon a wisdom that we may not be able to understand, for the protection of all, and "is perfectly compatible with the *goodness* of God".[991] He then attempted to prove this by showing that social gradation has existed in all times and places, from the biblical world to the oldest communities that exist without governance or law, such ubiquity suggesting that it must be the natural arrangement stemming from the heavenly order. On this basis the poor should learn to accept their position, but the wealthy in turn should also recognise the necessity of showing care to lower orders for the sake of community stability:

> [W]hile we would most earnestly and feelingly impress it upon the minds of the poor that it is their duty, in ordinary circumstances, to be contented under the wise arrangements of heaven, and resigned and patient when they are visited with temporary suffering […] we would also urge it upon those in the upper walks of life, as a duty to which humanity, as well as religion, invites them, to come forward to the relief of their poorer and suffering brethren. Let them remember, that though the poor stand on the lower ground of society, society owes most of its stability, and splendour, and wealth, to their exertions.[992]

For all people to recognise their place in the order of society as determined by God, and for everyone to play their part therein, was thus understood to be necessary for the peacefulness of civil society, and the only way to escape the radical overtures to unrest. Yet opposition to radicalism manifested through church extension was not enacted purely on grounds of the protection of the status quo, nor just as an attempt by the middle class to safeguard their own position – although neither interpretation is without weight – but because it promised an alternative order to society that was seemingly contrary to the will of God. As such, there was a feeling that to arrange social relations in any way contrary to divine will could only end in strife. For, as Ferrie went on to say:

> [B]ut for the present allotment of things, society would be a scene of perpetual anarchy; men would speedily revert to their original savage condition, and even there, if the distinction of rich and poor were not permitted, the world itself would go to ruin.[993]

On the other hand, this might be interpreted through a Foucauldian glass as an attempt to empower the discourse of a hierarchical society by granting the narrative divine

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[990] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[991] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[992] *Ibid.*, pp. 32f.
[993] *Ibid.*, pp. 15f.

authority, as in a sense it was, by virtue of the claims being invoked in sermons and other (semi-)official publications emanating from groups and individuals involved with the churches, producing and circulating a material discourse.[994] To analyse this using Barthes' deconstructions of myth reveals an attempt to establish a process that is historical – the separation of humanity into a hierarchy of orders – as a thing that is natural, by virtue of it flowing from the will of the creator, thus positing it as something good, right and normal.[995] *In extremis*, this approach could interpret the 'truth' of a divinely-designed social hierarchy as a way of occluding the processes and the people perpetuating social inequity, with the churches contributing to this by policing and reinforcing the theological narrative of division. In suggesting that social suppression was a deliberate act and intention, this suggestion does go beyond the limits of the evidence, however, and equally problematically ignores the theological contentions and articles of faith that underpinned the thinking of those who made such statements. More appropriately, Barthes' form of analysis opens the door for an appreciation of the strength of such 'truth claims' (and, indeed, the power of the pulpit) when communicated by those who claim authority as representatives of the divine.

'Godliness is Profitable': The Economic Imperative

While saving souls and improving the morality of the community were considered central to the project of church extension, another chief reason given in its favour was that it was ultimately a cheaper means of protecting the security of the people, or, as a more critical perspective might suggest, a cheaper means of ensuring the reproduction of the labour force. Building upon the premise that religion is less a cure than a means of prevention, church extension was put forward as an investment in terms of both economics and safety, protecting against future costs of policing and poverty by use of a preventative machinery. For as one minister, using distinctly Malthusian language, commented:

> [I]f they [i.e. middle-class churchgoers] do not pay for schools and
> churches, they will pay, and that far more highly, for crime [...] And
> they will in the end pay a tremendous arrear, in the convulsions of that
> national bankruptcy which pauperism, and irreligion, and crime, left

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[994] For an analysis of Foucault's understanding of the production of discourse, see Philo, C.P., 'Thoughts, words, and "creative locational acts"', in Boal F.W. & Livingstone, D.N. (eds.) *The Behavioural Environment* (London: Routledge, 1989): pp. 205-234.
[995] Barthes, R., *Mythologies* (London: Vintage, 2000).

without a moral check, will sooner or later work out, and which that
God will assuredly bring as a judgement upon us, who considers what is
taken away from the support of His own cause as a robbing of
Himself.[996]

The Church Building Society was quite explicit in welcoming church extension as a method of cutting costs, estimating that such a scheme could save the Town Council between eight and ten thousand pounds each year, and given that "instruction is better than punishment, for the repression of crime", so this 'machinery' "commends itself to us not more by its superior efficacy, than by its superior cheapness"![997] Its motivation in making this argument could be explained by the overlapping membership, but perhaps more as an attempt to encourage support for the Society from the rest of the Council which had been reticent of late in loosening purse strings for ecclesiastical expenditure.[998] Indeed, at times the concern over societal ills was framed more around the cost of churches than the moral problem, causing one minister unashamedly to offer assurance that "the extension of the means of grace would diminish pauperism and prevent crime – evils which are the source of an immense growing public expenditure".[999] Generally a more moderate approach was taken, reflecting the conviction that the building of more churches would cost less than providing a police for the city, and recognising that, while "the diminution of crime itself is the chief good to be considered, yet the subordinate consideration of its influence in diminishing the expenditure for the repression and punishment of crime, must not be overlooked".[1000] It was, to the mind of many apologists for extension, a choice between a small sacrifice now or a greater cost later, again returning to the presumptions that there would be either an ecclesiastical or a carceral landscape:

> If we will not build them churches we must build them poor-houses,
> police offices, bridewells, and jails. The people will cost us; and, if this
> cost be spared, in providing for their more substantial and enduring
> interests they will subject us to heavier costs in numerous other forms.
> The vast disproportion between them we are beginning severely to feel.
> We have a poor's assessment, for the relief of their poverty and disease,
> which, with the collections, cost us £18,000 a-year. We have a police

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[996] McCorkle, R., *On the parochial system of the Church of Scotland as essential to the Christianisation of the Country* (1835): p. 21.
[997] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 10.
[998] See Chapter 4.
[999] Lorimer, J.G., *The poor man's church defended* (1835): p. 4.
[1000] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842): p. 33.

establishment, for the punishment and repression of their profligacy and crimes, which also costs us £18,000 a-year. And we have an ecclesiastical Establishment, for their religious instruction, which does not cost the Corporation £1000 a-year! What a contrast does this exhibit to what wisdom and sound policy would have dictated.[1001]

The positioning of the authors within this quote, contrasting between 'us' and 'them', is revealing of the presumption amongst those who promoted church extension about who were the religious members of society, positing the wealthy as Christian and the working class as not, but it also suggests that their motives may not have been entirely philanthropic. Despite assurances that extension was foremost about the saving of souls, and, indeed, despite the criticisms directed towards the Town Council for its focus on the economic interests of the Burgh rather than the spiritual health of citizens, the main concern that the Society reflected here was the potential economic costs of failure to build more churches, and the dangers to society and the status quo, if it was not supported. Of course, this may have depended upon precisely to whom the arguments were aimed, although both set of claims – the religious and the social – tended to be used in tandem rather than specifically targeted at particular audiences. Others were willing to be even more explicit, arguing that the 'machinery' should be supported to ensure that the Christian – or wealthy – should not be expected to have the problems of the irreligious impinge upon their lifestyles. As Collins claimed, treading a finely balanced path between evangelism and social control:

[I]t is neither right, on the one hand, that [...] thousands of our people should be allowed to perish in ignorance and guilt; nor, on the other, that the peaceful and Christian portion of the community should be subjected to the annoyance and the burden of their poverty and crimes.[1002]

It was not only in costs of policing and imprisoning that monetary savings could be found. As Chalmers first proposed, it was widely held that an active parochial church, wherein poor relief was provided from moral rather than legal obligation and where Christian values were promoted, would significantly diminish levels of pauperism, in part by making the 'machinery' more effective in directing aid to the places where it was most needed. Nonetheless, there was also a sense of wishing to encourage the merits of work and so provide an avenue out of poverty,[1003] perhaps reflecting a naïve

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[1001] *Ibid*., pp. 30f.
[1002] Collins, W., *The Church of Scotland the poor man's church* (1835): p. 8.
[1003] Chalmers, T., *Connection between church extension and the extinction of pauperism* (1817).

understanding that presumes the cause of poverty to be human agency and anticipating an element of social mobility that may not have been possible in practice.

The Politics of Extension: Changing Relations of Church and State

Chief amongst the criticisms of church extension was that it embodied an overtly political scheme, with opponents pointing to the call for state endowments of new churches as evidence of inherent Toryism. Church extension, it was argued, was intended to secure and indeed to strengthen the position of the Established Church at the expense of Dissent, maintaining a position of market advantage contrary to free market principles in matters of religion, while ensuring the continuation of the status quo. This objection intensified after the Church applied in 1834 to Lord Melbourne, the Whig Prime Minister, for financial support,[1004] with hostility coming from Voluntary Dissenters directed towards the national plan, but also with sizeable dissent within Glasgow too.

The influence of Chalmers, a well known supporter of the Tory cause, did not help eliminate this impression, while other outspoken proponents of church extension such as Robert Buchanan were known to have similar leanings. The claim was not entirely accurate, though, as the movement was home to many of different political persuasions. John Colquhoun,[1005] President of the Glasgow Church Building Society, stood under a radical banner when he was elected in 1832 as representative for Dumbartonshire; Henry Dunlop, magistrate of the city and regular financial contributor to local causes of church extension, was a Whig; David Stow sat on the Town Council in the 1830s as a non-party member. In his role as chair of the national committee on church extension, Chalmers dispatched an ardent defence of the movement as a non-political scheme, denouncing those who erroneously relegated it "from a generous undertaking for the moral wellbeing of the community at large, to a cunningly-devised method for upholding the credit of a party in the State",[1006] and

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[1004] 'Unto the Right Hon the Lord Viscount Melbourne [...] the respectful memorial of [...] the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland', from *Report of the Committee of the Church of Scotland on Church Extension* (1835): pp. 22f.

[1005] Although an Episcopalian, Colquhoun was a staunch supporter of evangelicalism and non-intrusion in the Church of Scotland. Entry on 'John Campbell Colquhoun', in Matthew, H.C.G. & Harrison, B. (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

[1006] Chalmers, T.,*Reply to an attempt to connect the cause of church accommodation with party politics* (Glasgow: W. Collins & Co., 1835): p. 1.

claiming that the eternal concerns of those in favour of extension go far beyond "the squabbles of a worthless partisanship".[1007]

Others responded that, while Dissenters may not agree with the cause, they should still be taxed for the provision of endowments for the new churches, for as members of society they would still gain advantage from the improvements to the community. Indeed, Lorimer complained that it was in fact selfish of Voluntaryists to oppose a measure on grounds of conscience when the fruits would be for the entire public good.[1008] For do they not, asked Collins, suffer from the crime and poverty that derives from ignorance and irreligion and accept taxation to deal with such symptoms? Would it not be better if they were to pay instead for a proper cure?

