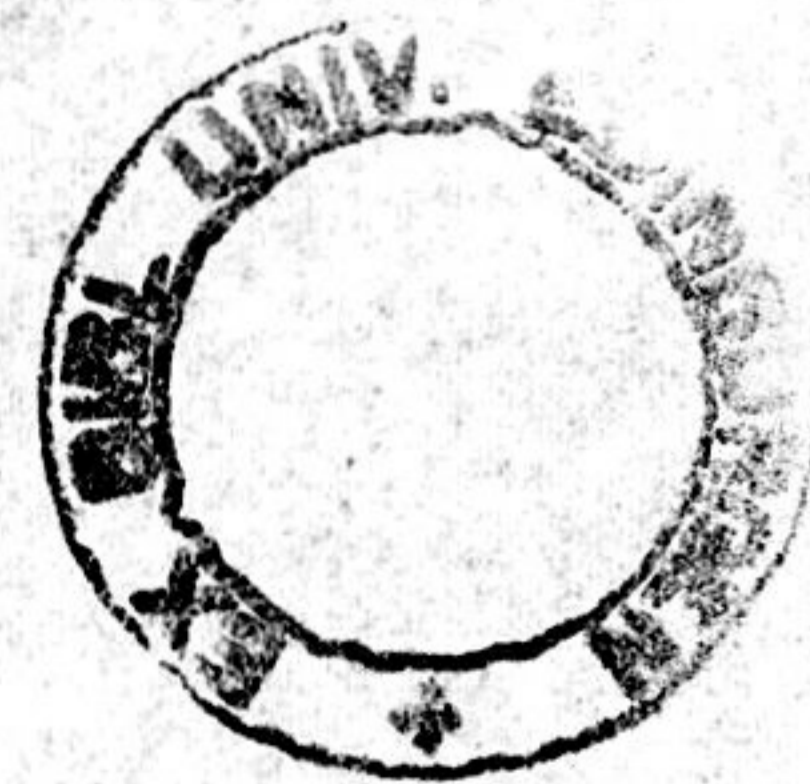


Fancy

DOMESTIC RESPONSE AND REACTION TO THE FOREIGN
MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES OF THE PRINCIPAL SCOTTISH
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES, 1873-1929.

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DECLARATION.

I declare this work to be wholly original research,
conducted solely by the author, and not in collaboration
with any other person or persons.

Derek A. Dow,

May 1977.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS.

This thesis sets out to examine the impact which the foreign missionary movement had on Scotland in the half century after David Livingstone's death. The first chapter gives a general account of the religious and social background of this outreach from Scotland, and looks at some of the national peculiarities which were expressed in it. Chapters two and three are concerned with the areas covered by these missions, and with a detailed examination of the personnel who manned them. The fourth chapter looks at the unusual Presbyterian structures of official Church missions, at the men who directed these Committees, and at some of the sources of dispute which caused occasional rifts within the Churches. Chapter five examines some of the methods used to finance these endeavours, and the problems which had to be faced. Like the thesis as a whole, it traces the effects of the denominational distinctions between Established, Free, and United Presbyterian Churches. Chapter six investigates the place of Livingstone in Scottish mission history, while chapter seven deals with the machinery whereby other missionary heroes were selected to be elevated from the ranks of their peers. The eighth and last chapter demonstrates Scottish reactions to foreign missions as they were reflected in the pages of Church magazines, the secular press, and Scottish fiction. Four appendices touch briefly on the Churches' involvement with missions to the Jews, controversies within the

Established Church missions in the 1880's, Presbyterial correspondence with the Foreign Mission Committees, and the missionary movement's response to the advent and consequences of the First World War.

ABBREVIATIONS.

BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
CIM	China Inland Mission
CS HFMR	Church of Scotland <u>Home and Foreign Missionary Record</u> . For convenience this has been contracted to <u>Record</u> wherever it is not ambiguous. The same rule applies to the <u>Records</u> of the other Churches.
CS L&W	Church of Scotland <u>Life and Work</u>
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
FC MR	Free Church <u>Monthly Record</u>
FMB	Foreign Mission Board
FMC	Foreign Mission Committee. <u>vide</u> Chapter Two, pp. 64-5 for a fuller explanation.
FPC	Free Presbyterian Church
IRM	International Review of Missions
JMC	Jewish Mission Committee
LMS	London Missionary Society
NLS	National Library of Scotland
SMS	Scottish Missionary Society
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
TLS	Times Literary Supplement
UF MR	United Free Church <u>Missionary Record</u>
UMCA	Universities' Mission to Central Africa
UOS	United Original Secession Church
UP MR	United Presbyterian <u>Missionary Record</u>
WAFM	Women's Association for Foreign Missions
WFMS	Women's Foreign Mission Society
WMC 1910	World Missionary Conference, 1910.

INTRODUCTION.

In the middle of the 19th Century the Rev. William Brown¹ prefaced the third edition of his three volume History of the Propagation of Christianity Among the Heathen (Edin. 1854) with the statement that:

The propagation of Christianity in the world is the most important subject which can engage the attention of a historian.

Continuing developments meant that Brown's views were happily embraced by later generations of mission historians. Writing in 1915, Canon C.H. Robinson argued that:²

...whatever criticism may be passed upon the work which is now being done by Christian missionaries, it can no longer be said that it is being carried on on such a small scale that the student of modern history can afford to pass it by.

In the years following the shock of the Great War, the story of the missionary enterprise was proffered as a spiritual balm to a Western World shaken to its very roots.³ Confidence in the Christian West was slowly reasserted,

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1. Son of the celebrated John Brown of Haddington, and Secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society, Brown was one of the earliest historians of the modern missionary movement.
 2. History of Christian Missions (Edin. 1915), p.495. Robinson was a brother of the ill-fated missionary whose clash with Bishop Crowther brought an element of bitterness into the CMS work in Nigeria in the 1890's. Robinson's interpretation is open to question. The original 14-volume Cambridge Modern History (1904-11) contains only one reference to Christian missions, and that was incidental to an account of Livingstone's travels in Africa. S.C. Neill, 'The History of Missions: An Academic Discipline.' in G.J. Cuming (ed.), Studies in Church History, Volume 6 (Cambridge 1970), p.154.
 3. E. Shillito, 'The Appeal of the Missionary Enterprise to the Man of 1919' in the International Review of Missions (1919), pp.18-26. The IRM was one of the more tangible offshoots of the 1910 World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh.

and by 1932 one leading missionary writer boldly described the Christian missionary enterprise as a leading candidate for the title of the major movement of contemporary times.¹ In the 1960's, when missions came to be examined in a political and social, as well as an ecclesiastical, framework, this stance was maintained. As Max Warren of the CMS wrote in 1965:²

...the missionary has been an omnipresent factor in modern history, either by his own presence, or sometimes even by the threat of that presence.

This importance of the movement internationally has largely determined the manner in which the History of Missions has been compiled. As a result of surveys conducted prior to the 1910 Conference, one of the major Committees reported that the 'science of missions' was much more advanced in relation to work abroad than it was on the subject of the home background.³ This inequality still exists, so that much more effort has been devoted to the study of work in the mission fields overseas than to any study of the British environment from which these missions were sent. This trend has been equally pronounced in Scotland, and there has been little attempt to produce any historical study of the growth of domestic interest in the work of the Scottish Churches overseas. In a country whose people have long prided themselves on an almost

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1. K.S. Latourette, 'Research and Christian Missions', IRM (1932), p.532.
 2. M. Warren, The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History (Gateshead 1965), p.10.
 3. World Missionary Conference Reports, Volume VI, The Home Base (Edin. 1910), p.249.

obsessive interest in religious rather than political or social history,¹ this is a somewhat surprising omission.

Within Scottish Church circles, only two general mission histories have been published since the re-union of the major Presbyterian Churches in 1929. The first of these, the Rev. D. McDougall's In Search of Israel (Edin. 1941), was intended as no more than an interim history of the Jewish Mission Committee, and was published to mark the centenary of this work.² The second volume, Dr Elizabeth Hewat's Vision and Achievement, 1796-1956 (Edin. 1960), purports to be a complete history of the foreign mission enterprises of these Churches. Like McDougall's book, it deals almost exclusively with the development of work in the various mission fields, and with successes rather than with failures. In the last ten years a number of unpublished PhD theses³ have undertaken in-depth studies of some of these fields, in a more critical fashion than that of McDougall or Hewat. Each

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1. Vide. the continuing folk-lore round such figures as Jenny Geddes, the stool-thrower of St Giles' Church, and the 16th Century Covenanters.
 2. In the circumstances of the Second World War the subject was of more than normal interest.
 3. K.J. McCracken, The Livingstonia Mission and the Evolution of Malawi, 1875-1939 (Cambridge PhD, 1967)
 J.M. Orr, The Contribution of Scottish Missions to the Rise of Responsible Churches in India (Edin. PhD, 1967)
 A.C. Ross, The Origins and Development of the Church of Scotland Mission, Blantyre, Nyasaland, 1875-1926 (Edin. PhD, 1968)
 B.G. McIntosh, The Scottish Mission in Kenya, 1891-1923 (Edin. PhD, 1969)
 A.A. Okon, The Church of Scotland and the Development of British Influence in Southern Nigeria, 1846-1885 (London PhD, 1973)
 S. Brock, James Stewart and Lovedale (Edin. PhD, 1974)

of these theses, however, suffers from the same limitation, an apparent lack of understanding of the Scottish background of the missions. The basic causes of this are clearly outlined by Dr Orr. In India alone, the Scots maintained eight separate and largely autonomous mission fields, each of which was developed at a different pace. This led to a situation where:¹

It is for this very good reason that official histories deal with each field separately, and make no attempt at a composite history. The sole exception, R.W.Weir's account of the Church of Scotland's missions, is as a result much more informative about the Home Committee than about work on the fields.

The difficulties facing all of these researchers has been elaborated upon by Eugene Stock, CMS Secretary and greatest of all the 19th Century Mission Historians. In the introduction to his monumental History of the Church Missionary Society (Lond. 1899), Stock commented:

In short, the history of the Society is quite a different thing from the history of the Society's Missions.

The question of the vested interests nature of mission historians will be dealt with in detail in the sections on 'gathered' Churches and on missionary publications, but it seems only fair that I should make my own position clear at the outset. Broadly speaking, it would appear that two groups of contemporary white writers tackle the

1. Orr, op.cit., p.164n1. Weir's History of the Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland (Edin. 1900) dealt only with the Established Church, and thus contains a denominational as well as a propagandist bias. By using standard sources of this kind, later historians have tended to compound any errors contained in them.

subject of missions. The first of these, like Max Warren, Elizabeth Hewat, and D.M.McFarlan have both a personal¹ and historical involvement with the subject, and consciously act as apologists and propagandists.² The second group comprises an anti-missionary lobby, many of whom bear particular grievances connected with the alleged cultural destruction wreaked by the missionaries before the anthropologists could carry out their investigations.³ The level of awareness with which I entered the field was, loosely, that sketched by Richard and Helen Exley,⁴ coupled with a kind of vague disapproval of chauvinistic missionaries who interfered in communities which were not their concern. This has gradually been replaced by the view that, given the 19th Century alternatives -traders and assorted adventurers- missionary exploration did at least help to temper the worst defects of the European mores which they helped to export. As a contented atheist, with no desire to promote any variety of gospel, I can now accept missionary evangelisation as fact, without condoning or condemning it, possibly without even beginning to understand it.

In an unfinished article published shortly after his

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1. Warren served with the CMS, as his father had done. Hewat (UF,China/India,1927-56) and McFarlan (CS,Calabar, 1940-50) were both Scottish manse children.
 2. Vide. Professor J.Baillie's Foreword to Vision and Achievement.
 3. This often stems from the application of 20th Century standards and attitudes to 19th Century individuals, a patently unfair comparison.
 4. R. & H.Exley, The Missionary Myth (Lond. 1973), p.3.

death, Bishop Chauncy Maples of the Universities Mission to Central Africa said:¹

Only Christians can fairly judge of the fruits of Christianity.

Mission historians ever since have emphasised this point.

In 1932 K.S.Lattourette wrote:²

One of the chief dangers attending research in missions, as in so many other fields, is an excess of detached analysis -so characteristic of the scientific temperament- and the failure to apply the knowledge gained to the solution of concrete problems.

This attitude has been shared by Stephen Neill, Lattourette's successor as the principal missionary theorist/chronicler of his generation.³ For a historian, a Christian or any other belief is not a prerequisite. If the detached analysis of which Lattourette was so critical should serve to cast a greater illumination on some of the misconceptions which missionary historians of all eras have so carefully fostered, then it will have been a useful exercise. As Hugh Macdiarmid asserted in his autobiography:⁴

I am sure the same thing is true of many issues in Scottish history. Material contrary to the official assumptions has been -and still is- carefully concealed.

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1. E.Maples(ed.), Journals and Papers of Chauncy Maples (Lond. 1899), p.268.
 2. Lattourette, op.cit., p.545.
 3. Neill, op.cit., pp.169-70.
 4. H.Macdiarmid, The Company I've Kept (Lond. 1966), p.138.

CHAPTER ONE.THE SCOTTISH BACKGROUND.

Almost every account of the origins of the Scottish Presbyterians' collective endeavours on behalf of foreign missions opens with a recital of that futile but dramatic outburst by Dr John Erskine during the infamous 1796 General Assembly debate:¹

'Moderator, Rax Me that Bible.'

Most writers have then been content to note that the Church of Scotland reversed its previous decision at the 1824 Assembly, thus paving the way for a belated entry into the field on a denominational basis in 1829. In 1824, we are told, the Church had once again adopted the scriptural paraphrase first given expression in the 1560 Confession of Faith:²

And this Gospel must be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come.

The most recent, and most detailed, study of the origins of the Scottish Missions argues that the 1796 debate revolved round the precise nature of the missions, and hinged on the question of which should be preached first, revealed or natural religion.³ The Assembly, according to Dr White, was not in fact opposed to the concept of foreign missions.⁴

1. e.g., Hewat, op.cit., p.1.

2. Weir, op.cit., p.5.

3. G.White, 'Highly Preposterous': Origins of Scottish Missions.' in Scottish Church History Society. Records Volume XIX(1976), p.119.

4. ibid., p.111.

As a non-theologian, I find Dr White's discussion very difficult to follow in parts. One thing is clear, however. In common with most mission historians in Scotland, Dr White has omitted to add that active opposition to foreign missions continued long after 1824. This opposition had an empirical rather than a theological basis and was probably an influential factor in restricting Scottish concern with foreign missions. The first part of this chapter will chart the incidence and expression of this movement, which was mainly concerned with the religious needs of Scotland itself. The second section will show the alternative to this view, an alternative accepted by the majority of Scottish church-goers. The remainder of the chapter will deal with some of the special factors which Scotland had to offer the Foreign Missionary Movement as a whole.

1. Home Missions versus Foreign Missions.

By the mid-19th Century a strong lobby within Presbyterianism had elevated the 1560 injunction to preach the Gospel into the tenet that missions were the central function of the Christian Church. The basic requirements were bluntly and succinctly stated by the Rev. Dr Edmond, during his address to the newly-constituted Presbyterian Church of England in June 1876:¹

We need to be aggressive and missionary,
and aggressive by being missionary. No/

1. The Presbyterian Church of England: A Memorial of the Union (Lond. 1877), p.166.

/No Church of Christ has any right to exist at all unless she is missionary.

These challenging words had a Scottish counterpart in the 1860's, with the adoption of a new attitude by the Scottish Episcopal Church after the foundering of their financial structures in the middle of the decade:¹

...they perceived that they had been running on lines too entirely financial and business. The idea, therefore, took shape that the Church would prosper more, if she were to provide, not only for her existing wants, but also to gird up her loins for spiritual wants of an aggressive kind. ...Hence sprang our Home and Foreign Mission Movements, which ultimately brought such strength to our ecclesiastical life.

Both of these speakers ignored the primary question, that of the distribution of resources between the mission requirements in Scotland and overseas. Although the principal struggle lay between the claims of home and foreign spheres, there was also some bickering in deciding which branches of mission work should be undertaken abroad. These comprised three main categories -Foreign, Jewish, and Colonial- with a relatively minor fourth area -Continental- which was primarily a remnant of the medieval ties with Europe, made by itinerant Scottish scholars and mercenaries. From time to time there were attempts to gloss over the differences in these categories, as in one of the Reports to the 1910 World Missionary

1. G.T.S. Farquhar, The Episcopal History of Perth, 1689-1894 (Perth 1894), p.356

Conference:¹

'Foreign Missions' no longer mean missions of one communion in one or many countries, but the term has come to imply abstractly, "the sum of Christian experience in the endeavour to make Jesus Christ known to the world."

Despite this reassurance, many missionary supporters were reluctant to believe that Jews and Africans, or Indians and Australians, deserved or required equal endeavours on their behalf. As a result of this, the conveners and members of the various committees worked incessantly to steal a march over their rivals. The Scotsman newspaper, never reluctant to give correspondence space to critics of ecclesiastical bureaucracy, printed a letter from one W.S.Thomson on the 'Waste in Missionary Effort' during the Assembly period of 1903. After making some specific remarks about Jewish and Colonial Missions, Thomson drew a colourful general picture of the problem:²

The fact is the conveners of the various committees are like so many men, each digging away furiously at his own little patch, but never lifting his eyes to glance across the fence at his neighbour's doings.

The intrinsic accuracy of Thomson's accusation was verified within two months, in one of the denominational papers, even though the incident reported did make clear the fact that the conveners did occasionally cast covetous eyes around them. The convener of the Continental

1. WMC 1910, Volume VI, pp.278-9.
2. Scotsman, 28 May 1903.

Committee of the UF Church brought forward a complaint that force of habit in the former UP sector of the Church meant that money being collected for Continental Missions was still being forwarded to the Foreign Missions Committee. As a consequence of this, he claimed that his Committee should receive financial assistance from the FMC until this anomaly was resolved. Not surprisingly, this proposal was opposed by the FMC convener, although it received a sympathetic hearing from the other members present at the meeting.¹ A semi-official confirmation of the existence of this constant jockeying for position was later given by the Rev. G.M.Reith. Discussing the events of the 1912 UF Assembly, he recounted that after the retirement of the Rev. Dr George Robson from the editor-ship of the Missionary Record, the Highland, Home, and Foreign conveners -as always- each strove to take the prominent place in order to further their own particular causes. In the event, the appointee came from without the Committee structures, in the form of W.P.Livingstone, who at that time was a journalist with the London Evening News.² The Scotsman, as it so often did in ecclesiastical matters, hit the mark both hard and true in its editorial of 28 May 1904:

Sometimes the profane thought rises in the breast of a reader of these Assembly debates, that the Conveners of Committees are a little like rival shopkeepers commending their respective wares, if not actually running down those of each other.

1. UF MR, July 1903.

2. G.M.Reith, Reminiscences of the United Free Church General Assembly, 1900-1929 (Edin. 1933), pp.132-3.

Many of these skirmishes were instigated by the supporters of the relatively minor Committees, like the Colonial, which were the first to feel the pinch of any retrenchment, and the Foreign Mission donation was generally the last to be affected in a congregation which drastically reduced its Christian liberality for one reason or another. The major threat to foreign mission income at any given time was the resurgence of the argument that a greater proportion of sympathy and of resources should be devoted to mission work at home, in preference to the work abroad. The main battle-ground of the opposing factions revolved round the time-worn cliché that 'Charity begins at Home'.

Scotland was by no means unique in displaying this apparently self-centred argument. In his speech to the Missionary Conference held in London in 1878, Dr. A.C. Thompson of Boston, a member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, handed the delegates a stern warning. Calling on his American experience he told them that the surest recipe for Church decay was the adoption of 'Charity begins at home' as a ruling maxim.¹ Having noted this, it seems clear that Scotland had a number of domestic peculiarities which combined to create a clamant need for home missionary endeavour throughout the 19th Century. In common with England, this need arose

1. Proceedings of the General Conference on Foreign Missions, Mildmay Park, London, 1878, p.102

through the effects of industrialisation on a predominantly rural society; unlike England, the problem was focussed almost exclusively on one city, Glasgow, which stretched out tentacles till it eventually encompassed almost one-third of the entire Scottish population. As the Scots' missionaries in Nyasaland were to rediscover in the early 20th Century, with the steady drift of converts to the South African mines, such a movement of population often negated all religious teaching and control.¹ Moreover, the African situation of the early 20th Century somewhat paralleled that of early 19th Century Scotland, with the uprooting of Highlanders from a rural environment to the confines of the city, and the influx of a large Irish population which horrified Scotmen far more than Englishmen with its overwhelmingly Roman Catholic composition.² The distress engendered among Scottish Churchmen by the breakdown of the parish structure formulated by John Knox, a structure of which they had perhaps been inordinately

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1. A full account of this can be found in Command Paper 3993 (Volume LXXIII, 1908), Correspondence Relating to the Recruitment of Labour in the Nyasaland Protectorate for the Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia Mines. In 1904 Alexander Hetherwick wrote to the Scotsman, pointing out the moral dangers of such recruitment in a land where the Scottish Churches had fought so hard for a Protectorate. Letters appeared in support of Hetherwick, stressing the dangers of mixing a number of races in close proximity, and emphasising that Central African natives were as unsuited to mining work as Scottish ploughmen would be. Vide. Scotsman, 21, 23, and 24 May 1904.
 2. For discussion of this population shift vide. R.D. Lobban, The Migration of Highlanders into Lowland Scotland (c.1750-1890), with particular reference to Greenock (Edin. PhD, 1970).

proud, was intensified by the further damage done to it by the upheaval of the Disruption in 1843. Overnight, the Established Church, already puzzled by the extent of the problem which had to be overcome in redrawing parish boundaries to achieve a more equitable distribution of population, lost almost one-third of her clergy, and a large proportion of lay missionaries and workers. While the effects of this differed from Presbytery to Presbytery, the case of Aberdeen is not untypical. By 1873:¹

The Established Church had succeeded in regaining what it had lost, but it had not been able to do more.

Although the Disruption encouraged a certain amount of healthy competition between the three bodies of Established, Free and UP Churchmen, this was largely negated by the duplication of agencies and resources, most graphically reflected in the number of city-centre Churches which now stand unused. This denominational pride, coupled with the traditional Scottish pride in the ubiquitous presence and control of the Church, underlay much of the 19th Century discussion as to the nature and extent of the effort required in home mission work.

Criticism of the 'Charity at Home' school must, therefore, be tempered with the acknowledgement that there was a positive and growing need for increased home mission work in Scotland. In the embryonic stage, awareness of this took the form of a Resolution to the 1796

1. A. Gammie, The Churches of Aberdeen (Aberdeen 1909), p.49.

Assembly, framed at a time when the problems described above had not yet taken proper root:¹

To spread abroad the knowledge of the Gospel amongst barbarous and heathen nations seems to be highly preposterous, in so far as philosophy and learning must in the nature of things take the precedence; and that, while there remains at home a single individual without the means of religious knowledge, to propagate it abroad would be improper and absurd.

This antagonism to foreign missions was to remain the hallmark of a significant minority of churchmen throughout the ensuing century or more.

For the first quarter century or so, the debate was conducted along lines of mere supposition, for few Scots had any first-hand knowledge of conditions elsewhere. Arguments tended, therefore, to be both temperate and reasonable in tone. In the 1820's both Moderate and Evangelical leaders in the Scottish Church argued, admittedly with regard to special circumstances, that the best form of Colonial Mission for Canada was a Home Mission scheme to educate the Highlanders before they ever left Scotland.² This plan was less than fully successful, and in 1834 the Reformed Presbyterians sent their first

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1. quoted in J. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (Lond. 1911), p.182
 2. D. Chambers, Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland, 1810-43 (Cambridge PhD, 1971), p.111

missionary to the colonists in Upper Canada where:¹

...great numbers were living practically without ordinances, and in danger of sinking into a state of semi-heathenism.

Although this Colonial Mission aroused little interest in the Church at home, it did at least encourage some of the ministry to see the heathen at first hand, an experience which very often jolted a latent interest in foreign mission work into an actual and active concern.² By the late 1840's there were also Scots' clergy who, with first hand knowledge of work among foreign heathen, chose to continue this in preference to accepting high office at home. One of the first of these was Alexander Duff, who turned down an almost unanimous request that he should accept the Theological Chair of the deceased Thomas Chalmers in 1847,³ and his example may well have directly influenced men such as the Rev. David Sandeman. In 1848, after five or six years of indecision, Sandeman finally made up his mind to go to China, and his reasons for so doing have been fully expounded by his biographer:⁴

For a time, the masses of heathenism at home in our large cities kept the balance of his mind in equipoise, but now the Lord whom he served brought him to an unwavering decision: 'My only regret is not seeing more souls brought to God among my own countrymen, before I go to the Heathen.'

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1. Rev. M. Hutchison, The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, 1680-1876 (Paisley 1893), p.277.
 2. Rev. T. Smith, Memoirs of James Begg, DD (Edin. 1885-8) Volume II, p.515.
 3. G. Smith, The Life of Alexander Duff, DD, LLD (Lond. 1879), Volume II, p.117.
 4. Rev. A.A. Bonar, Memoir of the Life and Brief Ministry of the Rev. David Sandeman (Lond. 1861), pp.159-60.

By the 1840's there were some indications that attitudes were beginning to polarise. In his published sermons the Rev. Patrick Brewster of Paisley Abbey claimed that the great bulk of church-goers were unchristianised, and the first task of the Scots should be to Christianise and convert themselves. Only then could they turn their attention to the heathen overseas.¹ Brewster was a radical churchman whose isolationist approach commanded a narrowing band of support within the Church, but later circumstances were to encourage a revival of this viewpoint. In 1860, another leading Scottish preacher, also a minister in Paisley (CS, High Church), unintentionally helped fuel the fires of those who wished to concentrate exclusively on home affairs. Speaking at a congregational soiree,² the Rev. James Macgregor said:³

Charity begins at home is a capital, sound, Christian aphorism, if uttered by a Christian heart, and seen in all its bearings by a Christian eye.

Macgregor himself had no prejudice against foreign missions, and took a keen interest in them,⁴ but his words were open to misinterpretation at a time when foreign missions were under attack in the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and the numerous Kaffir Wars in South Africa in the 1850's. The opposition lobby was beginning

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1. S. Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development, 1780-1870 (Lond. 1960), p.115
 2. The soiree was a kind of genteel bun-fight which gained popularity in mid-century as a part of the Temperance Crusade.
 3. Lady F. Balfour, The Life and Letters of the Reverend James Macgregor, DD (Lond. 1912), pp.43-4
 4. ibid. pp.281,518,524

to gather strength in the 1860's, and their vociferous refrain cut across all denominational barriers. In 1865, for instance, the Scottish Episcopalians' weekly paper urged on its readers the need for a development of zeal for missions with this anguished plea:¹

Why is it that the Scottish Church will never properly bestir herself in this matter? Are we always to be told that charity begins at home?

The response to this apparently rhetorical question seems to have been widely affirmative at this time. In the 1871 Established Church debate on home missions the millionaire industrialist, James Baird of Cambusdoon, brought forward an argument of this nature in stressing the right of home missions to receive a more liberal support:²

Preaching, like charity, should begin at home, and the best way to promote the foreign missions would be to increase the contributions to the Home Mission ten-fold.

As a renowned and generous layman, who put his principles into practice in 1873 with a gift of £500,000 to the Established Church, for the relief of spiritual destitution among the poor at home,³ Baird's views would not be lightly dismissed. Six months after this speech the incumbent of Hawick St Cuthbert's Episcopalian Church expressed his opinion in a letter on 'The Proposed Chandah

1. Quoted in M. Lochhead, Episcopal Scotland in the 19th Century (Lond. 1966), p.217

2. Scotsman, 25 May 1871

3. Lord Young, a leading Scottish judge, pithily described Baird's gesture as the heaviest fire insurance ever recorded. vide Young's obituary, Scotsman, 23 May 1907

Mission.'¹ His opposition to this scheme was based on the 'Charity begins at home-look at Glasgow' theme, and although the editor dismissed this as a groundless and irrelevant fear, it shows that the seeds of doubt were still being spread and cultivated.

Ironically, the attempts by foreign mission supporters to show their ~~aware~~ awareness of domestic problems, and their sympathy with them, helped to fuel the intransigence of their opponents. The Rev. James Gall of the Free Church approved of foreign missions in practice, though he questioned the present methods of conducting them. In treating of the subject Gall was at pains to emphasise that his was no blind obsession, and that he was well aware that much remained to be done in Scotland:²

It is a very solemn thought that, humanly speaking, at least one-half of our population must perish, because the Church, twenty years ago, neglected them; but this ought only to stimulate us the more to our duty now, that the blood of the next generation be not required at our hands.

During this same period, the Missionary Record of the UP Church consistently took the line that the proportion of UP income devoted to evangelising 'all the world' was

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1. Scottish Guardian, 1 November 1871
 2. J.Gall, The Science of Missions, Part I (Edin. 1878), p.278. As the founder of the Carrubbers Close Mission, located in the notorious Cowgate area of Edinburgh, in 1858, Gall was both knowledgeable and committed with regard to home mission work. Though saddened by the magnitude of the degradation which he saw there, this did not restrict Gall's sympathies with regard to the overseas task.

far too low in comparison with what was spent at home.¹
 By the late 1880's the apparent incompatibilities of these needs were cleverly exposed. On 13 May 1889, the Scotsman contained an editorial on the subject of UP stagnation, in which the ensuing claim appeared:

Strangely enough, while many complaints are heard in the Synod Hall of the Church's unproductiveness in India, there is no appearance of any other feeling than sunny contentment with its sterility at home.

The following year, in an explosively successful, though short-lived, best-seller, General William Booth of the Salvation Army attacked the apathy of Englishmen in this context:²

What a satire it is upon our Christianity and our civilisation, that the existence of these colonies of heathens and savages in the heart of our capital should attract so little attention!

With such useful propaganda at hand the 'charity at home' advocates enjoyed an upsurge of popularity. On 5 May 1892, a Scotsman editorial lauded the UP Synod for preceding their Mission Board Report by reading a letter from the Moderator of the UP Church in Ireland, then commented:

Sympathy and missionary zeal and help should begin, like charity, near home.

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1. vide the issue for January 1875, p.362. In The Missionaries (Lond. 1973), p.157, Geoffrey Moorhouse states that the years 1862-72 saw a drop in foreign mission donations as the British concerned themselves with home missions to their own poor and underprivileged.
 2. W.Booth, In Darkest England, and the Way Out (Lond, 1890) p.16. For information on the effects of this publication vide K.S.Inglis, The Churches and the Working Classes IN Victorian England (Lond. 1963), p.211

In expanding this, the editorial emphasised that Irish needs should come before those of the Japanese or the Chinese, and the black peoples of Kaffraria and of Old Calabar. Although the writer put forward no specific proposals, his sympathies were quite obvious; if any limitation was to be put on mission efforts, the domestic sphere should be the last to suffer. Two years later, this claim was reinforced by a UP Synod representative, and given widespread publicity in a Scotsman editorial on 10 May 1894:¹

Another Corresponding member last night startled the fathers and brethren of the Synod, who had just been discussing ways and means of converting Moroccan Jews and founding training schools in Old Calabar, by a sketch of the hideous state of misery, ignorance, and heathen-dom existing at their doors in the slums of the Old Town.

Towards the end of the decade, the argument was extended to include Free Church participants. On 2 June 1897, the Scotsman printed a letter from A.F.C.M.² in which an attempt was made to justify the 'charity at home' theme on a statistical basis of results achieved. After claiming that the £172,000 spent on the home ministry had resulted in an addition to the FC membership of 4000 plus, while the £137,000 allocated to the missionaries had led only some 1500 souls into the Church, 'A Free Church

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1. For proof of the impact of the Scotsman in Scotland, vide. Chapter 8, section 2.
 2. An Un-named Free Church Minister.

Minister' continued:

And the support of the home ministry seems to be going on the downgrade, while the agencies abroad are multiplied and pampered in order that these meagre results may be tabulated.

Such an argument, while having a certain success in checking donations for Jewish Mission work,¹ probably did little to curb givings to foreign missions, although it does demonstrate the somewhat desperate lengths to which a sectionalist might go to reinforce his case; it had long been accepted, though not without controversy, that annual conversion statistics were no basis on which to judge the advance of the Church in heathen countries, and an insistence on the validity of such figures would be regarded by many churchmen as a breach of Christian faith.

Despite his numerical juggling, A.F.M. remained in a minority in the Free Church. In January 1899 the editor of the Free Church Monthly Record sprang into action to defend foreign missions from an alleged attack. His wrath was directed at the popular romantic novelist, Annie S. Swan (Mrs Burnett Smith):

...whose works have, in general, been altogether wholesome, [but who] has adopted the language of unbelief in regards to Foreign Missions.

This lament was occasioned by the publication of an article in The Woman at Home (October 1898), in which Mrs Smith had criticised the level of spending on foreign missions,

1. vide Appendix A

at a time when home missions required so much. In reply to this, the editor entirely evaded the real issue and employed the very commonplace observation that foreign mission expenditure was a mere drop in the bucket compared with spending on recreation, luxury, or any (unspecified) worse evil. The weakness of this defence suggests that a direct challenge might have unleashed a full-scale confrontation which foreign mission advocates preferred to sidetrack rather than meet head-on.¹ Although it took time to mature, Mrs Smith seemingly took this criticism to heart; in 1937 she published one of her relatively rare works of non-fiction, entitled Seed-Time and Harvest. The Story of the Hundred Years' Work of the Women's Foreign Mission of the Church of Scotland.

In the early part of the 20th Century the pendulum of public opinion swung more decisively in favour of the foreign sector of the Church's work. The Scotsman editorial

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1. This temperate, even lukewarm, response was also fairly typical of many Established clergymen in Scotland. On 18 August 1901, the Rev. Matthew Gardner of Peebles Parish preached to his congregation on his recent discovery of the Long Close slum area of the town. In his exposition, Gardner skirted round the real point:
 We send money to build hospitals abroad and to furnish beds for the heathen in foreign lands, and in so doing we do well. But beds are needed here for the heathen at our doors.
 -Dr Gunn, The Book of the Parish Church of Peebles Volume X, AD 1887-1930 (Edin. 1930), p.163. Gardner had already ministered in Peebles for some 8 years, and one may wonder why the Long Close was such a recent revelation to him.

on the opening of the 1910 Conference contained the following sentiment apropos of the statement that the 'charity at home' argument was no longer a valid one:¹

...no country can now be separated from other countries...The millions of Africa are today as near to our doors as the dwellers of the remote Hebrides were to the doors of our grandfathers.

During the course of the Conference the full meaning of this changing emphasis was endorsed, in an official capacity, by no less a personage than the Archbishop of Canterbury:²

But if I interpret rightly the privilege which you have offered me, I stand here for a special purpose. It is to say, from the standpoint of one who holds of necessity a position of central responsibility in our country's religious life, that we whose actual work lies prosaically at home, feel, with an intensity beyond all words, that, among the duties and privileges which are ours in the Church of Christ, the place which belongs of right to missionary work is the central place of all.

By the late 1920's, the balance was once more beginning to tilt in favour of home concerns, and^{as} the Churches became aware of the extent of hostility shown towards them in the 1930's, they made belated attempts to recapture the weekly wage-earners lost to them in the period of industrial development and the break-down in the parish system.³ Perhaps the last word can best be left to the Scotsman which so consistently monitored, and sometimes created,

1. Scotsman, 14 June 1910

2. WMC 1910, Volume IX, History, Records, & Addresses, p.147

3. Orr, op.cit., p.223

attitudes towards this subject. In a review of Alexander Hetherwick's hard-hitting retiral speech to the Church of Scotland General Assembly, the paper's editorial commented:¹

Dr Hetherwick, of Nyasaland, complained that the ministers and the Church at home had not given him adequate support. That is the view of the missionary faced with an inexhaustible task, but the Church has responsibilities at home as well as abroad, and only a limited income. It is necessary to strike a balance between home and foreign needs, and perhaps in the past the eyes of the Churches have sometimes been at the ends of the earth when there was much untilled ground at home.

2. Home Missions with Foreign Missions.

The relative claims of home and foreign mission needs have so far been presented as evolving in direct competition with one another, but this is in many ways a misleading model. Of those Scots actively interested in Church work, the overwhelming majority visualised home and foreign missions as two interacting elements of the same equation. The establishment of this principle can be traced as far back as the inception of the Church of Scotland missions in the 1820's. Describing the momentous minute in which the Church had agreed to undertake an independent foreign mission (1824), the Rev. Robert Hunter, formerly a Free Church missionary at Nagpore in India, wrote:²

The General Assembly had, the day before, carried an equally unanimous motion in favour of home missions. Instead of home and foreign missions being antagonistic, their interests rise and fall together.

1. Scotsman, 25 May 1928
2. R. Hunter, History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa (Lond. 1873), p.9

Throughout this decade, missionary enthusiasts envisaged Highland and Indian missions running parallel courses, with each fulfilling a primarily educational function.¹

The acceptance of this model was largely due to the influence of one man, the Rev. Thomas Chalmers. Chalmers argued that contributions to Church schemes were affected by a process of fermentation, not by exhaustion, so that the income for each scheme would increase rather than decrease with every addition to their number. The demands for increased, often duplicated, home agencies brought on by the Disruption of 1843 placed an effective curb on the implementation of Chalmers' ideas for some time, and his death in 1847 removed the one personal factor which might have prevented this. The memory of Chalmers' belief was still maintained, and may well have led to the following utterance made by Harriet Beecher Stowe in her account of a journey she made through Britain in the anti-slavery cause during the early 1850's:²

All experience has proved that the sublime spirit of foreign missions always is suggestive of home philanthropies, and that those whose heart has been enlarged by the love of all mankind are always those who are most efficient in their own particular sphere.

Even the charismatic Mrs Stowe was unable to reverse

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1. Chambers, op.cit., p.43
 2. H.B.Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands (Lond. 1854) Volume I, p.40. For a discussion of Mrs Stowe's impact on Scotland vide G.A.Shepperson, 'Harriet Beecher Stowe and Scotland, 1852-3' in the Scottish Historical Review (1953), pp.40-6

the trend, and it was not until the 1870's that there was any marked expansion of foreign mission work by the Scottish Churches. The seeds of this change were sown by men like Norman Macleod, minister of Glasgow Barony Parish Church, and convener of his Church's Foreign Mission Committee¹ from 1864 to 1872. Macleod was cast in the same mould as Chalmers and was later described by John White—one of his successors in the Barony and the principal architect of the 1929 Act of Union— as:²

...the prince of Home missionaries and
the apostle of foreign missions.

By the 1870's Chalmers' theories were accepted not only in Scotland but also in England. Bishop Baring of Durham's words in 1877, though vaguely expressed, pointed clearly to the crucial role played by foreign missions in creating a dynamic home church:³

Seek to evangelise the world, and in so
doing you will evangelise your own country.

The following year this opinion was substantiated by Sir William Muir⁴ in his Opening Address to the General Conference on Foreign Missions, held at Mildmay Park, London:⁵

...the world sees that the liveliest interest
in Missions to Foreign Lands not only consists/

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1. For discussion of Committee titles vide Chapter 4
 2. A. Muir, John White (Lond. 1958), p.70
 3. E. Stock, CMS, Volume III, p.68
 4. Muir, born in Glasgow in 1819, held high office in the Indian Civil Service before becoming Principal of Edinburgh University (1885-1902). He died in Edinburgh in 1905.
 5. Mildmay Proceedings, p.16

/consists with the sense of nearer obligations, but materially quickens the recognition of them. It is patent to the world that those who are forward in sending the Gospel abroad, are the very men most forward also in promoting charitable and Christian enterprise at home.

In this same year James Gall backed up this claim by his fellow-Scot with the general hypothesis that there should be a balanced distribution of available resources between home and overseas mission.¹

The official response to this changing attitude was given concrete expression in the Established Church FMC Report for 1883:²

The store of missionary life in the Church is great, but it requires to be got at and developed. We have not yet sufficiently realised that missions are as essential to ourselves as they are to the heathen; and that no Church, and no congregation, however poor, can dispense with missions.

By 1887 this feeling had escalated to such an extent that George Smith³ felt justified in including this statement in his biography of William Carey, first of the modern missionaries from Britain:⁴

The foreign mission spirit directly gave birth to the home mission on an extensive scale.

When the next great Missionary Conference took place

1. Gall, op.cit., passim

2. p.53

3. For Smith's importance as a missionary biographer vide Chapter 7

4. G. Smith, The Life of William Carey, DD, Shoemaker and Missionary (Lond. 1887), p.293

in 1910, this generalisation was broken down into six specific categories in which foreign mission work provided a feedback of information of value to the home Church in its search for improved methods of recapturing and holding fast its lost sheep.¹ The first two headings dealt with the value of missions in promoting tolerance, by encouraging men to regard thiⁿgs from a less sectarian or provincial viewpoint, and by inducing a more sympathetic attitude towards racial questions. Stemming from these was a third aspect, concerning the promotion of Christian unity -a topic of particular significance in division-ridden Presbyterian Scotland. The fourth section noted Chalmers' fermentation argument, and cited a number of specific examples of it. The last two divisions dealt with missions in their role of quickening evangelistic zeal, thus maintaining a balance between the social and gospel mission functions of the Church, and with the strengthening ~~and~~ and deepening of faith resulting from foreign mission triumph through adversity. In the aftermath of the Great War, when the Churches began for the first time to face up to the extent of the alienation from their ranks of large numbers of the population, examples from the fields overseas were employed in discussion as to the best way of tackling this problem, and the claim was put forward that foreign missions had widened Church horizons, and now served as a major source of inspiration, thus providing much of the depth of contemporary religion.²

1. WMC 1910, Volume VI, pp.259-68

2. Rev. D.S.Cairns (ed.), The Army and Religion (Lond. 1919), pp.256-7

In terms of missionary personnel, this interaction of home and foreign mission concern is equally marked, but with one significant difference. Whereas the overall picture was drawn in a manner designed to show the benefits flowing back to the home Church from her overseas investments, in the case of individual missionaries home mission work was regarded as an invaluable training for future work abroad. In its most developed form this amounted to a kind of spiritual baptism under fire, as Margaret Wrong, Secretary of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, explained in the 1930's:¹

The period of training ought not to shield the candidate from testing his belief by knowledge of points of view other than his own. To be plunged into work abroad, and there to meet for the first time not only the questionings of Africans but the variety of beliefs entertained by different classes of Europeans, may transfer to the mission field a period of questioning and doubt which should have been passed through at home.

For many candidates this exposure was a very necessary prelude to work abroad. Miss Florence Mackenzie, the second Principal of the Free Church Missionary College in Edinburgh, explained why in an article bluntly entitled 'A Problem in Missionary Preparation'.² The Great War had torn many of the veils from the eyes of genteel British society, yet Miss Mackenzie was still ready to

1. in J.H. Oldham (ed.), The Modern Missionary (Lond. 1935), p.76
 2. in IRM (1920), pp.439-43

declare that:

Candidates for missionary service are drawn as a rule from those homes in the land where the standard of Christian living is high and home-life and parenthood in their beauty and purity most evidently shown. This very fact contributes to a certain simplicity and ignorance regarding any hint of a way of life which is otherwise.

Young ladies were, by definition, expected to lead sheltered lives in this period, but it is more surprising to find similar charges levelled against some of those who entered the Scottish ministry in the later 19th Century. In Bog-Myrtle and Peat (1895), one of his contributions to the couthy 'Kailyard School',¹ the former Free Church minister, Samuel Rutherford Crockett, drew attention to the fact that such a group did exist in Scotland:

Many college-bred men enter life with their minds carefully mackintoshed. Generally they go into the Church.

Unless they went to St Andrews, which sent relatively few graduates to the mission fields, these men must have found great difficulty in retaining this cushion against reality, for the other Scottish Universities sat cheek by jowl with the most degraded quarters of the cities; in Aberdeen, the harbour area lay close by the University; in Edinburgh, the Free Church College and the University were separated by the twilight zones of the Grassmarket/Cowgate area; in Glasgow, the situation was even worse, and an 1877 account of the city described every approach

1. An account of the place of this movement in Scottish literature is contained in Chapter 8.

to the old University as going through 'a moral sewer of a most loathesome description.'¹ After the establishment of the Free Church Missionary Training College in the 1890's, Annie H. Small² expressed a certain grim satisfaction with the Scottish environment, in her description of an unpleasant task which had been squarely faced:³

It was, of course, impossible to introduce Foreign Mission students to their practical work; the best that we could do was to find for them sufficient contact with human life -with life as the great body of humanity must live it, life poor, hardened, toilsome with narrow outlook.

William C. Burns, who holds the distinction of being the first Protestant missionary to China, was a Scotsman. In his youth he had undergone the experience of preaching to hostile crowds in towns as widely separated as Dublin and Montreal, a valuable preparation for his years in China.⁴

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1. C.M.Allan, 'The Genesis of British Urban Redevelopment, with special reference to Glasgow' in Economic History Review Volume XVIII(1965), pp.602-3. In a Scoto-centric novel of Dickensian horror, the Glasgow journalist George Mills demonstrated the suitability of the notorious 'Goosedubs' as a missionary training ground:

These children, like ourselves, and we were all of one type and portraiture, may be said to have been born in sin and misery, in poverty and wretchedness, in a state of barbarity more barbarous than even that of African savages.

 -The Beggar's Benison, (1866), Volume I, pp.13-4
 The parallel is a common one in Scottish literature. Stevenson, for example, took equal delight in the elemental and savage characteristics displayed by South Sea Islanders and by the submerged classes of Edinburgh. Rev. J.Kelman, The Faith of Robert Louis Stevenson (Edin. 1903), p.99
 2. Daughter of a Free Church missionary, Miss Small herself served in India (FC, Central Provinces, 1876-92) before becoming first Principal of the College in 1894.
 3. M.Stewart, Training in Mission. St Colm's College (Edin. 1972), p.93
 4. A.Fulton, Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire (Edin. 1967) p.28

*ms!
Morrison
1808*

Given the conditions of 19th Century Scotland, Burns would have attained an equally useful experience without ever setting foot outside his homeland. At the very least, the existence of slum conditions meant that foreign mission candidates from Scotland were almost certain to have their eyes opened while still within the protection of the Scottish environment, before being sent to an alien land and culture, where any spiritual doubts might be magnified out of all proportion.

These factors bear implicitly on our understanding of the work of Scottish missionaries abroad. While the question of the motive of missionaries will be more fully explored in another chapter, this particular aspect falls to be dealt with here. Max Warren, a former Secretary of the CMS, noted in his autobiography that mission is not a geographical expression, and in order for foreign missionaries to be effective they must have a concern for the peoples of their own land equal to that which they have for those of Africa or Asia.¹ Such a sentiment was equally strongly felt by the missionaries of the 19th Century; as one biographer said of Donald Fraser, J.H. Maclean, and A.R.Low, who between them spent 112 years in the service of the Free and UF FMC's abroad:²

...these future foreign missionaries certainly did not go abroad because they failed to realise ~~realise~~ the conditions and needs at home.

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1. M.Warren, Crowded Canvas (Lond. 1974), pp.87-8
 2. A.R.Fraser, Donald Fraser of Livingstonia (Lond. 1934) p.14

The important question to be answered according to individual conscience was that of where the need was greatest. For most Scots who became foreign missionaries, no matter of which Society or Church, the choice was a straightforward one. James Gilmour described his choice in the following terms at his ordination as a Mongolian missionary under the London Missionary Society in 1870:¹

To me the soul of an Indian seemed as precious as the soul of an Englishman, and the gospel as much for the Chinese as for the European; and as the band of missionaries was few compared with the company of home ministers, it seemed to me clearly to be my duty to go abroad.

Similar considerations governed the choice made by lay workers in the mission fields, and led such notables as Mary Slessor to offer for African missionary service.² In some cases the decision was quickened by the seeming hypocrisy of those who offered advice. In 1856, John G. Paton thought long and hard before deciding that the home field was sufficiently staffed and he could, therefore, volunteer to join the Reformed Presbyterian Mission to the New Hebrides; personally aware of the problem of the heathen population within Scotland, he also realised that those who urged him to stay in Scotland to work for them were normally the self-indulgent who neglected the home heathen themselves, and their blandishments thus carried little weight.³ If this is more than a mere isolated

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1. R. Lovett, James Gilmour and His Boys (Lond. 1894), p.26.
 2. W.P. Livingstone, Mary Slessor of Calabar (Lond. 1915), p.16.
 3. Rev. J. Paton (ed.), John G. Paton, DD, Missionary to the New Hebrides, an Autobiography, 10th edition, (Lond. 1903), pp.52-6.

incident, then it suggests an even closer interaction between home and foreign missions, insofar as neither was attractive to many people within the Scottish ecclesiastical framework.

While the argument in favour of foreign service normally won over the majority of those desirous of a missionary career, it is only fair to record that dedicated enthusiasts could reasonably and sincerely feel it their duty to remain in Scotland. The Rev. Andrew Bonar, one of a family of brothers who played prominent roles in the 19th Century Free Church, kept a very full diary in which he charted the swings of the pendulum which caused him to hesitate between foreign and home service. His decision to remain in Scotland, taken at a time when the Church of Scotland was still predominantly Moderate rather than Evangelical in character, rested on the need to safeguard religion in the homeland:¹

A remark of my brother Horace went far to satisfy me about missionary labour. He spoke about the need of labourers and ministers at home, and the witness for Christ's Second Coming borne by few in this land. That may be part of our work.

While this particular phraseology would have been anachronistic by the 1870's, the underlying reasoning was still a valid aid to the mission cause in its widest sphere. Without an adequate missionary-minded home base in Scotland, the staff abroad would have lacked the means

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1. M. Bonar (ed.), Andrew A. Bonar, DD. Diary and Letters (Lond. 1893), pp.9-23. Quote taken from diary entry for 5 May 1832.

wherewith to extend operations in response to the great Scriptural command. Indeed, bereft of this hard core of support, the missionaries would have been forced to abandon their Churches' missions, and join those of one or other of the Societies which, by definition, were composed only of those who cared. Lord Sands' description of the Rev. Dr Theodore Marshall accurately sums up the permanent interdependence of the two major areas of mission work:¹

Like all men who have done good service in home mission work, Marshall was an ardent devotee of foreign missions.

3. The Influence of the Scottish Environment

Having outlined the impulse which knowingly led men to leave behind the recognised problems of their homeland, one must consider how far their efforts abroad were liable to be coloured by the national experiences which they carried with them.² Broadly speaking, there were three aspects of Scottish society which had a significant influence in this respect. These were tribal and class structures, industrialisation, and education, each of which will be dealt with in turn, though the demarcation

2. Lord Sands, Dr Archibald Scott and His Times (Edin. 1919), p.95

1. I have deliberately refrained from dealing with the topics of salvation of souls or conversion per se. While these will have to be considered to some degree in discussing what prompted individual Scots to take up missionary work, the subject is properly one for the theologian, not the historian.

lines between them are often indeterminate or disputed.

The existence of the alternative social structure of the clan system, in memory and tradition if not in fact, was a factor unique to a limited fraction of the Scots, among all the disparate ethnic elements which comprised 19th Century Britain. Of fundamental importance in the African fields, the concept of tribal identity was one with which many English missionaries had little sympathy. The Rev. William Holden, after 27 years as a Wesleyan missionary in South Africa, was quite certain that the Kaffirs (a term which did not then carry the scornful stigma which it later attained) would never be civilised so long as they retained their independent tribal state.¹ Among the Scots, this concept aroused a great deal of controversy, based on differing interpretations of national history and containing, no doubt, marked prejudices depending on Lowland or Highland ancestry. At one end of the scale there were those who used the Scottish example as a persuasive in support of Holden's contention. The Lovedale Mission magazine, the Christian Express, contained an editorial on 'The Crisis in Native Affairs' in October 1877, during the course of one of the numerous Kaffir Wars. The author urged that the only cure for this repeated strife lay with the eradication of the South

1. W.C. Holden, The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races (Lond. 1866), p.389.

African clan system, and cited the case of Scotland as proof:¹

On the annihilation of the clan system, the Highlands became peaceful, prosperous, and even profoundly religious.

The viewpoint of an unbiased observer was later given by the Rev. D.A. Macdonald who, despite his name, was born in Alyth and was of Lowland descent, at least on his mother's side of the family.² Summing up his 45 years' residence in South Africa, Macdonald wrote:³

Do missionaries break up the African tribal system? They do not go or work for that end, they have no thought of spoiling anything good in that system. The tribal system has served its day. The impact of civilisation and the work of missionaries are slowly but surely bringing a change, but there is no need to be scared about a sudden disintegration.

While men like Macdonald could look dispassionately on this evolution, there were others more willing to respond

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1. reproduced in F. Wilson & D. Perrot (eds.), Outlook on a Century (Lovedale 1973), p.102. Unfortunately, it is hard to establish the authorship of this. James Stewart was himself of Highland birth, and it seems unlikely that he would support this view. In any case, he did not return from Livingstonia till December 1877. R.H.W. Shepherd, Lovedale 1841-1941 (Lovedale 1931), p.187. It is improbable, therefore, that he exercised in this instance, as he normally tried to do. Wilson & Perrot, op.cit., p.13. The most likely author is Stewart's frequent deputy on such occasions, the Rev. W.J.B. Moir, an Aberdonian who joined the Lovedale Mission in 1873.
 2. Biographical details about Macdonald can be found in the UF MR, October 1901 & March 1925. He worked in connection with the UF Mission in South Africa from 1906 to 1931.
 3. D.A. Macdonald, With Christ in Africa (Lond. 1937), p.155

* insert "any direct supervision"

to Tiyo Soga's plea to the Scots never to mock the love and attachment which the Scots had felt towards their hereditary chiefs:¹

Whatever it once was, it kept the Highland world together, and kept their patriotism alive, and for that reason was to be admired. The Kafirs are bound to their chiefs by the same devoted attachment.

The importance of such a plea both for Scotland and for Africa can be ^{an} gauged from an observation made by Hugh Macdiarmid, and written from the standpoint of one with an international outlook:²

...as a German writer recently insisted, Gaeldom, but for the English, gave good promise many centuries ago of evolving an ideal 'people's state', and an increasing number of anthropologists who have recently written books on savage communities in Africa, Polynesia, and elsewhere, stress the necessity of breaking the framework of so-called civilisation altogether and returning after a lapse of centuries to something like what these savage communities have happily retained in some measure at least, despite the missionaries, Imperialists and exploiters.

The economic and political upheavals of the 18th and 19th Centuries, which had driven so many Highlanders into Glasgow, did not reconcile them to their new surroundings,³

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1. J.A.Chalmers, Tiyo Soga. A Page of South African Mission Work (Lond. 1878), p.471. Soga was the first black South African to pass through the full Divinity course in a Scottish University. He later married a Scottish girl, and served as a fully ordained missionary with the UP Church in Kaffaria.
 2. Macdiarmid, op.cit., pp.147-8.
 3. The removal to Glasgow of the family of Dugald Christie (UP/UF, China, 1882-1923), from their rural Highland home, is graphically described by his wife:

Continued overleaf.

though the changes did make them more dispassionately aware of the flaws inherent in the clan system itself. This dual alienation from both traditional and modern patterns of society was an important factor in determining the models for the new society which Scottish missionaries aimed to create, in Asia, and especially in Africa. The Celtic response to the situation is demonstrated in the career of Donald Fraser of Livingstonia. In his study of nationalism in Scotland, Sir Reginald Coupland gathered evidence to show how the culture of music and dance in the Highlands was largely destroyed because of the Calvinist austerity of the Scottish Church.¹ In Africa, many missionaries worked equally hard to stamp out all traditional forms of dance, on the premise that they were inevitably obscene. Fraser was one of those who wished, very probably in the light of what he knew of his own native Argyll-shire, to preserve some of these dances, which he described as 'very pretty, and healthy exercises, against which one can make no moral objection.'²

3.(Cont.) 'The change was a violent one, to a dull flat in a Glasgow Street, to the obscurity of an insignificant unit in a busy city, to long hours of drudgery which left no time for individual pursuits.

-Mrs D. Christie, Dugald Christie of Manchuria (Lond. 1932), p.18. The high incidence of such cases among noted missionary figures, including David Livingstone, suggests that this may have been a major source of missionary recruitment in Scotland.

1. R. Coupland, Welsh and Scottish Nationalism (Lond. 1954), pp. 252-3.
2. D. Fraser, Winning a Primitive People (Lond. 1914), pp. 75-6. Fraser realised that many of the dances were extremely lewd, and these he wished to stamp out. The most direct indication of Fraser's sorrow over the/
Continued overleaf.

An example of the kind of man so highly-praised by Tiyo Soga, Fraser was later to be described by his wife as one who always possessed 'an intensity of Highland loyalty to the King',¹ a recommendation which presents a picture of the clan system very far removed from that outlined by the Christian Express in 1877.

If some Scots of Highland descent idealised the life-styles of their ancestors, the same accusation can be levelled against many Lowlanders who went furth of Scotland's shores. The peculiarly Scottish view of class thus displayed was based on the complacent assertion that 'we're a' Jock Thamson's bairns', a saying which is still current in rural circles. Many Scots left the country because of dissatisfaction with the political, social, and economic structures,² but there were many others who saw these as having a positive value worthy of export. John Paton of the New Hebrides was but one of the numbers who extolled the virtues of the Scotland of their youth, when rich and poor met on terms of perfect equality both in school and in Church.³ Whatever the truth of this in the 1820's, a definite class gulf was recognised by the 1890's. The solution proposed at this time by Thomas

2.(Cont.) /the course of events in the Highlands occurred during his speech to the International Conference at Le Zoute in the 1920's, when he said:

'I fear the Evangel which denationalizes.'

1. A.R.Fraser, op.cit., p.301.

2. G.Donaldson, The Scots Overseas (Lond. 1966), p.88.

3. Paton, op.cit., pp.3,5,&19.

Smith, DD, showed the same blind trust as that displayed by Paton. Smith, currently Free Church Moderator, wished to see a mingling in Church of rich and poor, a step which he optimistically believed would go a long way towards curing the problem of Church lapsing.¹ This ideal, however, never came close to a practical realisation.

Although the Scots' missionaries often took with them the concept of a meritocratic society based on the example of the 'lad o' pairts' who had so often come to the fore in Scottish Church circles, this seems to have had a limited application in practice. Professor Lindsay boasted in his Foreign Missions Report to the Free Church Assembly that their missions were creating a society in India which embraced rich and poor without consideration of caste;² Dr Okon, in his analysis of the UP influence in Nigeria, isolated the attempt to substitute an egalitarian society for the existing Efik hierarchical structure as the most revolutionary step taken by the early missionaries.³ The fact that such information could be fed back to 19th Century Scotland without arousing class division at home suggests that class rifts were not then a major issue in Scotland itself. At the same time, there is evidence to suggest that this situation underwent a marked alteration in the early 20th Century. Possibly as a result

1. Scotsman, 3 June 1891.

2. ibid., 29 May 1890.

3. Okon, op.cit., p.216.

of socialist and communist unrest after the Great War, the Rev. J.N.Ogilvie felt obliged to emphasise that missionaries saw it as no part of their manifesto to upset class barriers. Of the work in India, he wrote:¹

It is no aim of missions to unfit the pariah boy for the life of manual toil which is his manifest lot, by educating him above his position. Their aim is to raise him mentally, morally, socially, spiritually, so that in his lowly labour he will yet rise to the level of a man, and never sink below it.

Ogilvie's words, though greatly respected in Church and Mission circles, seem to mark a positive withdrawal from a previously-held ideal.

A second important aspect wherein many Scottish missionaries differed from their English counterparts was in their respective attitudes towards industrialisation. For some missionary bodies, like the UMCA 'public school' staff, their revulsion emerged as a negative reaction which often led them to attempt to 'insert' Christianity into African society with as little disturbance as possible.²

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1. J.N.Ogilvie, Our Empire's Debt to Missions (The Duff Missionary Lecture, 1923), p.111
 2. McCracken, op.cit., p.241. Discussion of the effects of mission policy belongs to field rather than domestic missionary history, but one general conclusion is worth noting here. In Ruth Rouse's examination of 'The Missionary Motive' in IRM (1936), p.254 she notes the demise of the early 19th Century complacency about the value of Christian civilisation above heathen practice, and compares this with the contemporary situation where, belatedly one feels, the missionary's:
 - ...conscience as a westerner has been awakened and he depicts the oriental and African world as ridden with evils introduced with Western civilisation -unrestricted industrialism and economic competition, women and children in mines and factories unprotected by labour legislation, rampant militarism and so on.

Of those within this group, one is tempted to assume that many had a very imperfect grasp of the nature of this industrial society; Oxford and Cambridge were hardly in the centre of the industrial belt, and first-hand knowledge of industrial conditions was probably a rare commodity among these Oxbridge men.¹

In Scotland, it has already been shown that contact with industrialism was a much more immediate and permanent feature. A great number of Scottish missionaries regarded the society created in the West of Scotland by the Industrial Revolution as far from perfect, and a direct cause of the degradation which they constantly witnessed during their training. As a result of the extent of the social problem in Glasgow, the civic authorities made great attempts at correction in the second half of the 19th Century, so that Glasgow became Edinburgh's replacement as the show-city of Scotland.² This effort to create a 'brave new world' ultimately ground to a halt in Glasgow, but its energetic start, coupled with its failure to cope with a problem which had been permitted to grow too large for solution, probably instilled in

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1. An example of this can be seen in the problems created for himself by Bishop Mackenzie in the early 1860's, when the failure to insist on high sanitation standards turned the mission site into a disease-ridden slum. The Livingstonia and Blantyre Missions were never presented with an 'instant community' as Mackenzie was by Livingstone's freeing of slaves; it is, however, inconceivable that Drs Laws and Macklin, with their knowledge of Glasgow slum conditions, would ever have permitted this problem to develop.
 2. vide G.F.A. Best, 'The Scottish Victorian City' in Victorian Studies, Volume XI (1968), pp. 329-58, passim.

missionaries going out from Glasgow a determination that such defects as they had seen at home should be prevented in their new spheres of influence. In one of its less charitable moods the Scotsman suggested that the place taken by Scots in the vanguard of the modern missionary movement was very often prompted by a desire to escape from the grip which the dead hand of 17th Century Scotland had retained upon the country.¹ The point had some validity, but the impulse was generally less negative than one recent church historian implied in a reference to Robert Laws of Livingstonia:²

But if he had tried to improve social conditions at home as he did in Africa he would have been up against opposition far more formidable than that of savage chiefs and Arab slave-traders.

