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HENRY CRAIK (1805-66), FROM ST. ANDREWS TO BRISTOL: AN
IRENIC SCOTSMAN AND THE CALL FOR A SECOND REFORMATION

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Theology
at the University of Glasgow
in partnership with
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the life of Henry Craik (1805-66), a nineteenth century Scotsman, who was a crucial figure in the development of the Christian Brethren. Craik's understanding of Christianity changed during his years at the University of St. Andrews where he embraced an Evangelical understanding of Christianity. His newfound Evangelical piety encouraged him to live out his faith in the minutia of everyday life, as well as supporting Christian missions and helping those in need. Addressing the various influences on Craik's life and career as a pastor in Bristol, England, this thesis argues that Craik's experience at the University of St. Andrews laid the foundation for his irenic, biblical approach to Christianity that called for a Second Reformation of the Church and for Christians to become more biblically minded. Craik's hope for reform was not unique to him but reflected broader understandings of Christian devotion in Scotland that were rooted in the memory of the sixteenth century Scottish Reformation that sought to revitalize Christian faith and British society by returning to the authority of Scripture in everyday piety and ecclesiastical life.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: ‘AS PATHLESS AS THE OCEAN’

1.1 ‘The life and spirit of the subject’

In his preface to his four-volume study *The Romance of the Peerage*, George Lillie Craik (1798-1866) wrote,

. . . the present undertaking claims, as it will need, all the indulgent consideration due to the labours of a first adventurer. The subject is as pathless as the ocean; and, for any such purpose as that in hand, chart or survey of it there is none. The most comprehensive of the common books of reference embrace only the driest and deadest of the facts belonging to it. The really curious and indicative facts, those in which the life and spirit of the subject reside, must nearly all be sought for elsewhere.¹

Craik, a distinguished writer and historian from the first half of the nineteenth century, expressed a defining characteristic of historical research that equally applies to this study of his youngest brother, Henry Craik (1805-66). Though Henry has biographical entries in the *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*² and the *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860*,³ they ‘embrace only the driest and deadest of the facts’ about his life and do not make known the vital life of faith that caused so many to be drawn to the man and moved by his words.⁴ ‘The life and spirit of the subject’ was formed in a unique context, influenced by key individuals, and reflected the broader

¹ George Lillie Craik, *The Romance of the Peerage, or Curiosities of Family History: Volume I* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1848), v-vi.

² R. Boyd, “Craik, Henry (1805-1866)”, in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, edited by Nigel M. de S. Cameron, David F. Wright, David C. Lachman, and Donald E. Meek (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 222.

³ Harold H. Rowdon, “Craik, Henry”, in *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860*, edited by Donald M. Lewis (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), 266.

⁴ Craik, *The Romance of the Peerage*, v.

changes affecting church and society in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁵

Henry Craik was the son of a Scottish clergyman, William Craik of Kennoway, who was a schoolmaster and minister, and his wife, Patterson, the daughter of a local farmer by the name of Henry Lillie. Henry's two older brothers were successful in their own right. George Lillie Craik (1798-1866), the noted nineteenth century literary scholar, and James Craik (1802-70), a teacher, minister, and eventual Moderator of the Church of Scotland in 1863. Each of the brothers attended the University of St. Andrews and completed the divinity course of study, though only James would be licensed to preach in the Church of Scotland.⁶ Henry's family certainly benefited from their own connections to the Established church, so how could he break with his family and seek a different understanding of church polity?

While attending the University of St. Andrews in the 1820s, Henry Craik became friends with members of the famed St. Andrews' Seven, most notably Alexander Duff who remained a lifelong friend. Craik was also a student of Dr. Thomas Chalmers and remained in contact with Chalmers throughout his life. After graduation Craik continued his studies in Edinburgh and eventually ended up as tutor in the household of Anthony Norris Groves in Exeter. Craik later worked in partnership with George Müller of Bristol (1805-98), the celebrated philanthropist who maintained a large orphanage that he modelled on August Hermann Francke's orphan homes in Halle that were founded in 1698. Craik never achieved the professional acclaim of his brothers nor was as well-known as many of his classmates from the University

⁵ Craik, *The Romance of the Peerage*, vi.

⁶ "Craik, George Lillie", in *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen: Volume 1*, edited by Robert Chambers, new edition revised by Thomas Thomson (London: Blackie & Son, 1868), 393-395. Also see "G. L. Craik, LL.D.", *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review* (August 1866): 265-266; "Craik, George Lillie (1798-1866)", in *Dictionary of National Biography: Volume XIII, Craik—Damer*, edited by Leslie Stephen (London: Smith, Elder, Co., 1888): 1-2.

of St. Andrews. In fact, his name, work, and ideas were overshadowed by his friend and co-labourer, a Prussian emigrant to England, George Müller.

1.2 A Convergence of Histories

Henry Craik's life serves as a lens by which to understand how Scottish church history, ecclesiastical Independency, missionary activism, and the broader story of the relationship among German Pietists, British Evangelicals, and the Christian Brethren. The argument of this thesis is that Henry Craik's experience at the University of St. Andrews laid the foundation for his irenic, biblical approach to Christianity and inspired his call for a Second Reformation. Craik's understanding of Christianity was radically altered during his years at St. Andrews and he moved from the Moderate stream of the Church of Scotland to a profoundly personal understanding of faith that set him on the course to become a leader among the Brethren. This newfound piety was deeply influenced by ecclesiastical Independency enlivened by an Evangelical piety determined to live out the Christian faith in the minutiae of everyday life. The viewpoint that Craik adopted was not unique to him but reflected broader understandings of Christian devotion in Scotland that were rooted in the memory of the sixteenth century Scottish Reformation and revitalized by the dynamic vision of Thomas Chalmers. Craik's desire to experience a vibrant Christian life, based on a close reading of the biblical text, was no different than generations of men and women who preceded him in Scotland, the United Kingdom, Europe, and around the world. However, his quest for the Christian life never escaped those original impulses first birthed at St. Andrews.

What makes Craik's story important is how he, as a university educated Scotsman who lived the majority of his adult life in Bristol, England, tried to help others live out their Christian faith through his preaching, personal example, and his engagement with the biblical text through his writings. He made a profound difference in the lives of those who heard him

preach, whom he befriended, those whom he ministered to through pastoral care, and even those who took the time to read his scholarly writings on the Bible and the life of the church.

This study will link together several contexts, theological ideas, and autobiographical fragments, along with broader interpretations of church history to understand how Craik arrived at his unique and important approach to church community that helped shape the Christian Brethren. More commonly known as the Open Brethren, the Christian Brethren or simply Brethren was a group that were separated from John Nelson Darby and the Plymouth Brethren in 1848. The Christians who gathered in Bristol in the churches where Craik and Müller preached were initially called ‘Craig and Mullerites of Bristol’⁷ or simply ‘Mullerites’—due to the fame of Müller’s orphanage and the proliferation of publications that made him a well-known public figure.⁸ However, as Craik was central to the theological and organizational development of this group of Christian congregations in Bristol, his name was also referenced incorrectly as ‘Craig.’⁹ The ‘Craig and Mullerites of Bristol’ were a significant new venture in the history of Dissent that made an important contribution to the development of Christianity in Great Britain and around the world through the example of living by faith, engaging in philanthropic work for orphans, and supporting overseas missionary ventures.

⁷ In the analysis of a document in the Bridgwater archive in 1857, an interesting connection was made between past church funding schemes and what was then occurring in Bristol when the author explained, ‘He next read an inventory belonging to certain charities, and which consisted of movables and rents. (It appeared that the church maintained a principle which bears much analogy to the system adopted by the Craig and Mullerites of Bristol, receiving articles of clothing, etc., for the support of the church). In one instance a lady had given an anvil towards the church of Bridgwater; another a ‘toker’s shears.’ These were let out to hire, and the profits devoted to the church. When people had no money they gave furniture, or any other things that might be turned into cash.’ “Proceedings of the Congress”, *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (March 1857): 69.

⁸ “The Origin of Plymouthism”, *The Church Advocate* XLII, no. 516 (September 1, 1880): 234.

⁹ The reason for the misspelling of Craik as Craig may have been due to the unfamiliarity of the name in the South West of England or to some other mistake.

Craik's important role in the history of Brethren has long been overshadowed by Müller. The foremost reason for this is that Müller became widely celebrated for his orphanage and the way in which he financed the institution by faith (relying on God through prayer to meet all the material and financial needs of the orphans). Secondly, Muller also outlived Craik by 32 years. Craik's death in 1866 left Muller the primary leader among the Brethren churches they oversaw in Bristol until his own death in 1898. Had Craik lived longer, become a famous author, or been heralded for something as grandiose as the Ashley Down Orphan Homes, he too may not have been relegated to the periphery of nineteenth century British Evangelical history.

1.3 The Limits of the Archive

Archives are places of discovery that help historians reclaim fragments of lived lives and weave them together to form a more complete story of the past. This thesis has drawn on a handful of surviving letters in Henry Craik's hand preserved at New College, University of Edinburgh, and the records of the student missionary society held at the University of St. Andrews. Along with these items, the author as thoroughly examined the periodical collection of *The St. Andrews University Magazine*, also held by Special Collections at the University.

Although he kept an extensive, multi-volume journal of his life from his student days at the University of St. Andrews until his death in Bristol in 1866, the only complete version of these documents is found in the form of a single volume book edited by W. Elfe Tayler entitled, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik, of Bristol*. This thesis has relied heavily on this volume as it is the only complete text that reflects the development of his thought. There is, however, a major problem with this text as Tayler's editorial hand was exercised in such a way as to produce a text that suited the editor's agenda and forced a specific spiritual meaning on Craik's failures and triumphs rather than simply providing a detailed record of his thought and

activities. Consequently, the edited text makes a seamless whole of the life of Craik and injected into the narrative of his life ideas and assumptions that Craik may not have found to be accurate. Even George Müller's introduction to the book provides an interpretation of Craik's scholarly pursuits and intellectual bent that are suspect.

Until recently, no one knew of any surviving journals that made up part of the whole of the *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik* until The George Müller Museum moved from Cotham in 2019 to one of the original orphan homes in Bristol that had undergone renovations. At some point in this move the staff discovered one of the handwritten journals along with some other miscellaneous items in a cupboard that had been painted shut.¹⁰ The journal would remain unknown to scholars until Dr. Neil Summerton, a former trustee of The George Müller Charitable Trust, was made aware of the journal late in the year of 2022. The author of this thesis only learned of the surviving handwritten journal that covers the period from 1863-1866 in late January of 2023 after this thesis had been submitted to the University of Glasgow. However, photographs of some journal pages have been provided to the author by Dr. Summerton and have been used sparingly to buttress points that were already informed by the close reading from *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*. Church historians in the future will need to consult this journal for further in-depth analysis of Craik.

In addition to these primary sources, this thesis draws on a plethora of nineteenth century published sources from newspapers and journal articles to regional histories, tracts, and ephemera. All of Craik's surviving publications including books, tracts, published lectures, and published sermons were consulted by the author to better understand the development of Craik's thought and to form the argument of this thesis.

¹⁰ Ellie Manley, email message to author, February 15, 2023.

1.4 Craik's Place in the Historiography

Although Craik partnered with Müller in pastoral ministry at various churches in Bristol and published books on Christian practice and the Bible during his lifetime, little has been written about Craik other than a few observations about his life in historical studies of the Brethren. Because so little modern scholarship has examined Craik's life outside of the Brethren, his unique contributions to British Christianity have been overshadowed by Müller. Despite that reality, Craik has not been completely forgotten thanks to the works of several Brethren writers and Evangelical authors who have remembered him as merely Müller's partner in ministry.

Although there are many Brethren accounts that date from the nineteenth century that mention Craik, among the most important is Henry Pickering's *Chief Men Among the Brethren*. Craik's life is recounted in the brief overview that notes his standing as a leading minister in Bristol, extremely popular preacher, and a well-connected and successful author. The biographical account was written by J.L.S. who indicates that he not only knew Craik but 'enjoyed his ministry' as one of 'the most precious memories of the writer.'¹¹ Although they were not specifically defined, the initials most likely reference James L. Stanley who managed the Bible and Tract Warehouse of the Scriptural Knowledge Institution in Bristol that was founded in 1834 by Craik and Müller.¹² The account points to a close personal relationship between the two men that would have developed outside of the church.¹³ What emerges from the short biography is a clear image of Craik's

¹¹ J.L.S., "Henry Craik", in Henry Pickering, *Chief Men Among the Brethren: A Series of Brief Record of Brethren Beloved Collected from Many Sources* (Glasgow: Pickering & Inglis, n.d.), 32.

¹² George Muller, *Brief Narrative of Facts Relative to the New Orphan Houses, (for 1,150 children), on Ashley Down, Bristol, and the Other Objects of the Scriptural Knowledge Institution for Home and Abroad: This Narrative contains the Record of the Period from May 26, 1866, to May 26, 1867, and constitutes the Twenty-Eighth Report of the Proceedings of the Above Institution* (London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1867), 2, 40, 63.

¹³ Mrs. Stanley also worked at the Bible and Tract Warehouse of the Scriptural Knowledge Institution, No. 34 Park Street, Bristol, where she sold the items that were donated to help benefit the orphans housed at Ashley Down. *Ibid.*, 68. The official name of the thrift shop

focus on spiritual concerns and humility over any worries about himself. In fact, J.L.S. explains that someone who first encountered Craik might even have been ‘disappointed’ by his ‘rugged’ and unkempt appearance, that is until they heard him speak with his “natural eloquence” and ‘glowing fervour.’¹⁴

This personal account of Craik’s importance to the history of the Brethren in Bristol is bolstered by the next most significant account of Craik’s life from the nineteenth century, the leading biographical account of George Müller. Written by the esteemed American Evangelical writer and minister Arthur T. Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol and His Witness to a Prayer-Hearing God*, defined the life and work of Müller for the following century.¹⁵ Published in 1899 the book includes a significant amount of information about Craik that is drawn from Müller’s autobiographical publications, Craik’s publications, and Pierson’s research. The result is an engaging biography that details their partnership in ministry and how each man was humbled by the gifts God granted to the other.¹⁶ As all other biographers and historians would acknowledge after Pierson’s account, the two men’s ministry was predicated on following Scripture. Their distinctive form of Brethren Christianity was universalized as broadly Evangelical or biblical. This made their ministry into a model for all kinds of Protestant Christians around the world who may have not been drawn to the peculiarities of Brethren religious culture.

Mrs. Stanley managed over the decades was ‘Depository for the Sale of Articles given for the benefit of the Orphans at Ashley Down.’ *Kelly’s Directory of Somersetshire, with the City of Bristol*, edited by E. R. Kelly (London: Kelly and Co., 1883), 686.

¹⁴ J.L.S., “Henry Craik”, 32.

¹⁵ Arthur T. Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol and His Witness to a Prayer-Hearing God*, introduction by James Wright (New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., 1899); also see Dana L. Robert, *Occupy Until I Come: A. T. Pierson and the Evangelization of the World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 103-109.

¹⁶ Craik was by far the more gifted preacher and ‘was much more used of God than his own, in conviction and conversion.’ On the other hand, even though Craik had been involved with the Scriptural Knowledge Institution from its founding in 1834, Pierson notes that Craik’s name never appeared on the report after 1844 because of Craik’s ‘conviction that the honour of being used of God as His instrument in forwarding the great work of the Scriptural Knowledge Institution belonged solely to George Müller.’ Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol and His Witness to a Prayer-Hearing God*, 101, 193.

Among the Brethren historical accounts in the twentieth century, Napoleon Noel's *The History of the Brethren* included Craik in a chapter entitled, 'Sixty-Six Principal Brethren.' Noel's short biography gives the most attention to Craik's years at St. Andrews naming Professor Alexander and Dr. Hunter as two key teachers, while also emphasizing Craik's dissolute life without Christ, and his coming to Christ through the friendship of John Urquhart. The biography mentions his relationship with A. N. Groves, George Müller, his life in ministry, and his married life.¹⁷ What is not mentioned is his relationship with Thomas Chalmers or other activities that Craik engaged in as a Bible scholar.¹⁸

The famed pastor of Moody Bible Church in Chicago, Illinois, Henry A. Ironside wrote a historical overview entitled, *A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement*. His references to Craik were tied to their being 'co-pastors of an independent church in Bristol' until they were 'exercised as to the New Testament order of ministry and worship' which led Craik and Müller into the Brethren movement.¹⁹ This focus on the biblical nature of Brethren theology and practice is the primary concern in Ironside's account.

Harold H. Rowdon's *The Origins of the Brethren*, published in 1967, marked a serious scholarly shift in the examination of Craik and Müller's labours. Based on his University of London doctoral dissertation, this meticulously researched volume rightfully highlights Craik and Müller's role in the development of the Brethren. The person, according to Rowdon, who influenced both men deeply was A. N. Groves. Craik worked in Groves household as a tutor and Müller became an intimate of Groves' family by marrying Groves' sister, Mary. Rowdon's main purpose was to show that Craik and Müller were Brethren leaders following in the wake of Groves's

¹⁷ Napoleon Noel, *The History of the Brethren: Volume 1*, edited by William F. Knapp (Denver, CO: W. F. Knapp, 1936), 100.

¹⁸ Noel, *The History of the Brethren*, 99.

¹⁹ H. A. Ironside, *A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement: An Account of its Inception, Progress, Principles and Failures, and Its Lessons for Present Day Believers* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1942), 25.

thought and example. Rowdon seems to be combating any claims that the two men could be classified as Dissenting ministers, Baptists, or aligned with any other ecclesiastical body. He also shows how they conceived of their unique view of church order in reference to a strict Scriptural basis. What emerges from Rowdon's analysis is the view that even though Craik and Müller sought to create 'a church fellowship constructed with the closest reference to the New Testament'²⁰ and they 'did all in their power to minimise the differences between themselves and other believers, at the same time maintaining their own somewhat distinctive positions.'²¹

Rowdon's work was followed in 1968 by F. Roy Coad's *A History of the Brethren Movement* that again places Groves at the forefront of the early history of the movement. Craik's place in the narrative repeats much of what has been already described in the previous accounts. Coad's work, while acknowledging Craik's role, gives the greater importance to Müller. Coad writes 'George Müller's faith, like John Wesley's Aldersgate experience, has become part of the stock in trade of evangelical tradition.'²² The hagiography that surrounded Müller's care for orphans, which was based solely on prayer, garnered him global acclaim that persists to the present. However, Coad did not completely abandon Craik's importance and observed, 'In many ways, Craik is one of the most attractive and level-headed of all the men who were brought together in the early days of the Brethren movement.'²³

In Keith and Alan Linton's local church history, *'I Will Build My Church': 150 Years of Church Work in Bristol*, they begin with the relationship between Craik and Müller that resulted in the establishment of the Brethren in Bristol. Reliant on Coad and other writers, they give an account that is meant to appeal to a popular audience, while also maintaining lots of

²⁰ Ironside, *A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement*, 292.

²¹ Ironside, *A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement*, 293.

²² F. Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement: Its Origins, its Worldwide Development and its Significance for the Present Day*, 2nd ed. (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1976), 55.

²³ Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement*, 47.

unique details that illuminate the importance of Craik to the development of the Brethren churches in Bristol. For the authors, of course, Müller is foremost among the Brethren as the pious man ‘who had had set out to prove to Bristolians that God was real – and succeeded!’²⁴

Several contemporary historians of the Brethren movement have also built upon the work of Rowdon and Coad to tell the story of Craik and Müller anew. In 2006, Tim Grass published, *Gathering to His Name*, that brings together many of historical accounts regarding Craik and Müller. Grass places emphasis on their practice of living by faith to have their daily needs met, rejecting ecclesiastical organizations for the ordination of individuals into positions of leadership in the church, and their collaboration in creating a biblical polity for establishing church order.²⁵ Grass also noted the influence of Robert C. Chapman on Craik and Müller, acknowledged Craik’s openness to other church traditions, addressed Craik’s use of homeopathic medicine, and his lack of concern over the debates raging in Victorian Britain about the authority of the biblical text.²⁶ Grass’s account moves beyond the standard narratives of Craik to show a more complicated figure who exercised range of latitude in his beliefs that did not necessarily align well with conservative elements present in Brethren culture. Grass’s insights, in fact, point to the fact that Craik was oriented towards other influences that shaped his thinking and theology that this thesis will illuminate.

Two of the more recent studies that reference Craik are Massimo Introvigne’s, *The Plymouth Brethren*, published in 2018 and Jean DeBernadi’s *Christian Circulations: Global Christianity and the Local Church in Penang and Singapore, 1819-2000*, published in 2020. Neither book offers any new insights into Craik’s life or thought and present him primarily as a partner in

²⁴ Keith Linton and Alan Linton, *‘I Will Build My Church’: 150 Years of Local Church Work in Bristol* (Bristol: C. Hadler, n.d.), 52.

²⁵ Tim Grass, *Gathering to His Name: The Story of Open Brethren in Britain and Ireland*, foreword by David Bebbington (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006), 45-46, 99.

²⁶ Grass, *Gathering to His Name*, 44, 231-32, 257, 241.

ministry with Müller influenced by Groves.²⁷ Donald Harman Akenson's 2018 book, *Exporting the Rapture; John Nelson Darby and the Victorian Conquest of North-American Evangelicalism*, pays closer attention to Craik and Groves's influence on him, along with other issues such as the separation from John Nelson Darby, and Craik and Müller's influence in Bristol and beyond.²⁸ Of the more recent books that analyses Craik, none surpasses Neil Summerton's ground-breaking and illuminating study, *'I Thanked the Lord, and Asked for More': George Müller's Life and Work*, which was published in 2022. Summerton's volume goes beyond the basic narrative and delves into the nuances of the relationship between Müller and Craik. Summerton uses a variety of primary sources, most notably the annual reports for donors that Müller published, which detailed the philanthropic and church labours of the two men in Bristol.²⁹ Although Summerton's work is primarily focused on the intimate details of Müller's life and thought, he analyses the development of their thought about church governance and shows how the two men worked in tandem as "outstandingly successful evangelists and church-planters!"³⁰

On the whole, Craik remains a minor and somewhat neglected figure in the Brethren historiography. There are no stand-alone articles in the *Brethren Historical Review* (formerly *Brethren Archivists and Historians Network Review*) that address Craik's distinctive thought or his contribution to the Brethren Movement. However, three historians have addressed Craik within the Scottish context. Stuart Piggin and John Roxborough's *The St. Andrews Seven* tells the story of six men who were students of Thomas Chalmers at St. Andrews in the 1820s. These men were influential in Protestant missions,

²⁷ Massimo Introvigne, *The Plymouth Brethren* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 33, 37-40, 53; Jean DeBernardi, *Christian Circulations: Global Christianity and the Local Church in Penang and Singapore, 1819-2020* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2020), 50-1, 66, 174,

²⁸ Donald Harman Akenson, *Exporting the Rapture: John Nelson Darby and the Victorian Conquest of North-American Evangelicalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 41, 55-62, 102-113, 256-280.

²⁹ Neil Summerton, *'I Thanked the Lord, and Asked for More': George Müller's Life and Work* (Glasgow: Brethren Archivists and Historians Network, 2022).

³⁰ Summerton, *'I Thanked the Lord, and Asked for More'*, 150.

particularly in India, during the nineteenth century. Alexander Duff became the most celebrated and widely known of the St. Andrews students. Piggin and Roxborough also include John Ewart, William Sinclair Mackay, Robert Nesbit, John Adam, and Craik's close friend John Urquhart. In fact, Craik was close with all the men as he came to know them through the St. Andrews University Missionary Society, as well as in other venues as fellow undergraduates.³¹ Their account is essential for gaining insight into how Craik's experience as a student was shaped by the evangelical piety that flourished at St. Andrews in the 1820s.