> And would not dissenters, equally with churchmen, reap the fruits of such a glorious transformation, and share in the advantages of a prosperous, well-conditioned, and Christian community?[1009]

Such were the presumed benefits of church extension in moral recalibration and money saving, the building of more churches was argued to be the most appropriate action that the state could take to improve the nation for all its members:

> Is it not more infinitely more just, more merciful, and more Christian, in a state to employ the funds of the nation in providing moral and religious instructors, to make men good, than in providing police-officers, and bridewells, and jails, and scaffolds, to coerce and punish them, after they have been left to grow up in ignorance and crime?[1010]

Indeed, many apologists for the 'machinery' maintained that the moral advantages and reshaped community that might emerge through it were thoroughly consistent with good secular governance. Both church and state were interested in the peacefulness, security and general wellbeing of society as a whole, while the promised economic benefits regarded as additional advantages in the ecclesiastical sphere would be central to the needs and intentions of the Government, suggesting an important link between piety, industry and progress. As one minister, speaking at a public lecture, commented:

> [R]eligion is essential to the temporal welfare of nations, preventing poverty and crime, and securing good order and subjection to law; and

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[1007] *Ibid*, p. 1.
[1008] Lorimer, J.G., *The poor man's church defended* (1835): p. 3.
[1009] Collins, W., *The Church of Scotland the poor man's church* (1835): p. 7.
[1010] Buchanan, R., *On the nature and importance of the question at issue* (1835): p. 10.

that so far as the state desires to gain these advantages, it is its duty to encourage religion, their grand parent.[1011]

It was on this basis, then, that the church extensionists positioned the state as having an obligation to provide endowments for the new Established Churches, for they were the means of "making men religious, and consequently the peaceful, orderly subjects of Civil Government".[1012] Again, this was premised as being an investment for the future that would be repaid in kind through the development of a commercially successful community of loyal, orderly and hard-working citizens, with all the benefits of cheap policing and a raising of manners and morals that the 'machinery' would bring. This development effectively foreshadowed a change in the relationship between the Church and the state, however, positing the former less as another arm of the national Establishment and more as a provider of a particular service for which payment was due. Just as a police force was publicly funded to eradicate crime in the city, poorhouses provided for paupers and builders employed to erect a new bridge over the Clyde, so it was proposed that the Church be funded to improve the morals and manners of the population, to create a loyal and fit community as a service to national needs. Drawing upon the book of Titus,[1013] the Society claimed that "what the State cannot do of itself, the Gospel does for it, and hands back to the State a peaceful, intelligent, well-conditioned, Christian population".[1014] Town hospitals produce healthy bodies; town churches provided docile bodies. For, just as only religion could enact lasting improvements in the temporal condition of the city and the betterment of society, the end for which government should be established, so the state required an active church for fulfilment of its governance:

> All their legal enactments, fiscal arrangements, and commercial encouragements, must be unavailing to benefit the nation, while the religious education of the people is neglected; for they never can substantially and permanently benefit the people but by embuing their minds with religious truth.[1015]

There still remained a degree of tension between the church extensionists and the local state as regards the priorities of funding, with many criticising what they saw as

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[1011] Lorimer, J.G., *The poor man's church defended* (1835): p. 1.
[1012] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 40.
[1013] Titus 3:1, 2 "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work, to speak evil of no man, to be no brawlers, but gentle, shewing all meekness unto all men".
[1014] *Statistics of the church accommodation of Glasgow* (1836): p. 41.
[1015] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

the Council's bad governance in increasingly placing the commercial needs of the city ahead of the spiritual wants of the community, not least since they thought that this negligence was itself the cause of poverty and ignorance. The only solution for the city to achieve progress would be to reclaim the Christian heritage, regardless of the monetary cost:

> Glasgow stands distinguished among the cities of Scotland for the mercantile enterprise of its citizens; but it is not yet forgotten that its ancient motto was, 'Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the word'. And though of late years, mercantile [enterprise] may have too much interfered with Christian enterprise, the evil of a neglected population has now grown to so great a magnitude, that it can no longer be let alone with safety; and if Glasgow is to continue to flourish, it must be by the 'preaching of the word' to the poor.[1016]

Furthermore, the proper gain to the city was not understood to mean financial reward, although this was certainly a desired secondary benefit, but the metaphorical re-creation of Glasgow as Zion, the City of God on earth.[1017] The pecuniary benefits, while important, were outweighed by the spiritual yet also social advantages, for "the great and proper return is a peaceful, intelligent, Christian, and well-conditioned community, throughout all its classes and gradations",[1018] although, notably, once more the evangelical impulse was evidently tempered by a desire to achieve a settled community.

As much as these arguments implied a shift in the role of the Church in relation to the state, resting at the heart of this was a contested understanding of what the role of the state should be, albeit manifested in a debate taking place at the local scale. The questions were fundamentally to do with headship, asking whether the Church is representative of God, and if God or a secular power was the rightful head of state. Historically in Scotland both church and state were considered to be equal under God, as two sides of the same coin. The Church was understood to represent the divine in matters spiritual and eternal; the state was ordained to manage the civil and temporal aspects of God's Kingdom on earth. As such, the state was believed to have as much a

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[1016] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 13.
[1017] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 29.
[1018] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

duty to preserve and provide for the religious health of the country as for the secular. As the Scots' Confession put it:

> [E]mpires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities are appointed and ordained by God; the powers and authorities in them, emperors in empires, kings in their realms, dukes and princes in their dominions, and magistrates in cities, are ordained by God's holy ordinance for the manifestation of His own glory and for the good and well being of all men [...] Moreover, we state that the preservation and purification of religion is particularly the duty of kings, princes, rulers, and magistrates.[1019]

Remnants of this view appear to linger in the thought of many attached to the Church, explaining their conviction that the Council should have a responsibility to fund the ecclesiastical apparatus, for it was their duty to attend to "the spiritual well-being of the people over whom they have been appointed to rule, and for whose best interests it is their sacred duty to care".[1020] The Glasgow Church Building Society was certainly convinced in this regard, claiming that it was the purpose of all "Christian and enlightened magistrates [...] to promote the peace and order of that community over whom, in the providence of God, they have been called to preside".[1021] For:

> The first and last and supreme object of our city Rulers, 'as the minister of God for good' to the people, ought ever to be to provide them amply with cheap schools and churches, as the ground means for improving their social, moral, and spiritual condition.[1022]

It was on these terms that the Council was criticised, but also it was seen as short-term governance, and seemingly at odds with the claim that investment in religion was assured to provide a safe economic future. Yet even if the Council was correct, those favouring church extension argued that the moral benefits to the community were still worth the expense, and in doing so returned to emphasise the fundamental purpose of their movement as the evangelic desire to save the soul of the citizen, claiming their "hope, that the diminution of burgh revenue will never for a moment be laid in the balance against the spiritual and eternal interests of their fellow-citizens".[1023]

[1019] *The Scots Confession of 1560* (ed. James Bulloch)(Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1960): p. 22.
[1020] *Seventh annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1842): p. 27.
[1021] *Second annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1836): p. 10.
[1022] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 17.
[1023] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 9.

Naturally, ecclesiastical Dissenters were a step back on this, preferring a greater separation between the realms of cross and sceptre. Not everyone was completely opposed to all association between the ecclesiastical and governmental arms of God's Kingdom, with Robert Kettle, for example, once a deacon with Chalmers in St John's but lately converted by the Baptist Church, commenting that the objection of Dissenters was mostly against the civil funding of religion and the potential danger that the state may overstretch into the ecclesiastical realm,[1024] "which is beyond the just and safe limits of their jurisdiction".[1025] Others even saw an advantage in having a government that acted to protect religious interests, but argued that this must be extended to all faiths rather than the Established Church alone.[1026] Many, however, entirely opposed the connection between church and state, partly on grounds that it was not biblically sanctioned, and partly on point of polity, warning that such an arrangement secularised Christianity and would allow dangers of "civil government arrogating to themselves the right of judging for their subjection in matters of religion [and the] corruption of Christian doctrine and worship receiving the sanction of public law, perpetuated under that sanction, and supported by a sinful appropriation of the national resources".[1027] Ironically, while church extension was to some degree designed to counter Dissent, these same issues would, at the same time, bring an end to the alignment of church, state and even city that the movement sought to protect, but with the break coming from within rather than without.

A 'Grand Remedy' of Enlightening

Regardless of how convincing the claim that church extension was primarily about evangelism, there was certainly more to the machinery than purely a middle class scheme to control the poor and prevent civil unrest. The evangelical drive to save souls was given primacy by most advocates, but other contemporary arguments that held authority, such as thinking on class, race and even, as some commentators suggest, the innovations of thought emanating from Enlightenment thinkers,[1028] also filtered through to impact upon the movement. The legacy and influence of such

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[1024] Kettle, R., *Compulsoryism and endowments exposed* (Glasgow: George Gallie, 1836).
[1025] *Report of the speeches [...] at the formation of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1832): p. 15.
[1026] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[1027] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[1028] Bosch, D.J., *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (New York: Orbis Books, 1991).

theories is not simple to trace. In a different context, Stanley warns against comparing the influence of the 'Age of Reason' too closely to the theories that underpinned Christian mission, as it would be wrong to presume that every line of coincidence where nineteenth-century missiology parallels Enlightenment ideas of progress is evidence of an influence from one to the other, when often the roots of the latter belong further back in time. Alternatively, despite being similar in appearance, both may have developed from distinct perspectives.[1029] It seems appropriate that this warning also be heeded in this context.

Indeed, Enlightenment has traditionally been seen as a challenge to a religious view of the world and, indeed, as the enemy of evangelicalism rather than its handmaiden, demanding "a break with the Biblical, other-worldly framework for understanding man, society and nature, as revealed in the Scripture, endorsed by the churches, rationalised in theology, and preached from the pulpit".[1030] The focus of the Age of Reason upon human reason over divine revelation, verification over belief, offered a deconstruction of the traditional authoritative pillars upon which the old world was founded, although often this move involved making the religious sphere open to rational investigation rather than being an attempt to erode it completely.[1031] Likewise, the majority of accounts identify the evangelical movement as a religious response to Enlightenment and its secularising agenda – as an attempt to reinvigorate faith over reason and reclaim the authority of scripture.[1032]

At the same time, within the Reformed tradition churches were to exist in a state of constant interaction with the world, albeit mediated through the interpretation of textual material considered scriptural, their task being continually to interpret afresh and communicate an unchanging God who is known through a sacred text that must always be read according to the contemporary cultural milieu. The Church was therefore bound to react in some way to changes in contemporary thinking, not least since many of the proponents of the new ways were either clergy or involved in the ecclesiastical sphere. In this context, then, it is important to consider the extent to

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[1029] Stanley, B., 'Christian missions and the Enlightenment: a re-evaluation', in Stanley, B. (2001) *op.cit.*, p. 6.
[1030] Porter, R., *The Enlightenment (second edition)* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001): p. 65.
[1031] Outram, D., *The Enlightenment (second edition)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[1032] Cragg, G.R., *The Church and the Age of Reason* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970); Vidler, A.R., *The Church in an Age of Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).

which mission, and especially home mission, was properly understood as a reaction to or continuation of Enlightened ideals.