In contrast to this, a decidedly positive and progressive attitude was claimed on behalf of the missionaries by James Gall in the 1870's.³

If our foreign and colonial missions shall not succeed in making Heathen, Mohammedan, and Popish countries a great deal better than our own, what hope is there for the world?

While the general effect of this was to inspire the missionaries with a determination to avoid what they deemed to be the worst aspects of Western civilisation, this outlook sometimes resulted in an over-reaction. The

1. Scotsman, 14 June 1910

2. I. Henderson, Scotland: Kirk and People (Edin. 1969), p.40

3. Gall, op.cit., p.5

danger of this was recognised in the 1910 Report on 'The Preparation of Missionaries', although no practical advice to combat it was offered. Outlining the various stages in the training of female workers for the mission field, the Committee delivered this warning:¹

Care needs to be taken lest working amongst poor and degraded people in the slums of our cities should induce an attitude of mind and a bearing towards those ministered to which would be quite unsuitable in the East.

These fears over the nurturing of a patronising attitude -liable to alienate potential converts- may have been unduly alarmist, yet it should be remembered that the Scottish Missions had more success among the outcastes of the East than among the socially superior, despite the intended emphases laid down by Alexander Duff.² It was usually the case that the outcastes had less to lose by accepting the new system than did their better-placed compatriots, but some of the resistance is probably attributable to missionary attitudes. Most Scottish missionaries remained relatively free from this stigmatic feeling, chiefly because of the Calvinist nature of their belief. According to this belief, which underlay the 19th Century laissez-faire economic trend, the destitute at home had passed over the chance of salvation by their own failure to better themselves unaided. For the heathen who had not yet heard the Gospel this test was still to

1. WMC 1910, Volume V, p.152

2. For an outline of Duff's views vide W.Paton, Alexander Duff, Pioneer of Missionary Education (Lond. 1923), passim.

come, and until they had clearly failed it their faults were more tolerantly regarded.

The most obvious example of this philosophy as it was implemented in the mission field is reflected in a comparison of English and Scottish attitudes towards the Protestant work ethic. My knowledge of the aims and policies of the non-Scottish missions is fairly limited, but it appears that the Scots and the English agreed in principle, although important variations occurred in the detailed application of these beliefs. The Protestant work ethic is an ever-present element of modern British history, but it does not seem to have been a specific part of foreign mission theory. The 1910 Report on the main functions of the missionary force grouped these under three main headings -the presentation of the Christian Message, the Manifestation of Christian Life, and the Organisation of a Christian Church and Nation.¹ No mention was made of the work ethic or the dignity of labour, an omission due, perhaps, to the fact that this was an integral part of the work. For many Englishmen, the indoctrination of a willingness to work seems to have been a means to an end. Anthony Trollope saw work as essential to the civilising of the South African native, apart from any Christianising influence.² Robert Rotberg, who often appears hyper-critical of missionaries, saw their attempts to inculcate

1. WMC 1910, Volume V, pp.97-8

2. A.Trollope, South Africa (Lond. 1878), Volume I, p.9

this work ethic as stemming from their own personal need for domestic staff, porters, etc. as ancillary workers.¹ The more typical Scottish attitude is given in the wildly-popular 'Self-Help' doctrine propounded by Samuel Smiles:²

Labour is not only a necessity and a duty, but a blessing.

Such a revelation goes a long way towards explaining why the work ethic was so strongly urged by all classes of Scottish missionaries, and not merely by the industrial missionaries. Even in the educational sphere, the primary aim was that of fitting men to work, as was shown in the quotation from James Ogilvie.³

Once again, the Highland experience added a fuller dimension of understanding to this belief. Scottish Highlanders had long had the reputation of being averse

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1. R. Rotberg, Christian Missions and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia (Princeton 1965), p.52.
 2. S. Smiles, Self-Help (new edition, Lond. 1873), p.28. According to his grand-daughter, Aileen, who published a biography of him in 1956, Self-Help sold better in the late 1870's than it had done when first published some twenty years earlier. By the late 19th Century it had become unfashionable, and Samuel's Autobiography (1905) 'fell dead from the Press'. Aileen also noted (p.90) that Self-Help had been very widely-translated, and had been used in almost every College in India. These Institutions were very much influenced by Scotsmen from the time of Duff and Macaulay onwards. Some indication of the extent to which Smiles' philosophy took hold of the Scottish mind can be seen in Donald Fraser's claim that, in Nyasaland: 'This desire for education allowed us to force on the spirit of self-help.' D. Fraser, op.cit., p.260.
 3. supra., p.43.

to hard work, a reputation which they had retained into the mid-19th Century,¹ despite the fact that a glimmer of hope had appeared at the time of the construction of Telford's roads through the Highlands in the early part of the century. This work, we are informed:²

...gave employment to many hundreds of men, who before had never used tools, and did not at first know how to work.

This involvement with the problem in Scotland had a dual effect on missionary thinking. The success of Telford's campaign gave renewed hope that Africans could be taught how to work, something which had previously been gravely doubted. Secondly, concern over the fact that many Highland migrants to areas like Greenock tended to steer clear of occupations in which there was 'a strict regime and rigid industrial discipline'³ caused an (unwarranted) fear that they, and the Irish, would serve to undermine the very essentials of society. With the number of comparisons drawn between Highland and African tribal

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1. vide articles in the Scotsman, January 30-11 March, 1847, quoted by R.M.W. Cowan in The Newspaper in Scotland (Glas. 1946), p.260. Many Lowlanders condemned all Highlanders as wastrels, but there were those who recognised regional variations. In his Evidence to the Select Committee on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain, 1836, one William Dixon described the majority of Western Highlanders as 'quite useless', and 'a lazy idle set'. But, he added:
The Northern Highlanders are a different set altogether; they are preferable both to Irish and Western Highlanders; not many of them come to Glasgow.
-quoted in R.H. Campbell & J.B.A. Dow, A Source Book of Scottish Economic and Social History (Oxford 1968), p.8
 2. A.H. Stirling, A Sketch of Scottish Industrial and Social History in the 18th and 19th Century (Lond. 1906), p.153
 3. Lobban, op.cit., p.149

society, it is little wonder that the missionaries desired to impose strict controls from the outset, especially as so many of them, most noticeably those responsible for trade-teaching, had experience of working in the industrial West of Scotland.¹ Unlike the Highlanders, however, the Africans lived in a land in which constant toil was not an essential of life:²

...with so bountiful a nature round him it would be gratuitous to work.

Even for the Scots who recognised this fact, as Henry Drummond had done, their innate Scottish-ness normally permitted them to regard the development of the work habit as a positive good, rather than a superfluous exercise in discipline:³

The Calvinist ethic which emphasised work rather than leisure ensured that Scots consumed gains from extra productivity, not in the form of more holidays and less labour, but in greater quantities of food, drink, goods and services.

Anything further from the traditional African pattern of a short period of intense work during planting, followed by a longer period of leisure till the frenetic rush of the harvesting season, could hardly be devised. Coincidentally rather than purposefully, this propaganda campaign waged by the missionaries also contrived to create material

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1. vide, e.g., F.T.Morrison's Ms. Diary (held in Edinburgh University Library), 28 June 1883, where Morrison remarks on the need for constant supervision to keep his native boys working. Morrison, a native of Govan, near Glasgow, was an employee of the African Lakes Company, which was operated in close conjunction with the Livingstonia Mission.
 2. H.Drummond, Tropical Africa (Lond. 1888), p.56
 3. S.G.E.Lythe & J.Butt, An Economic History of Scotland, 1100-1939 (Glas. 1975), p.137

desires in the Africans, thus winning the approbation of European traders and manufacturers. This desire to effect a change from a subsistence to a consumer economy is clearly demonstrated in the quoted aim of the Rev. Duff Macdonald, first clerical head of the Established Mission at Blantyre:¹

The natives have few wants. If they were induced to wear clothes they would have an additional motive to work.

Few statements could capture more concisely this prevailing Scottish interpretation of the work ethic.

Another traditional sphere of Scottish interest which found expression in the mission field was that of education. Although the wide gulf between the average educational standards of Scottish and English mission personnel was steadily to decrease during the course of the 19th Century, it never fully disappeared. Because of this initial gap, Max Warren lists two exceptions to generally partly-educated missionaries of the early part of the century. These were the outstanding self-taught men, like Carey, and the Scots:²

...who had benefited from that country's traditional veneration for education, and who left an unforgettable mark on the missionary enterprise of the nineteenth century.

The conventional view of Scots as missionary educators is that quoted by two UF missionaries in one of their

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1. CS HFMR, October 1878
 2. M. Warren, Social History and Christian Mission (Lond. 1967), p.38



Church's missionary handbooks. Their source, an Englishman, had explained that the missionary work of the Scots in India was largely based on the school, because the Scots 'take to education with their mother's milk'¹. More important in determining the direction of Scottish missionary education was the fact that Scotland had a working model of the use of vernacular as an aid to teaching English, through the existence of the Gaelic-speaking population.² Once more, the Highlands served as a testing bed, though in a predominantly negative sense. Alexander Duff's insistence on English rather than the vernacular as the language of instruction was a direct result of his belief that Bengalee, like Gaelic, was deficient as a ~~medium~~ medium of higher education.³ In itself, this was an important distinction to make, in that it established from the outset the Scottish determination to give the best possible education in the schools and colleges; on top of this, it emphasised Duff's faith in the ability of the Scottish education system to provide an adequate flow of staff to maintain these demanding standards. At Mildmay Park in 1878, the Rev. Dr Murray Mitchell of the Free Church of Scotland stressed the continued adherence of the Scottish Churches to this policy which had given them the leading part in conducting higher education in

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1. G. Pittendrigh & W. Meston, The Story of our Madras Mission (Edin. 1907), p.26
 2. J. Mackay, The Church in the Highlands (Lond. 1914), p.202
vide also J. L. Campbell, Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life (Edin. 1945), pp.46-7
 3. G. Smith, Duff, Volume I, p.189

India:¹

And in Scotland we are thoroughly convinced of the necessity of carrying on this branch of Mission work more emphatically than ever. Christian teaching in colleges, as well as schools, we deem likewise to be of essential consequence.

Even Mitchell's forceful rhetoric, however, could not disguise the fact that the much-vaunted educational policy was already under attack in Scotland. As early as 1873, the Scotsman challenged it on the grounds that, although the Bible was on the curriculum in the Indian schools, '...the religion of the Bible is not thereby promoted in the smallest degree', and the majority of pupils entered and left as heathens.² At Mildmay, William Ferguson, Church of Scotland missionary at Chamba, supported this view by stating that the Missions should concentrate on the juvenile mind, and leave the Government to cope with higher education.³ Supporters of Duff's scheme were also vociferous, and one formal Tribute, penned after his death, trumpeted that:⁴

...the Institution founded by him continues to this day to be a great fountain whence the healing waters of the Christian faith flow forth,...

Public concern over the nature of educational missions was widespread in Scotland at this time, largely because of the conservative concern over the alleged heretical

1. Mildmay Proceedings, p.134

2. Scotsman, 3 June 1873

3. Mildmay Proceedings, p.201

4. Glasgow FC Presbytery Minute, 27 March 1878

teachings of Professor W.R. Smith of Aberdeen Free Church College. The particular event which roused the ire of the Perthshire Courier, for long the mouthpiece of Dr James Begg's ultra-conservative wing of the Free Church,¹ was William Miller's apparent agreement with Smith's 'Higher Criticism'. Expressing concern over reports that the Free Church College at Madras was giving almost wholly secular instruction, the Courier warned that this was a direct result of Principal Miller's ensnarement by this growing evil of 'Higher Criticism'.²

After a relatively quiet decade, the controversy opened up again in the late 1880's. The complacency of the report contained in the issue of the weekly Scottish People³ dated 18 June 1887 was soon shattered. The People reported, as many other sources did year after year, on the very satisfactory University Entrance exam results obtained from the Church of Scotland Institute at Calcutta, and compared these with those of all the other Colleges, which were noticeably poorer. During the course of the following year's Assembly fortnight (when the Free Church met in Inverness, a very rare occurrence) the Scotsman printed a number of letters on the subject of educational missions, culminating in one from 'Lay Wallah' on 4 June, 1888. A Free Churchman, Lay Wallah was critical of the FMC's

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1. Rev. J.H. Wells, My Life Story (Edin. 1910), pp. 146-7
 2. Perthshire Courier, 28 August 1877. vide also the issues of 16 December 1879, and 13 April 1880
 3. The People was one of a host of short-lived Scottish newspapers of the late 1880's, an upsurge stemming from Scottish Home Rule agitation at this time.

deception in encouraging members and contributors to think that money which was used for teaching purposes was actually being allocated to the preaching of the Gospel. The next year (1889) the Scotsman again harped on this theme in an editorial of 1 June, in which the failure of the missionary colleges to act as direct missionary agencies was severely criticised. At this juncture the Church of Scotland FMC decided to take the initiative, and circularised the Presbyteries for their views on the Indian educational work. The gamble was an overwhelming success; of the 70 Presbyteries who sent replies, 60 were in favour of continuing the work, 9 were undecided, and only one was positively opposed to it.¹ Of these detailed replies, the majority wished to see a more evangelistic tendency in the mission colleges;² a few, like Edinburgh, wished to see ministers at home stressing the value of college work as missionary work, as a corrective to the exaggerated ideas of the cost of such work, ideas entertained by many church members in Scotland.³ During this period of re-evaluation, the Free Church seems to have emerged with less credit. Maintaining interest in the debate, the Scotsman published three articles on 'Christianity and the Educated Nations of India' in May 1891. In the third of these, on May 14th, it was stated that the Free Church Foreign Mission Report was of such an ambiguous nature

1. CS FMC Report, 1890

2. vide, e.g., Greenock CS Presb. Min., 26 November 1889 and 25 February 1890, and Inverness CS Presb. Min., 18 March 1890.

3. Edinburgh CS Presb. Min., 12 February 1890.

that one might assume that the Free Church had lost her way with regard to her educational policy for the Indian Colleges. The bickering gradually died down, and by 1899 the Scotsman was positively enthusiastic about this branch of mission work, a change of heart which prompted this editorial comment on 19 May 1899:

There may have been misdirected energy and misspent money. But no great enterprise is carried out without mistakes, and it may now be said without hesitation that educational missions have so completely triumphed that it has become an almost understood thing that a successful mission must be more or less educational.

Once more, this settled period was of short duration. The ink on the 1900 Act of Union of the Free and UF Churches was no sooner dry than the minority Free Church (the 'Wee Frees' who were the spiritual heirs of James Begg and of Dr Kennedy of Dingwall) entered the lists. Resurrecting old controversies, the January 1901 edition of their Monthly Record solemnly pronounced that:

The grave question in connection with Foreign Mission enterprise is that so much of it is not missionary work at all, but pure secular education amidst surroundings which are not characterised by evangelical warmth.

This generalised statement was only the preliminaryⁱ to a direct attack on the UF position, and in November 1905 the Monthly Record demanded that something be done to alter UF policy with regard to Lovedale, on the grounds that:¹

...buildings and resources designed to promote evangelical religion shall not be deviated to educational purposes of a purely secular character.

1. It is difficult to gauge^{au} how far this was purely/
continued overleaf.

By the late 1920's, the Free Church resolve on this theme had in no way diminished, although a secondary consideration had entered their calculations. The Rev. Alexander Dewar, a former Livingstonia missionary and the current Free Church Moderator, urged the familiar argument that the Christian educational institutions brought only limited results; in addition, he stressed the fact that these institutions imposed a heavy financial drain on the home authorities.¹ Although Dewar's warning obviously carried weight in a small Church with small resources, it is difficult to see how it can be regarded as anything more than a propaganda exercise, for the Scottish Christian Colleges, through fees and Government grants, had for many years carried out their task at little cost to the home Church.

For the broad stream of Scottish Christianity, secular education remained a valuable adjunct to foreign missions. In an article on this topic in the Church of Scotland Life and Work (April 1911), 'A Layman' pointed out that, as well as encouraging Scots who were interested in education towards a greater religious interest, there were two important secondary considerations. One, the secular education operations would lead to an increasing degree

1.(cont.) /purely a policy statement, and how far it was part of the general agitation attendant on the bitter legal wrangles over the allocation of the pre-1900 Free Church properties.

1. Scotsman, 25 May 1927

of unity in the mission field;¹ secondly:

The 'man in the street', who is said to have little sympathy for foreign missions, cannot longer withhold his countenance and support from a work which, however little he may expect it to accomplish for the spread of Christ, must do much for civilization and enlightenment in general.

The latter part of this statement, with its echoes of the Scottish Enlightenment of the 18th Century, expresses once again the Scottish belief in the value of her educational system as an export commodity. The focal point of this belief was described in its missionary application by the Rev. John Ross, pioneer of the UP/UF work in China, in the early 20th Century. His comment on China is equally true for all the Oriental regions to which the Churches sent workers:²

Chinese education is solely classical. It is destitute of logic and mathematics. Hence the foreign debater has a great advantage over his Chinese opponent, however learned or naturally able he may happen to be.

Dewar's rejection of this specifically Scottish education provoked sharp criticism. His views were described as 'most limited' by the Scotsman on 25 May 1928. These limitations were fundamentally the same as those described by George Davie in his account of the mid-19th Century

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1. As far back as 26 November 1889, Greenock CS Presbytery had considered a suggestion that the Established and Free Church Colleges in Calcutta should amalgamate.
 2. J. Ross, Mission Methods in Manchuria (Edin. 1903), p.58. A discussion on the nature of Scottish education in the 19th Century, and on the noticeably greater concentration on philosophy and logic than was found in any English University Curricula, is contained in G. Davie, The Democratic Intellect (Edin. 1961).

attempts to alter the broad-based and philosophically-orientated Scottish education system in favour of a shallower, though more specialist, one. The strength of the national faith in the value of Scottish education is summed up in the, perhaps pardonably, exaggerated claim with which this Scotsman editorial concluded:

It is, however, well known that the great missionaries have always been great educators.

The conclusions to be drawn from this chapter are necessarily cautious ones, since there is no readily-available comparative study of the missionary outreach from other parts of the British Isles. Enough has been shown, however, to suggest that the Scottish missionaries carried with them some distinctively national features in the fields of sociology and education. More important than this is the revelation that foreign missions were never fully acclaimed within the Scottish Churches. Whether as a result of active antagonism or mere apathy, a considerable proportion of Church members opposed or ignored foreign missionary efforts. Foreign mission enthusiasts, on the other hand, alternated between periodic attempts to overcome this opposition, and withdrawal into their own sheltered circles of believers. The sporadic resurgence of the 'charity at home' argument is symptomatic of this continued indecision. The close ties between home and foreign mission interest are also indicative of the limited response which characterised

Scottish concern for Scottish-based missions. This chapter has given only a broad outline of the factors which affected Scottish missionary outreach; in the ensuing chapters, many of these themes will recur again and again.

CHAPTER TWO.THE MISSION FIELDS.

In the year 1870, the foreign mission operations of the three principal branches of Scottish Presbyterianism were concentrated in fields in the West Indies, India proper, Africa (West and South), and in the New Hebrides archipelago in the Southern Pacific. By 1929, the scope had been widened to include an extension of the fields in India and West Africa, plus the initiation of entirely fresh ventures in East and Central Africa, China, and Southern Arabia. Behind these sweeping statements lie great differences in the emphases placed on these diverse areas; in some cases, these differences occurred on a denominational basis; in others, they stemmed from changing attitudes within the same denomination over a period of time. This chapter is a necessarily brief attempt to chart some of the factors which determined the pattern which evolved. After giving an outline of staffing strengths and locations, I shall examine some of the influences which governed the Churches' choice of fields. This is followed by a survey of the continuing tug of war between the two major fields of India and Africa. The chapter concludes with detailed case studies of the fields in Jamaica and South Africa, fields which illustrate some of the themes discussed earlier, although both are atypical of the work as a whole.

1. The Staff.

In 1873, the Established Church stood alone in restricting operations to her Indian Mission, and it was not until 1876 that the Indian Mission Annual Report was given the enlarged title, 'Report of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts'; the additional qualification and reminder, 'Especially in India', was ~~not~~ relinquished until 1910, when the title became simply 'Report of the Foreign Mission Committee'. The Free Church had adopted a more cosmopolitan attitude from the outset, and dated their 'Foreign Mission Report' in an unbroken line from the departure of Alexander Duff in 1829. Thus the Report for 1895, for example, rejoiced in the venerable title, 'Sixty-Fifth Report on Foreign Missions'. In the UP Church each succeeding year saw the repetition of the same simple formula, as in 'Report on Foreign Missions for 1889', and the Church briskly continued her commendably extensive efforts around the globe without further ado.

In 1873 the Established Church possessed only a skeleton force consisting of ten male and one female missionaries, thinly dispersed over the three great focal centres of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. In addition to this, they had a solitary pioneer in the Darjeeling-Kalimpong region of North India, destined to become a familiar name in Scotland through the work

carried out there by the Rev. John Anderson Graham.¹ By 1900, the work had been diversified to include the Blantyre Mission in Nyasaland (1876), and the I-chang Mission in the treaty port on the Yangtse River in Central China (1878). The male staff still numbered less than forty, lay and ordained, of whom more than half were stationed in India.² The adoption of the hitherto independent Kikuyu Mission in 1900 was an important addition, albeit the only one, in the course of the first three decades of the new century, and by 1929 the staff serving numbered some 140 persons, equivalent to almost one-third of the total of 490 sent out by the Church between 1873 and 1929.³ Of these 140, India claimed the labour of some 65 (c.46%).

In the Free Church, the work in 1873 was again basically centred on India, with Lovedale at the heart of

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1. For an account of this enterprise vide J.R.Minto, The Life and Works of the Very Reverend J.A.Graham (St Andrews PhD, 1969). Although the various Indian mission fields were often very different in character and development, for the majority of Scots' missionary supporters India was India as distinct from any other field such as Africa or China. For this reason, I believe it is a valid simplification to adopt this same approach in discussing domestic reaction to the missions.
 2. The distribution was even more striking among the ladies of the Women's Association for Foreign Missions, where 32 of the staff of 38 were located in India.
 3. Staff figures throughout this thesis are intended to refer to European/American missionaries appointed by the Committees in Scotland. In some cases local appointments made in the field were later ratified by the full Committee, and the alteration in status noted in the Annual Report. A certain confusion occasionally arises from inconsistencies in FMC Reports/Tabular Statistics, but the figures used are reckoned to be as nearly accurate as it is possible to be without actually examining the entire career of each individual missionary.

an important South African mission field. Of the twenty-three ordained missionaries supported by the FMC, 75% worked in India; of the other eighteen missionaries, who included six female teachers, nine worked in India and the same number in Africa. By 1900, two additional fields had come into the Free Church's care -South Arabia, established in 1886 by Ion Keith-Falconer, son of the Earl of Kintore, and Livingstonia(1875), the Free Church parallel to the Church of Scotland's work at Blantyre.¹ In some respects this account is misleading, in so far as it excludes the valuable role played by the Free Church in supplying staff and generally supporting the missionary labours in China of her sister Church south of the border, the English Presbyterian Church.² Even with this constant drain on her available manpower, however, the Free Church exhibited a vigorous expansion of effort in the last quarter of the century and more than trebled her work-force between 1873 and 1900, from approximately forty to 135. This compares closely to the quadrupling of staff in the Established Missions, but the much larger initial work-force of the Free

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1. The origins of this work are fully described in the theses of Drs Ross and McCracken.
 2. For an early account of this work, vide. the Rev. J. Johnston's China and Formosa (Lond. 1897). S.W. Carruthers, The Contribution of English Presbyterianism to Foreign Missions (Manchester 1933) gives further details. The Free Church of Scotland attitude to this Chinese field is clearly stated in the FC MR(June 1876):

...the mission in China has so many of its roots in Scotland, that we cannot but think of it also as a department of our own work. This sentiment was repeated ad nauseam in the Record over the ensuing decades. Vide., e.g., the issue for September 1892.

Church meant that the increase in absolute numbers was much greater. The distribution had evened out somewhat from that current in 1873, with approximately 47% of the male and 60% of the female staff allocated to Indian stations.

The UP concentration was very different from that of the other Churches. Her Rajput Mission in North India was her youngest, and had come into being as recently as 1860, as part of the British missionary response to the shock of the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Enthusiasm for this new project was tempered by loyalty to the old fields in Jamaica, Kaffraria(South Africa), and Calabar(Nigeria). Of the sixty missionaries serving in 1873,¹ Rajputana claimed the largest number with seventeen(c.28%), closely followed by Jamaica with sixteen, all except one of whom was a full ordinand. Like the Free Church, the UP's already had a considerable female complement -nine teachers, six of whom were in the one field of Calabar. Despite their wide commitments, the UP's eagerly took on extra spheres of work in the years after 1870, and inaugurated missions in Manchuria(1872), and in Japan(1873).² By 1900, the UP Church had around 140

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1. This excludes the three missionaries serving in Spain. This was really a Colonial Mission, although the UP's of this time did not so distinguish it from their foreign operations as did the other denominations.
 2. The Japanese work never received more than a handful of staff. It was already being run down in the 1880's, when it was passed over to the American Presbyterians. This occurred because the UP Church decided that it possessed too many widely-differing spheres to enable her to cope efficiently with all of them.

men and women in the field, a much slower rate of growth than that of the Established and Free Churches. Of this number, almost 50% were ordained men, a much higher figure than in the other denominations. Of the 140, the percentage employed in India had fallen to around 23%, while the Jamaican field now claimed by far the largest share of the ordinands, with twenty out of the total of sixty-seven; India possessed fifteen, one less than South Africa, although four of the South African men also doubled up as ministers of Colonial charges.

In the first year after the Union of the Free and UP Churches, the combined missionary staff of the UF Church was almost 300 strong, some 200 of whom were male. This compared very favourably with the Church of Scotland figures of forty-five male and thirty-eight female workers. Between 1900 and 1929, the UF Church encompassed only one new sphere of work. This was located on the Gold Coast, and was taken over from the Basel Mission in 1917, on the grounds that the predominantly German staff of the Basel Mission were personæ non gratae as a result of the War raging in Europe.¹ Expansion in the existing fields can be gauged^{au} by the fact that the staff total increased by 50% during these thirty years, so that it numbered 432 by 1929, exactly half of whom were

1. For a summary of the effects of the War on Missions, vide Appendix D. The Gold Coast take-over was a crushing blow for inter-mission relations, which had been regarded as supra-national in the halcyon days before 1914 offered a stern practical test.

female workers.¹ The sheer complexity and dynamism of this enterprise may be put in perspective by remembering that the Established Church, with all the organisational skills inherited over some three and a half centuries, had taken half a century (from 1873 to 1924) to send out a total missionary force equivalent to the 432 currently serving in the UF Missions in 1929.

2. The Choice of Fields.

— Such remote and impersonal statistics as have just been presented tell only part of the story. A number of factors, some subjective and others of a more pragmatic nature, combined to regulate both the growth and the location of Scottish missionary fields. While there were sometimes outstandingly sound reasons for choosing a particular field, it was more often the case that emotions tempered by questionable rationalisation or righteous caution were allowed to carry the day. In a volume published in the early 1880's, John Hill Burton referred to the establishment of the Scots Guards in France during the Hundred Years' War in terms which seem equally applicable to the Scot of the 19th Century:²

...there is something touching in the picture of a hardy high-spirited race robbed of their proper field of exertion at home, and driven/

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1. In addition to those officially counted as missionaries, the CS Missions contained 43 wives of missionaries in 1929, and the UF Missions contained 167. Many of these were doctors, teachers, etc., who had served in the mission field prior to marriage.
 2. J.H. Burton, The Scot Abroad (Edin. 1881). Burton was HistoriographerⁱⁿRoyal, and one of the most respected Scottish historians of the time.

/driven to a foreign land, there to bestow the enterprising energy that might have made their own illustrious; and serving a foreign master with the single-minded fidelity that had been nourished within them by the love of their own land and kindred.

This kind of backward-looking nostalgia was noticeably present in the missionary supporters of Burton's time, and was afforded concrete expression in their euphoric comparisons with the Darien disaster of the 1890's. The leading Scottish missionary biographer of the latter half of the century made this point very specifically in 1879:¹

...in 1874 Dr Duff and James Stevenson, Esq., of Glasgow launched the Livingstonia Mission, the greatest national enterprise, it has truly been said, since Scotland sent forth the very different Darien Expedition.

Eighty years later, this situation in Nyasaland still commanded the same kind of comparison. Writing about the political manoeuvrings of 1888, when the Scots fought to officially implicate the British Government in their affairs in Nyasaland, and thus keep the threatened Portuguese presence at bay, one historian described their frantic efforts as being, in one sense:²

...a final fling at nationhood by acquiring at last the Caledonian colony which had been denied them since the failure of the 17th Century Darien venture.

For many Scots, Darien was more than just a failure. In

1. G. Smith, Duff, Volume II, p.459

2. G.A. Shepperson, 'External Factors in the Development of African Nationalism, with Particular Reference to British Central Africa' in Phylon, XXII,3(1961), p.212.

their eyes the whole debacle was chiefly a result of English treachery and lack of concern. This in itself seemed to act as an incentive, goading the Scots to expand their foreign mission enterprise into regions which, like Nyasaland in the 1870's, gave promise only of a fierce struggle for survival. Finland, like Scotland, has for centuries played the role of a small country overshadowed by a larger, and frequently menacing, neighbour; the constant presence of the silent threat of Russia prompted one Finnish missionary historian to write in a manner to which many Scots would find in themselves an instantaneous and understanding response, however paranoid this response might perhaps appear to an outsider:¹

Those who through personal suffering and struggle have gained the right to national existence, to freedom of faith and conscience and to the privilege of a national culture, understand how to secure even for the heathen those most precious of human heritages so far as means and opportunities suffice.

For these small European countries, hardship was apparently regarded as an essential prerequisite for success. For the Scots, the joint lure of romance and prospective martyrdom, perhaps coupled with an unspoken national pride in their ability to withstand hardship, helped

1. J. Mustakallio, 'The Finnish Missionary Society' in IRM (1916), p. 636. This parallel should not be overstressed. Scotland was, after all, part of an Imperial Power. During the 1910 Conference the Rev. H. Ussing of Denmark spelt out the effects of this in his version of the work done by the Dutch and by the Scandinavian countries, which he represented as possessing a:

...greater facility...in obtaining a true understanding with the natives on more equal terms, because we are without any pretension to be the ruling race or nation...

-WMC 1910, Volume IX, p. 228.

determine their choice of mission fields. Those selected at Calabar, Livingstonia, and Blantyre each demonstrate the decision on the part of the Churches to establish large-scale operations in areas largely free from white presence because of the notoriously poor survival prospects for Europeans.¹ The reputation of West Africa, for instance, was known long before the UP arrival, and was pithily summed up in the statement that Sierra Leone always possessed two Governors, one going out alive and one returning dead.² In Central Africa, the fate of the Universities Mission was well-known to the Scots' people, who had followed with interest this mission inspired by one Scot, Livingstone, and originally led by another, Mackenzie.³ Confirmation of this degree of awareness on the part of the Scots can be found in a recent doctoral thesis which analysed the motivation of a large sample of early 19th Century Protestant missionaries in

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1. Such fortitude was not without its critics. In 1871, Dr A.C. Geekie, a Presbyterian minister in New South Wales, published a volume entitled Christian Missions to Wrong Places, Among Wrong Races, and in Wrong Hands (Lond. 1871). In this book he repeatedly criticised the UMCA as an imprudent venture which should have commenced at the South African frontier and worked slowly northwards. vide., e.g., pp.19-20. He was equally critical of the expenditure of resources in West Africa (p.18), and went so far as to say that:
A land of proved pestilence was not the land to which to send Christian missionaries, when other lands waited without a knowledge of Christ.
 2. Quoted in R. Macnish, The Book of Aphorisms (new edition, Glas. 1859), no. XIV, pp.30-1.
 3. Robinson, op.cit., p.345, states that for many years after its inception the UMCA lost 50% of its staff within one year of arrival in the field, through death or ill-health.

considerable detail. In a discussion of the extent to which some missionaries, especially the Methodists, wilfully ignored potential hazards/problems in deciding to pursue a missionary career, Dr Piggin concluded:¹

But perhaps none investigated so thoroughly the problems which lay ahead as Scottish missionaries, with their active university missionary associations and the missionary libraries attached to them.

The importance of an equivalent degree of forethought by the FMC members can be seen in the development of the work in the years following the establishment of Blantyre and Livingstonia. As early as 1884, the UP Church, which had also inaugurated new missions in the 1870's, was looking to the future with some apprehension. An editorial in the Missionary Record (July 1884) noted that problems might arise from the fact that the Church would not be taking on any further mission fields; the effect of this would be a potential drop in missionary concern, since it would no longer be possible to excite the same level of interest as had been aroused when new missions were founded in Calabar, India, China, Spain, and Japan. This same policy of consolidation, or even retrenchment, was also adopted by the Established and Free Churches, in stark contrast to the heady expansion of the 1870's. In 1888, for instance, the Free Church refused to take up an offer of £15,000 from the wealthy Leeds missionary fanatic, Robert Arthington, to fund a Free Church Mission

1. F.S.Piggin, The Social Background, Motivation, and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India, 1789-1858 (London PhD, 1974), p.94.

to North Brazil, in partnership with the Baptist Missionary Society and the LMS, on the grounds that this would stretch her resources beyond breaking point.¹ The dangers of a headlong rush into such an enterprise were spelt out by one of the Basel missionaries, stationed on the Gold Coast, who addressed the Mildmay Conference:²

Four years ago the word Ashantee Mission was a household word with many English people, but now the little Ashantee boy is standing in the background because other children have been born on different Mission-fields, who claim your attention.

None of the Scottish Churches could afford to tie this kind of burden round their necks in the 1870's, and so successful were they in gauging^{an} the reactions of their members that none of the missions established on the grand scale caused the kind of alarm shown by the Basel man. The Rev. Dr Murray Mitchell, in an address to the Free Church Synod of Perth and Stirling, claimed that 'the romantic discovery and death' of Livingstone, and the 'horrible revelations' made during the Ashantee War, were key factors in promoting Africa in the public imagination.³ Such a claim does not stand up to closer scrutiny. These dramatic incidents were simply expedients to introduce the idea, and any sustained interest in the work came from the Scots' sense of some proprietorial stake in Nyasaland and in Nigeria. This feeling was

1. FC MR, February 1888.

2. Mildmay Proceedings, p.59.

3. Perthshire Courier, 27 April 1875. Mitchell was a former Indian missionary, and was a Free Church FMC official.

enhanced rather than countered by deaths and other hazards in these fields, increased hazards merely intensifying Scottish tenacity and obduracy. The ground had been shrewdly chosen.

3. India versus Africa?

Having dwelt on the importance of the African Missions for so long, it must not be imagined that these were unanimously favoured and allowed to develop at the expense of the much older fields of India. In the Church of Scotland Record for August 1890 there appeared an article by James A. Campbell¹ on the subject of 'Congregational Interest in Missions'. Campbell argued in this article that congregations and individuals had to assure themselves that a mission was worthy of their support before they would be prepared to contribute anything towards mission funds. He went on to say that the Church of Scotland contained a sufficient variety of mission agencies to enable all its members to find some scheme with which they could fully sympathise within the bounds of their own denomination. In practice, attention was concentrated on the Indian and African fields as the two focal points of Scottish missionary concern,² and the 1870's was a time of some anxiety, most volubly expressed

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1. A member of Parliament, and a leading Scottish layman.
 2. Such a channelling of effort gave cause for concern to missionaries in other fields. John Paton wrote of his efforts to recruit workers for the South Seas:

Again and again...consecrated young men were just on the point of volunteering, but again and again the larger and better known fields of labour turned the scale, and they finally decided for China or Africa or India.

-Paton, op.cit., pp.436-7.

among Established Churchmen, lest the Indian work be detrimentally affected by the innovations in Africa.

Until the 1870's, India was unquestionably the major overseas interest of the British people. Diplomats based much of their policy on the need to hold and secure the Indian Empire; younger sons of the aristocracy made careers there; working men found in the Indian Army an escape from monotony or unemployment at home; last, but by no means least, missionaries saw India as their most challenging field of labour, especially since Indians were fellow-subjects under the British monarchy.¹ As the Foreign Mission Report of the Established Church noted in 1875:²

Rightly has India been chosen by the Church of Scotland for especial cultivation. No foreign country presses with anything like the same force on British Christians.

While this assertion must be seen in the light of the fact that the Established Church at this time worked only in India, and was therefore open to accusations of bias, Free Church spokesmen made the same bold claim, in spite of the fact that their African stations had been operational for almost as long as the Indian ones. Robert Hunter, who was, admittedly, a former Indian missionary, had no doubts in 1873. Of the 1823 Memorial from Calcutta, urging the Church to establish a mission

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1. Mildmay Proceedings, p.16. Introductory speech by Sir William Muir.
 2. p.185.

there, he wrote:¹

...for it powerfully turned the attention of the Church to India, the most eligible missionary field, we hesitate not to say, in the whole world.

The UP position with regard to India was intrinsically different. Unlike the other denominations, India was the most recent field to come into being, not the first. This meant that there never arose any appreciable degree of concern over the draining away of resources from India in order to service other missionary fields. Whereas India was frequently regarded as an intellectually harder field in which to make a breakthrough, thanks to the existence of a number of well-defined and sophisticated religions, the UP Mission Board saw India as something of a relief, in terms of health, accessibility, and a receptive audience, from the rigours of their most recent undertaking in Nigeria.² This estimation was confirmed by correspondence from missionaries in the field. In June 1861 the Rev. William Martin, one of the Rajputana pioneers, included this sentence in a letter home:³

The days of great privation in the Indian Mission-field are over, I trust, for ever.

In later years, as part of a campaign to highlight the fortitude of the foreign missionaries, another former Rajputana missionary took an entirely different view of

1. Hunter, op.cit., p.10.
2. Rev. J.McKerrow, History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church (Edin. 1867), pp.460-1.
3. W.F.Martin, Martin Memorials. Life and Work of William and Gavin Martin (Edin. 1886), p.42.

of the situation. Dr John Robson's terminology was, in fact, reminiscent of the Scottish pride in tackling mission work in the direst of circumstances;¹

Owing to its distance inland, the CLIMATE of Rajputana is exposed to greater extremes of heat and cold, and to more frequent failure of rains, than any other part of India.

Leaving Robson's claim aside, therefore, the part played by the UP Mission in India was a steady and unspectacular one, only occasionally flaring into frantic activity with the advent of famine, as occurred in 1877 and again in 1899.

For the other denominations the sheer size and scope of their Indian work, and the controversial nature of the educational work in particular, kept India very much to the fore in any consideration of the missionary enterprise. The Free Church had by far the calmest and best-adjusted approach to the whole question of balance between the fields, probably because her long-established South African work had accustomed her to watch two very dissimilar missions grow and prosper in unison.² The Established Church, lacking this experience, was inclined

1. J. Robson, The Story of the Rajputana Mission (Edin. 1894), p. 24

2. Occasional complaints did emerge, as in the FC Foreign Mission debate of 1875, when Mr Small of Bombay pointed out that the Church was not maintaining the number of its workers in Western India, although the bodily slavery in Africa was no worse than the slavery of caste in India. Scotsman, 26 May 1875. Such complaints by missionaries in the field were frequently groundless, and based on their own loyalty to a particular region. They should, therefore, be read with a healthy degree of scepticism.

to panic, apparently forgetting all of Chalmers' theories about exhaustion and fermentation. It was in the Church of Scotland, therefore, that the debate on Africa v. India was most extensively continued. In his Closing Address to the 1876 Assembly, the Right Reverend George Cook, minister of Borgue Parish, warned the members that whatever demands the African Mission made on the future resources of the Church, it should not be allowed to interfere with increasing demands from the Indian field.¹ A decade later, these fears had not yet been realised, and the Rev. John Campbell of Kirkealdy complacently accorded the Indian Mission its familiar soubriquet of being the most interesting field for British Christians.² Soon after this statement was made, one of the Bernard sisters who served in the Established Mission at Poona, near Bombay, for many years, waxed indignant on this topic:³

Why should the Church's enthusiasm centre on Africa only? has not India a thousand more claims on England and Scotland?

By this time, however, the fears of the 1870's had been generally overcome. The percentage of the FMC income devoted to the Blantyre Mission had fluctuated around the 20% mark during the 1880's, before rising sharply in the 1890's to between 30% and 40%. By about 1898, the Blantyre allocation had settled down to a very consistent 33% of the total. The absolute increase in the FMC

1. Scotsman, 30 May 1876.

2. CS HFMR, March 1887.

3. ibid., May 1892. The sisters, three of whom served at Poona, were daughters of Sir Charles Bernard, former Chief Commissioner of Burma.

income meant a higher real income for the Indian Missions, and in the 1895 discussion on the possibility of a retrenchment in foreign mission work, the Rev. Dr Archibald Scott of Edinburgh St George's defended the African Mission in an extremely vigorous fashion. A very active supporter of the Blantyre Mission, tireless in summoning support for it, Scott spoke cuttingly of proposals to retrench in any of the Church's mission fields. He then launched into a specific defence of Blantyre, in a speech which contained a real sting in the tail. After outlining the success of the mission, which had required all of the money spent on it, he concluded:¹

Let them starve their African mission, and they would find their revenue over their other branches of the mission very much decreased. A vast amount of money given was really given on account of their African mission.

No one challenged Scott's provocative words; the re-affirmation of Chalmers' policy was tacitly accepted.

4. Jamaica and South Africa.

This chapter has, until now, revolved round discussion of the spheres in which all three denominations had an active interest, namely India, Africa, and -to a much lesser extent- China. There are two other areas, Jamaica and South Africa, in which the Church of Scotland had no foreign missionary commitment, yet both are extremely important in a study of Scottish missions.

1. Scotsman, 31 May 1895.

Of all the major fields occupied by the Scottish Presbyterians in 1873, the Jamaican Mission was the only one subjected to a regular and ~~extreme~~ drastic pruning of staff in the ensuing decades. This process was greatly accelerated after 1900, and of 600 missionaries appointed by the UF Church in the twenty-nine years of its existence, fewer than ten went to the Caribbean island. The arguments for and against such a withdrawal often illuminate the entire philosophy of the Scottish missionary movement, by virtue of the extreme contrast offered by the Jamaican example. South Africa, on the other hand, achieved its unique position through its unprecedented attraction of new missions from the 1870's onwards. The newly-awakened Scottish Episcopalian Church accepted South Africa as its first mission field in the 1870's, and this example was followed by all of the breakaway minorities from within the Presbyterian fold between 1893 and 1929. The importance of the study of this field rests in the demonstration of the almost random manner in which the Churches found themselves initially committed to a specific field, and of the way in which they afterwards tried to rationalize this to give it the semblance of deliberate choice.

a. Jamaica.

In the most recent general Church history of Scotland, Messrs. Drummond and Bulloch make the following apology

in their chapter on the missionaries:¹

If it seems that disproportionate space is devoted here to the Jamaican mission it is because some of the characteristic problems of missions were met for the first time in the island.

Within this statement there are two pointers as to the causes of the reduction of the Jamaican Mission at a time when all others were desperate to expand their operations. First of all, Jamaica was an island, and a very small one at that, measuring some 145 miles by 50 miles at its extremities. Secondly, its position in the forefront of Protestant missionary effort² led to a situation where, by the mid or late 19th Century, it could be argued that the entire island had been 'mission-ized'. This ~~microcosm~~ microcosm composed of a multitude of African peoples of differing cultures, all of whom were suffering from the degrading effects of slavery, offered an early test-bed for missionary theory and methods, but this potential was quickly exhausted in the eyes of most observers. Most of the missionary societies had virtually or totally withdrawn by the close of the century, some of them as early as the 1840's, on the grounds that their function in the West Indies could no longer properly be regarded as work in a heathen land.³ This implied superfluity

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1. A.L. Drummond & J. Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-74 (Edin. 1975), p.150
 2. The major British Societies in Jamaica were the LMS and the Wesleyans (1790's), the Baptists (1813), the CMS (c.1820). The Scottish Missionary Society (1823) and the Secession Church (1835) established the work taken over by the newly-formed UP Church in 1847.
 3. The CMS withdrew for this reason in 1848. Stock, CMS, Volume I, p.347. The LMS did likewise between 1867 and 1895, passing the burden over to indigenous/
continued overleaf.

of foreign missionaries was an opinion with which the UP Church concurred only tardily, and with stringent reservations. The severely Calvinistic disapproval of the UP's was expounded by Dr George Robson in 1894:¹

The field, indeed, is no longer heathen. Jamaica must be classed as a Christian island. But what was said by Dr James Brown and Mr McInnes in 1882 is still true, that 'it is a mistake to suppose that Jamaica is no longer a mission field.' The superstitions of African heathenism are not extinct; more baleful still is the prevalence of the vices which have been engendered among the people by the grafting of slavery upon heathenism.

Robson also claimed that the experiences of the other Churches on the island, where the missions had forced independence upon their fledglings, proved his point that the Jamaicans still required the spiritual union and oversight of the mother Church.² This same theory had been put forward in Scriptural form in the early 1870's, with the argument that God's Church had needed a transition period of 40 years in the Wilderness after their enslavement, and the Jamaicans had not yet completed this period of regeneration since the Emancipation carried through between 1833 and 1838.³ Even in 1899, more than sixty years after the event, this reluctance

3.(cont.) /indigenous clergy and workers. R.Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895 (Lond. 1899), Volume II, pp.389-93. The BMS policy of making their Jamaican Mission self-supporting and independent from the 1840's onwards is described in E.A.Payne, Freedom in Jamaica (Lond. n.d.), passim.

1. G.Robson, The Story of Our Jamaica Mission (Edin. 1894), p.99
 2. ibid., p.101
 3. UP MR, May 1871.

to relinquish control on the grounds that the Jamaicans had not yet recovered from the moral blight of slavery was still very much in evidence.¹ Over the next quarter century, the increase in self-support, first called for in the 1870's,² had not yet materialised. The explanation given for this contains echoes of the situation described in numerous other mission fields, where the initial impact was made among the oppressed divisions of the community, for whom the new religion offered a hitherto undreamt-of panacea. In this explanation we may also trace elements of the Scottish identification with subject peoples, discussed on pp.69-70:³

The Presbyterians were called to work among the slaves, and the tradition has remained. Our work is done chiefly among the workers in the fields. We are not a fashionable Church. If we are not financially independent it hardly means ~~that~~ more than that the Synods north of the Grampians are in much the same position.

Because of this stagnation within the Jamaican Church, the mission there never fulfilled its early hopes of being in the forefront of the movement to devolve power from the Mission to an indigenous Church. The situation was very similar to that found in the Danish Mission to Greenland, where the last heathen in the Western sector

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1. UP MR, January 1899. The UP'S had a solid body of fact on their side in this argument. The 1911 edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica noted that the Jamaican population in 1905 was 806,690. Of negro births, 60% were illegitimate, and this percentage was steadily increasing.
 2. vide, e.g., UP MR, September 1876.
 3. UF MR, January 1924. Article by Rev. R.C. Young, UF missionary in Jamaica, 1908-47. The sentiment was repeated once again in Life and Work, July 1938.

of the island had been baptised in 1860, but:¹

Because of the childlike state of the Greenlanders and the natural conditions of life in those regions, Danish clergy are still needed.

Leaving aside the specific problems indigenous to the island, the lack of development in Jamaica of a Church and ministry able to stand, however shakily, on its own feet may be attributable in part to the unique staffing policy of the UP/UF Church with regard to Jamaica. The major aspects of this policy will be considered in more detail in the next chapter, but one or two crucial points are relevant at this juncture. The first of these is the fact that only fully-ordained missionaries were appointed to Jamaica. This plan was adopted due to a widespread belief that the secular agencies of medicine, teaching, and industrial work, all of them a vital and integral part of the work in the other fields, were already adequately covered in Jamaica.² This combined with the decided climatic advantages of the island, unequalled in any other field apart from South Africa, to produce an aging mission complement, a process which, in the absence of any marked infusions

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1. F. Munck, 'Danish Missions' in IRM(1916), p.629
 2. To take the sole example of medicine, David Livingstone opposed any move to send him to the West Indies in 1840 on the grounds that there were already enough regular medical practitioners there. W.G. Blaikie, The Personal Life of David Livingstone (Lond. 1880), pp.30-1. Of the UP missionaries, the Rev. George McNeill dropped plans to pass the preliminary medical exam when he learned that he would not require medical knowledge to work in the Jamaican field. UP FMB Minute, no.983, 26 March, 1877.

of fresh blood after 1900, may well have encouraged the mission body to become more and more anachronistic in its attitudes. A comparison of the respective lengths of service of missionaries in Jamaica and elsewhere, though not conclusive by any manner of means, gives some indication of this trend.

<u>PERCENTAGE OF STAFF SERVING FOR:</u>	<u>20years+</u>	<u>40years+</u>
Jamaica	50%+	c.25%
All other fields	c.33%	c. 5%

The problems inherent ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ a situation where the drive and perseverance of a leader give way, with the advent of age, to obstinacy and a reluctance to progress can be seen in fields such as Livingstonia and Blantyre, where Drs Laws and Hetherwick exercised almost despotic powers. The influx of large numbers of all grades of missionaries prevented this from ever becoming a major drawback, and the older missionaries maintained contact with new movements such as the working class role in politics, and the gradual emancipation of women. No such liberalising influence was ever dispatched to Jamaica, where the only woman appointed throughout the period under consideration was Miss Martha Cröll, transferred from Rajputana in 1899 on health grounds. Compounding the problem, there was the fact that Jamaican missionaries, on average, were older than their counterparts in other fields. Of the

1. Vide. UP FMC Minute, 30 November 1897, and UP MR, July 1898.

thirty-one missionaries appointed during this time whose birth-dates are known, no less than fourteen were aged 35 or over when first appointed, a fact which suggests that, although they might bring maturity to the task, they were also liable to bring a certain rigidity of approach. There is, therefore, a distinct possibility that the reluctance of the Jamaican missionaries to consider withdrawal owed much to the presence of a form of outdated paternalism, induced and aggravated by this staffing policy.

The continued presence of foreign missionaries did not proceed unchallenged. Within the Mission itself, individual agents very occasionally expressed anxiety about the complacency which might overtake them in this secure environment. After fifteen years in Jamaica, the Rev. H.L. McMillan gladly transferred to Calabar, remarking at the time that he had increasingly desired such a move:¹

...because of its greater nearness to heathenism and more clamant needs.

A more outspoken criticism of the Jamaican work came in 1873, and is a prime example of the simmering denominational rivalry of 19th Century Scotland, which sometimes boiled over into attack and counter-attack. The onslaught in this instance stemmed from an article in The Missionary World, in which was printed statistics showing that the

1. UP FMB Minute, no.2581, 27 July 1897. McMillan's zeal was ill-rewarded, for he died of malarial fever in December 1898, only a few months after his arrival in Calabar.

UP Church gave more to foreign missions, and employed more workers in this field, than did the Free Church. The latter body took issue with this statement in an editorial in the Monthly Record (February 1873). After listing the combined totals for Free Church Foreign and Colonial mission operations, the editorial came down to brass tacks:

To what extent heathenism still prevails in Jamaica, and with what amount of propriety the ministers there can be called 'missionaries' in the sense that Mr Shoolbred¹ is a missionary, we are not able to say; but we have no doubt at all how that synod would be classed in the Free Church. It would be called a colonial synod, and would be put under the care, not of Dr Duff, but of Dr Adam.

As befitted a Church which had contemplated union with the UP's for a number of years, the March edition of the Record proffered a conciliatory hand, with the statement that the UP members did give proportionately more to their foreign missions than did Free Church members. This did not conclude the argument, however. In June 1887 the Record returned to the attack with a challenge on a claim made by Professor Calderwood of the UP Church. The substance of this claim was that the UP Church was the most successful of the Scottish Churches abroad, with 11,000 foreign mission communicants, as against a paltry 600 in the Church of Scotland, and 5,000 in the Free Church. The counter-argument to this again hinged on the true position of Jamaica, and again concluded that it was a colonial, and

1. Williamson Shoolbred was the pioneer missionary of the UP Mission in Rajputana.

not a foreign,field:

The me^mbers of that Synod may be mostly black, but it is not the colour of his face that makes a heathen, and Jamaica is now no more a part of heathenism than the states of Georgia and Alabama.

The continued existence of this attitude on the part of former Free Churchmen probably contributed greatly to the sudden drop in the number of missionaries sent to Jamaica after 1900; whereas thirty or so appointments were made in the period 1870-1900, fewer than ten were made between 1900 and 1930. Even within the UP Church, the Presbytery Minute Books and Foreign Mission Secretary's Letter Books show little evidence of any enthusiasm for this mission from the 1870's onwards, a change entirely in accord with a revised view of it, listing it as primarily a colonial field. If this is so, then it is a logical consequence of the same criteria which encouraged the establishment of the West Indian work in the 1830's:¹

...as this mission was considered as bearing more directly upon the state of the heathen world than the one to Canada, it naturally excited, both among ministers and people, a greater degree of attention.

1. McKerrow, op.cit., p.178. The absence of CS and Free foreign missions in the West Indies also meant that the UP's lacked the spur of denominational competition, which could squeeze a greater liberality from Church members. A Scots' Kirk was opened in Kingston in 1819, and the Established Church carried on its Colonial mission work until 1929, but such colonial causes aroused very little interest among Church members in Scotland. Within the Presbytery of Perth, for example, the brethren listened to a circular letter anent the Coolie Mission in Grenada, and remitted it for consideration to the Schemes Committee. CS Presb. Min., 24 September 1912. They in turn recommended that ministers should acquaint their congregations with the work, but/
Continued overleaf.

In the same way as Jamaica had superceded Canada, so the fields like Calabar, itself the result of the enthusiasm of the Jamaican Presbyterians to undertake missionary work in the 1840's, superceded Jamaica before the close of the century. Despite the continued inclusion of the island in the list of UP Foreign Missions, the general attitude towards Jamaica was summed up by William J. Slowan, the Glasgow Layman who wrote the Kaffrarian volume in the series of UP popular histories of their mission fields, published in the 1890's:¹

Africa and its people early made an irresistible appeal to the missionary sympathies of the fathers of our Church. It was not the loveliness of situation that drew their first efforts to Jamaica, but the love and pity that burned in their hearts towards the enslaved sons of Africa, whose wrongs and miseries marred the beauty of the Pearl of the Antilles, and sullied the flag waved above it. It was indeed on their way to Calabar that our first missionaries sailed for Kingston.

(my underlining)

b. South Africa.

At the same time as the Jamaican Mission was exhibiting the first signs of a winding-down process, the South African field, which had fallen into disfavour in the 1840's on account of the constant disruption to the work, brought about by the frequent Kaffir Wars, was showing signs of a

1. (Cont.) /but the Presbytery itself made no special efforts to encourage this.

1. W.J. Slowan, The Story of Our Kaffrarian Mission (Edin. 1894), p.9.

major revival.¹ Paradoxically, Jamaica and South Africa were more alike than any other two of the Scots' foreign mission fields,² yet they followed very divergent patterns in the era covered by this study. In reviewing the differing responses to essentially similar situations, one may hope to gain a fuller understanding of some of the salient features of Scottish foreign missionary enterprise.

The basic similarities between the two regions were expressed by the Rev. John Lennox in 1911, during the course of an exposition of the special nature of the South African work:³

It arises from the existence side by side in South Africa of a Colonial and a native population. The conditions are peculiar to South Africa of all the mission fields in which our Church is working. Even Jamaica offers no real parallel.

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1. Writing in the 1850's, the Rev. William Brown could 'scarcely know a single recommendation' for South Africa as a mission field, and regarded it as a dissipation of missionary strength to work among a people facing extinction through the twin threats of internecine warfare and Boer oppression. Brown, *op.cit.*, Volume III, pp.378-83. The change to a more optimistic view, and the possibility of saving these races if prompt action be taken, can be seen in W.C.Holden, *op.cit.*, pp.468 & 503-4.
 2. One vital difference was the fact that Jamaica, unlike South Africa, had well-defined geographical limitations which placed an absolute limit on the number of societies/missionaries who could be accommodated on the island.
 3. J.Lennox, Our Missions in South Africa (Edin. 1911), p.82. Lennox served as a FC/UF missionary in South Africa, 1893-1937.

In both countries, a pattern emerged whereby the Church of Scotland showed a primary concern for Colonial mission work,¹ while the UP and Free (in South Africa only) Churches tackled the foreign mission task. In South Africa, as in Jamaica, conditions for the missionary personnel were extremely favourable. Longevity of service among the Jamaican staff has already been noted; of thirteen male missionaries appointed to the UP Mission in South Africa between 1870 and 1900, no fewer than eleven served for at least twenty years, and six went on to complete forty years' service. Missionaries who had failed medical examinations for other, more arduous, fields were frequently sent instead to Jamaica or Kaffraria, where they rendered long and valuable service. Both countries were looked on as 'civilized' by the later 19th Century, a factor which almost entirely prevented the debilitating effects of travel and of isolation, which were so prevalent in fields such as Calabar and Nyasaland. The attractions of such conditions for a Church contemplating foreign mission work, but possessing only limited resources, seem obvious; the extent to which they influenced the Scottish Churches

1. The need for this work is demonstrated in Macnish's Aphorisms, p.124, where he describes the Scots as being generally recognised as the best slave-drivers in the West Indies. In November 1895, the CS HFMR published the first of what was to be a series of pleas on behalf of the Colonial Mission in South Africa, lamenting the fact that Scots in that part of the world were being permitted to sink into practical heathenism. As the sugar plantations had attracted Scots to the Caribbean in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries, after the upheaval of the American Revolution, so the lure of gold and diamonds drew them to South Africa from the 1870's onwards.

may be gauged^{au} at the end of this chapter. On a less positive aspect of the choice of fields, consideration should be given to any possible connection between the UP reluctance to withdraw from Jamaica, and thus fall into line with the other missionary bodies who had operated in the island, and the Scottish insistence on dispatching new missions to an area of the African continent which was already widely criticised for containing such a multiplicity of Christian missionary agencies. Is it possible, for instance, that the Scots were exhibiting the national tendency to be 'thrown' in their refusal to heed the advice of those who wished them to find an entirely new sphere for the work which they continued in the West Indies and initiated in South Africa?

Whereas the decline in foreign missionary operations in Jamaica, whenever it came about, was decisive and irreversible, the missionary presence in South Africa arrested the decline of the 1840's and 1850's, and expanded the work far beyond its previous limits. Long before the Scramble for Africa in the latter part of the century, British missionary imperialists had cherished a vision of a chain of missions stretching from the Cape in the South to Cairo in the North, a vision first expressed by the LMS pioneer, J.T.Vanderkemp.¹ Practical expression was given to the dream by succeeding pioneers such as David

1. Shepherd, op.cit., p.5

Livingstone,¹ and by the end of the century the theory had come to be discussed in very concrete terms:²

With the Great Sahara and the more hopeless desert of Mohammedanism, barring access from the north, a climate deadly to Europeans levying heavy toll on the ~~px~~ approaches from east and west, South Africa, taking the term in its largest sense as embracing the region between the Cape and the Zambesi, is now recognised as the true base of the missionary advance which will one day join our Kaffrarian Churches with their brethren round the Central Lakes, and in that Old Calabar whose name is cut deep into the heart of our Church.

This vision was maintained in the early part of the new century with a rising sense of urgency, brought about by the increasing challenge of Islam, and the opening up of the continent by means of the telegraph and the railway.³ This progress was so swift that by 1911 the Cape-Cairo route was no longer a dream, but was virtually an accomplishment.⁴

One major obstruction to the implementation of this vision was the problem caused by missionary societies which crowded into the Cape region, remained static in fixed locations, and thus created a bottleneck. By 1910, Commission One of the World Missionary Conference regarded this problem as having reached crisis proportions, but it had been regarded in this light at a much earlier date. Livingstone had described the problem in some of his

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1. Vide., e.g., J.E. Carlyle, South Africa and its Mission Fields (Lond. 1878), p.3
 2. Slowan, op.cit., p.10
 3. G.B.A. Gerdener, Studies in the Evangelisation of South Africa (Lond. 1911), p.36
 4. S.W. Zwemer, The Unoccupied Mission Fields of Africa and Asia (Lond. 1911), pp.165-6

earliest published writings,¹ and in the 1870's C.H. Malan, the former British Army Major turned evangelist, also criticised this over-crowding, and summed up its detrimental effects:²

Thus there are now to be found in many tribes, Congregational, Wesleyan, Free and United Presbyterian, and Church of England missions, mingled together in hopeless confusion.

Such complaints are almost universal among South African missionary writers, though some attempted to qualify their criticism. In 1912, J. Du Plessis offered an explanation of the phenomenon which is equally illuminating to the student of the continued UP/UF presence in Jamaica:³

The presence of a materialistic European civilisation, with all its corrupting influences, in the midst of the South African field, makes necessary a larger missionary personnel and stricter missionary supervision than would be required in remoter fields, where the disintegrating effect of western civilisation is less apparent.

Despite the partial validity of this attempted justification of the concentration of resources, it is the consistent and loud criticisms of this policy which must be borne in mind when reviewing the pattern of development of the Scottish missionary presence in Southern Africa.