In *Brethren in Scotland 1838-2000: A Social Study of an Evangelical Movement*, the seminal work on the Scottish Brethren, Neil T. R. Dickson acknowledges Craik's influence on the development of the Brethren in Scotland. Dickson explains how a disgruntled Scottish Methodist by the name of John Bowes had grown weary of the status quo and desired a 'more democratic church order.'³² Bowes would find agreement with Craik on a number of ideas, most notably Christian unity.³³ In their correspondence Craik sent Bowes a copy of Müller's autobiography and this too influenced Bowes 'to adopt 'living by faith' advocated by Müller.'³⁴ Dickson shows that even though Craik lived in Bristol, he remained important to the expansion of Brethren principles to Scotland.

Another important historian of the Brethren who has taken notice of Craik is Timothy C. F. Stunt. In his book entitled, *From Awakening to Secession*, Stunt's close reading of radical evangelicalism in Switzerland and Great Britain examines aspects of Craik's student years in St. Andrews, as well as his relationship with Chalmers, Groves, and Müller.³⁵ Stunt also

³¹ Stuart Piggin and John Roxborough, *The St. Andrews Seven: The Finest Flowering of Missionary Zeal in Scottish History* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1985), 51.

³² Neil T. R. Dickson, *Brethren in Scotland 1838-2000: A Social Study of an Evangelical Movement*, foreword by David Bebbington (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2002), 31.

³³ Dickson, *Brethren in Scotland 1838-2000*, 35.

³⁴ Dickson, *Brethren in Scotland 1838-2000*, 35.

³⁵ Timothy C. F. Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession: Radical Evangelicals in Switzerland and Britain 1815-35* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 127, 223-6, 285-7.

addresses Craik in his 2015 book, *The Elusive Quest of the Spiritual Malcontent: Some Early Nineteenth-Century Ecclesiastical Mavericks*, which is a volume of essays that were written over many decades of examining aspects of Brethren history. Among the most important elements related to Craik is Stunt's essay on George Henry Stoddart that shows from archival evidence that Craik was part of group of early Brethren included in 'an undated proposal for a translation of the New Testament' that would result in 'undeniable improvements.'³⁶ This desire for getting the biblical text correct for the life of the church and for ordinary believers was crucial to the Brethren. Craik's inclusion among those proposed to be tasked with improving the biblical text in English is noteworthy and points to his status as a respected biblical scholar.

In terms of ecclesiology, Craik's place in early Brethren church life is examined in James Patrick Callahan's *Primitivist Piety*, which is based on his doctoral dissertation completed at Marquette University. Callahan examined the ecclesiology of the early Brethren and acknowledges Craik's contribution. Callahan observes that the movement was a 'thoroughly Protestant, dissenting, and sectarian movement, puritanical and Calvinistic in orientation. They applied the notion of *sola scriptura* in a rigorous fashion and held much in common with evangelical Anabaptists and numerous dissenting churches in their own day.'³⁷ Callahan's observation helps orient the broader contours into which Craik fits as an early leader in the movement that believed that true Christian piety was linked to primitive church ecclesiology.

Trusting God for their material needs remained one of the central features of the Bristol Brethren associated with 'Craig and Müllerities.' The practice of 'living by faith' is most notably linked with the famed German Pietist August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) who began his ministry in Halle

³⁶ Timothy C. F. Stunt, *The Elusive Quest of Spiritual Malcontent: Some Early Nineteenth-Century Ecclesiastical Mavericks* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015), 275.

³⁷ James Patrick Callahan, *Primitivist Piety: The Ecclesiology of the Early Plymouth Brethren* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 1996), 214.

using this method.³⁸ According to many Brethren writers, Anthony Norris Groves invented this approach for addressing financial need and Craik and Müller popularized his idea through their own example. There are problems with this account as Müller was well-aware of Francke's practice from when he was a student at the University of Halle. Müller saw Francke's massive orphan homes and even lived in one of the dormitories built by faith for poor divinity students.³⁹ The practice of living by faith (or the faith principle) became synonymous with Müller's identity and memory,⁴⁰ as well as J. Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission who were adopters of the faith method for missions.⁴¹ Timothy Larsen includes an analysis of Müller and Craik's adoption of the practice from A. N. Groves in his article, "Living by Faith': A Short History of Brethren Practice."⁴² In Larsen's account, Müller is the primary leader and definer of the practice in Bristol, while Craik remains in the background. Two doctoral dissertations also address Craik's place in the broader story of faith missions. Christopher E. M. Wigram in his study of the

³⁸ Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*, foreword by Peter C. Erb (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 130, 141-142; also see, W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 61-63; Markus Matthias, "August Hermann Francke (1663-1727)," in *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, edited by Carter Lindberg (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 100-10.

³⁹ Nicholas M. Railton, *No North Sea: The Anglo-German Evangelical Network in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 144-48.

⁴⁰ Brethren historians have argued that Groves created the notion of living by faith and that Müller popularized the practice, see Thomas E. L. Whittaker, "Providence, Prophecy, and Prosperity: Rethinking the 'Romantic' Premillennialism of the 1820s through the Faith Principle of Anthony Norris Groves", in *The Brethren and Mission: Essays in Honour of Timothy C. F. Stunt*, edited by Neil T. R. Dickson and T. J. Marinello (Glasgow: Brethren Archivists and Historians Network, 2016), 47. However, Stephan Holthaus asserts that Müller conceived of living by faith when he was a student at the University of Halle and rejected 'financial support from his father' and 'from 1827 onwards lived in complete faith in God to supply his needs, even though he had to finance his studies by teaching German to American students.' Stephan Holthaus, "Georg Muller (1805-1898): His Life and Work", in *Witness in Many Lands: Leadership and Outreach among the Brethren*, edited by Tim Grass (Troon, Scotland: Brethren Archivists and Historians Network, 2013), 8.

⁴¹ Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions: From Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 1994), 55-6.

⁴² Timothy Larsen, "Living by Faith': A Short History of Brethren Practice", *Brethren Archivists and Historians Network Review* 1 (1998): 75-82.

China Inland Mission draws on the work of Coad and Rowdon to emphasize the influence of Groves on Craik and Müller.⁴³ Similarly relying on Coad and Rowdon's work, Arndt Elmar Schnepfer explores the close collaboration between Craik and Müller and their shared practice of living by faith.⁴⁴

Even though Craik has a place in Brethren history, the history of living by faith, and Evangelical historiography through his association with Thomas Chalmers and the students at St. Andrews, he has not received close scholarly scrutiny. The reason for this is due to the most challenging aspect for studying the life of Henry Craik. There is a scarcity of primary sources in his own hand that would allow the church historian to examine his thought and life in minute detail. Craik, as previously mentioned, did develop the practice of keeping a journal while an undergraduate at the University of St. Andrews. However, the posthumously published journals edited by W. Elfe Tayler reflected what he believed was most important as representative of Craik's life for the reading public. This redaction of Craik's written legacy has made the combing of archives for miscellaneous letters especially important. Likewise, reading the memoirs and other published accounts from those who knew Craik personally are crucial for developing a more complete portrait of his life. This thesis will rely on a close reading of these archival materials, Craik's own publications, along with works by others mentioning him, in order to explore and investigate the context for the development of his thought and practice.

1.5 Thesis Overview

Throughout his life Craik maintained close ties with his Scottish roots and held to ideas that were cultivated in his college years at the University of St. Andrews. Even though he embraced Independency in his understanding of

⁴³ Christopher E. M. Wigram, "The Bible and Mission in Faith Perspective: J. Hudson Taylor and the Early China Inland Mission" (Ph.D. diss. University of Utrecht, 2007), 60-1.

⁴⁴ Arndt Elmar Schnepfer, "Mission and Money: The Faith-Principle and Fundraising by the German Faith Missions. Genesis, Structure and Legitimacy" (Th.D. diss. University of South Africa, 2004), 58-73.

church government, Craik was broad in his acceptance of other Christians. His irenic disposition and his desire for reform led Craik to be an advocate for going to the biblical text to arrive at the proper idea of Christian living. Deemed a leader among the Brethren, Craik was also an independent thinker who wanted to promote a vital and accessible Christianity for ordinary people. His preaching style, affability, and his spiritual zeal drew people to him and made him an important leader among Christians in Bristol and beyond.

The next five chapters of this thesis will investigate Craik's life to determine the sources for his ideas about a Second Reformation and the sources for his irenic approach to fellow Christians. Chapter 2 examines how the Evangelical resurgence among students at the University of St. Andrews sparked by the arrival of Thomas Chalmers affected Craik. Chapter 3 examines the influence of the Scottish Reformation on St. Andrews and the relationship between Craik and classmates that formed his Evangelical sensibilities. Craik's sources for being inspired to live each day according to Scripture are analysed in chapter 4. Chapter 5 examines Craik's desire for a Second Reformation in the Established churches and among Christians more broadly. The concluding chapter will place the significance of Craik's memory and pastoral ministry in the broader context of the British Evangelicalism and his hope to finish the sixteenth century Reformation of the Church.

CHAPTER 2

‘MISSIONS—METHODISTS—MODERATES’

2.1 ‘Utterly Unworthy of Our Regard’

In a spirited volley of words that was born out of youthful bravado, William Tait, in the first issue of a new student magazine, wrote the following words to his classmates at the University of St. Andrews in early December 1825,

By way of introducing our Miscellany to the notice of our readers, it may not be amiss to take notice of a few of the objections that have been so bitterly urged against it. The objections, are, in themselves indeed, utterly unworthy of our regard; but it is perhaps worth our while to give them a moments consideration, and if in doing this we shew a little severity, our opponents must just excuse us for this time, and forbear from exciting us again.¹

The parry was in response to the criticism that Tait, William Scott Moncrieff, and Henry Craik had received about their new literary venture *The St. Andrews University Magazine*. Birthed in a moment of Evangelical enthusiasm at the University, the three men hoped their magazine might address their deepest concerns regarding the Christian faith. Tait went on to proclaim, ‘The Methodism of our intended Journal is first found fault with, and it is insinuated, nay, boldly stated, that from a College Magazine all veneration of religion should be excluded.’ Tait’s claim that they were Methodist in orientation was meant to convey the division that was obvious among the students at St. Andrews—an ever-deepening chasm between the Evangelicals and the Moderates. The source for this rift was due to a variety of factors that resulted in open debate about what was an acceptable form of

¹ “Objections to our Miscellany [sic]”, *The St. Andrews University Magazine* no. 1 (December 3, 1825): 4. The only known surviving copies of the magazine are held in the Special Collections, University of St. Andrews Library, Scotland.

public Christian piety. In their pious zeal, the Evangelical triad behind the new magazine was enamoured with their own earnestness and the moral superiority of their cause. They were fighting against the established social fabric of St. Andrews marked by a widespread commitment to cold formalism and what they perceived as the moral laxness of the Moderate establishment in the Church of Scotland.² Furthermore, these young men invested themselves deeply in a romantic vision of Christianity that re-oriented their view of religious activism to the transformation of society and the world through philanthropy and missions.

This chapter will bring to light a few of the elements that fueled the hopes of these bright-eyed optimists who whole-heartedly condemned their classmates and took on the institutions that appeared to stymie their desire for change. The first of the elements that launched their activism was a reinvigorated Scottish Evangelicalism that cultivated a passion for overseas missionary work and philanthropic ventures at home. The second contributing element was Thomas Chalmers. Although he is hardly separable from the first element, Chalmers' recent arrival from parish work in Glasgow gave legitimacy for 'his struggle to realize an ideal Christian society—a 'Godly commonwealth—in response to the social dislocations of early nineteenth-century industrialization and urbanization.'³ The third of these elements was use of history as a source of inspiration for reform. With these three elements in operation, Evangelical students at the University of St. Andrews were moved to establish themselves as distinct from their Moderate counterparts in hope of bringing about a significant alteration in the culture and religious identity of their alma mater. This was crucial to the formation of Craik's

² According to Callum G. Brown, by the 1750s 'the Moderate Party in the Church of Scotland—a party which absorbed rationalism from the Enlightenment, and which despised 'enthusiasm' and excess in religion. . . . Though probably in the minority amongst the clergy, the Moderates had powerful support and were well organised, they controlled the Established Church through its general assembly until 1833.' Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 19.

³ Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), xv.

Evangelical sensibilities and his mindset about Independency. As this chapter will argue, Craik and his friends at St. Andrews sought to bring about an Evangelical revival, inspired by past church reformers, that confronted and altered those institutions they believed were hindering the creation of a truly Christian society.

2.2 Romantic Hopes for Reforming Church and Society

The son of a Church of Scotland minister when Henry Craik entered the University of St. Andrews in 1820, he was 15 years old. His two older brothers George Lillie and James had also attended United College and St. Mary's College and were still in St. Andrews completing their studies when he arrived. During Craik's first session in 1820-21 he obtained no honours, but in the subsequent sessions of 1821-22, 1822-23, 1823-24 he was awarded a variety of prizes in Greek, Logic, Mathematics, and Moral Philosophy and was qualified to enter St. Mary's College for studies in Divinity.⁴ Over the course of time as student at St. Andrews, one classmate would play a crucial role in shifting Craik's understanding of the Christian faith toward an Evangelical understanding.

John Urquhart (1808-27), who would later be celebrated for his decision to serve with the London Missionary Society, was enormously important for Craik coming to understand that Christianity was something more than ritualistic or performative. Urquhart came from a family of Dissenters who were committed to an Evangelical view of the Christian life and even obtained a dispensation to attend a Dissenting chapel while at St. Andrews.⁵ Urquhart and Craik first became aware of one another when each received a bursary from St. Andrews in 1822. This was at the start of Urquhart's first session at St. Andrews and Craik's third. Over the course of

⁴ W. Elfe Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik of Bristol*, with an introduction by George Müller (London: J. F. Shaw, 1866), 8.

⁵ William Orme, *Memoirs, Including Letters, and Select Remains, of John Urquhart, Late of the University of St. Andrews: Volume 1* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1828), 39, 46.

1822-23 session Urquhart noted that the students regularly engaged in worship, but he ‘fear[ed] there was much coldness, and much formality in almost every exercise.’⁶ With an Evangelical mindset that sought a dynamic personal relationship with God, Urquhart questioned whether the students really grasped the fullness of the Christian faith. He, however, experienced enough spiritual vitality through his friendship with Alexander Duff and his attendance at a local Dissenting congregation to find St. Andrews enjoyable.⁷ Soon Craik and Urquhart became close friends and Craik began a shift in his own convictions toward the personal and experiential Evangelical faith of Urquhart. The two young men soon joined several fellow collaborators in an Evangelical insurgency that was underway at St. Andrews thanks to the arrival of a new professor.

When Thomas Chalmers was offered the Chair of Moral Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews in 1823 by Viscount Melville, Chalmers, as Stewart J. Brown has noted, was a ‘surprising’ choice.⁸ This was primarily because the Moderates dominated the Senate, Principal Francis Nicoll of United College was a leader among the Moderates in the Church of Scotland, and because of Chalmers’s noteworthy history of indelicate exchanges with colleagues in St. Andrews and in Glasgow.⁹ To make matters more complicated, in a university that was Moderate and Tory in disposition, Chalmers was, as Brown describes him, ‘an Evangelical, with Whig sympathies.’¹⁰ At the time St. Andrews was in a predicament that warranted

⁶ Orme, *Memoirs*, 49.

⁷ The Independent Congregationalist church that Rev. William Lothian was minister of since 1819 was first established by the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home in 1801 and later the church building was constructed in 1807 by subscription at a cost of £500. Attendance was approximately 200 persons and ‘about two-third of the congregation are of the poor and working classes.’ *Sixth Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland* (Edinburgh: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1838), 506-7.

⁸ Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland*, 164.

⁹ Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland*, 164.

¹⁰ Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland*, 164; also see George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., L.L.D.: Volume 1* (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, n.d.), 20; Timothy C. F. Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession: Radical Evangelicals in Switzerland and Britain 1815-35* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 222-3.

obtaining a professor, even an Evangelical, who could revive the standing of the University.¹¹ Before Chalmers's arrival, St. Andrews was a poor, dilapidated university 'with an average of 220 resident students.'¹² Since 1747, with the Union of the Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard into United College, the University had invested some £5,500 in trying to restore the ancient buildings and give the campus a sense of grandeur. Restoration efforts were a failure and as Chalmers observed of college buildings 'they should not only have a complete suite of class-rooms, but a fabric of somewhat creditable aspect, that would announce itself to be a college, and not be mistaken for an old cotton-mill.'¹³ At the time St. Andrews was in need of someone of Chalmers's reputation as much as Chalmers needed a break from the demands of urban parish work.¹⁴ He accepted the post in January 1823 and was in St. Andrews by the middle of November of that same year.¹⁵ St. Andrews now had a famous professor who would draw students and visitors to the town and increase the stature of the University.¹⁶

The effect Chalmers had upon the students, the University, and the town of St. Andrews was notable. Chalmers immediately set about engaging the minds of the students through his courses on Moral Philosophy and Political Economy. He invested his time in a Sabbath School and partnered with local ministers, most notably Rev. William Lothian, to reach the local

¹¹ One candidate who was considered a possible rival appointee to Chalmers was the 26-year old Robert Burns. Johnston McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom: A Century of Tension in Scottish Social Theology 1830-1929, The Chalmers Lectures for 2011* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 6.

¹² Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland*, 163; also see "A Summer Ramble in the North Highlands", *The Edinburgh Magazine, and Literary Miscellany* XVIII (November 1825): 520-1.

¹³ John Kerr, *Scottish Education School and University: From Early Times to 1908, with an Addendum 1908-1913* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), 225.

¹⁴ Stuart Piggin and John Roxborough, *The St. Andrews Seven: The Finest Flowering of Missionary Zeal in Scottish History* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1985), 1.

¹⁵ Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland*, 165.

¹⁶ Ecclesiastical historian J. H. S. Burleigh argues that 'Chalmers entered the ministry at a time when it stood lower in public esteem than at any period before or since. To him more than to any other is due its steady recovery of influence and esteem throughout the nineteenth century.' J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 328.

population with the Gospel. Furthermore, Chalmers encouraged an Evangelical view of overseas missions, philanthropy, prayer-meetings, and Sabbath-Schools that caught the imagination of the students and compelled action by what William Hanna, Chalmers's son-in-law, described as 'the spreading contagiousness of his own personal example.'¹⁷

Students were drawn to Chalmers by his reputation, his vigor, and his vision to reform church and society. From the moment Chalmers arrived he challenged the status quo. For example, many of the students hoped to obtain further independency from University authority in matters of Sabbath worship. From the late eighteenth century onward, non-Presbyterian students had been permitted to obtain a special dispensation from compulsory church attendance at St. Leonard's Parish Church (services were held at St. Salvator's Chapel).¹⁸ According to John Kerr, students were holed away 'indoors' and managed not to 'behave improperly during the time of divine worship.' In 1824 students petitioned the University to have the right 'to worship where they pleased.'¹⁹ Though initially Chalmers was wary of simply giving ground to the students' complaints, when their attempt to gain any sort of hearing failed, he became the sole faculty member to lobby in favour of this freedom. Chalmers supported this petition based on his view that it was the 'natural right of the parent to direct and control the religious education of his children,' even in families who held fast to their Dissenter sensibilities.²⁰ As J. H. S. Burleigh observed, Chalmers hoped 'to give those of dissenting families liberty to find more evangelical preaching elsewhere.'²¹ Much to their shared displeasure, the petition was denied and compulsory attendance at Sabbath service in college, unless a special dispensation was granted, was maintained until 1843.

¹⁷ William Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., L.L.D.:* Volume III (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co., 1852), 201.

¹⁸ "History of St. Leonard's Chapel," accessed July 1, 2019, <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/about/history/st-leonards/>

¹⁹ John Kerr, *Scottish Education School and University: From Early Times to 1908, with an Addendum 1908-1913* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), 225.

²⁰ William Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 106.

²¹ Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland*, 324-5.

In this stand for Dissenters, Chalmers had shown students that he was a professor willing to question institutional traditions at St. Andrews and that he would continue to do so at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.²² This example certainly emboldened some students to push for further religious reform along Evangelical lines. The *St. Andrews University Magazine* became an important instrument in this effort to challenge the University's religious culture and, indirectly, the Moderates' monopoly over the Church of Scotland. The three young men who formed the editorial team of the new magazine, Moncrieff, Tait, and Craik, were all affected by their tutelage under Chalmers and possessed a brashness that developed out of their own earnest desire for particular kinds of reform. As Tait explained in their first issue, 'we have also been charged with stating this Methodism too broadly and too avowedly . . . and shewn also too much of a narrow and exclusive spirit, in pledging ourselves to support any system of opinions.'²³ He further clarified,

We have been imprudent and most probably prejudiced our own cause by that imprudence . . . and we may seem to be exhibiting a very narrow and exclusive spirit, in stating our firm determination to hold by the opinions deemed Evangelical, at whatever risk. And verily, if Theological truth were a matter of harmless speculation, we would be justly chargeable with this. But to those who know what it is to understand and believe the Gospel, who are experimentally acquainted with the fact, that a man's opinions on Theological subjects enter into and mould his whole character; we appeal most confidently, whether in the statement we have made, we can justly be called narrow or exclusive.²⁴

Regardless of how Tait and the earnest young editors viewed themselves, the magazine was a shot across the bow that intended to further Evangelical piety

²² In May of 1824, Chalmers participated in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh and at one point in a debate between Chalmers and Dr. Inglis the students' gallery had to cleared due to a 'burst' of 'applause' from the students in support of Chalmers that caused the meeting to 'instantly' become 'a whirlpool of confusion.' Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 23.

²³ "Objections to Our Miscellany [sic]", *The St. Andrews University Magazine* no. 1 (December 3, 1825): 4.

²⁴ "Objections to Our Miscellany [sic]", 5.

and morality at St. Andrews. Charging that some of their classmates preferred ‘vulgar jest and low ribaldry’ that brought ‘shame upon [their] Alma Mater’²⁵ they argued ‘we have none of that candour and toleration about us which calls evil good, and good evil, which puts bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter.’²⁶ This line of reasoning was rooted in the fact that the *St. Andrews University Magazine*, or the ‘Tari’ as it became known among the students for the nickname the editors gave themselves, appeared just as another student-run magazine, *The Argus*, was also revived.²⁷ *The Argus*, whose sole purpose seems to have been the promotion of a youthful jocularly, only fanned the flames of division between the Evangelicals, referred to as ‘High Flyers,’ and the Moderates. As Tait made clear, ‘from the contemptuous opinion we have all along had of that most contemptible Magazine and its principal supporters, there is nothing connected with our Miscellany which yields us greater satisfaction, than that we have been able to prevent its renewal.’²⁸ So the question must be asked, when did this fight between the ‘High Flyers’ who identified themselves so openly as ‘Methodists’ begin?

2.3 The Reformation and St. Andrews

The source for the row that materialized in the *St. Andrews University Magazine* was born with the establishment of the St. Andrews University Missionary Society in 1824. John Urquhart passionately argued for the establishment of a missionary society organized at United College. Urquhart also encouraged collaboration with the Divinity students’ missionary society at St. Mary’s that had been established the year before. Urquhart joined with his close friend Alexander Duff, one of the most influential students on the

²⁵ “Objections to Our Miscellany [sic]”, 5.

²⁶ “Objections to Our Miscellany [sic]”, 6.

²⁷ *The Argus* was only published from December 1825 through February 1826. P. J. Anderson, “Bibliography of Dundee Periodical Literature”, *Scottish Notes and Queries* IX, no. 2 (July 1895): 27.