Orthodoxy has recently shifted to identify the lines of convergence between Enlightenment and evangelicalism,[1033] with one commentator asserting unreservedly that the "Evangelical version of Protestantism was created by the Enlightenment",[1034] while students of missiology have also been keen to stress similar connections. The most strident proponent of the latter is Bosch,[1035] who proposed that the "entire Western missionary movement of the last three centuries emerged from the matrix of the Enlightenment".[1036] Both movements, he suggests, share similar foundational norms (correlating to those identified as being shared between evangelicalism and Enlightenment), from an understanding of humanity as a unified body and confidence in notions of progress and improvement, to a belief in the free, emancipated and autonomous human subject. It is not that evangelicalism developed immediately from the Age of Reason, but that *philosophes*' thought developed a template in the image of which Christianity was reshaped. Stanley offers a more nuanced case, suggesting that, while the Enlightenment did impact upon missionary endeavours, not all of its roots lie therein.[1037] Nevertheless, he "maintained that certain philosophical emphases current in the Enlightenment were partially, or in some instances even wholly, responsible for the way in which missionaries in the modern period reworked these long established Christian patterns of thinking".[1038] If church extension can be interpreted as a form of home mission, given its links to evangelicalism it seems necessary to consider the specifics of the Enlightenment heritage within which the extension project took place, as a potentially explanatory influence on causes and aims, allowing a window from which to assess the underlying philosophies that stimulated the movement.

[1033] Bebbington, D.W., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 2002). Hilton, B., *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988). Noll, M.A., *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1992).
[1034] Bebbington (2002) *op.cit.*, p. 74.
[1035] Bosch (1991) *op.cit.*
[1036] *Ibid.*, p. 344.
[1037] Stanley, B. (2001) *op.cit.*
[1038] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Proponents of church extension rarely discussed the effect of religion upon the individual beyond the cause and effect impact of the 'mechanism', being offered instead as an unquestioned presumption, but one anonymous author suggested a more palpable and pragmatic explanation, founded upon the conviction that religion was the most effective method of reaching into the soul of the individual, and there imprinting a disciplining message deep into a person's very being that transformed them from vice to morality:

> [R]eligion proposes the regulation of the heart, the temper, passions, and dispositions. It ascends to the *source* of all moral disease, and by its unseen, but *felt* power, heals those maladies, and subdues those evil propensities which no human policy can possibly reach. It thus aids government, and police, and becomes 'the link of society, the foundation of legislation, the bulwark of authority, and the bond of law'. I speak not, Sir, of its *doctrines* [...] I request you only to consider the influence, which a *future* accountability throws over the actions of men, the awful feeling it inspires, and the effect it has upon the mind in leading it to virtue. If, then, the preaching of the Gospel produces, through the Divine Blessing, all this; – if 'churches', from their very nature, as has been said, are so many schools of virtue, in which the people at large are taught, and regularly trained to all the duties of public and private life – to obey Magistrates – to love their country – to be sober, pious, and benevolent – to discharge, with fidelity – and on principle, whatever they owe to the station which they occupy; and to be fruitful in every good word and work; – then, in that case, he who promotes their erection and endowment, becomes one of the best friends of his country, and benefactors of his race.[1039]

In this sense, religious belief could be seen as nothing more than an instrument of greater 'reach' than any form of punishment; and, even aside from the content of teaching and doctrine of any particular faith, it was inherently of benefit as a tool of moralising. Such a position closely but curiously paralleled the claims of the arch-secularist Voltaire on the usefulness of religion as a form of social control rather than as an expression of truth,[1040] thus emptying the faith of any salvific power. In this functional, almost utilitarian depiction, religion appears as little more than a tool of discipline, much like Bentham's Panopticon, perhaps indicating Chalmers' certainty in the effectiveness of the 'machinery'.

[1039] 'Philos-Ecclesiae' [anon.], *Examination of the eight resolutions adopted by a meeting of gentlemen [...] anent building and endowing additional churches* (Glasgow: J. Hedderwick and Co., 1813): p. 33.
[1040] Outram, D. (1995) *op.cit.*, p. 34.

Such an interpretation of religion was, however, surely more extreme than most apologists for church extension would have advocated. By implication, any religion regardless of its teaching could here be seen as advantageous to society, and potentially opening up the door for the legitimisation of Dissent, a move that many otherwise in favour of the 'machinery' would have opposed. Instead, the majority suggested that it was the content of the religion that was important rather than its 'mechanical' ability, with much of the benefit deriving from how a faith can provide a proper moral example and code of behaviour for followers to learn from and respect. At the same time, it was widely held that all efforts of extension would be unfruitful if not for the working of the grace of God in the people who heard the gospel message preached, taught by a true church supported by a parochial apparatus, to enable that message to reach all people. For:

> [W]e have no faith in a mere territorial apparatus of churches and parishes, though in fullest possible equipment, if unwatered by the dew of heaven, if unblest by the favour and countenance of the living God.[1041]

Preaching was another key method that could influence the morals of the population, with the evangelical style of emotionally charged rhetoric recognised as especially effective. Again, it was not necessarily the content of the sermon that was understood to be effective, but the ability of the preacher to harness an emotional response in the hearer. Lapslie, for example, commented that the "human mind is so constituted, as to catch emotions and affections by a sort of contagion",[1042] allowing the embodied performance of the preacher to impact upon those listening. Preaching was, he said, the chief "means of opening the heart [...] penetrat[ing] the inmost recesses of the soul",[1043] suggesting once more this sense of religion as an effective instrument for the touching of one's very being. Another spoke of preaching as that which "keeps up and preserves the knowledge of the gospel, – diffuses the practical precepts of morality through all orders of men, – tends powerfully to enlighten their understandings, – throws in their minds a *stock* of new ideas [...] fruitful in

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[1041] *Report of the committee of the Church of Scotland on church extension* (1835): p. 16.
[1042] Lapslie, J., *Letters addressed to the magistrates and Council of Glasgow [...] anent accommodation in churches* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1811): p. 117.
[1043] *Ibid*, p. 118.

consequence, beneficial to society".[1044] This interpretation suggests, conversely, that content is important in providing guidance for correct forms of behaviour and educating. The particular style of preaching that sought to sway the heart rather than convince the mind was practised mostly by the evangelical wing of the church, in keeping with their preference for 'Christianising' prior to 'civilising'. As the previous quote suggests, though, while the primary effect of preaching was the evangelism of the hearers, temporal benefits could still not be detached from this effect, perhaps building again the sense that religious faith could be seen not as an end in itself but as a way of creating an improved society.

The moral benefits to the individual were understood to be manifold. Christianity was understood to lift people from habits of ignorance, irreligion, profligacy and vice,[1045] to "the decency, comfort, and moral worth which distinguishes those who are regular in their attendance on the sanctuary",[1046] with other gains said to include "faith and obedience",[1047] loyalty,[1048] temperance and "habits of sobriety and economy",[1049] and "intelligence, piety, and Christian worth".[1050] Such sentiments were voiced at the national level too, with the General Assembly's Committee on Church Extension promoting the 'machinery' as a way to ensure "the spread of intelligence and virtue among the people",[1051] that they might be "reclaimed and humanised".[1052] This was a theme picked up by Buchanan, who spoke of the need to reform the soul "by the humanizing influences of the Gospel",[1053] and as an increasing number of people within a parish turned to the Christian faith, so this moral behaviour would

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[1044] 'Philos-Ecclesiae' [anon.], *Examination of the eight resolutions adopted by a meeting of gentlemen [...] anent building and endowing additional churches* (Glasgow: J. Hedderwick and Co., 1813): p. 31. Italics original.

[1045] *Second annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1836): p. 11.

[1046] *Third annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1838): p. 26.

[1047] *Fourth annual report of the Society for Erecting Additional Parochial Churches in Glasgow and Suburbs* (1839): p. 18.

[1048] Chalmers, T., *A sermon delivered in the Tron Church [...] on the death of Princess Charlotte* (1817): pp. 21f.

[1049] Roxburgh, J., *The nature and design of God's judgements* (Glasgow: M. Ogle & D. Robertson, 1832): p. 35.

[1050] Collins, W., *The Church of Scotland the poor man's church* (1835): p. 1.

[1051] *Report of the committee of the Church of Scotland on church extension* (1835): p. 6.

[1052] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[1053] Buchanan, R., *Speech of the Rev Robert Buchanan [...] delivered at a public meeting of the friends of the Church of Scotland* (1835): p. 2.

increasingly impact upon the wider community, allowing people to "flourish in that moral region [...] reclaimed from a world".[1054]

The notion of needing to 'humanise' a population paralleled a series of contemporary discourses, from theories of the colonial Other to related Enlightenment thinking.[1055] On one level, this idea served to reinforce the notion that 'the religious' equates to 'the civilised', placing the wealthier members of the community who were most involved in the church as the most human, developed people, and thus positioning those beyond the church walls – including of course in places overseas – as uncivilised and less developed savages. One author drew upon this notion of the degenerate irreligious of the inner city in need of enlightenment when he spoke of churches as being "the means for penetrating the mass of the people with religious instruction, reaching downwards, with the restraints of a Christian influence, to the very lowest orders of the community; and therefore it is the only effective instrument for the people's regeneration".[1056] Likewise, by utilising imperialist language of the 'heathen' lands abroad to describe places within Glasgow, the irreligious of the city were placed alongside the natives of such foreign parts, echoing the themes perceived by Driver of the dark spaces across the city that could be as far from salvation as the shores of Africa.[1057]

Parallels were certainly drawn between the people involved in the Glasgow endeavour and those who travelled throughout the empire spreading the Christian message, encouraging this reading of church extension as a form of home mission and building up the sense in which certain segments of the city were understood to correspond to places abroad that have not been touched by the Christian message, and are therefore presumed to lack in civilisation. The narrative was essentially the same, with the people of the dark and irreligious quarters at home taking the place of the irrational, uncivilised foreigners in the context of colonial imagery:

> While you carry triumphantly, the standard of the Son of Jesse into
> *other* lands, conquering all under it ignorance, infidelity, and vice;

[1054] Chalmers, T., *On the dissipation of large cities* (1821): p. 205.
[1055] For more on colonialism and the post-colonial critique, see Said, E.W., *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991); Clayton, D., 'Imperial geographies', in Duncan, J., Johnson, N., & Schein, R. (eds.) *A Companion to Cultural Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004): pp. 449-468.
[1056] McCorkle, R., *On the parochial system of the Church of Scotland* (1835): p. 5.
[1057] Driver, F., *Geography Militant: cultures of exploration and empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

ought you to leave defenceless your native soil, and, by weakening your
forces, permit the enemy to come in upon us like a flood? No: whilst
you, by your wealth and contributions are sending it around the globe,
give also your aid to plant it firmly in your native *city*, that it may wave
there in glory, and by its protection, enable you to share that peace and
consolation, it is so admirably fitted to bestow.[1058]

This classification of humans into separate and definable groupings can also be seen
as a fruit of the taxonomical spirit that sought to give everything and everyone its
place, as encouraged in Enlightenment thinking,[1059] which at once separated people
according to the level of society they have attained while stressing the fundamental
unity of humanity. All people are ultimately the same but some are further along the
path of civilisation than others, linking a historical vision with a geographical one, as
a teleology of development was tied up with a mapping of this teleology onto a spatial
pattern. Just as the past was considered a foreign country, so could a portion of the
city be considered more or less advanced than another neighbourhood. As Stanley
argues – albeit in the context of foreign missions – this construction underpinned the
rationale of taking the gospel to the irreligious in the hope of raising 'them' to better
standards:

> Evangelical apologetic for missions appealed to the basic humanity of
> the 'heathen' as constituting in itself a reason for seeking to restore to
> them those dimensions of a fully human existence.[1060]

At the same time, while the irreligious of Glasgow were posited as closer to the
foreign and heathen Other, colonial discourses of race were being perpetuated, as 'the
lost' of these shores were considered to be nearly but not quite as low on the scale of
humanity as those of non-Western cultures. While of course not positioned at the level
of the religious middle class, they were still considered to be further along the line of
development than members of lesser races, and as such could be described only as
"*nearly* as much strangers to the gospel of the grace of God, as if they lived in the
deserts of Africa",[1061] a distinction that served mutually to diminish both parties.