A further factor which must be taken into account when considering the causes of the Scottish Churches' overwhelming pre-occupation with South Africa is the possible influence of a hereditary Scottish interest in

1. D. Livingstone, Missionary Travels and Researches

2. C.H. Malan, South African Missions (Lond. 1876), p.276

3. J. Du Plessis, 'The Missionary Situation in South Africa' in IRM(1912), p.580

this part of the world. The colony, through the medium of the LMS, acted as a stronghold of Scottish Congregationalist missionaries from its inception, and many of these were men who took a leading role, not just within the ranks of the LMS itself, but in the entire religious, political, and geographical development of Southern Africa.¹ The principal non-British Christian body in South Africa was the Dutch Reformed Church, which had a history of a long and close relationship with Scotland. Just how close these ties were is traced in an Edinburgh doctoral thesis, one of the major themes of which is the continuing link throughout the 19th Century, brought about by the growth in South Africa of family dynasties such as the Murrays and the Thoms, descendants of some of the Scots who were ordained into the DRC during the 19th Century. These ties were further strengthened by the DRC theological students who, until the advance of Stellenbosch in the late 19th Century, normally received their training at Edinburgh's Free Church Divinity College.² While the relationship with the Dutch community in South Africa was largely based on religious affinities, there were other points of common interest:³

South Africa seems to have been a happy hunting-ground for solicitors in particular, perhaps because Roman-Dutch law has close affinities with the Scottish system.

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1. The roll of honour includes John Campbell, the first LMS Deputy to South Africa, John Philip, Robert Moffat, John Mackenzie, and Livingstone. For a somewhat over-enthusiastic account of Scotland's share of LMS glory, vide J.M. Calder, Scotland's March Past (Lond. 1945), passim
 2. F.W. Sass, The Influence of the Church of Scotland on the Dutch Reformed Church (Edin. PhD, 1956), passim., but especially pp.16, 72-5
 3. G. Donaldson, op.cit., p.191

This bond between Scot and Dutchman was regarded as a highly-desirable asset by some Britons resident in South Africa. As early as the 1870's, J.E. Carlyle spoke of a Church Union or Federation between the Dutch and Anglo-Saxon communions as an extremely practical proposition in the light of previous Scottish experience:¹

In Scotland, for instance, there are English-speaking and Gaelic ministers labouring side by side and forming one united Church. There might be a similar arrangement in South Africa.

By the turn of the century this concept had taken on a new dimension, with the advent of the Boer War, and in 1901 the Rev. J.T. Bird, a Forces Chaplain, was prepared to argue that the close links established by the Scottish Presbyterians and the DRC made the Scots the best force with which to bridge the racial hatreds in South Africa after the War had drawn to an end.²

This suggestion concludes the list of factors which might have given South Africa some special appeal for the Scots; the individual case histories of the Scottish Missions in Austral Africa will show how far any, or all, of these potential influences played a part in attracting the Scottish efforts to these particular spheres.

The Scottish Episcopal Church.

After they decided in the 1860's to establish a foreign

1. Carlyle, op.cit., pp.150-1.

2. CS L&W, December 1901.

mission operation of their very own, it is clear from contemporary sources that the attention of Scottish Episcopalians was first drawn to India.¹ This occurred through the medium of Mr Carruthers, son of the editor of the Inverness Courier, and Scottish Chaplain in the Central Provinces of India. Carruthers, on the evidence he had seen there, suggested the adoption of the city of Chanda as a suitable launching-pad.² Six months later, the weekly Episcopalian mouthpiece proudly announced that:³

A field for our tentative efforts has happily opened to us at Chandah; another may be hereafter sought in Southern Africa.

By this time, however, other plans were being made for the Scottish Church. The newly-appointed Bishop of Edinburgh, H.B. Cotterill, had formerly been Bishop of Grahamstown, a South African diocese, and his Farewell Charge to this diocese had included the following sentiment:⁴

I should be thankful if that Church in which I shall be a Bishop should be able to plant and maintain a Mission of its own among the Kaffir tribes.

The positive decision that the Scots should take up work in Africa rather than in India would thus appear to have been taken outwith Scotland, a suspicion confirmed by the following statement, made by a Scottish Episcopalian

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1. Before his death, Bishop Mackenzie reputedly wrote to the Scottish Primus on the subject of an independent Scottish Mission in West Africa. W. Stephen, A History of the Scottish Church (Edin. 1896), Volume II, p.659n2. I found no reference to this proposal while researching these developments in the 1870's.
 2. Scottish Guardian, 1 May 1871.
 3. ibid., 1 November 1871.
 4. Annual Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1871, pp.45-6.

historian. Of the Cape Colony Bishops of the 1870's, she wrote:¹

So as their dioceses were all too large to allow any of them to superintend the work among the Kaffirs, they thought it would be a good thing to form Kaffraria into a separate diocese, and hand it over to the care of the Church in Scotland.

After the declaration contained in Cotterill's Farewell Address, the tone of his letter to W.T.Bullock, Secretary of the SPG, in November 1871 seems to be unnecessarily coy. Cotterill wrote that he was sure that the Scots would gladly accept responsibility for the Kaffrarian field, with a Bishop sent out from Scotland, so long as the SPG did not consider this to be an interference with their work in this field.² Yet Cotterill must have been well aware that there was little likelihood of any such protest. He had known for some considerable time that the Rev. John Gordon, pioneer of the Kaffrarian Mission in 1859, despaired of ever seeing the fulfilment of his dream of the establishment of a missionary diocese in Kaffraria,³ and Cotterill himself had been critical of the SPG's dilatory behaviour in this matter:⁴

When you urge us to extend the work you must remember how much the work has been extended already without any additional aid from you.

In a meeting to discuss the proposed missions in that same month of November 1871, the new Bishop urged the

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1. E.Grierson, Our Scottish Heritage (Lond. 1917), p.175
 2. SPG Papers, held in Archives at Tufton Street, London. Volume D37, f.1251. Cotterill to Bullock, 29 November 1871.
 3. SPG Letterbook, Grahamstown I, J13. Gordon to Bullock, 1 February 1870.
 4. ibid., Cotterill to Bullock, 30 August 1870.

claims of the South African field on his new Scottish colleagues, with a reference to the 'Scotch' missions already operating there, and the fact that:¹

...one Kaffir, connected, I believe, with the missions of the United Presbyterian Church...
...received Presbyterian orders.

A few months later, the Metropolitan and Bishops of South Africa brought further pressure to bear, by pointing out that the whole of British India had already been constituted into Anglican Sees with legal jurisdiction, which would make it a very complicated and difficult process to erect a new Scottish Episcopalian See in that region of the Empire; South Africa, by comparison, would offer no such obstacle.² The final lever used to push the Church into the South African sphere was employed by the Rev. Dr Teape of Edinburgh St Andrews, in a speech to the 1872 Edinburgh Diocesan Synod Meeting:³

In the diocese of Edinburgh it is particularly favourable that we should take up the mission to South Africa. The expense there of missionary work is much less than in India. We are also under the special direction of the Bishop who is thoroughly acquainted with the matter, and can advise us in regard to it.

Thus was established the Episcopalian presence in Austral Africa, but it was only later, in the face of rising criticism, that the attempt was made to impart a

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1. Scottish Guardian, 1 December 1871. The reference was obviously to the Rev. Tiyo Soga, although the speaker did not condescend to name him.
 2. ibid., 1 February 1872.
 3. ibid., 15 June 1872.

truly Scottish flavour to the movement. Throughout the month of March 1873, the Scottish Guardian contained expressions of discontent over the fact that the first missionary Bishop of the Church, Henry Callaway, was not a Scot, and no Scot had received the offer of the post.¹ Advocates of the Mission were therefore forced to stress the example and legacy left by Livingstone and Bishop Mackenzie, up to and beyond the bounds of credibility; remembering the way in which Livingstone was accused of contributing^{to}, if not causing, the Bishop's death, by allegedly failing to keep an agreed rendez-vous, this seems an unlikely combination to evoke. Yet shortly after the announcement of Livingstone's death, the incumbent of the congregation which Mackenzie had attended while resident in Edinburgh described Mackenzie as the friend of Livingstone '...with whom his name and work in Central Africa will always be inseparably united.'² This incident was indicative of the frantically cuckoo-like desire of an influential lobby to pass the South African work on to the Episcopalians, regardless of the state of public opinion in Scotland.

In the light of these facts, the later mythology which sprang up around the origins of this Kaffrarian Mission merits a sceptical examination. In July 1905,

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1. This snub occurred despite the emphasis of Cotterill's letter to Bullock in November 1871.
 2. Scottish Guardian, 24 April 1874. The statement occurred in a published extract from a sermon on the lessons of duty to be learned from Livingstone's life.

the Episcopalian Foreign Mission Chronicle quoted the following statement made by Eugene Stock, CMS Secretary:

Scotland has ever had a special interest in Africa. The names of Moffat, Livingstone and Mackay will always connect the Scottish people with the Dark Continent, and the Scottish Episcopal Church itself, by taking Kaffraria as one of its fields of labour, has forged an additional link in the chain of interest.

Ironically, it was announced less than two years later that the Rev. Mr Presslie of Aberdeen, the sole Scottish clerical representative serving in the Kaffrarian Mission, had retired. Grave doubts must, therefore, be cast upon the validity of the claim made on behalf of the Episcopal Mission at the time of the Livingstone Centenary:¹

Our own work in the Diocese of St John's, Kaffraria, owes much of its inspiration to the missionary spirit created by this wonderful man.

This panegyric should not be allowed to blind us to the fact that Livingstone's influence on the founding of the Kaffrarian work was minimal, if, indeed, it existed at all.

The Free Presbyterian Church.

The Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland originally consisted of a solitary duo of recalcitrant ministers, who broke away from the Free Church in 1893 over the question of relations with the UP Church. By 1933, when the first official history of the denomination was published by the Synod Committee, the Church had slowly grown to a point where it numbered eighteen ordained ministers, three

1. Foreign Mission Chronicle, April 1913.

ordained foreign missionaries, and two probationers. Of the missionaries, one undertook work among the Jews, while the other two served in Southern Rhodesia. No information was volunteered in the **history** as to how Southern Africa came to be selected; the only clue given to the reader is the fact that about the year 1900, two South African natives arrived as students in Scotland, and were educated by the FP Church for service in their native land. One of these two men defected to the Plymouth Brethren within a year, but the other, the Rev. John B. Radasi, worked in Rhodesia as a FP missionary from 1904 until his death in a railway accident in 1924.¹ On this very flimsy evidence, it would appear that this limited venture owed its existence to a modest attempt to put into practice the concept of evangelisation of Africa by the Africans, a concept which had gained in popularity in the last decade of the 19th Century.

The updated history of the FP Church, compiled by another Synod Committee in 1974, corrects this assumption by giving a more romantic, if intrinsically illogical, explanation for the decision to commence foreign mission work in South Africa. In this version, no mention is made of the original candidate who joined the Brethren, and it is clearly stated that Radasi had not come to Scotland with any pre-conceived intention of seeking out

1. History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1893-1933 (Edin. 1933), pp.133, 209, 211, 213.

the Free Presbyterians as his spiritual mentors. He was seen standing, lonely and sad, in Edinburgh's Lothian Road by a young Caithness man who had recently returned from Africa. This gift plucked from the concrete seems to have immediately provided the FP's with an answer to their worried deliberations:¹

Previous to this the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church had been debating the question of initiating Foreign Mission work and were waiting for a favourable opening in providence.

Once this opening materialised, the FP's maintained a tenacious hold on the work, and their views of the task -expressed as recently as 1965- are worthy of reproduction. As upholders of the strictest Calvinist tradition, the FP's can be expected to be old-fashioned in many of their attitudes. It still comes as something of a shock, nevertheless, to find them describing South Africa in terms which could well have been used of Jamaica by George Robson in the 1890's. In 1965, the Church re-affirmed its belief that South Africa contained two categories of souls to whom it had a mission. These were, naturally enough, the unconverted and, even more offensive to Free Presbyterian sensitivities, those individuals who were:²

...held in the darkness of heathendom or ensnared by the false light of perverted Christianity in the shape of modernism, cultism, or popery.

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1. History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1893-1970 (Inverness 1974), pp.205-6.
 2. ibid., p.320.

The Post-1900 Free Church.

Just as the Episcopalians concocted a legend around their entry into South Africa, so too did the 'Wee Frees' in the 1930's:¹

Kaffraria...has ever had a warm place in the hearts of Free Church people. The Church had long acquaintance with the needs of this field, and she was not prepared to relinquish under duress, or persuasion from without, what since 1900 must be reckoned as her oldest mission. As the home Church was deeply attached to Kaffraria, so it transpired the native converts in considerable number, were likewise attached to the Church at home.

This claim was perfectly in accord with the Free Church attitude in 1910, shown in its reply to a UF proposal that the Free Church should quit the South African field in the best interests of the mission enterprise:²

...the answer was given with emphasis that the Free Church could not, under any consideration, entertain the thought of forsaking her loyal adherents in South Africa.

Neither of these statements, however, accurately reflect Free Church views and intentions during the first decade of the 20th Century.

Within a few days of the schism in the 19th Century Free Church, brought about by the accomplishment of the Union with the UP Church, W.Rounsfell Brown, General

1. Free Church Publications Committee, Our Evangelical Heritage (Edin. 1938), p.56. A more accurate assessment of the longevity of Free Church interest in Africa can be found in R.Young, Trophies from African Heathenism (Lond. 1892), pp.4-5. Young, long-serving Secretary of the FC FMC, wrote:

Forty years ago -not to go further back- the interest in African missions, so far at least as the Free Church of Scotland was concerned, stood nearly at zero.

2. FC MR, June 1910.

Treasurer of the minority Church and a member of the Livingstonia Mission Board, announced that it might be a long time before the Church had its own foreign mission; in the meantime the Livingstonia Mission 'would certainly receive their best support (applause)'.¹ Despite this promise, all reference to Livingstonia was erased from the Free Church accounts by 1903, and Africa appeared to have been totally forgotten. The mission interest of the denomination was now concentrated on the work of the United Original Secession Church at Seoni, in India, and on the Reformed Presbyterian Jewish Mission at Antioch. By 1905, the Free Church was contemplating the establishment of an independent mission to India, to operate in conjunction with the Seoni Mission, and the Monthly Record (April 1905) reported that applications had already been received from candidates willing to go out as missionaries. The subsequent development of events in Africa, and the withdrawal of the pioneer missionary to India, after an argument about mission methods with the senior UOS missionary, tilted this balance once again. The true nature of the renewed interest in Africa is put into perspective by a leading article which appeared in the July 1908 issue of the Record, wherein the author felt constrained to plead for the continued support of the Seoni work on the grounds that not only did the Free Church have a traditional interest in Indian Missions, but the UOS Church had been generous enough to offer the

1. FC MR, December 1900. Report of public meeting held in Glasgow on 2 November 1900.

Free Church a missionary outlet after the upheavals of 1900.

The bitterness which accompanied the controversy in South Africa is great enough to cloud the truth surrounding the events, but the contemporary evidence suggests that, contrary to the impression given by the two quotes with which this section opened, the Free Church did not set out to make an issue of the situation from the very start, but was drawn into the affair against its stated intentions. At the same time, reason was largely abandoned once it did become involved, and resentment and prejudice played a major role in determining the sequence of events. The build-up to the ensuing full-scale warfare started innocuously and amicably enough when Principal McCulloch of the Free Church sailed to South Africa at the end of July 1905, with the purpose of surveying the mission situation:¹

...and, in particular, to see whether there be not room for the Free Church to carry on work for the Master without interfering with agencies already in the field.

McCulloch's findings, communicated to the General Assembly of 1906, were that the Church would easily find such a sphere in Rhodesia, if they could raise the funds to operate it. In this context, the Rhodesian Government was willing to help with an allocation of land.

McCulloch also stressed the importance of one other

1. FC MR, August 1905.

consideration to which his Church paid scant heed in the conflict to come:¹

The native was more susceptible to missionary influence if he had never been contaminated with the white man.

By the opening of the next Assembly(1907), at which time McCulloch was in the throes of preparation for a second visit to South Africa, tempers had become heated on both sides, especially after the publication of a letter from John Lennox, in the Scotsman of May 3rd. Lennox stirred up a hornet's nest with the statement that McCulloch's first visit had served only to agitate a large number of Mzimbaites² who had been disowned by all Free Churchmen before the split in 1900. McCulloch retorted with the repeated claim that the Free Church desire was for a sphere of their own in Rhodesia, but his statement also held a threat of what was to come:³

Letters and petitions were, however, received from native Christians in that part of South Africa, and in response to these the Assembly saw fit that he should be appointed and go to make inquiry as to the actual state of matters at Lovedale.

After only a short stay in Africa, McCulloch reported back to the General Assembly Commission in Edinburgh by letter and telegram and, after a marked division of opinion among the members of the Commission, it was resolved by a small majority to resurrect the work in the former South African field.

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1. FC MR, June 1906.
 2. Followers of an African native minister who had broken away from the Free Church.
 3. FC MR, June 1907.

It is obviously impossible at this remove in time to pick out all the conflicting motives which lay behind the controversy, but one or two points stand out crystal-clear. Several UF missionaries commented on the unrest in the native congregations, in their reports to the FMC in 1907. They all blamed this unrest on the Mzimbaites, which emphasises that Lennox was speaking not just for himself in his letter to the Scotsman. One of Lennox's colleagues, the South African-born Rev. Brownlee J. Ross, partially exonerated McCulloch's early reactions to the approaches to the Free Church when he wrote that the controversy was being manufactured by men who were outside both the UF and Free Churches.¹ A possible motive for this campaign was proffered by the Rev. James Henderson, recently-appointed Principal of Lovedale. In a letter to the Scotsman, published on 23 May 1907, Henderson explained that recognition by the Free Church would permit Mzimba to be recognised by the Government, while the numerically-weak Free Church would be unable to exercise the close supervision over these supposed disciples which had led to their initial breakaway. He also, quite justifiably, pointed out that McCulloch, with no previous experience of the very complex Native Question, was hardly fitted to evaluate the evidence resulting from his investigation.

The Free Church failure to ponder these facts before

1. UF FMC Report, 1907, ~~xxx~~ p.69.

precipitately bounding into action is partially explained by a disturbingly narrow-minded editorial which appeared in the Free Church Monthly Record (November 1905), before the debate was properly under way. This editorial argued that the Free Church was rooted in the same tradition as Dr Love, the inspiration behind Lovedale in the first half of the 19th Century, a tradition, it continued, which lay at the opposite end of the theological spectrum to that occupied by the UF Church. On the grounds of this alone, the Free Church must take positive action, despite the fact that:

The home responsibilities of the Free Church are enormous, and will tax her resources to the utmost. She may not be in a position to discharge the trust which has been placed in her hands, but she ought to be prepared to plead that buildings and resources designed to promote evangelical religion shall not be deviated to educational purposes of a purely secular character.

It was this jaundiced outlook, and not an evangelical response to the needs of the field, which was instrumental in drawing the Free Church back to Southern Africa.

The response, when it did come, was hardly of the magnitude required to combat the supposed evils outlined in the 1905 editorial. A later editorial of December 1907 noted that:

South Africa is in the hands of the Free Church as in better days, and the Church should rise to a sense of her responsibilities in connection therewith.

Sadly, the Free Church apparently contained little or no leaven. An appeal for a missionary to go to South Africa

was inserted in the next issue of the Record, then nothing more was heard until June, when the appointment of Alexander Dewar was announced. Dewar was described as an experienced missionary who was in complete agreement with the Free Church theological standpoint. Unfortunately, the rigidity of approach which this implied permeated his entire being, and he had gained a reputation for an inability to work well as a member of a team during his twelve years of service at Livingstonia (1893-1905).¹ In view of this known trait, Dewar was hardly the man to help restore amicable relations with the UF missionaries who already occupied the country.² In fact, poor relations between the two Churches seem to have continued right up to the end of the period under review. In 1920, the Foreign Mission convener of the Free Church, in a repetition of the cry which had recurred with monotonous regularity over the previous decade, claimed that certain (unspecified) neighbours of the Free Church in the mission field continued to influence the South African authorities to place obstacles in the way of the development of Free Church missionary sites and buildings.³ Perhaps as a reaction to this, and as a form of retaliation, the Rev. Frank Ashcroft, Secretary of the UF FMC, summarised the Scottish missionary presence in the following words, in the first-ever Year-Book of South African Missions,

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1. Livingstonia Letterbook, NLS Ms.7865, J.F. Daly to Robert Laws, 29 August 1906.
 2. Tension was possibly heightened by the fact that James Henderson of Lovedale had been a colleague of Dewar's at Livingstonia from 1895 to 1905.
 3. Scotsman, 21 May 1920.

published in 1928:¹

In 1900, through the Union of the two Churches in Scotland, the whole work carried on by their missionaries in South Africa came under the United Free Church of Scotland.

Whether for diplomatic or any other reason, even the existence of a Free Church Mission was not so much as hinted at.

The United Free Church (Continuing).

Whereas the minority group of 1900 had parted on very bad terms, that of 1929 left much more amicably, and this sense of comradeship extended to the installation of the Continuing body in the South African mission field. This dissenting group, the shrinking remnant of the hard core of UP 'Voluntaries' who opposed any connection with a State Church, had been determined to maintain their missionary traditions from the very start, a point made by their first Moderator in 1929:²

Left without a Mission Field, we must from the first be a Missionary Church, and prove ourselves not unworthy of our best traditions.

By July 1930, the denomination was able to announce that a field had been acquired, courtesy of the LMS:³

The starting point of David Livingstone's long and hazardous and intent journeyings, Molepolole will be the first outlet for a zealous and consecrated enthusiasm to whose bounds no one dare to put a limit.

The Church's original desire had been to undertake an

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1. J.D.Taylor, Christianity and the Natives of South Africa (1928), p.236.
 2. Stedfast. The Organ of the Minority in the United Free Church, October 1929.
 3. ibid., July 1930.

extension of part of the Calabar field, a plan which was considerably abandoned because of its fear that this would lead to further division in the Mission Council, which was already split over the question of Union with the Established Church.¹ This generosity can be sharply contrasted with the intransigence of the Free Church minority of the preceding generation.

One good reason for the friendly relations between the Kirk and the UF (Continuing) was the careful choice of personnel. The first missionary of the Continuing Church was Dr P.M. Shepherd, who served in the Calabar Mission from 1925 to 1930. Shepherd was the twin brother of the Rev. R.H.W. Shepherd of the Lovedale Mission, who had entered the Union of 1929, and there is no reason to believe that brother fought brother in this case, as had happened in the English Civil War and the Jacobite Rebellions in 18th Century Scotland. As a result, Peter Shepherd was able to devote himself whole-heartedly to his new work, described by his brethren at home as 'the immediate successor of David Livingstone in that part of Africa',² a hard enough task to live up to without indulging in theological fisticuffs.

Conclusions.

With the completion of these detailed histories of the

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1. Stedfast, July 1930.
 2. ibid., February 1931.

Scottish Missions in South Africa, the probable reasons for the concentration of Scottish interest, outlined in the early part of this survey, are seen to require drastic revision. The more obvious benefits -climatic conditions, the existence of ancillary services, etc.,- appear to have had no more effect in motivating the choice of field than they did in the choice of fields by the larger Presbyterian denominations.¹ The obvious objections -principally the duplication of agency- received equally little consideration from the offending bodies. More important than these details, however, is the function of the South African experience in demonstrating the way in which fact has very often found itself subordinated to myth by proponents of mission, eager to reap the maximum propaganda benefits.

Not one of the four churches which established foreign missions after 1870 had originally chosen South Africa as the field in which they wished to work; two had opted for India, one for West Africa, and one took no/positive decision. Once the transfer of affections had taken place, the publicists fostered the authorised version to such an extent that the body of the membership soon began to believe that they themselves had taken the decision to conceive and nurture the project. For the Episcopalians this was a necessary palliative to 'correct' any feeling that they had been pressured into the situation

1. vide supra., pp.67-73.

by their Anglican friends, as indeed they had been. For the Free Church, on the other hand, the propagation of the claim that South Africa had always been a primary concern of the Free Church was a necessary step to defend their role in the bitter conflict of the early years of the century, a conflict which brought no honour or satisfaction to either of the protagonists.

It is in the misuse of Livingstone's name that this mythologising is most clearly shown, with its retrospective manipulation by the two larger bodies, the Episcopalians and the Free Church. It has already been shown how the Episcopalians used Livingstone's name only as an incidental to that of Bishop Mackenzie, yet by 1913 they could not praise him too highly as an inspirer of missionary effort. In that same year, the Free Church eulogised him in words calculated to further their own best interests:¹

David Livingstone was a superb type of the Scottish Christian. He belonged to no sect, but his spiritual outlook was that of the revolutionist Calvinist, who believes with all his heart that God foreordains whatsoever comes to pass.

The intention of the Free Church here, as it had been in 1905 with regard to Dr Love, was to press its own claim to be the upholder of the true Scottish traditions, and an editorial in this same issue of the Record outlined Livingstone's career without making any reference to his

1. FC MR, April 1913.

part in inspiring Scottish Missions to Nyasaland or to South Africa. At the time the article and editorial were written, this belief in foreordination, attributed to Livingstone, was actually the strongest justification which the Free Church could offer for their continued presence in South Africa.

The contrast of the whole-hearted and sincere way in which the UF Church (Continuing) embraced Livingstone's name in 1929 demonstrates the renewal of interest which had taken place since 1913, when Donald Fraser of Livingstonia had failed in his bid to initiate moves for a Livingstone Memorial. The opening of such a Memorial in 1929, largely through the efforts of James Macnair, Scottish Secretary of the LMS, is a unique circumstance against which the invitation to the UF Church to undertake the Molepolole work must be seen. In a similar manner, though for different reasons, the establishment of Episcopal, Free Presbyterian and 'Wee' Free Missions in South Africa ought to be regarded as a unique co-incidence rather than part of an overall strategy or interest, as the unwary might be tempted to believe.

All in all, the minor Scottish denominations seem to have been willing to follow current trends in their acceptance of spheres of work, trends which were perhaps encouraged by men like Livingstone, but not dependent upon the examples which they set. The three principal

branches of Scottish Presbyterianism also took some heed of current areas of interest, but with one important qualification. Increasingly, with the development of work in Calabar, Rajputana, China and Nyasaland, they demonstrated a stubborn determination to operate at the frontiers of the missionary sweep, where, to their credit, they never shirked the hardships which they inevitably discovered. With the adoption of new fields after 1870, the Churches began to lose most of their distinctive denominational biases of geographical location, and the missions gradually began to complement rather than compete with one another. It was the growing intimacy of dialogue arising from this shared experience in a number of spheres which was to do so much to break down the barriers between the Churches in the first three decades of the new century. Other things apart, this in itself may be considered a sufficient retrospective justification for the diversification of effort entered into by the Established, Free and UP Churches during this period.

CHAPTER THREE.THE MISSIONARIES.

This chapter consists of a study of various aspects of missionary staffing in the Scottish Churches, separated into five distinct categories. The first section looks at some of the changing determinants of missionary motive. This is followed by an analysis of the origins and status of the personnel. The third section is a tentative statistical examination of any possible co-relation between the geographical influences involved both in recruiting staff and in allocating them to a field of labour. The fourth and fifth sections look at some of the more crucial factors governing the availability of staff, and at some of the influences which regulated the length of time for which individuals served.

1. The Impulse to Serve.

Without a constant influx of men and women compelled by a strong and clearly articulated sense of purpose, the modern missionary movement could never have overcome the arguments of its opponents and thereby prosper as it did. The numerous variants of the missionary motive of the early 19th Century were very fully expounded by Max Warren in the 1960's, and more recently in a London PhD thesis.¹ The essential elements of this 'call', Christian

1. Vide Warren, The Missionary Movement, op.cit., pp.36-55, and Piggin, op.cit., pp.145-92. Work has also begun on the study of motive in the later part of the century. Vide G.A.Oddie, 'India and Missionary Motives c.1850-1900' in the Journal of Ecclesiastical History/
Continued overleaf.

love and duty combined in obedience to God's command,¹ have remained fairly constant ever since. The circumstances which have changed since 1800 are those which have inspired or directed men to undertake foreign mission service. Whereas the missionary impulse should, in theory, affect all Christians, the response has, in practice, often appeared to depend on factors which bear little close relation to the question of spiritual motive. This is not to say that missionaries entered this career under the influence of mistaken motive, or without any recognisable Christian motive. It is, rather, a suggestion that, by the 1870's, the catalyst which turned belief into resolve frequently resulted from practical considerations rather than spiritual convictions. Such a distinction was recognised by John Ross of Manchuria, who had thirty years of experience to call upon. Ross believed that missionary motive could be either 1) subjective/selfish, e.g. concerned with gaining an assured position or with the search for personal salvation, or 2) objective, i.e. based on an overwhelming concern to bestow benefit.² Throughout the period covered by this thesis, the latter

1.(cont.) /History, XXV, January 1974, pp.61-74. Both Pigin and Oddie deal mainly with the LMS, perhaps because of the ready availability of candidates' application papers, something not accessible for many other Societies. There is no specific Scottish study.

1. vide WMC 1910, Volume VI, p.136 for a discussion of the early 20th Century response.
 2. Ross, op.cit., p.197. The continuing presence of the first of these can be discerned in the claim of W.A. Elmslie (Livingstonia 1884-1924) that mission work is not a sacrifice, but constitutes a spiritual gain to one's soul. W.A. Elmslie, Among the Wild Ngoni (Edin. 1899), p.164.

of these alternatives gained an increasing importance as an incentive to take up the missionary task.

This changing pattern emerged because of a mounting awareness of the role of social service as an integral part of missionary work.¹ By the second decade of the 20th Century, Samuel Zwemer argued that missions were more and more widely publicised by stressing the social benefits which they transmitted, in preference to extolling the theological premises from which they had originated:²

Today the scope and meaning of the word is larger and includes the social regeneration of the world and the uplift of the non-Christian nations.

Most missionary officials of the time would undoubtedly agree with this statement, but the majority might also agree with a qualification expressed by Miss Ruth Rouse, a leading missionary administrator and a frequent contributor to the IRM:³

Indeed throughout the records the social service appeal seems to meet with singularly little response, as a thing in itself, unless backed by a stronger dynamic.

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1. This incorporated the expanding medical, educational and agricultural branches of the work. In The Foreign Missionary (New York 1907), pp.13-25, A.J. Brown listed three primary missionary motives, based on traditional scriptural factors, and five secondary ones. These were headed philanthropic, intellectual, commercial, civilising, and historical, and Brown was at pains to insist that these were effects rather than causes.
 2. ~~Zwemer~~ Zwemer, op.cit., p.95. Zwemer does not indicate when this shift in emphasis took place.
 3. R. Rouse, 'A Study of Missionary Vocation' in IRM (1917), p.253. This was one of a series of articles on this topic, published in the early volumes of the IRM. Miss Rouse used a sample of 300 missionaries to obtain her conclusions.

The evidence on which Miss Rouse based these conclusions is statistically very unsatisfactory. The sources used consisted chiefly of published missionary biography, which normally represents only a selection of the elite of the movement.¹ A survey based upon a wider cross-section of the missionary staff, including the unknown and the unsatisfactory, would have revealed a significantly different pattern.² Unfortunately, a survey of this nature does pose certain problems. With the introduction of more complex motives, resultant on the use of a more varied sample, the salient features become harder to pick out, and evaluation becomes decidedly more difficult. Some of the cases cited here will, hopefully, clarify some of the subtleties and fainter nuances of missionary motivation. On the whole, however, these examples will be used to illustrate some of the common beliefs which those who stayed at home entertained with regard to missionary volunteers.

As early as 1871, Alexander Duff had begun to show great concern over the kind of recruits who might take up the work. At a time when rising prices abroad forced

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1. A discussion of this selection process can be found in Chapter 7 of this thesis.
 2. In contemporary times, writers like Geoffrey Moorhouse have accepted Miss Rouse's findings, apparently without question. Moorhouse, op.cit., p.191. He seems, in fact, to have employed similar criteria in compiling his book. Vide his comment on p.170:

It is possible that no breed of men and women can be so safely assessed as the nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries. No other breed, certainly, left more voluminous accounts of themselves to posterity.

the Free Church FMC to consider raising missionary salaries, Duff became alarmed that any such move would tend to remove the element of self-sacrifice from the work, and thus run the risk of attracting the 'merely professional' missionary.¹ Duff was not alone in this anxiety, for a parallel fear existed in England. It can be detected in an article entitled 'The Supply of Missionaries', which was printed in the Spectator magazine on 5 December 1874. Noting the declining English Missionary Society presence in India over the previous decade, the author described the contemporary missionary as:

...seldom quite the equal of the Missionary of a preceding generation; that he is either more of a professional man and less of an apostle; or if he displays equal zeal, has less of the intellectual gifts which make that zeal effective.

By 1915, the 'professional' missionary was a well-established figure. In that year the Scotsman, Alexander Kerr, went out to South Africa to be the first Principal of Fort Hare, a black African College erected largely through the efforts of James Henderson of Lovedale. Kerr much later described his feelings on accepting the post:²

To me it seemed only that I was embarking on a professional teaching job in rather novel and interesting surroundings with, however, the important addition of an underlying philanthropic or missionary motive.

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1. Smith, Duff, Volume II, p.431. A detailed and extremely virulent version of this argument can be found in Canon Isaac Taylor's 'The Great Missionary Failure' in the Fortnightly Review (October 1888). Directed mainly at the CMS, his criticisms are representative of those sometimes voiced in Scotland.
 2. A. Kerr, Fort Hare, 1915-48 (Lond. 1968), pp.14-5.

It was the advancing sophistication of the later 19th Century which had necessitated this change in the pattern of missionary recruitment, as the preaching role became more and more subordinate to that of teaching, healing, or training in a variety of skills. This policy seemingly led to the employment of men with a lesser degree of commitment, as typified by Kerr's statement. From time to time, this relaxed policy brought troubles in its wake. The effects of this can be adequately demonstrated by reference to three missionaries who were appointed to the UP Calabar Mission between 1895 and 1900. The three men were William Marshall, a carpenter, Peter Shiels, a teacher, and Duncan Urquhart, an artisan/evangelist.

The first of these men, William Marshall, resigned after four years' service, because the FM Board could not accept his proviso that he should be sent out merely as an artisan, and not as a missionary artisan.¹ Marshall was no stranger to mission work, having been a slum worker in Glasgow, and Superintendent of Bridgegate Mission Sabbath School prior to his appointment to Calabar.² It would seem, however, that he regarded this as part-time work, and would have preferred a similar kind of arrangement in Africa, hence his discontent and resignation. The second missionary, Peter Shiels, served from 1896 to

1. UP FMC Minutes, 28 March 1899 & 18 April 1899.

2. UP MR, December 1894.

1903. Shiels was one of a number of missionaries, in Calabar and other fields, who apparently hoped to use mission experience as a stepping-stone to advancement; unfortunately for Shiels, his application for a Government educational post in Nigeria was turned down since the Government made it a matter of policy not to poach mission workers.¹ This case typifies the occasional desire among the lower grades of missionaries, more often imagined than real, one suspects, to circumnavigate the normal channels of professional preferment. In the minute already cited, the Committee noted that Shiels had been unwilling to return to Calabar if given only the same position as previously. The Committee refused to yield to this threat, and terminated his employment. It is impossible to determine if Shiels wished increased status within his own branch of the mission work, or if he was hoping to receive ordination as a minister, but, whatever his intention, the gamble failed to pay off. The third missionary, Duncan Urquhart, was more successful in this respect, and resigned in 1902 (after one three year term of service) in the expectation of receiving a Government appointment. Like Marshall, he seems to have had a real but partial desire to undertake mission work, and he stated in his letter of resignation that he hoped to be able to devote much of his spare time to mission work.²

1. UF FMC Minute, 23 June 1903.

2. ibid., 28 October 1902.

In the case of Alexander Riddell, agriculturist at Livingstonia from 1875 to 1880, his period of service was followed by theological qualification, and by 1900 he was settled as a minister in Australia.¹ Riddell was not permitted to pursue this end without some imputation of his original motive in going to Livingstonia. In the embittered correspondence which surrounded the Blantyre Scandal of the early 1880's, Riddell was censured by the arch-accuser, Andrew Chirnside, who believed that Riddell's evidence had been presented in a manner designed to 'ingratiate' him with the Church authorities, so that he might gain a foothold in his quest to enter the ministry.² The prevalent atmosphere of exaggeration and half-truth which surrounded the debate leaves Chirnside's words open to question, but their uncensored publication by the public-spirited Scotsman implies that the accusation was believed to be well within the bounds of possibility.

In 1906, this type of slur on the integrity of some missionaries was made in a more general context by the Rev. J.S.Mackenzie of Little Dunkeld Parish Church, whose daughter Rachel had been a member of the Established Mission at Sialkot in the Panjab in the years 1897-1903. Probably as a result of his vested interest in the subject, Mackenzie became involved in a protracted wrangle over the nature of the administration of the FMC,

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1. W.Ewing, Annals of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843-1900 (Edin. 1914), Volume I, p.71.
 2. Scotsman Correspondence, 4,7, & 9 June 1880.

a debate conducted in the Scotsman Correspondence column. On 9 October 1906, the paper published a letter from him on the touchy subject of 'Foreign Mission Deficit', in the course of which Mackenzie made a sweeping accusation, concealed as a wish to see the FMC given clear instructions that:

...no gratuitous offers of service in the mission field should be considered, and that none save fully educated missionaries should be sent. The volunteers lead to great expense for furloughs and otherwise, and they slip into the staff and to salaries ~~that~~ they could not get otherwise.

From a total missionary force of some 1600 people sent out by the Presbyterian Churches between 1873 and 1929, the incidence of such cases was very low, probably somewhere in the order of one per cent. Foreign mission posts were never a sinecure, and incompetents were almost always weeded out at a preliminary stage, or by the first furlough at the latest.¹ Whatever the exact 'failure'

1. When John Venn and others founded the CMS in the late 18th Century, they were wary of accepting offers of service from men who were not fully qualified for ordination in Britain:

They feared that these might use a short period of service overseas as a stepping-stone to clerical preferment and social advancement in this country. -M.Hennell, John Venn and the Clapham Sect (Lond. 1958), p.243. Such an early recognition of the dangers suggests that all of the Mission Boards/Committees would be on their guard, and the Scottish Churches' formula of giving ordination 'for the foreign field only' to certain categories of missionary confirms this careful vetting of candidates, which was continued even at times of desperate staff shortages. The protracted legal case involving the Established FMC and Professor Hastie of the Calcutta Mission (vide Appendix B) caused one contributor to the South Glasgow Gazette (26 May 1888) to question the care taken by the FMC's in this matter, but the author did nothing to substantiate this vague accusation which, in the light of all the other evidence I have perused, seems unjustified.

rate among the non-clerical missionaries, the doomwatch prophecies of Mackenzie and others like him are a less than pardonable exaggeration, and do scant justice to those honorary workers who gave many years of unpaid and extremely loyal service.

With regard to those men already destined for ordination, there were two 'popular' beliefs, still currently held, brought forward as an explanation for their desire to serve abroad. The first of these was theological unorthodoxy, a very full exposition of which can be read in A.J.Cronin's sympathetic and perceptive novel of a Scottish Roman Catholic priest stationed in a Chinese Mission.¹ A similar theme was manipulated in S.R.Crockett's The Stickit Minister and Some Common Men, published during the Kailyard heyday in the early 1890's. In this novel Crockett described how one of the most brilliant students of his year was glad to go 'to be a missionar' to the haythen', after being unsuccessfully accused of heresy by some of the older and more conservative of the Presbytery brethren. As a former minister, Crockett was well aware of the annual examination of divinity students by their home Presbytery; consequently, his dramatised statement may confidently be given some credence. The FMC's exercised fairly strict discipline over their agents, and events in the mission field were

1. The Keys of the Kingdom (Lond. 1942).

closely monitored by the Scottish secular press, so that service abroad never offered the kind of escape envisaged in The Stickit Minister.¹ As with J.S.Mackenzie's ill-founded accusations, this particular bogey-man was never a major or influential presence in the mission fields.

The second concept, that men escaped to the mission field because of a feeling of social or intellectual inferiority, may have been true of a small number of missionaries in the early days, but it had ceased to be an influential factor around the middle of the 19th Century. The Rev. William Anderson, one of the original party who transferred from Jamaica to found the Old Calabar Mission in the 1840's, continued to work there until the 1890's. In 1877, he wrote to his friend John Chisholm, and confessed that he had always felt 'tongue-tackit' when preaching in Scotland, because he felt that a great number of his congregation were his superiors in learning and in Christian experience; in Calabar, on the other hand, he looked on all as his 'ain bairns'.² To determine whether this was a common trend or merely an isolated instance would require a great deal of prolonged study which I have not had time to pursue. Despite this, certain generalisations can be tentatively put forward. Anderson was the product of an age which

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1. The more unorthodox Scots, like Livingstone and James Chalmers, almost all worked outwith the Presbyterian Church sphere, with one of the interdenominational Societies such as the LMS.
 2. W.Marwick, William and Louisa Anderson (Edin. 1897), p.555.

generally believed that missionaries were more or less inadequate beings, who had taken up the work for the very reasons which Anderson ascribes to himself. Brought up in the era prior to the 1832 Reform Act which began, however slowly, to break down the barriers between rulers and ruled, it is little wonder that a largely self-educated 'lad o' pairts' like Anderson should quail at the thought of preaching to the elite of Scottish society. For the missionaries of the 1870's, the situation was measurably changed. Church leaders now went to considerable lengths to refute the idea, still widely held by many of the intelligent laity, that missionaries were men who went abroad because they could not succeed at home.¹ Once initiated, this campaign was maintained with commendable vigour, as is shown in the ordination address delivered to James Thomson, an Aberdonian who was appointed to the Church of Scotland Mission in Calcutta in 1878:²

You are not going abroad because of failure at home...you might confidently expect professional eminence at home.

This article of faith transcended all denominational barriers, and when Andrew Porteous applied for a Calabar

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1. Scotsman, 26 May 1876. Transcript of Dr Macgregor's speech in support of the CS FMC Report. In the UF Record (December 1928), Robert Laws recalled this prejudice as current in the 1870's, and described one of the earliest practical demonstrations of its lack of validity. W.P. Johnstone of the UMCA, with whom Laws co-operated harmoniously for half a century, obtained a high place in the very competitive India Civil Service exam, but rejected the post offered to him in order to become a missionary in Africa.
 2. CS HFMR, November 1878.

post after a seven year ministry in Cullen, Banffshire, the FMB Minute denoting his appointment stated with satisfaction that his testimonials all pointed to the fact that he could have had a very good career ahead of him as a home minister.¹ The cumulative effect of this transformed view of missionary candidates is summarised in a reference to the Rev. J.W. Macfie, who had served in Rajputana from 1894 to 1901, when he accepted a Glasgow charge for family reasons. On the eve of his departure for India, after his re-appointment to the field in 1909, the Record had this to say of Macfie:²

The old idea that men not likely to succeed at home may do for the mission field has long since been exploded, but it is well to have one more practical illustration of the power of our missionaries abroad to achieve conspicuous success in the home field.

In the greatly-changed atmosphere which these statements reflect, the diffident and self-conscious William Anderson would probably never have summoned up the courage even to apply for a position with one or other of the FMC's.

Having queried Ruth Rouse's findings, and largely discounted the more subjective factors put forward by John Ross, it is time to look for other elements which persuaded men and women to offer for mission work. These fall into two main categories. Contrary to Miss Rouse's experience, the idea of social service played a

1. UP FMB Minute, 23 April 1889.
2. UF MR, December 1909.

significant part in enticing candidates to the Scottish missions. This theme has been discussed in detail in the first chapter, and a single example will suffice as a reminder. Martha Chalmers worked as a nurse in the Calabar Mission for thirty-four years, a career which she undertook after filling a similar post in the Cowcaddens district of Glasgow, one of the most degraded slums in the city. After her death in 1951, an obituary notice entitled 'Cowcaddens and Calabar' appeared in the December issue of Life and Work. The first three words of this obituary -They belonged together- said all that is required to demonstrate that the Scottish missionaries were concerned with social improvement, and not just with conversion or preaching.

The second classification is that of personal contact. The analysis contained in section two will show the importance of family links in obtaining staff; the examples gathered here illustrate the fact that personal friendship, or the effect of hearing and speaking to a missionary in the flesh, had almost as great a part to play in soliciting labourers. Adam Currie went to Blantyre in 1891 to take the place of Robert Cleland, a former classmate who had died after only two years' service to the cause of the mission;¹ J.B.Masson, who served at Calabar for only a few months before being invalided home in

¹. CS FMC Minute, 6 March 1894.

1919, went there in response to conversations which he had had with Dr Hitchcock, one of the mission staff;¹ the list could be extended over many pages. A more general indication of the value of the personal touch in recruiting, and of the Churches' attitude to this, is found in a letter which the Rev. James Nairn of Stirling received from the UF FMC in 1923. The Secretary, in response to Nairn's request, sent him missionary application forms for Theological, Medical, Educational, and Artisan missionaries, as Nairn had not specified which category he desired. Enclosed with the forms was this brief policy statement:²

We do not of course care about scattering these broadcast but if you come across any likely candidate we shall be glad to hear from you or the candidate direct.

Consideration of the likely candidate will be one of the main themes of the next section of this chapter, which deals with the social and academic composition of those who successfully met the requirements to become missionaries of the Established, Free or UP Churches.

2. The Social and Educational Background.

One of the most fruitful sources of missionary staff sprang from within the missions themselves, and from within the home ministry. In 1929, the Rev. Robert Forgan, Convener of the UF FMC, was prompted to conduct a survey of this source, the results of which were

1. UF FMC Minute, 15 July 1919.
2. NLS Ms.7791, f.88, 23 February 1923.

published in the UF Record (February 1929). Forgan's self-imposed task derived from his realisation that six of the nine hopefuls present at a recent FMC candidates' meeting were sons or daughters of ministers/missionaries. Taking the staff as it stood in May 1928, Forgan discovered that more than 200 of the total of 614 missionaries and their wives fell into this category. What Forgan did not emphasise, though it is clear from the figures, was the remarkable consistency of the pattern. Male and female missionaries, and the wives of missionaries, were drawn almost equally from this background, which furnished some 33% of the total missionary complement. Of the 200, around 66% came from home manses, and 33% from foreign missionary homes. These findings alone are quite telling, but an accurate picture of the existence and growth of a hereditary missionary caste is dependent on a fuller analysis of such data over a period of time. In attempting to construct this, I have run into some difficulties which mean that any conclusions arrived at must be treated with caution. Of the 1600 missionaries examined, there are a large number, perhaps c.30%, for whom I have been unable to gain any biographical detail. Of these, the majority have been fairly insignificant in terms of length of service, conducting a leading role in mission affairs, etc. More important, it can safely be assumed that the majority of this group had no relations in the ministry or mission field, since any such evidence would almost certainly have shown up in one or other of the

sources which I used.¹ The figures quoted are, therefore, minimum figures, but are probably fairly close to the actual figures. Any increase in these figures, resulting from the availability of fresh data, would, in any case, strengthen rather than weaken the hypothesis which is about to be developed.

The existence of a hereditary missionary nucleus occasionally gave missionary leaders cause for concern. In the 1890's, Eugene Stock noted the growing number of missionary children who followed their parents into the work, but he stressed that no attempt was made to pressure the children into this service, and added that:²

A hereditary 'missionary caste' would be a perilous experiment.

Many years later, Max Warren described his own experience in similar terms. His father's example as a missionary in India had been decisive in leading Warren into a missionary career, 'But no kind of pressure was ever put on me to shape my future.'³ It must be recognised, however, that incidental pressure was brought to bear in ecclesiastical circles by the constant inflow of propaganda material, and by the presence in the home

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1. These included the various Fasti, magazines, Reports, biographies, etc. The value of cross-checking came home to me when the UF Record (May 1906) described the Rev. A. Macrae (South Arabia) as the son of a UF minister. Macrae's entry in Lamb's Fasti does not show this fact.
 2. Stock, CMS, Volume II, p.49.
 3. Warren, Crowded Canvas, p.25.

manse of mission deputies, whose colourful tales and sometimes eccentric ways very often sowed the seeds of interest.¹

Within Scottish missionary circles, the manse had long been a profitable source of missionary workers, a source which was probably greatly enlarged by the various Secessions and Disruptions which saw the multiplication of Churches and ministers in the 18th and 19th Centuries. Donald Mitchell, the first Scottish missionary to be ordained to India (1822), was the son of a Church of Scotland minister; John Macdonald (Calcutta 1837-47), son of Macdonald of Ferintosh -known as the 'Apostle of the North'- was another of the early missionaries to come from such a background. Widespread acknowledgement of the movement's indebtedness to this source came only late in the 19th Century, with one of the earliest recognitions of its steady growth appearing in the UP Record (July 1894). This article, entitled 'Three Missionary Sisters', contained more than a trace of denominational propaganda. It pointed out the infrequency of three mission field workers being provided from the same family, as had occurred with the Johnstones in Jamaica and Calabar. It then, rather smugly, added that the UP Church contained another example of this, through the work of the Martin brothers in Rajputana and Jamaica. The real interest of

1. Vide., e.g., John McIntyre's reminiscences of Mary Slessor's visits to his father's manse. UF MR, April 1915.

this article lies in its conclusion, which expresses a very different opinion from that of Eugene Stock quoted above:

But the number of missionaries related to other missionaries by family ties is growing. It is specially gratifying to see at least fourteen children of former missionaries now on our mission staff.

For the Scots, particularly for those outwith the Established Church, this trend was both a fascination and a delight to them. In November 1902 the UF Record noted in passing that thirteen of the fifty-seven CMS missionaries currently going out to the field were related to workers previously or presently there. In July 1908, the same magazine happily announced that nine of the thirteen new lady missionaries of the UF Church were daughters of the manse, or sisters of labourers already in the field. The overall figures for the Scottish Churches display some very interesting features, and are set out in Table I. The percentages refer to missionaries who are the offspring of ministers/missionaries, or who have close relations in the home, foreign, or Jewish fields.

TABLE I. (missionaries are classified by year of first appointment)

	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>
CS(1873-1900)	24%	45%
FC	28%	48%
UP	27%	32%
CS(1901-28)	24%	22%
UF	37%	35%

The first point to be noted here is the way in which the Church of Scotland, after 1900, failed to match the UF increase in the percentage of workers coming from the

hereditary caste. At least part of the explanation for this can be found in the proportionately higher increase in the total staff complement of the Established Church, as compared with the UF missions. This contrast is shown in Table II.

Table II. Number of missionaries appointed post-1900, as a % of the number appointed pre-1900.

	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>
CS	131%	249%
UF	87%	173%

The number of missionaries and missionaries in each denomination was fairly constant over the entire period 1873-1928, and it appears as if the increase in the percentage of manse children given to the work after 1900 was almost identical in the Established and UF Churches. The actual figures, pre- and post-1900, are 57 & 74 (CS), and 162 & 216 (Free/UP/UF). These give percentage increases of 30% and 33% respectively. From this, it seems clear that the Established Church, in its efforts to increase its missionary presence, was forced to look more and more outside the central 'gathered' body. In contrast to this, the UF Church, with a declining need to make new appointments (which did not mean a decline in the size of the missionary staff) drew an increasing number of recruits from within its own inner circle.

A second trend discernible in Table I is the marked drop, especially in the Established Church, in the

percentage of female missionaries recruited from ecclesiastical households. In the years before 1900, almost half of the Established and Free ladies were obtained from this source; in the years after the turn of the century, fewer than one-quarter of the Church of Scotland ladies came from this sector, and only around one-third of the UF staff. The figures shown in Table II, especially the 249% explosion in the Church of Scotland female staff, go some way towards explaining this pattern, but there is another important factor to take into consideration. A clue to this was given by Eugene Stock, in the course of a discussion of the extension of Women's Work in the CMS in the years after 1887:¹

Several daughters of clerical friends were welcomed for their fathers' as well as their own sakes...Some young women of humbler parentage and education were accepted in virtue of certain new plans of which another chapter will tell.

The significance of this changing structure can be estimated by comparing it with a remark made by Lord Kinnaird at the Mildmay Conference, some ten years previously. He had urged 'ladies who have no specific home ties, and who possess a moderate income,' to consider the possibility of taking up the work of Female Education in the East.²

Such attitudes were also very widely reflected in Scotland at this time, where breeding was considered perhaps the most important qualification for female members of

1. Stock, CMS, Volume III, p.370.
2. Mildmay Proceedings, p.295.

staff. In 1894, Mary Horner was accepted for the Manchurian Mission of the UP Church after the Board received a testimonial from her minister in Northern Ireland, in which he assured them that her family occupied a 'good social position';¹ two years later, a similar recommendation helped ensure that Louisa Howie received an appointment to the same field.² Such incidents were not mere isolated cases,³ nor was the application of this criteria swift to die out. One of the 1910 Reports pointed out that Missionary Societies did not exclude candidates on grounds of social status:⁴

But there is recurring evidence of the importance of true refinement, which, it need hardly be said, is not necessarily dependent on the accident of birth.

This apparent dismissal of class distinction was little more than a sop to the masses, in the event, for the Report hastened to add that many people felt that the cultured classes had a wider outlook, a better-balanced judgment, and a lesser tendency to panic or prejudice!

Among the Scots, this elitist tendency was first undermined within the UP Church, with some important

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1. UP FMB Minute, 26 June 1894.
 2. UP FMB Minute, 28 July 1896.
 3. Similar concern existed in all the denominations. In 1903, William Stevenson, FC/UF WFMS Secretary, wrote to George Robson, editor of the Record. He told Robson that there was no lack of general offers to the WFMS, but there was a shortage of highly-educated and specially-qualified applicants. He then asked Robson to make an appeal to the 'cultured and well-off classes' to apply to the WFMS. NLS Ms.7929, f.199. 9 January 1903.
 4. WMC 1910, Volume V, p.17.

repercussions. The initial breakthrough came with the appointment of Mary Slessor to Calabar in 1876. Daughter of a hopeless drunkard, herself a manual worker in a Dundee mill, her success heralded the start of a new attitude towards the recruitment of lady missionaries, although it is hard to say how much of what resulted was attributable to Mary's unique charisma in Scottish mission circles. The apparent broadening of the base signalled by Mary's appointment had some long-term effects in a Scotland which, rightly or wrongly, prided itself on its classlessness. The UP Church was the principal beneficiary. It always possessed a more efficient financial support structure for its mission work, largely because of its labour-intensive monthly collection scheme. The huge staff of lady collectors required to operate this system came from all walks of life, and gained widespread support from all classes; many of the UP members came from the poorer sectors of the community, but their collective generosity was a striking proof of Chalmers' 'power of Littles'. Mary Slessor was indisputably a valuable asset to the Church in its efforts to maintain this surge, and her unchanging working-class manner¹ endeared her to many who might have been unwilling to support a missionary who was patently not one of their own kind. Although the dangers are more apparent with the benefit of hindsight than they were at the time, the propagation of a middle-class hereditary missionary

1. A.Gibb, Scottish Empire (Lond. 1937), p.179 relates of Mary: 'To the surprise of genteel Scottish visitors, she seems habitually to have used braid Scots.'

body almost certainly narrowed the base of sympathy and interest within the community as a whole.

One factor which did help to broaden the range of missionary interest was the changing pattern of staff roles. This again took its most extreme form in the changing balance between male and female missionaries. Until around 1890, the Committees of all three Churches had appointed more male than female missionaries, but the large-scale establishment of the various Zenana Missions in the 1880's heralded a reversal; between 1890 and 1900, the Church of Scotland appointed more women than men, while the Free and UP Churches appointed the two sexes in almost equal numbers. In the 20th Century, taking quinquennial periods to overcome the instability of annual fluctuation, both the Established and UF Churches recruited more women than men in each period. In overall figures, between 1873 and 1900 the percentage of male appointees ranged from a low of 56% in the Church of Scotland to a high of 61% in the Free Church. From 1900 to 1928 the figure was constant for both denominations, and worked out at 42% of the total appointees. As one of the few careers in which women could be seen to play a leading role, the missionary movement might have served as a focus for women with ambitions which they could not realise at home. In fact, this did not occur even to the extent hoped for by the FMC administrators and other interested parties.

In 1890, James Gilmour, the Scot who pioneered the LMS work in Mongolia, became one of the first to give voice to his surprise at this reluctance, though he ended on an optimistic note:¹

...it is curious that I, a widower, should be left to look after women's souls out here, when lots of women are competing for men's situations and businesses at home. I guess things will come right some day, though I may or may not see it.

By 1925, the effects of mission work in emancipating women were beginning to be generally recognised and openly discussed. In January 1925, Life and Work noted the increased scope for lay workers in Africa, brought about by the civilising element integral to the task in these fields, then continued:

It is of interest to note how this fact is frequently resulting in the appointment of capable young business women, with the missionary spirit, to posts hitherto deemed a man's preserve.

This change from the position outlined by Gilmour had only a limited success, and in April 1929 'Women's Work in the Church' -a supplement to Life and Work- recorded with some despondency that they still found great difficulty in obtaining female missionaries, despite the fact that:

We hear of the home country being flooded with teachers, and that women cannot find posts.

Although this lack of response disappointed the

1. Lovett, Gilmour, p.249.

officials, there were other liberalising influences at work within the mission staffs, which aided them to retain a broader basis of appeal than a 'characteristically bourgeois' movement would have done.¹ Table III shows the percentage of full ordinands among the male missionaries who were appointed by the various Churches in Scotland.

TABLE III.

CS(1873-1900)	46%
FC	36%
UP	57%
CS(1901-28)	39%
UF	38%

The fall was most dramatic in the UP sphere, which provided approximately 50% of the UP missionaries, and it can mainly be accounted for by the rise in the number of teacher and artisan missionaries. The opening of the Hope-Waddell Training Institution at Calabar in the 1890's paved the way for a large-scale influx of this category into the UP missions; if the analysis for the other two denominations had been projected back to the period preceding the establishment of the Nyasaland Missions, with their industrial and civilising roles, it would probably have revealed a similar sharp contrast. As the Life and Work article cited in the last paragraph noted, this rise in the artisan/lay element in the missions was largely attributable to those located on the African

1. The description is Max Warren's, in Social History, op. cit., p.118.

continent. The reaction of missionary leaders to this entire movement can be gauged from a comment made Miss Annie Small in 1916. Expressing alarm at the contemporary threat to the enterprise, caused by those leaders who gave the impression that intellectual gifts were a primary prerequisite for the missionary, she stressed that:¹

The missionary vocation can never be permitted to become one of the learned professions.

In many respects, Miss Small was pleading with the Scots to reverse a trend rather than asking them to prevent the emergence of one. In the 1860's, Alexander Duff had argued that, since there were so few labourers sent to the foreign field, they must contain a high percentage of the cream of the Church's workers.² This policy was consistently pursued for the next half century. In 1888, Eugene Stock had replied to Canon Taylor's criticism of CMS staff standards by claiming that the CMS had a greater proportion (c.one-third) of university graduates among its male missionaries than any other of the larger societies.³ Without working the figures out precisely, the returns for the Scottish Missions show that all three Churches could better this claim, and a large proportion of the missionaries held degrees or other qualifications of a very high standard. Many of them had been Duxes at

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1. A.H.Small, 'Missionary Life as a Vocation' in IRM(1916), p.392.
 2. Smith, Duff, Volume II, pp.437-8.
 3. E.Stock, 'The CMS Financial Accounts. A Reply' in Fortnightly Review (December 1888), p.781.

leading Scottish schools; Dollar Academy provided William Scott (CS,India,1892-1936) and George McLaren (UF,India,1928-59); Fordyce Academy sent both Forbes Tocher and his wife (CS,China,1910-48), plus Miss Meta Pirie (CS,China,1920-41). In addition to these, and all the other Duxes, many of the missionaries had had very distinguished University careers in Arts, Science, Medicine, Divinity, or a combination of one or more of these. The description of Henry Stephen (FC,India,1881-1914) as the most distinguished student of his year at Aberdeen is a commonplace rather than an exception.¹ In the immediate post-war years, concern over the lack of candidates prompted the Rev. Charles Robson of Alloa to bring forward an Overture from his Synod to the UF General Assembly, advocating the waiving of academic requirements in the case of FMC applicants deemed to be otherwise worthy of acceptance.² In some ways this was a reaction to the dearth brought about by the First World War, and the suggestion, coming when it does, implies that the Scottish

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1. Interestingly, many of the distinctions were in the subject of mathematics, e.g. Meta Pirie, W.A.Reid, (CS,India,1904-6), Robert Scott (FC,India,1879-1920), et.al. vide. L&W, March 1904, and Scott's obituary in the Scotsman, 16 January 1929. In 1877 the Philadelphia Presbyterian published an article on 'Clerical Mathematicians Abroad', parts of which were reprinted in the FC MR, January 1877. Disappointingly, the latter could only think of one foreign missionary and three home notables to keep the denominational flag aloft. A firm grounding in maths was often invaluable to the missionaries in teaching them to concentrate their attention and deductive powers on the cut and thrust of debate with aggressive unbelievers. vide. supra. pp.58-9.
 2. Perth and Stirling UF Synod Minute, 12 April 1921.

Churches would have preferred a policy of sending no missionaries at all, rather than be forced to dispatch any considered to be intellectually unequal to the task.