²⁸ “Objections to Our Miscellany [sic]”, 6.

campus, to form this new missionary society.²⁹ They were spurred on by a commitment to Evangelical ideals, though not all those who chose to join were ‘High Flyers.’³⁰ Rather, with support coming from the principals of United College and St. Mary’s College, along with the students’ connections to the Dissenting congregations in town, the new missionary society was a broader and more complicated entity that, for the students, reflected the history of religious reform in St. Andrews.

In Alexander Sutherland’s 1825 book, *A Summer Ramble in the North Highlands*, he observed, ‘St Andrew’s belongs to the antiquarian and historian. The visitor of a day can but moralize and marvel. He seems to stand among the fragments of a mighty monument, the indistinct characters inscribed on which speak not of the puny generations that read the record, but of a giant race whose bones moulder beneath.’³¹ Craik, in an article for the magazine, also imbibed the historical spirit of St. Andrews and described the town as a ‘city of martyrs’ that ‘told most impressively the lessons of meditative wisdom.’³² Craik explained,

From the earliest periods of my boyhood, you know with what a deep veneration I have been accustomed to regard the memory and achievements of our Scottish reformers,—and you may well guess how completely I must have given up myself to the fervours of this religious patriotism, when surrounded by the memorials of their zeal. On proceeding to that spot which had been the scene of the most interesting of those transactions to which I have referred, I felt all the romance of my nature excited by the view. I recalled, with emotions of the warmest gratitude and veneration, the story of those intrepid men whom all the terrors of priestly indignation could not awe unto

²⁹ George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, 22-3.

³⁰ Piggin and Roxborough, *The St. Andrews Seven*, 63.

³¹ Alexander Sutherland, *A Summer Ramble in the North Highlands* (Edinburgh: William Hunter, 1825), 6-7.

³² “Extracts from an unpublished work, entitled *Andreapolitan Sketches*, in a Series of Letters from a Student at St. Andrews, to his friend in London”, *St. Andrews University Magazine* no. 1 (December 3, 1825), 6.

subjection; and I thought on the deeds of the excited multitude as on a sublime scene of moral grandeur.³³

Craik went on to describe the ruins of the castle and the Cathedral and meditate on the ‘decaying feebleness of man’s fleeting existence.’³⁴ He was not alone in being impressed by the religious history that surrounded him. *The St. Andrew’s University Magazine* in the fourth and fifth issue published a two-part poem entitled, ‘Visions of the Dead.’ In essence, the poem was a dialogue between the great Scottish reformers John Knox and George Buchanan as they remembered their lives and what they accomplished. Place mattered in the poem and as Buchanan proclaimed,

St. Andrews,—‘twas the city of my early love,
With rapture would I greet its towers once more.³⁵

Later in the poem, Knox acknowledges the battered ruins of the city in the following lines,

Time has nigh perfected what I began,
Now here alone, these wrecks of papal power,
All in the sunshine of summer’s calm,
Still tell of winter’s dark and stormy tide.³⁶

St. Andrew’s landscape was marred by the fight against the tyranny of Cardinal David Beaton (1494-1546) and the Roman Catholic Church, the martyrdom of George Wishart (1513-46), and the capture of Knox (1514-72) by the French. Here was a town destroyed by a religious war and, yet, that very town was resurrected in memory to lionize those who had sacrificed so much to bring about reform against corrupt institutional power. ‘Visions of the Dead’ shows the influence of Romanticism on the history of Scotland and fits

³³ “Extracts from an unpublished work, entitled *Andreapolitan Sketches*, in a Series of Letters from a Student at St. Andrews, to his friend in London”, 6-7.

³⁴ “Extracts from an unpublished work, entitled *Andreapolitan Sketches*, in a Series of Letters from a Student at St. Andrews, to his friend in London”, 7.

³⁵ “Visions of the Dead”, *St. Andrews University Magazine* no. 4 (January 14, 1826), 62.

³⁶ “Visions of the Dead”, *St. Andrews University Magazine* no. 5 (January 28, 1826), 77-8.

well with historian Richard B. Sher's argument about Sir Walter Scott's influence on Scottish historiography in the early nineteenth century. According to Sher, in these early decades there was 'an escalation of the old Presbyterian-Episcopalian (or Roman Catholic), Whig-Tory wrangling over the past and, in the case of Scott's historical novels, a tendency to accentuate the most dramatic and quixotic historical events, characters, and situations.'³⁷

The editors of the magazine were certainly influenced by this historiographical shift associated with Scott as they, too, looked to the past for inspiration for their fight against corruption in the institutions they encountered.³⁸ The editors included a variety of articles in multiple issues broadly entitled, 'Historical Sketches,' that addressed different historical topics. In 'Historical Sketches' no. 4 and no. 5 they revealed the depth of the students' admiration for their heroes from the Scottish Reformation. The beginning of no. 4 expressed their thoughts plainly, 'Few things are more thoroughly despicable than that sensitive recoil from the rougher exhibitions of unbending virtue, which has led so many to refuse their tribute of admiration to the deeds and the sufferings of the Scottish reformers. Many there are, in this age of effeminate refinement, who cannot think on the daring intolerance and uncompromising obstinacy of these martyrs . . .'³⁹ This affirmation of 'daring intolerance and uncompromising obstinacy' as the essence of manhood reflected a desire for total commitment to a cause at all costs. So, in what way then did the students editing and writing for the magazine identify with Reformation-era reformers?

³⁷ Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 317.

³⁸ When Sir Walter Scott was nominated by the students to be the Rector of the University in 1825, the University Senate fulfilled its duty and ruled that the literary hero of the students was not eligible for election based on the University's charter. This skirmish against institutional power made it into the pages of the *St. Andrews University Magazine* with students bemoaning the 'absurd and odious' centuries old practice that limited viable candidates. Kerr, *Scottish Education*, 220; also see "[untitled article]", *The St. Andrews University Magazine* no. VIII (March 18, 1826), 124-28.

³⁹ "Historical Sketches. No. IV", *St. Andrews University Magazine* no. VI (February 11, 1826), 86.

The correlation with the Scottish reformers of the sixteenth century appeared in the second issue of the magazine in an article entitled, ‘Missions—Methodists—Moderates’ penned by Craik. The article was an extended rebuttal to critics of the St. Andrews University Missionary Society. As the article starts out, Craik reflects on what can be profited by ‘pestering their neighbours with invitations to enter it’ and even acquiesces that for most associations ‘few things would be more absurd than such a meddling zeal on the part of their members.’⁴⁰ However, the St. Andrews University Missionary Society was not ‘any mere secular association.’ Rather, the society was something far more important and they could not comply ‘with the wish of our opponents; that we should let them and their opinions alone.’ Instead, he writes, ‘we dare them to the arena of argument and feeling, and we ask only that they will engage with earnestness in the conflict.’⁴¹ Craik was taking on those Moderates who made sarcastic comments at the expense of those who embraced an Evangelical understanding of the Christian piety.⁴² In following this course of action, Craik argued that those who refused to approve of overseas missions did so because they associated the ‘methodism’ that promoted evangelism among the ‘heathen’ with notions of irrational ‘pious groanings,’ ‘sickening extacies [sic],’ and ‘fanaticism.’⁴³ From his vantage point he believed that the critics of the ‘methodism’ were haughty and asserted that ‘we pray [for] God to illuminate the mental darkness of such bigots.’⁴⁴

Craik’s apologetic strategy for defending the missionary society by attacking the arrogance and ignorance of the Moderate perspective was not appreciated. Alexander Melville, a fellow student, Moderate, and ‘friend’ of

⁴⁰ “Missions—Methodists—Moderates”, *St. Andrews University Magazine* no. II (December 17, 1825), 15.

⁴¹ “Missions—Methodists—Moderates”, 15.

⁴² Craik wrote a letter to Chalmers explaining that he did not want to back down from criticisms about his essay but sought his professor’s advice about how to proceed with publication. Letter from Henry Craik to Thomas Chalmers [no date], MS CHA 6.106.37, Writings and Papers, The Chalmers Collection. New College Library Special Collections, University of Edinburgh.

⁴³ “Missions—Methodists—Moderates”, 16.

⁴⁴ “Missions—Methodists—Moderates”, 17.

the publication, complained in his rebuttal to Craik's article, which was published in the next issue, that, 'I am sorry to see its pages violated at the very outset, by a spirit of bitterness and sarcastic intolerance which ill becomes those who profess to hold such sentiments as you have done.' Melville went on to note that he was 'of the number of those who support Missionary Associations' but that he was 'not gifted with a spirit of enthusiasm.' Notwithstanding this apparent failure on his part, he goes on to proclaim, 'I cannot conceive how any unprejudiced reader of his Bible does not perceive the manifest obligation laid upon him, to convey, or aid in the conveyance of the instructions contained in it to the benighted heathen world; and to further this, nothing can be better calculated than the sending forth Missionaries with the word of God in their hands.'⁴⁵ Melville's first sally rejected Craik's underlying premise that Methodism was necessary for having a heart for missions. Melville did not stop there. His remarks cut even deeper when he questioned the rationale for 'establish[ing] enthusiasm as the touchstone by which to prove whether religion be sterling or not.'⁴⁶ Melville argued that having passion for something, religious or worldly, is a matter of personality and has little to do with the validity of the cause. He goes on to observe that 'were enthusiasm the test of a man's Christianity, the quiet, weak, and unassuming Christian would be expunged from the list of candidates for heaven; while the bustling and loquacious professor would bid fair for obtaining the highest place in it.'⁴⁷ Such a statement struck at the reality that Christians are often not all alike in the expression of their faith and Melville went one step further by also taking a swipe at the one man the Evangelical students were inspired to emulate, Thomas Chalmers. Melville was not finished with his rebuff he continued to decry the 'fashionable' show of faith based on rhetorical flourishes, overbearing zeal, and 'ostentatious display' that

⁴⁵ "Remarks on 'Missions—Methodists—Moderates'", *St. Andrews University Magazine* no. 3 (December 31, 1825), 33-34.

⁴⁶ "Remarks on 'Missions—Methodists—Moderates'", 34.

⁴⁷ "Remarks on 'Missions—Methodists—Moderates'", 35.

seemed to distinguish the Evangelical ideal of the 'sincere christian.' Rather, he asserted that what may really be the motivation for the 'advocates of enthusiasm, and methodism' is a 'love of opposition and controversy' rather than a 'true zeal for the cause they have espoused.'⁴⁸

Melville's words may have stung but they did not stop Craik's line of argument in his retort that followed nearly a month later. Craik, whose stubbornness would have made even John Knox proud for its 'daring intolerance and uncompromising obstinacy,' issued a curt apology and then proceeded to take up the cause of the missionary society again through the lens of Methodism. Craik argues that intellectual enlargement in no way fosters 'moral powers' and that 'college companionship' encourages a 'corrupting influence' that leads to a 'downward career with broken sabbaths' and 'low dissipation.'⁴⁹ 'Pure religion,' in Craik's mind was the only cure for such a calamitous course, and such a religion was also 'the spirit which animates Missionary undertakings.' For Craik, the alliance of 'vital Christianity' and missionary work enlivened and preserved 'moral delicacies.' Consequently, the University Missionary Society, as Craik viewed this new organization, 'diffuses that spirit of true religion, which must in its very nature have, and had already had on our community the most benignant moral effects.' Craik then called on all those who were a 'friend to the morality of our University to join it' in order to prevent the further growth of '*abounding iniquity*' at St. Andrews. Finally, he argued that all who call themselves true Christians should 'testify their regard for their common faith' and unite with those in the University Missionary Society. To do otherwise would, in fact, promote impiety, which was certainly far worse than promoting enthusiasm and zeal in matters of faith. Craik's salvo was a direct response to Melville's complaints and tried to illuminate the inseparable connection that linked vital

⁴⁸ "Remarks on 'Missions—Methodists—Moderates'", 35.

⁴⁹ "Continuation of Missions—Methodists—Moderates", *The St. Andrews University Magazine*, no. 5 (January 28, 1826): 66.

Christianity with missions and, ultimately, personal morality. To oppose the missionary society was, in essence, to oppose godly virtue and Christian living. If Craik's argument was extended beyond St. Andrews, an anti-Evangelical and anti-missionary society stance would further promote degeneracy and, in the end, the dissolution of society. What true Christian could be against such things?

2.4 'The Mind of Young Scotland'

In the battle between the 'High Flyers' and the Moderate students at St. Andrews, institutions were where the future of the Christian faith would flourish or go into decline. Although the ascendancy of Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland would not occur until the early 1830s, St. Andrews revealed that these battles would not be mere Sunday afternoon theological skirmishes.⁵⁰ Much like the reformers of the sixteenth century who inspired them, the Evangelical students at St. Andrews were determined to create a new society that challenged traditions and institutions. Callum G. Brown has argued that 'the social identity of the new middle classes was evangelicalism. . . Spurning theological debate, it called citizens to action in the name of God, the economy and the individual. The call was an evangelical summons: to individual enquiry and to evangelisation.'⁵¹ For a broad generalization, Brown may be right, but at St. Andrews students were willing to engage in theological wrangling to bring about godly institutions. Inspired by Evangelical history and the Scottish Reformation, the 'High Flyers' who edited the *St. Andrews University Magazine*, were battling like Knox so many centuries before to reform an institution they believed no longer reflected Christ's true church. Their inspiration enacting reform was none other than Thomas Chalmers. Rev. J. W. Taylor, who began his studies at St. Andrews in 1829, makes clear Chalmers' influence when he explained,

⁵⁰ Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, 19.

⁵¹ Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, 101-2.

If it was said of Samuel Johnson that he *Johnsonized* the public taste by his writings, it might be said of Thomas Chalmers that he *Chalmerianized* the mind of young Scotland, betwixt the years 1823 and 1829, in the low-roofed crowded class-room which looked out with two dim windows in to the Butts Wynd. He had exalted the pulpit by the noble fervor of a restored and vindicated Evangelism.⁵²

⁵² James William Taylor, *Some Historical Antiquities, Chiefly Ecclesiastical, Connected with the North, the East, and the Centre of Fife*, 2nd edition (Cupar-Fife: William Robertson, 1868), 323.

CHAPTER 3

ST. ANDREWS AND HENRY CRAIK'S EVANGELICAL SENSIBILITIES

3.1 'A Scottish Energy'

'History broods over that part of the world like the easterly *haar*,' wrote Robert Louis Stevenson in his description of the Kingdom of Fife.¹ Andrew Lang later reoriented Stevenson's idea to focus solely on St. Andrews and further explained that a *haar* was 'grey and cold and blinding, a curtain of mist.'² The gravity of history weighed heavily on the minds of those who knew St. Andrews intimately. Even the renowned Swiss church historian of the Reformation, Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigné mused about his visit in 1845, 'St. Andrews! How many reminiscences were recalled to me by this antique city, with its venerable towers and its numerous steeples!'³ With the Scottish minister and church historian William Hetherington as his guide,⁴ d'Aubigné would be moved by the 'magnificent ruins' of the cathedral that 'Knox brought down in a single day,' 'the picturesque remains of the castle, whose ancient walls now serve as a landmark to the mariner,' and 'those squares where the martyrs shed their blood at the period of the Reformation, and in one of which now stands a temple of the Free Church, on the very spot where three centuries ago a scaffold was erected.'⁵ He concluded his rhetorical

¹ Robert Louis Stevenson, "Contributions to the History of Fife: Random Memories", *Scribner's Magazine* IV, no. 4 (October 1888): 508.

² Andrew Lang, *St. Andrews*, new edition, edited by George H. Bushnell (1893; St. Andrews: W. C. Henderson & Son, Ltd., 1951), xix.

³ Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigné, *Germany, England, and Scotland; Or, Recollections of a Swiss Minister* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1848), 235. In the summer of 1863 Craik read Merle d'Aubigné's Reformation history, see Henry Craik's Journal, 1863-1866, The George Muller Museum and The George Muller Charitable Trust, Bristol, U.K.

⁴ Originally, Merle d'Aubigné was arranging for Thomas Chalmers to serve as his guide through the vaunted history of St. Andrews, see Thomas Chalmers, *A Selection from the Correspondence of the Late Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.*, edited by William Hanna (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853), 418.

⁵ d'Aubigné, *Germany, England, and Scotland*, 236.

flourish with the observation, ‘How many spirits could I call up, as I walked among these ruins!’⁶

Christianity at St. Andrews in Craik’s time was more than simply the recollections of a great spiritual past but also about the untapped potential of the future. This chapter will analyse how specific ideas and practices were instilled in Craik and remained with him throughout his life ministering in the West Country. The people with whom Craik became associated at St. Andrews had a permanent effect on who he was as a man, a minister, and a scholar. His life would never be the same and he would carry with him a unique spirit of ‘profound intellect and ardent heart’ that d’ Aubigné would call, in his description of Thomas Chalmers, a ‘Scottish energy.’⁷

The spiritual transformation of St. Andrews never faded from the minds of those who were students when Chalmers arrived in 1823. Duff remembered the ‘Scottish energy’ Chalmers brought to St. Andrews and claimed that students were ‘a singularly Godless, Christless class’ before the distinguished churchman arrived.⁸ Duff regarded Chalmers’s appointment to the faculty as a ‘merciful visitation.’⁹ Duff claimed that Chalmers instigated a ‘great revival’ that harkened to St. Andrews’ long history as a centre of Scottish devotion to God that inspired students and visitors alike. For the students, they understood that something new was afoot that they attributed to the arrival of their esteemed professor. The birth of the student missionary society and the new magazine were the products of a heady new atmosphere that appeared in Chalmers’s wake.

⁶ d’ Aubigné, *Germany, England, and Scotland*, 236.

⁷ d’ Aubigné provided a description of those whom he believed were ‘the lions of eloquence’ on his visit to England and Scotland. ‘I would point in Scotland to Chalmers,’ he wrote, ‘whose profound intellect and ardent heart are displayed through the medium of a diction of fervid, I would even say, of Scottish energy . . .’ d’ Aubigné, *Germany, England, and Scotland*, 117.

⁸ William Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D. LL.D.: Volume III* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co., 1852), 196.

⁹ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D. LL.D.*, 196-197.

Historian John Roxborough has countered this interpretation of events. In regard to the student missionary society, he argues, ‘there was undoubtedly a change in atmosphere from the year before, but it is misleading to suggest (as Alexander Duff did in the account used in the *Memoirs*) that Chalmers was chiefly responsible. His presidency of the town [missionary] society was a boost to morale, but students themselves were largely responsible for improvement in their own situation.’¹⁰ Roxborough claims that Chalmers ‘main role was attracting students likely to be interested in such things.’¹¹ Roxborough’s revision is meant to counterbalance the romantic notions that often accompany the memory of men like Chalmers. However, this correction misses what the students understood about their own situation and how Chalmers inspired them.

Chalmers, himself, believed that leaving behind his parish work in Glasgow for the University of St. Andrews was part of a broader effort to effect change in Scottish church and society.¹² In a letter written to William Wilberforce, M.P., on the 8th of July, 1823, Chalmers acknowledged, ‘I believe it is now pretty obvious to them all, that a University where young men are reared for the public offices of the Church, is a higher station in the field of Christian usefulness than any one of these offices.’¹³ Chalmers recognized that in his new role he could bring about the change he desired through his students. Besides bolstering the flagging reputation of the University, encouraging student piety, and supporting missionary societies as

¹⁰ John Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers: Enthusiast for Mission, The Christian Good of Scotland and the Rise of the Missionary Movement* (Carlisle: Paternoster Publishing, 2000), 205.

¹¹ Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers*, 205.

¹² Though Chalmers was not without his doubts of the cost. In February of 1824 he penned, ‘Perhaps there is no town in Scotland more cold and meagre and moderate in its theology than St. Andrews.’ Chalmers, *A Selection from the Correspondence of the Late Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.*, 80.

¹³ Chalmers, *A Selection from the Correspondence of the Late Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.*, 93.

pointed out in chapter 2, Chalmers also invested himself in the lives of students and allowed them to become lifelong friends.¹⁴

3.2 Chalmers as Inspiration

There is no doubt that Chalmers made a deep and influential mark on the young men attending the University, and Craik was among those affected. Craik took courses from Chalmers, dined with him, spoke with him, read his books, and wrote to him. Chalmers was a guiding light in his spiritual development, his thought, and career prospects.¹⁵ However, Roxborough cautions against overstating Chalmers's influence on the 'religious activity' of students and gives more credit to the evangelical sensibilities that students brought with them to St. Andrews, as well as the 'ministry of William Lothian in the Independent chapel.'¹⁶ Craik's words, however, testify to another reality. During the summer of 1826, while living in Edinburgh, Craik observed that,

having pitched my standard of excellence too high in Chalmers, I am thus liable to perpetual disappointment. I do not know that there is a single faculty of mind in which I have heard this great man excelled by any one of our Edinburgh ministers. In imagination, felicity of diction, and powers of reasoning, he is unrivalled. In true Evangelical fervency and devotional rapture, I know not that he has one superior.¹⁷

This surviving evidence points to a far more intriguing reality that highlights Chalmers's transformative effect on his students.

¹⁴ Letter from Henry Craik to Thomas Chalmers, 30 June 1832, MS CHA 4.202.73, Writings and Papers of Thomas Chalmers, The Chalmers Collection, New College Library Special Collections, University of Edinburgh.

¹⁵ For a transcription of lecture by Chalmers (which included Craik among the students who was enrolled in the course) speaking about leading an active life of faith see, Francis A. S. Knox, "Dictations issued by Dr. Chalmers in his Moral Philosophy class, St. Andrews, commencing the 9th of November 1826" (MS 37483), Special Collections, University of St. Andrews Library.

¹⁶ Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers*, 206.

¹⁷ W. Elfe Tayler, ed., *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik, of Bristol* introduction by George Müller (Bristol: W. Mack, 1866), 57.

In a letter written in the summer of 1825 to Alexander Anderson, Craik noted his election as secretary of the St. Andrews Missionary Society and his plans for the summer to help educate the poor in the town. The letter has a melancholy tone, but Craik explained that he has acquired ‘all the hopelessness of advanced age’ due to his having ‘outlived’ the enticements of the world.¹⁸ Although Craik has much to share with Anderson when they see each other again, he highlighted his election to replace Robert Nesbit as the secretary of the student missionary society and goes into some detail about the importance of the role.¹⁹ He then emphasized that the principal of St. Mary’s College, Robert Haldane, asked him to manage the ‘Sunday-school library’ and ‘succeed to some of the town Sunday-schools.’²⁰ Craik explained that, ‘public business comes upon me fast.’²¹ This call to public business appears to mirror the public life of Dr. Chalmers and Craik’s hope for a life engaged in making Christ known to the world.

In the classrooms and social functions at St. Andrews, as chapter 2 highlighted, there were differences between the students who aligned with the ‘High Flyers’ versus the Moderates. These differences were crucial to Craik’s formation as a young scholar who was trying to find his bearings in the tumult of collegiate life. Another important academic in the life of Craik was Robert Haldane (1772-1854), a mathematician and the principal of St. Mary’s College, the divinity school in the University of St. Andrews. Haldane had some affinity with dissent as a young man.²² Although he stayed committed to the Church of Scotland throughout his life (including a key role he played in the Disruption of 1843), he was active in addressing the situation of the poor in St. Andrews. ‘Though he ranked on the Moderate side,’ according to

¹⁸ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 318.

¹⁹ April 1825, Students’ Missionary Society Minutes, 1824-46, Records of the Missionary Society, Muniments of the University of St. Andrews, Special Collections, University of St. Andrews Library.

²⁰ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 319.

²¹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 319.