[1058] 'Philos-Ecclesiae' [anon.], *Examination of the eight resolutions adopted by a meeting of Gentlemen [...] anent building and endowing additional churches* (Glasgow: J. Hedderwick and Co., 1813): p. 24. Original emphasis.
[1059] Porter, R. (2001) *op.cit.*, p. 16.
[1060] Stanley, B. (2001) *op.cit.*, p. 11.
[1061] *Proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow* (1834): p. 2. Italics mine.

Such a conception of religiosity (and all the elements of 'civilisation' that it was thought to entail in the European context) as geographically variable, chimes with the identification made by Livingstone and Withers of the Enlightenment trope of 'progress' as "rooted in a fundamentally geographical comparison between the institutions of civilised Europe and those living in the state of Nature".[1062] Elsewhere, Livingstone notes that the close association that developed in the eighteenth century between geographical knowledge, science and religion – specifically a natural theology which presumed that knowledge of God could be uncovered by the consideration of the divinely-designed created order – allowed different parts of the world to be classified into categories relating to their (perceived) state of grace and level of civilisation.[1063] Notwithstanding the debate surrounding the role of natural theology within Calvinist thought,[1064] there are clear echoes between this imagining of the created order at large and the evangelical urge to proselytise those of different taxonomic categories both near and far implicit in the church building schemes taking place in Glasgow.

Furthermore, the call to humanise that church extension promoted existed in tension with the Calvinist conception of the Fall and original sin, for if – as strict Calvinists hold – humanity is in a state of inherent and total depravity, then a desire to humanise (and thus encourage this state of depravity) would surely be inconsistent with evangelical precepts of repentance and salvation. It was, rather, a different form of humanity that was sought; a form that recaptured the innocence of a creature in the divine creation prior to the mark of sin engraining itself on each soul, and that could only be found through repentance and the acceptance of redemption. Full and proper humanity was thus understood to depend upon religious faith and the acceptance of divine revelation, for "human nature emancipated is only an instrument of evil, unless it is made a means towards the regeneration of human nature".[1065] In a public meeting held in Glasgow during 1837 to promote the cause of church extension, Charles

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[1062] Livingstone, D.N. & Withers, C.W.J. (eds.) *Geography and Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1999): p. 14.
[1063] Livingstone, D. N., *The Geographical Tradition: episodes in the history of a contested enterprise* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992): pp. 105-113.
[1064] Niesel, W., *The Theology of Calvin* (London: Lutterworth, 1956): pp. 39-58; Helm, P., *John Calvin's Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): pp. 209-256.
[1065] McCorkle, R., *On the parochial system of the Church of Scotland as essential to the Christianisation of the country* (1835): p. 24.

Ferguson, a member of the local Church Building Society, expounded the doctrine of humanity's original sin when speaking of the principles that rested beneath the Society's endeavours, offering some thoughts on the nature of this new humanity that church extension sought to encourage:

> The principle on which they start is this – and that is the foundation of all their movements – that the nature of man requires to be reclaimed from the fallen state to which it has been reduced. They do not believe what some men put forth, that man has the elements of improvement within himself [...] he requires to be reclaimed from his fallen state, and lifted again to the state of purity in which he was created, and from which, from his own sin, he has fallen to his present condition.[1066]

The dependence upon revelation and emotional response implicit within this interpretation appears just as contrary to the Enlightenment belief in the possibility of universal progress from reason as did the notion of original sin.[1067] That said, the evangelical principle did presume that salvation was universally offered to all, as Ferguson revealed to be the second principle of the Society, for "to every creature the Gospel is to be preached".[1068] This could, again, be seen to correspond to the Enlightenment tenet of universal progress, yet is also a step away from the traditional Calvinist understanding of predestination. If this was not the case, though, then any missionary activity would be rendered meaningless, for if it had been preordained that some were damned and others saved then evangelism would be either necessarily ineffective or unnecessary.

The sense in which complete fulfilment of humanity could only be achieved by the acceptance of the tenets of Christianity hence requires a more nuanced approach to understanding the links between mission and the 'Age of Reason'. The presumption that humanity has the ability to improve and so continue along the teleological line of progress is clearly in keeping with Enlightenment ideals,[1069] but the means through which this progress was said to take place was contrary to the rationalism of the salons, as progress – which was argued to be the proper purpose of all people – was not to be found through philosophy and science, traditional tools of Enlightenment

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[1066] *A full report of the speeches delivered at the great meeting [...] to further and promote the cause of the General Assembly's church accommodation scheme* (1837): pp. 31f.
[1067] Porter, R. (2001) *op.cit.*, p. 17.
[1068] *A full report of the speeches delivered at the great meeting [...] to further and promote the cause of the General Assembly's church accommodation scheme* (1837): p. 32
[1069] Outram, D. (2005) *op.cit.*

forged in the crucible of reason, but through belief in the unverifiable and the power of revelation; and it was not even the deists' creator of a self-sustaining world that the church extensionists believed in, but a God who could be known. In this sense, the desire of church extension to improve the temporal as a side-effect of spiritual amelioration is both a different means and end than would be sought by prophets of Enlightenment.

As Sher and Hook recognise, even so, Glasgow was home to two Enlightenments, each caught up in the other and both recognising the central importance of education, but with one promoting it as an end in itself and the other as a means to progress.[1070] The first was the movement of the literati that was based around the University and encouraged ideals of intellectualism, culture and morality. The second favoured 'useful' learning, based upon a utilitarian rationale which tied up the pursuit of knowledge with economic success.[1071] The latter, encompassing, amongst others, the work of James Watt, Joseph Black and John Anderson (who, for example, argued that the purpose of science was to create "[a]ll those improvements in our habitations, manufactures, and machines which render polished society so comfortable, by supplying our wants, and by diminishing our labours"),[1072] was the province of merchants and traders within the city. Landsmen suggests that this grouping had much in common with the precepts of the Evangelical party that was dominant in Glasgow, [1073] not least in the mutual recognition of the links between liberty, piety, industry and progress, causing Sher and Hook to reason that this "constituted and alternative form of the Enlightenment rather than an anti-Enlightenment".[1074] Although coming some time after the high point of both movements, church extension could be interpreted as an inheritance of the utilitarian model, given that it was premised upon the need for ecclesiastical freedom from patrons and the Council, while emphasising the

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[1070] Sher, R. & Hook, A. (eds.)(1995) *op.cit.* Sher and Hook build upon the growing consensus that different forms of Enlightenment were enacted in different national, local and institutional settings. See Porter, R. & Teich, M. (eds.) *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) and Livingstone, D.N. & Withers, C.W.J. (1999) *op.cit*.
[1071] Sher, R. & Hook, A., 'Introduction: Glasgow and the Enlightenment', in Sher, R. & Hook, A. (eds.), *The Glasgow Enlightenment* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995): pp. 4f.
[1072] Sher, R. 'Commerce, religion and the Enlightenment in eighteenth century Glasgow', in Devine, T.M. & Jackson, G. (eds.) *Glasgow*, vol.1 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995): p. 342.
[1073] Landsmen, N., 'Liberty, piety and patronage: the social context of contested clerical calls in eighteenth century Glasgow', in Sher, R. & Hook, A. (eds.)(1995) *op.cit.*
[1074] Sher, R. and Hook, A. 'Introduction: Glasgow and the Enlightenment', in *ibid*., p. 14.

importance of piety and the benefits it can bestow on the progress of the city and improvements in the commercial sector.

Conclusion

Fundamental to the city that the church extensionists sought to create was a settled, ordered society, where the divinely ordained hierarchy was played out and each person performed his or her respective role. That the envisioned society legitimated the position of those élites driving the movement was merely fortunate; that this end demanded a new socio-spatial arrangement, reducing the distance between the classes while necessarily predicated upon either a carceral landscape of fear or an evangelical geography of harmony, emphasised further the discourse of church building. Evidence does suggest that there was an element of social control implicit within church extension, whether to educate the masses, encourage social cohesion or temper radicalism and occasional revolutionary fervour, but to interpret the movement purely through this lens is to ignore the ideology and theology that underpinned it, as Banner argues,[1075] where a desire to evangelise was constantly stressed as key, and the focus was upon providing for those who could not provide for themselves. At the same time, both interpretations are complicated by the need to appeal to different audiences in different contexts. Yet the claims of social control and benevolence need not be incompatible, not least if the mindset of those involved in church extension saw the working class as in need of civilising and humanising. There is a sense in which the movement was designed to achieve the ends of social control, but from the perspective that these ends were the end products of evangelism, which was the primary goal, and for the benefit of society as a whole, including those at the poorest end of the scale, rather than as a solely Machiavellian scheme to ensure their subjugation. Either way, by looking at the intended outcomes of church extension, the movement increasingly becomes tied up with, and revealing of, the story and motivations of the élite within Glasgow, showing that the various schemes to extend the ecclesiastical infrastructure were not just about adapting to the changing material geographies of the city, but to the changing socio-spatial conditions also.

[1075] Banner, L.W. (1973) *op.cit.*

Chapter 7

Conclusion

In January of 1843 the first wave of church extension in Glasgow ground to a momentary schismatic halt. The Court of Session, sitting in judgement on the Stewarton case, declared the Chapels Act to be illegal, bringing the Ten Years' Conflict to the inescapable boiling point that would precipitate the Disruption.[1076] The ruling had two immediate implications for the situation in the city. First, all churches throughout the country created *quoad sacra*, including the vast majority of those built under the national accommodation scheme and all of those belonging to the Society, were reduced to the status of chapels of ease, and thus had their parochial jurisdiction revoked and lost their representation in church courts. Thirty-seven congregations within the Presbytery of Glasgow lost these rights, causing a large swelling of indignation that perhaps explains the high levels of secession in Glasgow in comparison to the rest of the country.[1077] Second, as the loudest advocates for church extension were of an evangelical persuasion and therefore inclined to follow those leaving the fold, when secession took place following the General Assembly in May, there was a vacuum of willing and able builders to whom the hammer, chisel and chequebook of extension could be passed. Likewise, those now outside the Established Church who had previously participated in building projects found their grips loosened upon the churches that they had sponsored.