As a parallel to this catalogue of excellence, many of the teacher or artisan missionaries were recruited from the cream of their trade or profession, where they had been used to holding positions of responsibility as foremen or instructors. One of the more surprising features of the vast majority of these artisans is the high standard of literacy displayed in their letters, diaries, and reports home.¹ Some, like Alexander Burnett, gardener in the Blantyre Mission from 1901 to 1925, later received ordination in a home charge of the Church; others, like the teacher W.G. Robertson (Livingstonia, 1891-6), preferred to remain as they were instead of proceeding to the full ordination which their qualifications warranted.² In a number of cases, the FMC's were less than just in their dealings with such talented laymen. The lay workers, including the medical missionaries, were often the backbone of the work, and did a great deal to prepare the indigenous peoples to listen to the more intense teaching of their theologically-trained brethren. Despite this, there was a persistent trend to treat them as in some way inferior to the rest of the staff, a tendency which was particularly noticeable with regard to the artisans.

1. For an extended example of this vide. the Diaries of F.T. Morrison, op.cit., passim.

2. NLS Ms 7912, f. 185, Livingstonia Committee Minute, 19 December 1890

In the aftermath of the Blantyre Scandal,¹ the Established FMC were at pains to spell out very distinctly that a mission, like all branches of Church work, must have recognised leaders, but this was not intended to imply personal superiority, and the ministerial head of the mission should consult all of his European colleagues.² This ideal of equality rarely received more than lip-service, and apart from such obvious discrepancies as the provision of First or Second class travel, depending on the status of the missionary,³ there were other more hidden variations in treatment. In the early 20th Century, for instance, financial difficulties in the Livingstonia Mission led to the dismissal of a number of artisans when their contracts ran out, some of them after as much as fifteen years service.⁴ Harsh tactics of this nature were never implemented with regard to theological or medical missionaries. The fact that such insecurity of tenure did not deter artisan applicants was due, one suspects, to the very strong commitment which many of them felt towards the Christian cause.

In some ways, the grading of missionaries was not merely a convenient social division, but ranked as an artificial and illogical distinction, for many missionaries

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1. Vide Appendix B.
 2. CS HFMR, September 1881.
 3. Vide, e.g., McIntosh, op.cit., p.143. This practice did not cease until well into the 20th Century.
 4. Vide, e.g., Letters to W.J.Henderson (Livingstonia, 1896-1911), NLS Ms7867, 22 December 1911, and to W. Sutherland (Livingstonia, 1900-5), NLS Ms.7865, 10 May 1906.

of differing status came from very similar backgrounds. W.G. Robertson, for instance, was the son of a Free Church minister, the Rev. D.D. Robertson of Oban (1875-99); H.B. Alexander, an engineer in the Calabar field from 1892 to 1899, was the son of the Rev. Robert Alexander, who held a UP charge in Dunfermline (1873-1912). At the other end of the spectrum, a considerable number of the ordained missionaries had come from relatively humble circumstances. The common denominator of most, though not all, of the Scottish missionaries was the fact that, apart from those directly connected with the ministry, a great number were related to office-bearers and others directly involved in Church work. This close-knit pattern of missionary recruitment had two important consequences. On rare occasions, this shared background and experience caused friction among the missionaries due to the absence of anyone with an undisputed hierarchical right to leadership; more often than not, it enabled them to work in relative harmony, despite the discrepancies in status imposed by the FMC's.

3. The Geographical Background.

Some fifteen years ago; Professor G.A. Shepperson drew attention to the fact that a study of the effects of the Scottish presence overseas must recognize the fact that there was no one Scottish nation:¹

Yet, once having gained a Scottish perspective, to make this too uniform is to oversimplify./

1. G.A. Shepperson, Phylon, op.cit.

/oversimplify. One must note the special influences of Highlanders, islanders and Lowlanders -but this is too big a subject to explore at this stage.

This section will take the form of a preliminary survey of the geographical origins of the missionary personnel of the Scottish Churches. It will also attempt to relate this to their field placements in order to see if any recognisable pattern emerges. The ^{main} ~~main~~ problem once again is the lack of evidence about individuals, but a series of checks conducted on the data used suggest that these are accurate enough to permit some reasonably valid assessments to be made. For the purposes of this survey I have taken the Free and UP Churches as one unit, and referred to this as the UF Church. This was done primarily in order to obtain continuity throughout the entire period. Although this policy does have some drawbacks, I felt that the advantages did outweigh the disadvantages, especially since some of the more obvious field differences were pointed out in Chapter Two.

Of the 490 Established and 1090 Free, UP or UF missionaries¹ sent out between 1873 and 1928, the percentage allocation to the various mission spheres is given in Table IV.

TABLE IV.

	<u>Africa</u>	<u>India</u>	<u>China</u>	<u>Others(Jamaica,etc.)</u>
CS	38%	54%	8%	-
UF	45%	40%	10%	5%

1. These figures are rounded off, but are correct to within $\pm 1\%$.

Within these figures are hidden some important changes of emphasis. In the period before 1900, the Church of Scotland sent almost twice as many missionaries to India as it did to Africa (106 to 56); after 1900, the gap became much narrower, with 157 appointed to India and 130 to Africa, largely because of the acceptance of the new sphere of work in Kenya. In the UP Church the position was almost a mirror image of this, with 110 sent to Africa, and only 45 to India, principally because of the high turnover in the Calabar staff due to illness or death. The Free Church, with the two African fields of South Africa and Livingstonia, achieved an almost perfect equilibrium, dispatching 130 workers to Africa and 129 to India. In the United Church it was this kind of balance which prevailed, with 255 missionaries sent to Africa and 259 to India. Since no new missions were undertaken in this period, the drop in the African percentage may have resulted almost entirely due to the improved conditions in the Calabar field, as modern medicine came to grips with the problems of the various fevers endemic to that region.

Table V shows the same allocations for the 299 Church of Scotland and the 695 UF staff members (some 60% of the totals) whose backgrounds I have been able to determine with reasonable accuracy. The very close co-relation between Tables IV and V suggests that projections based on the 60% sample will give a fair reflection of the overall picture which would have been obtained using a

100% sample.

TABLE V.¹

	<u>Africa</u>	<u>India</u>	<u>China</u>	<u>Others</u>
CS	40%	54%	6%	-
UF	43%	40%	10%	7%

Table VI, therefore, shows the regional distribution of the thousand or so missionaries who were successfully traced. The letters in the first column refer to the regions of Scotland, a key to which is included at the foot of the page. These regions have been defined in a fairly rough and ready manner which might shock the professional geographer. Most are self-explanatory, however, and the allocations have been consistently applied over all the Churches, so that direct comparisons can be made. To allow this to be carried through with some ease, the Church of Scotland Totals have been multiplied by a factor of 2½ to nullify the discrepancy in the total number of workers sent out by the Established and non-established Churches. The resultant figures are listed in Column 2X.

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1. Between 1871 and 1920, the LMS appointed about 90 Scots to the various fields. The distribution of these shows a very different pattern from that common to the Presbyterian Church Missions, although I cannot at this stage offer any explanation for this fact.

LMS Distribution.

<u>Africa</u>	<u>India</u>	<u>China</u>	<u>South Seas</u>
21%	35%	39%	5%

TABLE VI. ¹

	Church of Scotland.					UF Church.				
	Afr.	Ind.	Chi.	Tot.	2X.	Afr.	Ind.	Chi.	Oth.	Tot.
A.	23	21	-	44	103	48	23	10	6	87
B.	7	6	3	16	37	8	7	3	3	21
C.	3	5	-	8	19	12	18	4	2	36
D.	25	30	1	56	131	61	64	14	11	150
E.	5	7	1	13	30	14	15	4	6	39
F.	10	15	1	26	61	25	17	5	1	48
G.	2	2	3	7	16	12	12	4	2	30
H.	8	5	4	17	40	15	10	4	-	29
I.	17	23	4	44	103	37	35	4	5	81
J.	6	10	-	16	37	22	17	2	1	42
K.	7	13	1	21	49	21	15	10	7	53
L.	3	19	1	23	54	18	37	2	5	62
M.	3	5	-	8	19	4	11	1	1	17

Comparisons of these totals reveals that the Church of Scotland drew relatively more recruits from Edinburgh, the Borders, and the broad belt stretching through the counties of Stirling, Perth, Angus, and the North-East of Scotland, while the UF Church recruited more heavily in the South-West, Clydeside, the Central Industrial belt, Fife, and Kinross. The figures for India and the other Mission Fields help to confirm the impression given in Table I,²

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- The grouping of the regions is as follows:
A. Edinburgh, the Lothians, and the eastern part of Central Scotland. B. The Borders. C. The South-West, including Ayrshire. D. Clydeside and the Central Industrial Belt. E. Argyll, the Western Isles, Orkney, and Shetland. F. Stirling, Perth and Central Scotland. G. Fife and Kinross. H. Angus and the Mearns. I. Aberdeen and the North-East. J. Inverness, Elgin and the Northern Highlands. K. England, Ireland, and Wales. L. India, Africa, and the Mission Fields, including recruits from non-mission circles in these areas. M. Europe, America and the White Colonies. Where the location seems uncertain I have tended to use Presbytery boundaries as an indication.
 - Supra., p.134.

namely that the UF Churches obtained a higher number of staff from within the mission field itself. From the remaining areas, the Churches derived proportionately equal numbers of workers from the Highlands and Islands, the rest of the UK, Europe, and the White Colonies. Looking at the field distribution from within the various regions, there are few significant departures from the pattern established in Tables IV and V. The African missions of the Church of Scotland drew a higher-than-average percentage of workers from the large cities, particularly from Edinburgh and from the Clydeside conurbation. The UF figures show a similar trend in Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen; surprisingly, a less-than-average proportion of African workers were drawn from Clydeside, some 40% as opposed to 43-5%. Even allowing for this, the general tendency backs up earlier assumptions about the co-relation between home mission work in the worst urban slums, and work among the 'degraded' Africans who were so often looked upon as the equivalent rural slum-dwellers. Although the figures used here do not reflect the fact, many of those men and women included in one of the other twelve regions had spent a considerable time resident in Clydeside.

In both branches of the Church, the Indian field drew heavily from within the missions themselves, probably through a combination of staffing policy and climatic considerations.¹ Support for the Indian missions was

1. In December 1898 the UP MR reported that Catherine/
Continued overleaf.

fairly evenly spread within Scotland itself, with no outstanding peaks or troughs in the pattern. A similar situation existed with regard to the work in China, where the small total number of missionaries charted makes it unwise to read any particular emphasis into the fact that the Established community in the Borders, for example, sent three men (20% of their total contribution) to China, as opposed to a figure of 6-8% for the whole Church. In the UF figures, it is probably of more interest than importance to note that seven(20%) of the workers recruited from England went to the China field, as against a norm of 10%; at the same time, this is an intriguing counterpart to the steady flow of recruits from Scotland to the English Presbyterian Mission in China, a movement most noticeable in Free Church circles.

Taken in its entirety, the evidence obtained from this study is of an overwhelmingly negative nature, in that it shows very few deviations from the original model. One way in which a break in this pattern might be detected would be to relate the number of missionary recruits to the number of Church members and to the total population of the home areas of Scotland from which they were drawn. Such a method would be cumbersome and unwieldy, maybe even

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- 1.(Cont.) /Catherine Hutton (Rajputana 1891-1900) would be spending the remainder of her furlough in India with her father, an LMS missionary and a native of Dunfermline: 'Born in India, the climate suits her better than that of Scotland.' As the field with most scope for female workers, India also had this added attraction for the daughters of past or current missionaries.

impossible to operate over such a long time-span, and in the end would be unlikely to impart any startlingly new evidence.¹ A more useful exercise would be to plot the incidence of missionaries who had first-hand contacts with life in Glasgow, Edinburgh, or one of the other major population centres; such a study might well cast light on the mechanics of the process whereby missionaries were obtained. A second equally important study, yet to be undertaken, would be to trace the congregational affiliations of the missionaries, as offering a more comprehensive guide to the areas of Scotland which actively promoted the missionary enterprise. A good example of this kind of influence is afforded by a study of some of the missionaries who applied after temporary or short-term residence in Alloa, near Stirling.²

<u>name.</u>	<u>family home.</u>	<u>field.</u>
Margaret Hall	Glasgow	UP, India, 1890-1
Rev. J.L. Martin	Carluke	UP, Jamaica, 1890-4
Rev. W.S. Sutherland	Kilmonivaig	UF, India, 1905-45
Rev. W.R. Cunningham	Leith	UF, India, 1912-21
Rev. W.G. Murray	Caithness	UF, Africa, 1919-26
Dr P.M. Shepherd	Dundee	UF, Africa, 1925-9

Martin was an assistant in Alloa Townhead for two years.

Sutherland, Cunningham, and Murray had all served as assistants in Alloa West before they were ordained. Miss

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1. Membership figures for 1875 and 1900, contained in J. R. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland, 1843-1929 (Edin. 1927 & 1933), Volume II, pp.4,56, tell us only what was widely recognised and reported at the time, i.e. that the CS put relatively less into the task than did the other denominations.
 2. In 1901 Alloa had a population of 14,500, and contained breweries, distilleries, and worsted, pottery, glass, and iron manufactories.

Hall worked as a teacher in the town, and Dr Shepherd spent some years in business there.¹

All attempts to determine special links between areas of Scotland and the individual fields seem bound to founder for one outstanding reason, namely that a great number of missionaries did not receive appointments to the field of their first choice; some, indeed, did not even succeed in going to their second area of preference.² For some, this change was brought about by a failure to meet the health requirements for a particular area, as in the case of John Whitehouse (UP, India, 1893-1900) who had wished to go to Calabar;³ many of the South African missionaries fall into this category. In some instances, the medical veto worked to the advantage of prospective candidates. David Muir (UP, China, 1894-1917) had reluctantly accepted the FMB decision that he should go to Calabar, but the medical advisors prevented this and sent him to his preferred field, Manchuria.⁴

The second major cause which altered candidates'

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1. Information used here was derived from the Fasti, FMC Minutes, and denominational magazines. This is not an exhaustive list.
 2. An indication of the kind of factors which led people to offer for a particular field is given in A.J. Brown, op.cit., pp.82-3:
Experience has shown, however, that the preferences of candidates are apt to be based upon some casual circumstance like the reading of a book or a conversation with a furloughed missionary or a general idea that he would like to work among a particular people.
 3. UP MR, August 1900.
 4. ibid. September 1895.

intentions was the present needs of the various fields. One of the best examples in this category is that of Robert Macalister (UF, India, 1906-29), who must have been a very confused man before his destination was finally settled. Macalister had originally planned to serve in one of the Indian fields, but no post was available at the time of his original offer. The Africa sub-committee wished to appoint him to the Gordon Memorial Mission in South Africa, but he had withdrawn from this because he preferred to go to Manchuria,¹ for which field he was accepted by the FMC on September 25th, 1906. A month later, this appointment was in turn reversed. Due to an unforeseeable death in the field, a vacancy arose in the Rajputana Mission, and in view of Macalister's very definite desire to go there, the FMC complied with his request to be allowed to fill the place of the Rev. J.A. Brown (UP/UF, India, 1884-1906).² Not all candidates were so fortunate. Peter Hunter (UP, Kaffraria, 1889-1936) could find no vacancy in China, and had to accept the Board's first offer, that of a post in Africa.³ Dr John Arthur (CS, Kikuyu, 1907-38) turned down an opening at Livingstonia since he had the prospect of an Established Church post in India,⁴ but this hope never materialised and Arthur was forced to settle for Africa.⁵ This entire catalogue of change and uncertainty suggests

1. UF FMC Minute, 26 June 1906.

2. *ibid.*, 23 October 1906.

3. UP FMB Minute, 24 April 1888, and UP MR, June 1889.

4. NLS Ms.7865, f.407, J.F.Daly to Dr Berkeley Robertson, 6 October 1905.

5. B.G.McIntosh, *op.cit.*, p.189.

that too much emphasis should not be read into Table VI, although the essentially similar patterns of the distribution within Scotland of the missionaries of both arms of the Presbyterian outreach seems to imply something more than mere co-incidence.

4. The Pattern of Service.

In June 1939, the following observation appeared in Life and Work:

Yesterday it was lack of financial support that threatened to cripple our work overseas; today it is lack of manpower and woman-power that seems the greatest danger.

Contrary to the belief expressed here, lack of manpower had been a major problem throughout the preceding seventy years, and equating the supply and demand of missionaries caused the FMC's a great deal of anxiety over the years. The problem was especially acute in the Established Church. As early as 1873, an attempt to analyse the problem of the shortage of ordained men offering for India had come up with the answer that this was caused by the rising number of posts available for home assistants and home missionaries.¹ Ten years later, Dr Archie Scott argued that this was no longer a valid reason, and cited as an example a home vacancy carrying a stipend of 'barely' £250 which had recently attracted 107 applicants.² Over the next

1. CS HFMR, January 1873.

2. ibid., August 1883. Scott's own four-figure stipend was very much higher than the average, which was still around £250.

forty years there were recurrent cries for workers to go to the heathen wilderness. In 1905, the FMC were led in desperation to insert an appeal in the Scotsman for another ordained missionary for Blantyre, to take up a post which had remained unfilled for a number of years.¹ By 1923, the Committee had just about reached the nadir of its fortunes, with twenty-five vacancies in the foreign field begging to be filled, and no applicant for any of them.²

In the UP sphere, the major difficulty lay in obtaining staff for the Calabar Mission, and by October 1899 the Missionary Record had become almost hysterical in its pleas for ordained missionaries and teachers to go to Nigeria. Some years earlier, this same magazine had spotlighted the crucial element of the problem, the difficulty of obtaining suitably qualified candidates. The Board had received a number of offers for the twelve vacancies which it currently wished to fill, but none were suited to the particular needs of the time.³ A striking example of the continued growth of this dilemma is seen in a statement made in the UP Record (January 1904). An applicant for a medical missionary post had just accepted an alternative post with the Established Church Jewish Mission at Smyrna, and was thus lost to the UF Church. His actions were perfectly understandable, since the UF

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1. Scotsman, 31 May 1905.
 2. CS L&W, February 1923.
 3. UP MR, May & June 1893.

FMC already had six qualified medical practitioners on its waiting list, but this situation could rapidly change without prior warning. It frequently happened that an entire batch of candidates-in-waiting accepted posts with other missions just before a spate of deaths or forced resignations left their own Church with gaps in the complement of workers, and no one to fill them. At its worst, the problem of maintaining an adequate missionary staff became an extremely vicious circle. Ideally, the Churches would have had to establish a reserve pool of workers to cope with such rapid fluctuations in the staff as had occurred at Blantyre in the early 1890's, for example, when there were three or four deaths in quick succession.¹ In practice, the Churches never had the resources of cash or manpower to operate such a scheme, although the benefits were clearly recognised. For the more discerning, the galling point was that such a scheme would, in a relatively short time, repay the initial outlay. Both Robert Laws² and John McMurtrie, the latter in his Closing Address as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,³ claimed that the high losses from the mission fields through death or illness, a problem

1. Vide Rev. W. Robertson, The Martyrs of Blantyre (Lond. 1892). The nature of the problem was clearly set out in the history of the Belfast-based Qua Iboe Mission to Nigeria:

There are now nine European workers, counting missionaries' wives, nominally on the staff of the Mission; but on account of the exigencies of the climate it is likely that on the average, three or four of these will be constantly recuperating shattered health at home.

-R. L. McKeown, In the Land of the Oil Rivers (Lond. 1902), p. 151.

2. UP MR, June 1892.

3. Scotsman, 4 June 1904.

which was particularly acute in Africa, were caused almost entirely by prolonged overwork, the result of chronic under-manning in the field. Despite this awareness of the dominant factor, no really satisfactory solution was ever arrived at, and the staffing policy of all the Churches largely retained the character of a constant struggle to face unforeseen crises in the distribution of the work-force.

One of the proposed solutions which was given considerable thought in the 20th Century was that of encouraging potential missionaries to offer for a period of, say, three years instead of the twenty or so which had formerly been expected -tacitly if not explicitly- of prospective candidates.¹ The pros and cons of this idea were discussed in the correspondence columns of the Scotsman during the Assembly weeks in 1912. Writing in favour of the system, the Rev. J.A.Ireland of Gartsherrie suggested that ministers should be recruited for three years instead of five to seven years, as this would make the Church as a whole more missionary-minded, by placing a liberal sprinkling of men with foreign experience in home parishes. Equally important, such service would give ministers:

1. Such a scheme had been proposed many years prior to this by Dr D.H.Stirling of Perth (UP MR, May 1887) and by J.M.Russell (FC, India, 1887-1913) in the FC MR, September 1900, but had attracted little attention. In England, the scheme was introduced by Bishop Westcott of Durham. Four of Westcott's seven sons became Indian missionaries. W.R.Nicoll, Princes of the Church (Lond. 1921), p.143.

'the kind of self-education which service in the foreign mission field is so well fitted to impart.' The following day, the Scotsman printed a counter-argument from a J. Stuart of Liberton, who claimed that such service would be counter-productive, in that the usefulness of such men (after overcoming the language barrier, etc.) would only be coming to fruition when they left the field after three years. He also denied that this would lead to a more missionary Church, on the grounds that short-service missionaries could have little sympathy with the work if they intended to give it up at the earliest opportunity.¹ On the whole, it appears that Stuart's views were accorded the more sympathetic hearing, and in 1917 he received support from an article published in the IRM, now firmly established as a semi-official mouthpiece of the Protestant missionary movement. In this article, Miss Gollock urged the irrationality of leaving the mission field after only five years, which she described as a kind of apprenticeship period, and she compared the folly of withdrawal with a similar pattern of behaviour in any secular vocation:²

No sane man would contemplate such action if he had acquired proficiency in engineering, medicine or law.

In fact, the Scottish Missions show little sign of having been influenced by the short-service concept. The following three Tables demonstrate the pattern of service

1. Scotsman, 24 & 25 May 1912.

2. G.A. Gollock, 'The Making of a Missionary' in IRM(1917), p.442.

experienced by the Scottish Churches, 1873-1928.

TABLE VII. Length of Service of Male and Female Missionaries.

	40+years.		20-39years.		5-19years.		Under 5years.	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
CS	6%	1%	24%	17%	33%	37%	37%	45%
FC	15%	5%	27%	24%	36%	41%	22%	30%
UP	16%	1%	27%	26%	30%	33%	27%	40%
<u>Post-1900</u>								
CS	3%	c. 1%	29%	21%	31%	39%	37%	39%
UF	5%	c. 1%	32%	25%	42%	43%	21%	31%

Interpretation of these figures should be made in conjunction with those in Table VIII, which shows the percentage of missionaries who died or were invalided¹ while engaged in the work. In the case of female missionaries, the percentage of those who retired to marry, either within or without the mission circle, is also included.

TABLE VIII.

	Died.		Invalided. ²		Married. ²	Married to ² missionaries.
	M	F	M	F		
CS	19%	15%	22%	25%	28%	15%
FC	23%	9%	22%	9%	32%	18%
UP	23%	9%	27%	24%	34%	27%
<u>Post-1900</u>						
CS	5%	8%	12%	16%	21%	10%
UF	13%	5%	21%	14%	30%	14%

Any conclusions based on an analysis of these figures should be treated with a certain amount of caution. The major pitfalls of using statistical evidence in the fairly

1. This includes those who left because of their wives' ill-health.
2. These are again minimum, not absolute, figures.

limited way employed here were outlined in an article by one Simon Kuznets in 1951, and have been noted.¹ At a more personal level, I have also heeded the warning of Helen Davies, LMS missionary in Hong Kong, 1888-1931:²

I don't think that too much should be made of simple length of service. How gladly would others do forty years -if they might!

There are, I think, two specific objections which should be met before discussing these findings in any detail. The first of these concerns the lengths of the periods chosen, some thirty years. While this may involve a degree of insensitivity to any change within this time, it does have the advantage of showing the character of each denomination over a very large sample of workers, which helps to eliminate any falsely high or low peaks caused by a singularly unique group of persons or circumstances. As Geoffrey Moorhouse intended, but never quite implemented, my concern has been to portray a norm³ in preference to a series of tenuously-linked exceptions. The second objection centres on the use of overall figures instead of individual field statistics, which sometimes showed startling variations from the norm.⁴ Such disparities

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1. S.Kuznets, 'Statistical Trends and Historical Changes' in Economic History Review (1951), pp.265-78
 2. N.Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society, 1895-1945 (Lond. 1954), p.171.
 3. Moorhouse, op.cit., p.17.
 4. A survey of field variation in the Free Church, 1829-1900, was printed in the FC MR (October 1900). In June 1915 the UF MR published an article celebrating 40 years of the Livingstonia Mission, in which it was claimed that of the 133 missionaries who had served there, 28(21%) had died in the field, and 10(7%) had been invalided out. These figures are reasonably/
Continued overleaf.

usually cancel one another out, since the Churches each possessed one reputedly bad field before 1900 -Blantyre, Livingstonia and Calabar. Of greater import in deciding on this overall picture, however, was the fact that the FMC's were equally responsible to all their spheres of work and, as has been shown, the allocation of workers to a field was frequently a random choice dependent on expediency rather than on an individual's zeal, perseverance, or general health.

Bearing these in mind, therefore, what trends are discernible from Tables VII and VIII? From Table VIII it appears as if the general health of the missionaries of the different denominations was, by and large, on a par. The figures seem to show a marked change for the better after 1900, which implies a response to improved medical care, brought about by the rapid expansion of knowledge of tropical medicine.¹ An additional possibility which might help to account for the dramatic drop in fatalities, most noticeable among the male staff,

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1. (Cont.) /reasonably consistent with Table VIII, but further research would probably indicate that the average length of service at Livingstonia was well below that in other fields. An article on 'The Calabar Climate' in L&W (February 1932) shows the difficulty of trying to assess trends while dealing exclusively with one field.
 1. In October 1925 Robert Laws reported in the UF MR that no member of the Livingstonia staff had died of African disease for 18 years, and contrasted this with a death-rate of 40% for the first 9 years of the Mission. For a detailed study of missionary health vide J.G. Vaughan, 'Medical Missionary Policy and the Health of Missionaries' in IRM (1929), pp.584-9. Of one field studied, 42% of fatalities occurred within the first five years of service.

was the fact that fewer missionaries regarded it as a positive duty to remain in the field until they did die, a belief which had been part and parcel of the philosophy of a great many of the 19th Century workers.¹ As a further indication of the general stability of the movement over this sixty year span, the figures for the percentage of women who married, and especially of those who married outside the mission sphere, remained fairly constant over the two halves of the Table, and in the various denominations.²

The real value of Table VIII lies in the fact that it contains a great enough number of constants to allow us to directly compare the figures quoted in Table VII, and to equate any disparity between denominations as a positive trend, rather than a negative one enforced by external factors such as ill-health. Again, the pattern is a fairly constant one, with one or two significant departures. In all of the Churches the percentage of male workers who served for forty years or more fell dramatically for those appointed after 1900, which tends to confirm the speculation that service was no longer

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1. Vide. J.M.Macphail, Kenneth S.Macdonald, MA., DD. (Edin. 1905), p.299, and R.Lovett, James Chalmers (Lond. 1903), pp.120-1. David Livingstone was another, more obsessive, example of this attitude.
 2. The percentage of UF women who married outwith the mission circle is greatly reduced if we subtract from it the considerable number who married men in the home ministry of the Church. The overall drop in marriages probably indicates a growing trend for genuine career women to take up posts in the mission field.

regarded as being literally 'for life'. This impression is intensified by the fact that the numbers serving for 20-39 years rose by 5% for three out of the four categories of post-1900 appointments. If we add these two groups of figures together, it becomes clear that the denominational models were coming closer and closer together after 1900. The percentage of Established Church workers who served for more than twenty years rose by 2-3% in this time, while the corresponding figures for the UF Church show a decrease of around 4-5%. The close parallels between the Free and UP statistics seem to discount the loss of either Free or UP influence as such in the amalgamation of 1900, which leaves us with two possible avenues of explanation. The larger and more impersonal United Church may have been afflicted by a certain lack of firm individual commitment, or it may have suffered the loss of some of the previous eagerness which had stemmed from a healthy denominational rivalry. At the other end of the scale, the figures for those completing less than five years service consistently show the Church of Scotland with a much higher percentage in this bracket, amounting to more than one-third of the total on all occasions. Once again, this demonstrates the constant-pressure faced by the FMC over the question of staffing, for no sooner was one crisis resolved than another would arise. In the case of the UP Church, the high figures in this category relate mainly to the Calabar Mission, and typify the health hazards and the personality clashes which so often accompanied service in the malarial mission

fields, both of which were almost totally eradicated by better communications with the homeland and the advances in preventive medicine which came in the new century.

As a cross-check on the interpretation of these two sets of statistics, Table IX shows the average length of service of male and female missionaries of the several Churches, calculated over five-year periods. The under-lined figures indicate that the average was computed from a sample of less than ten persons. The UMCA figures are based on information extracted from A.G. Blood's History of the UMCA.¹

TABLE IX. (Figures are correct to 2 decimal places)

	<u>CS</u>		<u>FC/UF</u>		<u>UP</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>
1876-80	6.63	<u>22.50</u>	14.65	<u>13.21</u>	<u>19.22</u>	<u>12.75</u>
1881-5	16.87	<u>18.40</u>	18.00	18.15	<u>24.47</u>	<u>13.60</u>
1886-90	16.79	11.31	18.41	14.50	20.36	8.54
1891-5	11.94	5.89	25.76	12.69	15.49	9.14
1896-1900	10.74	9.00	21.04	15.90	15.94	13.83
1901-5	13.17	10.08	21.29	10.80		
1906-10	16.33	11.09	18.60	11.64		
1911-5	12.18	13.09	15.88	15.73		
1916-20	11.55	8.78	12.32	13.26		
1921-5	14.17	10.90	12.80	13.62		

	<u>UMCA</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>
1876-80	9.36	<u>17.00</u>
1881-5	6.03	<u>5.40</u>
1886-90	5.42	5.82
1891-5	6.35	7.24
1896-1900	9.31	9.45
1901-5	7.78	11.29
1906-10	12.51	9.35
1911-5	10.41	11.43
1916-20	11.96	12.25
1921-5	12.60	11.66

Generally speaking, these figures confirm those of Table

¹ vide. Bibliography

VII, with one or two minor amendments which the shorter time-span has exposed. In all the Scottish denominations, the overall picture is one in which the male missionaries consistently served for longer terms than their female counterparts. The predominating feature of the UMCA Table, on the other hand, is that of greater longevity of service on the part of the lady missionaries. Without further evidence, no real deductions can be made from this, but it may well imply that the emancipation of women and their integration into a career structure was earlier and more extensive in England than in Scotland. Conversely, it may reflect only the fact that the UMCA male staff were less hardy and tenacious than their Scottish counterparts when faced with exhausting conditions. Looking solely at the Scottish statistics, the fluctuations in the figures are rather too erratic in the main to display any very clear tendencies. The figures do suggest, however, that the Union of 1900 did little to boost the UF candidates into a more committed missionary career, yet at the same time it apparently spurred the Established Church into more decisive action, after the lapse which occurred in the late 1880's and throughout the 1890's.¹ Taken as a whole, one of the few things which the Table does seem to prove beyond reasonable doubt is that the short-service missionary concept had not taken root, even by the late

1. This lapse may have been partly due to the bad publicity which surrounded the Calcutta and Blantyre Missions in these years, with the Hastie case and the accusations of 'High Churchism' against D.C.Scott.

1920's.¹

5. The Religious Affiliations.

The most emphatic example of the power of denominationalism within the Scottish missionary movement was the aftermath of the Disruption of 1843, when the entire FMC staff transferred its allegiance from the Established to the newly-designated Free Church. For the next forty years or so, the Churches were very reluctant to look outside their own circle for workers,² and it was only in the 1890's that an interdenominational exchange of missionary personnel began to take place in appreciable numbers, although a widely-publicised precedent was set in 1875 with the appointment of a United Presbyterian, Robert Laws, to be head of the new Free Church station at Livingstonia. With the growth of a more ecumenical spirit in the 20th Century this process was accelerated, and it was increasingly recognised that the mission field played a leading role in creating a closer bond between

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1. Taking the three sets of figures together, there is nothing to suggest that the existence of such a group is disguised by improved health allowing the dedicated workers a better prospect of long and uninterrupted service, thus raising the average, although this was one possibility which seemed fairly likely when I began this survey.
 2. One startling exception to this was the WAFM of the CS. In April 1897 the HFMR revealed that only 14 from a staff of 33 were originally CS members, and in June 1912 the Women's Guild Supplement to L&W was still unhappy about the number of women recruited from other Churches. So far I have uncovered no plausible reason for the reluctance of CS ladies to commit themselves to the work. The missions seem to have attracted candidates with some ease; in January 1884 the HFMR announced that no fewer than 30 ladies had applied for a vacant post in the Calcutta Mission.

the rival Churches. Appropriately, it was during Robert Laws' Moderatorial Assembly that the Scotsman chose to press this home:¹

Cooperation and Christian fellowship among the Churches do not begin at home. At least they are carried much further abroad. It begets some reflection when it is found that it is not in the place of its birth and growth, but under the skies of India and Africa, that Presbyterianism shows most inclination and capacity for re-uniting its sundered limbs.

In addition to the relaxing of the denominational bona-fides of intending missionaries within the Presbyterian fold, the years after 1900 also witnessed a greater willingness on the part of the Scottish Churches to welcome workers from outside Presbyterianism altogether. The extent to which these changes occurred, and the developing attitudes towards them, form the basis of this section.

Contrary to what many Scots were proud to believe, the theological hair-splitting which led to the parallel existence of fundamentally similar branches of the Presbyterian faith in Scotland, each with an independent missionary wing, was not a uniquely Scottish trait. In England, the High and Low Church factions of the Anglican community tended to range themselves round the SPG and the CMS respectively in their support of foreign missions. There was, however, one major difference in the situation. In Scotland, the missionary wings remained part of the official Church bodies, which proved to be much more

1. Scotsman Editorial, 13 May 1908.

jealous in their defence of the purity of the denomination than were the independently-controlled missionary societies. A powerful example of this is afforded by the fact that both the Free and UP Churches were reluctant to appoint delegates to the LMS when invited to do so, because of their disinclination to enter into any form of official relationship with such an undenominational body.¹ Coming back from the more liberal atmosphere of the Indian Mission field, Annie Small verified the existence of this attitude in the Scotland of the late 19th Century with something less than enthusiasm:²

I was disappointed and disillusioned in almost every direction. Scottish Church life seemed almost isolated from that of greater Christendom. Denominationalism almost amounting to jealousy existed even between members of one Presbyterian family.

Yet even at this time, interplay between the denominations took place on a much larger scale than is normally envisaged. In 1891, for instance, the Perth Presbyteries of the Free and UP Churches followed a fairly well-trodden path in arranging for a cross-denominational pulpit exchange in the interests of the various foreign missions;³ indeed, for a number of years it had been common practice for the Presbyteries to invite representatives from the opposite body to be present at any ordination ceremony for a foreign missionary, and sometimes even in the case of the ordination or

1. Scotsman, 26 May 1890.

2. Quoted in M. Stewart, op.cit., p.4.

3. Perth FC Presb. Min., 27 October 1891.

induction of a minister to a charge within the Presbytery. In addition to this, it seems as though there was a fairly steady flow of members from one Presbyterian body to another.¹ The similarity of the forms of Church government within Scotland probably further simplified the transfer of allegiance, the ease of which was described in broad terms by the Synod Publications Committee of the sister Church in England:²

Still the average Christian, where his Church connection is not determined for him by training or mere neighbourhood, determines it for himself less by weighing differences of government than by the excellence of the teaching, or by the warmth of Christian fellowship, which he finds in this or that company of worshippers.

Surprisingly, these trends do not appear to have been extensively reflected in the mission fields. Of the thirty-two missionaries positively identified as non-Church of Scotland, although they served with that Church's missions, only fifteen (from a total of 500

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1. Perth North UP Congregational Minute, 10 April 1878. Of 15 new members admitted by certificate from other Churches, 5 were UP's from other areas, 5 were local Established Church members, and 5 were former FC members. Later admissions included Congregationalists, Wesleyans, Baptists, and Episcopalians. Many Scots had varied Presbyterian antecedents. J.H. Wilson, minister of Edinburgh Barclay FC, was born into a Secession Church family, but one of his uncles was a CS minister. J. Wells, The Life of James Hood Wilson (Lond. 1905), p.19.
 2. The Presbyterian Church of England. A Memorial of the Union, p.87. Many people transferred in Scotland to evade discipline by their own Church. Vide Rev. I.M. Clark, A History of Church Discipline in Scotland (Aberdeen 1929), p.182.

appointed in the years 1873-1929) definitely belonged to other Scottish Presbyterian Churches. Of these men and women, eight were UF members, three came from the Free Church, and the UP, Secession, and Free Presbyterian bodies supplied one apiece. In the reverse situation, the Free and UP Churches each accepted one solitary candidate from the Established Church, while the UF Church took seven. Of the thirty-five non-Free/UP/UF members who were welcomed into these missions, no less than fifteen were Free Churchmen who served in the UP mission spheres. Only three UP members returned this compliment, but the Free Church also obtained the services of two sisters who belonged to an Original Secession family.¹

In the majority of cases, the switch of allegiance was made only because no openings were available in the applicant's own Church. J.B. Walker went to Blantyre in 1904 after the UF FMC was forced to turn down his offer of service due to lack of funds; the UF writer who recorded this fact regretted the refusal, but graciously wished Walker success 'in the service of the sister-Church as a fellow-labourer in the one great work.'² A similar experience led Mary Proctor, a member of Edinburgh Free St George's, to join the UP Mission in

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1. Like all the statistics in the analysis contained in this chapter, these figures are incomplete due to a shortage of information. The cases cited are representative of the larger switch which subsequent investigation should reveal.
 2. UF MR, February 1904.

Rajputana in 1882.¹ In all the Churches, acceptance of such candidates was, at least in the early part of the period, something of a reluctant last resort. In mid-1885, the UP Zenana Committee interviewed three prospective workers from the UP, Established, and Free Churches. When the UP applicant was finally rejected as not well-enough qualified, the Committee decided to readvertise in the hope of obtaining a suitable UP member, in preference to accepting either of the other two applicants.² In the 1890's, similar scruples prevented Alexander Paterson, a Free Churchman, from receiving a post in the Church of Scotland's Jewish Mission.³ As late as 1928, just one year before the Union of the Churches, the fear of being accused of poaching from another Church led the UP WFMS Committee to stipulate that they would gladly accept a candidate with Church of Scotland membership, but only after she had ascertained that the WAFM had no vacancies open to her.⁴ Denominational differences were no longer considered to be a hindrance to a free exchange of staff between the two Churches, but the fact that neither Church could be sure of retaining a full complement of workers prevented as flexible an exchange scheme as might have been desirable.

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1. UP FMB Minute, 25 July 1882; FC MR, January 1883. The FC was bedevilled by this problem in the early 1880's, and lost at least one other candidate at the same time as Miss Proctor, a Miss Balfour of Edinburgh New North FC who joined the Gujret Mission of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.
 2. NLS Ms.7694. UP FMB to Jane Stewart, May & July 1885, and 30 January 1886.
 3. W.Ewing, Paterson of Hebron (Lond. 1930), p.62.
 4. NLS Ms.7986, Ella Lee to Janet Addie, 30 May 1928.

In the case of missionaries accepted from other, non-Presbyterian, backgrounds, similar ethical restrictions existed.¹ For such candidates not disqualified on denominational grounds, a further obstacle might loom up in the shape of nationality. In 1882, the Church of Scotland acknowledged the devoted work of the Misses Pigot and Bernard in India, but made a plaintive appeal for more lady missionaries from within the Church's own circles:²

But they are not Scotchwomen, nor members originally of the Church of Scotland.

In fact, the number of occasions on which the Churches swallowed their pride and appointed non-Presbyterians (of any nationality) was very rare. Taken for all the Churches, the total amounted to some twenty Baptists, twenty Methodists,³ fifteen Congregationalists, and a mere handful of Anglicans.

A more interesting aspect of the denominational interplay is the destination of these recruits from out-with the fold. Of the thirty-two Established missionaries noted, twenty-one went to the African fields of Kenya and Nyasaland. In the UF Churches, approximately 50% (40 from 84) went to South Africa, Calabar, or the Gold

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1. e.g. A Congregationalist who applied to the WFMS in 1927 was told that she would be considered only if her own Church could not offer her a post. NLS Ms. 7986, Ella Lee to Miss A. Mechie, 21 January 1927.
 2. CS HFMR, March 1882.
 3. These were drawn from various branches of Methodism - Wesleyan, Primitive, United, and even Australian.

Coast. This pattern suggests that the African fields encouraged a more ecumenical spirit, which was certainly true of Lovedale,¹ or that the staffing problems were much greater in Africa, thus provoking a relaxation of strict denominational controls. The various Committees may have felt pressured into appointing non-Church members principally to meet desperate staffing needs, but it says much for their courage, and for the tolerance of the other members, that these appointments were never allowed to spark off any real controversy within Scotland. Mission supporters, if not the population as a whole, appear to have had a breadth of sympathy not normally associated with our 19th Century Calvinist forefathers.

To balance this gathering of workers for the Scottish spheres there was an even greater outflow of Presbyterians who served in non-Presbyterian missions. One of the best-known examples is Alexander Mackay, who left his father's Free Church manse to work with the CMS in Uganda, refusing the prospect of a future opening at Livingstonia in the process.² In like manner, the Rev. G.D. Philip, son of an

1. In Lovedale, op.cit., R.H.W. Shepherd recounted how a professor of theology attacked the Lovedale policy during the UF Assembly (1914), on the grounds that the Institution was chiefly occupied by Episcopalians. In response to this:

Lovedale plainly stated that there was nothing here demanding apology, but on the contrary something for rejoicing in that the Institution had the service of so many from other commun-
-ions.

Shepherd added that the professor had very few supporters in the Assembly Hall either.

2. J.W. Harrison, Mackay of Uganda (Lond. 1890), pp.28-9.

Established minister in Mackay's native Aberdeenshire, was converted to Episcopacy, and became a member of the Scottish Episcopal Mission in India.¹ As well as the larger missionary bodies such as the CMS and the LMS,² which always attracted a great many Scots, the China Inland Mission³ and a host of smaller Missionary Societies⁴ also acted as a constant drain on Scottish personnel resources.

Conclusions.

In some respects, the Scottish missionaries were hardly

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1. Scottish Episcopal Foreign Mission Chronicle, January 1901, and Scott's Fasti, Volume VI, p.220.
 2. J.M.Calder, op.cit., gives details of Scots who went to the LMS between 1795 and 1945. Of these, 17 came from the CS, 33 from the FC, 18 from the UP Church, and 16 from the Secession and Relief Churches (pre-1847). Calder's statistics are open to doubt. On p.24n1 he had this to say of the Peill brothers, who studied medicine at Edinburgh before following their father into the LMS:
 The Peill brothers were English by birth, but their intimate association with Morningside Church gives Scotland a big share in their service. As with many other missionaries on the rolls of some Scottish Churches, England and Scotland have shared in the gift to a world-wide Church. Calder apparently wished to define nationality in a rather loose fashion, and he may have tilted the balance in Scotland's favour for propaganda purposes.
 3. Vide M.H.Fishe, My Father's Business (Lond. 1909), a biography of Agnes Gibson of Glasgow, CIM missionary, 1884-1907. Of 9 lady workers who went out with her, 6 came from Glasgow. M.Broomhall, The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission (Lond. 1915), p.177.
 4. Mrs H.G.Guinness, in The New World of Central Africa (Lond. 1890), pp.200,206,252,256-7,476, noted four Scots in the Livingstone Inland Mission, and two in the Congo-Balolo Mission.

distinguishable from their English equivalents, insofar as a purely Scottish historian can judge. The several denominations did, however, possess recognisable individual identities, which could be discerned in most of the topics here explored. All in all, the resemblances prove to be greater than the differences, confirmation of the impression that the missionaries' concern for the great cause was more durable than denominational scruples or petty distinctions. Most of these men and women retained their original Church loyalties, yet they were prepared to make concessions so that they might take up the work at the earliest opportunity, or in the sphere where the demand was currently most urgent. Whatever the verdict on the validity of the work which they ~~undertook~~, or on the interpretation of the Gospel which they carried with them, their individual and collective dedication can hardly be queried.

CHAPTER FOUR.THE CHURCHES AT HOME.

Much of this chapter will be a more elaborate expansion of the theme of denominational differences, remarked upon at innumerable points in the previous three chapters. Woven in with this is a study of the Scottish system of operating their foreign missions as part and parcel of the entire Church fabric. The study will include an examination of the efficiency of this system per se, and an analysis of the efficiency of the men who manipulated it, plus an account of some of the particular problems which they had to face in so doing.

1. Denominational Distinctions.

In discussing the relative strengths and weaknesses of the Scottish Churches, writers have tended to oversimplify the truth in their attempts to differentiate, clearly but succinctly, the characteristics of very complex organisations. A prime example of this tendency occurred in 1936, in the autobiography of the Rev. David Watson of Glasgow St Clement's:¹

Before the Union I often said that the special contribution of the United Free Church would be her Foreign Mission zeal, and that the special contribution of the old Church of Scotland would be her Home Mission and Social Work. That has come true and no finer combination could be imagined.

1. Chords of Memory (Edin. 1926), p.181. The force of this comparison is strengthened by the fact that Watson's own daughter was a CS missionary in the Panjab prior to her marriage to the Rev. W.Lillie of the same mission. Watson must have felt keenly the relative weakness of his own Church in foreign work.

In the course of a Commons debate on the proposed Church of Scotland Bill in 1921, Joseph Johnstone¹ had taken this classification a stage further. Attempting to isolate the special contributions of the Presbyterian Churches, he picked out the UP Church as a great foreign missionary Church, and the Free Church as a leader in mission work in the Highlands and Islands. He was less fulsome in his description of the Established Church, failing to accord her any particular supremacy. Instead, he characterised the Church's broad interest in mission work as a reaction to the greater pioneering spirit of the other Churches:²

All this reacted on the Established Church, and made her the living force she is in Scotland today, delivering her from spiritual sloth and materialism.

Johnstone, an extreme Voluntary and a stern opponent of the proposed Church Union,³ had a vested interest in emphasising the differences between the historic divisions of Presbyterianism, and it is partisanship such as his which has beclouded our understanding of the part played by each denomination in the evolution of the several major aspects of the work of Scottish Christian Churchmen. In striving to define the Churches' assessments of their own role in the mission work, due

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1. Johnstone, a very able politician, was MP for East Renfrew, and later rose to be Secretary of State for Scotland. He was currently a UF elder, and had been a member of the UP Church prior to 1900.
 2. Hansard (House of Commons), 22 June 1921, p.1426.
 3. For an account of the Union movement vide. S.J. Sjöblinder, Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland, 1907-21 (Stockholm 1962), p.61.

allowance must therefore be made for the exaggerated statements so often presented in the denominational interest.

In 1877, the imminent extension of the Church of Scotland's missionary operations to include China brought the frank confession that her efforts in foreign mission work had hitherto amounted to very little. Implicit in the very first sentence of Dr Herdman's¹ article was the suggestion that this defect was now about to be remedied in grand style, with the diversification from India into African and Chinese fields:²

It has long been a subject of remark and complaint, that the Church of Scotland, while devoting much attention to missionary work at home, has done comparatively little for the heathen world.

In the ensuing years Herdman's optimism was shown to be misplaced, and the explanation which he had offered by way of apology, that the Church had concentrated on the domestic mission task to the exclusion of the foreign, was rejected by no less a figure than the 1883 Moderator, the Rev. John Rankine of Sorn.³ In his Closing Address to the Assembly, Rankine criticised lack of faith as the major hindrance to an enlarged foreign mission enterprise, and added that the Church had not attained the liberality towards foreign missions which had been shown by other

1. CS FMC Convener, 1872-82.

2. CS HFMR, April 1877.

3. Rankine later became the father-in-law of another powerful advocate of foreign missions, Dr Archie Scott of Edinburgh St George's.

Churches with greater home commitments than those required of the Church of Scotland.¹ Throughout the following decades, the Church magazines compared the meagre average foreign mission donations of Established Church members with the much larger per capita sums given by such keen rivals as the Free Church² and the Irish Presbyterians,³ in a vain attempt to shame Church members into handing over much enlarged contributions. The impact of the criticism was, however, greatly reduced by the simultaneous concentration on the Church's leading role in other spheres, a repetition of the very argument which had been so roundly condemned by Rankine of Sorn. In the weeks preceding the Assemblies of 1893, the Scotsman -as it so often did- printed a contentious letter which was almost certain to stimulate denominational rivalry. The author, 'Elder', compared contributions to the Glasgow and Edinburgh Royal and Western Infirmaries and declared that the Church of Scotland contributions had outstripped the combined totals of the Free and UP Churches. His concluding remark expressed the kind of complacency which John Rankine had tried so hard to suppress:⁴

This is worthy of notice when so much is said as to the want of liberality in the Established Church.

Three years later, the Rev James Rankin of Muthill (no

1. Scotsman, 5 June 1883.

2. CS HFMR, April 1890.

3. CS L&W, July 1910.

4. Scotsman, 5 May 1893. The title of the letter was simply 'Church Contributions'.

relation to John) published a letter which challenged the traditional view of Free and UP Church liberality on spiritual rather than financial grounds. Like Rankine of Sorn, he accepted that the non-Established Churches gave more, but he argued that the extent of the gap was exaggerated, and stated his belief that their motives were in any case suspect:¹

What many people too easily put down to pious zeal for missions I am uncharitable enough to explain in part as a denominational hobby and advertisement. If the zeal of these two bodies for Foreign Missions was entirely pure and unmixed, how does it come that this hot zeal for Church-planting in India and Africa is conjoined with hot zeal for Church destruction in Scotland and England?

To avoid any danger of his own brethren becoming complacent after this revelation, Rankin then turned to one of his pet themes, the alleged failure of the FMC to induce trust in their ability, the lack of which had cramped the mission work of the Church of Scotland.²

These three correspondents summarised, from differing standpoints, the two primary views which dominated the missionary philosophy of Auld Kirk members during the period under study. The first of these, which successfully defended itself against most of its assailants over the years, hinged on the belief that the Established Church played the leading role in Scottish domestic mission work.³ The second view, that the Church could

1. Scotsman, 9 May 1896.

2. Rankin's clashes with the FMC are discussed in fuller detail in the third section of this chapter.

3. Vide David Watson's continued claim in 1936.

and should be able to increase its mission liberality by improved methods of collection and administration, was generally accepted, but never implemented.

In the case of the Free Church, supporters sought to uphold two quite distinct traditions. In the early years especially, the Free Church envisaged itself as a home missionary Church, and entered the work on a far greater scale than did the Church of Scotland.¹ By the mid-1890's, this belief was firmly entrenched in the minds of leading Free Churchmen, a point stressed by the official Disruption annalist,² and by J.H.Wilson in his Opening Address as Moderator in 1895:³

It was the home mission work of the Free Church which, as much as anything else, gave it a claim to be regarded as in the best sense a National Church.

In 1899, the 'anything else' was expounded in an editorial appreciation of the new Moderator, James Stewart of Lovedale, an appreciation which applauded the Free Church missionary achievements outwith Scotland as her most indubitable claim to respect and admiration as an Evangelical Church.⁴ Claims of this nature received widespread support both before and after this date. The Free Church challenge to alleged UP supremacy in the foreign

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1. A.A.Maclaren, Religion and Social Class. The Disruption Years in Aberdeen (Lond. 1974), p.187. J.Wells, J.H. Wilson, op.cit., p.46.
 2. Rev. T.Brown, Annals of the Disruption (Edin. 1893), p.739.
 3. J.Wells, Wilson, p.360. Dr Guthrie had dubbed Wilson 'the Prince of Home Missionaries', ibid, p.73.
 4. Scotsman, 19 May 1899.

field in the 1870's and 1880's has already been noted. Within the last decade, this claim has been endorsed by a modern ecclesiastical historian, who dates the Free Church ascendancy from its very inception in 1843:¹

All fourteen of the Indian missionaries joined the Free Church and for the next few decades there can be little question that this body became the most missionary-minded denomination in Britain.

In the UP Church, propaganda was similarly concentrated on the twin poles of foreign and home endeavours, with emphasis on the latter as a positive virtue. The Missionary Record (June 1896) summed up this attitude in an article which contained some mischievous insinuations against Established Church failings:

There are some Churches whose great ambition it is to be called 'national', but our eyes look forth to wider horizons.

An explanation of this wider vision was given by the Rev. Hugh Goldie in his history of the Calabar Mission, first published in 1890. Ultimately, Goldie saw the inter-denominational crowding in Scotland as necessitating a return to a re-united Church, but in the immediate future he envisaged a different fulfilment for his own Church:²

The Church is feeling the benefit of this zeal in mission work. New life is flowing into her, and she is beginning to see that it is in the heathen and anti-Christian field she must attain her destined magnitude.

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1. I.H.Murray, The Puritan Hope (Lond. 1971), p.169. The increased zeal brought about by the Disruption was re-inforced in 1876 by Union with the Reformed Presbyterian Church, which had the high ratio of one missionary to every five ministers. Paton, op.cit., p.280
 2. H.Goldie, Calabar and its Mission (2nd edition, Lond./
Continued overleaf.

Although committed to this policy, the UP Church additionally laid claim to be a home missionary Church, albeit over a smaller geographical area than that blanketed by the other two Churches, a fact which has been seen as the reason for the UP success in the foreign work:¹

The United Presbyterian Church, which in no way aspired to be a national Church, and which thus did not have the same economic burden to bear at home, achieved most in proportion to its size.

In defiance of any criticism on these grounds, the UP Record for June 1870 printed statistics of the Home Mission work, and boasted that:²

...the Home Mission work of the United Presbyterian Church is large, varied, and most intimately connected at once with the honour and progress of the denomination.

Independent testimony to the continuity of these efforts appeared in an editorial in the weekly South Glasgow Gazette (11 June 1887), when a tribute was paid to the equal zeal shown by the Church in its home and foreign enterprises. While the Gazette might wax ecstatically, the UP leaders themselves were modest enough to admit that they had been rather remiss in one respect, namely in the

2.(Cont.) /Lond. 1901), p.321. Goldie had produced the same argument in favour of Church Union in the UP MR, January 1870.

1. Sjöblinder, op.cit., p.61. The UP Church had very little influence in the Highlands and Islands, areas which required heavy subsidies from the CS and FC in order to maintain adequate Gospel ordinances.

2. Just as part of the Free Church concern for foreign missions was inherited through the Reformed Presbyterians, so the Secession Church which formed one wing of the UP Church had early in its history undertaken home mission work 'in the destitute districts of our native land'. McKerrow, op.cit., p.2.

conduct of their colonial mission:¹

Neither the income nor expenditure in behalf of the Colonies is worthy of our position as one of the churches in a land which is distinctively a mother of nations.

By 1900 this modesty and graciousness had permeated the Free and UP attitudes towards one another, and the glowing tributes which were batted back and forth on the Eve of Union may well rouse the sceptic lurking in every neutral observer. The ball was put into play by the UP Moderator, Dr John Robson², in the January number of the Missionary Record. Drawing attention to the proximity of the Union, he chided his fellow-Churchmen for their neglect of the foreign missions:

For years we have been hardly holding our own, while other Churches have been forging ahead. Last year we seem to have fallen far behind. I trust that in this remaining year of our history we shall show ourselves worthy of our best days, and hand over our missions in a well-equipped, unembarrassed condition to the United Church.

In the months which followed, Free Churchmen worked hard to reassure the UP members that UP pre-eminence in foreign mission work was indisputably recognised as a great asset to bring into the United Church. Simultaneous attempts were made to convince Free Church members, and in a rapid volte-face from former Free Church claims, T.M.Lindsay³ told the Assembly that the UP Church was 'the greatest foreign missionary church with the exception of the Moravian', an opinion subsequently endorsed by Dr James

1. UP MR, April 1885.

2. Brother of George, editor of the Record.

3. FMC Convener. Speech reported in FC MR, June 1900.

Wells in a leading article with the decidedly propagandist title, 'Why We Should Welcome Union'.¹

This entire episode raises some fundamental doubts about the traditional roles allocated to the three Churches. Contemporary comments on the Unions of 1900 and 1929 centred round an assumption that matters would be best resolved by showing that the uniting bodies could dovetail neatly together, without either sector losing its prevailing interest in home or foreign missions. The various missionary interests of the Churches were much more closely related than this, and there is little evidence of any denominational bias in the theoretical evaluation of the relative importance of home, foreign, or other missionary ventures. The differing degrees of success enjoyed by the various foreign missionary enterprises owed more to the subsidiary processes of obtaining support than they did to the existence of divergent policies regarding the importance of carrying the Gospel to the heathen. The evolution and practical application of these support systems will form the basis of the next chapter.

2. Church or Society?

In choosing to operate their foreign missions as an integral element of their official Church structure, the Scottish Presbyterians took up a position which was almost unique

1. FC MR, October 1900.

in the realm of foreign mission enterprise. The pride which they felt was shared by their brethren south of the border, one of whom wrote:¹

The English Presbyterian Church thus put herself in line with the principle held by all English-speaking Presbyterian Churches, that foreign mission work is no mere appendage, to be worked through a voluntary association or an outside society as in most sister churches, but is an integral part of the corporate work of the Church, and concerns every member of it.

A number of widely-differing considerations led the Presbyterians to adopt this principle. The first of these involved the ecclesiastical standing of a missionary society. Early disquiet over this was expressed in a Report submitted in 1831 by the Synod Mission Committee of the Secession Church. The Report stressed the advantages of having missionary operations conducted by the Church rather than by 'promiscuous associations, which possess not, and claim not, any definite Church power.'² In the 1870's, this argument was resurrected by the Rev. Dr Geekie, who adopted the hard-line attitude that the servants of missionary societies could only claim to be agents, not ministers, on the grounds that:³

The 'Missionary Society' is not a church and its missions, although religious work, cannot correctly be called 'Church' work.

One clear cause of this suspicion was Presbyterian concern with the niceties of denominational distinction, and the

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1. S.W.Carruthers, The Contribution of English Presbyterianism to Foreign Missions, Text of lecture given on 16 October 1933. Published by the Presbyterian History Society of England.
 2. McKerrow, op.cit., pp.113-4.
 3. Geekie, op.cit., p.116.

awareness that partisan loyalty was a notable feature of Presbyterianism, particularly in its native Scotland. This latter point was put forward by the Rev. William Brown, the former Secretary, as the explanation for the demise of the Scottish Missionary Society in 1847:¹

The very fact of its broad Christian character operated against it. It was unsectarian in its constitution and management; no esprit de corps, no denominational feeling was enlisted in its favour.

Half a century later, the Foreign Mission Report of the 'Wee' Free Church made a similar observation, but from a more encouraging angle:²

The circumstances that, amidst the embarrassment of the past five years, and without the stimulus of a denominational charge, the Church has persistently maintained an interest in mission work, seems to the Committee to justify them in expecting large results when the Committee's affairs shall have been put on a new footing.

The confidence of this assertion of the Free Church's future role as an independent missionary Church is indicative of the way in which the concept of each Church acting as its own missionary society had taken root in 19th Century Scotland.

In the early years of the movement, the tendency was towards the formation of missionary societies:³

...as the expense of sending out qualified agents was oftentimes larger than any single denomination could undertake,...

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1. W. Brown, op.cit., Volume II, p.448.
 2. Scotsman, 24 May 1906.
 3. Rev. D. Scott, Annals and Statistics of the Original Secession Church (Edin. 1886), pp.52-3.

The experience of the Scottish Missionary Society, and the success of the three major branches of Presbyterianism which operated independent missions, had radically altered this belief, thus encouraging both the 'Wee' Frees and the Free Presbyterians to establish independent ventures in the secure knowledge -which their great-grandfathers had not possessed- that the enterprise would act as a stimulus to liberality rather than a drain upon it. Equally important, the Scots believed that their system of operating missions was less wasteful than that employed by the societies. A general explanation of this was offered by J.H.Morrison in the late 1920's when he observed that the Scottish missions, unlike those of most missionary societies, were governed directly by the Church courts:¹

The state of things in Scotland is, doubtless, partly due to the fact that Scotsmen are strong churchmen, and have confidence in their Church. Partly, also, it is due to the happy circumstance that the constitution of the Presbyterian Church is democratic, and, by its gradation of Church courts, from Kirk Session to General Assembly, provides machinery admirably adapted for the prosecution of Foreign as well as Home Missions.

More precisely, the UP Record had compared the efficiency of four of the major missionary organisations by stating the amount of each sovereign collected which went towards administrative costs. The corresponding figures were:²

CMS - 2/5d	CS - 1/7d
LMS - 1/11½d	UP - 10½d

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1. J.H.Morrison, The Scottish Churches' Work Abroad (Edin. 1927), p.45.
 2. UP MR, April 1899. One of the most active critics of missions, Punch magazine noted that the CMS spent one/
Continued overleaf.

While not conclusive, these figures do imply that the Scottish system of operating within an existing framework was a less expensive one. Even for the Established Church, notoriously less organised than its two main competitors in matters of mission support, the existing structure offered a firm base from which to launch any new campaign, with the added bonus of stimulation for the domestic work:¹

...it is hoped that for the sake of the congregation no less than of the mission steps will soon be taken to introduce some suitable organisation for bringing the claims of our Foreign Missions systematically before the members of the Church.

Further to this, the Church courts sometimes played a vital role in a strictly unofficial capacity. In 1873, Professor George Douglas² drew the attention of Glasgow Free Church Presbytery to the fact that John Ross of the South African Mission would soon have completed an unbroken fifty years in the field. Informing the brethren of the proposals to erect a new place of worship at Pirie to commemorate the event, he announced that the FMC had granted £500, and added that:³

...other friends were contributing for the same purpose, and that though the Presbytery as a body could not take up the matter, they might do something for it individually.

2. (Cont.) /one quarter of its income at home before one native was converted or had even seen a missionary. D.W.Duthie, The Church in the Pages of Punch (Lond. 1912), p.210.