²² A.H.M., “Haldane, Robert,” in *The Dictionary of National Biography: Vol. XXIV, Hailes—Harriott*, edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1890), 15.

Matthew Conolly, ‘his preaching was thoroughly evangelical.’²³ Haldane, who would be elected Moderator of the Church of Scotland in 1827, was considered ‘earnest and affectionate in his manner, he was not only admired as a preacher, but he also commanded in a high degree the attention of his pupils in his academical lessons. . . . Though stern in discipline, he uniformly retained the fond regard both of his pupils and parishioners, who appreciated the kindness of his heart, and his endeavours to promote their welfare.’²⁴ Those who encountered Haldane in college or parish ministry in the town were impressed by his compassion and his concern for the well-being of others.²⁵

Haldane enlisted Craik, along with other students, to help minister to the basic educational needs of the poor in St. Andrews through Sunday Schools. Haldane was not without his own biases in the venture. Apparently, most of the Sunday Schools in town were conducted by Dissenters and Haldane, according to Duff, tried to talk poor parents out of sending their children to those schools to avoid their children being ‘tinctured with their pestiferous principles’ of Dissent.²⁶ In spite of his antipathy to the source of the educational philanthropy, Haldane showed that he cared about the educational prospects of poor children. Haldane also gave funds to support the new St. Andrew’s Student Missionary Society and agreed to be the patron of the society. His open support of the Evangelical cause as a Moderate churchman added a degree of legitimacy to the controversial subject of missions.²⁷

²³ M. F. Conolly, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Men of Fife, Of Past and Present Times, Natives of the Country, or Connected with it by Property, Residence, Office, Marriage, or Otherwise* (Edinburgh: Inglis & Jack, 1866), 210.

²⁴ Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Æ: The Succession of Ministers in the Parish Churches of Scotland from the Reformation, A.D. to 1560, to the Present Time: Vol. II, Part II, Synods of Fife, and Perth and Stirling* (Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1869), 393.

²⁵ Peter Bell, “Haldane, Robert,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed 10 August 2020, <https://mathshistory.st-andrews.ac.uk/DNB/Haldane.html>

²⁶ Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, 31.

²⁷ Students’ Missionary Society Minutes, 1824-46, Records of the Missionary Society, Muniments of the University of St. Andrews, Special Collections, University of St. Andrews Library.

Haldane was also concerned about the poor students who attended St. Andrews. Craik's scholarly efforts, as a prize-winning student in the Philosophy course at United College, would be recognized by a bursary from St. Mary's College in 1825.²⁸ The following year Haldane altered the bursary distribution scheme and awarded the funds equally among all the divinity students. Haldane's care for the less fortunate would later bring a charge from the principal of United College, Sir David Brewster, that Haldane was 'dividing the whole Theological Bursaries as alms among the Student of his college.'²⁹ According to Brewster, Haldane had engaged in the improper distribution of the bursaries.³⁰ Brewster charged that 'as the students pay no fees in St. Mary's College, and are actually paid for their attendance, the poorer classes are attracted to St. Andrew's.'³¹ Brewster's skirmish with Haldane over the bursaries for divinity students, must be understood as an innovation that was greatly appreciated by the primary beneficiaries—the students at St. Mary's College.³² Haldane's example of charity must be considered a unique moment for students, like Craik, matriculating at St. Andrews in 1820s and certainly affected their ideas about generosity.³³

Craik benefited tremendously from his relationship with Chalmers, Haldane, and his fellow students at St. Andrews. They developed in him a passion for Christian living, missionary work, and concern for the poor. However, no friendship meant more to Craik at St. Andrews than the one

²⁸ "Appendix No. VII: Statement by the Principal of St. Mary's College Respecting the Division of the Bursaries," in *Report of the St. Andrews' University Commissioners* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1845), 2-3.

²⁹ David Brewster, "Report on the Bursaries in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews," in *Report of the St. Andrews' University Commissioners* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1845), 3.

³⁰ Brewster was appointed to his post in 1838 and began a period that has been described as the 'Brewster Quarrel.' Peter Redford Scott Lang, *Duncan Dewar: A Student of St. Andrews 100 Years Ago, His Accounts*, introduction by Lord Sands (Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie and Co., 1926), 151.

³¹ Brewster, "Report on the Bursaries in St. Mary's College, St. Andrew's," 2.

³² Lang, *Duncan Dewar*, 177.

³³ Craik began studies at St. Mary's College in 1824-1825. He was enrolled at both St. Mary's College and United College in 1825-1826 so that he could take Chalmers's course in Political Economy that academic year. He is recorded as an occasional student at St. Mary's College in 1827-1828. Smart, *Biographical Register of the University of St. Andrews 1747-1897*, 198.

established with John Urquhart. Urquhart's friendship was key to the development of Craik's irenic sensibilities. Urquhart was close with Alexander Duff, Rev. William Lothian, and Thomas Chalmers. In Urquhart's mind being a student at St. Andrews in the mid-1820s reminded him not only of the great moments in Scottish church history, but also the history of the Evangelical faith. In a letter to his father in December 1824, Urquhart noted the quality of new students who came to St. Andrews to study with Chalmers, the establishment of the missionary society, the formation of 'Sabbath Schools,' and even a student who preaches in the countryside on Sunday mornings and to fishermen on Sunday evenings.³⁴ Urquhart summarized, 'On the whole, our college seems, at present, to present an aspect something similar to that of the University of Oxford, in the days of [James] Hervey and [John] Wesley.'³⁵

So, what kind of Christian community did Craik encounter at St. Andrews that altered his understanding of the faith? Clearly, the divide between the 'High Flyers' and the Moderates was based on differences about missionary work. Principal Haldane, a thoroughgoing Moderate, seems to have bridged this gap, at times, by imbibing ideas from the Dissenters in his younger days which made him appear Evangelical in his preaching and in his concern for the poor. Although a list of attributes may yield some fruit, in this instance the approach may be best found in the ideas and actions that appeared vitally important to Craik and his classmates.

Although the students at St. Andrews were engaged in skirmishes among themselves as to who would define the spiritual life of the University, among the 'High Flyers' there was a move toward a mature understanding of Christian diversity. For example, Urquhart, like many students who studied the history of Christian missions or heard Chalmers lecture, admired the Moravians for their efforts to win the 'conversion and civilization, of men of

³⁴ William Orme, *Memoirs, Including Letters, and Select Remains, of John Urquhart, Late of the University of St. Andrews: Volume 1* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1828), 76-8.

³⁵ Orme, *Memoirs, Including Letters, and Select Remains, of John Urquhart*, 77.

almost every country and of every condition; and their uncommon success is borne testimony to by all who have visited the scenes of their philanthropic exertions.’³⁶ Given that many of the ‘High Flyers’ were reading many of the same books, for example William Brown’s *The History of the Propagation of Christianity Among the Heathen since the Reformation*, and hearing from Chalmers about the importance of the Moravians for Christian missions, they arrived at similar conclusions about groups who were often maligned.³⁷

Craik, too, developed an irenic spirit towards other Christians while pondering the broader contours of intellectual and spiritual life. As historian John Wolffe notes, ‘explicit aspirations for unity among ‘true believers’ from ‘Methodists, Moravians, Independents and Baptists’ and the Established Church appeared in the late 1790s among Evangelicals.’³⁸ These hopes were still alive in the 1820s in St. Andrews. In a letter to Alexander Anderson, Craik argued ‘for the diffusion of sound, practical Christianity’ over a Christianity that favours ‘any party.’³⁹ He explained, ‘Whig and Tory, High Church and Low Church, Arminian and Calvinist, Independent and Baptist, Methodist and Malignant, Puritan and Moderate, are distinctions that shall not be recognised in heaven: and those who have imbibed most of the spirit of true piety are least anxious about creeds and formulas and confessions.’⁴⁰ This letter appears to possess a firm understanding of the difference between an Evangelical view—‘the spirit of true piety’—and those who are not of this mindset. Craik associated an irenic view of Christianity with those who are the most fervently devout in their faith.

³⁶ Orme, *Memoirs, Including Letters, and Select Remains, of John Urquhart*, 87.

³⁷ The source of this introduction to the Moravians was Chalmers’ lectures. The reading of Brown’s work appears to have followed this intellectual seed. Orme, *Memoirs, Including Letters, and Select Remains, of John Urquhart*, 79. Also see, Thomas Chalmers, “On the Efficacy of Missions, as conducted by the Moravians; being the Substance of an Argument contributed to ‘The Eclectic Review’ in 1815,” in *Tracts and Essays on Religious & Economical Subjects* (Glasgow: William Collins, n.d.), 251-98.

³⁸ John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: Volume 2, The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007), 239.

³⁹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 319.

⁴⁰ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 319.

The editor of Craik's journal for publication, W. Elfe Tayler did not believe that Craik possessed an Evangelical understanding of the faith until the beginning of 1826—six months after he makes mention of 'the spirit of true piety.' Tayler claimed that Craik finally experienced, 'that change of heart without which no man can enter the kingdom of God' sometime early in 1826.⁴¹ This assertion is not supported by any evidence but only by Tayler's interpretation of Craik's diary. This is a conundrum that is more than curious. What Tayler took as a sign of spiritual awakening in Craik—a shift in the self-commentary in Craik's diary to writing more about the things of God—were assumed to be a sign of an Evangelical conversion moment.⁴² This interpretation reflected Tayler's understanding of how vital Christianity should function rather than Craik's internal reality.

In fact, what becomes apparent in the sections that follow is that Craik's melancholy nature combined with his intellectual clear-sightedness led him into a period of depression as he immersed himself in his studies. What may have been the cause of the depression? Was he facing a spiritual crisis? Or did he have some realization about the direction of his earthly career? The truth may be found somewhere in between. Students in the divinity school often did not have many prospects in the Church of Scotland when they concluded their divinity studies and received their license to preach. Often, in fact, many became parish schoolmasters for several years, as Craik's father had done, and only obtained a ministerial appointment after the death or retirement of the incumbent.⁴³ On the other hand, at this point Craik was so firmly committed to the Evangelical cause that he may have realized that his future life of ministry was no longer going to be in the Church of Scotland and

⁴¹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 31.

⁴² Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 30.

⁴³ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 1-2. According to one 19th century account, Craik's father William "was an excellent scholar and talented man; but received a miserable pittance for preparing sermons, and preaching twice every Sabbath day." Theta, *Reminiscences and Descriptive Sketches of Kennoway* (Cupar: The Fife Herald Office, n.d.), 23.

may, in fact, have been on the mission field where isolation, cultural alienation, and death seemed certain. That realization may have created that crisis that only a fellow Evangelical believer like Urquhart could have helped resolve.

In the pages of Craik's published diary that do mention Urquhart, Craik indicates that their friendship developed over the 1824-1825 academic year.⁴⁴ Urquhart's real importance as friend and counsellor occurred in the winter of 1825 when Craik suffered from a period of melancholia.⁴⁵ In a letter from Urquhart to an unnamed friend dated March 13, 1825, we gain some sense of his ability to offer encouragement to those in need. Urquhart wrote,

I have not yet proceeded far on the voyage of life, and hitherto all has been smooth and prosperous; but I sometimes look forward with dread foreboding to the many tempests which I may have to encounter on life's rough seas, and to the many waves of trouble and distress which roll between me and that peaceful shore, where 'billows never beat, nor tempests roar.' And at such times I could envy the case of that bark, which, like yours, has long been tossed by many a tempest, but which has weathered them all, and is just about to drop anchor in the peaceful haven. But I feel that this is a sinful feeling, and proceeds from weakness of faith. . . . May the Lord support you in all your trials!⁴⁶

The wisdom, use of sea imagery, and lines from Sir Samuel Garth's poem "The Dispensary" [1718], provide some sense of how Craik's friend, who was three years his junior, may have comforted him during this time of crisis.⁴⁷

Urquhart's ability to comfort an afflicted friend reveals a maturity.

Furthermore, an underlying humility emerges that may explain why Craik,

⁴⁴ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 9.

⁴⁵ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 36, 64.

⁴⁶ Orme, *Memoirs, Including Letters, and Select Remains, of John Urquhart*, 158.

⁴⁷ The oft-quoted lines from Garth's 1718 edition read:

'To Die, is Landing on some silent shoar [sic],
Where Billows never break, nor Tempests roar:
E'er well we feel the friendly Stroke, 'tis o'er.'

Samuel Garth, *The Dispensary: A Poem. In Six Canto's*, 8th ed. (London: printed for Jacob Tonson, at Shakespear's Head, 1718), 33.

along with so many others, were impressed by Urquhart's spiritual depth. He was clearly able to recognize that could only offer God's strength in helping his fellow traveller on 'life's rough seas.'

We will never know the exact cause of Craik's depression. However, what, in fact, appears to have been occurring in the winter of 1826 were not signs of a religious conversion, but a realization that his dear friend, the one who had deeply affected his faith and was so important as a friend and confidant was no longer going to be part of his life. We are given a clue to support this claim when Tayler makes an editorial comment before the February 15, 1826, entry that explained that, 'Mr. Craik's Diaries now begin to contain frequent references to his friend Urquhart.'⁴⁸

Craik's observations answer the question about what was occurring in his life. Tayler's editorial comments direct readers to another conclusion about Craik's spiritual state, but Craik's words indicate that his close friend and great encourager in his Christian journey was no longer a constant companion. To further support this line of interpretation, Craik explained that with Urquhart's

departure from amongst us I have thought of with feelings of the most poignant distress. I shall never cease to admire, and to love him, as one of the most splendid examples of the effects of genuine Christianity; and I am truly thankful to him, still, for the good I derived from his society last year. In a few weeks, at farthest, John Urquhart and I shall part in this world for ever, and I cannot think on this parting, without feelings of very tender emotion; and without asking myself, why I do not cultivate more the society of one to whom my heart is so truly devoted.⁴⁹

Here then is the actual cause of Craik's distress. Craik would no longer be able to draw on the comforting words of his friend who intended to someday sail as a missionary. The separation from someone so dear, who had helped him negotiate the toughest moments in his young life, was difficult. What Craik

⁴⁸ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 36.

⁴⁹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 37.

experienced in early 1826 was a recognition that he too would need to determine where God was leading him. As Urquhart embraced the call to missionary work,⁵⁰ Craik also embraced his future, a course he believed would lead him to be a ‘despised missionary.’⁵¹

3.3 A Mind Pursuing God—A Christian Intellect

Although it should not come as too much of a surprise that Craik’s experience at St. Andrews shaped his view of the world, his devotion to the life of the mind became a core element in his understanding of what it meant to be a Christian. Growing up in the home of a Scottish minister who began his career as a parish schoolmaster made a mark on Craik. According to Tayler, William Craik wanted his sons to obtain their education from his alma mater, the University of St. Andrews.⁵² Tayler explained that the Craik household was one in which the intellectual curiosity was encouraged and that the children in the household were ‘permitted to read, without minute direction, or much restraint, any books on which they could lay their hands.’⁵³ The lads were, thanks to the tutelage of their father, successful scholars and gained entry to the University of St. Andrews. According to one nineteenth-century account, the three Craik brothers were ‘the ‘literary celebrities’ of Kennoway, shedding a lustre on their native village and its parish school.’⁵⁴

While attending St. Andrews, Craik’s focus on disciplined study mirrored that of friends and professors. Though at times the endless study appears to have not always been useful in helping Craik transcend melancholy moments, he did thrive as a scholar. Craik was not alone in developing a serious regime of study while at St. Andrews. Robert Lee (1804-68), who

⁵⁰ William Orme, *Memoir including Letters and Select Remains of John Urquhart*, prefatory notice and recommendation by Alexander Duff (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1869), 9.

⁵¹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 53. Craik was not alone in this notion that missionaries were “despised,” see Orme, *Memoirs, Including Letters, and Select Remains, of John Urquhart* (1828), 147.

⁵² Smart, *Biographical Register of the University of St. Andrews 1747-1897*, 198-99.

⁵³ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 6.

⁵⁴ Theta, *Reminiscences and Descriptive Sketches of Kennoway* (n.p.: n.p., 1899), 48.

would later become minister of Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh and was responsible for significant reforms to Presbyterian worship, outlined a programme of study in 1828 that began at 8 a.m. and followed a day of classes and study until midnight that concluded with Bible reading and prayer.⁵⁵ The life of the mind was a serious component of the student experience at St. Andrews whether one was a Moderate or Evangelical.

Tayler, however, found Craik's understanding of the life of the mind to be incompatible with true faith.⁵⁶ Tayler recorded that the journals Craik kept from 1825 onward were concerned with "criticism on books" and the minutia of daily life while at University. Born in youthful zeal, Craik's practice of journaling, in fact, encouraged Urquhart to 'attempt something on his system' for the betterment of his Christian life.⁵⁷ Tayler also informs us that the first journal was entitled, "Daily Register of Doings, Theological, Scientific, and Literary."⁵⁸ Tayler then concedes that Craik included a motto at the front of the first four of his journals. The motto Craik constructed in his University years was as follows: 'To advance in knowledge is to assimilate the mind to the Omniscient Deity; and though the resemblance can never be complete, it must be increasingly delightful to be ever approximating towards its completion.'⁵⁹ Whether Craik's maxim to encourage the life of the mind was adapted from something he read or heard in the classroom, pulpit, or at the dinner table cannot be determined. The motto is, however, rooted in the idea that all knowledge is, ultimately, knowledge of God and that the pursuit of knowledge, though never complete, should therefore bring joy.

⁵⁵ Robert Herbert Story, *Life and Remains of Robert Lee, D.D., F.R.S.E.: Volume 1*, introduction by Mrs. Oliphant (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1870), 4-5.

⁵⁶ Tayler believed Craik's studies were, in fact, an empty exercise because they were not focused on the Bible. Tayler argued, 'But there was one Book, a Book that outweighs in value all other books in the world, and that Book he neglected, or only read formally, and as a matter of course.' Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 30.

⁵⁷ Orme, *Memoirs, Including Letters, and Select Remains, of John Urquhart* (1828), 178.

⁵⁸ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 15.

⁵⁹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 15.

This innocuous motto sparked one of Tayler's more stunning editorial interventions. Tayler refuted Craik's motto and argued, 'nothing can be more false or mischievous than the sentiments it contains.'⁶⁰ Tayler complained that 'Knowledge ought not surely to be the great object of life' nor 'is the increase of knowledge attended with the increase in happiness.'⁶¹ Tayler finished his rebuke of Craik's idea with the observation, 'To advance in knowledge is not to become like God, unless we also resemble Him in His other perfections.'⁶² Tayler then explained that the devil and the fallen angels 'immensely exceed in knowledge the wisest of the sons of men; but are they like God? Are they happy? Why not? Because, they possess no kind of resemblance to Him in His Holiness and Goodness, His Justice and Truth.'⁶³ To solve the riddle of Craik's motto Tayler offered readers reassurance that Craik 'was still in nature's darkness.'⁶⁴

The real issue was that Tayler misunderstood the timing for Craik's Evangelical conversion experience. Though no church historian can answer the question of Craik's conversion with absolute certainty, one could argue that Craik came to Christ in the winter of 1825 when Urquhart assisted him through a difficult period in his life. However, it could be that Craik never had an Evangelical conversion that involved an emotional experience or an intellectual epiphany, but instead came to an Evangelical faith through his friendships, devotional practices (like keeping a diary), study of missions, church history, and Scripture, along with his new found missionary activism and desire to see the poor educated. Craik could have become an Evangelical simply out of the contrariness of youth when battles between the 'High Flyers' and Moderate party at St. Andrews invigorated his mind and his spirit with a new zeal for Christ. Instead of wrangling about when he came to know Christ

⁶⁰ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 15.

⁶¹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 15.

⁶² Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 15.

⁶³ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 15.

⁶⁴ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 16.

in a particular way, Craik's effort to pen a Christian maxim for embracing the life of the mind should be taking for what it was, an attempt to see the glory of God in all things.

Craik believed that education mattered for the formation of souls and society. In a letter to Chalmers in mid-May 1825, Craik explained that he hoped to establish a school for 'bettering the condition of the poor.'⁶⁵ He and his classmates wanted to encourage 'the improvement of their whole moral & intellectual nature' through a 'love of reading' in order that they may 'escape' their 'miseries' and 'vices.'⁶⁶ Craik mentioned that they would 'institute a sort of school' that would include studies in 'History,' 'Moral and Political Science,' some 'Mathematics' and 'the popular parts of natural philosophy.'⁶⁷ Alexander Duff, eventually the first missionary sent out by the Church of Scotland,⁶⁸ and two other classmates planned to join Craik in this work.⁶⁹ David Alan Currie asserts that Duff drew on his experiences with 'Evangelical educational schemes while a student at St. Andrews' to formulate his missionary practice.⁷⁰ Craik, too, would leave St. Andrews with a deep commitment to the life of the mind and the belief that education was crucial to the Christian life. Craik took seriously the role of education in transforming lives intellectually, morally, economically, and most importantly spiritually.⁷¹

This chapter builds on chapter 2 to analyse how St. Andrews fostered a thriving spiritual and intellectual environment that laid the foundation for

⁶⁵ Letter from Henry Craik to T. Chalmers, 15 May 1825 (MS 30385 153), Special Collections, University of St. Andrews Library.

⁶⁶ Letter from Henry Craik to T. Chalmers, 15 May 1825.

⁶⁷ Letter from Henry Craik to T. Chalmers, 15 May 1825.

⁶⁸ David Alan Currie, "The Growth of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland, 1793-1843" (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Andrews, 1990), 102, 252.

⁶⁹ Letter from Henry Craik to T. Chalmers, 15 May 1825.

⁷⁰ Currie, "The Growth of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland, 1793-1843," 290.

⁷¹ Craik took from St. Andrews a powerful example as to why all ranks of people in society should be educated. Chalmers himself preached on this topic during his years in Glasgow and included this idea for social transformation in his teaching. Francis A. S. Knox, "Dictations issued by Dr. Chalmers in his Moral Philosophy class, St. Andrews, commencing the 9th of November 1826" (MS 37483), Special Collections, University of St. Andrews Library; also see Chalmers, *Sermons Preached in St. John's Church, Glasgow* (Philadelphia: W. W. Woodward, 1824), 277.

Henry Craik's future life in ministry in Bristol. Craik encountered men who were, for him, exemplars in the Christian faith. Evangelicals and Moderates in the Church of Scotland manifested a distinctly Scottish vitality, but it was the call to missions that inspired an irenic piety that caused Craik to wrestle with the purpose of the Christian life. To address this issue, Craik turned to his closest friend Urquhart, a Dissenter, for inspiration and encouragement. Here Craik could see that his Evangelical faith fit well with the reformers of the past and those who hoped to reform world according to the Gospel in the present. The seeds planted at St. Andrews, as chapters 2 and 3 have shown, would eventual cause him to harken back to the unfinished work of the Reformation era. However, Craik would first experience the normal anxiety of trying to find his place in the world outside of the dusty tomes and hallowed halls of his alma mater.

CHAPTER 4

LIVING A SCRIPTURAL CHRISTIAN LIFE

4.1 ‘Dwell Together in Unity’

Over three decades after finishing his studies at the University of St. Andrews, Craik was still drawing on ideas first birthed during his university studies. He would write a tract in 1863 entitled, *The Authority of Scripture Considered in Relation to Christian Union: A Lecture*, in which he sought ‘sound, practical Christianity’ over a Christian faith that favoured ‘any party’ as he had in 1825.¹ In the 1863 tract Craik wrote, ‘For many years I have endeavoured to keep up a measure of intercourse with some of the many excellent men who minister in connection with the National Church, and I should be pained to think that my convictions, as a Nonconformist, should be regarded as, in any wise, excluding me from consistently enjoying such intercourse.’² Craik would further explain that he was ‘not forbidden to love and pray for those who serve in the ranks of conformity’ and that he had ‘experienced much Christian courtesy’ with those who ministered in the Church of England.³ Craik’s positive view of those within the Established Churches reached new heights when he wrote about the Church of Scotland and observed that the church was ‘the one least trammelled by state connexion, and as enjoying, in fact, fully as large a measure of spiritual freedom as any ecclesiastical establishment can reasonably expect.’⁴ Craik rooted his loyalty to the Church of Scotland in the more than thirty years his father enjoyed as an ordained minister.⁵ He did not mention his older brother

¹ W. Elfe Tayler, ed., *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik, of Bristol* introduction by George Müller (Bristol: W. Mack, 1866), 319.