Most members of the Glasgow Church Building Society were cut from the same Evangelical cloth as the seceding group, and the sympathies of this majority transformed accordingly into support for the new denomination. Following schism, the Society therefore attempted to claim for the newly-founded Free Church of Scotland the churches it had previously built, but the buildings were listed as

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[1076] The Stewarton case arose when the Presbytery of Irvine proposed to establish churches *quoad sacra* against the will of the local patron and heritors. The landowners took the Presbytery to the Court of Session which ruled in favour of the former on the basis that property rights, including those connected with parish areas, fell within the remit of civil rather than ecclesiastical authority, not so much rendering the Chapels legislation illegal as removing its teeth. See Fry, M. and Brown, S.J. (1993) *op.cit.*

[1077] McCosh, J., *The Wheat and the Chaff Gathered into Bundles: A statistical contribution towards the history of the recent Disruption of the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment* (Perth: James Dewar, 1843).

ecclesiastical properties connected with the Established Church.[1078] Spying a loophole in the law, directors of the Society attempted to sell the churches, presumably arguing that while their rights as property owners did not extend to changing the building's denominational status, they did have the right to sell their own property. Thus, a minute in 1844 recorded:

> [T]hat the affairs of the Society should be wound up and brought to a close, and to have the several Churches built by them, and the sites on which these are erected, brought to Sale; and the prices, after defraying expenses, applied to the liquidation of the Debts of the Society, and the residue divided among the Subscribers in proportion to their respective contributions.[1079]

Whether the intent of the sale was to force the Established Church into paying for churches, thereby providing benefactors of the Free Church with the capital for a new building scheme for the own denomination, or whether they hoped to sell the buildings to themselves for use by the Free Church, is unclear. Either way, the Established Church also claimed the churches as its property and started a protracted course of trials and appeals that lasted over five years,[1080] before eventually being granted possession of the churches by the House of Lords. In some ways the ecclesiastical landscape of the city was back to where it was in 1820, with the Royalty reverting to ten parish churches and a handful of chapels of ease as the *quoad sacra* charges were wiped from the slate. Yet the building of the new sanctuaries had increased the provision of accommodation, albeit within a still expanding urban environment, and these were clearly seen as a boon to the local Church. Indeed, by 1844 the Established Church had secured Parliamentary legislation which effectively reintroduced the Chapels Act by providing for a *quoad sacra* constitution along the lines adopted by the Assembly a decade earlier, but this time in accordance with the correct legal authority. This allowed parishes to be created where permission was granted by local heritors, opening the door for the Society's churches to be returned to full status as they all were over the course of the next few years.

Ironically, the split of the Church of Scotland and the emergence of the Free Church led to a doubling of the amount of religious accommodation, as the new denomination

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[1078] Ranken, J., *A Handbook of the Church of Scotland (fourth edition)* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1888), pp. 267f.
[1079] *Extract minute of Directors of the Society*, 11th April, 1844 (UGD061 1/9/3/5).
[1080] Correspondence, accounts and receipts relating to the trial is found at UGD061 1/9/3/5 1844-1851.

sought to compete with the Established Church by providing worship in each parish. While at first many of the seceding congregations met in halls, public meeting places and, on one occasion, within the Black Bull Inn,[1081] eventually new sanctuaries were built, providing a near identical parochial infrastructure to that offered by the original Church that they had left behind. That the Free Church building scheme worked along similar principles to those of the Society and the earlier national plan of accommodation suggests that the expertise gained earlier by those involved in the extension of the now-sworn enemy was fruitful; that a new Society was established in Glasgow under the auspices of the Free Church and made up of names familiar from the city's previous church building society is, perhaps, unsurprising. Indeed, of the thirty office-bearers whose names mark the original list of the newly-founded Glasgow Free Church Building Society, twelve had served as office-bearers in the last year of the Society attached to the Established Church, and the vast majority of the rest had filled such positions in earlier years.[1082]

As the Established and Free Churches competed throughout the city from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, a number of churches were added across the cityscape, especially to the westward lands where the city was expanding. These were further added to in 1847 when the United Secession and Relief Churches united to form the United Presbyterian Church,[1083] meaning that from the Disruption to the end of the century Glasgow was home to three Presbyterian denominations, roughly equal in size, each of which sought to dominate the city.[1084] A second wave of church extension began, spurred on by bitter denominational rivalry and the ever-expanding cityscape post-1850. Despite this increased accommodation, ecclesiastical growth still did not match that of the city, and people associated with the churches continued to warn of the dangers of religious destitution. In 1860, for example, the Rev. James Johnston spoke in tones reminiscent of Chalmers, explicitly tying the lack of religious provision with social destitution, warning against the one-hundred and thirty-thousand "godless" citizens for whom "the hundred spires of our City's churches suggest no

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[1081] Thomson, J., *History of St Andrew's Parish Church* (Glasgow: Anderson, 1905).
[1082] *Office bearers and subscribers of the Glasgow Free Church Building Society* (UGD 61/9/3/4(2)).
[1083] Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.*, pp. 362f.
[1084] The United Presbyterian's did not seek a universal parochial infrastructure, but did compete for support of the urban middle class, and undertook schemes of building in the west of the city. See Burleigh, J.H.S. (1960) *op.cit.*, pp. 362f.

bright thoughts of heaven".[1085] This was, however, amongst the last of the calls for more; by the end of the century complaints were, instead, of ecclesiastical competition bringing Glasgow to a saturation point of churches and spires:

> Within a radius of about half-a-mile, since our church was opened there have been erected four Free Churches, three United Presbyterians, two Established Churches, and two or three of other denominations. It is a patent fact that our own denomination is most active in carrying out this policy; and in recent years the exodus of congregations from the centre to the western and richer populations is not a matter for congratulation. [...] In their laudable desire for progress the clergy have succeeded in planting more churches [...] than there are churchgoers to fill them. The result is disastrous [...] the exodus is to the few larger centres: and hence, as the years increase, the clergymen are more inadequately stipended and denominational rivalry is perpetuated.[1086]

Church extension, in the material sense at least, had become too successful, overwhelming the landscape with religious symbols as sacred supply outweighed spiritual demand. Compared to this later movement, earlier building projects were not as successful, although, again materially, they certainly achieved a significant expansion of the ecclesiastical fabric. From the first calls of Lapslie for extra accommodation to the last brick laid by the Society prior to the Disruption, just short of forty churches had been built within and around the city, providing around forty-thousand additional places at worship, with the original aim of the Society to provide twenty new churches within five years taking only a year longer than planned. The religious landscape of Glasgow had changed quite drastically through these interventions, allowing parishes to encompass smaller territorial areas and populations, thus creating the conditions whereby more effective parochial activity could be orchestrated.

Two reservations mark the horizon. Parishes, although smaller, were still well beyond the ideal of three-thousand parishioners, while, as noted earlier, the pace of building was still being outstripped by the accelerating levels of urban growth. The latter was already recognised by members of the Society as early as 1839 when supporters realised the need to extend their original aims by building even more sanctuaries. In a letter sent to members explaining this development, it was stated:

[1085] Johnston, J., *Religious Destitution in Glasgow* (Glasgow: David Bryce & Co.,1870): p. 10.
[1086] Young, G., *The History of St George's Free Church* (Glasgow: Wm. Hodge & Co., 1896), pp. 98f.

It is scarcely necessary for us, in preferring its claims to the Christian and patriotic mind, to state, that such has been the immense increase of population in this City and neighbourhood, that [...] the field for parochial and ministerial labour from the increase of population is at least as great as ever, and therefore so far from discontinuing the efforts of this Society, it seems more than ever necessary, with a population increasing in the ratio in which ours is, to give further effect to such efforts, by a continuous and untiring prosecution of the great object for which it was originally established.[1087]

Church extension was about more than accommodation, of course, being deeply concerned with the reach of the Church in a less tangible way into the heart of the community and the soul of the individual. Following critics of the secularisation thesis, success in this area is difficult to assess, not least since it lies beyond the gaze of social-scientific techniques of analysis.[1088] Nevertheless, it is possible to glimpse how those involved in church extension assessed their achievements, revealing a mixed judgement. On one level, the Society noted that "to an extent beyond the expectation of its most ardent friends has this Society, under the blessing of God, been successful",[1089] asking on another occasion for people to "reflect on the immense good which these churches have been the means of producing [...][as a] great and glorious work".[1090] At the same time, directors were dissatisfied at the comparative lack of support from the wealthy parts of the community,[1091] and there is elusive evidence to indicate that the new churches were not always full, with the Society noting that "[d]uring the infancy of their churches in poor localities, when the congregations were bit collecting, the sittings let in them [were] but few".[1092] The 'mechanism' was in place, but the gears could not be made to turn solely by virtue of their existence. Equally, their awareness of the continued growth of the urban population, beyond the pace of the building projects, was a continued shadow cast even more keenly by the light shining from the new sanctuaries.

Locating the Elite

[1087] *Letter from Church Building Society to John Blackie*, 15th October, 1839 (UGD 61/9/3/4 (3)).
[1088] Brown, C. (2001) *op.cit.*, pp. 11f.
[1089] *Letter from Church Building Society to John Blackie*, 15th October, 1839 (UGD 61/9/3/4 (3)).
[1090] *Letter from Church Building Society to members and fellow-citizens* (1843) (UGD 61/9/3/4 (1)).
[1091] *Fifth annual report of the Society for erecting additional parochial churches in Glasgow and Suburbs, for the year1839* (1840); *Seventh annual report of the Society for erecting additional parochial churches in Glasgow and Suburbs, for the year1841* (1842).
[1092] *Letter from Church Building Society to members and fellow-citizens* (1843) (UGD 61/9/3/4 (1)).