1. Aberdeen CS Presb. Min., 4 May 1897.
2. Brother of Carstairs Douglas, a well-known missionary who served with the Presbyterian Church of England in China.
3. Glasgow FC Presb. Min., 5 February 1873.

Despite these advantages, the system operated by the Scots was not without its critics. In 1896, Eugene Stock gave voice to such criticisms in an address to the Auld Kirk Assembly:¹

The Church of Scotland carries on its own Foreign Missions without the intervention of voluntary Societies; and I do not think the result is encouraging to the advocates of that principle. The very questions which in the CMS or SPG would be discussed by Committees consisting of men sympathising with the work and knowing its details have in Scotland to come before an Assembly of three or four hundred persons, many of whom know little of the subject, and care less. Still there is the advantage of even these men at least hearing what is going on.

The latent cause of Stock's reservations emerged in a statement which he made in his monumental History, when he commented on the fate of one of the first CMS foreign missionaries:²

The fall, and the penitence, of Hartwig were fully recorded for all men to read; and so were the minor infirmities of others from time to time. But it must be remembered that the printed accounts rarely went into the hands of anyone who would not regard such troubles with prayerful sympathy.

In Scotland, the democratic process of Church government, lauded by J.H. Morrison, meant that any fall from grace tended to attract the full glare of publicity, a procedure which frequently had detrimental consequences for individuals and for the Church. As the biographer of Professor William Hastie wrote, many years after Hastie was dismissed from his post in the Calcutta Mission on

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1. E. Stock, My Recollections (Lond. 1909), p.331. Stock was present to aid A.H. Charteris, leader of the Foreign Mission Advance Movement. Weir, op.cit., p.120.
 2. Stock, CMS, Volume I, p.88.

patently suspect grounds:¹

We are too fond in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland of washing our dirty linen in public, which often does more harm than good.

A specific, if somewhat non-committal, answer to Stock's theory came in the form of a review of My Recollections (Life and Work, February 1910). The reviewer defended the principle behind the Scottish policy, but admitted that it lacked something in practice:

Mr Stock is wrong; yet he is right. The Missions of our Church are the business of that Missionary Society which is the Church. On the other hand, members of Assembly ought to be more fully qualified to transact this business which the Church entrusts to them.

Later in the same year, this defect was again highlighted, this time in one of the 1910 Conference Reports. The Commission found that missionary work was largely conducted by Societies within a Church, and even where the programme came under the direct control of the Church, as in Scotland:²

...interest in the work has been confined to a comparatively limited circle of people and has not characterised the Church as a whole.

In the light of these findings, S.W.Carruthers' description of foreign missions as the concern of all Church members must be taken as a description of the ideal, and not of the actual, level of involvement within the

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1. Rev. D. Macmillan, The Life of Professor Hastie (Paisley 1926), p.99.
 2. WMC 1910, Volume VI, p.146. C.H. Robinson even went so far as to group the Established and UF Missions under the heading of Scottish Missionary Societies. Robinson, op.cit., pp.481-3.

Presbyterian Churches.

The concept of the 'gathered' missionary society, consisting of the members of what Stock of the CMS termed 'the inner circle of godly people',¹ had received widespread recognition from the first, particularly with the emergence of the 'Clapham Sect' evangelicals in the late 18th Century.² Individuals who joined these Societies were often regarded as complacent and self-congratulatory by external observers. One of the more pungent expressions on this theme was Thomas Carlyle's explanation of the poor reception given to Edward Irving when he preached the LMS Anniversary Sermon in 1825:³

On their grand anniversary these people had assigned him the honour of addressing them, and were numerously assembled, expecting some flourishes of eloquence and flatteries to their illustrious, divinely blessed society, ingeniously done and especially with fit brevity; dinner itself waiting, I suppose, close in the rear.

In a recent doctoral thesis, J.M.Orr acknowledged the fact that the Missionary Societies tended to consist of 'gathered groups within gathered churches',⁴ but he went on to specifically exclude the Scottish Church of the 1820's from ever having intended to evolve in this

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1. Stock, CMS, Volume III, p.309.
 2. For an account of this movement vide. M.Hennell, op.cit., and E.M.Howse, Saints in Politics (Toronto 1952). Led by William Wilberforce, the inhabitants of the London suburb first came together as a pressure group in the anti-slavery cause.
 3. J.A.Froude, Thomas Carlyle, 1795-1835 (Lond. 1882), Volume I, p.325.
 4. Orr, op.cit., p.41.

way:¹

The emphasis was never on extending the bounds of a particular Church or its forms, but on emphasising that overseas Missions should be the responsibility not of a few interested members but of the whole Church.

This intention never came to fruition, although recent Church historians, more optimistically than accurately, have insisted that it did. Reviewing Dr Hewat's Vision and Achievement in Life and Work (March 1961) -itself a gathered organ- the Rev. D.M.McFarlan claimed:²

Was there a Christian home in Scotland a generation ago which had not some connection with Foreign Missions, through kinsman or woman, or partnership letters, or a Sunday School visit, or at the least a missionary box on the mantelpiece?

McFarlan's statement is interesting as an illustration of the way in which receptive audiences were bombarded with missionary propaganda, but it is hardly an accurate portrayal of the attitude towards missions displayed by the average Scottish church-goer, unless he consciously intends to distinguish Christians from mere church-goers. In like fashion, Ian Henderson grossly exaggerated the truth in his estimate of the level of missionary concern, especially in his suggestion of an active involvement:³

In the nineteenth century United Presbyterian Church and in the Lowland areas of the nineteenth century Free Church, perhaps one church member in two, almost certainly one in three, was a Foreign missionary enthusiast.

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1. See Orr, op.cit., pp.69-70.
 2. Son of a UF minister, and nephew of Annie(UF, India, 1928-64) and Christian Maitland(UF, India, 1911-15), McFarlan served in Calabar from 1940 to 1951, and wrote several accounts of the mission in Nigeria.
 3. Henderson, op.cit., p.41.

For a more sober assessment of the level of interest in Scotland, we must turn to contemporary comment which, despite the temptation to boast of denominational supremacy, consistently depicts a model of a gathered interest rather than a widespread concern among Church members. In 1849, the Rev. W.K.Tweedie prefaced a biography of one of the early missionaries with the revelation that not more than one in ten of potential contributors actually gave anything at all towards the work of the British Protestant Missionary Societies in the year 1846-47.¹ Since Tweedie made no attempt to exempt his own Free Church, it seems reasonable to deduce that he felt the figure of 10% to be a fair reflection of the general situation. By 1858 the Scottish Churches, if the Established Church example is anything to go by, were apparently reconciled to this very limited response. The low-key approach to the India Mission was regarded as the only realistic one, since the Foreign Missions were to be supported only by a fraction of the Scottish people. In short, 'Foreign missions were to be supported only by the convinced.'² By the late 1870's, the results of this pusillanimous approach had encroached on the Free Church, and in May 1879 the Free Church Record expressed

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1. W.K.Tweedie, The Life of the Rev. John Macdonald, AM. (Edin. 1849), p.x. Tweedie was Convener of the FC FMC for 15 years, and also served as Sustentation Fund Convener for some time. W.Ewing, Annals of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843-1900 (Edin. 1914), Volume I, p.347.
 2. Drummond & Bulloch, op.cit., p.177.

anxiety over a lack of candidates, and coupled this with the gloomy prediction that:

...we are greatly mistaken if, among the Christian congregations of this country, there is at this moment the same enthusiastic interest in the evangelisation of the world which was felt a generation ago.

As an antidote to this decline, ministers were urged to use the volume of Mildmay Proceedings to disseminate missionary information, but the situation was not so easily resolved. The narrowing of the missionary base had been noted at the beginning of the 1870's, when a Scotsman editorial on the Closing Address of the Church of Scotland Moderator, which had dealt mainly with the defects in the Indian Mission, concluded that his words were matters of domestic interest to the Church rather than topics fitted to attract widespread public attention.¹ The Mildmay Conference did nothing to reverse this trend. In 1910, a brief summary of previous missionary conferences suggested that, unlike the present one, which was to be a consultative assembly to study mission enterprise, these conferences had been in the nature of great missionary demonstrations, designed to inform, educate, and impress.² If this had been the case, the Free Church Record plan of 1879 would have had a more promising chance of success. As it was, the Mildmay Proceedings positively disprove the 1910 summary. The Proceedings opened with a description

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1. Scotsman, 31 May 1871. This sentiment was repeated from time to time during the 1870's. vide. Scotsman editorial, 26 May 1877.
 2. WMC 1910, Volume IX, p.8.

of the 1860 Liverpool Conference's intention to gather information and to compare experience.¹ The continuity of this idea at Mildmay itself was lucidly expressed in the account of the motives which had prompted the organisers to convene the present Conference:²

...it appeared to many friends that the time had arrived when another General Conference on Foreign Missions might be gathered.

The consistent emphasis on the gathered nature of these meetings confirms Carlyle's suspicions that many of the missionary supporters held comfortably elitist views. By concentrating on boosting their own feeling of commitment, the patrons of missions probably alienated many potential supporters who were either disturbed or disgusted at the self-righteousness of much of the movement.

The Scots, with their belief in utilising the Church itself as the 'true missionary society',³ might have been expected to display some measure of success in preventing the emergence of missionary supporters as a clique. In practice, however, the Scots were as guilty of perpetuating a gathered group as were the actual Societies. In many respects, the Churches' errors stemmed from their home mission work, which, as Chapter One showed, was closely linked to the foreign mission. It is widely accepted that the first visit to Scotland of the American evangelists, Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey, gave a major uplift to the

1. Mildmay Proceedings, p.1.

2. ibid., p.2.

3. G. Robson, op.cit., p.31.

missionary outreach from Scotland.¹ At the time, the restricted appeal of the movement was attacked by the Scottish Episcopalians, a body not normally associated with intense concern for the lower strata of society. On 3 April 1874, the Scottish Guardian contained the following criticism of the comfortable bourgeois nature of those who attended the meetings:

...well-dressed crowds, gathered from chapels and meeting-houses, where day after day, and week after week, they may hear GOD's truth if they choose to hear it.

The long-term effects of this universal failure on the part of the Scottish Churches became increasingly clear in the 20th Century. An early confession of the fact came in 1902, when the UF missionary organ admitted that congregational givings in both the Free and UP Churches had remained virtually static over the previous quarter century:²

Probably the explanation is to be found in Foreign Missions being still looked upon too much as a mere side-work of the Church to be cared for by those who have found a special interest in Foreign Missions.

As well as analysing a current problem, this statement demonstrates that the upsurge of nationalist interest and enthusiasm during the period of the war with Arab slave-traders in Nyasaland had, at best, been only a temporary bonus for the foreign missionary movement. By 1902,

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1. J.R.Fleming, op.cit., Volume I, pp.235-7. A.C.Ross, 'Scottish Missionary Concern 1874-1914' in SHR(1972), p.52.
 2. UF MR, March 1902.

little remained of the concern of the 1880's, recently described by Dr H.W.Macmillan:¹

It was the Arab war which created the first awareness of the Company and the missions outside their own immediate circle and prepared a wider public to take an interest in their future welfare.

In the course of an eight months' missionary tour of Scotland in 1912, Alexander Hetherwick (CS, Africa, 1883-1928) discovered an increasing polarisation of the population, with those firmly committed to missions ranged in opposition to those who felt a total lack of concern. The 1910 Conference had apparently made no impression on the general missionary life and interest of Scottish Church members, yet its efforts had not been entirely in vain:²

It has, however, in his opinion deepened immensely the interest of those already interested.

Within two years, the Moderator of Hetherwick's own Church, a former Convener of the JMC, entered the debate, and spelt out the problem, and one of its likely causes, in his Closing Address to the Assembly:³

Missions now do not require to be vindicated as a policy, but rather to be enforced as a duty....The foreign mission is still looked upon too much as a thing apart from ordinary Church work, and outwith the range of interest of the ordinary Church member.

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1. H.W.Macmillan, The Origins and Development of the African Lakes Company, 1878-1908 (Edin. PhD, 1970), p.297.
 2. UF MR, November 1912. It is a curious fact that this was published in the rival denominational paper, and not in the CS L&W.
 3. Scotsman, 30 May 1914.

The Moderator's words were harshly critical of the Church for having failed to draw the entire membership into a sympathetic and active interest in the work overseas, yet there were mitigating circumstances which imply that the Churches were inexorably forced back into dependence on the inner circle, whether they wished it or not. These circumstances can be separated into two headings, financial and temperamental. The question of individual monetary contributions will be considered in the next chapter, but one general point may be made here. It has already been stated that the Scottish Churches prided themselves on their below-average administrative costs,¹ but there was a considerable price to pay for this achievement. In 1913, R.J.Martin of Tibbermore received a parcel from the Church of Scotland FMC, containing some ninety leaflets for distribution. The dispatcher explained that economic conditions prevented him from sending a sufficient number for 'promiscuous distribution in the pews', and reminded Martin that the leaflets were intended for issue to those from whom some deep interest -and a corresponding financial return- might be expected.² In other words, financial stringency often forced the FMC's into a continuous wooing of known sympathisers in order to retain their support, rather than into a situation where they might afford to speculate in the hope of thus accumulating fresh interest.

1. Supra., p.191.

2. NLS Ms.7563, f.583, letter dated 26 July 1913. Martin was a first year Divinity student at St Andrews. He received ordination to Alvah, Turriff, in 1917. Scott, Fasti, Volume VI, p.248.

Under the second heading, that of temperament, a similar situation frequently presented itself. Missionaries on furlough had a duty to travel round Scotland, talking to congregations and Church clubs so as to maintain and further interest in the foreign missions. For many of the missionaries, facing this kind of audience, after a period spent face to face with one or other of the 'child-races', was a real ordeal. In 1900, William Stevenson, Secretary of the WFMS, wrote to the Rev. John Rainnie of Perth Knox's Free Church about one such lady missionary, suggesting the steps which Rainnie might take to put Miss McLaren¹ at her ease. His main point was that Rainnie should try to ensure that Miss McLaren's audience was a fairly small and sympathetic one.² Once again, this kind of enforced expedient served to widen the gap between the 'gathered' missionary enthusiasts of the Churches and the bulk of the membership. Yet if the missions were to be continued in any form, this course of action was inevitable. The North(UP) congregation

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1. Jessie S. McLaren (FC, India, 1893-1900). She married the Rev. J.H. Maclean of the Madras Mission in February 1901, and died in September of the same year.
 2. NLS Ms.7924, f.349, 12 September 1900. Since furloughs were meant to aid spiritual regeneration, there may have been some reluctance on the part of Committees to send missionary deputies into any potentially hostile or awkward surroundings, thus limiting the range of audiences. Home officials themselves were reluctant to face such situations. In October 1899, John McMurtrie wrote to the Rev. K.D. McLaren (a former Indian Chaplain who had married a CS missionary), stating that he did not care about getting a collection, but he did wish to preach to a congregation where the minister would be present and would express his concurrence. NLS Ms.7537, f.488.

contained probably the most committed foreign missionary supporters of all the Churches in Perth city throughout this period. The Church's Minute Books and congregational magazines reveal a large staff of missionary collectors, and a high number of subscribers to the various mission appeals. The overwhelming impression is one of constant, eager, and successful attempts to promote interest in missions. In 1910, the then minister, Mr Patrick, disclosed that this was only a surface impression. In the Annual Report to the congregation, he described the failure of the 1910 Conference to stimulate any increased interest or liberality, and followed up with the complaint that the response to any meetings held in the mission cause was very disappointing:

Unfortunately, only a small proportion of the membership of our congregation avail themselves of such special opportunities of being made acquainted with the actualities of the situation.

Faced with such apathy, it is little wonder that many of the mission supporters and operatives preferred to band themselves into a tight little group and despair of those left outside. In the long term, their withdrawal led only to a strengthening of the opposition to missions. The mechanics of the process were described by Fraser of Livingstonia, after his return to Scotland to take up

the post of Home Administration Secretary of the FMC:¹

One has found everywhere over Scotland that many, through the scattering of their families over the earth, are so constantly in touch with evil stories about mission-aries and mission converts that they no longer believe in foreign missions, and, from a real sense that missions are doing harm, cease to give to missions.

Such pockets of resistance could not be effectively countermanded by the kind of convinced elite which had been formed by Scottish missionary supporters. The ideal of the Church taking a corporate interest had long since been abandoned; as the section on response at the Presbytery level will show, ministers often evinced little interest in foreign missions, and the vaunted democracy of the Presbyterian polity prevented the FMC's from making direct contact with their congregations.² The advantages to be derived from an existing infrastructure were frequently nullified in this manner, but never totally removed. Certain benefits did remain, but never on a scale as large as that imagined by many past or present observers. The causes of this failure will be discussed in the remaining parts of this chapter.

3. Controversy and Committees.

Ion Keith-Falconer, son of the Earl of Kintore and founder

1. UF MR, February 1928.

2. Sheriff Barclay of Perth, a leading CS layman, received a letter from the FMC in 1874, asking his advice as to which ministers in the Presbytery might give their pulpits to a mid-week deputation on behalf of the FMC. The Secretary knew none of the ministers personally, and was, therefore, reluctant to approach them directly. NLS Ms.7533, f.403, letter dated 4 April 1874.

of the Arabian Mission of the Free Church in the 1880's,¹ was once described as one who regarded foreign missions as possessing 'a great and imposing war office, but a very small army.'² This observation was particularly true of the Scottish Churches, where the imposing facade often concealed a powerless, and subsequently inefficient, organisation. Over the years the Presbyterians evolved a series of FMC's at Assembly, Synod, Presbytery, and -especially in the non-Established sector- Congregational level. Even with this bureaucrats' delight the Foreign Mission enterprise failed to take a controlling grip of the minds and purses of the Church membership, a failure which can be attributed in many instances to the Committees' inability to win the confidence of the Church as a whole.³ This section commences with consideration of the problem, and concludes with an examination of the results deriving from it.

The belief that the FMC's consisted of some form of cabal chosen on geographical or personal grounds was a

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1. Vide R. Sinker, Memorials of the Hon. Ion Keith-Falconer (Cambridge 1888). This biography went into its 6th edition within two years of publication.
 2. G. Smith, Twelve Pioneer Missionaries (Lond. 1900), p.225.
 3. Hugh Macdiarmid described the typical Scottish pattern as a subservience of individual talent to democratic feeling, especially in ecclesiastical circles:
The Scottish Churches, for example, had no use for hierarchy, and the levelling down has been pretty thorough.
-Macdiarmid, op.cit., p.85. The fostering of this independence probably rendered Committees more vulnerable to attack, as non-Committee members felt themselves to be at least equal in stature and ability to those who were elected.

recurrent theme of Scottish Churchmen in the latter part of the 19th Century, particularly within the Established Church. Consequently, this led to the development of a hypercritical attitude towards the actions and policies of the Committees, and a constant three-way power struggle between the central and peripheral areas on the one hand, and between Glasgow and Edinburgh on the other. In some instances the pressure to decentralize did not come from within the Church courts, but originated in the pages of the local press. An attack of this nature occurred in the mid-1870's, when one leading provincial newspaper printed an editorial which scathingly criticised both the Free Church Synod of Perth and Stirling, and Perth Free Church Presbytery, for what it regarded as blind servility to the dictates of the 'partisan emissaries' sent out from the Central Offices as Corresponding Members.¹ Twenty years later, it was the turn of the Established Presbytery of Perth to challenge the existing balance in the FMC, with the recommendation that the number of Assembly-appointed members on the Schemes Committees should be reduced by one-third, and that Presbyterial representatives should attend meetings more regularly.² In the early years of the UF Church, Perth again expressed dissatisfaction with the levels of representation, a situation which brought the following

1. Perthshire Courier, 26 October 1875.

2. Perth CS Presb. Min., 28 December 1898. The Six major Schemes were Home, Foreign, Jewish, Colonial, and Continental Missions, and Education.

response from the WFMS Secretary:¹

About the sending in of Perth names for the Executive. I don't think it would be advisable for any Presbyterial Committee which has a fair representation already to ask for more.

Of course it is for every Presbyterial Committee to consider whether it is sufficiently represented.

More revealing than these isolated instances is the discussion in the UP Church, in the early 1870's, of the question of any centralisation of Mission Board members. Aberdeen UP Presbytery opposed such a policy on the grounds that the present method of representation helped to maintain the interest and the confidence of Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries.² Edinburgh Presbytery agreed with the principle of retaining confidence, but argued that the practical difficulties of electing members who were resident outwith Glasgow or Edinburgh made it very difficult to adequately man the various Mission Board sub-committees.³ For another northern Presbytery, that of Elgin and Inverness, the prime difficulty lay in finding a minister, resident in or near Glasgow or Edinburgh, who would be willing to serve as its representative for a four year term. In April 1870, the Presbytery were obliged to renew their search, following the death of the Rev. Dr Robson, appointed only in January of that year. Successive minutes show that it

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1. NLS Ms.7927, f.249. Letter to Mrs Dr G.Robson, 16 March 1902.
 2. Aberdeen UP Presb. Min., 7 June 1870.
 3. Edinburgh UP Presb. Min., 1 March 1870.

was only after two refusals from Edinburgh ministers that the Presbytery finally obtained the services of the Rev. William France of Paisley,¹ and it is hardly likely that such obvious reluctance would inspire confidence that the Presbytery would be fairly represented in the Synod, the highest court of the UP Church. The Presbyteries nearest the focal points, such as that of Hamilton, were alarmed at the extent of the orientation round the two major cities, and argued that improved travel meant that representatives from within a forty or fifty mile radius of Glasgow or Edinburgh could now be appointed with ease. As a parallel to this decentralisation, the Presbytery also wished to see the missionaries in the field given greater control of their own affairs, so as to bring them in line with Presbyterian polity.² Response to criticism of the system spent a long time in germination, and it was 1885 before the Synod agreed to waive the 60-mile rule which decreed that all Mission Board delegates should live within a 60-mile radius of either Glasgow or Edinburgh. A warning was given by the Foreign Secretary, James Buchanan, that Presbyteries which could not guarantee regular attendance by their delegates should continue to follow the former practice, since only regular attenders could understand, maintain interest, and be of service in connection with the work.³

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1. Elgin and Inverness UP Presb. Min., 4 January, 16 April, 24 April, and 5 June 1870.
 2. Hamilton UP Presb. Min., 22 February 1870.
 3. Scotsman, 6 May 1885.

While the attention of the outlying Presbyteries was jointly concentrated against the two cities which shared control of the Mission operations in the UP Church, in the other denominations the criticism against the Edinburgh influences was most strongly voiced in Glasgow itself. In 1882, a motion amounting to a vote of no-confidence in the Edinburgh-dominated FMC was passed by a large majority at a meeting of Glasgow Auld Kirk Presbytery.¹ In a speech to the Assembly of 1896, the Rev. Dr Story, one of a number of leading Scottish Churchmen who waged an incessant campaign against the FMC managers,² stated that the methods of the Edinburgh-based men did little to inspire confidence among the more astute businessmen of Glasgow, who were:³

...by no means apathetic to spiritual appeal, although inclined to look at all religious movements in a certain light of Christian commonsense.

As proof, perhaps, that the FMC's could never hope to win universal approval, whatever their course of action, the Scotsman had printed a letter from an anonymous Free Churchman some years previously, complaining of exactly

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1. The voting was 14-4 in favour of the motion, but this may be slightly misleading, as only 18 members from the sederunt of 29 ministers and 5 elders actually voted.
 2. The most active member of this group was the Rev. James Rankin, who was a major contributor to the Five Volume The Church of Scotland, Past and Present (Lond. 1890-1), edited by Dr Story, Professor of Church History in Glasgow.
 3. Scotsman, 30 May 1896. This suggestion might explain the relatively meagre financial liberality of Established Churchmen in Glasgow as compared with Edinburgh. Vide Scotsman editorial, 7 June 1890.

the opposite tendency in his Church's FMC:¹

We believe Presbyterianism but do not conduct our foreign missionary work on the principle. The people have no direct intercourse with the missions, but these are conducted as purely business transactions by central committees.

While both of these statements amply illustrate Glasgow's resentment at being placed in a subservient role viz-a-viz Edinburgh, they also demonstrate one essential difference between the Established and Free Churches, that of their respective efficiency as fund-operating agencies.

In view of the concentration of criticism heaped on the policies implemented by the Edinburgh-based committees, we should of necessity attempt to gain a clearer understanding of the extent of this Edinburgh domination than is given by the more emotional attacks of opponents. The following table shows the percentages of committee members, ministerial and lay, who were normally resident in Edinburgh:²

TABLE I.

	<u>CS.</u>		<u>FC/UF.</u>		<u>UP.</u>	
	<u>Min.</u>	<u>lay.</u>	<u>Min.</u>	<u>lay.</u>	<u>Min.</u>	<u>lay.</u>
1870	5%	40%	22%	65%	15%	43%
1880	25%	44%	27%	64%	26%	50%
1890	16%	48%	16%	52%	26%	50%
1900	28%	65%	14%	47%	15%	16%
1910	33%	60%	8%	41%		
1920	33%	55%	17%	33%		

1. Scotsman, 26 May 1888. The writer's pseudonym was 'A West Country Member'. In the 1895 CS Assembly, Professor Paterson expanded on this, and pointed out that missions were too often judged by the commercial principles of the 19th Century, instead of by the apostolic principles of the first Church. Scotsman, 31 May 1895.
2. The figures for Glasgow rarely rise to more than 50% of/
Continued overleaf.

From these figures, two crucial points immediately stand out. In all the denominations, the percentage of laymen active in the FMC's was consistently very high, rarely falling much below 50% of the total lay representation. In terms of background, many of them came from the highest echelons of Scottish society and occupied posts within the law or accountancy professions, while a significant number had retired to Edinburgh from important military or civil posts overseas, principally with the British Raj in India. A large proportion had residences close to one another (and to the ministers of the larger city charges) in the most exclusive areas of town, and the Edinburgh laymen on the Committees can be accurately described as a latter-day Clapham Sect, giving further weight to the idea of the overseas missions as a gathered society. The second point concerns the levels of ministerial representation. The most vociferous antagonism to the Edinburgh influence was found in the Auld Kirk, among the opponents of what was sourly referred to as '22 Queen Street-ism'¹, and it was in the Auld Kirk that the Edinburgh influence in the FMC's was strongest, a coincidence which seems to amount to more than mere chance.

2. (Cont.) /of the Edinburgh level, except in the UF Church, where the representation became fairly evenly balanced between the two. In the Established Church, Aberdeen regularly had as large a representation as Glasgow.

1. The address of the Church of Scotland Offices in Edinburgh. The present Offices at 121 George Street formerly housed the UF Offices.

Criticism of Mission Committees had long been a popular sport both in Scotland and England, probably because the critics were very often men who felt that missionary endeavour was the ultimate purpose of Christian man, and any failing or weakness in the directors of this movement, therefore, was a serious blow to this aim. Thus Canon Taylor quoted Bishop Steere of the UMCA on the failure of many committee men to play an active role in the work commensurate with their abilities. Steere regarded one cause of the failure of the missionaries' outreach as the Societies' employment of:¹

...men of an inferior social class, governed, sent out, and paid by a superior sort of men formed into a committee in London,...

In contrast to this, Dr Geekie felt that the superior men had all been spirited into Home Mission Committee posts, with unfortunate effects:²

The result of this constant practical indifference of really able men has been, that the men who have been entrusted with this most wonderful work of God, have been chosen, not for their administrative talent and comprehensive views, but for their pious respectability, their social position, and their having little else to occupy their time.

Even where such able men were appointed, the critics

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1. I. Taylor, op.cit., p.498.
 2. Geekie, op.cit., pp.118-9. Lord Sands, editor of a volume on Church Finance (Lond. 1926), p.119, opposed this kind of attitude with the statement that many of the International Committee on Church Finance had served as missionary administrators, and had a mature knowledge of fund raising in relation to the mission field. In contrast, Donald Fraser was wary of accepting an administrative post because he feared the narrowing and deadening effects of officialdom. A. Fraser, op.cit., p.278.

refused to be silenced, and in the case of the appointment of a new Secretary to the Established FMC, the choice of J.T. Maclagan brought forth an indignant letter from 'Anti-greed' pointing out that the recipient of the £250 salary already received £700 as Collector for the Ministers' Widows' Fund, plus £1500 from other Secretaryships.¹ It was these joint themes of incompetence and nepotism which dictated the nature of the challenges to the existing Committee structures over the years.

The growth of an influential opposition to FMC policy occurred chiefly in the Established Church, and was sparked off by the events known as the Blantyre Scandal.² The flames were fanned by the Scotsman, which consistently schemed to force such issues into the open, on the grounds that newspapers had a duty to report public issues, especially when they involved a national institution like the Established Church. The main attacks, coming as they did from within the Church, had a more serious effect on the response of individual members, an effect intensified by the high standing of some of the attackers. As well as Rankin and Story, these included J.G. Tulloch,³ Robert Flint,⁴ Duff

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1. Scotsman, 28 May 1895. The appointment resulted from the separation of the joint post of Secretary and Treasurer, previously held by Maclagan.
 2. Vide synopsis contained in Appendix B.
 3. Principal of St Andrews, 1854-75, then Principal Clerk to the Assembly.
 4. Professor in St Andrews, 1864-76, then Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh.

Macdonald,¹ and J.S.Mackenzie.² The nub of Story's complaint of 1896³ was originally voiced by him during the Assembly of 1881, when he attacked the FMC as having lost the confidence of the Church, but his motion for a complete reconstruction of the Committee was defeated by 167 votes to 68.⁴ The following year, Story limited his attack to the Africa sub-committee, whom he accused of sacrificing the innocent Duff Macdonald to be their scapegoat.⁵ By this time the ripples of discontent had spread as far north as Aberdeen, where the Presbytery had adopted an Overture to the General Assembly calling for a reorganisation of the various Schemes Committees, on the grounds that their financial difficulties were caused by a want of proper organisation and management.⁶ Any feeling that the Blantyre situation was an isolated mistake evaporated with the eruption of the Calcutta scandal in 1883, a scandal which had assumed the proportions of a full-scale war by the Assembly of 1884. The potentially disastrous results of these concurrent

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1. First head of the Blantyre Mission, then minister of South Dalziel.
 2. Minister of Little Dunkeld, 1866-1914. Of these six men, none held charges in Edinburgh, and all had received part, normally all, of their University education elsewhere. The Scotsman obituary of Rankin described him as one of the most eminent of CS ministers. Story, Tulloch, and Flint were each described in Scott's Fasti as the most distinguished or outstanding leaders of their time in the Established firmament. In addition to the publishing link between Rankin and Story, Flint wrote the Preface to Duff's Macdonald's Revised Catechism (Lond. 1902).
 3. Vide p.209.
 4. Scotsman, 27 May 1881.
 5. ibid., 6 June 1882.
- Aberdeen CS Presb. Min., 2 May 1882.

exposés were spelt out by the Scotsman on 2 June 1884:

If the public faith in Foreign Missions, or rather in the management of them by the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee, can remain after the exposures in the Hastie case last week, nothing will ever shock it.

The resignation of Dr Archie Scott from the Convenership which he had held since 1882 went far to calm the storm, but beneath the surface old resentments still simmered away, awaiting an opportunity for fresh expression. The last week of May 1888 brought a short but explosive Correspondence between Professor Flint and Dr Macrae of Hawick over the former's defence of Hastie of Calcutta, in a ⁱ circular letter, and over the latter's handling of the Blantyre case in the early 1880's. The continued suspicion of the FMC was summarised in the Scotsman editorial of 22 May 1888:

The questions raised in the circular letter, bearing on the conduct of Foreign Missions, and on the Calcutta Mission in particular, ought to be thoroughly investigated. They have long slumbered and smouldered. Sometimes they have seemed on the eve of flaming forth, but there have always been at hand powerful influences to quench them. Perhaps, now that the Professor of Divinity, a man of high character and standing and of great weight in the Church, has raised them with such strength of language, they may be taken up and dealt with seriously and honestly.

These hopes were never realised and matters drifted until late 1896, when Rankin of Muthill again entered the lists with the repeated accusation that the FMC lacked the confidence of the people,¹ a theme which this time

1. Scotsman, 22 December 1896.

brought forth a flood of protests, including one from J.S. Mackenzie, who stated that Rankin was guilty of misrepresentation in his comments on the FMC deficit, since the Committee had been ordered to advance by the Assembly.¹ Mackenzie then attacked Rankin along more personal lines, claiming that the affairs at Blantyre had apparently gone wrong ever since Rankin's visit to the Mission, and asking Rankin to substantiate his claims. The letter concluded on a decidedly scornful note:²

Dr Rankin withholds special knowledge from his committee and sulks in the manse of Muthill.

It is rather ironic that a decade later Mackenzie was to take up Rankin's role as the largest thorn in the side of the FMC. A central motif of Rankin's complaints in 1897 was the allegation that the Blantyre Mission under Clement Scott was indulging in High Church ritual. The real issue at stake, however, was one which had become increasingly disturbing from the late 1880's onwards, that of the existence of a cabal who exercised a very tight grip on mission affairs, in defiance of Presbyterian principle.

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1. The amount of power which lay behind such an 'order' is questionable. On 25 March 1908, the Rev. W.H. Rankine, brother of a China missionary and biographer of W.A. Scott of the Blantyre Mission, placed a proposal for an Overture to the General Assembly before Glasgow CS Presbytery, on the occasion of the resignation of the FMC Secretary. The preamble to the Overture read as follows:
 Whereas it is desirable that the reorganisation should be such as to facilitate the General Assembly's exercise of its powers to direct the policy of its Committee.
 2. Scotsman, 25 December 1896.

The first accusation of this nature came from Duff Macdonald during the Foreign Mission debate of 1888, when his reference to the family nature of the Blantyre Mission elicited nothing more than laughter in the House,¹ and a conciliatory letter from James Rankin, claiming that he had repeatedly tried to have Macdonald elected to the FMC, but with no success.² In 1896, Rankin himself had swung round to the view that the FMC was under the control of a clique, to the detriment of the movement:³

The Foreign Mission needs to be delivered from the hands of a clique before it can gain the confidence of the Church and be able to make a sympathetic appeal for the greater liberality which is really necessary and which the Church would respond to were the right way of appeal adopted.

Rankin's accusation received more consideration than Macdonald's had done, and brought a reply from Duncan Campbell four days later, in which he 'shrewdly suspect(ed) that in the Muthill dictionary "clique" stands for any committee or body of men who do not take their opinions from Dr Rankin.' This claim might have borne some fruit, for it was a well-known fact that Rankin had been closely involved with the Blantyre work from its inception. He had addressed early valedictory meetings,⁴

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1. Scotsman, 1 June 1888. Vide also A.C. Ross, SHR, p.53.
 2. ibid. Rankin took Macdonald's words seriously enough to attempt (with no support) to block W.A. Scott's appointment to Blantyre, on the grounds that 'the Mission had already sufficient members of the same family for its peace and safety.' FMC Minute, 5 March 1889. His failure on this occasion led to his resignation from the Committee.
 3. Scotsman, 22 December 1896.
 4. CS HFM, August 1876.

had undertaken preliminary language training of prospective missionaries,¹ and had gone to Blantyre in 1880 as an official Commissioner, to investigate the running of the Mission.² At the same time, Rankin was prepared to freely acknowledge his vested interest in the Blantyre situation, a frankness not reciprocated by the supposed clique in the FMC. In the continued discussion of the High Church controversy in 1897, Rankin stated that he had had to carry the news of the deaths in Nyasaland of ten former inhabitants of Muthill and its surroundings to their families, and added that his motivating purpose was the defence of the lay missionaries in Africa against the over-exercise of power by the clerical missionaries,³ whom he had earlier described as conducting the Mission under a 'narrow, arbitrary, and personal rule.'⁴ Despite the scornful dismissal of Rankin by Duncan Campbell and others, there were many Scots who would still subscribe to the view of him given by J.A. Campbell, MP, in a House of Commons debate on the Blantyre Missionaries in 1880,

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1. NLS Ms.7542, f.714, FMC to W.W. Robertson, Perth, 14 August 1878.
 2. Vide Scotsman obituary, 1 July 1902.
 3. Scotsman, 28 May 1897. In May 1897 the Blantyre Mission paper, Life and Work in British Central Africa, described how Rankin went about this self-imposed task:
A book has been kept by the Minister of Muthill for about ten years we believe, in which every scrap of gossip (and you know what African gossip is) that could be gleaned by interviewing, in the interests of this attack, every individual that came home was ~~regularly~~ entered.'
 4. Scotsman, 22 December 1896.

when he described Rankin as:¹

...a man of great ability and common sense,
and one in whom the Church had thorough
confidence.

After Rankin's death in 1902, the FMC might have expected to breathe more easily, but the seeds of doubt sown by the Muthill minister had taken root. By 1906, Mackenzie of Dunkeld had begun to be aware of the existence within the FMC of a small clique who, by their control of both acting- and sub-committees, steam-rolled their policies through the General Committee, on which the Presbytery representatives sat in what Mackenzie described as 'another Tantalus box of oats.'² The following week saw the publication of a letter from a W.G. Syme of Edinburgh, confirming what Mackenzie had said.³ After a further seven days, Syme wrote again, expressing the hope that Mackenzie would try to form a party within the Church to push through the necessary reforms, since none of those immediately responsible for the Foreign Missions had entered the Correspondence to defend their policies.⁴ The correspondence continued over the next three months, with Mackenzie bringing forward specific allegations of mismanagement and nepotism in the North-West Indian mission field, with the comment that he had been trying in vain for the past five years to get the FMC to act on

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1. North British Daily Mail, 3 July 1880.
 2. Scotsman, 14 July 1906.
 3. ibid., 21 July 1906.
 4. ibid., 28 July 1906.

these.¹ Two days later, the FMC Convener, Dr McMurtrie, wrote to say that the whole matter would be submitted to the Acting Committee, who would decide on any action to be taken, a response which virtually ended the public debate.² This entire affair goes a long way towards confirming Rankin's accusations,³ and also does much to clear him of any allegation that his own efforts in Nyasaland had served to polarise those involved into a family compact not representative of the Foreign Missions in general. The clique apparently wished to control all of the missions, not just the Blantyre field.

The Mackenzie debate seems to have been the last occasion on which the opponents of the FMC had recourse to the Press as their forum. The regular use of such a platform once again brings out clearly some of the differences between the denominations, though the explanation of these is less obvious. The discontent in the field, particularly in Nigeria and Nyasaland where the malarial climate had long been recognised as liable to make men irascible and unreasonable, was not confined to the Established Church. In the 1890's, the introduction of the Hope Waddell Training Institute at Calabar caused

1. Scotsman, 23 August 1906.

2. ibid., 25 August 1906.

3. It is an illuminating fact that the Committee of Inquiry set up to investigate Rankin's complaints refused to confirm or deny the existence of a clique. In stating that the home management ought to have been firmer and stronger, they appear to have tacitly acknowledged Rankin's accusation. CS FMC Report(1897), p.173.

a great deal of friction between the lay and clerical missionaries, as each group felt that the other received an undue proportion of the available resources.¹ As a result of this, a number of missionaries resigned under less than amicable circumstances,² while one clerical missionary, William Marwick, was transferred to Jamaica as a matter of expediency, on the grounds that:³

...it is desirable that the new departure be dissociated as completely as possible from all influences connected with the recent troubles in the Mission.

A step of this nature was unusual, and its most likely cause was Marwick's specific attack on the Institute for its failure to produce the intended teachers and pastors, as laid out in its remit.⁴ Marwick had not been alone in his discontent at the course of events in Calabar. In 1896 the Rev. Dr Whitelaw of Kilmarnock, a prominent UP minister, had given tongue to his uneasiness at the developments in Calabar:⁵

There was a feeling, he said, that their missions were not all they were represented to be, that their missionaries were not doing effective work, and that the mission cause was not getting on so gloriously as the reports sent home would lead them to believe.

The matter was taken no further than this vague disapproval, and within two years the Foreign Mission Secretary, James

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1. UP FMB Minutes, 29 January 1895, 24 November 1896, and 26 January 1897.
 2. Vide., e.g., FMB Minute, 24 September 1895, anent the departure of James Lindsay, mission engineer.
 3. UF FMC Minute, 23 April 1901.
 4. Scotsman, 10 May 1900. The attack came during the Synod debate on foreign missions.
 5. ibid., 7 May 1896.

Buchanan, could make the following statement to the Synod without being contradicted:¹

With regard to Old Calabar, the work there, he said, had prospered during the past year. The Hope-Waddell Training Institution, which had been established there some little time ago had been an unmistakable success.

With the passage of another two years, even Marwick's onslaught of 1900 rather fizzled out, with Buchanan making optimistic promises of improvements.

In the United Free Church Mission at Livingstonia the early years of the 20th Century saw a similar growth of discontent. A number of missionaries resigned or transferred to another field, after periods of service ranging from four to twelve years. In each case, the removal came after a quarrel with Robert Laws, who seems to have proved increasingly difficult to work with in his later years.² Even this short catalogue of disputes is enough to show that, if they had so desired, UP and Free Churchmen could have dragged their FMC's into disrepute equivalent to that which had afflicted the Auld Kirk. Potential quarrels, however, were shelved in the interests of harmony. In 1899, the WFMS withdrew their Pachamba station in India because of the

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1. Scotsman, 5 May 1898.
 2. NLS Ms.7861, f.826, Daly to E.Boxer, 22 January 1904.
NLS Ms.7865, f.314, Daly to A.Dewar, 15 June 1905.
Dewar, notoriously difficult to work with, may have precipitated the quarrel, but it can be argued that Laws might have done more to mend the breach instead of leaving Daly with the task of trying to smooth matters out. Daly had to perform an identical function with Alexander Brown in 1912. NLS Ms.7867, f.673, Daly to Brown, 7 July 1912.

obstructionist tactics of one of the male missionaries, Dr J.A.Dyer (FC/UF, Bengal, 1875-1923). Writing to the mother of one of the missionaries to tell her of her daughter's premature furlough, William Stevenson stressed that the affair was to be glossed over in the interests of the Foreign Missions generally;¹ in the Church of Scotland, a similar dispute had led to the Calcutta scandal.

In the absence of any tangible evidence one can only speculate about the causes of this vast difference between the practice in the Auld Kirk and in the other denominations. One difference was that in the 1870's and 1880's the Church of Scotland had no leading administrator of the stature of Alexander Duff of the Free Church.² Duff's unique influence can be seen in a resolution passed by Glasgow Free Church Presbytery on 4 December 1872. December 20th was to be universally recognised as a day of prayer for missions by Missionary Societies in England, and by the Established and UP Presbyteries in Glasgow, but before coming to any

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1. NLS Ms.7922, Stevenson to Mrs Nairn, Perth, 14 March 1899.
 2. None of the leading men in the CS FMC in the 1880's, such as Macrae of Hawick, Archie Scott, or John McMurtrie (Convener, 1885-1908) had any experience as missionaries. J.C.Herdman (Convener, 1872-82) had 4 years' experience as a missionary at Calcutta (1845-49). Ordained at the very early age of 19, presumably because of the desperation after the withdrawal of all the missionaries in 1843, Herdman lacked the mature experience of the work which was so prominent a feature of Duff's career as a home administrator. Of the later figures, Scott's handling of the Calcutta situation suggests that he was politically inept at the very least.

decision as to their attitude the Free Church Presbytery wished to learn the views of Duff and the FMC, and be guided accordingly. In the UP Church, pride in the denomination's Scottish supremacy in missionary zeal, and the conscious efforts of the FMC to maintain contact with the subscribers by means of a regular monthly visit from the missionary collectors, probably combined to build the kind of confidence in the Committee which was so noticeably absent in the Established Church. The nurturing of this confidence meant that Presbyteries which felt that they lacked adequate information on a topic, as happened in early 1888 with reference to the future of the Spanish and Japanese Missions, were perfectly willing to refer the matter back to the Mission Board and abide by its decision.¹

Ultimately, the squabbles within the Established Church had some effect on the other Churches, through their concern not to emulate the mistakes of their neighbours. In his Reminiscences, George Reith pinpointed the cast-iron rota system as one of the chief weaknesses in the structuring of Church Committees.² The development of such a system in the non-established sector may well have owed much to the Church of Scotland experience. In 1868, the Established Presbytery of Edinburgh had drawn up a series of recommendations

1. UP MR, April 1888. Vide. also Inverness UF Presb. Min., 2 November 1915.

2. Reith, op.cit., p.90.

relating to representation on Presbyterial Committees. All brethren were expected to serve on at least one Standing Committee and, as a general rule, no-one should serve on more than three. An important rider was added to this with the injunction that Committees should be as small:¹

...as is consistent with the necessity of having those members upon them who are specially acquainted with the matters with which the Committee have to deal.

In embryo form, this provided the basic rationale for the growth of an Edinburgh-based clique of retired missionaries/administrators on the FMC, and appears to have been widely put into practice.² Perhaps as a result of reaction to the adverse publicity which surrounded the Auld Kirk FMC in the mid-1880's,³ the editor of the Free Church Record felt obliged to warn his readers of the dangers of introducing any system of local representation to the General Assembly Standing Committees, especially to the FMC. Such a system, he argued, would deprive the Committee of its quota of necessary specialists, who

1. Edinburgh CS Presb. Min., 30 December 1868.

2. Vide Table I, supra. p.210. In 1910, Edinburgh CS Presbytery agreed to a proposal to appoint a Presbyterial FMC, with power:

...to co-opt any others outwith the Presbytery who are known to be specially interested in the cause of Foreign Missions.

Presb. Min., 29 June 1910. Such an action was not typical of the other CS Presbyteries in Scotland.

3. The Scotsman editorial of 31 May 1884 expounded this with reference to the Calcutta Scandal and the FMC propaganda re an ideal mission structure:

It has often been suspected that behind these conventional pictures there was another aspect of mission affairs bearing a closer resemblance to imperfect human nature. Mr Hastie and Dr Scott have between them rent the veil, and the seamy side of missions is revealed to the profane view of the heathen at home and of the mild Hindoo.

included:¹

...military officers who have served for years in the East; Indian civilians who have had to deal judicially with the heathen; medical men who have seen the gospel in contact with misery in all parts of the world.

The warning apparently passed largely unheeded, and in May 1913 Donald Fraser of Livingstonia wrote an article for the UF Record, in which he complained that the democratic system of stepping down after four years meant that the majority of the FMC never did more than serve an apprenticeship, and the enterprise consequently suffered from a lack of specialist information.

As the mission fields grew steadily larger and more complex, this posed more and more of a threat to their efficient operation. The difficulty was compounded by the fact that any reduction in the expertise of the FMC's initiated a vicious circle. The fear of the existence of a cabal sometimes led to a reduction in funds; the reduced funds led to reduced efficiency and cries of mismanagement; and so on. Although ever-present on the periphery of the movement, the extent of this drift should not be over-estimated. In the midst of the furore of the 1880's, the Scotsman went some way towards reassuring Established Churchmen about the inherent

1. FC MR, March 1884.

stability of their government:¹

Dr Story is said to have a crow to pluck with Dr Scott, about the Foreign Mission Committee....But all these promise nothing more than a little sharp debating. It will not be possible to rend the Church over Dr Scott's management of Missions. The minister of St George's may be a capital whetstone for Dr Story's wit; he probably will be; but the whetstone and the wit need not refuse to abide together.

If disputes of this intensity did not destroy the mission movement, it was largely because the gathered nucleus constituted a foundation which remained loyal and unshakeable. As the chapter on the funding of missions will show, the Committees turned in times of adversity to a small number of wealthy donors who were either members of Committee, or friends of members. But over the Churches as a whole, since the apologists could not reassure every doubter in person, the commitment of those swithering on the fringes was liable to evaporate. The real impact of any distrust of mission administrators was not in the immediate withdrawal of support, but lay in the insidious undermining of potential support which could have given the missionary movement a much broader base throughout the entire Church. In this respect, Stock's grudging comment that the Scottish system at least permitted a large number of ministers to hear about the work²backfired upon the Churches. If members of Assembly had allegations of incompetency or worse exposed before

1. Scotsman, 25 May 1883.

2. Stock, My Recollections, p.331.

them, they could hardly be expected to return to their charges filled with the desire to plead the cause. While democracy demanded that any allegations be openly investigated, the irresponsible behaviour of Established clergy who fanned alight the smouldering embers of controversy, apparently in order to continue personal vendettas,¹ did much to jeopardise the success and extension of the cause which they professed to serve.

4. Authority and Control.

If the personal defects or antipathies among individual Church leaders were one cause of the failure to cash in on the advantages, peculiar to Scotland, of utilising the Church as a Missionary Society, the overweight system of checks and balances built into the constitution of Scottish Presbyterian Church Government was another. The fierce defence of local autonomy which did so much to uphold the strongest traditions of 16th and 17th Century Scotland also did much to restrict the fuller development of a new tradition of missionary outreach. This section will examine some of the ways in which these restrictions operated. After a brief survey of the chronology of the inauguration of Mission Committees at Presbytery level, the remainder of the section will consider what influence

1. R.H. Story, for example, had first clashed with the FMC in 1881 over the handling of the Blantyre case. He had wished to delay matters until Duff Macdonald had been given the chance to explain his conduct, but he frankly disagreed with Macrae's interpretation of Livingstone's ideal of civilising Africa, and felt that 'the real culprits were Dr Macrae and his Committee'. Glasgow Herald, 3 March 1881. Story maintained this attack unabated for several years.

or power -if any- was wielded by either central or local committees.

Because of the democratic right of Presbyteries and congregations to ignore an Assembly dictum if they so chose, it is extremely difficult to date with any accuracy the growth of local missionary committees in the Scottish Presbyterian community. One synopsis of this process, as it took place in the Auld Kirk in the late 1880's and 1890's, concludes that -with only about one-third of the parishes responding to pleas for advance in 1888 and 1896- there was no effective increase in the sector of the Church showing an interest in foreign missions.¹ An estimate of this nature gives a good overall picture, but gives no indication of responses in specific areas. A slightly more accurate, and lengthier, procedure is to look at the response within certain areas, and to compare this with developments in the other denominations. The results obtained by using this method over the five Presbyteries of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Perth, and Inverness² are still too inconclusive to mean a great deal, but they do show once again the parallel developments of Free and UP work, and the

1. A.C. Ross, SHR, p.60.

2. Confirmation of the fortuitous nature of this choice came after the work was complete, in a letter from James Rankin to the Scotsman on 'Church of Scotland Finance' (8 May 1899). Rankin used the Presbyteries of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Perth, and Dumfries as being 'even more than fairly representative' of all 84 within the Church.

laggardly nature of the Church of Scotland's efforts.

The first attempts to establish an Auld Kirk grass-roots missionary organisation on the grand scale came in 1881 with the sporadic response to an Assembly injunction that Presbyteries should appoint Committees with the aim of organising members:¹

...with a view to largely increased systematic and continuous contributions so as to maintain and extend the present operations of the Foreign Missions Committee of the General Assembly and of the other Schemes of the Church.

It is clear from later Minutes that such Committees were intended to have only a temporary life and, in most cases, were not exclusively concerned with the overseas work. Aberdeen dutifully formed a Presbyterial FMC on 27 September 1881, but as early as 7 February 1882, the Presbytery were considering the expediency of re-appointing the Committee, since many rural clergy wished to delay bringing Foreign Missions to the attention of congregations until the summer, when Church attendance would presumably have risen with the departure of the winter weather.² In Glasgow, the Presbytery agreed to an amendment that District Committees should be approved only if they were used to promote Home Mission work as well as Foreign

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1. Edinburgh CS Presb. Min., 29 June 1881. As part of this programme the Rev. W. Macfarlane, on his first furlough after 16 years in India, addressed 329 meetings throughout Scotland. Scott, Fasti, VII, p. 699. He was the first CS missionary since Duff, in the 1830's, to undertake this kind of whistle-stop campaign.
 2. Many of these CS Committees were appointed for one specific purpose then disbanded, thus preventing the kind of continuous effort which maintained a higher degree of interest and support in the other Churches.

Missions.¹ By 1889, this committee had dropped into abeyance, and the General Assembly circular anent Educational Missions had to be remitted to the Life and Work Committee for consideration.² In fact, it was well into the 20th Century before the various Presbyteries added Foreign Missions Committees to the list of permanent Standing Committees.³ Until this time, the foreign missions were conducted on a spasmodic basis, or else were doubled up in committee with one or more of the other Schemes.

In the Free Church, foreign missions were given a prominent place much earlier. By 1861, Aberdeen Free Presbytery, which followed standard Free Church practice by receiving a quarterly Foreign Mission Fund Report, agreed that this Report should take precedence over the Sustentation and Education Fund Reports, a significant jump in status.⁴ Four years later, Perth Presbytery possessed a fully-fledged Presbyterial FMC.⁵ By the 1870's, such Committees fulfilled a useful watchdog role in fostering congregational interest. In 1875, the Convener of one of these Committees proposed to interrogate ministers within the Presbytery bounds about

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1. Glasgow CS Presb. Min., 4 January 1882.
 2. *ibid.*, 4 September 1889.
 3. *Vide.* the following Presb. Mins.; Glasgow, 22 May 1905; Edinburgh, 29 September 1915; Perth, 26 September 1922. The 17-year gap gives some indication of the problems mentioned at the start of this section.
 4. Aberdeen FC Presb. Min., 7 May 1861.
 5. Perth FC Presb. Min., 26 July 1865.

their congregational or individual efforts on behalf of foreign missions.¹ The results, as reported back to the Presbytery, were less than satisfactory:²

Rev. T. Gardiner called attention to the exceedingly loose and irregular way in which the Congregational Associations are in the habit of sending in contributions.

As a result of this early establishment of Presbyterial organs, the FMC was placed in a much stronger position than the Church of Scotland in its efforts to inaugurate a scheme of Foreign Mission Associations in every congregation, and Free Church courts of all gradations consistently strove to maintain this differential.³

In the UP Church a similar pattern of development took place. By 1878, Aberdeen Presbytery accepted a proposal from the Rev. John Robson that the present Missions and Evangelistic Committee should be separated into Home and Foreign Missions Committees, instead of merely being enlarged as had originally been proposed.⁴ As in the other denominations, there was often a large discrepancy between Presbyteries in the inauguration of these Missions Committees. Perth appointed one on 27 August 1861, but it was not until 10 August 1880 that

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1. Aberdeen Herald, 7 August 1875. Report on FC Presbytery Meeting.
 2. ibid., 6 November 1875.
 3. e.g. On 19 October 1887, Perth and Stirling FC Synod recommended that Presbyteries should urge congregations to form FM Associations. Perth Presbytery read this Minute on 24 April 1888, and on 30 April 1889, 'strongly recommended' Arngask Deacon's Court to form a congregational FMA, if at all possible.
 4. Aberdeen UP Presb. Min., 11 June 1878.

the Presbytery of Elgin and Inverness followed suit. Likewise, it was not until 5 July 1887 that Edinburgh renamed the Missions Committee the Foreign Missions Committee, and transformed the Evangelistic Committee into the Home Missions and Evangelistic Committee. The difference was primarily a semantic one, since the Missions Committee had previously confined its activities solely to foreign missions,¹ and it seems reasonable to assume that this was a fairly standard practice in the UP Church. In some respects, the charting of interest by means of the date of the formation of Presbytery Committees does a disservice to individual congregations and, collectively, to the UP Church. One example of this will suffice to make the point. A decade before the foundation of the first Missions Committee in Elgin and Inverness, the Presbytery could joyfully report that all bar one (Archieston) of the congregations within the bounds possessed a Missionary Society.²

The picture which emerges from the evidence so far places the UP's in the vanguard, with the Free Churchmen struggling gamely some way behind, and the Established membership still limbering up beside their starting blocks. The balance was considerably altered as time passed. A sizeable segment of the Established Church began, albeit slowly, to display signs of zeal, while the

1. Edinburgh UP Presb. Min., 6 July 1886.

2. Elgin and Inverness UP Presb. Min., 13 December 1870.

existence in the other Churches of an enthusiastic lobby at Presbytery level brought no guarantee of a response at congregational level. Despite the example of Elgin and Inverness, Foreign Missions Associations or Societies were by no means universal in the Free and UP congregations. In 1879 the acting Secretary of the Free Church FMC reported this fact to the membership:¹

It is disappointing to find that, notwithstanding the reiterated recommendation of the General Assembly, fully one-third of the congregations of the Church continue to be satisfied with a collection at the Church door once a year for the support of this great enterprise.

In some congregations this lack could be attributed to apathy, but in others the resistance hinged on a question of principle. The crux of the problem was expounded by the editor of the Free Church Record in September 1879, when he challenged the Association method of collection on two distinct counts. First, the use of Associations meant that no other channel of giving was readily open to those Church members who were not part of the Association;² secondly, the withdrawal of church-door collections meant that many ministers no longer made specific reference to the foreign missions from the pulpit, with an ensuing

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1. FC MR, April 1879. On 11 April 1911, the Foreign Mission Convener of the UF Synod of Perth and Stirling reported to the Synod on the various methods of FM collections. Most were gathered by quarterly collections, a small number by monthly collections, and, in a few instances, collections were taken at the Church door only.
 2. This scheme had the obvious danger of creating a missionary society within, rather than of, the Church, a point which had previously been raised in the FC MR, in June 1875.

decrease in interest.¹ Where resistance did exist, the Free and UP Churches, despite their impressive multiplicity of missionary agencies, were as powerless to overthrow it as their brethren of the Auld Kirk.

In the Church of Scotland the latter part of the 19th Century saw a gradual stiffening of resolve by central authority, and an equally gradual softening of intransigent local opposition. In the late 1850's, the Synod members of Perth and Stirling had stoutly opposed any attempt to permit the Synod to examine Presbytery Books, a proposal intended to discover which congregations did not contribute towards the Schemes.² By 1890, Professor Charteris was able to arouse widespread approval with his suggestion to the Assembly that the names of non-contributing parishes should be published annually.³

At the Presbytery level, the degree of control was generally no more effective than it had been at Synod level. Where a congregation showed no intention of contributing to the Schemes, the strongest action which at least one Presbytery felt able to take was to label the omission as 'reprehensible'.⁴ In another Presbytery, the

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1. Similar concern was shown in the CS HFMR (May 1893), with regard to proposals to replace Church-door with Schedule collections.
 2. In October 1858, the voting was 16-9 against, and in October 1859 it was 19-8 against.
 3. Scotsman, 24 May 1890.
 4. Aberdeen CS Presb. Min., 4 February 1873.

suggestion that the Presbytery should somehow 'oblige' ministers to afford their members the opportunity of contributing to the Schemes led only to bickering between the city and county elements of the Presbytery.¹ It seems quite likely, in fact, that such bickering arose through the frustrated realisation that the Presbytery had no way of enforcing its collective will:²

A discussion took place as to what should be done with respect to certain congregations which had failed to contribute towards the schemes of the Church, but it did not appear that the Presbytery had much power in the matter, and no definite resolution was come to.

As late as 1895, when a special appeal was made to liquidate the Foreign Mission debt, only forty of the ninety-nine Churches and Chapels within the bounds of Glasgow Presbytery responded by taking up a collection.³ By 1910, the Church's officials had given up the unequal struggle to impose their wills upon the Church at large, in recognition of the fact that they could never succeed, and were valiantly attempting to make a virtue out of necessity:⁴

It is a matter of debate whether or not it is fortunate that the Church is so anarchic and so little dependent upon central authority.

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1. Perthshire Courier, 5 July 1887. Report of Perth CS Presbytery Meeting.
 2. ibid., 2 July 1889. The same. Open defiance was not unusual in the CS. On 30 May 1881, the Scotsman printed a letter from a parish minister in which he warned that if the FMC appointed another young and untied man to Blantyre, many ministers:
 ...while in obedience to the General Assembly affording an opportunity to the congregation of contributing to the scheme, will refrain from urging its claims.
 3. Glasgow CS Presb. Min., 6 March 1895.
 4. CS L&W, October 1910.

Acceptance of this fact led to statements like the following, delivered by Perth Presbytery's FMC to a Presbytery meeting on 20 October 1920:

...your Committee are unable to recommend the adoption of any particular plan whereby the appeal on behalf of our Foreign Mission may be met, but we cordially and sympathetically commend this appeal to the Ministers and Kirk Sessions within the Presbytery.

This example of Presbyterian waiving of responsibility was appended by a similar incident in the local Synod in the spring of the following year, when a motion was passed:¹

That the Synod express their disappointment that so many parishes in Stirling Presbytery should fail to make collections for the Schemes of the Church.

The use of disappointment rather than something substantially stronger, such as disapproval, suggests a positive reversal of the toughening-up process which had been much mooted in the 1880's and 1890's, and a return to the more pusillanimous days of the mid-19th Century, which had lived with the ever-present fear of a fresh Secession from the already badly-weakened National Church.

The position with regard to the Free Church was somewhat different. In order to establish a Church structure starting from scratch, the Free Church had required a strong and determined central control. After a generation or so, the need for this control was becoming less obvious to the rising number of office-bearers who

1. Perth and Stirling CS Synod Min., 14 April 1921.

had not witnessed the Disruption, and the further history of the denomination shows an erosion of power from the central back to the local bodies. In 1863 the Free Church Synod of Perth and Stirling was still confident enough of its authority to instruct the several Presbyteries to direct attention to the state and operation of the Foreign Missions Associations functioning within its bounds.¹ At Presbytery level, all the evidence points to a much closer supervision of missionary donations than ever existed in the Auld Kirk. Any omission of an appointed collection brought a swift enquiry as to the reason for this, and ministers were sometimes exposed to an uncomfortable cross-examination. By the 1890's, the position of the Church's intermediate courts was considerably weakened. In 1896, Perth and Stirling Synod expressed dissatisfaction with the result of an enquiry into Foreign Missions contributions by Breadalbane Presbytery, and remitted the matter back to the Presbytery. Some months later, the Presbytery reported back that they did not intend to take any action, because they had no power to enforce such collections.²

The UP Church, formed four years after the Disruption, witnessed a similar pattern up to 1900. In 1870, the Monthly Heading on the Missionary Record read:

The Synod expects Special Prayer to be offered on the second Sabbath of each month, in behalf of our Missions.