² Henry Craik, *The Authority of Scripture Considered in Relation to Christian Union: A Lecture* (London: John Snow, 1863), iii.

³ Craik, *The Authority of Scripture Considered in Relation to Christian Union*, iv.

⁴ Craik, *The Authority of Scripture Considered in Relation to Christian Union*, v.

⁵ A. Evans, “Our Friends in Heaven: Sketch of the Life of the Late Mr. Henry Craik, of Bristol,” *Footsteps of Truth* 3, no. 33 (September 1885): 433.

James's years of ministry in Glasgow and eventual instalment as Moderator of the Church of Scotland.⁶ However, later on in this tract he readily conceded that 'the great majority of both Reformers and Puritans were Church Establishment men.'⁷ His acknowledgement of the genuine faith and piety of the Establishment was not out of order given his close personal and family ties to the Established church in Scotland and his reverence for the churchmen of the Reformation.

As a Dissenter, Craik made a surprising critique in his lecture of those who separated themselves from the Church of Scotland during the Disruption of 1843. Craik wrote, 'I regard the theory maintained by the fathers and founders of the Free Church of Scotland as utterly impracticable, and consider it in vain to expect that any church deriving its status and emoluments from state-connexion, should be left, in all respects, as untrammelled as non-established churches.'⁸ Craik's criticism was rooted in his belief that the desire for a Dissenting form of congregational polity was an unfeasible demand. Even though he positively asserted that the Church of Scotland was 'the one least trammelled by state connexion,' his critique may have also had in mind of the Evangelical commitments of so many ministers who remained the Church of Scotland.⁹ Craik's brother James, with whom he remained in close correspondence,¹⁰ was a committed evangelical who had served as the Convener of the Foreign Missions Committee from 1856 to 1862 and had just assumed the post of Moderator of the Church of Scotland in 1863 when his

⁶ For an overview of James Craik's career see, Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Parish Churches of Scotland from the Reformation, A.D. 1560, to the Present Time: Vol. II, Part II. Synods of Fife, and Perth and Stirling* (Edinburgh: William Paterson: 1869): 666; J. R. MacDuff, *In Memoriam, A Tribute to the Character and Memory of the Late Rev. James Craik, D.D., Minister of St. George's, Glasgow, delivered in St. George's Church, on Sabbath Afternoon, the 28th August, 1870* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1870), 6; also see M. F. Conolly, *Fifiana: or, Memorials of the East of Fife* (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1869), 59.

⁷ Craik, *The Authority of Scripture Considered in Relation to Christian Union*, 18.

⁸ Craik, *The Authority of Scripture Considered in Relation to Christian Union*, vi.

⁹ Craik, *The Authority of Scripture Considered in Relation to Christian Union*, v.

¹⁰ April 29, 1863, Henry Craik's Journal, 1863-1866, The George Muller Museum and The George Muller Charitable Trust, Bristol, U.K.

lecture was published.¹¹ Evangelicals in Church of Scotland remained influential and, as Andrew Michael Jones argues, were key in ‘the recovery of the Church of Scotland as a national religious establishment.’¹² Jones notes that Evangelicals continued to place emphasis on ‘a heartfelt, personal faith,’ ‘preached to convert,’ and finally ‘viewed the Bible as both an ultimate authority and the foundation of a rich devotional life.’¹³ John Macleod likewise observes that well into the 1870s in cities like Glasgow ‘it could be said that it did not matter very much to which congregation a man went, for in almost any one he might look for a sermon that spoke the message of Evangelical Orthodoxy.’¹⁴

Craik separated from the Church of Scotland because he could not ‘conscientiously’ ‘submit to everything else required from candidates for the ministry in the Church of Scotland.’¹⁵ Yet, the preeminent role of conscience that was so crucial for Craik’s own decision does not seem to be something he afforded to participants in the Disruption who separated themselves according to conscience.¹⁶ These tensions regarding his positive view of Established Churches, his commitment to conscience that made him Dissenter, and his criticism of the rationale for the creation of the Free Church raises many questions about Craik’s views about living according to the mandates of Scripture.

¹¹ Andrew Michael Jones, *The Revival of Evangelicalism: Mission and Piety in the Victorian Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 22.

¹² Jones, *The Revival of Evangelicalism*, 197.

¹³ Jones, *The Revival of Evangelicalism*, 197.

¹⁴ John Macleod, *Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History since the Reformation* (1943; reprinted, Edinburgh: The Knox Press, 1974), 266. Also see, W. Elfe Tayler, ed., *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik, of Bristol* introduction by George Müller (Bristol: W. Mack, 1866), 75.

¹⁵ Craik, *The Authority of Scripture Considered in Relation to Christian Union*, v.

¹⁶ Craik’s former professor, Thomas Chalmers, and his friend Alexander Duff, a missionary to India, both left the Church of Scotland in 1843. Robert Buchanan, *The Ten Years’ Conflict: Being the History of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1849), 506; James A. Wylie, *Disruption Worthies: A Memorial of 1843, with an Historical Sketch of the Free Church of Scotland from 1843 down to the Present Time, Vol. III* (Edinburgh: Thomas C. Jack, n.d.), 215-22; A.A. Millar, *Alexander Duff of India* (Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1992), 119-30.

This chapter will analyse the Craik's notion of living biblically. Although his views were already being expressed at the University of St. Andrews, Craik's evangelical conceptualization of Christian cooperation along with a host of other practices were influenced by Anthony Norris Groves and others. Craik believed in overseas Christian missions, the decision to live every day by faith without worrying excessively about material needs and also rejected sectarianism and ecclesiastical authority in favour of an irenic Christian unity. Craik, as both a committed Dissenter and supporter of the Establishment, believed, as he explained in a letter to Dr. Chalmers in 1832, that it was 'good' and 'pleasant . . . for Brothers to dwell together in unity.'¹⁷ For Craik, these elements were all signs of a possessing a genuine biblical piety.

4.2 Influence of Anthony Norris Groves

As the previous two chapters have explored, Craik was deeply shaped by the personal and intellectual bonds formed during his university years in St. Andrews. Likewise, those relationships and experiences that occurred during his early career after university were also instrumental in shaping his views of Christianity. The first of these transformative relationships came with his employment as a tutor. As was the custom in the early nineteenth century, after a student had completed their undergraduate course and become a divinity student at St. Mary's College at the University of St. Andrews, the practice was to further their education in a non-resident manner by attending lectures at another university or by gaining some form of employment as a tutor or teacher.¹⁸ Following this example, in the summer of 1826 Craik began attending lectures at the University of Edinburgh along with visiting with

¹⁷ Letter from Henry Craik to Thomas Chalmers, 30 June 1832, MS CHA 4.202.73.

¹⁸ Kenneth J. Cameron, *The Schoolmaster Engineer: Adam Anderson of Perth and St. Andrews 1780-1846*, 2nd ed. revised and enlarged (Dundee: Abertay Historical Society, 2007), 16.

friends and relatives in the city.¹⁹ In his diary he records that much of his time was devoted to reading a wide variety of literature from classical authors to contemporary books and articles along with hearing sermons at various churches throughout the city.²⁰

During his sojourn in Edinburgh, Craik was offered a post as tutor in the household of Anthony Norris Groves thanks to his St. Andrews connections.²¹ The offer of employment was not coincidental. Groves, a successful dentist in Exeter, England, was preparing for missionary work with the Church Missionary Society (CMS). To obtain ordination with the Church of England and receive official endorsement as a CMS missionary, Groves was sitting for his theological exams at Trinity College, Dublin, to earn the requisite Bachelor of Divinity degree.²² To help him accomplish this task Groves hired a tutor to help him overcome his academic deficiencies. In the concluding part of November 1825, Groves hired Robert Nesbit, a former Divinity student at St. Andrews, as pedagogue for himself and his young sons.²³ Nesbit's role as a tutor in Groves's household was not a post the young man held for long. Instead, Nesbit soon found himself redirected toward missionary work thanks to Groves's prodding and then Craik was recruited to replace Nesbit as the household tutor.²⁴ Although the sources do not reveal Nesbit and Craik's interactions about Groves, the surviving records imply an important connection that bonded the two St. Andrews graduates with their employer. Both were hired first and foremost, to educate his sons in their

¹⁹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 49.

²⁰ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 41-59.

²¹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 60.

²² Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 79.

²³ J. Murray Mitchell, *Memoir of the Rev. Robert Nesbit, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, Bombay* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1858), 22.

²⁴ Nesbit would go on to have a celebrated career as a missionary in India initially with the Scottish Missionary Society, then with the Church of Scotland Mission at Bombay, and finally, after the Disruption of 1843, with the Free Church of Scotland. Robert W. Weir, *A History of the Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, Ltd., 1900), 183; also see John Wilson, *Biographical Sketch of the Rev. Robert Nesbit, of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission, Bombay. From the Sermon Preached on the Occasion of His Death* (Bombay: L. M. De Souza's Press, 1856), 5.

studies and to help him prepare for his own examinations, especially in languages, at Dublin.²⁵ Another unspoken purpose is apparent with hindsight. Groves's enthusiasm for Christian missions would cause him to encourage both Nesbit and Craik to become missionaries.

Craik arrived for his tutorial duties on August 21, 1826, and on August 30 Craik wrote the following about Groves,

He is a most interesting, a most noble character. The chief features of his mind are generosity, heavenly-mindedness, great talent, persuasive eloquence, gentleness, humility, learning. I know not what faults I may yet discover, but as yet I have reason to believe there scarcely does exist a more noble character.²⁶

Groves's Christian zeal appeared to Craik to surpass that of family, friends, and former professors primarily because Groves was living through the most dynamic moments of change in his own life.²⁷ As Groves sought to live a self-denying life as a missionary, he was willing to challenge his own presuppositions and apply insights gleaned from Scripture in a literal and simplistic fashion. In Groves, Craik found a man who had experienced economic success as an affluent dentist and, yet, was still taking the most challenging path forward to proclaim the Gospel. Not only did Groves talk about following Christ, but he did so with an abandonment of those markers that his socio-economic status held to be worthy of attainment.

From Craik's diary we learn that during his time as tutor to Groves and his sons, Craik was committed to his pedagogical duties and engaged his pupils in reading Homer, Horace, Lucian, Juvenal, and other classical works.²⁸ In his free time Craik also read a wide range of literature that included the biographies of Jeremy Taylor, Isaac Newton, Martin Luther, histories of

²⁵ F. Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement: Its Origin, its Worldwide Development and its Significance for the Present Day*, 2nd ed. (Exeter: The Paternoster Press Ltd., 1976), 18-9.

²⁶ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 81.

²⁷ Groves, *Memoir*, 38-51.

²⁸ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 80.

Christian missions and America, various classical authors, and even John Locke's "Conduct of the Understanding" [1706].²⁹ This engagement with the great classical and Christian literature of the past certainly improved Craik's mind, but the interactions with Groves appear to have made a greater mark. Just as Nesbit experienced, Craik also encountered a Groves who was primarily concerned with how to live every aspect of his everyday life according to Scripture.

Groves's single-minded approach to life did not mean that his household was one of peace and tranquility. As Donald H. Akenson explains, Groves experienced a great deal of personal turmoil during these years that included the opposition of his wife, Mary, to their going out as missionaries and 'three overlapping crises of conscience' that 'indicates the spiritual flux that was enveloping him.'³⁰ Groves's angst caused by his enthusiasm for missions affected everyone close to him. Groves pushed Craik to question how deep his own commitment to Christ was and even the status quo of church and society. Craik, who was certainly aware of the price paid by his employer in terms of income, social status, and interpersonal relationships, was impressed by the devotedness of Groves to serve Christ no matter the cost.³¹

The price for such a departure from his present circumstances was not easy for anyone in Groves's orbit of influence or even for Groves himself to bear. Nesbit recalls that he faced a time of spiritual trial in the Groves's household.³² Craik also indicated that he struggled through a time of spiritual malaise while living and working in the Groves household.³³ For Craik, the call to missions would not remain an abstract question. Instead of compelling Craik to seek his own missionary appointment, Groves's strategy took a new turn. In a letter to a friend in June 1827, Craik explained that Groves 'made to

²⁹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 81-2.

³⁰ Donald Harman Akenson, *Exporting the Rapture: John Nelson Darby and the Victorian Conquest of North-American Evangelicalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 59.

³¹ Groves, *Memoir*, 41-2.

³² Mitchell, *Memoir of the Rev. Robert Nesbit*, 22-5.

³³ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 84.

me the serious proposal of accompanying him to Persia.’³⁴ Craik asked for a month to consider the question and continued, ‘I *have* considered it, and had almost determined to accompany him, and, of course, to set myself to a diligent preparation for the difficult duties of a missionary to Persia.’³⁵ However, when the young Scotsman wrote home to ‘friends’ in Kennoway, the reply was not affirming. Craik was told ‘to reconsider the proposal’ and abandon going out with Groves.³⁶ He knew Groves could ‘scarcely’ imagine him rejecting his offer and feared that Groves would ‘think worse of me than he formerly did.’³⁷

Craik was right to be concerned about what rejecting Groves’s offer might bring. John Eadie, in his *Life of John Kitto*, described Groves as being ‘earnest, [who] had strong force of character . . . every one in his sphere was expected to bend to his convictions. These convictions sometimes bordered on fanaticism.’³⁸ Groves was not a man to have his ideas thwarted by well-meaning advice. Uncertain how best to proceed, Craik pleaded in his letter to his friend,

If you can afford me any arguments of an Evangelical nature in favour of my rejecting his proposal, you will oblige me by communicating them as soon as you conveniently can; as, in about a fortnight or so, I shall probably acquaint him with the determination to which I have come. What change this communication may make on my future continuance here I know not . . .³⁹

If Craik recorded anything in his original diary about how Groves received the news, that exchange was redacted long ago by Tayler’s editorial hand. Craik remained in Groves’s employment. However, the anguish that Craik suffered after rejecting Groves’s invitation to go with him to Persia affected him

³⁴ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 322.

³⁵ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 322.

³⁶ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 322.

³⁷ Tayler, *Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 322.

³⁸ John Eadie, *The Life of John Kitto* (Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Sons, 1858), 163.

³⁹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 323.

immensely.⁴⁰ Having failed to live up to the call of his friend, mentor, and employer to join him as a missionary, Craik wrestled through existential despair as he sought to find purpose for his life.⁴¹

In the end, Craik determined that his only way forward was to further mature in his faith through the ‘study [of] the Word of God accompanied by earnest prayer, and thus expect to obtain that tranquillity which can in no other way be procured. The rest of the time I continue with Mr. G—ought to be devoted to—'The duties of my office.’⁴² Craik then noted that he would engage in those things that ‘may legitimately be considered as preparatory to the Ministry, or as tending to increase my knowledge in those points which are confessedly of importance to the minister of the Gospel. The expounding of the Word. The visiting and consoling the sick. The resisting the devil, etc. etc. All these pursuits may be turned to the glory of God.’⁴³ Clearly, Craik was coming to terms with his inability to follow Groves as freely as he was able to align himself with his friends and professors at St. Andrews. There were responsibilities that extended beyond self and required him to focus on the duty at hand.

4.3 Christian Devoutness

In addition to facing Groves’s relentless call for missions, Craik was also witnessing other important shifts that were happening in the life and the

⁴⁰ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 84.

⁴¹ Craik was not alone in receiving an invitation from Groves to go along with him as a missionary to Persia. John Kitto, a deaf autodidact, friend, and craftsman who helped Groves in his dental practice, initially turned down Groves’ invitation to join the missionary party to Persia. However, while visiting London to see Groves and his party off to Persia, Kitto heard news that a former love interest who had rejected his proposal of marriage had died. He decided to view her body and was deeply affected by the scene. When Groves asked again if Kitto would like to accompany the missionary party to Persia Kitto agreed to go. Eadie, *The Life of John Kitto*, 159-60.

⁴² Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 84-5.

⁴³ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 85.

thought of his employer as he prepared to become a missionary to Baghdad.⁴⁴ The most radical of these ideas involved the abandonment of societal norms regarding financial and material provision. Not long before Craik was employed by Groves, Groves published a tract entitled, *Christian Devoutness*, in 1825 that, as Timothy Stunt explains, articulated his view ‘that the accumulation of any wealth, beyond the immediate needs of the day, was in conflict with the teaching of Christ.’⁴⁵ This literal application of Christ’s direction in Matthew 6:19-20, more commonly known as the Sermon on the Mount, to ‘lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth’ but instead ‘lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven’ was the basis for Groves rejection of material wealth and for living each day in complete dependence on God.⁴⁶

Even though scholars disagree about how best to understand Groves’s interpretation of Christ’s words in *Christian Devotedness*, they do agree that Groves’s application of New Testament teaching was revolutionary for the era. For Craik, Groves’s desire to give everything, including financial security, to follow Christ and share the Gospel with the world made him a model worth following.⁴⁷ Groves, after all, was radically committed to Christ above all else. Who could not be impressed by his zeal? The truth, however, was far more complicated. After Groves’s wife, Mary, finally surrendered her opposition to his missionary aspirations they went out as missionaries sometime in 1825 or

⁴⁴ Robert Bernard Dann, *Father of Faith Missions: The Life and Times of Anthony Norris Groves (1795-1853)* (Milton Keynes: Authentic Paternoster, 2004), 127.

⁴⁵ Timothy C. F. Stunt, *The Elusive Quest of the Spiritual Malcontent: Some Early Nineteenth-Century Ecclesiastical Mavericks* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015), 105.

⁴⁶ King James Version; Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, 68-9.

⁴⁷ Groves is not the first to glean this principle of relying on God for daily provision from the Bible. In the history of Protestantism, one of the most well-known examples is found in the life and work of the great Prussian Pietist, August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), who founded a variety of charitable institutions in Halle to help orphans, students, and the poor. August Hermann Francke, *The Prayer of Faith Answered; or, An Encouragement to Live by Faith, in the Promises and Faithfulness of God. Being an Extract from an Historical Narration of the Orphan House, at Glaucha, near Hall, in Saxony; Begun and Carried on in Faith, and by Many Eminent Answers to Prayer* (Plymouth-Dock: J. Heydon, 1795); also see, Akenson, *Exporting the Rapture*, 58; F. Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement: Its Origins, its Worldwide Development and its Significance for the Present Day* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1968), 17; Tim Grass, *Gathering to His Name: The Story of Open Brethren in Britain and Ireland*, foreword by David Bebbington (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006), 13.

1826.⁴⁸ Donald H. Akenson observes that at that point, ‘Groves counted up the family resources; he was now making £1,500 a year in his dental practice and his wife was worth £10,000 to £12,000, so they could now afford foreign poverty.’⁴⁹ Groves would live by faith with a very large safety net to catch them. The evidence from Groves’s diary supports Akenson’s conclusions. Groves recorded in his diary in April 1827, ‘The death of Mrs. Groves’s father, about three weeks ago, has rendered our path in some respects much easier; but it has put some of that deadly corrupter of the human heart—money—in our way, under circumstances we have no control over. Pray for us, therefore, that we may glorify Him with every farthing of it.’⁵⁰ Whether Groves spent every farthing prudently, no one can say. What can be known is that by March 1828, as Craik explained in a letter to a friend, ‘Mr. Groves has given up his profession, and so is become comparatively a poor man.’⁵¹ What a ‘comparatively poor man’ might mean is uncertain from what Craik records, but clearly the principle of relying on God to cover every cost and meet every need was now fully put to the test.

Groves’s notion of material devotion to God made a permanent influence on Craik’s understanding of finances. Groves believed that every day should be lived fully dependent on God to provide the financial means to house, clothe, and feed oneself and one’s family. This would create far more desperate circumstances for the young Scotsman who did not have the benefit of a profitable skill like dentistry nor the possibility of an inheritance that could remedy a plunge into poverty. This reality did not deter Craik. As Tayler explained,

[Craik] was accustomed to look to God for the supply of the daily wants of himself and family; and hence his objection to receive a fixed income from the members of the Church over which he was placed; hence his refusal to incur debt, under any circumstances; hence his

⁴⁸ Akenson, *Exporting the Rapture*, 56.

⁴⁹ Akenson, *Exporting the Rapture*, 56.

⁵⁰ Groves, *Memoir*, 19.

⁵¹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 329.

objection to lay by money for old age; and also to insure his life for the benefit of his wife and children. All these measures savoured too much of worldly policy to find favour with him.⁵²

Craik, too, would reject the idea that a salary should be paid for his labour as a minister.⁵³ As Groves reframed Craik's understanding of missions and mammon, he also altered Craik's practice of Christianity and his view of the Church universal. However, this did not mean that Craik would not recognize that he and his family were faced by shackles of poverty in the years to come.⁵⁴

4.4 'Of Catholic Fellowship'

Craik was already well-along the path toward independency long before he arrived in Exeter. Thanks to the influence of fellow students and faculty at the University of St. Andrews who attended local Dissenting services, Craik almost immediately upon his arrival in Exeter in 1826 began to preach 'in a School-room at Heavitree, partly along with Mr. J. Brown, partly without any assistance.'⁵⁵ Craik was already preaching at local chapels in Exeter when he witnessed Groves reject his connection with the Church of England and dismiss any sort of association with those independent church bodies that stood outside of the Establishment.⁵⁶ Groves rejected obtaining ordination through an ecclesiastical body so he could serve as a missionary, because he refused to adhere to a sectarian theology to obtain such a qualification. This obstacle was soon put aside when he reasoned out 'that

⁵² Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 309.

⁵³ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 302.

⁵⁴ July 18, 1863, Henry Craik's Journal, 1863-1866, The George Muller Museum and The George Muller Charitable Trust, Bristol, U.K.

⁵⁵ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 83.

⁵⁶ Mrs. Anthony Norris Groves [Harriet Groves], *Memoir of the Late Anthony Norris Groves, Containing Extracts from His Letters and Journals*, 2nd ed. (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1857), 40-1; Henry Groves, *Darbyism: Its Rise and Development, and a Review of "The Bethesda Question,"* London: Houlston & Wright, 1866), 26; also see Edward Kennaway Groves, *George Müller and His Successors* (Bristol: n.p., 1906), 370; Stunt, *The Elusive Quest of the Spiritual Malcontent*, 106-7; Grass, *Gathering to His Name*, 12-4.

ordination of any kind to preach the gospel is no requirement of Scripture.’⁵⁷ Groves considered this insight ‘the removal of a mountain’ and explained that he ‘never had a doubt of [his] own liberty in Christ to minister the word.’⁵⁸ This departure from the need for official recognition as a minister of the Gospel from either the Establishment or Nonconformists reveals the radical nature of Groves’s thought as he sought to adhere to his conscience as he reasoned the directives of the biblical text.⁵⁹ Watching a man he respected reject all forms of church governance, polity, and distinctiveness as being outside biblical teaching most certainly affected Craik.