In so far as church building can be judged as successful on this level, it was also important for the development of the new élite. Church building assisted the cause of the élite in developing a more coherent middle class, and providing an ideology and authority around which they could rally, and which served to legitimate the elevation of their role within the community. It offered the middle class a cause through which their values were replicated, their status justified and authority confirmed, and a means of consolidating the loose alliance of working wealthy and moneyed merchants. This was not necessarily a deliberate strategy: evidence does point to a genuine shortage of religious accommodation and patterns of social deprivation brought about by urban growth, but it was in the links and associations made between these two sets of problems, and the subsequent solutions offered, that the élites involved in church extension postured and positioned themselves into a role of power and developed an increasingly coherent identity, in much the same way as other élites utilised other causes for their own ends. Notably, this was all done in reaction against the poorest of the community, specifically from concerns over the security and safety of the social world, reflecting the claims of Morris and Nenadic that such concerns motivated the emergence of uniform middle-class action.[1093]

The process began in the diagnosis of the urban ailment, as the discourse of the 'unholy city' negatively characterised the urban working class as the ungodly, tying it into a whole set of connected ills. The imaginings of squalor and poverty, dirt and disease, debauchery and death, all nestled amongst the crowded, godless recesses of despair, want and hopelessness, radiating through similar environments in other quarters of the city, explicitly associated religious poverty with social need and wretchedness, just as the city itself was being written as a centre of this godlessness and the poor therein as most in need of the shining light of the gospel to lift them from every darkness. The discourse of the 'unholy city' that C. Brown recognised can be identified here, not only in the words of Chalmers, but increasingly spread throughout the intellectual and theological contours of ecclesiastical and middle-class thought. Calls for church building invariably started with a first principle that the city was damned and in need of redemption; appeals to and from Church courts detailed every last aspect of social and religious malaise in the vicinity of any proposed church;

[1093] Morris, R.J. (1990) *op.cit.*, pp. 260f; Nenadic, S. (1988) *op.cit.*, p. 124.

official reports outlined the most godless streets and portions of parishes. All of this activity was backed up by the expert witness offered by ministers and elders invariably drawn from the ranks of the social élite, and the scientific proof lent by statistics, as demanded by the continued (post-)Enlightenment mindset of empirical rationalism.

Through this process, meanwhile, the revolutionary dangers associated with the poor became characterised as ungodly, with the corollary being that the preservation of the status quo was thought divinely authorised. The 'unholy city' discourse not only denigrated the poor; it also served to create the middle class as the Christian community. By comparing those of lower station with the 'blessed', and identifying the faults of the former as beyond the values of the latter, middle-class social and behavioural norms were vindicated. Furthermore, as the moral and upstanding within the community, theirs was the 'burden' to raise the fallen and assist their brethren sinking in need and heathenism, legitimising action in the urban arena. The prevalent evangelical theology encouraged this further, stressing the importance of taking the gospel to the ungodly, and reinforcing élite values in the process, a similar trend as identified by Seed for élite groups connected with Unitarianism.[1094] This evangelicalism was crucial in another way, as it conceived of city residents as not irreversibly destined for damnation and beyond the reach of redemption, but still having the possibility of salvation. This served to 'theologise' class differences and emphasised that the authority of the middle class was not just socially derived, but had divine approval. As Morris argues, evangelicalism was useful as "a vehicle for transmitting certain powerful views of social structure and social responsibility".[1095] Church extension thus allowed the élite to practise this philanthropy in a visible way, with these actions constantly feeding back into the 'godly' and moral justifications of their actions.

At the same time as the ideological content of the élite was developing, church building schemes assisted the consolidation of the group in more practical ways. By offering a common cause of benefit to the group, church extension served to bring together people of little commonality, while providing space where new relationships

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[1094] Seed, J. (1986) *op.cit*, p. 133.
[1095] Morris, R.J. (1990) *op.cit.*, p. 321.

could take place and adding another 'node' to the network of connections for those already involved in Church, Council and commerce. This is not to say that all members of the Glasgow élite were involved in church extension: far from it; it is, however, to recognise that those involved were invariably if not exclusively drawn from the middle to upper classes, as anticipated by Hillis[1096] and Smith.[1097] Vital to the usefulness of this network to the élite was that it was both an inclusive community, with membership not restricted to those of traditional standing within the community, but also exclusionary in being only for those able to contribute financially. This, in turn, served to reinforce the situation of finance, religiosity and morality walking hand-in-hand. Contributing to this exclusivity was the 'moral machinery', for which élite participation was required in terms of effectiveness – paternalism was enshrined as a fundamental mechanism for its success – and implicitly, as only those able to invest time in their districts and able, if necessary, to offer financial support to those under their wings, could reasonably be expected to participate. Furthermore, the 'machinery' offered a means of surveillance and, it was hoped, of control. Indeed, it was specifically targeted at sections of the community considered to be a threat, being designed to cool tensions while placing wealthier members of the community into direct contact with the poor, empowering the former as representatives of the Church and thus authorising the standards and behaviour that they promoted as virtuous. Thus, élite values came to be transmitted to the working class while being conflated with principles of Christianity, furthering the establishment of the middle class as the religious class of the community.

The aims of church extension were also clearly congruent with the concerns of the élite, from the desire for peaceful communal relationships and the encouragement of godly manners and morals reflective of their own, to a better educated, industrious workforce, although a similarity in intent was perhaps inevitable, given that it was the middle class who devised the movement. Thus, religion through church extension was important in the formation of middle-class identity in Glasgow during the early nineteenth century, comprising the social context within which the new élite bound together and could act as one, and a theology and ideology to justify their increased dominance of the social hierarchy.

[1096] Hillis, P. (1982) *op.cit.*, p. 64.
[1097] Smith, M. (1987) *op.cit.*

Church extension was not just about social control and a search for authority by the new élite. Time and again the centrality of the need to evangelise, not for any other sake than the saving of the soul, was stressed as the key aim, with a continued emphasis upon the improvement of the conditions of society and the ameliorisation of the poor coming as important but secondary. Furthermore, these motivations appeared genuine, insofar as such things can be accurately gauged from the archive. Cox recognises that such religious devotion was as equally important as worldly motivation,[1098] yet he also suggests that this seeming contradiction between social control and benevolence only exists in a mindset which perceives them to be opposites, whereas for those involved in the Church during the nineteenth-century, religious utility in social and moral purposes was inseparable from its truth. Church attendance and philanthropy followed naturally from each other as piety mixed with concern for social conditions: they were too sides of the same coin, and churches were considered an important part in the achievement of a better society, for:

> Society would fall apart without morality, morality was impossible
> without religion, and religion would disappear without the churches.[1099]

As Morris argues, the motivations of the élite were both of duty and of interest, concepts that fitted hand-in-glove with a conception of society as thoroughly interconnected,[1100] as betrayed by those involved in church extension who saw society as a body of many parts, each divinely charged to fulfil its role for the benefit of the whole. The emphasis was upon achieving harmony as reflected in the natural order. To achieve a religious society was thought beneficial for all people, not only for its own merit and because the truths of the Christian faith were believed to be true, but because it would also allow social cohesion and stability, and in the process improve life for all people. This may have been social control, but it was well-meaning, more than tinged with benevolent intent.

The Glasgow Church Building Society was an important actor in encouraging the new parochial mechanism and in achieving a real end of more churches, although how effectively the machinery was enacted is difficult to gauge. Clearly the organisation

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[1098] Cox, J. (1982) *op.cit.*
[1099] *Ibid.*, p. 271.
[1100] Morris, R.J. (1990) *op.cit.*, p. 252.

fits the template of middle-class voluntary societies at the beginning of the nineteenth century as described by Nenadic,[1101] being devised as a philanthropic response to the initial phase of urbanisation designed to 'civilise' the poor and to assist in improving spiritual and temporal, moral and physical problems. A subscriber democracy patronised by the wealthy and influential of the community, the Society's organisation, ethos and intent pointed towards the desires of the élite as much as to the needs of the poor whom they served. As Morris argues, such organisations were vital to the production, negotiation and dissemination of middle-class identity and authority, allowing élite leadership and promoting a hierarchical society.[1102] The emergence of the Society is also symbolic of a contradiction in the content of the thesis, as while church extension was designed to evangelise, to encourage belief throughout the urban community, achieving this end was thought possible only if the religious was removed from the sphere of state and taken up instead by a private and exclusive group like the Society. The reinvigoration of outward signs of religiosity – the building of churches – was taking place at the same time as the Council was relinquished of its duties to do so; to use another language, in order to 're-enchant' the city and thereby bring Christianity to a larger audience, proponents of church extension prompted the secularisation of the (local) state. The content of this thesis therefore implies a society which appears to re-emphasise its religiosity at the very moment that the religiosity of the local state is being eroded.

The question of secularisation becomes complex when C. Brown's claims about the legacy between the 'unholy city', clearly identifiable as a motivating factor for church extension, and the thesis of secularisation is considered.[1103] The identification of secularisation as a 'real' process within Glasgow at this time is beyond the grasp of this thesis, but its content may nevertheless allow another set of connections to be considered. As noted earlier, Green suggests that central to the secularisation thesis is Tönnies' distinction between 'community' and 'society', identifying the traditional structures of community life enacted through close ties of kinship in which the religious is an important tool of understanding, characterised by later theorists as reminiscent of rural communities, against the anonymous, fast-paced modern society,

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[1101] Nenadic, S. (1995) op.cit., pp. 294f.
[1102] Morris, R.J. (1990) op.cit., p. 321.
[1103] Brown, C. (2001) op.cit., pp. 18f.

similarly characterised as urban, in which religion is relegated to a secondary role.[1104]
In this utilisation of Tönnies there is a parallel with the thinking of Chalmers, who C.
Brown identifies as a key contributor to early statements of secularisation,[1105] who
continually stressed the need to return to the old-fashioned ways of a country parish to
resolve the problems of the urban, similarly identifying the religiosity of the latter as
compared to the irreligion of the former. His vocabulary differed from those who
would incorporate Tönnies' ideas, but the conception appears essentially the same,
even down to the conviction that the traditional community need not be exclusive to
the rural, nor the modern to the urban. Indeed, the 'moral machinery' was devised
specifically to transform a town parish to that of the country, not in terms of physical
form but by attempting to create within the city the traditional structures of
community life that had seemingly been lost. Such similarities, revealed only when
Chalmers' thought on church extension is considered, offer further evidence to
suggest that C. Brown is correct to identify linkages between secularisation and the
'unholy city', although further analysis of the depths of this relationship is clearly
required.

An Enlightened Extension?

A notable feature of church extension, especially prominent in the contribution of
Chalmers, is its implicit spatiality. This was perhaps most evident in the diagnosis of
the social and religious malaise encompassing the urban arena, from the identification
of the particular 'heathen' spaces of the city to the association of irreligion with the
crowded Wynds and sickly slums of the Tron, St Enoch's and St John's parishes. Yet
it was equally present in the emphasis upon spatial rearrangement of and within
parishes as a necessary precursor for the improvement of the city to take place, and in
the certainty that the juxtaposition of certain objects and people could impact upon the
workings of society. Indeed, the very notion and language of the 'locality' principle,
which was in many respects key to the entire project as envisioned by Chalmers,
speaks to the centrality of a geographical imagination, using distance and proximity
not only in terms of metaphor, but as real instructions for the creation of order and
morality within the city.

[1104] Green, S.J.D. (1996) *op.cit.*, p. 6.
[1105] Brown, C. (2001) *op.cit.*, pp. 22f.

This concentration upon the spatial is typical of the peculiarly 'modern' model that church extension offered, as demonstrated in the links that can be made between the norms of the movement and those of modernist architects and planners such as Stein. Further links could even be made associating Chalmers with Stein's contemporaries in geographical thought, the so-called 'spatial scientists' at the heart of the discipline's quantitative revolution during the 1950s and 1960s which encompassed a similar belief in the utility of rational spatial organisation in its turn to positivistic, scientific explanation and the establishment of generic laws of human life.[1106] The credentials of church extension in its imperative to quantification and use of statistics, the desire for a rationally-ordered distribution of the ecclesiastical landscape, and a conviction in the efficacy of the manipulations of space, distance and proximity as a tool to achieve a diversity of outcomes, rest easily alongside the modern beliefs of the spatial scientists. Protagonists of the latter, in promoting the value of a rational socio-spatial engineering which assumes individuals to be subjects that will behave in accordance with certain fundamental socio-spatial principles,[1107] are clearly in line with the mechanistic thinking implicit in the machinery; while in their conception of humanity as eminently knowable and responsive in set ways to certain prompts they find themselves in accordance with Chalmers' conceptions as discussed earlier.