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1. Perth and Stirling FC Synod Min., 21 April 1863.
 2. ibid., 15 April, 21 October 1896, and 21 April 1897.

By 1876, this 'expectation' had been weakened to a Synod 'recommendation', although the atmosphere of UP magazines and Presbytery Books retained an enthusiasm which neither the Established nor Free Churches possessed. In 1869, for example, the Presbyterial Missionary Committee of Perth had 'exhorted' all the congregations which fell below the average contributions to Missions to do better next time.¹ By 1893 the enthusiasm was somewhat tempered. In that year Glasgow UP Presbytery received a disturbing Report from its Committee on Missionary Affairs, showing that twelve congregations within the bounds gave nothing for foreign missions, while several of the largest congregations gave very little. Instead of 'exhorting' congregations, the Presbytery decided merely to 'encourage' them.² In this particular case, the encouragement seems to have worked reasonably well, and the number of defaulting congregations dropped to seven by the following year.³ Where a congregation proved unwilling to be exhorted, encouraged, or otherwise impressed into giving, the Presbytery could do little to alter matters, and in 1888 the Presbytery of Elgin and Inverness concluded a plea to Burghead congregation, requesting that members should have more than the current two opportunities per year to contribute to missions,

1. Perth UP Presb. Min., 16 March 1869.

2. Glasgow UP Presb. Min., 11 April 1893. On 10 February 1880, Glasgow Presbytery had drawn up a comprehensive programme urging the formation of missionary associations and increased efforts on behalf of foreign missions. Little seems to have been achieved over the next 13 years.

3. Glasgow UP Presb. Min., 23 April 1894.

with the despairing cry that:¹

The Presbytery has recommended over and again that contributions should be taken monthly.

After the Union of 1900 the UF Church continued this decentralising reduction of powers, and by 1907 the supervision of Schemes collections had been relaxed to such an extent that one Synod now resolved to draw the attention of Presbyteries to congregations which had given nothing to foreign missions in the preceding twenty-one months.² Half a century earlier, congregations which missed two successive quarterly collections were quite likely to be sharply questioned as to the cause of this, and in some cases a decrease in the level of contributions was sufficient in itself to instigate a Presbyterial inquiry.³ The phraseology of the findings of such an inquiry, conducted by Inverness UF Presbytery in 1912, is very interesting in that it more closely resembles 19th Century Established Church parlance than it does the more forceful language of the Free and UP branches which intertwined to form the UF Church:⁴

The Presbytery deeply regret to find that so many of the Schemes Collections appointed by the General Assembly for 1912 were omitted by some of the Congregations within the bounds. The/

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1. Elgin and Inverness UP Presb. Min., 14 January 1888.
 2. Perth UF Synod Min., 8 October 1907.
 3. Perth FC Presb. Min., 28 September 1897. The congregation, Errol, attributed the drop to the deaths of two liberal donors.
 4. Inverness UF Presb. Min., 6 January 1914. Similar resistance was widespread in both denominations. Vide. Edinburgh CS Presb. Mins., 31 March 1926 and 27 March 1928.

/The Presbytery would remind all Ministers, Kirk-Sessions and Deacons' Courts, that it is an injunction of the General Assembly that all their faithful people be afforded an opportunity of contributing to all the appointed Collections.

Conclusions.

The bulk of the material in this chapter has demonstrated how and why the Scottish Presbyterians never fully utilised their infrastructures in order to promote foreign missionary interest, and it is necessary here to add only one or two general comments by way of summing up. Unlike the Voluntary Societies, the Presbyterian Churches were invariably dependent upon the good wishes of existent office-bearers, who could not be by-passed even if they were unsympathetic to the cause. In 1890, Robert Young, Foreign Missions Secretary of the Free Church, replied to Duncan Stewart of Perth, who had asked for suggestions' to improve the effectiveness of a congregational Foreign Missions Association. Young suggested that the Church Deacons should be enlisted to call upon non-contributors to Missions, and added that this would be greatly appreciated by the lady collectors who were often left to work their districts single-handed.¹ If the deacons, for whatever reason, refused to comply with this request there was little that the FMC could do to short-circuit their opposition, and the infrastructure became a hindrance rather than a help. Finally, while personal confidence in Committee members often provoked long and

1. NLS Ms.7755, f.685, letter dated 1 May 1890.

bitter arguments in Church courts, the real issue at stake was not the validity or methods of mission work, but that of the source of power within the Church. In such a struggle the Missions Committees inevitably fared badly, even at the hands of those for whom they strove. In 1930 the former Jewish missionary, William Ewing, succinctly expressed the insoluble problem which effectively prevented the Committees from realising the full potential of the situation:¹

Committees, it seems, at times fail to realise that missionaries are not their agents, but servants of the Church.

Forced to accept responsibility without being allowed to exercise proper control, it is little wonder that Committee members often despaired of achieving any success in the enterprise commensurate with the efforts which they put into it.

1. W. Ewing, Paterson of Hebron (Lond. 1930), p.235.

CHAPTER FIVE.MISSION FINANCE.

In the introduction to the section on the recruitment of staff, The Home Base Committee of the 1910 Conference asserted that:¹

After all is said, this great mission work depends more upon persons than upon money.

As the chapter on 'The Missionary Staff' demonstrated, the division was never so clear cut, and there were numerous occasions when potential staff had to be turned away, and serious consideration given to retrenchment, due to a lack of financial support. The attitude of Scottish Churchmen towards the problems of fund-raising was ambiguous in that the topic of cash was regarded as a rather vulgar -but necessary- evil. The first part of this chapter, therefore, will examine some of the ramifications of this attitude, notably the reasons introduced by various mission leaders in Scotland to rid themselves of their inherent distaste for the subject. The second section will consider some of the major aspects of the financial policy, and will make mention of a number of ethical considerations attendant on these policies. The third and final section will look at the methods used to raise cash in the various denominations, and will delineate some of the more common responses to what Isabel Cameron, the Scottish novelist and Presbyterian minister's wife, once described as a constant

1. WMC 1910, Volume VI, p.120.

cry for 'money, money, money.'¹

1. 'A dream cometh through the multitude of business.'²

For many missionary enthusiasts, even this scriptural justification of the use of business methods was not enough to quell their disquiet over the nightmare fear that the spiritual side of missions might be overwhelmed by the financial. Such a fear had haunted missionary administrators from the earliest days of the modern movement, when John Venn laid down the fundamental principles of the newly-formed CMS, including the advice to:³

Put money in the second place, not the first; let prayer, study, and mutual converse precede its collection.

Even down to contemporary times, Venn's theory has constituted the ideal which the majority of missionary bodies have striven to initiate and maintain,⁴ with varying degrees of success. Long before the Edinburgh Conference spotlighted the problem of counteracting:⁵

...the unreasonable prejudice which has arisen from the fact that missionary addresses are usually connected with an appeal for an offering.

the Scottish Churches had been sensitive to this danger. In the late 1870's, for instance, the Established Church FMC had taken great care to reassure ministers

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1. In her 1957 novel, Mossford Mange. Isabel Cameron was authoress of the Doctor series, written in the Kailyard/People's Friend mould.
 2. Ecclesiastes, V, 3.
 3. Stock, CMS, Volume I, p.67.
 4. Warren, Crowded Canvas, p.141.
 5. WMC 1910, Volume VI, p.18.

from whom they requested the use of a pulpit that the meeting would be used only to disseminate missionary information, and no collection would be asked for.¹ In 1908, a similar reassurance was given before the visit to Perth North UF congregation of the Bengal missionary, Dr Malcolm Macnicol, who aimed to stimulate interest in the WFMS of the Church.²

Behind all the statements of this kind, however, lay the unspoken belief that the FMC would gain some additional financial return by arousing this interest, although it might be some time before it was received. The real dilemma stemmed from the type of fear voiced by George Farquhar, the Episcopal historian, who believed that a Church run in too business-like a fashion was doomed to founder spiritually.³ The species of Faith Mission run by George Müller of Bristol, where unsolicited donations arrived in answer to private prayer,⁴ might work on a small-scale and with an exceptional man such as Müller, but it could not be employed in the operation of an enterprise which might have several hundred servants

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1. NLS Ms.7541, f.529, J.T.Maclagan to Rev. J.Ballingall, Balfroun, 23 March 1877; NLS Ms.7544, f.707, J.T.M. to Rev. James Brunton, Perth, 15 November 1880. In 1883, one of the most prominent CMS supporters, E.H. Bickersteth, son of a former leading administrator, announced a forthcoming Mission Week at which officials would take sermons, with or without collections. Stock, CMS, Volume III, p.308. In Scotland, the situation was made even more delicate because of the twin barriers of democracy and local self-interest.
 2. Perth North Congregational Record, April 1908.
 3. Farquhar, op.cit., p.356.
 4. Vide. A.T.Pierson, George Müller of Bristol (Lond. 1899), passim.

scattered over the globe. Max Warren, with the benefit of many years spent as a CMS bureaucrat, has been able to state briefly but clearly the problems which accompanied the large-scale missionary enterprises:¹

What is common to all continent-wide organisations, unless very deep conviction and imagination are at work, is that support for missionary work will tend to be seen almost exclusively in financial terms, and very little, if at all, in terms of understanding prayer and personal responsibility for the missionaries.

As the missionary work expanded and became more complex this problem was intensified. In his Centenary History of the LMS, Richard Lovett emphasised the need for an increased efficiency in order to maintain the progress made during the first century:²

Possibly one of the early developments of work in the second century will be the placing of Missionary Deputation work more completely under modern scientific methods for raising money and for deepening interest.

In Scotland, the inherent dangers of this policy were pointed out in an article by the Rev. A.R. Howell in the August 1911 edition of Life and Work, where he reminded Churchmen that they must not lose sight of the more spiritual side of their task:

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1. Warren, Crowded Canvas, p.177.
 2. Lovett, LMS, Volume II, p.714. The ambiguities and uncertainties of attitude are shown by the fact that Lovett was in some measure contradicting what he had said in Volume I, p.78:
 ...money is by no means that prime factor which it has sometimes appeared even to energetic and devout helpers of the work...a great missionary society cannot be run exactly along the lines of a large wholesale house of business.

We must try to make it a principle in our work to make no appeal for money without at the same time evoking prayer for Missions, and giving information about the work.

The ethical dilemma, faced in varying degrees of intensity by many Scottish Churchmen, was most fully expounded in James Gall's Science of Missions in 1878. Gall regarded the current Presbyterian Churches as nothing more than great missionary societies, in which the chief function of the people was to give money, and that of the Church Courts was to regulate the spending of it.¹ Gall believed that this preoccupation was ultimately doomed to failure, since it was unscriptural and opposed to apostolic teaching,² but he was forced to acknowledge that there was no viable alternative in the present state of society:³

In our modern evangelism...Christians generally are so devoted to worldly pursuits that they can spare no time to work for God, and therefore it has become necessary to have men to do it for them.

Ideally, Gall favoured the concept of the Faith missionary (like Müller) as coming closest to Christ's utter disregard for money,⁴ but -canny Scot that he was- he realised that the present system was essential, despite its faults, until Christ's own plan grew to maturity to

1. Gall, op.cit., p.144.

2. ibid., p.44.

3. ibid., pp.199-200.

4. ibid., p.192.

replace it.¹ In some cases, acceptance of this general belief was utilised in the denominational interest, as in the speech which Dr John Macleod of Govan made to the Church of Scotland Assembly in 1896, during a debate on the Schemes Contributions. After referring to 'another Church' which exercised stricter control over congregational giving than did the Auld Kirk, Macleod:²

...proceeded to say that while they were multiplying the inventions of man, they were setting aside the orders of God.

Normally, this ethical issue was kept on a non-denominational basis, and attempts to alleviate disquiet over the cash-orientated nature of the missionary venture can be found in all of the Churches. As proof of this, I have selected three examples from the 1890's, one from each of the major denominations, which are representative of a widespread desire to justify the policies followed by the FMC's.

In August 1890, the Home and Foreign Mission Record contained an article by J.A.Campbell, MP, on 'Congregational Interest in Missions'. Campbell argued that the variety of missions belonging to the Church of Scotland should ensure that every member could find at least one mission to arouse his or her full interest and sympathy. Hard on the heels of this pronouncement, he stressed that there were very sound reasons for

1. Gall, op.cit., pp.214-5.

2. Scotsman, 23 May 1896. The reference was probably to the UP Church.

demonstrating this sympathy with hard cash:

We must allow that the mere giving of money is no proof of real interest in a good cause. Money may be given from very unworthy motives. But allowing all that, can there be any real interest felt in a good cause which needs money, if no effort is made to give the money?

Some years later, at a Public Meeting held in Perth to celebrate the Free Church Jubilee, the Rev. Walter R. Taylor, Convener of the Sustentation Fund Committee of the Church, gave a more detailed résumé of this argument:¹

Now, they might be told by those who were a little wise in their generation that the financial way of looking at things was a worldly way of looking at the Church's progress. Well, no doubt, if he was speaking of a man's income, and how much he made in business, that would be measuring him by a worldly standard; but in the Church of Christ they might measure it, not by what it gets, but by what it gives.

In the UP Church, already shown to be most vulnerable to criticism for its money-centred missionary structures, this altruistic motive was extended even further, with a repeated emphasis on the spiritual nature of the work undertaken by missionary collectors.²

One of the more timid ways in which missionaries and their supporters sought to justify their constant concern with money matters was the comparison of the

1. Rev. A.K. McMurchy (ed.), Free Church of Scotland. Jubilee of the Presbytery of Perth (Perth 1894), p.46.

2. E.g., The only recommendation arrived at by one Presbytery which considered a Synod communication anent the Employment of Female Agents was:
...that the Collectors have regularly brought before them the highly spiritual nature of their work.

Elgin and Inverness UP Presb. Min., 7 December 1897.

amount spent on missions with the amount frittered away on the (often immoral) pleasures of the flesh. James Gall consoled himself with the thought that the evils inherent in the system of using paid agents as missionaries were a mere flea-bite compared with the expenditure by Churchmen on tobacco and drink,¹ the two primary targets of this school of apologists. In 1880, the Rev. R. Morton of the Original Secession Church concluded his lecture on Alexander Duff, given under the auspices of the Perth Temperance Society, with the information that as much was spent annually on the national vice of intemperance as would erect and equip 50,000 schools in India.² During the debate on the UP Foreign Missions Report in 1888, Mr Cossar, an elder from Arbroath, was warmly applauded when he pointed out that members of the Church spent more on tobacco than they did on mission work,³ applause which suggested that this was a very popular argument. As this specific example became too commonplace and began to lose its impact, the advocates of missions came up with more ingenious, some might even say ridiculous, comparisons. A.T. Pierson, for example, noted that in his Budget Speech of 1897 Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had estimated that the unsmoked cigar and cigarette ends discarded in Britain were worth something in the order of one and a quarter million pounds per annum. This sum was equivalent to the annual expenditure

1. Gall, op.cit., p.149.

2. Perthshire Courier, 16 March 1880.

3. Scotsman, 10 May 1888.

on foreign missions by British Christians.¹ A decade later this kind of comparison had degenerated to a state where Life and Work reported, without the glimmer of a sense of the ludicrous, a remark made by Kenneth MacLennan at a recent Missionary Conference, to the effect that the annual UK expenditure on golf balls was almost as great as that on foreign missions.²

Although a large number of Church officials commonly flirted around the periphery of the subject of money, there were others who were more openly willing to discuss mission finance, albeit with frequent and profuse apologies for the necessity of so doing. Lord Sands was editor of an important policy document on Church Finance, published in 1926. As such, he painstakingly and rationally endeavoured to justify the Churches' preoccupation with money:³

The Church is an organisation with material requirements and these must be paid for in cash. Unless and until those who benefit by her spiritual ministrations give the amount necessary for her maintenance and for the advancement of the Gospel at home and abroad, she has no option but to go on asking.

Among missionary officials, there were constant attempts to take the hard edge off this policy by directing

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1. Pierson, op.cit., p.334. It is unclear whether the comparison was drawn by Pierson or Hicks-Beach, but presumably it was by the former. In 1903, the Rev. John Ross rather unimaginatively used this same example. J. Ross, op.cit., p.106.
 2. CS L&W, November 1908. MacLennan was Secretary of the Laymen's Movement in Scotland.
 3. Sands, Church Finance, p.107.

attention away from their own perpetual appeals for cash and towards the demands which individual conscience should make upon Church members. These attempts took the form of reminding potential subscribers that giving was not so much a duty demanded of them, but a privilege extended to them.¹ In his officially-commissioned Annals Thomas Brown argued that the impulse which the Disruption gave to Christian Liberty had remained a habit in the Free Church, and all Scottish Churchmen were now aware of the duty and privilege of giving for Christ as a direct result of this.² In fact, Lord Sands and his Committee found that very few Church members came anywhere close to realising their full duty and privilege in helping to extend God's Kingdom.³ The ethical niceties of those who pressed this argument were summed up by Dr John White of Glasgow Barony Parish Church, in reply to a statement that, viz-a-viz Church fund-raising, he was the best beggar in Scotland:⁴

I have never in my life begged for money for the Kingdom of God. Never! But I do state the need. I state the obligation, I state the privilege of giving....Money is the stored potentiality of life's forces.

The sensitivity to criticism of men like White suggests

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1. In cases where members appeared less than anxious to avail themselves of this privilege, officials like Mr Wilkie, Kirk Treasurer of Peebles Parish Church in 1907, were not averse to reversing the order:
He considered it no less a duty than a privilege to support the missions, as the Church that fails in this fails grievously.
-Dr Gunn, op.cit., p.291.
 2. T.Brown, op.cit., p.794.
 3. Sands, Church Finance, p.145.
 4. A.Muir, op.cit., p.293.

that they never quite rid themselves of the feeling that to talk of money was in some way anti-spiritual. While these scruples did not prevent them from continuing to ask for money,¹ they may well have limited the vigour with which they requested it, thus weakening the impact on more lethargic or non-committal Church members and adherents. Simultaneously, this moral unease may go far to explain why so many missionaries and Committee members in Scotland preferred to address themselves to a selected audience, on the grounds that their appeals for cash would not be misinterpreted as selfish or worldly. The effects of this feeling cannot be calculated in any numerical sense, but should be kept in mind when considering the financial strata of the Scottish Presbyterian missionary endeavours.

2. FMC Financial Policies.

From the time of Jesus' testimony to the value of the widow's mite, the 'power of littles' had been a recurrent theme of the Christian Church, although often lost sight of for long periods, due to patronage by the rich in one form or another. From the inception of the modern

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1. In the early 1880's Duff Macdonald, former Head of the Blantyre Mission, described the watchword of the FMC as: 'Man, think of the bawbees at the Kirk door!' -Africana (Lond. 1882), Volume II, p.79. On 24 May 1929, the Scotsman bore witness to the ongoing central concern with money, in its introduction to the previous day's happenings in the Assemblies: Foreign Missions and their finances chiefly occupied the attention of the three Scottish Church Assemblies yesterday.

missionary movement this concept was placed on a systematic basis by William Carey, who wished to see all Church members give at least one penny per week for foreign mission purposes.¹ Carey's vision remained a goal -frequently unattained- for missionary enthusiasts for a century or more.² In Scotland, Carey's principle was first mooted by Thomas Chalmers, the Disruption leader, who wished to see the Free Church grow through the steady donations from Congregational Associations rather than by generous gifts from a few wealthy donors.³ Chalmers was perhaps fortunate in the fact that he did not live long enough to see this dream shattered, and the foreign missions become more and more reliant upon rich individuals such as Lords Overtoun and Maclay, both, typically, Free Churchmen. While practical necessity forced this pattern upon the Missions Committees, the ideal of one penny per week was still kept before men as the magic barrier beyond which the missionary movement would expand at an undreamt-of pace. The persistence of this article of faith can be detected in a Presbyterial sent from the UP Presbytery of Elgin and Inverness to Lossiemouth congregation, on 14 January 1888:

...the power of littles is far greater than any of us, without the teaching of experience, is capable of understanding.

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1. Smith, Carey, p.35.
 2. Carey's scheme was often greatly altered, while retaining its basic form. Joseph Booth, notorious as the mentor of John Chilembwe in Nyasaland, proposed to raise £15m. to rectify negro and African wrongs by asking 1d. per day from 1% of the British and American population, for a period of 10 years. J.Booth, Africa for the African (Baltimore 1897), p.14.
 3. T.Brown, op.cit., p.298.

Indeed, by 1900 the official historian of the Established Missions was optimistically predicting that the Church, though slow to initiate mission work, had now reached a basis from which they could expand to reach Carey's figure.¹ To some, it must have appeared as though the Church had belatedly fallen into the trap prophesied for it by the Scotsman two decades prior to this:²

The Church of Scotland used to be comparatively free from the monetary taint....Lately, however, it has been dragged into the commercial vortex.

The 'monetary taint' never actually had the wide-spread impact which might have been expected of it, probably thanks to the problems of confidence and control referred to in the last chapter. In 1844, a Pamphlet had been issued in Edinburgh, which scathingly criticised the cash-orientated views of the Free Church, and claimed that ministers only visited members in order to extract the arrears of the penny per week subscriptions for the Sustentation Fund.³ If this accusation were ever true, a doubtful enough proposition, it was certainly inaccurate by the 1870's. The penny theme was a dormant one in the Free Church during the last thirty years of the century, perhaps because of the realisation that to press the point would only antagonise members into returning to the less demanding Auld Kirk. Many 19th Century writers

1. R.W.Weir, op.cit., p.123.

2. Scotsman, 1 June 1882.

3. Cited in A.A.Maclaren, op.cit., pp.104, 117n.17.

described Scottish Christian liberality, but none more feelingly than the Aberdeen journalist/novelist, William Alexander, in the 1870's. In a theme widely used by Scottish writers,¹ Alexander portrayed the typical Scottish Church member as one who carefully abstained:²

...from ever dropping into the "brod"
ought else than a copper "counterfeit
presentment" of her Majesty.

The UP Church, lacking the presence of men like Overtoun, appears to have been much more ready to press members to contribute their penny in order to finance the mission work. In 1880, the Presbytery of Edinburgh approved the suggestion made by two FMC Deputies that, as a general rule, contributions to the foreign missions should be at the rate of a penny per week, or a shilling per quarter;³ with a well-established system of monthly collections, the UP Church was in a much better position to encourage this process of small, but regular, donations than either of its main rivals were.

By the early 20th Century, even the former UP members were inclined to agree with the Free Church element in the UP fold, and with the Church of Scotland, that the penny per week was an over-optimistic target.

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1. E.g., by the Rev. J. Mc.Hay in Gillespie (1914); J.M. Barrie, Auld Light Idylls (1888); I. Maclaren, Beside The Bonnie Briar Bush (1895).
 2. In Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk, (Aberdeen 1871). Set in the Disruption years, the novel contained many pointers to contemporary attitudes towards the FC.
 3. Edinburgh UP Presb. Min., 10 January 1880. The deficit in the FMC budget which led to the special plea in 1880 will be examined later in the chapter.

In November 1903, the Congregational Record of Perth North UF Church claimed that one half-penny per week from all Church members would increase the FMC income by thousands of pounds. The conclusion to the article wavered between triumph at this discovery, and a sense of defeat caused by the lowering of former standards:

That seems, then, an ideal well within
the reach of the very poorest amongst us.

By 1920, there had been little or no improvement in the majority of the Presbyterian congregations in Scotland. In that year, Aberdeen Established Presbytery advised Kirk-Sessions that they should aim for the 'modest minimum' of one half-penny per week per member as the contribution for missionary work throughout the Empire.¹ Only weeks later, the Rev. J.U. Macgregor of Perth St Leonard's UF Church, a leading figure in missionary circles, received a letter from the FMC on the subject of Presbyterian contributions for foreign missions. These amounted in the case of Perth Presbytery to 2/8½d. per head,² slightly below the UF Church average of 3/-. Frank Ashcroft, on behalf of the FMC, emphasised that to achieve the standard of one penny per week which the Committee would like to see established, the Presbytery would have to boost its givings by some 44%. He then went on to express the wish that the Presbytery would be able to raise its level of contributions, but the tone

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1. Aberdeen CS Presb. Min., 24 February 1920. This was at least an improvement on the ½d.p.w. asked for by the FMC in L&W, July 1910.
 2. In 1869 Perth UP Presbytery had bettered this with a figure of 2/10½d. Presb. Min., 13 April 1869.

of his letter implied that he was not over-hopeful of this occurrence.¹

In 1904, at the height of the crisis over the Lords' allocation of property between the UF and Free Churches, the wife of the UF minister of Logiealmond, another active supporter of missions, received a letter from the Secretary of the WFMS. In this letter Stevenson confidently offered reassurance about the eventual outcome of the case:²

We have material wealth enough in our Church, if only we have wealth of faith and hope.

The major problem for all the denominations throughout the sixty year period straddling the turn of the century was the fact that most of this material wealth remained deep in the pockets of Church members, and the various Committees failed signally to bully or cajole a significant proportion of it into their own hollow-sounding

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1. NLS Ms.7790, f.410, letter dated 9 April 1920. One difficulty in drawing any firm conclusions from such evidence is the marked fluctuation between one Presbytery and another, and even from day to day. Only 4 days after writing to Macgregor, Ashcroft wrote to the Rev. George Williams of Wick, praising Caithness for raising 4/5½d. per head, just above the penny per week aimed at. Not content with this, Ashcroft quixotically proceeded to ask Williams if he thought the Presbytery could match the Wesleyan average of 8/- per head! NLS Ms.7790, f.447; Highland Presbyteries may well show artificially high averages if these are calculated on communicant membership figures, which exclude the very high percentage of adherents in those regions.
 2. NLS Ms.7932, f.792, letter to Mrs Tod, dated 13 September 1904.

coffers. The results of this failure were a recurring series of deficits on the annual accounts, which led to the emergence of the topic of deficit budgeting as the major issue in discussions of foreign mission policy in the Scottish Churches.¹ In a statement illustrative of the views discussed in the first section of this chapter, the Rev. J.F. Daly, Honorary Secretary of the Livingstonia Mission, wrote to one of the missionaries that:²

I saw a very good remark the other day about our deficit- 'Deficits will never be financed away, they must be prayed away.' This is true of all our work.

Ultimately, however, the question of deficits had to be resolved along practical rather than spiritual guidelines.

The root cause of the problem was explained in the UP Record (October 1886), at a time when the UP's were constantly bedevilled by the affliction:

The usually sound economic principle of keeping annual expenditure strictly within annual income is not easily applied to Foreign Missionary operations. Those operations are a failure if they do not demand a continually increasing outlay.

It was the inability to expand the income at home which led to the various disputes involving home administrators, who were accused of incompetence and over-spending by

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1. In Brother Scots (Edin. 1927), p.199, Donald Carswell noted that Lord Overtoun always stepped in to prevent threatened deficits in the Livingstonia funds, and added that deficits were:
 - a contingency of unhappily frequent occurrence in the mission field
 2. NLS Ms.7864, f.554, Daly to Charles Stuart (Livingstonia, 1887-1933), letter dated 31 March 1903.

Churchmen at home, and were roundly condemned by the missionaries in the field for damaging the work by holding back essential funds. By 1910 the world-wide response to the problems of financing missions was well enough defined for Commission VI of the Edinburgh Conference to delineate three distinct forms of financial policy carried through by Missionary Societies or Boards:¹

1. That the responsible officers of a Society are bound to undertake the work presented to it, irrespective of the state of its finances, trusting God to provide for all needs.
2. That no work shall be undertaken until there is reasonable assurance that the pledges made by the Society will be met by the supporting constituency before the close of the fiscal year.
3. That the Society is primarily a transmitting agency whose duty is to forward whatever funds are contributed, but with no financial responsibility for the support of its Missionaries or for the upkeep of the work.

The Commission then went on to state that current general policy in almost all the Societies was to keep expenditure 'so far as seems possible within the probable limit of their income.'² In the form used here, the Commission's explanation is nebulous almost to the point of non-existence. With typical Scottish pragmatism, R.W. Weir had offered a more concrete explanation in 1900:³

It is not too much to say that no mission committee which guarantees fixed salaries to its agents can well avoid now and again exceeding its estimates, unless by doing what would be a great deal worse-crippling its work and discouraging its servants by suddenly discharging valuable and trusted agents.

1. WMC 1910, Volume VI, p.211.
 2. ibid.
 3. Weir, op.cit., p.117.

From the late 1890's onwards, the Scottish Churches strove to avoid deficits where at all possible. In 1902, John McMurtrie spoke out strongly against deficit budgeting in the December issue of Life and Work:

One hears foolish things said about mission debt. Some say it is a good thing, it stimulates the Church. It is nothing of the kind, it depresses the Church. Finance is the business side of missions, and to live beyond one's means is as wrong for a mission as for a business company or a private person.

As hitherto the least 'professional' of the FMC's the Church of Scotland was now making a determined effort to prove that management in the FMC was both competent and frugal. This newly-vaunted expertise was, perhaps, a direct result of the Church's acquisition in December 1900 of the formerly independent East African Scottish Mission. For the first time in its history, the Auld Kirk possessed a mission which had been supported mainly by sound businessmen,¹ and the desire to reassure this type of supporter may well have been uppermost in McMurtrie's mind, especially since he would undoubtedly remember the criticisms made by Professor Story at the 1896 Assembly.² A second factor, dating even further back in time, may have been his recollection of the bitter controversy on the subject of deficits which had plagued the UP Church in the 1880's. At that time, the UP Mission Board had subscribed to the first alternative laid down by Commission VI in 1910, with highly

1. E.g., Sir William Mackinnon and A.L. Bruce.

2. Supra., p.209.

detrimental results. Having seen them burn their fingers, each of the Scottish Churches thereafter took the second alternative of the 1910 Report as the basis of its policy.

The UP deficit dilemma of the 1880's started principally through the failure of the City of Glasgow bank in 1879, a failure which ruined many prospective or current middle-class subscribers, and put many potential working-class donors out of work.¹ By mid-1880 an entire battery of explanations was being offered as an excuse for the deficit budgeting in foreign missions.² These ranged through trade depression, a drop in the level of legacies, increased obligations brought on by special funds now exhausted,³ to the separation of the English congregations of the UP Church, now part of the English Presbyterian Church. By 1887, the problems brought about by these factors had reached critical proportions. It was announced to the Synod in May that year that the deficit had now reached £20,000, but the impenitent Rev. Professor Calderwood still defended the policy which had led to this situation:⁴

They, the smallest Presbyterian Church in Scotland, had gone to the front in mission work. Now that they had dared it and done it, they would not retreat.

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1. Perthshire Courier, 24 February 1880.
 2. UP MR, April 1880.
 3. The 1870's had seen the initiation of new missions, some with preliminary independent funding, in China, Japan, and Spain. The latter two missions were later withdrawn.
 4. Scotsman, 5 May 1887.

The Scotsman, as usual, made little comment on the internal affairs of the UP Church, but the Scottish People was far less charitable. Criticising Calderwood's denominational pride as irrelevant in this instance, the paper warned that attitudes were changing with regard to spiritual returns on cash spent:¹

In this utilitarian age people are beginning to say cui bono about Foreign Missions as well as everything else. Better sound finance and fewer converts than a debit balance of £20,000.

By the following year distrust of the Board had progressed to such an extent that one correspondent was moved to suggest that the UP Church should appoint a small committee of businessmen to investigate the declining revenues received by various Church agencies.² The Scotsman immediately lent its weight to this campaign, and published an editorial in praise of the more realistic of the UP membership, who were pressing for an economy drive to balance income and expenditure:³

The Church has acted too long on the principle of trusting to faith and prayer for the raising of funds, and the consequence has been this large debt and the special effort that has been necessary to liquidate it....Prayer and faith may be excellent means of raising money, but the use of them need not involve the practice of spending the money before it has been raised.

This sound commonsense approach became typical of

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1. Scottish People, 14 May 1887.
 2. Scotsman, 11 May 1888. The letter made specific reference to the mismanagement of the FMB.
 3. ibid., 12 May 1888.

the attitude of Scottish Christians in the ensuing years. In July 1906, the Episcopalian Foreign Mission Chronicle contained an article on the subject of the deficits incurred by many of the English Missionary Societies. The author was fiercely critical of this policy and compared it to the growing tendency of secular business to order what it required with no thought for the bill to follow. He concluded his diatribe with a rhetorical question:

Surely some sober financing need not
quench the flames of Christian zeal.

If this question had been put to the Rev. John Robson some six years earlier, he might have been tempted to retort that in the UP case it had done so, for it was then that Robson complained that the UP Church had been dropping behind in the foreign mission race for a number of years.¹ The most obvious cause of this would have been distrust after the deficit episode of the 1880's, and awareness of this alone may have influenced the other Churches in their determination to avoid the same mistake.² As a curb to any over-emphasis of this point, it should be noted that the Scottish Churches were always intrinsically less willing to rely on last-minute appeals to replenish empty coffers than were the likes of the CIM.³ This reluctance probably owed more to the canny instinct of the Scot in affairs of the purse than it did

1. UP MR, January 1900.

2. Cf. R.W. Weir's comment, supra., p.260, with the discharge of Livingstonia lay agents in the early 20th Century, supra., p.145.

3. Vide. Broomhall, op.cit., p.80 for an account of the CIM's feelings on this theme.

to any lack of faith on the part of officials or mission supporters. Finally, the reduction in the intensity of denominational rivalry meant that Committees no longer felt compelled to maintain the frenetic rate of advance which had been commonplace in the 1870's. It is surely significant that only the 'Wee Frees', with their 19th Century denominational paranoia, felt obliged to deliberately run up a considerable deficit in their Foreign Mission Fund at any time during the first thirty years of this century.¹

In their deliberations on the subject of mission finance, Commission VI isolated two primary means by which the necessary large increase in financial support must be obtained:²

...the basis must be broadened and the standard of giving materially raised.

For the Scottish missionary administrators working from hand to mouth in the effort to avoid deficits there was no time to wait for the first of these to take effect. The typical solution to the problem of raising cash quickly was that employed by William Stevenson of the WFMS in 1900. Writing to one of his Committee members, Miss Dewar of Perth, Stevenson asked her to provide a list of Free Church members in the city to whom he might appeal personally for money for the much-needed Building

1. Vide. Assembly Report in the Scotsman, 27 May 1927.

2. WMC 1910, Volume VI, p.280.

Fund.¹ The Free Church, with the example of Livingstonia and the African Lakes Company, had become accustomed to see missions receive the bulk of their support from a limited number of rich subscribers. In the Established Church the move towards this position was not initiated without certain misgivings about the results. The proposals to increase missionary liberality in the late 1880's drew forth the following remark from John McMurtrie:²

Nobody is less inclined than I am to make our Mission a mission supported only by well-off people. But I do venture to ask those who have all the comforts of life to take their rightful place as leaders ~~of~~ in a generous movement of the Church, and to count it an honour to do this.

By 1892 there was already a change in McMurtrie's attitude, apparent when he appealed for a further £2000 to meet the cost of new buildings for Darjeeling, presumably to replace those lost in a landslide some months prior to this:³

I do not see how the thing can be done without substantial help from generous donors; and I do want to avoid more debt.

Within a few months, McMurtie was furiously defending himself against accusations that the Church of Scotland Mission was becoming a Mission of the rich,⁴ yet the

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1. NLS Ms.7923, f.785, letter dated 13 February 1900. The tone of a large number of Stevenson's letters implies that the WFMS scheme was not generally popular, and that Stevenson was afraid of alienating influential Free Churchmen entirely, by injudicious appeals to them on behalf of the WFMS.
 2. CS HFMR, December 1888.
 3. ibid., May 1892.
 4. ibid., September 1892.

following year he was equally frantically trying to persuade D.C.Scott to reduce expenditure at Blantyre, on the grounds that only properly balanced books would induce 'critical business interests' to donate cash to the FMC.¹ By 1906, McMurtrie expressed a renewed desire to see the small donors brought into the mission circle as a primary aim, to be followed by 'the large offerings of the rich'.² In practice, any special appeal was still financed by recourse to the pockets of the wealthy, who possessed flexible enough incomes to respond up to the required amount, and the Established and Free/UF Churches all relate closely to the development described by Max Warren:³

From 1880, for the next forty years, the wealth of a relatively small section of the middle class in Britain proved sufficient to sustain a very rapid missionary expansion.

The development of this dependence on a few really wealthy individuals might have been expected to pose some moral problems for missionary officials, but the central issue of where the money actually came from seems never to have been raised. A great deal of this money was

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1. Quoted in A.C.Ross, Thesis, p.34.
 2. CS L&W, February 1906.
 3. Warren, Social History, p.145. A similar situation existed in the Scottish Episcopal Church, and as early as 13 November 1874 the Scottish Guardian criticised this body for appealing to the higher classes for funds to finance foreign missions, and for not giving the poorer members sufficient opportunities to give their 'littles'. The UP Church was probably the only exception to this trend. Vide. McKerrow, op.cit., p.510.

accumulated through the alleged exploitation of the working classes and, even more damagingly one might think, through the sale of alcoholic drink, yet the FMC's, particularly that of the Free Church, appear to have had no qualms about accepting this money. Such a discovery is even more surprising when one remembers that the Temperance banner was one of the keystones of foreign mission policy throughout this period. Many missionaries -including such Scottish giants as David Livingstone¹ and John G. Paton² were total abstainers long before this became respectable in the early 1880's.³ Missionary supporters at home were frequently in the vanguard of the Temperance Movement, and the first great Parliamentary blow against intemperance in Scotland, the Forbes Mackenzie Act of 1858, was named after the elder brother of Charles, first Bishop of the ill-fated 1861 UMCA. In the Scottish Presbyteries, those brethren most active in foreign mission efforts also featured prominently in any temperance work propagated by the Churches.⁴ Missionaries in the field often had first-hand experience of the effects of intemperance in Britain through spending part of their training in urban slum mission work,⁵ and it is

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1. R. Smiles, David Livingstone (Lond. 1885), p.10; Glasgow Weekly Herald, 25 April 1874.
 2. Paton (Ed.), op.cit., p.38
 3. G.F. Barbour, Life of Alexander Whyte (Lond. 1923), pp.233-4.
 4. This statement is based on research done on Perth Presbytery Records for the period 1860-1930.
 5. Vide. Scotsman, 2 May 1929, letter entitled 'Missionaries and Edinburgh Social Conditions', signed by 18 medical missionaries of various Societies. All had trained in Edinburgh.

worth investigating some of the possible considerations which prevented them from taking a firm stand in opposing the acceptance of money 'tainted' by drink-traders, especially since missions were widely regarded as the expression of the Empire's conscience.¹

Drink manufacturers had a long history of deep involvement in philanthropic and missionary enterprises from the time of the revival of the missionary spirit in the late 18th Century, and the Buxton family,² who provided leaders of the anti-slave trade brigade, are a notable early example. Slightly later, Robert Arthington of Leeds, an eccentric who gave vast sums to foreign mission enterprises while existing in conditions of excessive personal frugality, was the son of a brewer who had made a great fortune before winding up his business in 1850 as a personal response to the Temperance Question, which had by then become an issue of public conscience.³ Among Scottish missionary supporters, the chief movers of the Kenya Mission were Sir William Mackinnon, a teetotaler who made his fortune by exporting cheap brandy to Australia, and Alexander Low Bruce, a leading Edinburgh brewer.⁴ In the Free Church sphere, William Stevenson personally courted Lord Provost

1. Ogilvie, op.cit., p.209.

2. One of the largest of London brewers. In his exhaustive study of Drink and the Victorians (Lond. 1971), p.59, Brian Harrison lists 7 such brewing dynasties who featured as CMS subscribers in the 1830's.

3. A.M.Chirgwin, Arthington's Million (Lond. 1936), pp.12-3.

4. McIntosh, op.cit., pp.15,20.

John Dewar of Perth, head of one of Scotland's largest distilleries, during the course of a WFMS appeal made to those whom he confidently believed to be both able and willing to help.¹

The reaction of many missionaries to this kind of involvement can be seen in the evidence which the Rev. K.S. Macdonald, veteran Free Church missionary at Calcutta, gave to the Royal Commission on Opium in 1893. After arguing that opium had been less injurious in Bengal than had the alcohol brought in from England, he continued in a more embittered vein:²

English reformers had as yet taken no steps to put a stop to that more destructive import, no doubt because it was from it that the millionaire brewers and distillers of England and Scotland were making their fortunes.

So far, I have come across no evidence of men of the stature of Low or Dewar actively supporting UP Missions, but the individual missionaries in this denomination were often agitated by the damage which Scottish drink traders inflicted on their work. At a Conference of West African Missionaries held at Gabon in 1876, the Rev. Hugh Goldie of the Calabar Mission emphasised the difficulty of coping with intemperance in the mission field, a problem largely brought about by the position adopted by the

1. NLS Ms.7921, f.414, letter dated 13 May 1898.
2. Macphail, op.cit., p.196.

home Churches:¹

As they admit those who use and traffic in and manufacture strong drink, the hands of the missionaries are tied, and they cannot make abstinence a term of communion, however much they might deem this a duty of expediency, however much such a step might promote the work on which these Churches send them.

The probable fate of such protests was suggested by the Nigerian historian E.A. Ayandele in 1966, and while his statement may be an exaggeration, it is a pardonable one in view of the lack of effective response by Scottish Christians:²

Although the United Presbyterian missionaries acknowledged the fact that drunkenness was leading to violence among the Efik and that the liquor traffic was the 'great enemy of African Missions', their protests hardly went beyond their headquarters in George Street, Edinburgh.

A number of plausible reasons may be advanced to explain the existence of what Punch magazine long regarded as:³

...the unnatural alliance of the Church and the liquor trade, by which subscriptions flowed into religious chests so long as licences were unquestioned.

High on the list of possibilities is the idea that the Churches could not afford to reject the large-scale financial backing offered by the drink interest. In

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1. UP MR, February 1877. The report is a paraphrase of Goldie's speech.
 2. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914 (Lond. 1966), p. 326.
 3. A.L. Drummond, The Churches Pictured By Punch (Lond. 1947), p. 30.

order to quieten their doubts the Churches had to rationalise their motives for accepting money acquired in this manner, a process which had been initiated in 1851 by no less a person than Thomas Guthrie, DD, the founder of Edinburgh's ragged schools. In that year Guthrie published A Plea on Behalf of Drunkards and Against Drunkards, a pamphlet in which he recorded that 'many respectable persons' had incomes based entirely on the drink trade. Guthrie went on to mitigate this charge by arguing that the very fact that these men were respectable and reputable made him unable to believe that they wished to make their fortunes through the ruin of another person. This deliberate self-deception over potentially distasteful matters involving prominent lay members remained throughout the 19th Century and beyond, and undoubtedly hastened the process of rationalisation. Complementary to this was the widely held, not to mention convenient, belief that Christianity and Business may be regarded as two mutually exclusive aspects of life.¹

A second approach was the concept of recovering 'bad' money, and putting it to some worthy purpose. In October 1930, the Rev. Harry Miller reassured a Life and

1. Rev. D. S. Cairns (ed.), The Army and Religion (Lond. 1919), p.310. As well as protecting drink traders, this argument was invoked to exonerate the staunch teetotaler, Lord Overtoun, from the accusations of Keir Hardie and the Labour Party to the effect that he exploited his work-force, and cynically broke his own Sabbatarian principles. Vide. D. Carswell, Brother Scots (Edin. 1927), pp.202-9 for a defence of Overtoun conducted along those lines.

Work correspondent that money inherited from the drink trade should be utilised on the grounds that:

It is quite a different thing to inherit such money, when one has not been implicated in the making of it. Then it may be well used to serve nobler purposes.

When pressed further, Miller added (in the December issue) that the question of earning a living from this trade must be left to individual conscience which presumably meant that the Church saw no discrepancy in accepting money of this kind, since the ethical conflict would have been previously resolved by the trader. Again, Christianity and Business were conveniently compartmentalized.

The same fundamental view underlay the third conceivable attitude. The popular 19th Century concept of self-help held that those who failed to cope socially or economically deserved no aid, since they had failed to grasp the opportunity for self-improvement. If manufacturers, including brewers, were to plough back their excessive profits into home charities, it would be an admission that this philosophy was falsely-based, and it might even lead men to question the entire moral fabric of society.¹ On the other hand, liberal donations to aid

1. The Rev. Norman Maclean, who took over from Rankin of Muthill as the Scotsman ecclesiastical protégé, made such a challenge in Stand Up, Ye Dead (Lond. 1916), p.165.

They acquiesced with hardly a protest in the social organisation which inevitably swelled the ranks of the poor and increased the burden of their misery. By that social organisation many of them profited. They gave doles; but it was to pacify their poor consciences.

the poor heathen overseas, who had not yet been given the opportunity to fail, could simultaneously satisfy both conscience and prestige, without in any way threatening the system. To tidy up any loose ends, missionaries in the field could, conceivably, console themselves with the thought that by spreading the temperance gospel they were preparing the way for the eventual overthrow of this socially acceptable face of the drink trade.

Whether it was the short-term cash need or a combination of these intangibles which led the FMC's into dependence on the wealth of the Overtouns and the Mackinnons, there was a long-term reckoning to be met. The Committees often gave wide propaganda coverage to such generous donors, principally pour encourager les autres.¹ There were those, however, who wished to make a great show of ostentation, often in order to establish positions of respectability which their occupations might not have given them. In this situation the FMC's were often party to this ploy, reluctantly or otherwise.² The reaction to the apparent hypocrisy which this entailed was typified in John Maclean, the revolutionary Scottish socialist. Maclean had been brought up in the Original

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1. This principle lay behind the publicity given to Overtoun over the years, and the coverage given to the contributions of Sir W.O. Dalgleish, announced at almost every Auld Kirk Assembly during the 1890's.
 2. Lord Sands' Committee discovered the necessity of allowing perhaps 2 special collections per annum in addition to the Weekly Freewill Offering system, to cater for those who wished to give large amounts in splendid fashion. The Committee wryly noted that these frequently amounted to less than they would have put in WFO envelopes over an equivalent period of time.

Secession Church, and at one time had considered entering the ministry.¹ His reasons for moving violently away from this intention are epitomised in an article which he published in 1909, on the theme of evictions in the town of Greenock:²

...week by week, two hundred human beings are thrown out remorselessly by the forces of law and order to satisfy the profit lust of factors and their kind Christian employers, who are no doubt pillars of the Church and subscribe liberally to funds for the uplifting of the destitute poor and the conversion of the heathen Chinese.

By concentrating on donations to overseas work, these Christian employers might have satisfied their peers and encouraged them to do likewise. The process led also to an alienation of the sympathies of socially-motivated men like Maclean, who frequently refused to associate themselves in the same ventures as their stated enemies, the upholders of the status quo. Such an alienation effectively prevented the Churches from implementing their desire to mobilise the entire membership and base the missionary movement on the power of littles. This in turn had repercussions in the mission field, for if the mother Church was not actively supported by all its members, converts might justifiably feel that they need not contribute either.³ The question of whether the

1. J. Broom, John Maclean (Loanhead 1973), p.18.

2. ibid., p.36.

3. Whether this proved less of a problem in the Societies' fields, since all Society members were, by definition, subscribers is no part of this study, but must be left to the field historian.

Scottish Missions lost more than they gained by the adoption of the policies which I have outlined in this section is a difficult, maybe impossible, one to answer. By the 1870's, the Churches were already losing their hold on the lower classes, and disgust over FMC policy was probably never more than a peripheral factor in quickening the process. Consequently, the 'power of littles' dream must be viewed as nothing but an unrealistic and fast-fading pipe-dream. The short answer to the question would seem to be that the FMC's could never hope to do more than improvise their way from one crisis to another, with constant prayers that the after-effects would not exact too great a toll.

3. The Gathering of the Harvest.

In his usual sweeping fashion, Geoffrey Moorhouse sketched a bold and idyllic picture of the means whereby British foreign missions were financed in the 19th Century:¹

Under the mounting pressure of the missionary propaganda machine the public of Britain did what people always do when confronted with endless, apparently inexorable and very carefully planned publicity. They subscribed.

Unfortunately the pattern, in Scotland at any rate, was never as simple as this. My original intention in planning this chapter was to compare levels of giving to the missions both within and between denominations, but several factors have thwarted this design. The first of

1. Moorhouse, op.cit., p.168.

these concerns the unreliability of many of the Church statistics required to follow through this plan.¹ The second problem involves the multiplicity of collections which even confused contemporary observers in the 1880's.² The third problem emerged from the first tentative analysis of foreign mission income in one Presbytery, when annual fluctuations unequivocally defied any logical interpretation. Congregational, Presbytery, and total Church givings fluctuated at random, with the Presbytery, midway up the hierarchy, frequently showing the opposite tendency to that exhibited by congregations or by the central Committee. For similar reasons I decided to abandon the attempt to analyse the degree of interest shown in missions on the basis of financial returns from specific geographical areas.³ In view of these factors this study will limit itself to a short outline of the origins of Schemes collections, and a survey of the various collection methods employed over the years.

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1. Vide. the introduction to the Rev. R. Howie's The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland (Glas. 1893); Scotsman, 20 May 1870, letter from 'Veritas' on 'Church Statistics'; letter from John Monteith, Glencairn Manse, in CS HFMR, August 1878.
 2. Scotsman, 8 May 1885, letter from T. S. Marjoribanks on 'The Church of Scotland's Six Schemes.'
 3. Evidence to enable such an analysis is probably extant, but would entail much work. In 1899, for example, Lord Overtoun characterised Edinburgh Free Churchmen as weak in giving compared with Glasgow. A. Gammie, Rev. John McNeill (Lond. 1933), pp. 132-3. In October 1900, the CS HFMR printed a letter which claimed that the Glasgow congregations of the CS were at a disadvantage compared with those of Edinburgh, since most of the men of means in Glasgow were not Auld Kirk members, and most of the merchant princes lived outwith the Presbytery bounds in any case.

The institution of a co-ordinated system of collections for the different mission schemes of the Church of Scotland dates from the late 1820's, but was only accepted by the Church as a whole in the mid-1830's.¹ The weakening of opposition came with Alexander Duff's intensive missionary campaign at this time, and the example set by foreign missions as the catalyst in releasing liberality for missions in general² established a pattern which was to be repeated in the major denominations right up to the Union of 1929. Despite the longevity of the practice, Schemes collections had not been introduced unopposed, and still had their critics almost half a century after their invention. In 1878, James Gall claimed that there was a real danger of local, congregational, missions suffering because of the monthly or quarterly visitation on behalf of the denominational Schemes, and he regarded the publication of yearly returns as a further device calculated to stimulate congregational rivalry and accelerate this tendency.³ In 1926, the Rev. Neil Meldrum of the Auld Kirk voiced a

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1. D. Chambers, op.cit., pp.8,130. Dr Chambers sheds further light on the power struggles within the CS Committee structures with his statement that, even at this early date, financial control always remained in the hands of Edinburgh's 'metropolitan burghers'.
 2. Vide. Gunn, op.cit., Volume IX, p.79. Drummond and Bulloch, op.cit., p.117, describe the revelation of this fact to the ~~Free~~ Church leaders in very pithy language:
 They did not know that they could raise money, and it was only the great and unforeseen response to the appeal for Foreign Missions that opened their eyes.
 3. Gall, op.cit., pp.241-2.

continuation of this feeling of disquiet:¹

The special collection of the present day, while it was not unknown two hundred years ago, did not come often enough to be much of a burden.

Arguments of this nature were largely based on a false view of congregational finance as it existed before the inauguration of the Schemes collections. Until the early 19th Century, the Scottish poor relief system had been mainly financed through Church-door collections,² with occasional special collections to supplement this.³ When poor relief was placed on a more formal footing of legal assessment and taken out of the hands of the Church by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1845,⁴ the income from Church collections was considerably diminished.⁵ The effects of this were catastrophic for the Church, as:⁶

...modern legislation made havoc of the healthy habit of the weekly offering.

Although the poor relief had been based on the parish boundaries, there had been an unspoken agreement that the dissenting sects would look after their own poor. As a result of this, all of the Churches suffered to some extent from this altered habit. In all denominations the inauguration of Schemes collections helped to combat

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1. N. Meldrum, Forteviot. The History of a Strathearn Parish (paisley 1926), p.148.
 2. S. Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development, 1780-1870 (Lond. 1960), p.64.
 3. ibid., p.68.
 4. ibid., p.79.
 5. L. J. Saunders, Scottish Democracy, 1815-1840 (Edin. 1950), p.260.
 6. J. R. Macduff, The Parish of Taxwood (Edin. 1883), p.47.

this process rather than accelerate it as James Gall seemed to think, and the work of foreign mission enthusiasts was perhaps the major factor in allowing the Christian bodies in Scotland to retain some kind of solvency. Many of the methods of distributing propaganda and collecting funds were pioneered in this branch of the Church's work, to be later incorporated in the all-embracing Weekly Freewill Offering Scheme which was extensively introduced after the First World War as the most effective means of religious finance.

On 15 May 1894 the Scotsman carried an unsigned article headed 'The Finances of the Church' in which the chauvinistic claim was put forward that even the Methodists, generally acknowledged to be the best clergy at begging cash, could hardly surpass the Scottish Presbyterians in their collective or tripartite givings. The author freely admitted that the annual sum contributed was relatively small in absolute terms, but he still regarded this amount as a praiseworthy achievement:

Yet what an amount of effort and enterprise, what an admirable show of method, on the part of all more immediately concerned in the ingathering of the money, does that sum total represent.

In this catalogue of supposed excellence the writer listed only a very limited number of different emphases in the efforts for individual Church schemes,¹ and he

1. The FC was described as donating twice as much to Overseas Missions (Foreign, Jewish, Colonial, etc.) as the CS. The Auld Kirk gave four times as much to Home Missions. If accurate, these figures confirm Watson's claim, at least in the 1890's. Supra., p.178.

made no distinction between the methods utilised by the different denominations. It is this topic which will be explored in the ensuing paragraphs.

By about 1870, the methods employed to collect the ordinary funds for foreign missions¹ in the Free and UP Churches had been agreed on a fairly settled basis. In the majority of congregations the pattern which Robert Young described in 1920 had already been accepted:²

...(in) congregations belonging to the United Presbyterian section of the Church, the general custom has always been to collect monthly. In the case of congregations belonging to the Free Church section, quarterly collections were the rule.

This practice was rarely disputed in the UP Church, although individual congregations might well default on a Presbtery or Synod recommendation.³ The results of the system might be disappointing in so far as congregational givings were reckoned to be far below a proper level,⁴ but the Synod Treasurer was confident enough of its active existence to suggest as early as 1886 that congregational mission contributions should be forwarded to him monthly or, at worst, quarterly.⁵ This desire was

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1. These did not include any monies raised on behalf of 'one-off'/special appeals called for from time to time.
 2. NLS Ms.7790, f.328. Letter to J.Maclagan, Perth, dated 12 February 1920.
 3. On 12 October 1880, Aberdeen UP Presbtery agreed that congregations should be given the chance to contribute monthly to missions. A decade later, on 14 October 1890, the Presbtery felt compelled to repeat the recommendation, which implies that more than one congregation had regularly failed to comply.
 4. UP MR, November 1895.
 5. Glasgow UP Presb. Min., 9 March 1886.

carried through into the United Church, where George Robson made a similar plea before the Synod of Perth and Stirling on 15 October 1902.

In the Free Church, discontent over methods ran at a slightly higher level, though once again it was very much a minority movement and had almost disappeared by the late 1880's. From a figure of 150 in 1852, the number of congregational Foreign Missions Associations in the Free Church rose rapidly to 500 by 1857, and thereafter more slowly to 616 by 1872.¹ In 1873 Robert Hunter noted that the system had only one weak spot, which he felt might easily and speedily be rectified:²

It is this -that many who would have put a trifle into the plate at a Foreign Mission collection think that trifle, if they either cannot or will not afford more, too small to be formally written down in their name in a collector's book, and they therefore cease to give even that trifle to Foreign Missions...

This led to discussion in the denominational Record in the late 1870's,³ and in at least one Presbytery in the 1880's. On 24 December 1884, the Rev. W. Balfour proposed that Edinburgh Presbytery should forward an Overture to the General Assembly to the effect that church-door collections for home and foreign missions should be replaced by quarterly house-to-house collections, in the interests of efficiency and increased liberality.

1. Hunter, op.cit., p.31.

2. ibid., p.32.

3. Supra p.234.

Mindful of Hunter's warning, and pursuing the normal defence of individual freedom against the oppression of the bureaucracy, the Presbytery rejected the proposal by a large majority. The importance of the episode lay in this protection of minority opinion rather than in any objection to Associations per se. In 1887, the Scottish People interpreted a drop in contributions to the Free Church Sustentation Fund as conclusive proof that a number of Free Church members were becoming tired of handing over stated sums on a monthly or quarterly basis,¹ but whatever the truth of this with regard to the Sustentation Fund there is no evidence to show that a similar feeling ever arose with regard to foreign missions. Individuals like the Rev. W.G. Blaikie might refuse to beg funds for an orphan scheme proposed by his wife, on the grounds that:²

No collector was to be employed with
seedy coat and red-bound book to go
from door to door.

but it seems that his objection owed as much to aesthetic or snobbish reasons as it did to ethical ones. A truer reflection of those who constituted the branches of the UF Church is given in a wistful remark made by an Established Church FMC Secretary, the Rev. W.B. Stevenson. Noting that the Church of Scotland faced a unique financial problem due to the fact that the Foreign Mission was only one of a dozen or so Schemes, Stevenson

1. Scottish People, 8 October 1887.

2. W.G. Blaikie, Recollections of a Busy Life (Edin. 1901), p.317.

contrasted this with the situation in the sister Church:¹

The United Free Church, in spite of its enormous home burden, considers the Foreign Mission of such supreme importance that it has, in most congregations, a Missionary Association which collects quarterly from the members, and whose finances are in the hands of its own Secretary and Treasurer.

Stevenson's rueful comment was no startling new discovery, for it merely reiterated a problem which had confronted the foreign mission administrators for many decades. In the early 1880's the Auld Kirk officials had already begun to find themselves in a position of isolation, falling further behind the Free and UP Churches, both of which possessed proper organisations to promote their missionary aims:²

As far...as we have been able to learn, ours is the only large Church or Missionary Association in Christendom that is mainly dependent on church-door collections for the support of its Foreign Missions.

Some twenty years later, an editorial in the same magazine continued to despair of the Church. On this occasion the author took the comparison one stage further by announcing that the Church of Scotland still outnumbered the UP Church by approximately 150,000

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1. CS L&W, June 1914. There are some exaggerations in this argument. In 1903 the UF Church contained some 1700 congregations. In speaking to the FM Report the Joint Convener, Dr Henderson of Crieff, complained that 300 of these were still without any foreign mission collectors. Scotsman, 22 May 1903.
 2. CS HFMR, December 1882.

souls:¹

And if she does not anything like equal it in missionary liberality it is more from lack of organisation than either lack of resources or of faith.

By 1907, Life and Work had decided that the FMC must have reached the nadir of its fortunes:²

The time is coming when the whole task of gathering funds for the Church's schemes will be set on a basis far less casual and unsettled than it is today.

From the subsequent failure of this prediction it appears that it was the product of an optimism born of despair, rather than an assessment based on any realistic observation. In analysing this failure in the Auld Kirk we may also shed some light on the elements which enabled the Free and UP bodies to successfully streamline their methods and increase their foreign mission income.

In 1972, Dr Ross stated that in the years before 1887 an annual church-door collection 'was the only institution at parish level authorised by the General Assembly in support of mission.'³ From time to time, however, experiments had been conducted using other methods, sometimes with gratifying results. On 27 March 1866, Aberdeen Presbytery received the annual report on the Schemes collections, containing this statement:

It is worthy of remark, that a large increase has been made in the amount of contributions from the East and West Churches during the last year, owing to their having adopted the new system of collecting by cards, from house to house, in addition to the usual way.

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1. CS HFMR, December 1900.
 2. CS L&W, May 1907.
 3. A.C. Ross, SHR, p.60.

Other Presbyteries -chiefly under the stimulus of foreign mission supporters- also made sporadic attempts to introduce the Schedule system.¹ In 1882, Greenock Presbytery, containing 19 Quoad Omnia charges and three Quoad Sacra, received a report on the reaction to such a proposal. Two congregations already followed this method, three more had adopted it since the meeting in February, four had voted against it, and the others had not yet reported back. The results were felt to be very encouraging on the whole, which suggests that previous advances had met with an even more desultory response.² Despite a continued extolling of the benefits to be derived from Schedule collections,³ the scheme never

1. Greenock Established Presb. Min., 1 February 1882.

2. ibid., 5 April 1882.

3. These primarily constituted the receipt of a steady income, the amount of which the FMC might be able to calculate in advance and depend upon. For decades the FMC income was at the mercy of the vagaries of the climate because of its dependence on one specific day for the annual church-door collection. In March 1912, the FMC Convener used L&W as a vehicle to explain the drop in ordinary income, caused by very stormy weather on both the day of intimation and the day of collection. The next issue of L&W contained a scathing criticism of the entire system:

But what is to be said of the business faculty of our ministers and Kirk Sessions if the cause of spreading the Gospel among the heathen is to depend upon the clemency of November weather.