Henry Groves, the son of Groves and former pupil of Craik, said that Craik explained to him that, ‘It was not at St. Andrews, it was not at Plymouth—it was at Exeter that the Lord taught me those lessons of dependence on Himself and of Catholic fellowship, which I have sought to carry out.’⁶⁰ Although the statement flattered the importance of his father’s influence on Craik’s life and work, the statement should not be dismissed. If accurately recalled, Craik disclosed how he viewed other Protestants in the Dissenting and the Established churches.⁶¹ Craik’s ideas about Christianity union were first formed at St. Andrews, but Groves confirmed that this was the proper course for Christians to follow. Christians should be irenic towards other Christians and seek unity where possible.

In 1863, Craik more fully explained his conception of the Church when he wrote, ‘the instructions contained in the New Testament, respecting matters of Church regulation, are not given in the form of an express code of ecclesiastical polity, but are to be gathered from historic facts, Apostolic

⁵⁷ Groves, *Memoir*, 42.

⁵⁸ Groves, *Memoir*, 43.

⁵⁹ Groves, *Memoir*, 46.

⁶⁰ Groves, *Darbyism*, 26.

⁶¹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 319.

examples, and leading principles.’⁶² Acknowledging the obvious simplicity of his assertion he went on to explain,

Does not every reader of Church-history well know what wasting controversies have been maintained, between the upholders of opposite systems of Church-government? Has not Romanism claimed to be the only true system? Has there not been volume upon volume written in defence of the Divine right of Episcopacy, and as many, on the other hand, devoted to the maintenance of the Divine right of Presbyterianism? Has not the Congregational system been attacked with equal bitterness by the champions of semi-Popish canons, and by the advocates of the Westminster Confession? Mid such unseemly conflicts, how often has the truth itself been in danger of being torn in pieces? . . . I may be regarded as advocating very latitudinarian opinions, but I am disposed readily to admit that there are passages in the inspired writings that seem, to some extent, to favour a species of Episcopacy; others that may appear to support Presbyterianism; very many, again, that uphold Congregationalism, and others, as clearly teaching that may be described as less systematic than any of the above organizations.⁶³

In a nuanced and thoughtful manner Craik abandoned ecclesiastical division in favour of unity by pointing out that each form of church polity can be biblically supported. This issue, Craik believed, should not be a primary concern for Christians, but rather Christians should focus on the individual’s ‘union’ with God through Christ in salvation that ‘is the nearest, the most essential, and the most fundamental of all conceivable relationships.’⁶⁴ Next, instead of pondering those divisions, Craik argued ‘that true believers in Christ should have fellowship together’ because this is what God intentionally provided for encouragement and support.⁶⁵ Finally, he concluded ‘Let no position of earthly distinction be so highly prized by us as that of a Christian; and no association regarded as of higher value than that fellowship of which Jesus is the Head.’⁶⁶ In these words, penned near the end of his life, Craik

⁶² Henry Craik, *New Testament Church Order* (Bristol: W. Mack, 1863), 2.

⁶³ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 2-3.

⁶⁴ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 7.

⁶⁵ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 7.

⁶⁶ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 8.

returned to the lessons he learned at St. Andrews and saw put into practice by Groves.

Craik wanted to avoid ‘self-conceited and superficial dogmatism’ and the false assumption based on a ‘more Scriptural mode’ that some ‘are disposed to arrogate to themselves the high prerogative of being the only true Church upon earth.’⁶⁷ Rather, he sought, as he stated, ‘the far more comforting and exhilarating conviction that all who truly love the Saviour compose His church, and that all such, being united to Him now, shall continue to be united to Him, and to each other, throughout the ages of eternity.’⁶⁸ Here Craik’s irenic vision of Christianity cast division aside in favour of the unity of all true believers for eternity. Craik never wavered from his irenic view of the Christian church and wrote, ‘all who are born of God are essentially one. That oneness may never be fully manifested on earth, but we may be always approximating to its manifestation.’⁶⁹

Similar to his experience with his professors and his classmates at the University of St. Andrews,⁷⁰ Craik found in Groves an unwavering commitment to live biblically.⁷¹ The radicalism that Craik encountered in Groves is not fully recoverable today. As Timothy Stunt has observed, important elements of Groves’s life, thought, and the key influences on his theological development were ignored by those responsible for ensuring the survival of his memory.⁷² In a similar fashion, since the split of the Brethren into two rival groups in the late 1840s, the Exclusive Brethren who followed John Nelson Darby and the Open Brethren who aligned with George Müller, has each, as Stunt acknowledges, ‘tended to hijack the story of Groves’s development to tally with their own particular ecclesiastical preferences.’⁷³

⁶⁷ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 30.

⁶⁸ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 30.

⁶⁹ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 30.

⁷⁰ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 57.

⁷¹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 81.

⁷² Stunt, *The Elusive Quest of the Spiritual Malcontent*, 105-8.

⁷³ Stunt, *The Elusive Quest of the Spiritual Malcontent*, 107.

These realities present challenges for recovering Groves' life.⁷⁴ What is certain is that Craik thought highly of Groves and that Groves was a model for Craik's idea that Christians should engage in 'the experimental application of what we read' in the Bible.⁷⁵ No one Craik knew embodied the lived reality of 'experimental application' of the Bible more than Groves. Craik found in Groves a radical commitment that harkened back to the Scottish Reformation of the sixteenth century where those convinced by the Gospel message risked everything to reform Christendom by putting Scripture first.

⁷⁴ Groves's missionary venture to Persia would not cost him his life but the lives of his wife and his infant daughter. Despite the personal loss that Groves incurred (and the fact the entire party almost perished), he remained steadfast in his devotion to God, to the cause of missions, and for reaching the world with the Gospel. Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, 173-83.

⁷⁵ Craik, *The Authority of Scripture Considered in Relation to Christian Union*, 19.

CHAPTER 5

IN NEED OF A SECOND REFORMATION

5.1 Sola Scriptura

Even before Groves prepared to set out on his mission Craik pondered about where he could best use his talents to serve Christ. In October 1827, Craik decided against going to Poland to be the minister of a church of twenty Scottish people with the added hope of reaching the Poles with the Gospel message. In his diary Craik noted that he knew Latin, Greek, and English literature, but explained that he was not prepared ‘for the difficult work of resuscitating the mental and spiritual energies of this superstitious people.’¹ Over the following year Craik was much concerned with ‘various plans for future employment.’² In May 1828 he went home to Scotland where he visited his ill father and about a month later he returned to England and found employment as a tutor in the home of Groves’s Anglican friend, John Synge in Teignmouth.³ Although the diary did not make it exactly clear when Craik left the Groves household and took up employment with Synge, Craik was clearly trying to balance tasks for both men.⁴ Between mid-1828 through 1829, Craik appears to have deepened an important friendship with George Anderson, whose sister Mary he would later marry.⁵ Besides his friendship with Anderson, his burgeoning courtship of Mary, and his continued work with Groves, Craik began to prepare for his final move to Teignmouth and

¹ W. Elfe Tayler, ed., *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik, of Bristol* introduction by George Müller (Bristol: W. Mack, 1866), 90.

² Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 97.

³ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 99.

⁴ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 99, 101.

⁵ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 100. Craik would say of Anderson, ‘I never in my life met with his superior. What a meeting we shall have in heaven, Urquhart, Groves, Anderson, etc.! We shall then know each other in perfect knowledge. To spend such an eternity is a thought too big with joy. O Christ, increase my faith in Thee, and my love towards Thee!’ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 103-104.

preached there on July 1, 1828.⁶ There appears to have been several months of overlap between Craik's work for Groves and Synge, but due to the heavily redacted nature of the diary and Tayler's own lack of certainty about the order of events we do not read of Craik interacting with Synge until August 10, 1829.⁷

From the time Craik assumed his post as tutor for Synge several key concerns occupied his thought and time. First, he remained steadfast in his daily practice of a 'jealous' piety and his commitment to missionary labour.⁸ Second, he continued preaching in local Dissenting chapels, while holding to an irenic practice of Christianity. Third, he studied the Bible in the original languages, especially Hebrew. From this practice, he recognized that he was better suited to scholarly endeavours. Finally, he sought to see Christians and the Church reformed according to the dictates of Scripture. Despite the changes and challenges that life brought, throughout the rest of his life Craik's fidelity to these items never wavered.

This chapter will analyse these four elements in Craik's life and thought. His devotion to the life of the mind combined with an active piety was essential for his understanding of Christianity.⁹ However, Craik's motivation for his labour as a scholar-preacher was rooted in the history of the Scottish Reformation. This chapter will argue that Craik, like so many Scotsmen before him, hoped to complete the Reformation of the sixteenth century by encouraging Christians and ecclesiastical leaders to place themselves under the authority of Scripture and use the text to guide their piety and their understanding of the Church.

⁶ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 107.

⁷ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 99, 109.

⁸ Tayler offers as commentary on Craik's diary, 'The reader cannot fail to observe, too, how jealous he was of himself,—how constantly he was watching his thoughts, his heart, his actions lest in any way he should offend against God.' Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 108.

⁹ David Bebbington has offered a four-fold description of Evangelicals as holding to conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism. David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1992), 2-3.

5.2 A Life in Ministry

Craik's arrival in the household of John Synge was due to the influence of Groves who had come to know Synge during his travels to Ireland.¹⁰ Synge, whose father owned Glanmore Castle near Dublin, Ireland, most likely purchased Buckridge House in Teignmouth in 1827 at the encouragement of Groves.¹¹ While serving as tutor for Synge's sons, Craik spent a significant amount of his time focused on studying the Hebrew language and the Bible. He, in fact, was creating a primer for the study of Hebrew that was published in 1831 and, as Timothy Stunt notes, was 'printed at Synge's expense on his own printing press.'¹² The book was entitled, *Principia Hebraica; or an Easy Introduction to the Hebrew Language: exhibiting in Twenty Four Tablets, the Interpretation of all the Hebrew and Chaldee Words both Primitives and Derivatives, contained in the Old Testament Scriptures*. The two men influenced each other's work and Synge also published an introductory book for Hebrew language study under the penname, Parens.¹³ Craik would continue to build on this initial work throughout his life in hope of making Hebrew more accessible to those interested in biblical studies. Over the course of his life the study of biblical Hebrew allowed his reputation to grow and brought academic acclaim.¹⁴

In addition to developing his firm commitment to the intellectual life in Synge's household, Craik also remained focused on going out as a

¹⁰ F. Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement: Its Origins, its Worldwide Development and its Significance for the Present Day* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1968), 36.

¹¹ Timothy Stunt, "John Synge and the Early Brethren," *Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship* 28 (1976): 42

¹² Stunt, "John Synge and the Early Brethren," 43.

¹³ Stunt, "John Synge and the Early Brethren," 42.

¹⁴ According to Craik's diary entry from January 5, 1849, he wrote to Professor Andrew Alexander, professor of Greek at St. Andrews, declining his invitation 'to use his influence to procure for me the degree of D.D. or LL.D.' Alexander was appointed to United College in 1820. He remained at St. Andrews until his death in 1859. Although a graduate of the University of Glasgow, Alexander received his LL.D. from the University of Aberdeen 1848. Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 249; also see *The St. Andrews University Calendar for the Year 1896-97* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1896), 26; "Andrew Alexander," The University of Glasgow Story, accessed March 18, 2022, <https://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH7599&type=P>

missionary.¹⁵ Craik even recorded his schedule that focused him on his preparation for future missionary work during these years. The detailed daily schedule included six to seven hours of sleep, six hours for Hebrew work, four for reading the Bible, devotions, and other biblical studies, two hours for ‘Biography and General Reading,’ two hours for letter writing, visits, and three hours for getting dressed, eating, and ‘recreation.’¹⁶ Although this schedule does not appear to differentiate between his tutorial duties and language work, Craik instructed Synge’s sons a good portion of each day, excepting Sundays when he preached in local chapels.¹⁷ His work as a tutor was apparently satisfying and he referred to Synge’s sons as ‘my dear boys.’¹⁸

Craik’s time in Synge’s home in Teignmouth was also a time of reckoning on several fronts. Although the many details are absent from the diary, he was in close interaction with George Anderson and George’s sister, Mary. Anderson was Craik’s sounding board for contemplating a future life as a missionary, while Mary shared a zeal for Christ that made her an attractive marriage possibility.¹⁹ Craik and Anderson were interviewed for service with the Baptist Missionary Society in 1829, an event that appears to have been unfruitful.²⁰ According to Tayler’s commentary in Craik’s published journal, Craik rejected infant baptism as unscriptural while living at Buckridge House.²¹ Although Tayler’s editorial hand appears to have removed any clarity surrounding Craik’s shift to becoming a Baptist, Craik had ‘for some time regularly preached at the Baptist Chapel at Shaldon.’²² One could argue that this shift should not be seen as surprising since Craik was firmly on the path to being a Dissenter since his time at St. Andrews where he gained an

¹⁵ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 110.

¹⁶ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 119.

¹⁷ W. J. McCormack, *The Silence of Barbara Synge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 169.

¹⁸ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 111.

¹⁹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 111.

²⁰ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 117.

²¹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 125.

²² Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 125.

appreciation for a serious commitment to Scripture that echoed the devotion of sixteenth century Scottish reformers.

For Craik, his relationship with Anderson and his sister, Mary, were the most important while working for Synge.²³ He recorded in his diary, ‘Here I am, within the same roof as my dear M.[ary], engaged in very delightful and improving work for Mr. Synge, and an opportunity of spending my days with my dear boys in the sacred study of God’s Holy Word.’²⁴ Craik remained in Synge’s employment until April 1831, though he and Mary would not marry until sometime during the summer 1831 around the time Craik also became the minister of the Baptist Chapel at Shaldon. Unfortunately, the marriage would end tragically due to her untimely death from consumption on February 1, 1832.²⁵ Craik would remarry in Bristol on October 30, 1832, to Sarah Howland with whom he would have several children and remain married until his own death in 1866.²⁶

Before his marriage to Mary, Craik continued to consider the idea of missions as a vocation but was faced with the death of his unwell father in March 1830.²⁷ Though not completely unexpected, the loss put Craik in ‘an evil state of heart’ that caused him to pursue spiritual matters with even more zeal. He records of this period that besides his work with Synge he focused on prayer, Bible reading, writing letters, and ‘visiting my people.’²⁸ In fact, during this time working with Synge, Craik became aware that he was suited to work that was different from Anderson. Craik’s constant reflection on his motives, attitudes, and social interactions caused him to realize that ‘the study or the pulpit, and not the parlour or drawing-room, is the place for which I am

²³ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 120.

²⁴ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 113.

²⁵ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 142.

²⁶ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 160.

²⁷ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 121.

²⁸ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 121.

fitted.²⁹ Craik went on to explain that Anderson ‘seems fitted for activity, and I for contemplation.’³⁰

When Craik left Synge’s employment in April 1831, his life was much different. He had seen his first book published, he was a committed scholar-minister of the Baptist persuasion, and he was soon to be married to a young woman whose commitment to Christ and missions was well suited to his own. He was also content with his life as a newlywed village pastor in Shaldon. For a short time, his life may have been idyllic. This thought was one that Tayler certainly wanted to encourage when he wrote, ‘[Craik’s] Diary, whilst at Shaldon, presents a beautiful picture of a village pastor, devoting his whole time to the study of the Word of God and the discharge of his ministerial duties.’³¹

During his days in Shaldon, a Prussian emigrant who Craik had first met while living in Teignmouth would play a final and decisive role in the direction of his life. George Müller came to Christ while studying at the University of Halle, where a friend brought him into contact with local Pietists who lead him into a believing faith. Friedrich A. G. Tholuck, the renowned theologian at Halle, encouraged Müller’s piety and worked to find him an appointment with a missionary society.³² Much like the Evangelical view of missions that Craik encountered at St. Andrews and from Groves, Müller’s encounter with Pietists at Halle also embraced missionary service as a sacrificial form of devotion to Christ. With Tholuck’s help Müller received an initial period of training to go out as a missionary with the London Missionary Society to the Jews. This appointment required to Müller to move to London for a period of preparation.³³ Advised to leave London due to ongoing health

²⁹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 113.

³⁰ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 113. Also see McCormack, *The Silence of Barbara Synge*, 170.

³¹ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 129.

³² George Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord’s Dealings with George Müller, Minister of Christ, Written by Himself* (Bristol: J. Nisbet, 1837), 11-14.

³³ Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord’s Dealings*, 33-5, 41.

issues, Teignmouth was selected as the place of recuperation that eventually led Müller to first meet Craik in 1829.³⁴ Though the language barrier must have been an obstacle for the two young men, they quickly found that they shared far more in common regarding their views of Christ, the Church, and a compulsion to serve Christ sacrificially as missionaries.

On July 6, 1932, E. R. Short gave a hundredth anniversary account of the establishment of the 'Bristol Bethesda' chapel. Short told the story of how a Mr. Chapman, a member of the Church of England, visited Teignmouth but could find no church where the preaching was acceptable to him.³⁵ Chapman then travelled across the River Teign to Shaldon where he heard Craik preach at a small Baptist Chapel. He was impressed by the preaching of the young Scotsman and after returning home to Bristol, Chapman invited Craik to come and preach there.³⁶ After much prayer and consideration, Craik decided to move to Bristol and according to Short found 'an opening at Gideon Chapel, Newfoundland Road, where there was no settled pastor.'³⁷ This new opportunity presented Craik with a chance to connect the various pieces of his life in the Teignmouth area with his new home in Bristol.

During one of his exploratory visits to Bristol, Craik invited Müller to join him in the city believing, according to Müller, that the city would 'suit [his] gifts' more.³⁸ The two men would demand that they be regarded as pulpit 'supplies' and 'that the pew-rents should be done away with.'³⁹ Once installed at Gideon they maintained the abolition of pew rents and received their

³⁴ Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord's Dealings*, 44-5; also see Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 128.

³⁵ Craik's invitation by a Church of England layman to come to Bristol was not widely known until after Craik's death when a local newspaper made that fact known. "The Late Rev. Henry Craik," *The Western Daily Press*, February 5, 1866.

³⁶ According to Müller, on April 26, 1832, "there was a written call given to Brother Craik to become the pastor of the church assembling at Gideon Chapel." Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord's Dealings*, 91.

³⁷ E. R. Short, *The Story of "Bristol Bethesda": An Address given on the Centenary Day at Bethesda Chapel, July 6th, 1932* (Bristol: Bible and Tract Depot of the Scriptural Knowledge Institution, 1932), 4.

³⁸ Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord's Dealings*, 88.

³⁹ Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord's Dealings*, 94.

income from ‘free-will offerings through a box.’⁴⁰ For the next eight years, Gideon Chapel heard the two friends preach to the steadily growing congregation. The two men quickly added another chapel, Bethesda, to help expand their budding ministry in Bristol.⁴¹ In fact, the friendships, examples of piety, and theological views that helped form Craik’s life and thought at St. Andrews, Exeter, and elsewhere began to see fruit in Bristol. Here the young Scotsman would invest himself in a professional partnership, an ever-growing body of churches and opportunities for theological education, and the nuances of a changing religious landscape that was part of British Christianity in the nineteenth century. Bristol, in fact, would define Craik’s career as much as Craik came to define the spiritual life of the city.

The first major trial Craik and Müller faced was a cholera outbreak that caused many to seek spiritual solace at ‘morning prayer meetings’ they held, according to Müller, to address ‘the judgment of God’ through the outbreak of disease.⁴² Edward K. Groves, Müller’s nephew, attributed the success of their early ministry in Bristol to the cholera outbreak that resulted in the tremendous growth of Bethesda Chapel. According to Groves, the church grew to 600 members in only six years.⁴³ Besides the growth of Bethesda, the men would then add Pithay Chapel and another chapel at Callowhill Street to their burgeoning ministry in Bristol. The chapel on Callowhill Street would soon be abandoned after ‘the ceiling collapsed’ and the building was deemed unusable.⁴⁴ Gideon would remain their centre of preaching activities from April 1832 to April 1840. Gideon Chapel would prove to be the location for their early success as a ministry team noted for their serious piety and ability to challenge churchgoers to live lives consecrated to Christ, while Bethesda would become the ‘mother church’ as the ministry expanded with addition of

⁴⁰ Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord’s Dealings*, 96.

⁴¹ Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord’s Dealings*, 96-7.

⁴² Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord’s Dealings*, 101.

⁴³ Edward Kennaway Groves, *George Müller and the Successors* (Bristol: n.p., 1906), 11.

⁴⁴ Keith Linton and Alan Linton, *‘I Will Build My Church’: 150 years of Local Church Network in Bristol* (Bristol: C. Hadler, n.d.), 22.

Salem Chapel, Sunday Schools, and other ministry ventures that eventually included the world-famous orphanage.⁴⁵

In 1836 Craik and Müller were listed as among the Dissenting ministers in Bristol.⁴⁶ They lead two different Dissenting congregations. One was located at Great George Street and Park Street with services at 10:30 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. on Sundays and 7:00 p.m. on Wednesdays and another at Newfoundland Street also meeting at 10:30 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. on Sundays and 7:00 p.m. on Tuesdays and Thursdays.⁴⁷ Despite the fact that Müller attempted to deny all associations with the Baptists in his 1837 version of *Narrative*, in 1840 the congregations they lead were listed as ‘Baptist Chapels’ and specifically as ‘Muller and Craik’s’ at Great George Street and at Newfoundland Street.⁴⁸ This categorization would not hold and they were again recategorized among the ‘Miscellaneous Chapels.’⁴⁹ When Mary E. Elton wrote of happenings in the city of Bristol she observed in April 1840 that ‘the Craig and Mullerites seem very plentiful in Bristol, and resemble the Plymouth Brethren in their manners and customs; but the name is quite a quiz upon Dissent . . .’⁵⁰ Between the Post Office designation and Elton’s observations there was an obvious lack of clarity surrounding the theological positions of the congregations the two men led. However, what is clear is that they appeared to outsiders as representing the peculiar form of personality

⁴⁵ Linton, ‘*I Will Build My Church*’, 23.

⁴⁶ *Mathews’s Annual Bristol Directory and Commercial List; Being an Entire Classification of Professions and Trades, with a List of the New Municipal Corporation, with a Great Variety of Valuable Information Suited to all Classes of Persons, as will be seen by the Following Contents, for 1836, Containing upwards of Nine Thousand Names*, 38th ed. (Bristol: M. Mathews and Son, 1836), 24.

⁴⁷ *Mathews’s Annual Bristol Directory and Commercial List*, 25.

⁴⁸ Müller, *Narrative of the Lord’s Dealings with Himself*, 65; Chilcott’s *Descriptive History of Bristol, Ancient and Modern; A Guide to Bristol, Clifton, and the Hotwells: Containing an Account of the Bristol Riot*, 4th ed. (Bristol: J. Chilcott, 1840), xvi, 183.

⁴⁹ *Chilcott’s Descriptive History of Bristol, Ancient and Modern; or, A Guide to Bristol, Clifton, and the Hotwells; with Topographical Notices of the Neighbouring Villages, etc.*, 9th ed. (Bristol: J. Chilcott, 1851), xxviii.