Such comparisons may however mask deeper connections still between church extension and other earlier philosophical traditions. While recognising that there exists an overlap in approach and thought between the 'moral machinery' and later movements equally concerned with the spatial, the point is not that Chalmers and his followers were spatial scientists, nor that they were even explicitly interested in questions of geography *per se*. Rather it is to suggest that church extension was predicated upon a rational empiricist philosophy that embraced the scientific dissection of the city and a spatial engineering designed to achieve the end of an ordered, rational cityscape. To this extent the movement, and Chalmers in particular, can be identified as an heir of Enlightenment thought, specifically with regard to its emphasis upon evidence and the impetus to regulate the irregular, imposing a sense of

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[1106] See Livingstone, D.N., *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the history of a contested enterprise* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992): pp. 304-436; Unwin, T., *The Place of Geography* (Harlow: Longman, 1992).
[1107] Cloke, P., Philo, C.P. & Sadler, D., *Approaching Human Geography: An introduction to contemporary theoretical debates* (London: Sage, 1991): p. 69.

logic and order upon conceptions of the world and the world itself. To make this connection would be to chime with C. Brown, who argues that "[m]en like Thomas Chalmers developed a social science in the conscious wake of [...] Enlightenment thinkers", most obviously by developing laws and rules by which levels of religiosity could be defined and identified.[1108] In such an analysis church extension could be compared to the building of the New Town in Enlightenment Edinburgh, as discussed by Philo, where it was attempted to impose virtues of the Age of Reason in the disordered spaces of the city by physically clearing the slums and replacing the untidy Old Town with a clear, thought-out structure deliberately designed rather than left to chance.[1109] Church extension was not an attempt at a building strategy on such a scale, although the building of more sanctuaries was in some senses its *raison d'être*, but there are similarities in the detailed spatial arrangements of parishes encouraged by the 'moral machinery': in the division of the city into more parishes and of the parishes themselves into districts, in addition to the regular movement of the various agents throughout their designated territories. Although in a less concrete sense than the plans for Edinburgh, those of Glasgow were essentially the same, being designed to create a wider sense of order in behaviour and belief by imposing a spatial order upon the city.

In such a way church extension can be considered in harmony with certain impulses of Enlightenment, yet there were still many evident discords between the 'moral machinery' and some of the principles and ends associated with the Age of Reason. The appeal to the emotions and the emphasis placed upon 'feelings' and friendship as parts of the machinery was at odds with the rationalising, scientific worldview of the *philosophes*, while the constant recourse to and belief in a personal deity, the purpose and design of which is profoundly unknowable, would be considered deeply irrational by the standards of some, perhaps many, adherents of Enlightenment. Indeed, traditional accounts sometimes posit any religion, especially of an evangelical bent, as being in distinct opposition to the call of evidence and reason, notwithstanding the closer ties in Scotland between salon and sanctuary than in many other locations. Yet there do appear to be close overlaps nonetheless, brought into greater focus perhaps

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[1108] Brown, C. (2001): p. 30.
[1109] Philo, C.P., 'Edinburgh, Enlightenment, and the geographies of unreason', in Livingstone, D.N. & Withers, C.W.J. (1999) *op.cit.*, pp. 372-398.

when the links between evangelicalism and the alternative Enlightenment of Glasgow introduced in Chapter 6 are brought into play. The implications of making such connections for an understanding of the relationship between evangelical religion and the Age of Reason are well beyond the limits of this thesis, and there is clearly a great distance between identifying similarities and tracing a clear lineage between the two. Any conclusion must therefore be hesitant, merely to suggest that further study is needed to consider how projects like church extension that are rooted in evangelicalism fit into a wider trajectory of Enlightened thought. At the same time, to even draw such connections in outline is to admit that church extension has a hidden depth beyond being a simple plan of home mission. It is to hint that those connected with the Church were prepared to use all the tools at their disposal, even where seemingly secular, to achieve religious ends. It reveals the Church as responsive to and also shaped by the intellectual contours of its temporal, geographical and, indeed, social context.

Deconstructing Church Extension

Looking at the various church building movements of early nineteenth century Glasgow as a whole reveals clear similarities between all of the schemes. From Lapslie, through the early machinations of the Council and Presbytery, to Chalmers and beyond to the work of the Society, the fundamental intent remained the same: to extend the Church into the spaces of society, material and social, where it was yet to be found. At times different emphases were stressed, from a simple desire to accommodate more people at worship to something altogether more sweeping, with the emphases often relating to current events. To this extent the church building schemes can be seen as a thermostat measuring the contemporary cultural and political climate, adapting accordingly to the needs of society. For instance, when the Council was concerned about riots and revolutions around the time of Peterloo, Chalmers proposed new churches as a means of tempering social discontent; when Dissenters were mobilising as a unified force a few years later, extra accommodation was sought on the grounds that it secured the position of the Established Church.

This all may be explained purely as the pragmatic response of savvy advocates for extension who saw the potential to capitalise upon political concerns and therefore garner support for their cause. Another explanation, not necessarily contradictory,

might look from a wider perspective at all church building as a response to changes within the multiple layers of a city's human, and perhaps even material, geography. In the case of Glasgow, this would be as a response to the new urban environment by those at the forefront of dealing with the implications of this for the daily lives of parishioners. We have seen how ministers and others involved in the Church interpreted the city, providing the framework within which the response of church extension was cast. This framework, in turn, was mediated by an evangelical theology which led some to see the growth of the city as an opportunity to evangelise rather than something to be opposed, notwithstanding periodic incidents of anti-urbanism.

Church building did, however, evolve over the years, undergoing two changes of especial note. First, there was a shift in thought from church accommodation to church extension, with the influence of Chalmers being crucial. Whereas Lapslie and his cohorts were primarily concerned with providing churches as a means of offering additional places for people to worship, after Chalmers the church building itself became central to the project of evangelism rather than as a manifestation of it, acting as a centrepoint – a cornerstone – through which, both in its physical presence within the community and through the 'moral machinery' that it supported, the Church could reach into spaces previously out of bounds, from the hidden recesses of the Wynds to the darkened corners of the soul. This approach reflected a wider move into new territory for church building in a metaphorical and literal sense, as the focus of concern shifted from buildings to society at large. The schemes had always encompassed an aspect of social improvement, but whereas in the episteme of accommodation these were considered added extras, within church extension this end was at the heart of the project. Chalmers' main contribution may therefore be measured not in the building of churches that he helped to provide – in Glasgow this was a comparatively meagre contribution – but in changing the perception of the role of a church within a community, and inspiring those who followed to do so in his footsteps.

The second evolution that can be identified during the *longue durée* of church building covered in the thesis is the shift from (local) state to private funding of the ecclesiastical. In the early years of the century the Council was the main sponsor of church building in the city, as it had long been as part of its remit. Normally reticent

about outlaying the large capital investment required for the erection and furnishing of a new sanctuary – there was a forty-year gap between the building of the last church in the eighteenth-century and the first of the nineteenth – the Council had, for a while in the 1810s, warmed towards the cause, leading to a decade of comparative enthusiasm in which two new churches were added. By the 1820s the temperature returned to normal and the cause began to be taken up by those who would eventually form the Society, but, crucially, when the new *quoad sacra* parishes allowed under the Chapels Act were created in the 1830s, it was under private finance rather than public. Indeed, during the period of most extensive church extension, the Council did not contribute a penny to any of the new buildings. Councillors did not object to the project, nor is there evidence to suggest that they were antipathetic towards its aims – many were in fact sponsors of the Society and the Council was later notorious for its prejudice in favour of the Free Church – but nor did they assist in ecclesiastical endeavours, despite calls for them to do so.[1110] Consequently, funding was to be found from the pockets of a sympathetic élite, willing to offer their time and talents for the return of a place at the table of authority and the hope of a society improved and secure. This development also served to detach the Church further from the civil power, not least in Glasgow, meaning that ecclesiastical policy was freed from Council control and opened to all bearers of open purse-strings, allowing the wealthy to shape the physical infrastructure of the Church and, arguably, its associated policy of evangelism. While the Chapels Act and church extension were both intended in part to unlock the chains of the Church's captivity, they served instead to potentially hand the key to others. Behind church extension lies the inescapable paradox that those who sought most to free the Church from its municipal subjugation were, in the process, enacting another confinement upon it. In the language of Sharp *et al*, moments of domination became tied up and complicit with moments of resistance, as power became entangled.[1111]

Taking these dual shifts from accommodation to extension and public to private funding into account, the church building movement in Glasgow during the early part of the nineteenth century can be read as a story of the Church reorganising its

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[1110] *Seventh annual report of the Society for erecting additional parochial churches in Glasgow and Suburbs, for the year 1841* (1842): pp. 27f.
[1111] Sharp, J. et al (2000) *op.cit.*

infrastructure, and even its power bases, to adapt better to the changing conditions of the contemporary world and to renegotiate its place within society. For as much as church extension was about the emergence of élites and the accommodation of parishioners, it was a power struggle of sorts for the religious to retain importance in a society that was increasingly considered irreligious. This could almost be told as a natural history, with the Church as a fish swimming in uncharted waters, gradually discovering its new surroundings and adapting to them, identifying dangerous ground and developing defences to guard against threats, riding upon existing currents and in the wake of larger beasts until the new waters become familiar, consolidating survival by adding more to the school. Yet to interpret church building solely in this way is to ignore the mixed motivations at work, and the disparate nature of this 'thing' and these people all unproblematically tagged under the heading 'Church'. Better conceived, it is a collective and a collection of individuals whose motivations are at once directed towards both temporal achievements of many hues and things eternal. This is especially so in Glasgow, where most of the building was not undertaken by ecclesiastical courts, whether centrally by the Assembly or locally by the Presbytery, but by groups of individuals, albeit authorised to do so under Church legislation and generally sympathetic to the aims of the Church. Equally, however, recognising this fact does not necessarily mean that they were not motivated by genuine altruistic concerns such as the needs of the Church or of society. Indeed, in the espousal of society and religion being caught up within and dependent upon each other – of a Christian world being a predeterminant of a better world – church extension follows closely in the footstep of Augustine. All roads lead to Rome.

The study of church extension reveals a religious body coming to terms with a new and changing social context, adapting itself to the form and needs of society to best serve God and all its other masters, whether the state, an emerging élite, the poor, or itself. That the Church's intent, as manifested though the various schemes, was not always 'pure' is symbolic of contemporary thought which saw philanthropy and control as two sides of the same coin, but more fundamentally of the nature of any such organisation conceived to be in this world but not of it, whose membership, while reaching towards the heavens, can only grasp at the earth. Any scholarly endeavour to understand the Church must therefore retain a sense of the ecclesiastical as being both visible and invisible, not only to allow for a balanced interpretation of

its motivations, but to recognise that a Church exists in a state of flow, at the cross between religious truths and the workings of society, between damnation and salvation, between the earthly city and the City of God.