Not every member was as conscientious as the gentleman who forwarded his donation direct to the FMC because a severe snowstorm had kept him from Church on Foreign Mission Sunday. NLS Ms.7614, f.84, 'A Member' to W.M. McLachlan, letter dated 14 January 1924. The climatic problem was intensified by the fact that Schemes collections were all crowded into the winter months, apparently to suit wealthy urban congregations whose members would then be in their/

Continued overleaf.

really captured the imagination of the Established community, and as late as 1911 less than one-third of the members of Edinburgh St George's who were given Schemes' Schedule forms bothered to return them.¹

Scrutiny of the Schedule question shows that it was never fully-implemented because large numbers of those who approved it in principle were only half-hearted in putting it into practice. In expressing his desire to see the introduction of Schedule collections in order to counteract the unreliability of the church-door collection, one member hastened to add that he wished also to retain the annual collection day, as this helped to cement the congregation to a common interest in the work of that particular Scheme.² Two years later, one elder voiced a slightly different objection to the Schedule system. He was alarmed because this had mistakenly replaced Church collections, a false step unless the Schedule system gave

3. (Cont.) /their town-houses. -CS HFMR, April 1881, letter from Rev. J. Fraser, minister of Colvend, Dumfries, from 1844 to 1902. In June 1898 the FC WFMS Secretary deferred a deputation visit to Perth West FC, because a collection would not be taken until September or October due to the absence from town of some of the best-endowed members. NLS Ms. 7921, f. 472, letter to Mrs Rev. P. G. Clark.

1. Kirk Session Minute, 4 December 1911. The strength of the opposition/apathy may be gauged from the fact that St George's was one of the most active missionary charges in the CS. Of the four incumbents (1843-1950) R. H. Stevenson was the father of one of the FMC Organising Secretaries, Archibald Scott's role has already been discussed, G. L. Pagan's father was Joint Convener of the FMC in 1884, and C. W. G. Taylor was FMV Convener from 1928 to 1936.

2. CS HFMR, September 1891.

saturation coverage.¹ The fact that this same argument had been faced and overcome by the Free Church in the 1870's apparently escaped his notice. A good example of the problems contingent on attempts to introduce Schedule collections is that afforded by the parish Church of Peebles between 1898 and 1901. In 1898, the Schedule collection for the Schemes amounted to £258, while less than £2 was gathered at the church-door. The scheme met with great resistance, and:²

...the majority of those who were called upon by the collectors intimated that they preferred to give at the Church door.

In February 1899, the Rev. Mr Gardner expounded on this theme in a Pastoral Letter to the congregation. After two years of the experiment, only c.400 from a congregation of 1350 used the card system, and 35 persons continued to give at the church-door. The two groups of contributors displayed a vast difference in the size of their average donations, which worked out at 13/-(cards) as against 1/1d.(door). Despite the obvious benefits, Gardner was disappointed to find that the card system had not had the planned effect of creating an overall increase in the congregation's Christian liberality and intensifying its missionary spirit.³ By 1901 the card system had been abandoned on the grounds that it was too complicated to operate, and there was no increase in the collections to match the increased effort required. The collectors were

1. CS HFMR, May 1893.

2. Gunn, op.cit., Volume X, p.109.

3. ibid., p.111.

now to enter donations in a passbook, and it was hoped that those who would have preferred to give anonymously would reconsider this in the interests of unity.¹ The change to a unified system led to an uneasy compromise, outlined in the Finance Committee Report of October 1901:²

At present there are no collections taken in Church for the various home and foreign agencies of the Church, and it is difficult to combine such collections in Church with a system of collections taken quarterly in the various districts of the parish.

The solution proposed by the Committee, namely the placing of missionary collecting boxes in the vestibule of the church to enable non-Schedule contributors to place something in the box on any Sunday of their choice, was a radical departure from Auld Kirk tradition. Unfortunately, Dr Gunn's history gives no indication of the success or otherwise of this proposal.

By 1916 the FMC had set the target on a less ambitious plane than that of quarterly collections on behalf of the missions. At the Assembly that year the Rev. J.N. Ogilvie persuaded the members to agree unanimously to his request for two annual collections in aid of foreign missions.³ In the July edition of Life and

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1. Gunn, op.cit., Volume X, p.146. This is another example of the underlying pour encourager les autres philosophy of foreign mission advocates. It casts grave doubts on Sands' claim in Church Finance, p.129, that secret giving was much favoured in Britain.
 2. ibid., p.167.
 3. Thirty years prior to this, Elgin and Inverness UP Presbytery were urging congregations to improve upon the existing bi-annual collections. Presb. Min., 14 January 1888.

Work, 'An Outsider' compared this with the:¹

...conservative and grudging attitude which many took towards Professor Charteris when he urged so passionately the special claims of the Foreign Mission.

Outsider was premature in his rejoicing, as later events demonstrated. On 10 July, for example, the Session of Edinburgh St George's considered the arrangements for collections which fell to be made during the year, and decided that they could not comply with Ogilvie's request. In the long-term, Ogilvie's plan backfired. A number of Presbytery discussions in the next few years revealed that Presbyteries which agreed to a second collection tended to look on this as an upper limit, thus forming a barrier against the introduction of quarterly collections. This attitude permeated a recommendation which was weighed and rejected by Perth Presbytery Schemes Committee in 1920:²

Considering that two collections are already being made every year on behalf of the Foreign Mission Scheme of the Church, and that other schemes are also in urgent need of increased financial support, your Committee are unable to recommend the adoption of any particular plan whereby the appeal on behalf of our Foreign Mission may be met.

The position adopted here echoes that of James Rankin when he declared that he did not object to foreign mission advance per se, but he was opposed to its selfish

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1. The reference was to the Advance Movement of the mid-1890's.
 2. Perth CS Presb. Min., 26 October 1920. The fact that St John's West congregation proffered the taking of two FM collections as an excuse for omitting that for Highlands and Islands (Presb. Min., 29 March 1921) was hardly likely to commend the system to the brethren.

application viz-a-viz the Church's other schemes:¹

Here, too, comes in my own personal repugnance to a quarterly collection on behalf of one scheme among eleven others, and to fostering sales of work almost entirely ~~for~~_{for} the same one of the eleven.

Conclusions.

A number of valid conclusions can be drawn from this survey, although these are largely hypotheses which cannot be substantiated by hard fact. None of the problems and objections which the Established Church FMC failed to overcome were new or insurmountable ones. In each case the UP or Free (sometimes both) FMC's had successfully pioneered the way in Scotland. The two Churches had achieved this without any noticeably detrimental effects on their work in Scotland, which counters the kind of opposition offered by James Rankin in his 1899 outburst, various facets of which have been noted at several points in this chapter. As chapter four demonstrated at some length, the power of the Dissenting Churches' Committees to control the inferior Church courts was intrinsically no greater than that held by the Church of Scotland. On the strength of the available evidence, one can differentiate two factors which may account for the inability of the Established Church to keep pace with the rate of development displayed in the foreign mission enterprises of the other two denominations.

1. Scotsman, Correspondence, 8 May 1899.

The first factor is the distrust of the FMC's which, especially in the Auld Kirk, amounted to what was virtually a concerted attack over a number of years. Once the idea became current that the FMC was incapable of administering the relatively simple structure which existed in 1880, opposition to the introduction of a more complex system, run on more bureaucratic lines by the same men, became inevitable. The widely-held belief that the Free Church system was more concerned with a man's bankbook than with his soul did nothing to lessen this opposition. A pungent example of this attitude can be found in James Inwick, Ploughman and Elder (Edin. 1894), a novel written by the Church of Scotland minister Peter Hay Hunter. At one point in the plot, Hunter's principal character was heard to complain:

An' there's me wi' a muckle bucht-seat o' my ain in the pairish kirk, an' no' a bawbee to pay for't; an the Frees are aye ruggin at me for subscriptions -priggin siller here and siller there; if it's no' seat rents, it's some ither objec': their nieve's ne'er oot o' my pooch.

Hunter's caricature contained more than a vestige of truth, and it also exhibits the second factor which curbed FMC attempted advance, the cherished tradition that the Church of Scotland made fewer financial demands on individual members than did the other denominations. Initially, this stemmed from the fact that the Dissenting bodies, forced to be self-supporting, had no qualms about

using psychological pressures to encourage liberality:¹

In Secession and Free churches the usual custom was for collections to be made during the service. Elders went round with long ladles so that every coin, or its absence, was both visible and audible. At the parish kirk, on the other hand, the elders stood by the plate at the door or at the kirkyard gate, and it was taken for granted that only the prosperous would give.

This distinction long continued to be reflected through the entire spectrum of Church finance. In the Auld Kirk, the FMC workers recognised this defect as such, and occasionally grew excited at the thought that the problem was on the verge of extinction. In 1897, 'R.B.' penned an account of 'The Foreign Mission Advance Crusade of 1896' which clearly exhibited this hope, unfulfilled despite his pious conclusion:²

There is promise as well as pathos in the remark made to one of our number by a worthy old Churchman. 'The Auld Kirk is not the cheap place it used to be.' May God grant that it never be so again!

The existence of this tradition was a double-edged sword which threatened and subdued the foreign mission work. Many members retained the belief that the Auld Kirk was the Church of the Poor, although the Free Church contained just as many of the lower classes, especially in the rural areas. This belief led to a reluctance to ask poor members to contribute any of their demonstrably meagre wherewithal, and this spirit of unwillingness

1. Drummond and Bulloch, op.cit., p.38.

2. CS HFMR, March 1897.

spilled over to include those who could well have given if the habit had been instilled in them. Secondly, the fact that the Church of Scotland had no sharp break as the Free and UP Churches had in the 1840's led to a stagnation of thought and a reluctance to adapt and modernise. As the gulf between the methods of the denominations widened still further, it became more and more difficult for the Church of Scotland to catch up, and the required advances took on an increasingly radical appearance which made conservatives more determined to dig in their heels and defend the old ways. The problem was compounded by the fact that the rank and file in the Church had never been called upon to take an active part in Church work, unlike the dissenting branches where members were not only compelled to raise all their own funds for such things as buildings, but often had to erect them with their own hands. As a result, it is doubtful if the Established Church, by the 1870's, could have raised a sufficiently large corpus of willing collectors even if it had wished to implement a foreign mission support system on a basis broad enough to ensure its success.

The chief difficulty, however, was the intransigence of the conservative element, and the inability of the FMC to activate an effective counterpoise to this. J.T. Maclagan and his successors initiated campaign after campaign to impress upon the Church the benefits to be

gained from systematic collections on behalf of the Schemes,¹ but all to little avail. It says much for the faith of the missionary officials that they persevered in the face of such odds, but some of the credit for this determination and, indirectly, for the limited results achieved, must go to the Free and UP Churches. Both, confronted by the same basic situation, were able to set an example which spurred the Auld Kirk into some measure of response, founded on a rivalry which was sometimes friendly and sometimes exceedingly bitter.

1. NLS Ms.7541, f.183, letter to the Rev. J.A.Burdon, Lasswade, dated 22 July 1876.

CHAPTER SIX.THE LIVINGSTONE MYTH.

One of the most potent weapons in the armoury of missionary recruiting officers -especially in the 19th Century- was the utilisation of the heroic and/or martyred missionary figure as an example and an encouragement to others to take up the work. The best-known specimen of this breed was undoubtedly David Livingstone (1813-1873), whose position with regard to other missionaries was that of Shakespeare's Caesar to other Romans:¹

Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world
Like a Colossus, and we petty men
Walk under his huge legs,...

So comprehensive was the concentration on Livingstone that, in an article written to mark the centenary of Livingstone's arrival in Nyasaland, his grandson, Dr H.F. Wilson (UF, Livingstonia, 1913-29), remarked that:²

Apart from note books and journals it is
now difficult to find anything to publish
about David Livingstone that is new.

Despite this, the attempts to analyse or 'place' Livingstone have continued unremittingly, and it may be fairly significant that one of his friends and contemporaries realised this as early as June 1874, only some two months after Livingstone's remains were ceremoniously deposited in Westminster Abbey. In his address to the

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1. Julius Caesar, Act I, scene 2. One review of Livingstone's Last Journals actually described him as the Shakespeare of explorers. The Atheneum, 19 December 1874.
 2. H.F. Wilson, 'David Livingstone. Some Reminiscences.' in The Nyasaland Journal, XII,2(1959), p.16.

Royal Geographical Society, Sir Bartle Frere predicted that:¹

...history must decide whether his glory was gathered as the explorer or as the opponent of slavery.

Opinion on this topic fluctuated back and forth over the years until the debate about Livingstone's secular or religious motivation entered a new phase during the last three decades, a period of disillusionment with, and rejection of, the Empire and the Victorians who had been so instrumental in establishing it. Africa, as the most recent and commercially least successful addition, came in for much of the criticism. An early indication of the focal role of Livingstone as a target for the critics can be found in a review of Livingstone's Travels, edited by James Macnair and published in 1954:²

It is fashionable nowadays to interpret the foreign missionary movement primarily as an instrument of economic expansion, and Livingstone with his cry of 'Commerce and Christianity' unintentionally corroborated that point of view.

Two decades later, a review of Tim Jeal's Livingstone in the same literary journal confirmed that this attitude had become firmly rooted. The first paragraph of the review read:³

1973 is not a good year for the centenary of a man like Livingstone. Neither Victorian heroes nor Victorian saints are much to present-day taste. Indeed, to many people, David Livingstone is now seen as the man who tried to impose a narrow/

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1. Glasgow Weekly Herald, 27 June 1874.
 2. Times Literary Supplement, 30 July 1954.
 3. ibid., 27 July 1973.

/narrow religious doctrine on tribes who could not understand it, or who exposed the Africans to the exploitation of imperialists and capitalists, or who drove himself to a perverse and wilful martyrdom. The Livingstone Myth, in fact, is almost dead.

In acclaiming the demise, however, the reviewer was over-presumptuous. The myth has not been killed, but is now subject to a change of emphasis as the revelations about Livingstone's personal abrasiveness, which earlier generations of biographers hushed up,¹ take precedence over other facets of his life and work. More than one reviewer of yet another Livingstone book has speculated on what might have happened if Lytton Strachey had chosen to include Livingstone in his scarring attacks on Eminent Victorians.² It is not the purpose of this study to interpret the pro- and anti-missionary lobbies which have tended to polarise opinions since the 1950's, although contemporary debate about Livingstone is interesting in that it demonstrates the way in which the scantiest knowledge of the man and his theories has always been utilised by protagonists on both sides of the fence, often in a glaringly erroneous fashion.³

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1. This is a common occurrence in missionary biography, often compiled with a positive propaganda purpose. A modern biographer of James Chalmers notes that the official biographer of Chalmers, Richard Lovett, promised to present the real Chalmers, but edited out most of 'Tamate's' more controversial comments about his fellow-workers. D. Langmore, Tamate-A King (Melbourne 1974), p.vi.
 2. Vide. TLS, 15 December 1945, p.594 and 18 March 1965, p.218.
 3. Moorhouse, op.cit., p.113, wrongly described as a member of the orthodox Presbyterian Church of Scotland, when he was actually a Congregationalist. The Exley's/
Continued overleaf.

Curiously, neither of the two major biographies released in the Centenary Year, those by Jeal and by Cecil Northcott,¹ were written by one of Livingstone's countrymen, and it can be argued that such an omission is symptomatic of Scottish attitudes towards Livingstone. Varying between a lack of interest in the man and a chauvinistic complacency in his achievements,² the result has been the perpetuation of a very false image of this most famous of Scottish missionaries.

It is only very recently, with the inclusion of several Scottish contributions in Professor Pachai's compilation of Memorial Essays, Livingstone: Man of Africa (Lond. 1973), that the long-established tradition of Livingstone's posthumous influence has been challenged. One of the reasons for dating this thesis from 1873 was my initial acceptance of the theory that Livingstone's death in that year heralded the start of a new and lasting missionary drive in his native Scotland. It came

3. (Cont.) /Exley's, op.cit., very mistakenly describe Livingstone as coming from a 'good middle-class Christianity', and they blithely equate his origins and background to those of the son of a well-to-do Oxford rector, and the daughter of one of ICI's Managing Directors! op.cit., p.148.

1. David Livingstone: His Triumph, Decline, and Fall.
2. In November 1909, after seeing the new edition of Livingstone's Missionary Travels offered at a reduced price, A.K. McFarlane wrote this piece for L&W:
The danger is that we pass by such books just because they are common. My own case must be like that of many others. I was acquainted with the outstanding facts of Livingstone's life, but there is all the difference between a skeleton outline of his career, and such a full detailed account as he himself gives of the journeys which he made in the cause of humanity.

as quite a surprise, therefore, to discover that not only was this influence short-lived, but it had little to do with Livingstone's proposed methods of missionary advance; as W.G.Blaikie realised with the benefit of hindsight some twenty years after he wrote his biography, it was the romantic image of the dying man which remained, rather than any concept of his objectives.¹ This belief became a keystone of the growing legend woven around Livingstone's name, and in a Centenary Address delivered at Perth in 1913 the Rev. Dr R.D.Shaw specified that:²

More was accomplished by that tragic and lonely death than if he had come home and received all the medals of all the Societies and all the plaudits of the Assemblies.

In 1973, Sheila Brock gave fuller substance to this claim with her account of the way in which James Stewart manipulated Livingstone's demise as the emotional catalyst required to mobilise plans for a Free Church Mission to Central Africa, plans which had lain in cold storage for over a decade.³ In the same volume, John McCracken, historian of the Livingstonia Mission, warned of the tenuous nature of the influence which Livingstone

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1. Blaikie, Recollections, p.293.
 2. Perthshire Constitutional & Journal, 24 March 1913.
 3. 'James Stewart and David Livingstone' in Pachai, op.cit., p.106. Livingstone himself wrote an excited letter to one of his sons in October 1861, after receiving news of this proposal. Quoted in H.F. Wilson, op.cit., p.20. The atmosphere was right for such plans even before Livingstone's death was announced. Vide. 'Missions to the Heathen' in FC MR, October 1873.

exercised upon this enterprise:¹

At a simple level it is possible to argue that the founding of the mission owed much less to the explorer than has often been imagined. More fundamentally, Livingstonia provided not the justification of Livingstone's theories but rather a practical demonstration of their unrealistic nature.

McCracken's Established Church counterpart, Andrew Ross, verified this claim with his judgment on the policy with which the Blantyre Mission was undertaken:²

This whole approach owes little to David Livingstone, it owes something to Bartle Frere but perhaps even more to that veteran missionary in East Africa, Dr J.L.Krapf...

This chapter is intended, therefore, as a reappraisal of the part played by the image of Livingstone in stimulating foreign mission interest in Scotland. The study will be split into three main areas. The first of these will consider the question of Livingstone's suitability as a spur to future interest. The second theme will deal with his influence on individual missionaries, and the third section will explore Livingstone's impact on the Scottish Churches and society as a whole.

1. Images of Livingstone.

In many ways, the missionary enterprise suffered because Livingstone was a multi-talented individual whose name was

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1. 'Livingstone and the Aftermath: The Origins and Development of Livingstonia Mission.' in Pachai, op.cit., p.218.
 2. 'Livingstone and the Aftermath: The Origins and Development of Blantyre Mission.' in Pachai, op.cit., p.198.

used by a number of vested interests, not all of them favourably inclined towards missions, in the years after his death when he was no longer available to refute some of the more dubious applications of his name. The first authoritative biography, that published by W.G. Blaikie in 1880, was swift to point out the complexities of Livingstone's interests and talents:¹

As a man, a Christian, a missionary, a philanthropist, and a scientist, Livingstone ranks with the greatest of our race,...

Interestingly, Blaikie made no reference to Livingstone's role as an explorer, an omission which was remedied in Tim Jeal's catalogue of Livingstone's multifarious concerns. Employing the more sophisticated terminology of the 20th Century, Jeal described him as:²

...part social theorist, part explorer, part missionary propagandist, part trading expansionist, part anti-slavery proponent.

In the years separating these two comments the emphasis tended to shift to suit the prevailing mood of the moment, and in many respects Livingstone became a mere cipher, a focal point round which the protagonists debated their theories about Missions and Empire. Within Scotland, the dilemma of treating Livingstone as primarily a missionary or an imperialist acquired an additional piquancy through the Scots' anxiety to make a mark on the world. Such a philosophy finds contemporary expression in Hugh Macdiarmid's proud boast that five out of the ten great

1. Blaikie, op.cit., p.iv.

2. Jeal, op.cit., p.109.

African explorers, headed by Livingstone, were Scotsmen.¹
 In a broader context, Andrew Gibb described the typically quixotic nature of the Scots as regards exploration and colonisation. Recounting the tale of the early 17th Century attempts to settle in North America, he wrote:²

The third cause of failure lay in the territory chosen. This is true of all Scottish colonial schemes. The Choice was too ambitious, the sites too delectable. The eyes, and even the hands, of greater nations had been on them, and for these Scotland was no match either in force or diplomacy.

Livingstone's great journeys through Africa had fulfilled the conditions imposed upon themselves by the Scots, and the news of his romantic death in adversity was sufficient to stimulate a fairly immediate, if transitory, response, one which was not too dependent on a realistic assessment of the overall situation. In order to gauge the real impact of his death in 1873, one must, however, look at the impression which had been left by Livingstone's actions in the 1850's and 1860's.

In 1892 a contributor to the Scotsman strove to redress what he saw as a common misunderstanding of Livingstone's influence, in an article entitled 'The Centenary of Modern Missions.'³

Livingstone's first walk across Africa from/

1. Macdiarmid, op.cit., p.263.

2. A.Gibb, Scottish Empire (Lond. 1937), p.19.

3. Scotsman, 14 May 1892.

/from west to east, with his Zambesi discoveries is too often forgotten in the light of his later explorations and national burial. But it was the enthusiasm roused by his first return in 1857-8 that secured justice to the people of Africa for ever.

Between 1857 and 1873, Livingstone's credibility had suffered a series of blows from which it never fully recovered. In the Edinburgh Council Minute which conferred the distinction of Honorary Burgess on Livingstone in 1857, reference was made to his success in opening the way 'for the diffusion of the blessings of Christianity, civilisation, and commerce' in Africa.¹ In 1859, when Livingstone first set foot in Nyasaland, this atmosphere of euphoria continued unabated:²

The Churches were proud of the achievement of a solitary Scots missionary and manufacturers were interested in the possibilities of an entirely new source of raw materials.

Within a decade these claims had been shown to be wildly optimistic,³ especially after the revival of the American cotton industry at the close of the Civil War, and by 1869 Scottish missionaries in Africa, like Hugh Goldie of Calabar, were speculating on the effect which Alexander Duff, an Indian missionary, might have in awakening

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1. W.M. Gilbert, Edinburgh in the 19th Century (Edin. 1901), p.292.
 2. H.F. Wilson, op.cit., p.12.
 3. In 1874 the coterie of Glasgow businessmen, typified by Lord Provost Sir James Watson who stated that Livingstone 'had also opened up new channels by which they might look for extended commerce, and, he trusted, the extended progress of Christianity and civilisation' were not representative of Scots in general in their continued faith, which seems to have been primarily concerned with commercial gain. Glasgow Weekly Herald, 22 August 1874.

interest in the African Missions,¹ rather than on anything which Livingstone might inspire. By the late 1880's a generation had grown up which remembered Livingstone's failures rather than his successes, and the problems of the African Missions (especially Blantyre) in the early 1880's could only reinforce this earlier assessment. It would not be until the gradual weeding out of this generation in the early part of the 20th Century that Livingstone's name could with confidence be brought to the fore for missionary propaganda purposes in Scotland.² As a result of the Scots' sensitivity to failure overseas it seems reasonable to view April 1874 as essentially a brittle and short-lived farewell to the man Livingstone had been in the late 1850's rather than as a springboard to great Scottish missionary endeavours carried through under his influence. This feeling is confirmed by the fate of some of the causes with which his name was linked in 1874. Even before news of his death had reached Britain, Bartle Frere had given a widely-reported lecture in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, in which attention was focussed on four themes -Livingstone, the slave-trade, Abyssinia, and the Ashantee War.³ The following year,

1. Marwick, op.cit., p.450.

2. Things may have been different in England. Arthington of Leeds became interested in Livingstone's work as early as 1853, and his continued support for African Missions after Livingstone's death might arguably stem from the fact that, being an Englishman, he was not subject to any feeling of national failure or betrayal. At the same time, Arthington's role as an obsessive hermit may have rendered him insensible to criticism of Livingstone.

3. Aberdeen Herald, 10 January 1874.

Murray Mitchell addressed the Free Church Synod of Perth and Stirling on the topic of foreign missions. In the course of his talk he referred to the proposed Central African Mission, and explained the factors which had attracted attention to Africa:¹

The claims of that mighty continent on the Christian world had, he said, been pressed on the attention of the public by the romantic discovery and death of Dr Livingstone and by the horrible revelations made in the late Ashantee war.

By 1878, interest in the Ashantee Mission had diminished to negligible proportions, and the sympathy and attention of the British people had become focussed on other areas.² Contemporaneously, Livingstone's image suffered in a similar manner at the hands of a somewhat fickle Scottish public. For the next three or four decades he was to remain on the periphery of Scottish missionary interest, although he still retained a loyal caucus of support. This judgment is amply supported by reference to a series of events which occurred between 1887 and 1892. In 1889, the Scottish Churches sent a Petition, signed by 11,000 ministers and elders, to the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, asking him to safeguard the Nyasaland Missions, originated by the labours of Livingstone, against any form of Portuguese oppression.³ Three years later the Churches again petitioned the

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1. Perthshire Courier, 27 April 1875.
 2. Mildmay Proceedings, p.59.
 3. Public Records Office, F.O.84, 2013.

Government, this time over the proposed withdrawal from Uganda. Included in this document were the words:¹

In none of the Christian missions which have gone forth from Scotland have its people, of all classes, shown so keen an interest as in those founded in Central Africa since the action of David Livingstone, thirty years ago.

As recently as November 1887, however, there had been little sign of this upholding of Livingstone as a national hero. In that month the South Glasgow Gazette published a leading article on Scottish patriotism in which the following statement was made:²

But if the touch of one hand could kindle simultaneously the enthusiasm of Scotland's sons over the globe, that touch was given in the unveiling of the memorial erected to the Black Watch at Aberfeldy last Saturday.

The sudden switch to a propagandist use of Livingstone's name in the late 1880's was probably the result of a combination of several strands of thought. The first possibility is that Livingstone's name, like that of Robert the Bruce or Bonnie Prince Charlie, was regarded as a strong enough rallying-call to mobilise

1. CS HFMR, December 1892.

2. 19 November 1887. Contrast this with the paper's editorial of 21 May 1887, where it was explained that the Gazette was not interested in H.M. Stanley's Pasha expedition, because the editors were somewhat scathing of modern explorers. The editor contrasted this attitude with widespread interest in Livingstone, and claimed that this had been due to the fact that his was a laudable purpose which 'commended itself to the minds of all.' This was obviously intended as a historical contrast and not an indication of any ongoing interest in Livingstone, and it is equally clear that he is regarded here as an explorer rather than as a missionary.

the Scots if used in an emotionally heated atmosphere. In a more limited sphere, Livingstone was still the hero of all or part of the missionary circle in Scotland. Finally, as a British national figure he might carry a considerable weight in the power centre of London, whatever his fellow-Scots thought of him. In the ensuing sections of this chapter the relative accuracy and importance of these alternatives should become less difficult to define and assess.

2. The Impact on Missionary Recruitment.

In his Centenary Address at Perth, Dr Shaw claimed that Livingstone had made a thousand missionaries, a statement which we may safely take to be a hyperbolic flight of fancy.¹ The collection of evidence of absolute numbers who undertook missionary careers because of the example of Livingstone is patently impossible. From the available evidence it is possible to arrive at some conclusions, although these ought to be accepted with reservations. The subject is so large and unwieldy that the majority of my information has been acquired in a fairly random manner, and has an inbuilt tendency to bias. Missionary biography tends to concentrate on men and women who made a considerable impact, instead of on the steady but unspectacular majority. This pattern makes it imperative

1. Perthshire Constitutional & Journal, 24 March 1913. Ruth Rouse, for example, dwelt at length on the impact of David Brainerd and Henry Martyn in encouraging would-be missionaries, but she made no reference to Livingstone. op.cit., passim

to remember that these were by no means the only kind of missionaries whom Livingstone inspired, but it ought not to invalidate any trends discernible in a study of those missionaries who are known to have been positively guided by Livingstone's example.

In her study Miss Rouse determined that two major influences on missionary vocation were childhood calls (often forgotten for a number of years), and calls through literature, and through missionary biography in particular. For many of the missionaries who responded to Livingstone's example, the primary cause seems to have been a childhood response to his own account of his career, as it was detailed in the Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, a reaction which frequently pre-dated his death. Among the Scots in this category are Alexander Hetherwick of Blantyre(b. 1860),¹ W.T. Waddell of Barotseland(b.1858),² Duncan Main of Hangchow (b.1856),³ D.W.Torrance of Tiberias(b.1862)⁴ and F.S.Arnot (b.1858), who had the additional bond of being a school-mate of Livingstone's children.⁵ A feature of this group is that their youth precluded them from rising to

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1. W.P.Livingstone, A Prince of Missionaries (Lond. 1931), p.11.
 2. Rev. J.MacConnachie, An Artisan Missionary on the Zambesi (Edin. 1910), p.12.
 3. A.Gammie, Duncan Main of Hangchow (Lond. 1935), p.18.
 4. W.P.Livingstone, A Galilee Doctor (Lond. 1925), p.14.
 5. T.Lawman, From the Hands of the Wicked (Lond. 1960), p.13
The African explorer Joseph Thomson(b.1858), brother of a Free Church minister, also came under Livingstone's influence in this fashion.

the immediate challenge in 1874. All five had spent their formative years in Christian homes in the period before Livingstone's reputation had accelerated into decline, and the strength of his impact at that time was apparently lasting enough to carry them to the foreign mission field.

At the same time, we should not discount the effect of Blaikie's biography in re-inforcing this early intention. In fact, Blaikie had not been the first choice of John Murray and Co. as author of a Livingstone biography. In the late 1870's the great and increasing popularity of Self-Help had resulted in Samuel Smiles' being asked to undertake the task,¹ a proposal which never came to fruition. The substitute proved equal to the task, and when Blaikie's book appeared in late 1880 the literary critics were quick to acknowledge that it was a masterly account.² Unfortunately, much of its potential as a missionary recruiting agent was undoubtedly nullified in Scotland by the contemporaneous discrediting of Livingstone's name, the result of the furore over the Blantyre floggings. One consequence of this would seem to be that the Personal Life was more influential in stirring

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1. A. Smiles, Samuel Smiles and His Surroundings (Lond. 1956), p.133. It seems more than co-incidence that Smiles was born one year before Livingstone, both came from Dissenting stock, and after reaching the heights of popularity both had become unfashionable by the 1890's. The reasons for Smiles' failure to write the Livingstone biography are not stated, but his comments in Self-Help amply demonstrate his admiration for Livingstone. Vide. new edition, Lond. 1873, pp.242-4.
 2. Vide. The Times, 23 November 1880.

interest outside Scotland than it was in provoking a favourable response within. The distinguished American missionary enthusiast, John R. Mott, regarded the reading of Blaikie's volume as a formative influence on his life;¹ Adam McCall of the Livingstone Inland Mission, an Englishman born in Leicester despite his Highland-sounding name, made the transition from architect to missionary after spending some seven years in Africa in the former profession.² As part of this transition it is claimed that in his early days in his new career:³

He had studied with deep interest Blaikie's 'Personal Life of Livingstone', with its revelation of the utter falsity of many a critique on the life of that noble missionary hero.

Among Scots who responded to the stimulus of the biography was the young Baptist David Charters (b. 1864), who served with the Congo Mission, another English-based offshoot of Livingstone's death, in the mid-1880's before joining the Kibwezi Industrial (later Kikuyu) Mission in Kenya.⁴

In his later years Blaikie confirmed his awareness of the fact that his biography had given an impulse to the missionary cause and had induced some individuals to

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1. Macnair, op.cit., p.46.
 2. Guinness, op.cit., p.204.
 3. ibid., p.233. There appears to be some anachronism in this claim since McCall arrived in Africa with the mission party in April 1880, before the publication of Blaikie's book.
 4. V.T.Coats, David Charters. Engineer, Doctor and Missionary, 1864-94 (Lond. 1925), p.5.

become missionaries.¹ Prior to publication in 1880, the author had regarded the character of Livingstone himself as sufficiently striking to create such an impression:²

Though he used no sensational methods of appeal, he had a wonderful power to draw men to the mission-field.

In the accounts of recruitment into the Scottish Presbyterian Churches, however, there is little sign of such power, either before or after the publication of Blaikie's work. Throughout the last quarter of the century, all three denominations experienced difficulty in obtaining enough volunteers for their African missions. So far as Livingstone's effect or non-effect on this is concerned, there appear to be two factors which should be examined for their potential influence. These may be collected under the headings of denominationalism and missionary method.

The first of these themes is a tricky one to assess. Livingstone himself had scant regard for denominational rivalry, and was prepared to accept the aid of any Christian body which was willing to throw itself into the work of evangelising Africa. In the long-term this attitude worked to the advantage of the Scottish Presbyterians. From the outset the Free and UP Churches

1. Blaikie, Recollections, p.293.
2. Blaikie, Livingstone, p.468.

laboured in harmony to establish the Livingstonia Mission,¹ and there is evidence to show that the Free and Established Churches also co-operated at the grass-roots level.² In 1878, Mrs D. Lyell of Perth, an indefatigable organiser of missionary boxes over a period of many years, received a reassurance that Robert Laws at Livingstonia was aware of the fact that part of the contents of her most recent box was intended for Dr Macklin and the Blantyre Mission.³ In the swing towards Church Union it was chiefly from the Nyasaland⁴ and South African fields that the impetus came, but the lack of comment by Presbyterians makes it difficult to estimate the part played in this movement by Livingstone's firmly-held belief. The disadvantage in the short-term lay in the fact that a son of a Free Church manse, drawn to the mission field by Livingstone's example,⁵ felt such a sense of urgency that he accepted a post with the Anglican CMS instead of waiting for an opening in the Livingstonia or

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1. The effects of this were long-lasting. In March 1901 the Free Church Record recorded that their relations with Livingstonia were not yet settled since:
The control of that mission was somewhat different from that of the purely denominational missions of the Church,...
 2. The desirability of such co-operation was frequently urged in the early days of the ventures. Vide. CS Assembly Report in the Scotsman, 29 May 1874, and the Glasgow Weekly Herald, 4 July 1874.
 3. NLS Ms7749, f.726, FC FMC letter dated 28 September 1878.
 4. The idealised propagandist purpose of missionary writers can be seen in J.N. Ogievie's claim, apropos of Blantyre and Livingstonia, of 'the entire absence of any unpleasant episodes or harsh words in the former relations of these two Scottish missions.' L&W, December 1924.
 5. J.W. Harrison, op.cit., p.10.

or Blantyre Missions.¹ Again, it is difficult to put forward any firm conclusions, but it appears that the Scots' Presbyterian Churches lost the services of a considerable percentage of their members who were motivated by Livingstone, purely and simply because individuals like Mackay of Uganda embraced Livingstone's supra-denominational principles. To some extent the causes of this drain lay with the Churches themselves. As section three will show in more detail, none of the three denominations made any great efforts to utilise Livingstone's name, presumably because he was nominally a Congregationalist. The emphasis on him as a Scot and a missionary has been a 20th Century development. The gradual, almost imperceptible, nature of this movement may be gauged from an observation made by James Macnair in the 1940's. Describing the part played by the LMS in donating funds to the Blantyre Memorial in the 1920's he wrote:²

With the passing years, however, it had grown somewhat apprehensive lest, Livingstone being a Scot, the dominant Presbyterianism of his country might unconsciously absorb him in public opinion, and thus rob the Society of its high honour.

The second theme revolves round the type of men most ready to respond to Livingstone's plea. Many of these, like Livingstone, were men of great individuality and independence of spirit. Part of Livingstone's dislike of

1. J.W.Harrison, op.cit., pp.28-9.
2. Macnair, op.cit., p.25.

denominational limitations stemmed from his own objections to the restrictions which the LMS wished to impose upon him, and this impatience was echoed in many of his followers. Because of this, many seem to have preferred to work with pioneer or single-station missions rather than with the well-established Churches or Societies, trammelled by a multiplicity of regulations. This tendency was particularly true of those who went out in the first initial burst of enthusiasm in the mid- and late 1870's,¹ but for those of a later generation who claimed to be motivated by Livingstone another factor must be taken into account.

To demonstrate this factor we need look at only one case, that of Dan Crawford, a Greenock lad who went to Africa in the late 1880's and became one of the most ardent supporters of Livingstone's example. The account of Crawford's gravitation towards mission work is described in some detail by his nephew and biographer, Dr G.E.Tilsley, and offers some interesting insights into the religious climate of the 1880's. Tilsley, whose family came from Bath, pinpointed two major events, both stemming indirectly from Livingstone's death, which led men of Crawford's generation into missionary careers. These were the dedication of the 'Cambridge Seven' to

1. Of those who did take up work with the organised Churches, a large percentage -including Hetherwick and Torrance- chafed incessantly against the restrictions laid upon them.

missionary work in China, and the martyrdom of Bishop Hannington in Uganda in 1886.¹ One possibility is that Tilsley was ignorant of any specifically Scottish influences compelling men to become missionaries; a second possibility is that Scots of unorthodox religious persuasion found a more liberal inspiration outwith Scotland than they did within. Whatever the specific impulses, Crawford had virtually decided on the China mission field when Frederick Arnot met him in September 1888 and persuaded him to go to Africa.² In his account of this series of influences Tilsley has David Livingstone drifting tantalisingly on the fringe of events, but it seems clear from Crawford's own writings that Livingstone was not a primary stimulus at this time. As time passed, Crawford felt himself to be more and more akin to Livingstone, and the similar range of experiences which he underwent strengthened the ties and increased his veneration for Livingstone. It was not until he had spent thirty-five years in Africa that Crawford fully acknowledged the bond, and claimed to understand Doctor Livingstone:³

...in trying 'to size' Dr Livingstone we must persistently underline nearly all his Last Journals.

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1. Tilsley, Dan Crawford of Central Africa (Lond. 1929), p.22. This interpretation supports the view expressed on p.308 above, namely that Livingstone was a British rather than a Scottish national figure in the years immediately after his death.
 2. ibid., p.33.
 3. D.Crawford, Back to the Long Grass (Lond. 1922), p.9.

This pattern of developing admiration displayed by Crawford is probably typical of a great number of other missionaries. As the long-lived controversy over Livingstone's role as predominantly a missionary or an explorer demonstrated, he offered no clearly-defined model on which intending missionaries could mould themselves. Broadly speaking, there seem to be two kinds of missionary who are held up as an example to succeeding generations -those who pursue steady, occasionally brilliant, work over a long period of years,¹ and those whose early martyrdom provokes a very emotional and generally short-lived response.² Livingstone could not be fitted into either of these categories, and the unique nature of his missionary work offered little in the way of propaganda for the recruiting officers of the orthodox Missionary Societies. On a more personal note, contemporary comment on the Last Journals and on the Blaikie biography displays a certain ambiguity of attitude. In the earlier part of the century, the soul-scourging revelations of missionaries like Brainerd and Martyn had been a principal source of encouragement to prospective missionaries. Livingstone, a typically 'dour' and reticent Scot, had revealed little of his inner feelings in his published works, and had written mostly in a detached and scientific vein. When Horace Waller rectified this omission in his edited version of the

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1. e.g., Robert Moffat, Alexander Duff, Robert Laws.
 2. Vide., e.g., Mrs D.Christie, Arthur Jackson of Moukden (Lond. 1923), passim.

Last Journals he was subjected to fierce criticism from some quarters, on the grounds that this constituted an invasion of privacy, since Livingstone would never have allowed such 'hallowed utterances' to be published.¹

Blaikie appears to have taken such criticism into consideration six years later, to an extent which possibly limited the effectiveness of his portrayal of Livingstone's basically spiritual motivation. The Aberdeen Daily Free Press was certainly convinced that Blaikie had over-reacted:²

Yet the outline of Livingstone's life is already sufficiently known for the chief interest of a grave biographical study like this to lie in its revelation of his inner man...And it is at this point that Dr Blaikie's work does not quite satisfy us. One gets an impression that the writer is somewhat afraid of his subject -that he cramps him a little here and there, as an artist might cramp a model whose proportions he feared might otherwise overflow the limits of his canvas.

In conclusion, it appears as if these various fluctuations and discrepancies combined to render Livingstone's example of more use in sustaining than in creating missionaries. Livingstone had spent much of his career working in isolation, divorced from close contact with the missionary movement as a whole, and missionary officials tended to look askance at his tempestuous nature and single-minded determination. As a result of this, few Societies regarded him as the

1. The Academy, 13 February 1875.

2. Daily Free Press, 24 December 1880.

embodiment of an ideal, or even a desirable, type of recruit. For the men working in the field, however, Livingstone's vision and perseverance provided a valuable morale-booster as their understanding of his concerns increased. It was a long and slow process but the convinced approval of a generation of senior missionaries, such as Donald Fraser of Livingstonia and Dan Crawford in the second decade of this century, finally tilted the balance. After some forty years in a relative wilderness of doubt and partial acceptance, Livingstone's claim to be looked on as an inspiration to the missionary movement in Scotland was restored.¹

3. Livingstone and Scotland.

The various responses to Livingstone in Scotland between 1857 and 1873 were touched on in the first section of this chapter; this present section will chart the reactions after his death, in both the religious and secular spheres.

Chapter Four of this thesis has already shown how the lower courts of the Churches could nullify dictates sent down from the Assemblies by a process of passive disobedience, and the pattern which emerged in the months after Livingstone's burial in April 1874 affords a good

1. For Livingstone's influence over Scots' missionaries such as John Mackenzie and James Chalmers in the late 1850's vide. Goodall, op.cit., p.253, and Lovett, Chalmers, pp.33,99.

example of this. The Scotsman Reports of the several Assemblies of 1874 and 1875 convincingly demonstrate that there was considerable approval of proposals to establish Memorial Missions in Livingstone's name, but this enthusiasm was very rarely carried through to Presbytery level. Even in the Presbyteries of Hamilton, whose bounds included the Livingstone family home at Blantyre, there was never more than a transient interest, as a study of the Presbytery Minutes from 1870 to 1877 revealed.

The Free Church simply made no reference to Livingstone during these years, although the foreign mission movement was regularly discussed at Presbytery meetings.¹ This in itself is quite surprising, for Dr Loudon of Hamilton, one of the physicians who positively identified Livingstone's body by means of the famous damaged left arm, had been an elder in Hamilton St John's Free Church since 1848.² Furthermore, he took a keen interest in the foreign missions of the Church, and paid the salary of Donald Fraser of Livingstonia for many years.³ Despite this strong connection, the Presbytery passed no comment and, apparently, took no action over the affair.

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1. Vide., e.g., Hamilton FC Presb. Min., 3 March 1870, 26 November 1872, and 30 November 1875.
 2. FC MR, February 1885.
 3. UF MR, April 1902. Loudon was also a personal friend of Livingstone's, and his copy of the Missionary Travels, presented to him on 26 October 1857, is now exhibited in the Livingstone Memorial at Blantyre.

In the UP Church the situation was little better. A brief note on the first page of Stonefield UP Kirk Session Minute Book explains that proposals had been put forward in late 1876 to remove Stonefield Home Mission station from the control of Blantyre Session and elevate it to the status of a permanent charge. The Session Clerk added that:

...this was thought to be a fitting opportunity of commemorating Dr Livingstone who was born in the district and to whom no monument had as yet been erected.

The Presbytery Minutes give no indication of the emergence of this memorial beyond the bald statement that the Livingstone Memorial Church had now been opened for worship.² No expansion on this, or further mention of Livingstone's name, ever appeared.

Ironically, in view of her relatively laggardly position viz-a-viz foreign mission concern, the Established Church stood alone in entering a Minute in their Records expressing sympathy and condolence with the family of the deceased Doctor, a copy of which was ordered to be transmitted to the family.³ The initiative behind this move probably came from two of the clergy appointed to draw up the Minute. These men were the Rev. Stewart Wright of Blantyre, the current Presbytery Moderator and

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1. In the planning of this church a niche was left on the outside of the building to accommodate a commemorative statue, but this proposal never came to fruition.
UF MR, September 1912.
 2. Hamilton UP Presb. Min., 25 June 1878.
 3. Hamilton CS Presb. Min., 30 April 1874.

a former Indian missionary/chaplain,¹ and the Rev. Mr Hamilton of Hamilton First Charge, who had been one of the officiating clergy at the funeral service in Westminster Abbey.² After this spurt of activity the Presbytery lapsed back into the customary silence about Livingstone, and his name does not occur in any future Presbytery Minutes in the 1870's.

This pattern of indifference is present in all of the other Presbyteries which I looked at, and the almost entirely negative responses in Perth Presbytery may be taken as typical of the Churches as a whole. The first reference to Livingstone in Perth Presbytery Books did not occur until the Centenary Year(1913), fully forty years after his death, and response to the concrete proposals to establish Memorial Missions was extremely poor even in the years immediately after Livingstone's demise. The lack of interest within the Church of Scotland was despairingly catalogued by the Rev. Walter

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1. Wright was Chaplain at Madras and Bangalore between 1858 and 1871. Apart from his missionary sympathies with Livingstone he may also have had an emotional and geographical link. Wright's father-in-law, Dr Colin Fisher, had been CS minister of Inveraray and Glenaray from 1828 till his death in 1867. Livingstone was a Freeman of Inveraray and regarded himself as a kinsman of the Duke of Argyll, the patron who had appointed Fisher to these charges.
 2. Hamilton may have had some personal contact with members of Livingstone's family. A note in the Blantyre Memorial claims that Livingstone was probably baptised in Blantyre Parish Church, although the Parish Records for the period are not extant to verify this. On the other hand, Hamilton may have been present as a representative of the Established Church at a State occasion.

Tait of St Madoes in 1878. Pleading on behalf of the Blantyre Mission, Tait stated that:¹

It were well if more interest were taken in the East Africa Mission, only 5 parishes having contributed to it, viz. -Dunbarney, Kilsplindie, St Madoes, West Church, and Redgorton.

Curiously, Tait never mentioned Livingstone directly or indirectly in his appeal, which strengthens the suggestion made by Dr Sheila Brock, namely that Livingstone was essentially a catalyst used to hasten an intended scheme. Tait's failure to utilise Livingstone's name implies that the euphoria surrounding his death had already evaporated by 1878. In the correspondence between the various FMC's and members and officials living within the bounds of Perth Presbytery the same barren response is found. Between 1870 and 1929 several thousand letters were sent to Perth; of these, only one even mentions Livingstone, and this in a very perfunctory and negative manner. In 1913, a Miss Hutchison, from the comfortable middle-class suburb of Balhousie, received the following reply to a query which she had directed to the FMC of the UF Church:²

We have no set of lantern slides specially illustrating the life of David Livingstone, but we have a set on our Livingstonia Mission which would probably answer your purposes.

Even among missionaries, Livingstone was something of a persona non grata, as Dr Brock points out with referencee

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1. Perth CS Presb. Min., 27 March 1878.
 2. NLS Ms.7786, f.152, letter dated 13 February 1913. For more details on such correspondence vide. Appendix C.

to Stewart of Lovedale:¹

For a man who was so prolific a writer Stewart made significantly little reference to Livingstone in the years after 1874.

This picture is so much at variance with the traditional view of the Churches' interest in Livingstone that some kind of explanation must be attempted, even although there are few leads on which to base assumptions. One contributory factor seems to be the perennial dispute over Livingstone as explorer or missionary. Attempts on the part of ministers of religion to arouse a wider public interest in Livingstone appear to have backfired on this very point. In order to attract and hold an audience lecturers were obliged to concentrate on the more sensational aspects of the subject's life, something which often obscured the fact that Livingstone had been a serious and committed Christian missionary, although not one of a conventional or readily-recognisable stamp. On 3 February 1880, the Perthshire Courier printed the following account of one such lecture delivered by Archibald Fleming, minister of St Paul's Parish Church:

The hall was crowded to overflowing -The attentive, orderly, and happy aspect of all present contributed greatly to the pleasure of each, and showed how much they admired the subject of the lecture, -Dr Livingstone, and the eloquent manner in which the lecturer traced the various scenes and incidents of that useful and eventful life.

1. in Pachai, op.cit., p.107.

2.

The subject of this lecture was Livingstone's travels, and it appears that the audience attended more in the expectation of entertainment than of edification. Many years later another Established minister, Mr Landreth of Perth West Church, also took this line in a lecture on Livingstone, notice of which was given in a local paper under the heading 'The Great Explorer.'¹

The after-effects of this approach by the leaders of the Christian community are reflected in an article which appeared in the Scotsman on 15 May 1913. The article was centred on an encounter between a Rhodesian settler and a lion, and is of little interest in itself. Its real value lies in the attitudes which it reveals. The article was submitted by the settler's brother, a Mr Forsyth of Grantown-on-Spey, who was prompted to do so after re-reading Livingstone's Missionary Travels in this, the Centenary Year. Forsyth added that he had not read this book since he was a boy, and very little of it had stuck in his mind at that time. The episode where Livingstone was mauled by the lion was, he said, one of the few which he had remembered throughout the years, since it was one of the rare items which had been of interest to a schoolboy. Livingstone had not gone to Africa to evangelise the lion population, yet it was this adventurer aspect of the man which came most readily to mind. In concentrating their lectures on this same aspect,

1. Perthshire Constitutional & Journal, 12 March 1913.

Churchmen did little to correct mistaken impressions about Livingstone's commitment to the missionary cause, yet one comment made in a Church magazine a quarter of a century after his death shows no awareness of this serious deficiency:¹

We do not fear comparison of that ideal which David Livingstone embodies with any other, be it military or commercial, which civilisation has introduced into Africa.

In view of such complacency by the missionary aficianados in the community,² it can be argued that the Churches themselves were thus chiefly responsible for perpetuating an image of Livingstone which rendered little aid to them in their campaign to extend interest in the mission cause. At the same time, it must be recognised that 1874 was a particularly difficult year for any attempt by missionary propagandists to introduce the name of Livingstone through the secular press. Ironically, one of the main causes of this was the keen concern over the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland at this time. In order to illustrate this we may look once again at the Provincial Press, and at Perth in particular, where there were two regular newspapers, the Courier and the Constitutional & Journal. The Courier always displayed a deep concern for current religious questions

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1. Perth North UP Congregational Record, December 1898.
 2. Perth North was the most missionary-minded of all Perth congregations.

and by the 1870's had become:¹

...an organ of James Begg to oppose the United Presbyterian and Free Church Union, as he and wealthy backers filled it with articles on the vital importance of Church Establishment, and gave saturation coverage of the paper in the Highlands.

At the time of Livingstone's death the Scottish Presbyterian Churches were embroiled in a protracted legal and political struggle on the twin issues of Patronage and Disestablishment. Throughout the 1870's and the early 1880's, therefore, the editorials and leading articles in the Courier were concerned mainly with these domestic issues, and the foreign work of the Churches received scant attention. Even the death of Alexander Duff in 1878 was turned to political ends. Instead of evaluating Duff's contribution to missionary effort the Courier concentrated on his belief in a pure and simple Gospel, and used this as a platform from which to attack Broad Churchism and Rationalism in Scottish religious life.²

It is within this context that we must look at the Courier coverage of Livingstone's death and the aftermath. The death and burial itself brought little more than a factual acknowledgment,³ and later events like the laying of the tombstone in Westminster Abbey⁴ and the marriage of his daughter Agnes received similar treatment.⁵ Even the

1. J.H. Wells, op.cit., pp.146-7.

2. Perthshire Courier, 19 February 1878. This attack was part of the controversy surrounding the Robertson Smith heresy case in the Free Church, another major issue of the 1870's.

3. ibid., 31 March and 21 April 1874.

4. ibid., 15 December 1874.

5. ibid., 3 August 1875.

reports of the departure of the Free Church missionary party for Lake Nyasa¹ and the establishment of an Auld Kirk mission in Central Africa² made no reference to Livingstone by name. In later years the Courier was no more eloquent in referring to the missionary explorer. The general impression gained from intensive burrowing in the files is that Livingstone was largely irrelevant to the major issues in Scottish national life. Not a member of any of the major religious bodies, Livingstone could not be used as a figurehead or rallying point for any of the groups of disputants.

The Courier's sister-paper, the Constitutional & Journal, is of particular interest, for it employed one of Livingstone's second cousins on its journalistic staff. The young Thomas Hunter had come to Perth in 1872 to work for the Courier, but he soon transferred to the Constitutional where he eventually became a joint-partner then sole proprietor before his death in 1904.³ Despite this personal link, the Constitutional did not display any fuller or more prolonged interest than did the rest of the Scottish Press.

Moving further afield, the Aberdeen Herald showed considerable interest in the Central African Missions, an

1. Perthshire Courier, 1 June 1875.

2. ibid., 8 June 1875.

3. D. C. Smith, The Historians of Perth (Perth 1906), pp. 173-5. Hunter was also a respected member of the Middle Parish Kirk Session.

interest which is principally attributable to the fact that Robert Laws and a disproportionately large number of the other members of the mission staffs belonged to the city. Nevertheless, the Herald, like the Courier, very soon dropped all reference to Livingstone, and discussed the missions per se, passing no comment as to whether they conformed to Livingstone's hopes and intentions.

Much more groundwork would be required in order to establish a definite pattern, but the evidence gathered so far appears to confirm the interpretation that Livingstone's death was generally treated as an item of short-term sensational appeal. On 20 April 1874, an editorial in the Perthshire Constitutional & Journal claimed that public interest in his fate had never waned in the latter part of his life, during which time he had been an explorer gum traveller. The wording of this editorial is such that there is an implicit suggestion that the campaign had been conducted in such a fashion that it could not be profitably continued after his death was irrefutably confirmed. In addition to this, the newspapers had sensation enough throughout this year and well into 1875, in reporting the facts of the Tichborne Case.¹ This juicy scandal came to light in March 1874 and helped accelerate the dropping of the now 'dead'

1. This protracted and intriguing case revolved round the actions of one Arthur Orton, who fraudulently claimed to be Sir Roger Tichborne, heir to a large fortune.

Livingstone story, and it may be that the Scottish Churches could have done very little to sustain current interest in him. At the same time the failure of Churchmen to adequately portray the 'real' Livingstone in the quarter century after his death must be seen as a major factor in the expedient and often inaccurate use to which his name was put by secular agencies. This use can be most readily demonstrated by showing the co-relationship which was felt to exist between Livingstone and Henry Morton Stanley, a relationship which was succinctly expressed by a Scotsman correspondent who described them as 'two of our national heroes.'¹ Stanley is often regarded as the successor to Livingstone, a role which he wished upon himself after Livingstone's death,² but his methods were very different from those of Livingstone, and Stanley has never been held up as a missionary hero. Despite this, it is very clear that he came to replace Livingstone in the secular eyes of Scotland in the late 1880's and 1890's, partly, it must be admitted, through his emotional links with Livingstone, which he himself assiduously cultivated.³

At the simplest level, Stanley replaced Livingstone as a drawing power to sell specific items. Until the

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1. Scotsman, 30 May 1925. The letter drew attention to the disgrace of the neglected Memorial at Ujiji, where Livingstone and Stanley had met.
 2. Vide. Dictionary of National Biography, 2nd Supplement, (Lond. 1912), p.387.
 3. Vide. comments in the Scotsman, 7 May 1890, and in Gilbert, op.cit., pp.149,172,296.

mid-1880's Livingstone's name had still been freely used on such items as 'Explorer' matches,¹ and in advertisements for Du Barry's Delicious Revalenta Arabica Food, supposedly a miraculous cure for all intestinal ailments.² By about 1884, Stanley had replaced Livingstone in Du Barry's compilation of notables who had been cured by this concoction, and by the 1890's Stanley was universally in demand as advertising copy.³ More revealingly from a grass-roots Scottish viewpoint, Stanley attracted the attention of that master of doggerel verse, William McGonagall, self-styled poet and tragedian, and elicited from him yet another of his 'Poetic Gems' - 'A Tribute to Henry M. Stanley, The Great African Explorer'.⁴ McGonagall had started to write in July 1877 at the relatively advanced age of forty-seven, with an address to the Rev. George Gilfillan of Dundee. He had, therefore, missed out on Livingstone as a topical subject, but it is still surprising that he makes no reference to this Scottish connection of Stanley's. In fact, McGonagall's account may be considered to be positively misleading, for he describes Stanley as a man:

who went out to Africa its wild regions to/
/explore.

thus apparently discounting Stanley's first journey when

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1. One of these boxes is on display in the Blantyre Memorial.
 2. A spurious claim since Livingstone died of prolonged internal bleeding!
 3. Vide. L. de Vries, Victorian Advertisements (Lond. 1969), pp.28,89,120 for three examples of this.
 4. McGonagall, typically, made Stanley rhyme with knee on this occasion for the purpose of versification. The poem was probably written during Stanley's tour of Scotland in 1890.

he went out to find Livingstone. As a religious man and a teetotaler, McGonagall was in no way averse to the things Livingstone stood for, and one can only assume that he felt Livingstone was not of sufficiently great interest to merit inclusion in his verses which, whatever their literary standing, closely resemble the old ballads which served as the medium of topical news and memorable history.¹

The real revival of Livingstone's reputation in a wider public sphere came with the advent of the Boer War in 1899. One of the first to speak up was the Rev. John Kennedy who reminded the public, in the pages of the Daily News, of the Boer oppression which had been catalogued by Livingstone in the Missionary Travels, and put this forward as a justification of the War.² In June 1901 a book review in Life and Work emphasised this same point:

At Livingstone's design to Christianise their 'cattle' the Boers laughed brutally. That was in 1845. 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.' In 1901 His vengeance fell.

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1. This omission verifies the impression that Livingstone's name had been utilised in the late 1880's for propaganda purposes, not because of any deep-rooted Scottish feelings for him. Vide. supra., p.308. and speech by Dr Archie Scott, reported in Scotsman, 26 February 1889.
 2. J. Kennedy, Old Highland Days. With a Sketch of his Later Life by H.A. Kennedy (Lond. 1901), pp.175-7. Kennedy, a Scot from Aberfeldy, was the son of a Dissenting minister, conducted his own ministry in London, served as an LMS Director from 1843, and first became interested in South Africa through personal contact with John Philip. ibid., pp.18,143,193.

The tone of this quotation suggests that this vengeance was actually a vindication of a hitherto misunderstood Livingstone, a supposition given credibility by the fact that Livingstone began to figure more prominently in Scottish missionary mythology from the early 20th Century onwards, both in Church and secular circles.¹ The process was a long and canny one as befitted the Scots, and by the arrival of the Centenary in 1913 was still cautiously regarded as being in its infancy:²

The world is realising anew today that in Doctor Livingstone it has one of its noblest and most gallant figures.

By the 1920's, this amended view of Livingstone was firmly established, and a National Memorial became a reality at Blantyre in 1929. This event prompted James Macnair to describe the response to this decision as showing:³

...if proof were needed, the remarkable hold that, more than 70 years after his death, Livingstone still has upon the imagination and affection of the Scottish people.

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1. Vide. H.M. Stanley's obituary notice in the Scotsman, 11 May 1905, where Livingstone is described as the greatest of African missionaries.
 2. UF MR, March 1913. Donald Fraser's failure to promote a Livingstone Memorial during this time of celebration shows that caution was not misplaced. The Established Church more optimistically enthused:
 Can any one indulge in the vulgar sneers concerning the value of Missions who contemplates what Livingstone, alone and unaided, has done for humanity?
 3. Macnair, op.cit., p.XI. It is difficult to see how he can believe in the constancy of this in view of Fraser's failure.

Conclusions.

Missionary historians, as Macnair indicated in the last paragraph, are notoriously prone to exaggeration or misrepresentation in their efforts to promote the cause. In the case of David Livingstone and Scotland, this disease of inaccuracy has apparently spread so far as to warrant a complete reappraisal of his place in Scottish history. In each of the previous sections it has been shown that previously accepted claims about the dominance of Livingstone in the post-1873 Scottish missionary movement will not stand up to close scrutiny. Response to his example in other countries proved that Livingstone's image posed no intrinsic hindrance to his use as a missionary stimulus, and in the light of the world-wide reaction to his death it seems as though the Scottish nation missed a great opportunity to publicise its role in the missionary enterprise.

Even before his death, Livingstone was held in high repute, for his humanitarian work, in European countries such as Denmark.¹ At the time of his death interest centred on his geographical achievements, with commemorative meetings held as far afield as America² and Russia,³ while in France Livingstone was chosen as the

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1. Vide. E. Bredsdorff, 'Hans Andersen and Livingstone's Daughter' in Blackwood's Magazine (January 1953). This correspondence carried out between 1869 and 1874 gives an indication of contemporary Danish attitudes.
 2. Moorhouse, op.cit., p.124.
 3. Glasgow Weekly Herald, 7 March 1874.

theme for the prize poem of the Academie Francaise for 1875.¹ Nor was this solely a short-term interest. In 1885 Blaikie's Livingstone was translated into French and German, which brought forth the comment:²

As to Livingstone's Life, we are only surprised to hear that it has not long before this been translated alike into French, German, and Italian. All the Continental nations are deeply interested in Africa, and one would have expected earlier inquiries after the personal life of the great explorer.

That same year, another Livingstone biographer claimed that the slave-trade had been almost totally wiped out because of the European response to Livingstone.³

Perhaps the best testimony of all, however, came from a Westminster Abbey curate, responsible for showing round thousands of visitors each year, who stated that Livingstone's was always the first grave which they wished to see.⁴ The cumulative evidence of this international concern with Livingstone reinforces the belief that he was relatively neglected in his homeland. The effects of this neglect have already been described, as have the more obvious causes such as the rival attractions of the Tichborne Case or the ambiguities of Livingstone's

1. Glasgow Weekly Herald, 27 June 1874.

2. FC MR, September 1885.

3. R. Smiles, op.cit., p.125.

4. CS L&W, March 1921. Less savoury is the later revelation that Lord Haw Haw, the renegade William Joyce who conducted propaganda broadcasts on behalf of Nazi Germany, used Livingstone's name as a scourge, and compared his heroic stature with that of the present-day pygmies. CS L&W, October 1940.

role. It is now time, therefore, to look at some of the indirect factors which led to this situation.