⁵⁰ Mary Elizabeth Elton, *A Few Years of the Life of Mary Elizabeth Elton, From Letters of Her Own and of those Whom She Loved, with Poems and Illustrations*, arranged by Arthur Hallam Elton (Clevedon Court: Privately Published, 1877), 16.

driven Evangelicalism that centred on the distinctives of an individual person or persons in this case.⁵¹

Curiously, Craik's and Müller's chapel located at 'Great George Street, [and] Park Street' was described in the 1863 post office directory as belonging to the 'Bethesda' denomination, which happened to be the name of the chapel, and was listed with no ministers providing pastoral leadership.⁵² In the same directory, Craik was listed as a Baptist minister,⁵³ while Müller was listed as a reverend without any acknowledged denominational affiliation.⁵⁴ This public directory may hint at how the two men were understood by the public at large, especially since Craik maintained close ties with Bristol Baptists. In 1875, Müller and the congregation meeting at Great George Street along with four other 'places of worship' were described as 'Christian Brethren' and categorized as Nonconformist Chapels.⁵⁵

The church labours that Craik and Müller shared in Bristol were of different types and ranged quite broadly. There was, of course, the pulpit ministry among the various chapels that the men preached in from their arrival in the city. The men also exhausted themselves at various points, along with a series of helpers, in trying to provide pastoral guidance to the churches they led.⁵⁶ In 1834 they established the Scriptural Knowledge Institute (SKI). Originally known as the Scriptural Knowledge Society 'for the assisting and establishing Day and Sunday Schools, and circulating the Scriptures at home and abroad, at Gidion [sic] Chapel, Newfoundland street.—Directors, Revds. Messrs. Müller & Craik,'⁵⁷ SKI was a missionary foundation that sought to bring the Gospel to people through a variety of methods including day

⁵¹ "The Craik and Mullerites," *The Glasgow Chronicle*, September 25, 1850.

⁵² *The Post Office Directory of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, and the City of Bristol* (London: Kelly & Co., 1863), 179.

⁵³ *The Post Office Directory of Gloucestershire*, 26.

⁵⁴ *The Post Office Directory of Gloucestershire*, 4, 7, 39, 72, 109, 176.

⁵⁵ *Bristol and Its Environs: Historical Descriptive and Scientific* (London: Houlston and Sons, 1875), 187.

⁵⁶ Müller, *Narrative of the Lord's Dealings with Himself*, 135-37.

⁵⁷ *Mathews's Annual Bristol Directory and Commercial List*, 278.

schools, Sunday schools, adult schools, along with the publication and distribution of Christian literature, including Bibles.⁵⁸

Over time, SKI became the umbrella organization for the growth of Müller's ministry empire that would rival that of the eighteenth-century Prussian Pietist at Halle, August Hermann Francke.⁵⁹ Although Müller never appears to have possessed the slightest interest in the intellectual, scholarly, and scientific work that made Francke's labour astounding on a number of fronts, Müller did possess the ability to remain focused on his desire to promote his life as a model for others to be encouraged.⁶⁰ At the same time that Müller's reputation began to flourish with the knowledge of his orphan work becoming more widely praised and celebrated in Great Britain and around the world, Craik continued to focus his energies on preaching, lecturing, and the application of his intellect to the challenges facing Christians and the Church. In fact, Craik was guided by a desire to find unity despite diversity by submitting to the authority of the Bible and a common purpose 'as a labourer in the service of the same Master.'⁶¹ This key element in his thought illuminates how Craik could be irenic in his Christian associations and yet unbending in his beliefs about the nature and purpose of the Church.

⁵⁸ Müller, *Narrative of the Lord's Dealings with Himself*, 110-13,

⁵⁹ Douglas H. Shantz explains that '[i]n Halle, August Hermann Francke's efforts to care for and educate poor children developed into a vast enterprise of schools, orphanage, publishing house, and medicine production, supported by an ambitious building programme. Halle Pietism became a social reform movement, with the orphanage as its distinguishing mark. Even when the complex included Latin and German schools, print shop, bookshop, and pharmacy, the foundations were simply called 'the orphanage,' and Pietism was identified as an orphanage movement.' Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*, foreword by Peter C. Erb (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 117; also see Holger Zaunstöck, Thomas Müller-Bahlke, and Claus Veltmann, eds., *Die Welt verändern, August Hermann Francke: Ein Lebenswerk um 1700* (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2013).

⁶⁰ Groves, *George Müller and the Successors*, 11; also see Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community: Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 16, 86.

⁶¹ Henry Craik, *The Authority of Scripture Considered in Relation to Christian Union. A Lecture* (London: John Snow, 1863), iv.

5.3 Reformation Day 1848

Craik and Müller's irenic sensibilities were not always obvious or clear to others. Their attendance at the Powerscourt conference and having John Nelson Darby preach at their chapels in Bristol confirms their early connection with the Plymouth Brethren. Darby recorded of his meeting with the two men in Bristol in 1832:

The Lord sent us a blessing, and disposed the hearts of the saints much towards us at Bristol, and many also to hear. We preached in both chapels. The Lord is doing a very marked work there, in which I hope our dear brothers M. [üller] and C. [raik] may be abundantly blessed, but I should wish a little more principle of largeness of communion. I dread narrowness of heart more than anything for the church of Christ, *especially now*.⁶²

What is curious to note is that Darby found the exclusionary tendencies of Craik and Müller to be off putting at this point in the development of the Brethren Movement that he, Groves, and others were instrumental in forming through a network of radical Evangelicals in the British Isles.⁶³ However, as perplexed as Darby was with Müller and Craik at this point in their ministerial careers in Bristol, they remained in part of the same movement until a later controversy. The schism of 1848 was the moment that the Plymouth Brethren divided into two distinct factions. The division centred on the fact that Craik and Müller accepted into fellowship those believers who had been part of another Brethren congregation, originally at Providence Chapel and then at

⁶² John Nelson Darby, *Letters of J.N.D.: Volume 1, 1832-1868* (reprint, Sunbury, PA: Believers Bookshelf, 1971), 8.

⁶³ Because of later divisions among the Brethren some of the early personalities, like Darby, possessed a selective memory about who was present at meetings or played a defining role in the early history. An overview of this early history in primary source form can be found in a booklet entitled, *Interesting Reminiscences of the Early History of the 'Brethren': with a Letter from J. G. Bellett* (London: Alfred Holness, n.d.); also see, A. Younger Brother, *The Principles of Christians Called "Open Brethren,"* preface by W. E. Vine (Glasgow: Pickering & Inglis, 1913), 87. For historical accounts that delve into this nuanced chain of events see Harold H. Rowdon's *The Origins of the Brethren, 1825-1850* (London: Pickering & Inglis Ltd., 1967), 37-53; Tim Grass, *Gathering to His Name: The Story of Open Brethren in Britain & Ireland*, foreword by David Bebbington (Milton Keynes, U.K.: Paternoster, 2006), 12-24.

Ebrington Street Chapel in Plymouth, under the leadership of Benjamin Willis Newton. Newton was a precocious young man who had been a Fellow at Exeter College, University of Oxford, for six years until his marriage in 1832.⁶⁴ Newton, who like Darby also left the Established Church to join the Brethren, found himself in a pamphlet war with Darby over a number of issues, most notably differences of opinion about eschatology.⁶⁵ Eventually these eschatological battles turned personal and Darby was determined to thwart Newton's influence over the Brethren by destroying his reputation and accusing him of heretical beliefs. Newton's great, and apparently, unintentional error came when he mistakenly suggested that by coming to earth as a man 'it became necessary for Him to emerge from His condition of liability to judgment, by His own obedience.'⁶⁶ Müller put the matter most succinctly, as Coad notes, when he observed that Newton 'implied that Christ Himself needed a saviour.'⁶⁷ With this error Darby was able to strike a fatal blow against Newton's reputation despite Newton's efforts to recant his mistake.

Darby managed to ostracize Newton and his followers at Ebrington Street Chapel from the Brethren by demanding that Newton's tracts and teachings be rejected and Newton's followers be forbidden from associating with other Brethren chapels. Craik and Müller made the mistake of not acting in unison with Darby and refusing to condemn everything that Darby condemned the moment he made clear his position. On Reformation Day

⁶⁴ Peter L. Embley, "The Early Development of the Plymouth Brethren," in *Patterns in Sectarianism: Organisation and Ideology in Social and Religious Movements*, edited by Bryan R. Wilson (London: Heinemann, 1967), 228.

⁶⁵ According to Coad, 'from an early date Newton and others were pre-occupied with the difficulties into which they saw Darby's system to lead, and that they were attempting to develop the convictions concerning the differences of the dispensations, concerning the ruin and apostasy of the present age, and its pending judgment, all of which they shared with Darby, in ways which would preserve the basic orthodoxies of Reformed theology.' The problems centered on the issue of the Rapture, the Tribulation, and the Millennial Kingdom, which caused them to fear that 'Darby was building a completely new structure of Biblical interpretation.' Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement*, 130-1.

⁶⁶ Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement*, 147.

⁶⁷ Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement*, 147.

(October 31) 1848, Müller would make a ‘public’ statement that rejected Newton’s ideas. This was followed by ‘seven church meetings,’ according to Coad, proclaiming ‘that no one defending, maintaining or upholding Mr. Newton’s views or tracts should be received into communion.’⁶⁸ Clearly, the pressure was building against the church leaders in Bristol and they mounted a rebuttal known as the ‘Letter of the Ten’ that was signed by Craik, Müller, and other leaders in Bristol. More troubling for Craik was the accusation by one of Darby’s zealous followers, G. V. Wigram, that his *Pastoral Letters* (1835) were ‘criminating’ and filled with theological error.⁶⁹ However, as Coad points out, by attacking Craik’s ‘perfectly orthodox statements concerning the true humanity of Christ’ even Darby realized the matter had gone too far and refused to malign Craik.⁷⁰ Yet, Darby’s desire to exercise his authority in such a destructive manner split the Plymouth Brethren into two major parties.⁷¹

Craik and Müller, among others, desired to retain an irenic spirit towards those who chose to worship with them without immediate condemnation regarding past associations. Darby’s loyal followers charged them with being possessed with ‘a deceptive spirit’s presence’ at Bethesda that revealed that ‘[t]he Church is no longer that which has vital fellowship with Christ, and is able to shut out evil; has sunk down into a company of men with a certain profession of faith and practice; but the spiritual responsibilities and associations are all denied; it is nothing more than a mere evangelical

⁶⁸ Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement*, 158.

⁶⁹ *The Present Question; 1848-1849*, introduction by G.V.W. (London: J. K. Campbell, 1849), 33.

⁷⁰ Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement*, 159; also see *An Answer of G. V. Wigram to “Mr. H. Craik’s Letter,”* dated 15th November, 1848 (London: J. K. Campbell’s Holborn, 1848), 2.

⁷¹ Clifton Daggett Gray, Jr., “The Meaning of Membership as Perceived by Plymouth Brethren” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University Graduate School, 1963), 67; Peter L. Embley observes that this division was also economic as the followers of Darby, known as the Exclusives, were often ‘of independent means and therefore had leisure to engage in ecclesiastical controversy, in contrast with men like Müller and Craik who were preoccupied both with pastoral ministry and their social work.’ Peter L. Embley, “The Origins and Early Development of the Plymouth Brethren” (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1966), 132.

alliance.⁷² Repeatedly Bethesda Chapel, along with Craik and Müller, were accused of accepting among them a system of deceit associated with ‘Jesuits’ and allowing for a ‘Roman Catholic Luther’s’ ‘picture of the value of unity’ to be forwarded at the expense of Protestant orthodoxy.⁷³ The irony for Craik was that as he was derided by Darbyites for embodying a spirit of Roman Catholicism, while he was working tirelessly to finish the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

5.4 ‘A Second Reformation’

In his 1852 book, *The Popery of Protestantism. A Lecture*, Craik took up the challenge of trying to call Christians to ‘the supreme authority of Holy Scripture’ so that there may be ‘a re-examination of the leading Protestant systems’ to rid them of the ‘remains’ of Roman Catholicism.⁷⁴ Writing in the wake of the conversion of John Henry Newman in 1845 and the Tractarian Movement that eventually lead to the event referred to as the Papal Aggression of 1850, Craik was carrying forward an anti-Catholicism that had been vocal in Great Britain since the 1830s.⁷⁵ Craik feared what he termed, ‘the recent revival of Popery in our land.’⁷⁶ The re-establishment of Roman Catholic dioceses stunned many in England and became front page news that resulted in outrage against Catholics and the direction the nation was headed.⁷⁷ Walter Ralls observes of this moment that

for all their belief in ‘progress’ the Victorians clearly were uneasy. Their novelists and prophets were only too aware that the authority of Protestantism was under severe attack. What would replace it, or possibly renew it, had not yet appeared . . . And when the Vatican sent

⁷² *The Present Question; 1848-1849*, 34.

⁷³ *The Present Question; 1848-1849*, 16, 26.

⁷⁴ Henry Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism, A Lecture* (London: J. Nisbet, 1852), iii.

⁷⁵ John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: Volume 2, The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007), 220.

⁷⁶ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, iv.

⁷⁷ K. Thodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 441-49; also see Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church: Part I, 1829-1859*, 3rd ed (London: Adam & Charles Black), 271-306.

the first Cardinal the English had seen since the Reformation to rule a church now announced as coterminous with the established church, all the old association of No-Popery were sharply intensified.⁷⁸

Craik was among the many who were shaken by the turn in events, and he was certain that action should be taken. As Craik explained, ‘Popery is a gigantic evil, in withstanding and resisting which, there needs to be called into exertion the combined strength of all right-hearted, Protestant, Christians.’⁷⁹ He argued ‘that the leading forms of Protestantism urgently demand a second Reformation.’⁸⁰ Craik’s desire for a ‘second Reformation’ was most certainly based on the popularity of Oxford Movement and those elements in the Establishment that appeared Roman Catholic.⁸¹

The attraction that many felt for the Tractarians revealed latent Roman Catholic sympathies and aroused in Craik a passion for challenging the Church of England. He became a strident voice for rejecting Roman Catholic elements in the state church. If anything, the popularity of the Tractarians along revealed that the Church of England was never truly reformed during the Reformation.⁸² Craik understood the problem primarily in terms of adherence to the Bible.⁸³ Like the sixteenth century reformers, Craik did not shy away from public debate or challenging the status quo and proclaimed in boldness

⁷⁸ Walter Ralls, “The Papal Aggression of 1850: A Study in Victorian Anti-Catholicism,” *Church History* 43, no. 2 (June 1974): 249.

⁷⁹ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 6.

⁸⁰ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, iv.

⁸¹ Mary E. Elton, who would also take note of Craik and Müller’s influence over church life in Bristol, observed in a letter from March of 1838 the excitement the Oxford Tracts were generating when she wrote, ‘I am reading a good many of them, and feel quite convinced their doctrines are more scriptural, certainly more apostolical, than those I have been accustomed to hear. In the Low Church party there is an exclusive attention to *parts*—a narrowness of vision that looks at selected texts.’ Elton goes on to explain that ‘[t]here seems now an influence required to restore the visible Church to its primitive authority” as Methodists did in the eighteenth century to “arouse the Church from sloth and from worldliness.’ However, she believed that calling such writings a form of doctrinal ‘Newmanism’ was unwarranted because ‘the same are taught by our most revered divines, and the same by the reformers of our Church.’ Though Elton would apologize for her ‘presumption in speaking of things above me,’ she remained committed to introducing her friend to Newman’s ‘most beautiful passages in the ‘Visible Church.’” Elton, *A Few Years of the Life of Mary Elizabeth Elton*, 190-91.

⁸² Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 12, 19.

⁸³ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 11.

that ‘the Anglican Church was not formed on the model of Scripture.’⁸⁴ For Craik, ‘church polity’ was merely ‘the natural development and activity of the Christian life.’⁸⁵ The Christian life for him began in Scripture, which recorded ‘the specimen of a model church.’⁸⁶ The Tractarian issue brought to the forefront what Craik had sought to see realized throughout the whole of his life. He hoped to help people come to know Christ and live out their faith in Protestant churches. Here Craik reflected his Scottish roots most fervently in his anti-Catholics stance that saw Roman Catholicism challenging ‘theological, social, moral, ecclesiastical, national, and political factors.’⁸⁷

Craik believed, more importantly, that Church must adhere to the tenets of Scripture that demanded ‘maintaining purity of communion by the exercise of godly discipline, ministering to one another as good stewards of the manifold grace of God.’⁸⁸ For him, the Church of England was ‘A few thousand believers, mixed up with the national mass of the ungodly, and subject to the rule of a worldly government in matters of *spiritual character and internal order*.’⁸⁹ This was not as God had intended and to make his point, Craik’s referenced John Dryden’s poem ‘The Hind and the Panther’ [1687] to establish that the Church of England was ‘The least *deformed* because [it was] *reformed the least*.’⁹⁰ For him the Established Church was not reformed due to ‘The lordly position of its bishops; the unrestrained worldliness of many of its ministers; the total disuse of discipline; the character of its ritual;—all savour of Rome.’⁹¹ Craik viewed the teachings and practices of the Church of England to be both ‘anti-Protestant’ and ‘anti-Evangelical.’⁹² Consequently, he

⁸⁴ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 19.

⁸⁵ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 18.

⁸⁶ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 16.

⁸⁷ Ryan Mallon, *Dissent after Disruption: Church and State in Scotland, 1843-63* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021), 117.

⁸⁸ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 18.

⁸⁹ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 18-9.

⁹⁰ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 19.

⁹¹ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 19.

⁹² Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 23.

wrote ‘The Reformation in England was lacking in completeness at first, and has been left unfinished even to the present day.’⁹³ Craik hoped that all was not lost and mused, ‘Thoughts that have been occupying the minds of many reflecting Christians, would find vent and utterance. The days of Puritanism—the successful career of Whitfield might be enacted over again.’⁹⁴ Again drawing on the history of the Evangelical cause, Craik hoped for a stirring that would reform the Church and state as the Puritans had hoped to do during the Commonwealth.⁹⁵

Craik’s vision for a Second Reformation relied on call for the priesthood of all believers just as Luther had argued in the sixteenth century.⁹⁶ Believing that no church body could escape the entanglement of ‘Popery’ because such ‘errors’ ‘are the natural produce of the human heart,’ Craik argued that ‘sin-loving’ people ‘gladly substitute external observances in place of that faith which purifies the heart.’⁹⁷ Craik held that ‘Popery and Tractarianism uphold a *priestly* order’ and that Protestants of all kinds, including Nonconformists, can be misled into a form of Popery when they ‘devolve upon a *separate class*’ the ministry that is for the whole ‘body of Christ.’⁹⁸ Luther had made his call for reform based on the primacy of Scripture over Papal power and Craik would also make his claim for the abandonment of a clerical hierarchy based on Scripture. The Bible made clear that all believers were part of the body of Christ and had a ministry to fulfil. The separation of Christians into different classes, regardless of whether that was in the context of the Established Church or among Nonconformists, was unbiblical and a sign of Popery that must be done away with immediately if the Church was truly Christ’s Church.

⁹³ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 40.

⁹⁴ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 43.

⁹⁵ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 44.

⁹⁶ Scott H. Hendrix, *Martin Luther: Visionary Reformer* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 90-1.

⁹⁷ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 48-9.

⁹⁸ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 50.

5.5 The Scholar-Minister

Craik never shied away from confronting those who attacked the supremacy of Scripture. For example, Craik reacted to the publication of John William Parker's *Essays and Reviews* in 1860 that promoted Broad Church ideals and forwarded higher criticism that denied the authority of the Bible, especially in reference to the supernatural and miraculous elements in the Scripture. Craik was shocked that leading churchmen and distinguished academics would 'conspire together for the purpose of destroying the very foundations on which all Christian communities are founded.'⁹⁹ He did not see their work as productive or helpful but as 'destructive criticism' that reflected the 'unsanctified use of learning.'¹⁰⁰ For Craik, the Bible was the sole source of authority for a vital Christian life and to have a biblical church polity.

Craik's personality was in line with the attitudes of Martin Luther, John Calvin, John Knox, and other sixteenth century reformers who were dogged stalwarts committed to a form of the Christian faith based on Scripture alone. Harkening back to many of the sixteenth-century reformers, once he was determined a particular belief was biblical, Craik remained tenaciously committed to his understanding Scripture. Consequently, Craik sought out those in Established Church who shared common Evangelical convictions or questioned the relationship between church and state and wanted to bring about reform. As someone who was unable to follow his own father and brother into the Church of Scotland due to his own theological scruples, Craik was guided by an unwavering commitment to his conscience in matters of faith as a Nonconformist.¹⁰¹ Craik firmly believed that, as he wrote, 'the pursuit of knowledge is a far higher and nobler thing than the striving to be rich.'¹⁰² He was acutely aware that few in Evangelical circles took seriously

⁹⁹ Henry Craik, *Brief Reply to Certain Misrepresentations Contained in 'Essays and Reviews'* (London: Bagster & Sons, n.d.), 4.

¹⁰⁰ Craik, *Brief Reply to Certain Misrepresentations Contained in 'Essays and Reviews'*, 12, 15.

¹⁰¹ Craik, *Brief Reply to Certain Misrepresentations Contained in 'Essays and Reviews'*, 14.

¹⁰² Craik, *Brief Reply to Certain Misrepresentations Contained in 'Essays and Reviews'*, 15.

the academic study of biblical languages or the historical context of Scripture. Therefore, he felt obliged to pick up the pen to make Scripture more accessible for those who did not have the benefits of his education or his scholarly bent.¹⁰³

For Craik, the pursuit of knowledge was directly connected to his role as a minister of the Gospel. He believed that a minister must be engaged in acquiring knowledge to ensure ‘the correct interpretation of the Holy Scripture’ and found the ‘ignorance’ of biblical languages among ministers to be problematic.¹⁰⁴ For example, Craik’s *Improved Renderings of those Passages in the English Version of the New Testament, which are capable of being more correctly Translated*, was a corrective to the text of the Bible that was most commonly owned, read, preached from, and esteemed as a divine gift to the English-speaking world. Craik believed the ‘authorized English Version of the Holy Scriptures’ could benefit from more ‘accurately rendered’ translations that are more in line with ‘the inspired originals.’¹⁰⁵ As a scholar of biblical languages, Craik argued that those passages ‘which now require correction were exact and faithful when they were first published,’ suffer from two centuries of changes in the English language or were simply human mistakes that worked themselves into the translation and publication process.¹⁰⁶ He then explained that ‘a very few may perhaps justly be imputed to those particular views of ecclesiastical polity, entertained by our translators and their royal patron. Those views may have produced an influence on their minds of which they themselves were scarcely conscious.’¹⁰⁷ Craik’s

¹⁰³ Henry Craik, *The Hebrew Language: Its History and Characteristics. Including Improved Renderings of Select Passages in Our Authorized Translation of the Old Testament* (London: Bagster and Sons, 1860), iii.

¹⁰⁴ Craik, *Brief Reply to Certain Misrepresentations Contained in ‘Essays and Reviews’*, 15.

¹⁰⁵ Henry Craik, *Improved Renderings of Those Passages in the English Version of the New Testament which are Capable of Being More Correctly Translated*, 2nd ed. (Bristol: W. Mack, 1866), iii.

¹⁰⁶ Craik, *Improved Renderings of Those Passages in the English Version of the New Testament*, iii.

¹⁰⁷ Craik, *Improved Renderings of Those Passages in the English Version of the New Testament*, iii.

hermeneutical assertion that the translator's predisposition to particular forms of church government may, in fact, determine how they translated the New Testament is key for understanding how he saw his work. As a scholar-minister he wanted to bring about 'a second Reformation' that would reform the practices of Christ's Church by beginning with polity.¹⁰⁸ The only way to bring this reform about was to return Scripture to the rightful place of authority in the lives of Christians. Yet, because most Christians could not read the text in the original languages the role of the translator and textual critic became essential to the project of reform. Craik recognized that for the Church to truly be reformed the Bible must be translated in an accurate and accessible manner. This was crucial to his vision of reform. Ordinary Christians must know that what they read in Scripture and what they deduced from their reading was correct when they put the Bible into practice in their lives and local churches. Proper translation, as with Luther's reform efforts, was an essential requirement of finishing the work of the Reformation.