Appendix

Archival Sources

<u>City of Glasgow Archive, Mitchell Library</u>

Presbytery of Glasgow Minute Books (manuscript)

A complete running account of minutes taken at Presbytery meetings covering the period 1795-1856 (CH2 / 171 / 15-21). Includes lists of membership and attendance, motions proposed and approved, financial records, correspondence with other ecclesiastical courts, municipal government and the Court of Session.

Kirk Session Records (MS)

Minutes of the Kirk Sessions, membership lists and poors accounts for the parish churches in Glasgow. Very few relevant records remain prior to 1850, with only the Inner High (CH2 / 550 / 4, 5, 6), St Johns (CH2 / 176 / 1, 2, 5), St Georges (CH2 / 818 / 4, 5, 6) and limited material on the Tron (CH2 / 594 / 1) representing the ten parish churches existent prior to the Disruption.

Town Council of Glasgow Minute Books (MS)

Complete running account of records covering the period 1790-1845. Includes membership of the Council and Trades' and Merchants' House, minutes of discussion and decisions, correspondence with various groups within the city, financial statements, materials on churches and churchyards and variety of municipal schemes.

<u>Glasgow University Archive</u>

Relevant material contained within the archive is composed of papers relating to the Glasgow Church Building Society collected by David Stow, founding member and elder at St Johns. A mixture of manuscripts and printed documents, the material allowed the reconstruction of events following the Disruption as the Society was disbanded and the new society associated with the Free Church was established:

- UGD061/9/3/4 1843 (printed)

Loose correspondence to John Blackie, Queen Street, concerning Church Building Society:

   (1) Letter from Church Building Society to members and fellow-citizens

(2) Office-bearers and Subscribers of the Glasgow Free Church Building Society

(3) Letter from the Church Building Society to John Blackie, Esq. of Queen St., 17th February, 1843

- UGD061/9/3/5 1844-1851 (MS)

Bundle of material concerning Church Building Society:

(1) 1844-51 Accounts

(2) 1845-50 correspondence and receipts in respect to the legal proceedings involving the Society and the Established Church.

Glasgow University Library Special Collections

The majority of printed materials used in the study were derived from the following collections:

- MS Gen 1036

Letters by Thomas Chalmers addressed to William Buchanan of Glasgow, c.1818-1847. Valuable in reconstructing some of the social circles around Chalmers and involved in the Tron and St Johns churches.

- Sp. Coll. T.C.L. (Trinity College Library)[1112]

A treasury of theological and ecclesiastical texts and other ephemera from the collection of Trinity College, containing over 75,000 books and 14,000 pamphlets, including a number of personal collections. The collection is made up of printed material, usually published, and contains the majority of the existing documents relating to the Glasgow Church Building Society.

- Alexander Robertson Collection

A collection of over 6,000 theological and church-related texts from the personal collection of Rev. Alexander Robertson. Various texts related to church extension are contained herein, as well as numerous sermons and lectures by prominent figures in the movement.

[1112] For an overview of the Trinity College collections, see Asplin, P.W., 'Trinity and related collections in Glasgow University Library', *Bulletin of the Association of British Theological and Philosophical Libraries*, 2 (1993): pp. 3-8.

Glossary

Chapels Act – Like the Veto Act, the Chapels Act was approved by the General
        Assembly of 1834 following the emergence of an Evangelical majority the
        previous year. The Act effectively claimed that ecclesiastical as opposed to
        civil authorities had the right to erect parishes *quoad sacra*, by allowing
        existing chapels of ease to be raised to full parochial (ecclesiastical) status,
        thus granting such chapels the right to a Kirk Session and representation in
        Church courts, and a parochial boundary within which they were to exercise
        spiritual oversight, albeit without the secular duties associated with *quoad*
        omnia charges. The creation of chapels, and thus *quoad sacra* parishes,
        remained vested in the General Assembly, with Presbyteries expected to
        allocate appropriate parish bounds.

Chapels of Ease – Chapels of ease were 'preaching stations' attached to the Church
        of Scotland. Voluntarily funded and especially popular amongst Evangelicals
        interested in outreach, they were usually found in overgrown parishes as a
        means of accommodating an excess population, although some were designed
        to offer an alternative place of worship where the incumbent of the local
        parish church was unpopular. Without designated parochial areas and falling
        under the remit of the Kirk Session within whose parish bounds they fell,
        chapels were often considered 'second-class' churches, contrary to the
        constitution of the Church, a situation that the Chapels Act was designed to
        resolve. Under and Act of the General Assembly from 1798, chapels could
        only be erected after approval of the General Assembly. Parliamentary
        legislation from 1834 removed the rights of patronage where chapels were
        voluntarily funded.

The Disruption – The Disruption of 1843 was a schism that saw nearly a third of all
        members and ministers leave the Established Church of Scotland to join the
        newly-formed Free Church. The secession derived fundamentally from
        concern that the state was interfering beyond its remit in areas that rightly
        belonged to ecclesiastical authorities, as precipitated by the repeal by civil
        courts of the General Assembly's anti-patronage legislation in the form of the

Veto and Chapels Acts. This followed a decade-long debate – the Ten Years' Conflict – in which the Moderate and Evangelical wings of the Church contested the legality of this legislation in ecclesiastical and civil courts.

Dissent – The term commonly used to describe denominations which have seceded from the Established Church, either on the basis of theological difference or in opposition to the principle of Established or state-sanctioned religion. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw numerous schisms within the Church of Scotland and its derivatives, of which the Disruption was the largest. The most notable divisions prior to this took place in 1733 and in 1761, leading, respectively, to the formation of the United Secession Church and the Relief Church, with both secessions intended as protests against the law of patronage. While sharing the Presbyterian governance of the originating denomination (albeit on a smaller scale), both denominations – like most dissenting churches in Scotland – advocated principles of voluntaryism and were organised congregationally rather than parochially. The United Secession and Relief Churches united in 1847 to form the United Presbyterian Church.

Eldership – The eldership is an ordained office of the Church of Scotland. It is a predeterminant for membership of Church courts, and, as members of the Kirk Session, elders are expected to take part fully in all church life and participate in the spiritual oversight of the parish. Candidates for the eldership can be either chosen by the Kirk Session or elected by the congregation. They are sometimes referred to as 'ruling elders' to distinguish from the 'teaching elder' (i.e. ministers).

(Established) Church of Scotland – The Church of Scotland was first recognised during the Scottish Reformation and established as the Church of the land by the Estates of Scotland in 1560, as ratified by the Revolution Settlement (1689) and the Treaty of Union (1707). Presbyterian in structure and Calvinist in theology, the Church holds Scripture to be the supreme standard of faith and adheres to the Westminster Confession as the subordinate standard. As a national Church it seeks to provides the ordinances of religion throughout Scotland by means of a territorial ministry.

Free Church of Scotland – The Church formed by those who seceded from the
    Established Church following the Disruption (see Disruption), around a third
    of all ministers and members. The Free Church retained the original Church's
    national vision of a territorial ministry, and challenged the Established Church
    by putting a rival church in every parish.

General Assembly – The General Assembly is the supreme court within the
    Presbyterian system, having jurisdiction over all local and regional courts. It is
    the final court of appeal and that of first-instance in matters which demand
    consensus amongst the whole Church or issues of national concern. Held
    annually, the General Assembly is attended by commissioners selected from
    each Presbytery, which sends an equal number of ministers and elders and
    ensures that each Kirk Session is represented at the national court over a four
    year period. Until the twentieth century representatives of universities and
    burghs also attended as full members, while the Sovereign or his/her
    representative may attend but has no right to speak or vote.

Kirk Session – Kirk Sessions are the lowest of the Church court, being found in each
    parish and having authority over spiritual matters therein. In parishes *quoad
    omnia* this extended to incorporate a number of civil responsibilities. A Kirk
    Session consists of the minister of the charge, who acts as Moderator, and
    elders, with the Moderator and another elder elected to serve as members of
    the local Presbytery. From its number each Kirk Session elects a clerk
    entrusted to record for posterity the proceedings of the court, with such
    records attested annually by the Presbytery within whose bounds the parish
    falls.

Quoad Omnia – "With respect to all things". A parish church whose bounds
    incorporated civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. All parishes originating from
    the Scottish Reformation were *quoad omnia*. In practical terms this meant that
    the Kirk Session of such charges had, in addition to duties of spiritual
    oversight, responsibilities pertaining to parochial provision of education and
    the administration of poor funds. In Glasgow the Royalty was the original

quoad omnia parish, under the authority of the Inner High Church. Subsequent division by the Court of Session separated the Royalty into parishes *quoad sacra* but retained the original parish area for matters of civil jurisdiction under the General Session of Glasgow, in which the parish churches of the Royalty participated.

Quoad Sacra – "With respect to things sacred". A parish church whose bounds is an area of ecclesiastical jurisdiction alone, usually a division from part of a larger parish *quoad omnia* which has been separated into smaller parishes to accommodate a growing population, or former chapels raised to full status as a result of Chapels Act legislation.

Presbyterianism – Presbyterianism is a conciliar form of ecclesiastical governance in which authority is vested in a series of local, regional and national courts (Kirk Session, Presbytery, Synod and General Assembly) consisting of ministers and elders of equal status, with hierarchical authority extending with geographical scale. The lower courts are subject to review by the higher courts, with the final court of appeal being the General Assembly. Each court is chaired by a Moderator selected from amongst its number, who, as first among equals, orders business and carries a casting vote where necessary, but in whom no individual authority is vested.

Presbytery – Presbyteries are the first of the regional courts of the Church, having oversight over an area consisting of several parishes, and a membership of all ministers from these parishes and a representative elder from each charge. The duties of a Presbytery includes electing members to attend the General Assembly, the superintendence and provision of ecclesiastical ordinances within its bounds, making arrangements during the vacancy of a charge, and the ordination and induction of ministers. Like the General Assembly, until recently each Presbytery was attended by a representative of the Universities within its bounds and of the local burgh authority.

Synod – Synods are the second regional courts within the Church of Scotland, subordinate only to the General Assembly, consisting of several Presbyteries

(generally no fewer than three) and of all ministers and elders who are members of these Presbyteries. Synods have no authority to legislate but can review the decisions of lower courts and hear cases as courts of appeal.

Veto Act – Like the Chapels Act, the Veto Act was approved by the Genera Assembly of 1834 following the emergence of an Evangelical majority the previous year. The Act enshrined the principle of non-intrusion in the procedures that followed the vacancy of a charge, allowing each congregation the right to veto the induction of the ministerial candidate proposed by the local patron. Although only a token gesture towards democratisation and the reinvigoration of the 'call', this Act was objected to on the grounds that it eroded the civil rights of a patron, and was judged *ultra vires* by the Court of Session in 1838.

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