If Luther's Reformation was essential for the work that Craik called for in a 'Second Reformation,' so would the plea to take history seriously. Craik regarded history as a key for understanding God's work in the world. He held that the Bible affirmed, 'the previous dealings of God with man,' and that these events 'as recorded in the inspired history constituted a consistent course of preparation.'¹⁰⁹ He studied Church history closely for inspiration about how God moved to reform the Church and he also engaged in a close study of the historic translations of the Bible from the Septuagint and Vulgate to William Tyndale's translation onward to understand how translation affected Christian practice. His studies were crucial for helping him determine how God worked throughout history to redeem people and reform the Church and society.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Henry Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism. A Lecture* (London: J. Nisbet, 1852), iv.

¹⁰⁹ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, 6.

¹¹⁰ July 16, 1863, Henry Craik's Journal, 1863-1866, The George Muller Museum and The George Muller Charitable Trust, Bristol, U.K.; also see Henry Craik, *New Testament Church Order. Five Lectures* (London: Snow & Co., 1863), 27, 52-3.

He also framed his arguments about Christian practice in terms of a recognition of the differences in the history of the Church. For example, when reflecting on whether Christians should engage in ‘over-strained strictness’ regarding Sunday that the Scotch Covenanters held to, he acknowledged that many of his contemporaries agreed with the prohibitions of the Puritans, while he found the more ‘moderate sentiments’ of the sixteenth-century Reformers more amicable with his own views.¹¹¹ Craik, however, found issues like this to be periphery to the practice of biblical Christianity and did not think they were worth fighting over.

In a similar manner in his analysis of Christian unity he turned to Charles Wesley’s poem “Primitive Christianity” that put forward the notion of early Church being ‘Join’d by the unction from above, In mystic fellowship of love.’¹¹² For Craik, the ‘poet of Methodism’ captured perfectly the reality of the New Testament record and, more importantly, the desire of those who hoped to reform the Church of England and recover the spiritual vitality of the New Testament Church. So strong was his belief in reform that he argued that all forms of Church government that had developed since the Reformation needed ‘to be re-examined in light of the Scripture.’¹¹³

Craik held firmly to belief that if Christians placed everything under the authority of Scripture and held ‘fast the fundamental truths of revelation’ they would be able to find unity.¹¹⁴ Only when ‘matters of essential truth’ were threatened should Christians abandon their common identity for their greater allegiance to Christ.¹¹⁵ Being united in Christ was essential to being Christ’s Church who would be forever ‘united to Him, and to each other, throughout

¹¹¹ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 79-80.

¹¹² Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 23; also see “Primitive Christianity,” in John Wesley, *An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, 2nd ed. (Bristol: Felix Farley, 1743), 53-5.

¹¹³ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 29. Craik was even examining closely the discussions occurring in the Assemblies of the “Established and Free Churches of Scotland” to see if they were looking to follow ‘the practice of primitive antiquity.’ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 73.

¹¹⁴ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 30.

¹¹⁵ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 30.

the ages of eternity.’¹¹⁶ For Craik, membership in the Church was founded on ‘individual responsibility’ that denied being born into the Church or the acts and hopes of another on their behalf.¹¹⁷ Only through belief and proclamation of Christ as Saviour could one be in fellowship with the Church.¹¹⁸

5.6 ‘Extensive and Thoughtful Study’

Due to the influence of his family in Scotland, his network of friends from St. Andrews, and his preaching and writing abilities, Craik remained committed to the life of the mind as a worthy calling. Craik believed that ‘the extensive and thoughtful study of the Divine Oracles’ in the original languages should be engaged in to understand ‘ancient predictions and more modern fulfillments,’ comprehending difficulties in Scripture, along with the application of ‘Bible principles’ to business ‘and the state of modern society.’¹¹⁹

In one of his more interesting approaches to the nature of knowledge, Craik argued that the divide between the intellect and spiritual vitality was not correct nor reflective of the life of angels as shown in the Bible. He acknowledged of his contemporaries that the great intellects had little to do with Christianity and the ordinary person, with little intellectual inclination, often enjoyed the benefits of a vibrant relationship with Christ. This situation, however, was not the example of Heaven. In Craik’s estimation, ‘[t]he angels know the joy of holy feelings; but they also know the delights attendant upon intellectual exercise.’¹²⁰ Craik went on to argue that even though angels possessed enormous intellectual powers, they were still ‘capable of *advancing* to a condition of higher attainment. Progress is one of the laws of their

¹¹⁶ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 30.

¹¹⁷ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 34.

¹¹⁸ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 35.

¹¹⁹ Henry Craik, “Angelic Interest in the Discourses of the Gospel,” in *Twenty-Five Sermons, by Twenty-Five Bristol Ministers, of Various Christian Denominations* (London: Wertheim, Macintosh, & Hunt, 1860), 257.

¹²⁰ Craik, “Angelic Interest in the Discourses of the Gospel,” 257.

existence. The knowledge and enjoyment of God constitute the essence of their blessedness.¹²¹ Craik was certain that Christians should follow the example of the angels if they wanted to mature in the faith.¹²² In fact, in several of Craik's literary works one senses that he was engaged in an apology over his desire to pursue the life of the mind in tandem with his pastoral and preaching responsibilities.¹²³

Why would Craik feel the need to enlist angels in defending the intellectual life? The answer is found in Müller's introduction to Craik's diary where the famed philanthropist observed,

[Craik] was never strong, and, like many men of great mind, he was not sufficiently careful to make the best of the health and strength he had. He would eat generally rapidly, and though suffering from weak digestion, neglect proper mastication of his food. Moreover, when he felt pretty well, he would forget his constitutional weakness, and labour mentally beyond his strength. This is not stated to throw any blame on that excellent man, who is no more among us, but his friend states it as a warning to his fellow-believers; for life, health, strength of body or mind, are entrusted to us as precious talents, to be used for God.¹²⁴

Müller believed that Craik 'overtaxing his mind, produced, no doubt, at certain times, a measure of nervous depression' and believed that Craik's physical weakness was a limit imposed by God as a natural check on his intellectual powers. Müller further explained,

though it was his earnest and habitual desire to use his mental powers for the glory of God; yet no one could intimately know him, without being aware that his natural tendency was to aim after the cultivation of his mind with too great an earnestness and natural fondness, which, but for his weak constitution, might have become a great snare to his

¹²¹ Craik, "Angelic Interest in the Discourses of the Gospel," 258.

¹²² Craik, "Angelic Interest in the Discourses of the Gospel," 257.

¹²³ Craik argues the ideal is to be both studious and active, what he calls engaging in 'the labours of the philanthropist and the scholar.' Henry Craik, *The Hebrew Language: Its History and Characteristics, including Improved Renderings of Select Passages in Our Authorized Translation of the Old Testament* (London: Bagster and Sons, 1860), 7.

¹²⁴ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, xviii.

inner man. As a check, therefore, the Lord so mercifully gave to him this powerful mind in conjunction with a weak body, that he might not overmuch indulge in the cultivation of his mental powers.¹²⁵

Müller's caution against modelling one's life after Craik is noteworthy given Craik's preaching abilities and his engaging in the intellectual debates of the day was his great contribution to their partnership.¹²⁶ To critique how Craik ate his food, how he pursued 'the cultivation of his mind,' and how his intellectualism could have been a spiritual 'snare' are odd things to note after the death of a close friend. These observations are anything but benign and point to an ongoing tension between the two men. A stiff and practical-minded Prussian, Müller, who was celebrated for his childlike faith, still brooded over how speedily the deceased Craik ate his food. What Müller revealed through his condemnation of his friend, which was given as a 'warning to his fellow believers,' was his own narrow mindedness about what mattered most in the practice of the Christian life. Müller's sensibilities were firmly rooted in German Pietism, his own humble origins, his lack of great preaching abilities, and his focus on institution building while living a simplistic and activist faith. The tension between the active life and the life of the mind appears to have been an issue between the two men. While Craik desired to use his intellectual gifts for the kingdom of God alongside his ministerial work, Müller did not appreciate his friend's gifts as a model worth following but rather as a warning of what not to do.

Despite Craik's open and loyal devotion to Müller, there were differences in how the two men got along and understood the practice of the

¹²⁵ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, xix.

¹²⁶ For some examples of Craik's regular involvement in the contemporary condition of church affairs, especially around Christian union see "A State Church and the Bible," *The Western Daily Press*, March 8, 1860; "The Rev. H. Craik on the Languages of Asia and Europe," *The Western Daily Press*, December 13, 1860; "Evangelical Conference at the Victoria-Rooms," *Bristol Daily Post*, December 10, 1863; "The Rev. Henry Craik, on Tuesday night, delivered a lecture at the Redland Congregational Church," *Bristol Times and Mirror*, December 19, 1863; "Mr. Craik on Christian Union," *Bristol Daily Post*, December 24, 1863.

Christian faith. The two men pursued philanthropy, the pulpit, and the pen to different ends.¹²⁷ Müller pursued these practices along the lines of his Pietist background and sought to emulate August Hermann Francke. Craik, following the example of the sixteenth century Reformers he admired, showed a sensitivity to the cultural and intellectual spirit of his day that caused him to recognize, as he explained, ‘that the leading forms of Protestantism urgently demand a second Reformation.’¹²⁸ Craik believed that ‘confession and repentance’ would lead to a ‘heart-felt subjection to the Authority of the Divine Testimonies.’¹²⁹ Like the sixteenth-century reformers and Chalmers hope for a ‘Godly Commonwealth,’ Craik tried to reform the Church and society through both the pulpit and the pen.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ “A Descent Among the Dissenters,” *Gloucester Journal*, April 29, 1848; “Bristol—The White Lion.—The Orphan House at Ashley Down,” *Bristol Times and Mirror*, September 11, 1852; “A Man With A Large Family,” *The Burton Chronicle*, October 11, 1866.

¹²⁸ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, iv.

¹²⁹ Craik, *The Popery of Protestantism*, iv.

¹³⁰ “The Hebrew Language,” *The London Eclectic* LI, no. 1 (January 1861): 56.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: 'THE NOBLEST OF THE WHOLE SET'

'Biography is not dependent for its usefulness on the length of an individual's life, or on the station which he occupies in society,' wrote William Orme the biographer of Craik's Scottish classmate from St. Andrews, John Urquhart.¹ Orme went on to assert that a biography should 'lead others to examine the nature of that religion which was the object of such devotion to a mind of no ordinary vigour and acuteness, great will be the reward.'² Nineteenth century biographers and diary editors often sought to create heroes for others to aspire to and emulate.³ Craik may have agreed with these assertions about the usefulness of biography for furthering one's sense of devotion and duty, especially in relation to Urquhart.⁴ Yet, biography remains a complicated genre because nineteenth century biographers who put forward others as heroes or exemplars worth emulating often did so to suit their goals and perceived needs.⁵

One wonders, in fact, if Craik did not seem to recognize that he too possessed qualities that others would find worth emulating. For example, the esteemed Scottish missionary Alexander Duff who was also a close friend of both Henry and his brother James Craik, recalled of his time at St. Andrews, 'Among my fellow-students were Dr. Lindsay Alexander; Dr. Robert Lee; Dr.

¹ William Orme, *Memoirs, Including Letters, and Select Remains, of John Urquhart, Late of the University of St. Andrew's*, prefatory notice by Alexander Duff (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1855). 33.

² Orme, *Memoirs*, 35.

³ Juliette Atkinson, *Victorian Biography Reconsidered: A Study of Nineteenth-Century 'Hidden' Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 46.

⁴ Craik wrote of Urquhart that, 'I cannot look upon Urquhart in any other light than as a standard of excellence, and as one whose friendship is as inestimable as the favour of a being of a different and superior nature.' W. Elfe Tayler, ed., *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik, of Bristol* introduction by George Müller (Bristol: W. Mack, 1866), 51-2.

⁵ Ian Ousby, "Carlyle, Thackeray, and Victorian Heroism," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 12 (1982): 152-53.

Arnot, of St. Giles's, Edinburgh; Dr. Forbes, the orientalist, and the three Craiks . . . Henry Craik was about the noblest of the whole set.⁶ Duff's acknowledgement of Craik's admirable qualities as a person can be placed into context with E. R. Short's 1932 tract recounting the history of the Bethesda Chapel in Bristol. In this pamphlet Short shares intimate details of Craik's personality and noted that

Mr. Craik was a most lovable man, a great student with extensive knowledge of the Scriptures in Hebrew and Greek, and his revised renderings were of great value; but he was so forgetful and absent-minded that he might be seen in pouring rain with his umbrella under his arm, quite lost in deep thought. His chief fault perhaps was an excess of modesty.⁷

Unlike Müller's previously mentioned criticism of his friend's intellectual commitments in Chapter 5, Short allows us to see a man so focused on his thoughts that he had become quite literally the 'absent-minded' minister.⁸ Short turns Craik's distracted mind into a virtue gone awry that made the man human and a bit comical. With a 'loveable' personality combined with an intense earnestness to live and think as a Christian, one can understand why when Craik died on January 22, 1863, friends and admirers filled the streets of Bristol to mourn his passing. According to an account in *The Western Daily Express* of his funeral, 'The route was a long one of four miles, extending from Hampton Park to Arno's Vale. The funeral left Mr Craik's residence about 10:30, but it was after twelve when the long line of carriages—the longest ever seen upon a like occasion—reached the cemetery, where

⁶ George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D.: Volume II* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1879), 177-78.

⁷ E. R. Short, *The Story of "Bristol Bethesda": An Address given on the Centenary Day at Bethesda Chapel, July 6th. 1932* (Bristol: Bible and Tract Depot of Scriptural Knowledge Institution, 1932), 14-5.

⁸ Müller, most certainly, mourned the passing of his dear friend, but curiously his public affirmation of Craik's humility centered on Craik twice turning down the award of a Doctor of Divinity degree from the University of St. Andrews. "Mr. G. Muller on the Death of the Rev. H. Craik," *The Western Daily Press*, April 30, 1866.

hundreds had been waiting for hours in the rain and cold of a gloomy, wintry morning. . . . We do not remember a funeral which called forth such unfeigned marks of sorrow and respect.⁹ The people who lined the streets that winter day were honoring a man who was described as ‘somewhat *ungainly*, both in the pulpit and out of it (as very tall people are apt to be).’ Yet, he was defined more importantly as one who, ‘possesses that true grace of manner which springs, not from conventional politeness, but from genuine goodness.’¹⁰ A reviewer for *The London Quarterly Review* stated reality more succinctly, ‘Henry Craik was no ordinary man.’¹¹

Christian biography has and remains an essential source of encouragement for Christians since the late antiquity.¹² Protestants, too, from the Reformations of the sixteenth century forward have continued to tell and re-tell stories of those people of the faith who remained devout in the face of trial or tribulation or when facing enormous challenges.¹³ The personal virtues that drew others, like Alexander Duff, to Craik remain recognizable in Elfe Tayler’s edited version of Craik’s diary. The problem, as Donald Akenson points out, is that the published diary is, ‘a very skillful work of Victorian book-making’ resulting in ‘Craik’s diary and letters’ being ‘edited into a virtual autobiography.’¹⁴ Tayler’s editorial hand illuminates only those personal and spiritual elements he wanted to highlight, while casting a shadow over those very human distractions, like his university studies and ongoing engagement with the world of scholarship, that did not suit Tayler’s spiritual

⁹ “Funeral of Rev. Henry Craik,” *The Western Daily Press*, January 31, 1866.

¹⁰ “The Late Rev. Henry Craik,” *The Western Daily Press*, February 5, 1866.

¹¹ “Brief Literary Notices,” *The London Quarterly Review* XXVII, no. LIII (October 1866): 253.

¹² Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 5-6; also see Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

¹³ For an example of how powerful ‘the sun of the Reformation shone’ in Scottish memory as ‘heroes of the Covenant,’ see John Howie, *The Scots Worthies*, revised by W. H. Carlsaw, preface by James Kerr (1775; Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1902), ix, xiii.

¹⁴ Donald Harman Akenson, *Exporting the Rapture: John Nelson Darby and the Victorian Conquest of North-American Evangelicalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 103, footnote 21.

goal for the book. Consequently, Craik's irenic view of Christianity, his scholarly bent, and his call to complete the Reformation of the sixteenth century are diminished under the effort to illuminate a piety that appealed to Tayler.

The importance of heroes for the Victorian Age that the Scotsman Thomas Carlyle gave voice to was just as important for Christians as they were for the British public in general.¹⁵ With this context in mind, the way Tayler chose to edit Craik's diaries makes some sense, but his approach is insufficient for recovering the breadth of Craik's life and thought. Craik's irenic nature kept him in close contact with Scottish friends, faculty from his days at St. Andrews, local Baptist congregations, the Y.M.C.A., Rev. Alexander Anderson, Rev. Andrew Bonar of Glasgow, the Dean of Canterbury Henry Alford who was also a leading Greek New Testament scholar, and the Dean of Exeter Charles Ellicott.¹⁶ Craik's wide swath of relationships and desire to reform British Christianity according to Scripture points to a more intentional task than some have recognized.

Surviving sources reveal a much more complicated story. No longer can Craik simply be remembered as a popular preacher in Bristol, defined by a quarrel with J. N. Darby in 1848 that permanently divided the Plymouth Brethren, or referenced as a friend and supporter of George Müller's grand vision for his orphan homes. Craik was not merely as Clive Langmead explains, 'Jonathan to Muller's David, Dr Watson to his Sherlock Holmes, the writer Luke to the missionary Paul, Little John to his Robin Hood.'¹⁷ Rather, Craik's story is more nuanced and broadly connected to his vision of Church

¹⁵ Thomas Carlyle's series of six lectures on heroes published in 1841 defined much of the thinking about the importance of heroism for the Victorians, see Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, eds. David R. Sorensen and Brent E. Kinser, with essays by Sarah Atwood, Owen Dudley Edwards, Christopher Harvie, Brent E. Kinser, Terence James Reed, David R. Sorensen, and Beverly Taylor (1841; reprinted New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).

¹⁶ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 266, 276, 319, 336, 277, 283.

¹⁷ Clive Langmead, *Robber of the Cruel Streets: The Prayerful Life of George Muller*, foreword by George Verwer (Farnham, Surrey: CWR, 2006), 60-1.

and society that was deeply rooted in his esteem for the Scottish Reformation that was cultivated at the University of St. Andrews.

This Scottish university was so thoroughly marked by Knox and other Reformation martyrs, such as Patrick Hamilton, that Craik carried their memory with him throughout his life.¹⁸ St. Andrews is where Craik came to a new understanding of faith, developed a desire to follow God in his everyday life, and wanted to pursue missionary labours. His relationship with A. N. Groves pushed him to live each day trusting God to supply his needs, while helping him recognize that every call to missionary labour was not his to answer. His subsequent employment with John Synge and his continued preaching in Dissenting chapels clarified that he was suited for preaching and scholarly pursuits. In fact, the surviving evidence confirms that he was a deeply devout, introspective, and intellectually gifted Scotsman who desperately wanted to reform British society through the Gospel and see the Church uphold the truths of Holy Scripture. This passion for Christ, for missions, for preaching the Gospel, and for living his faith out in daily life drew him together with the Prussian émigré George Müller and brought them to the city of Bristol. In that city, Craik and Müller would invest their lives in the leading several chapels in Bristol, establishing the Scriptural Knowledge Institute, and most famously, seeing the work for orphans become a globally recognized feat of faith associated solely with the name of George Müller of Bristol.¹⁹ Being a close friend and co-worker with Müller remains how Craik is primarily remembered to this day.²⁰ This singular association with Müller,

¹⁸ *Saint Andrews as it Was and as it Is; Being the Third Edition of Dr. Grierson's Delineations, Containing Much Curious and Valuable Information Never Before Printed* (Cupar: G. S. Tullis, 1838), 15.

¹⁹ George Müller, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord's Dealings with George Müller, Minister of Christ, Written by Himself* (Bristol: J. Nisbet, 1837), 110.

²⁰ Carol Purves, *From Prussia with Love: The George Müller Story* (Leominster, U.K.: Day One Publications, 2005), 22; also see Karl Weber, *F. W. Baedeker: Ein Weltreisender Gottes, Georg Müller: Vater für 10 000 Waisen* (Bad Liebenzell: Verlag der Liebenzeller Mission, 1974), 57; Hy. Pickering, *Chief Men Among the Brethren: A Series of Brief Records of Brethren Beloved Collected from Many Sources* (Glasgow: Pickering & Inglis, n.d.), 28.

however, fails to account for the breadth of Craik's life and his deep desire to reform both Church and society.²¹

While Craik's influence as a preacher was focused primarily on Bristol, those who heard him preach were struck by his earnestness and challenged by his passion for Christ.²² His spoken words moved people and mirrored his literary efforts to help Christians embrace lives in accord with the Bible. He wanted to make biblical languages more accessible, and he desired to improve translations of the biblical texts so that readers possessed a deeper understanding of the words they were to live by. His scholarly endeavours and broad ecclesiastical relationships kept him thinking about a Christian society where his irenic sensibilities still held to the notion of 'Christendom.'²³ He wanted Christendom to experience a Second Reformation that would finish what the Protestant reformers began in the sixteenth century. In this way, Craik harkened back to what A. C. Cheyne posited about Scottish Protestants at the dawn of the nineteenth century when Cheyne explained, 'Like all their spiritual forbears since the Reformation, Scottish Protestants at the outset of the nineteenth century shared John Knox's conviction that 'Faith hath both her beginning and continuance by the Word of God.''²⁴

Craik tried to promote reform in a variety of ways from lecturing and debating matters in local venues to writing pamphlets and books that called for a recalculation of what it meant to know Christ. For him a Second Reformation would reinvigorate Christianity and ensure that the Church was purely the product of faith guided by Holy Spirit in the proper interpretation of Scripture.²⁵ Craik's desire to see the church 'cleaving to the Word of Truth as

²¹ "On Wednesday the Rev. Henry Craik delivered a Lecture at Castle-green Independent Chapel," *The Bristol Times*, February 20, 1864.

²² "The Late Rev. Henry Craik," *The Western Daily Press*, February 5, 1866; also see Ishbel Ross, *Child of Destiny: The Life of the First Woman Doctor* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1950), 13.

²³ Henry Craik, *The Distinguishing Characteristics and Essential Relationships of the Leading Languages of Asia and Europe* (London: Bagster and Sons, 1860), 18.

²⁴ A. C. Cheyne, *Studies in Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 123.

²⁵ Henry Craik, *New Testament Church Order* (Bristol: W. Mack, 1863), 21.

the only standard of doctrine and practice,' reflected the doggedness of John Knox in seeking biblically founded reforms.²⁶ Craik stood firmly in the tradition of the Scottish reformers and also in line with the Old Testament prophets. In his editorial remarks in Craik's diary, W. Elfe Tayler observed, 'How fearless were his rebukes of sin, and how stern his denunciations of error!'²⁷ Tayler goes on to explain, 'he took the deepest interest in the great questions which agitated the religious world, and whether the subject of dispute were Romanism or Infidelity, Tractarianism or Socinianism, he felt it his duty, as a watchman of Israel, to sound an alarm.'²⁸ In this way, Carlyle's description of Knox is also a fitting description of Craik some two hundred and fifty years later, 'He resembles, more than any of the moderns, an Old-Hebrew prophet. The same inflexibility, intolerance, rigid narrow-looking adherence to God's truth, stern rebuke in the name of God to all that forsake truth: an Old-Hebrew prophet in the guise of [a Scottish] Minister of the [Nineteenth] Century. We are to take him for that; not require him to be other.'²⁹

²⁶ Craik, *New Testament Church Order*, 66; regarding Knox see John Macleod, *Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History since the Reformation* (Edinburgh: The Knox Press, 1974), 5.

²⁷ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 305.

²⁸ Tayler, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik*, 305-6.

²⁹ Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, 128.

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Ellie Manley, email message to author, February 15, 2023.