It has already been suggested¹ that missionary enthusiasts were complacent over the bland use of Livingstone's name as a source of missionary inspiration, and to some extent this is an accurate assessment. In 1889, J.C. White -the future Lord Overtoun- wrote that:²

...everyone who has read his life -and specially his personal reminiscences by Professor Blaikie- knows that it was chiefly with a view to the furtherance of the gospel that he sought to explore that continent,...

As earlier parts of this chapter have shown, this distinction was not at all clear to the majority of the population. Four years after White made his pronouncement a number of members of Edinburgh Free St George's can be detected in the same self-important task of preaching to the converted. The Monthly Record for January 1893 announced that all Foreign Mission Fund subscribers in St George's congregation were to be presented with a copy of Blaikie's Livingstone in order to encourage interest in foreign missions, but it would have been of more value, one feels, to make the presentation to all those who did not contribute!

This gathered nucleus may be criticised in some

1. Supra., p.326.

2. FC MR, November 1889.

measure for their failure to operate a public relations scheme around the name of Livingstone, but in fairness it must be recognised that this may well have proved to be an impossible task in 19th Century Scotland. As late as 1912, for example, denominational considerations prevented a properly concerted Centenary missionary appeal:¹

Regarding the celebration of the Livingstone centenary, the Central Committee for Scotland has decided not to appeal for a national memorial fund, but to leave each Society free to institute its own memorial and make its own appeal.

If the denominational climate of Scotland was a hindrance to the Presbyterians' use of Livingstone's name, his nationality offered no more promising a platform. In an editorial which was probably influenced by Livingstone's kinsman, Thomas Hunter, the Perthshire Constitutional and Journal made this point abundantly clear as early as 22 April 1874, when national pride might have been expected to be at a peak. Commenting on pleas for a Scottish burial, the author of the editorial stated that he had no great sympathy with those:

...who are always becoming rampant and clamant about the rights of the Scottish, as distinguished from the British, lion.

Livingstone himself would have approved of this statement for, like Thomas Carlyle and many other Scots of the time, he identified more with England than with his native

1. Scotsman, 27 May 1912.

Scotland, and it was in England that he had raised his Fiery Cross which led to the UMCA Mission of 1859. One modern Scottish historian has described him thus:¹

...that quintessential Scot...for whom Britain was an unknown concept: it was to create Christian English colonies that he thrust into the Dark Continent.

This same attitude is described in the writings of those who followed Livingstone. Fred Morrison of the African Lakes Company collectively referred to the Britons in the Lakes region as English even in the privacy of his own diary;² John Buchanan, a missionary at Blantyre before becoming a planter in the area, wrote of the expenditure of £100,000 of English capital in the Shire Highlands, £60,000 of which had been raised in Scotland.³

While national pride could not be harnessed in support of any missionary campaign, there was a danger that it might have a positively detrimental effect. The Scots are noted for their ability to harbour grudges for an inordinately long period of time,⁴ and there were many Scots still alive in the 1870's who felt that they had been misled by Livingstone's exaggerated claims in the 1850's. James Stewart's silence in later life, for

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1. W. Ferguson, Scotland, 1689 to the Present (Edin. 1968), p.317.
 2. Morrison, op.cit., 5 March 1885.
 3. J. Buchanan, The Shire Highlands as Colony and Mission (Edin. 1885), pp.72-3.
 4. Think of, e.g., the continued obsessions with Bannockburn and with the Union of 1707.

instance, suggests that he never fully forgave Livingstone for the apparent deception which had provoked Stewart to discard his copy of the Missionary Travels into the waters of the Zambesi.¹

Taken overall, these factors seem to have combined to effectively nullify the possibility of utilising Livingstone as an inspiration for a Scottish missionary outreach in the 19th Century. The resurrection of his name in the 20th Century owed much to the emergence of a faith in his theories which had not been present in the years immediately after his death. Referring to the nature of faith in the 19th Century, Ian Murray wrote:²

But one thing which does call for emphasis is the manner in which the promises of unfulfilled prophecy affected missionary labour on the most practical level. It prepared men to face a baptism of sufferings, disappointments and set-backs with unwavering confidence in the final outcome.

It appears that faith of this stamp was sadly lacking in Scotland in 1874, at least in regard to Livingstone, and it was not until 1929 that a reviewer of R.J. Campbell's Livingstone could authoritatively state of Livingstone that:³

...the statistics of African Christians given in Dr Campbell's last chapter show him as the prophet he was.

Ultimately, Livingstone's reputation did live up to the

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1. J.P.R.Wallis(ed.), The Zambesi Journal of James Stewart, 1862-1863 (Lond. 1952), p.189.
 2. Murray, op.cit., p.178.
 3. TLS, 31 October 1929.

image prophesied for him in the Glasgow Weekly Citizen of 25 April 1874:

But while the figure of LIVINGSTONE will be perpetuated in stone, and his missionary labours and discoveries in written history, admission of his noble, useful, and self-sacrificing life will keep the remembrance fresh in the hearts of his countrymen for many generations.

This process was never as clear-cut, constant, or influential as this correspondent and popular legend would have us believe. All in all, the impression gained from the evidence collected is one of a vague and largely ill-informed interest, sustained by such inconsequential information as the following extract from the Scotsman of 11 April 1930:

Another link with Livingstone has been discovered in Lazarus Raikane, a native, aged 104, who is living near Vereeniging in the Transvaal.

If the holocaust of the First World War had helped to bring Livingstone back into prominence as the representative of an age of moral certainty now destroyed, the emergence of the African world after the Second World War brought him back once again as a representative of the Imperial greatness which had also disappeared. Such varied and opportune use of his name shows the missionary movement as only one of a large number of manipulators of his name, one which was not even particularly dexterous. The underlying current of awareness of Livingstone makes it difficult to absolutely confirm or deny his presence at any one moment, but the eventual

result of his continued presence in British, rather than Scottish, history may be discerned in the wry comment of one literary reviewer:¹

In at least one household it has become the custom, when yet another batch of 'great lives' arrives for review, for one member of the family to murmur sympathetically: 'Dr Livingstone, I Presume?' And, surely enough, he is here again.

1. TLS, 31 May 1957.

CHAPTER SEVEN.THE SCOTS AND MISSIONARY BIOGRAPHY.

One of the reasons for the subsidiary use of Livingstone's name in promoting foreign missions in the half century or so after his death was the Scottish Churches' preference for parading their own denominational heroes as a source of inspiration. In so doing, the Churches became obsessive about certain individuals in the manner so ruefully described at the end of the last chapter. The Exleys described this process -which they themselves experienced- as 'the natural temptation to concentrate on the magnetic few.'¹ Even in the Scotland of the 1960's and 1970's, concentration on denominational lines is still a common tendency. In a Life and Work review of Hewat's Vision and Achievement D.M.McFarlan singled out four missionaries by name, all of them Free, UP, or UF members, as leading figures.² A decade later, the Rev. D.G.M.Mackay, son of a Free Church minister, displayed an equally biased selection in his list of remarkable Scots who worked in the Presbyterian Missions.³ In compiling such lists opinions vary remarkably little, individual preference going only so far as to nominate a few names from a relatively small pool of accepted giants of the missionary enterprise, a pool which has remained

1. R. & H.Exley, op.cit., p.69.

2. CS L&W, March 1961. They were:- J.Wilson of Bombay, Duff of Calcutta, J.M.Macphail of Santalia, and Mary Slessor of Calabar.

3. CS L&W, October 1972. His nominations:- Duff, Slessor, Stewart of Lovedale, Hope Waddell of Calabar, and 'William'(sic) Laws of Livingstonia.

fairly constant over the past sixty or seventy years. Typical of this close-knit fellowship is Professor Ian Henderson's selection in 1969, when he singled out Alexander Duff, Mary Slessor, and Robert Laws from his unnamed list of a 'dozen to twenty distinguished figures' among 19th Century Scottish Church missionaries.¹ The main purpose of this chapter will be to examine the incidence and choice of subjects of missionary biography in Scotland, in order to see whether there are any consistent underlying reasons for some men and women thus achieving public recognition while others, equally devoted and capable, have remained shadowy and anonymous figures.

The development of the missionary biography as a literary genre took some considerable time. In the first half of the 19th Century attention was largely focussed on a select group of 'classics', including the Lives of John Eliot, Henry Martyn, and David Brainerd.² Missionary texts were ordinarily clumsy and amateurish, and in 1847 even that most voracious of readers, Thomas Carlyle, could not be persuaded to read two missionary narratives which his mother had sent to his convalescent wife.³

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1. I. Henderson, op.cit., p.38. Again, these are all FC/UP figures.
 2. Eliot and Brainerd worked in North America in the 18th Century. Martyn, an East India Coy. Chaplain, was the first modern missionary to the Muslims.
 3. J.A. Froude, Thomas Carlyle, 1834-1881 (Lond. 1884), Volume I, p.415. Carlyle was not opposed to missionary writing per se; in 1827 he gave his mother a Life of Henry Martyn as a New Year gift. Froude, Carlyle, 1795-1835, Volume I, p.378.

Even the better-written biographies had a fairly limited appeal. In 1849 the Rev. W.K. Tweedie prefaced his biography of John Macdonald (CS/FC, Calcutta, 1837-47) with a description of the criteria which he had employed:¹

The principle of selection was to give a continuous history of his mental and spiritual developments. In attempting that, care was taken to exclude all matter that was not strictly biographical, or illustrative of Mr Macdonald's character as a man, a Christian, a minister, and a missionary.

Tweedie's freedom to pick and choose from a mass of material was largely a result of the peculiar nature of Scottish Missions in this period. Unlike the English Societies, which were mainly staffed by members of the artisan class, many of whom had a very limited education, the majority of Scots' missionaries had received a very sound schooling, and were well able to articulate abstract feelings and sentiments. The smallness of numbers involved, however, led to a continuing dependence on the biographies of Brainerd & Co. until well into the second half of the century. In England, the increase in recruitment from the literate middle classes brought a more eloquent touch to Annual Reports and other mission publications, and began to furnish more material for a biographical approach to the history of missions. The demise of the generation of Scottish pioneers who had gone out in the 1830's afforded a similar increase in source material and led to the emergence of the

1. Tweedie, op.cit., p.xix.

'professional' missionary biographer in the person of George Smith, CIE,LLD, Foreign Mission Secretary of the Free Church from 1879 to 1910. The later Victorian period with its acceptance of History as resultant on the actions of Great Men saw a continuing increase in the numbers of missionary biographies, and witnessed a simultaneous change in the role visualised for such books.

In the earlier part of the century missionary biographies had been primarily concerned with the subject's spiritual welfare. Although such introspective and heart-rending accounts did stimulate individuals to serve in the mission field, they often did so by accident rather than design, encouraging the reader to think of the 'heathen' in the abstract rather than as inhabitants of specific areas. Men, it would seem, often read them in order to resolve some turmoil in their own souls by sharing the doubts and experiences of another, and the emphasis was on the theoretical rather than the practical. By the 1870's, there was a growing distaste for this style of missionary biography. It is recorded of Professor D.S.Cairns, a schoolboy in this decade, that:¹

...he had always been attracted by missionary biographies, finding them far more congenial than mystical and devotional literature of an introverted kind.

This attitude was to become more widespread as the number

1. Memoir of Cairns by Professor D.M.Baillie in David Cairns. An Autobiography (Lond. 1950), p.16.

of African Missions increased and the Scots began to teach practical trades instead of the literary skills which had been the feature of Duff's work in India. The diversification of work into fields other than India also led to a need for more down-to-earth incentives to draw workers to specific fields. In an address to the Mildmay Conference James Herdman, Convener of the Established Church FMC, made this very point:¹

Ah! those lives were not lost to Britain which fell on sleep after service on distant shores. The biography of one is the call to another.

As the work of Missions expanded, the Societies and Churches realised the need for detailed histories of their work. In the last decade of the century the histories of the missions were still generally regarded as conterminous with the biographies of the most prominent missionaries.² Eugene Stock, in fact, was prepared to describe his CMS History as 'almost a Biographical Dictionary.'³ The growing importance of men like George Smith can be seen in the comment made by a reviewer of his Life of Stephen Hislop who described Smith's books as:⁴

...an armoury in which we can find effective weapons for the conflict with those who, like Canon Taylor, assert that missions are failing for lack of heroism among missionaries, or

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1. Mildmay Proceedings, p.99.
 2. Vide., e.g., R. Jeffrey, The Indian Mission of the Irish Presbyterian Church (Lond. 1890), p.9, and Canon Benham's preface to M.S. Benham, Henry Callaway, MD, DD (Lond. 1896), p.v.
 3. Stock, CMS, Volume II, p.69, and Volume III, p.805.
 4. UP MR, December 1888.

/or because the Church sends inferior men to the foreign field.

By the 20th Century this individual approach to Mission History had its critics within the Churches. The Rev. I.H.Hacker's¹ Hundred Years in Travancore, 1806-1906 was criticised for being a record of the men who went, not of the people visited and the effects of the work undertaken.² This complaint accurately reflects the attitude which prevailed in Scotland for a number of years, and no major missionary biographies appeared until the enthusiastic and hard-working W.P.Livingstone came to the fore both during and after the Great War. By the 1930's, missionary biography was re-established as an essential element of religious literature, vital as an aid to continuity in the work and as a means to maintain the Church as 'a community of memory as well as of hope'.³ In a repetition of the circumstances which led to Smith's biographies in the late 1880's, the increased criticism of missions in the 1930's fomented a desire to publish life-stories to counter this. Explaining the decision to proceed with the biography of Fraser of Livingstonia, despite his declared opposition, the November 1934 issue of Life and stated:

Unauthorised biographers would have ventured into the field, and it would have been worse than a pity if so remarkable a story had been indifferently told.

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1. LMS missionary in India, 1877-1920.
 2. UF MR, August 1908.
 3. Lattourette, op.cit., p.538.

In 1878 the Free Church Synod of Perth and Stirling had eulogised Alexander Duff as one of the last of an age of missionary heroes.¹ Just as Duff's death co-incided with the start of a new era of missionary biographies, those of Donald Fraser(1933), Christie of Moukden(1936), and Alexander Cruickshank(1937) brought it to a close. W.P.Livingstone and Alexander Gammie² continued to write until their deaths in 1950, but neither wrote of foreign missionaries after 1938, nor did anyone else take up the work. Instead, Church publications concentrated on strengthening the legends woven around the names of the heroes of a bygone age, with special attention to Mary Slessor who, by the 1950's, more than rivalled David Livingstone as an example to dangle before Scottish children.³ The remainder of this chapter will chart the origins and development of Scottish missionary cult-figures from the 1870's onwards.

In February 1902, Life and Work reviewed Neil Munro's Shoes of Fortune, a romantic novel about an 18th Century Scottish adventurer, in the following terms:

What does one wish for more in any
romance than that it be clean and clever
and grip the heart with the old elemental/

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1. Synod Minute, 17 April 1878.
 2. Author of numerous religious biographies, including that of Cruickshank of Calabar in 1938.
 3. My own vague Sunday School memories are of Slessor rather than of Livingstone. Although this may have been affected by the fact that I lived near Dundee, and she was a local heroine, the number of references to Mary in L&W in the 1950's and 1960's tend to confirm the trend reflected in these memories.

/elemental human heroisms of love and
adventure, and virtue's trials, and the
courage that in the end wins through?

This picture was almost a blueprint for any missionary biography of the later 19th Century, and serves to remind the modern reader that missionary books were a respectable means of obtaining vicarious thrills at a time when 'penny dreadfuls' and 'yellow journals' were frowned on throughout the week, not just on Sundays. The various denominational magazines probably played a major part in forming members' reading habits, by means of their book reviews, and there was a marked tendency for these reviews to concentrate on the adventurous or bloodthirsty elements in missionary literature. 'Livingstone's lion' was discussed in the last chapter, and one further example will suffice to illustrate this point. In June 1888, the Home and Foreign Missionary Record reviewed the Rev. Samuel Macfarlane's¹ Among the Cannibals, claiming that:

The Chapter called 'Their Manners and Customs' is the only horrible chapter in the Book,...

which dealt mainly with exploration and missionary work. By emphasising this aspect the reviewer might be congratulated for warning parents and others of the slightly risqué nature of parts of the book; he might also be congratulated by the publisher for helping to popularize the volume.² This search for excitement was

1. b. Johnstone, Renfrewshire, 1837. LMS, South Seas, 1859-1887.

2. Publications of this nature brought about an upsurge/
Continued overleaf.

not confined to the British, who had first become captivated by reading the accounts of the 18th Century Missions to the Red Indians in North America.¹ The Americans themselves were equally avid to hear this kind of spirited tale of the white man facing almost insuperable odds, a trait which provoked the following explosion from Arthur J. Brown in 1907:²

American Christians who lose interest in a missionary because his letters are not filled with dime novel adventures should stop reading yellow journals and cultivate proper tastes.

Despite opposition of this vehemence, missionary authors continued to pander to public taste well into the 20th Century. Missionaries who addressed Army Camp gatherings were careful to avoid billing their lectures as missionary meetings. Instead, they gave them titles like 'New Guinea and Its Cannibals', or 'Among Swamps and Savages',³ thus ensuring larger audiences. As late as 1938, Alexander Gammie wrote of the career of Duncan Main (China, CMS, 1881-1926) as continuing proof of the romance and adventure of missionary life,⁴ but by this

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2. (Cont.) /upsurge of interest in South Sea Missions at this time. vide., Paton, op.cit., pp.447-8, and R. Lovett's Chalmers. Although he worked for the LMS, Chalmers was a UP, while Paton, representing the Australian Presbyterian Church, was a former Reformed Presbyterian, and had a brother in the FC Ministry; both men, although outside official Scottish Missions, retained strong ties with the homeland.
1. This passion for Red Indian tales was of long duration. vide., Stock, CMS, Volume II, p.331.
2. A.J. Brown, op.cit., p.218.
3. Cairns, The Army and Religion (Lond. 1919), pp.181-2.
4. A. Gammie, Duncan Main of Hangchow, p.9.

stage much of the romance had evaporated from Scottish missionary work, a sign of the progress which had been made in establishing indigenous Churches. No new fields had been entered in the past forty years, and the only Scottish presence in the one remaining mysterious and unexplored continent -South America- was a small Free Church Mission in Peru. These 'Wee' Frees, with their anachronistic and elitist attitudes, could hardly be expected to have a major influence in Scotland, and little publicity was ever afforded to this Peruvian venture.

The desire on the part of Churchmen to produce a balanced literature which was wholesome, but which would also find a ready market, did much to determine the nature of Scottish missionary biography after 1873. At the end of the century, Eugene Stock claimed that the upsurge in the popularity evidently was kindled by the publication in 1887 of E.C.Dawson's biography of the murdered Bishop Hannington of Uganda. Stock argued that publishers had been extremely reluctant to tackle missionary books because they did not sell,¹ a view endorsed in some measure by the Rev. John Inglis of the New Hebrides Mission:²

Publishers are extremely chary about running any risks with missionary literature; and hence the authors of missionary books have to make strong and pathetic appeals, to secure the patronage of their private friends, as well as the support of the general public.

1. Stock, CMS, Volume III, p.414.

2. J.Inglis, In the New Hebrides (Lond. 1887), Preface.

Stock's argument that the Hannington biography pioneered a breakthrough in gaining the confidence of publishers seems to be a falsely chauvinistic attitude on behalf of the CMS. Dawson's book may have marked a new departure in England,¹ but in Scotland Smith's biographies of John Wilson²(1878) and Alexander Duff(1879 & 1881) pre-dated this by almost a decade, and were successful enough for Smith to follow them with volumes on William Carey(1885), Stephen Hislop³(1888), and Henry Martyn(1892). Despite their immense popularity, these books represented something of an Indian summer for Scottish Missions to the Near East. With the exception of W.F.Martin's biography of the joint founders of the Rajputana Mission(1886), and J.M.Macphail's Kenneth S. Macdonald(1904),^{3a} no more biographies of Scots in India appeared until the 1920's. The appearance of the Hannington biography was indicative of a changing emphasis in missionary literature, as attention began to focus on Africa as the area containing all the required ingredients -heroic deaths, 'primitive' peoples, the exotic unknown, and the prospect of success over other European nations, now frantically Scrambling in the wake of Britain.⁴ Even in this narrowed field, the Hannington biography was by no means the first to

1. Ironically, Dawson was domiciled in Scotland, where he was incumbent of St Thomas's, Edinburgh.

2. CS/FC, Bombay, 1835-75.

3. FC, Nagpur, 1844-63.

3a. FC, Bengal, 1862-1903.

4. For a definitive account of the Scramble vide. R. Robinson & J. Gallacher, Africa and the Victorians (Lond. 1961).

emerge.

Although Scottish missionary interest has traditionally been ascribed to the influence of Livingstone, there was little sign of this in the later 1870's. The first major biography of a Scottish missionary in Africa was John Chalmers' Tiyo Soga (1877), an instant success which sold 1000 copies in under three months. Two years later, Blaikie's biography of Livingstone was thrust upon the public; encouraged, perhaps, by the success of Smith and Chalmers in recent years, Blaikie placed a definite emphasis on the missionary side of his subject's work. In 1885, this was followed by R.S. Moffat's biography of his parents, Robert and Mary Moffat of Kuruman.¹ A further, slightly unexpected, spur to Scottish interest in Central Africa came through the work of Francois Coillard of the Paris Missionary Society's Mission in Basutoland and Barotseland. Coillard had connections in Scotland through his marriage to the daughter of an Edinburgh-based Baptist minister,² but the Scots adopted him with a great deal of fervour, more than this link would seem to warrant. The Established Church Record contained glowing notices of his work on a number of occasions from September 1872 onwards;³ the Free Church gave him some publicity in the Monthly Record (November

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1. Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law, joined the LMS Mission in South Africa in 1816.
 2. C.W. Mackintosh, Coillard of the Zambesi (Lond. 1907), p.91.
 3. Vide., CS HFMR., December 1873, December 1876, and April 1878.

1880); the UP's maintained this interest in the Records of July 1894 and March 1898, when Coillard was described as the 'French Moffat'.¹ To complete the picture of growing concern with Africa pre-Hannington, Sinker's influential biography of Ion Keith-Falconer (1887) very swiftly went through no less than five editions.²

In the years after 1887 there was almost a glut of biographies of Scots' missionaries in Africa with Mrs Harrison's Mackay of Uganda (1890), the Rev. W. Robertson's Martyrs of Blantyre³ (Lond. 1892), W.H. Rankine's A Hero of the Dark Continent (Edin. 1896), W. Marwick's William and Louisa Anderson (1897), and J. Wellwood's Seaside Idylls⁴ (Elgin 1898). In February 1892 the Auld Kirk Record complained of the dearth of missionary biography in its Church; the tragic sequence of deaths at Blantyre alleviated this problem, but not in a way which had been anticipated or desired. To some extent, therefore, the switch in emphasis to the African field was a response to circumstances outwith the Churches' control. Complementary to this was a rising awareness of the topicality of Africa. In April 1888, Blackwoods Magazine contained the

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1. The Rev. J. MacConnachie's An Artisan Missionary on the Zambesi, the biography of a Scottish worker with this Mission, was a spin-off of the interest in Coillard.
 2. Although the point is debatable, Keith-Falconer's work appears to have been regarded as belonging to Africa rather than Asia.
 3. The three were: Henry Henderson, John Bowie, and Robert Cleland.
 4. A Memoir of James Slater, who died on his way to the Blantyre Mission in 1896.

sour comment that:¹

We are all somewhat weary of the name of Africa...-the romance of Africa, in spite of Rider Haggard, is dead.

In mission circles at least, this pronouncement bore little relation to contemporary interests. Alexander Mackay accurately assessed the prevailing mood with the comment that the Indian work was more demanding, but the country lacked the romance of young Africa.² In November 1890, the UP Record went a step further, rather fancifully asserting that Central Africa now appealed to the imagination just as Columbus and the Cabots had done four centuries previously. The possibilities of the situation were not lost on the missionaries themselves, as Willie Scott of Blantyre declared in 1891, little realising that he himself was to be subject to this policy:³

Anything about Central Africa pays just now. I don't see why we should not be in the swim.

Having manipulated this interest to great advantage, the Scottish Churches were reluctant to lose any of the impetus thus gained, and in 1897 the Rev. P. Barclay expressed a desire to see George Smith turn his 'facile pen' to the African work of the Free Church, a wish which was never

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1. In an unsigned article entitled 'The Central Africa Question'. Haggard was the author of a series of best-selling novels set in Africa and based on science fiction concepts of immortality and hidden cities. The novels included King Solomon's Mines (1885) and its sequel Allan Quatermain (1887), and She (1887).
 2. J.W. Harrison, op.cit., p.240.
 3. Rankine, op.cit., p.137.

realised.¹ During the fifteen year prelude to War the torch over Africa sometimes flickered but was never totally extinguished, and between 1915 and 1931 the flame of interest was fully rekindled with W.P.Livingstone's biographies of Slessor, Forsyth, Hitchcock, Laws, Livingstone, and Hetherwick. The Established Church, in defiance of its own scarcity of heroic figures at this time, still recognised Africa as the most romantic of all modern missionary fields, in the shape of Albert Schweitzer's work in the French-held Gabon.²

In the early 20th Century, with the numerous Christian martyrs of the Boxer Revolution as examples, the Churches briefly tried to develop the concept of their work in China as part of a great romance. The ploy was first instigated in a review of Marshall Broomhall's Pioneer Work in Hunan:³

Missionary books are now taking the place of the old romances of adventure. No story of the Spanish Main, or of Hawkins, or Drake, or Frobisher is more enthralling than many plain records of Mission enterprise in China.

In Scottish terms, these records had included the deaths from fever of two I-chang missionaries, Drs William Pirie(1893) and David Rankine(1899) after two and three

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1. P.Barclay, op.cit., p.168.
 2. In reviewing Schweitzer's On the Edge of the Primeval Forest the Rev. A.W.Fergusson wrongly described him as working on the Gold Coast, more than a thousand miles from Gabon. CS L&W, January 1923. Fergusson's aim was to intensify Scottish interest in this part of Africa, where the UF Church had recently taken over the work of the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast.
 3. CS L&W, June 1906. Compare this with similar parallels drawn in the UP MR, November 1890.

years' service respectively. Even the fact that David was a brother of W.A.Scott's biographer did not result in his biography being written. In 1908 these deaths, and that of the Rev. George Cockburn in 1898, five years after ill-health forced his retiral from the field, were used as a lever by the FMC to oppose suggestions that the Church of Scotland might relinquish its foothold in China.¹ The work in this field, however, never attracted a great deal of excitement or keen concern within the Church.

The year 1911 brought a fresh opportunity to focus Scottish attention on the China Missions with the death of the young UP missionary doctor, Arthur Jackson. Jackson had first arrived in Moukden at the outbreak of an epidemic of plague, and after six weeks incessant labour among the sufferers he himself succumbed. The UP Church had made little of the Rev. JA.Wylie's death in 1894 at the hands of Chinese soldiers during the Sino-Japanese War; the Boxer Revolution had brought no martyrs' crowns to the Scottish Missions in China;². Jackson's death differed from these in that it brought at least a transitory stimulus to the work. He was swiftly made the subject of a biography by the Rev. A.J.Costain, a minister in Jackson's native Cheshire and a personal

1. CS FMC Report(1908), p.98.

2. For an account of the Boxer Revolution and Christian missionaries who died vide. R.C.Forsyth, The China Martyrs of 1900 (Lond. 1904). A number of Scots working with e.g. the CIM, were killed, but there were no casualties among Scottish Church missionaries.

friend,¹ and for a time Jackson of Moukden became a beacon for young men both inside and outside the UF body. By the time Dr Hewat came to write Vision and Achievement, Jackson merited no more than a passing mention,² and the modern Scot is once again obsessed with the African missionaries, if he is interested in missions at all.

The colour and vitality of the African scene was an influential factor in the concentration on African missionaries, but a number of other considerations helped determine which missionaries should be singled out for remembrance. One problem, admittedly less for someone writing contemporaneously, was the availability or otherwise of a sufficient quantity and quality of information. In some cases, potential biographers were thwarted by the opposition of their intended subjects. Correctly suspecting that W.P.Livingstone had this in mind when he visited him at Livingstonia, Donald Fraser destroyed letters and diaries to foil this attempt,³ and the opportunity was retrieved only by persuading Fraser's wife to write after his death. In other cases, no way could be found to surmount the difficulty. F.G.Bowie (FC, New Hebrides, 1896-1933), for instance, refused point-blank to write an autobiography or permit Livingstone to do so,⁴ and the

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1. It was not until 1923 that a UF biography of Jackson appeared from the pen of Mrs Dugald Christie of the Manchuria Mission. It is possible that she was trying to restore flagging interest in the field at the time.
 2. Hewat, op.cit., p.262.
 3. A.R.Fraser, op.cit., p.241.
 4. L&W, March 1934.

death of his wife some years earlier had removed the only other source of information. In other instances Livingstone was more fortunate. Mary Slessor had been prepared to write her autobiography once it was put to her that she had a duty to do so in order to inspire others, although she died before beginning the task.¹ The same argument was successfully employed to secure the co-operation of Christina Forsyth and Robert Laws, although Livingstone's preface suggests that it was a matter of touch and go in the latter's case.

At the other end of the scale there were some missionaries whose awareness of the inspirational value of missionary biography made them decidedly eager to furnish materials. Mackay of Uganda, for example, extracted a promise from his sister that she would write his Memoir should he die in Africa; for similar reasons Anderson of Calabar asked William Marwick, a fellow-missionary, to prepare a Memoir, and supplied him with much of the necessary information. A willingness to be portrayed was rarely sufficient in itself to warrant a biography, and for many devoted but unspectacular workers the most that could be justified was the kind of obituary notice written for George McNeill (UP/UF, Jamaica, 1880-1925):²

If one lingers a little over Mr McNeill,
it is not only for his own sake, but also/

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1. Unless otherwise indicated, information in this section is derived from the prefaces to the various biographies dealt with.
 2. UF MR, July 1926.

/also because he is a type of many a quiet worker in the mission field who is little more than a name to the Church.

In the Preface to his biography of K.S. Macdonald, James Macphail wrote:

In the far-flung battle-line of missionary enterprise, the subject of this Memoir held for over forty years an honoured and conspicuous place. That alone is surely justification for writing his life.

As the examples of McNeill and many others show, longevity of service was not enough, and even conspicuous and successful service did not guarantee recognition. A missionary Life was frequently brought to the press only through a concerted lobby by friends and family, or by the kind of patronage appealed for by John Inglis in 1887. If one of Stephen Hislop's trustees, Major Johnston of Culross Abbey, had not repeatedly urged George Smith to write a biography of Hislop it is unlikely that the task would ever have been undertaken. Smith's name on the cover was, by this time, guarantee enough that the book would sell, despite the fact that Hislop had been dead for quarter of a century.

In later years the Kenyan field furnished an outstanding example of the way in which this lobby process worked. The first head of the East Africa Scottish Mission was a Glaswegian, David Charters, a talented individual who had considerable missionary experience and was doubly trained as an engineer and doctor. After two years' service at Kibwezi, Charters

mysteriously disappeared without trace in 1894, presumably murdered. Fascinating as these circumstances were, Charters' name was studiously ignored in Scotland; even the publication of a full-length biography in 1925 brought only a grudging recognition in Scotland.¹ Charters was a member of the Scottish Baptist community, as was Dr John Arthur of Kikuyu, which may go a long way in explaining this neglect, although J.W.Hitchcock of Calabar had been enthusiastically remembered, and he came of East Anglian Puritan stock. In the case of D.C.Scott, first head of the mission after the Church of Scotland takeover in 1901, no such excuse is possible. Scott had headed the Blantyre Mission for eighteen years, had been a brilliant scholar, and had inspired many to follow him into the mission-field. His death at Kikuyu in 1907 brought the following tribute from Dr McMurtrie, Convener of the FMC:²

We mourn a gallant pioneer, a builder of missions who had a statesman's outlook, a man to whom God spake a vision, intense, sensitive, not cast in the common mould, hence often misunderstood, but true as steel.

This picture of Scott might almost have been that of a prototype Scottish missionary hero. There is no indication, however, that anyone clamoured for a biography of

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1. Coats, op.cit. Although she does not state the fact, Victoria Coats was probably related to the Coats family who befriended Charters in Paisley. vide. pp.41, 42,151. In March and June 1928 the Kikuyu News gave a brief history of Charters, based on Coats.
 2. CS L&W, December 1907.

this amazing man.¹

In the year of Scott's death, Miss Marion Stevenson arrived in Kenya to begin a quarter century of service in the Kikuyu Mission.² Marion was well-known to many members of the FMC,³ a fact which may have had some bearing on later events, such as the publication of her biography in 1932, just two years after her death.⁴ Marion had been a dedicated and thoroughly competent worker, but no more so than many other lady missionaries who were never publicly lauded in this fashion. If the Church had wished to concentrate on pioneer work by a lady,⁵ Mrs Watson, widow of a Kibwezi pioneer and a stalwart worker for many years, had a stronger claim in the Kenya field. At this very time the recently retired Dr Hetherwick was championing the right of Janet Beck(Blantyre, 1887-1917), pointing out

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1. The most likely biographer, Professor A.H. Charteris, a long-time friend, published a brief Memoir in 1907, but his own death on 24 April 1908 (just 6 months after Scott's death) prevented any expansion of this. Alexander Hetherwick was approached, but refused on the grounds that an account of Scott's life would only be misunderstood, and the project was allowed to lapse. I am indebted to Dr Andrew Ross for this information.
 2. She chose to serve in Kenya largely because of the influence of Scott, to whom she was distantly related.
 3. CS FMC Minute, 2 June 1906. Her brother, Professor W.B. Stevenson of Glasgow, served as a member of the Glasgow Auxiliary of the Kikuyu Committee, along with J.W. Arthur's father. McIntosh, *op.cit.*, p.201.
 4. Mrs H.E. Scott, A Saint in Kenya. Mrs Scott was the widow of Henry, who succeeded David (no relation) at Kikuyu, after working with him at Blantyre for 10 years.
 5. Pioneer work, almost always carried out by male missionaries, was one of the most common requirements for missionary biography.

that her work should not go un-noticed at a time when Mary Slessor, Christina Forsyth, and Marion Stevenson were attracting so much attention.¹ Nothing more ever came of his plea. If, as seems likely, the Church of Scotland wished to show in these post-Union days that they also had figures as valiant as Mary Slessor, both Mrs Watson and Miss Beck were better examples of humble working-class effort than Miss Stevenson, the daughter of an Established minister. In the Kikuyu field itself, Charters, Scott, and Mrs Watson all had better claims as pioneer workers, but none of them could command the support of influential sponsors in the way in which Miss Stevenson apparently could.² The lobby, it would seem, could be a deciding factor in forming the basis of contemporary mission history.³

This impression is borne out by a study of some of the Scots who became their country's leading missionary heroes. In 1874, The Spectator claimed that the Missionary Societies disliked unorthodoxy or originality among their candidates, on the grounds that this was

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1. L&W, October 1931.
 2. Miss Stevenson circulated news to friends at home by means of monthly typed letters, a practice which only she and Dr Arthur seem to have regularly put into effect.
 3. Later historians have paid considerably less attention to the work of Miss Stevenson. Hewat mentions Mrs Scott's biography only in order to quote from it on a subject other than Miss Stevenson. R. Macpherson, in The Presbyterian Church in Kenya (Nairobi 1970), mentions her several times, but concentrates much more heavily on the two Scotts and on Dr Arthur.

liable to adversely affect income from their 'very immovable electors'.¹ In Scotland, the reverse seems to have been true, and eccentricity and independence of spirit were counted as virtues. David Livingstone was a supreme example of this, but there were a number of others within the Presbyterian fold. Mary Slessor's refusal to walk along orthodox paths was remembered with affection, and she and Livingstone were admired for having determined not to be bound by restrictions imposed by Home Committees.² Richard Lovett, biographer of Chalmers, described his subject as 'absolutely unconventional' in the Preface to his biography. Although he was a son of the manse, there were doubts about the theological orthodoxy of Dr Neil Macvicar (CS, Blantyre, 1896-1900). It was something of a gamble, therefore, for James Stewart to offer him a post at Lovedale, a calculated risk which saw Macvicar complete thirty-six years labour in this field. The quality of his service compelled one of his colleagues, R.H.W. Shepherd, to devote precious time and effort to writing Macvicar's biography, thus making him the first South African missionary since Stewart himself to be accorded this honour. Among other unorthodox men who were greatly admired in Scotland we may number Dan Crawford of Greenock, and Dr Albert Schweitzer. Despite the demand for accounts of such unique and individual missionaries, David Scott's career remained

1. The Spectator, 5 December 1874, pp.1524-5, in an article entitled 'The Supply of Missionaries'.

2. Stedfast, February 1933.

unrecorded, and one feels that Hetherwick's fear of him being misunderstood or discredited may have been misplaced. Without a solid phalanx of admirers behind him, however, Hetherwick may have felt that the possible repercussions did not justify the risk.¹

If pressure groups dictated who would be omitted, secular and supra-national considerations often decided who would be included. Many of the subjects chosen had done worthwhile pioneer work in a purely missionary sense, but almost all of them had achieved equal or greater success in a secular sense, a claim substantiated by Professor W.D.Mackenzie:²

As Livingstone had been the explorer, as Carey had been the great Oriental scholar, as Morrison had laid the foundations of scholarship for all European Sinologists, as Duff had been the pioneer of the vast educational system of India, so Mackenzie had been the statesman, had rescued South Africa from thralldom, and helped to win it finally for the British Empire.

This list can be extended to cover a majority of the best-known figures in Scottish missionary biography. George Smith, a close personal friend, described John

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1. Scott was the only one of these unorthodox missionaries who actually headed a Mission. An honest appraisal of his work and aims would have amounted to a direct criticism of the FMC, a confrontation which the Committee shrank from. Political expediency, therefore, meant that little encouragement was given to the idea of a biography of Scott, despite the fact that he was widely acclaimed in CMS and UMCA periodicals at the time of his death, one of the few Auld Kirk missionaries to be treated in this way.
 2. W.D.Mackenzie, John Mackenzie of South Africa (Lond. 1921), p.48. W.D. was John's son.

Wilson of Bombay as being at the centre of a select group of administrators in British India. When the Scottish Churches petitioned Her Majesty's Government not to withdraw from Uganda in 1892, the campaign was based on Scottish awareness of the role of Alexander Mackay as a symbol of Britain's prior claim to the area. Stewart of Lovedale, in the best traditions of the Scots in Southern Africa, was also concerned with issues not strictly missionary, and his biographer devoted several chapters to discussion of these. Mary Slessor acted both as consular agent and district magistrate for many years, and was frequently consulted by colonial officials. In China, Dugald Christie of Moukden was estimated to have had closer contact with the rulers of Manchuria than any other European of his time. Secular and Imperial ties of this nature could be used to embellish a bare missionary narrative, and thus ensure widespread interest outwith both the missionary circle and Scotland itself. The attractions of this expanding market for essentially religious literature are fairly obvious, although missionary writers rarely specified this as one of their criteria.

As in Livingstone's case, many Scots' missionaries shot to prominence through the interest which they aroused south of the border. In some instances, as with James Chalmers of the LMS, this occurred because the individuals concerned worked with English Societies.

Some, like Robert Moffat, even lost all contact with their native Scotland, and chose to live in England after retiring from the mission field.¹ Others, although Scots by birth, had been educated in England, and their biographies were entrusted to English writers. In the case of Charles Mackenzie of the UMCA this process was entirely logical, and the choice of Harvey Goodwin, Dean of Ely, not at all out of place. Matters were significantly different when Ion Keith-Falconer died in 1887. His biographer, Dr Robert Sinker, Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, claimed that demands for a biography had been widely mooted the previous year, especially in Scotland. Regardless of this emphasis, the biography was published in England, and concentrated mainly on Keith-Falconer's life in England (school and university), treating the Free Church as little more than a scenic backcloth to his foundation of the Mission. Sinker, himself an Englishman, pitched his work at an English audience and made few concessions to his Scottish readers. In later years, a curiously reversed process was destined to take place, when Arthur Jackson and John Hitchcock, both Englishmen, became Scottish missionary heroes and were acclaimed by Scottish biographers.² This apparent reversal was entirely in keeping with previous trends, however, and merely emphasises the fact that the Scots were often dependent on the cultivation of English interest to ensure a fair prospect of commercial success

1. Drummond & Bulloch, op.cit., p.167.

2. Vide. supra., p.358n.1.

when the books reached the public.

This chapter has so far concentrated on missionary biography in an individual sense, and it is time now to take a closer look at the implications and effects for one particular field. The field chosen was Calabar, which exhibits most clearly the causes -and pitfalls- of missionary biography. The Calabar Mission had always demanded sacrifices on the part of its workers, a fact recognised by Dr McKerrow in 1867,¹ twenty years after the death of William Jameson:²

...the first of a great company of men and women who have laid down their lives for Calabar.

Such deaths (in moderation!) were regarded as a stimulus to interest in a Mission,³ and as a counterweight to an 'easy, self-indulgent age'.⁴ By the 1870's, the difficulty of obtaining recruits for Calabar led to the instigation of a definite campaign to play down the hazards of the Nigerian climate. A spate of staff deaths at this time brought emphatic denials that these could be blamed on the climatic conditions,⁵ a policy continued into the late 1890's.⁶ By mid-1899, the staffing problem

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1. McKerrow, *op.cit.*, p.429.
 2. D.M.McFarlan, Calabar. The Church of Scotland Mission, 1846-1946 (1946), p.34.
 3. J.Robson, *op.cit.*, p.36.
 4. Scotsman, 7 May 1891. Address of the Moderator of the English Presbyterian Church to the UP Synod.
 5. *Vide. notices re Messrs. Lewis*(UP MR, November 1870), *Timson*(*ibid.*, June 1871), and *Ashworth*(*ibid.*, October 1871). A similar sentiment was expressed over the death of Mrs Rev. J.Ross, China (*ibid.*, August 1873).
 6. *Vide. ibid.*, February 1893, obituary of Rev. J.W. Mackenzie, and *ibid.*, January 1899, retiral, through ill-health, of Mrs Dean.

was less critical, and the official Church organ began once more to laud the Calabar missionaries for the perils they faced:¹

It is in these men who so heroically sacrifice themselves to the risk of suffering and death, that the Church 'reaches a hand through time to snatch the far off interest of tears'. Whatever success attend their efforts, there can be no doubt as to the splendid moral lesson their heroism sets before the Church and the world.

With the continued improvements in preventive and curative medicine, the Church could afford to dwell on this past martyrdom without totally discouraging missionary recruits, and by 1936 there was a sense of eagerness in recollecting the dangers which the missionaries had faced:²

It is a noteworthy fact that Dr Cruickshank has been able to live for 55 years in the Tropics, and in a district that has shown its deadly character by the large number who have succumbed to it.

This heroic heritage lay behind the 20th Century concentration on Calabar missionary biographies, but the propaganda which surrounded these led to a very distorted view of the history of the mission itself.

In 1929 the Rev. James Luke (UP/UF, Calabar, Jamaica & South Africa, 1886-1920) published an autobiography entitled Pioneering in Mary Slessor's Country, which

1. UP MR, June 1899.
2. L&W, September 1936.

encouraged one reviewer to remark that:¹

Thanks to Mr Livingstone's fine biographies of Mary Slessor the Calabar Mission is more widely known among young and old in our Church than almost any other mission field.

Even before her death in 1915, Mary Slessor had become a focal point for Scottish Church affairs, a feat which Livingstone had never emulated. For a number of Church workers in the Dundee area their sole qualification for mention in the denominational magazine was their connection with Mary,² falsely claimed as a native of Dundee on at least one occasion.³ For missionaries in the field, the same over-shadowing was a constantly repeated pattern for almost half a century after her death,⁴ and even the most tenuous link was considered sufficient to bring Mary's name to the fore once again:⁵

She was a contemporary of the famous Mary Slessor, but did not work with her in the same station.

This fame was shared to a lesser extent by Dr Hitchcock, one of Mary's best-known proteges. The result of all this has been the perpetration of a misleading view of Calabar Mission history. In 1927, J.H. Morrison's short

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1. Stedfast, January 1930.
 2. e.g., UF MR, February 1910, obit., James Logie; UF MR, March 1917, long-service notice, J. Torrance; L&W, July 1930, obit., Helen Fraser; L&W, April 1950, diamond jubilee, R.H. Lundie.
 3. UF MR, September 1913, notice of appointment of John Bowes to Calabar.
 4. e.g., UF MR, September 1915, re-appointment of Mrs Arnot (Agnes Young) to Calabar; L&W, May 1960 and January 1965, articles re Miss Graham, Calabar; L&W, December 1960, obit., Miss Welsh, Calabar (retd. 1916); L&W, August 1961, article re J.W. Kerr, Calabar (1899-1905); et. al.
 5. Scotsman, 16 February 1953, obit., Miss E. McKinney, Calabar, 1906-36.

volume, The Scottish Churches Work Abroad, mentioned only two recent African missionaries, Slessor and Hitchcock, in the chapter on 'The Gospel to the Negro'.¹ In C.P. Groves' monumental history of The Planting of Christianity in Africa, 4 Volumes, (Lond. 1948-58), the impression is given that Slessor, Luke, and Hitchcock were the major figures of the Calabar Mission from the 1870's until after the First World War.²

This concentration, however accidentally, both detracts from the important role played by other Calabar missionaries, and disguises the truth about the work done by those who were eulogised. Mary Slessor, in particular, was effectively on the periphery of the Calabar Mission. Given a free rein by the FMC because she did not wish to work within the ordinary confines of consolidatory labour, she lived a very isolated and unique existence, and had relatively little to do with the shaping of Mission Council policy. Her celebrated success in opposing twin murder was mistakenly exaggerated into a belief that she had completely stamped it out,³ a belief encouraged by popular legend. She was, certainly, a forceful evangelist and an intriguing individual, but this hardly explains the almost overwhelming attention paid to her, and her alone, among Scottish female missionaries. The impact of Mrs Forsyth and Miss Stevenson was a

1. p.114.

2. Groves, op.cit., Volume III, pp.217-9.

3. A.B.Macdonald, In His Name (Lond. 1964), p.79.

comparatively short-lived one, but Mary Slessor's name lived on, however vaguely:¹

But it will grip and inspire men, for whom Mary Slessor is only a name and a recurring reference in sermons.

In March 1945, Life and Work contained an obituary of Miss Annie H. Small in which the following sentence appeared:

Miss Small's name will doubtless one day be forgotten -how many of the real pioneers are long remembered?

The question is pertinent over the whole field of missionary biography. Mary Slessor's actual impact can be reasonably accurately charted, but the causes of it remain something of a mystery. The romance of a particular field, personal charisma, co-incidence of time and place,² individual success over adversity, personal and articulate admirers -all of these played a part in the selection of subjects for commemoration, but no overall pattern can be discerned in explanation of what remains almost a phenomenon.

This chapter has so far been treated on a non-denominational basis, a decision which needs little justification. Although it was suggested in Chapter Six

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1. L&W, November 1958. Review of B. O'Brian's new biography of Miss Slessor.
 2. The interplay of these is described in the Preface to Diane Langmore's biography of Chalmers:
Although his sphere of action was of little significance in the eyes of the world, he played an important role in it at a particularly crucial time.

that denominational feeling was one cause of the neglect of Livingstone, this was never rigid or universal, and missionaries like Livingstone, Paton, Chalmers, Laws, Slessor, et.al. were generally welcomed as Scottish missionary heroes, great enough to transcend denominational barriers. Scots' acrimony being what it was -and is- sectarian rivalry did creep in from time to time, causing a certain amount of consternation and upset. In the 1880's, for example, W.P.Duff had wished to donate copies of his father's biography to the Divinity students of St Andrews and Edinburgh, but Principals Tulloch and Charteris of the Established Church felt obliged to refuse the offer because of the inflammatory and sectarian nature of some of George Smith's theological statements in the early pages of Volume II. Although W.P.Duff himself tackled Smith on the matter, the damage was already done.¹ Alexander Duff had been the last of the pre-Disruption missionaries to remain active in the cause, and abrasive incidents of this kind virtually ceased after his death.² The affair does serve as a reminder, however, that there were denominational differences even in this largely non-partisan field. The first paragraph of this chapter drew attention to the consistent concentration on non-Establishment heroes in the present-

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1. Smith may be partially excused for his lack of tact in view of his long absence from Scotland, and his eagerness to make a success of his new post as FC FMC Secretary.
 2. The last to die was Thomas Smith (Calcutta, 1839-58). After leaving India Smith was a minister in Edinburgh before succeeding Duff as Lecturer in Evangelistic Theology. Ewing, Fasti; UF MR, July 1906, obit.

-day Church of Scotland. The ensuing pages will survey this topic in greater detail, in an attempt to isolate the causes of this apparent imbalance.

Discussing the effects of the Disruption, Drummond and Bulloch wrote of the post-Disruption Established Church missionaries that:¹

...in the less emotional atmosphere of the Church of Scotland they never got the publicity of their Free Church colleagues.

For many years after 1843, intending Auld Kirk missionary publicists found little to cut their teeth on. Of more than twenty ordained missionaries sent out between 1844 and 1870, fewer than half served for more than ten years, and only a handful of these remained until ill-health or death removed them from the field. More depressingly for Mission officials, the imagination of the Church at home was fleetingly captured on no more than two occasions, by Thomas Hunter (Panjab, 1855-7) -murdered in the Mutiny- and William Macfarlane (Gyah & Darjeeling, 1865-87).² The Free and UP Churches, in sharp contrast to this, provided Duff, Wilson, and Macdonald in India, William Jameson and Hope Waddell in Calabar, and a number of other notable figures. Once their relatively inferior position was established, the Auld Kirk mentors seem to have been unable or unwilling to rectify the situation. At the

1. Drummond & Bulloch, op.cit., p.174.

2. During his first furlough in 1881, Macfarlane became the first CS missionary to conduct a whistle-stop tour of Scotland since Alexander Duff inaugurated the practice in 1835.

time when Smith's biography of Duff was sweeping the country, the Rev. Robert Paterson of Glasford Parish, a former Indian missionary with ten years' service, contributed two biographical sketches of the Rev. John Taylor to the Church of Scotland Record.¹ By restricting such sketches to its own denominational organ, the Auld Kirk virtually admitted that it could not compete with the opposition, and the complexes thus engendered lasted throughout the period up to 1929, although the Church, in the intervening years, had produced a number of men and women who could rank alongside the best produced by the Free and UP Churches.

If a supposedly poorer quality of candidate was one factor limiting the emergence of Established missionary biography, the Constitution of the Church also acted as a restraint. The Church of Scotland was constitutionally debarred from calling a missionary to the Moderatorship, a position which led to a plea for reform in 1922, when it was suggested that Hetherwick, followed by Graham of Kalimpong, was the prime candidate.² Neither the Free nor UP Church imposed this barrier, and, especially in the former body, election to the Moderator's Chair was frequently the prelude to a full-length biography. Such was the case with John Wilson (Moderator in 1870),

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1. CS HFMR, January & April 1881. Taylor worked at Sialkot, 1859-66, before ill-health forced him to withdraw. He died in 1868.
 2. Graham actually became Moderator in 1931. Hetherwick, who retired in 1928, never did so.

Duff(1873), James Stewart(1899), Robert Laws(1908), and Donald Fraser(1922).¹ It is a claim impossible to prove, but it might be argued that if the Auld Kirk had afforded the same recognition to some of its long-serving missionaries it might also have witnessed the rise of a substantial corpus of missionary biography of its very own.

A third factor, indivisible from the other two, was the failure of the Church of Scotland to unearth an 'official' or professional missionary biographer of the standing of George Smith or W.P.Livingstone. Smith held various educational and literary posts in India from 1853 till 1875, then returned to Scotland to be editor of the Edinburgh Daily Review, nominally the organ of the Free Church. Three years later, he became FMC Secretary of the Free Church.² At this point Dr Duff's illness, which compelled Murray Mitchell to take over Duff's FMC duties, forced Mitchell to abandon plans for a biography of Wilson of Bombay, and George Smith was enlisted in his stead.³ The success of Smith's work in this field showed this enforced change to be a fortuitous one indeed.

W.P.Livingstone, like Smith, had almost impeccable qualifications for the biographical work which he

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1. There were exceptions to this, notably Thomas Smith (1891), Miller of Madras(1896), and Dugald Mackichan of Bombay(1917). Indian biographies, as was noted earlier, were unfashionable at this time.
 2. Scotsman, 25 December 1919. Smith's obit.
 3. FC MR, February 1878.

undertook while editor of the UF Record, a position to which he was elected by a clear majority in 1912.¹ A former UP member, he had gone to Jamaica in 1889 as a newspaper editor, and made his name as an author with the publication of Black Jamaica; A Study of Evolution in 1900. Presumably on the strength of this work, he had been invited to become Jamaica correspondent of the London Times by 1903.² With this background and experience Livingstone was admirably suited to the writing of biographies of African missionaries, and his UP and Jamaican ties made Calabar a natural starting point, the success of which was guaranteed by the topical interest in Mary Slessor.

The Church of Scotland produced no one of the calibre of these two men, and one clear indication of this is the fact that Livingstone was entrusted with the biography of Alexander Hetherwick, although he had never had any direct connection with the Church of Scotland or the Blantyre Mission. To a limited extent this failure by the Church of Scotland can be attributed to the personnel who were directly involved in running the FMC and the Missionary Record (amalgamated with Life and Work after 1900). The only prominent layman in this group was J.T. Maclagan, one of a talented family of brothers which included an Army General, a Medical Professor, and the

1. UF MR, July 1912.

2. UP MR, March 1900; UF MR, June 1903 & August 1912; L&W, October 1929.

Archbishop of York.¹ Maclagan, however, had never lived abroad, nor was he a writer by profession, and his sole contribution to literature was a volume entitled Sunday Thoughts of a Guildeman (Edin. 1892). The editorship of the Record or Life and Work never devolved upon a layman, but was placed in the hands of a series of distinguished ministers of the Church. These included Principal John Tulloch(1862-79), Henry Smith(1879-85)², Professor Thomas Nicoll(1885-1902),³ and R.H.Fisher(1902-25).⁴ Of the FMC Conveners, J.C.Herdman and John McMurtrie published nothing of note, Archibald Scott's works were mainly concerned with the Church Defence Movement, and only J.N.Ogilvie and W.B.Stevenson (of the WAFM) published any works bearing on the Church of Scotland's missionary outreach.

A more direct cause of the non-emergence of a missionary biographer from within the Church was the failure to make financial and other provision for this. The editorship of the Church's magazines was combined with the retention of a pastoral charge, and occupants of the dual post could not be expected to go on a fact-finding tour of the fields in order to garner biographical material, as did W.P.Livingstone. In fact, this seems to have been part of a conscious policy within the Auld Kirk.

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1. CS HFMR, June 1891 & June 1894.
 2. Father of Miss L.W.Smith(CS,India,1914-49).
 3. Convener of the JMC, 1896-1911.
 4. None of these editors published anything of relevance to the Foreign Mission Movement. vide. entries in the BM Catalogue.

Whereas W.P. Livingstone intended to personalize the missionary movement by means of biographies first serialized in the Record,¹ then published in book form, both Ogilvie and Stevenson were at pains to publish general accounts dealing with specific fields rather than with individuals.² Although the Church of Scotland may not have possessed as many suitable subjects for biographical treatment as its sister Churches, it did have men like William Ferguson of Chamba, of whom Scott's Fasti, Volume VII, page 694, records:

Perhaps no minister of the Church of Scotland had a more varied or more romantic career. A man of unique personality, of singular devotion and self-denial, the friend of ryot and Raja, the story of his work at Chamba is one of the brightest chapters in the Christianisation of India.

By their reluctance or inability to find a biographer for such an inspiring figure, the Church leaders neglected to counter the prevailing apathy towards foreign missions, and did nothing to encourage an increased zeal more in harmony with that exhibited in the UP Church.

A similar pattern can be discerned in the attempts to publicise missions at the Presbytery level. As early as 1862, a friend of UP Missions provided a sum of money to furnish each minister with a copy of Alexander Robb's

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1. UP MR, August 1918. The scarcity of paper in the War years and after thwarted this plan.
 2. e.g., Ogilvie's African Mission Fields (1921), and Stevenson's Our Missions (1924).

biography of the Calabar missionary, William Jameson.¹ Some years later, another unknown donor handed over copies of the life of Carstairs Douglas, missionary to China, as a further incentive to interest in Missions.² I found no cases of this in the other denominations, but the practice was carried into the UF Church, and in 1909 'Two Generous Friends' made funds available to supply ministers with James Wells' Stewart of Lovedale.³ The best offer made by the Auld Kirk was a discount on Youngson's Forty Years of the Panjab Mission of the Church of Scotland (Edin. 1896), reducing it from 3/6d. to 1/- in the hope that it would reach parish and Sunday School libraries.⁴ Since the gift for this purpose was only £40, it would supplement only 320 copies, or one for approximately every five congregations of the Church.⁵

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1. Aberdeen UP Presb. Min., 11 March 1862. On 30 June 1863, Perth UP Presbytery heard that copies of Hope Waddell's book on Jamaica and Calabar work were to be sent gratis to all congregational libraries.
 2. Aberdeen UP Presb. Min., 8 October 1878.
 3. Edinburgh UF Presb. Min., 4 May 1909; Glasgow UF Presb. Min., 11 May 1909.
 4. CS HFMR, December 1898. This title again demonstrates the impersonal nature of CS missionary literature compared with that of the other denominations.
 5. The subject of discounts on missionary publications is worthy of study in itself. The UF FMC were prepared to give anything from 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ % to 66% discount on selected items, for use as Sunday School prizes. NLS Ms.7725, f.405, letter to A. Stewart, Scone, dated 5 June 1917. In December 1927 the UF MR contained an advert for Hodder & Stoughton's missionary publications written by W.P. Livingstone. Laws of Livingstonia (popular edition) was offered for 6/-, Mary Slessor (25th and popular edition) for 3/6d., and A Galilee Doctor was now reduced to 3/-, presumably to offload unsold copies.

Conclusions.

In recent times nineteenth century missionary biography has not lacked critics, both inside and outside missionary circles. Geoffrey Moorhouse acknowledged that the genre furnished best-sellers in Britain for at least a generation and a half after Livingstone's death, but he was exceedingly scornful of its literary value:¹

Their contents were pious to a degree.
They were also as extravagantly romantic
as any cheap novelette.

Within the movement, like sentiments prevail, and S.C. Neill has gone on record as saying that almost all missionary biographies need to be ^{re-}written in order to balance the hagiographical nature of the original versions.² Like K.S. Lattourette in the 1930's, Neill firmly believes in the value of such works, and feels that many gaps in missionary biography remain to be filled.³ Surprisingly, many of the missionaries themselves were less than enamoured by the standard or nature of these books. The following is one of the favourite quotations of Annie Small of the Edinburgh Missionary College:⁴

Missionary biography seems very largely to have been written for maiden aunts to give to unwilling nephews. I always think of somebody with mittens when I think of missionary literature.

In a more unorthodox vein, the youthful James Stewart was afraid to read great missionary biographies, 'lest

1. Moorhouse, op.cit., pp.163-4.

2. Neill, op.cit., pp.149-70.

3. ibid.,

4. O.Wyon, The Three Windows (Lond. 1953), p.23.

they should allure him into paths of slavish imitation.'¹

Many other missionaries, serving or retired, took a real delight in reading the lives of other workers in the cause,² and the majority of such volumes were frankly recognised as having a propaganda purpose which more than compensated for any deficiencies in style or interpretation.³ Despite Moorhouse's wholesale condemnation, the best of the missionary biographies did command respect, and gained an audience outwith purely missionary circles. The Preface to the fourth edition of Lovett's Chalmers noted with gratification that:

Papers that rarely devote a line to missionary intelligence have exhorted their readers to get this book 'because it is more interesting than any novel.'

In an era when missionary meetings were an equivalent to the modern television screen,⁴ and handsome young preachers forestalled the advent of matinee idols,⁵ it is not surprising to find missionaries like Wilson, Duff, Macphail, and Slessor described as being 'as famous as the TV stars and football heroes of today.'⁶ By the 1930's, the biographies of W.P. Livingstone, however well-written they might be, were going out of fashion, to be

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1. J. Wells, James Stewart of Lovedale (Lond. 1909), p.379.
 2. Vide. MacConnachie, op.cit., p.152.
 3. Vide., e.g., ibid., p.viii; Wells, Stewart, p.iii.
 4. Warren, Social History, p.70.
 5. W.S. Smith, The London Heretics, 1870-1914 (Lond. 1967), p.214.
 6. L&W, March 1961. Article by D.M. McFarlan.

replaced by the celluloid heroes of the cinema. A more prosaic spirit entered missionary work, a drift which led to such yearning articles as that by the Rev. R. McMahon of the Seoni Mission, entitled 'There Can't Be Missionaries Like These Any More'. Taking Stewart, Fraser, Slessor, and Laws as his examples, McMahon lamented the current dearth of the Spiritual faith of the 'evangelisation of the world in a generation' variety,¹ the kind of trust which had lent optimism and vitality to the works of such heroes.

In 1975, Messrs. Drummond and Bulloch noted that Moffat and Livingstone had attracted a keen interest in Scotland while John Philip, their predecessor in South Africa, had been largely ignored and forgotten.² The aim of this chapter has been to isolate some of the likely causes of this selective process, and to demonstrate the place of missionary biography in the history of foreign missionary outreach from Scotland. The results provide no definitive answer, and a number of important areas of this topic still remain untouched. In December 1911 the UF Record welcomed some recent denominational publications as bringing the Church closer to the standard of education enjoyed by the supporters of some of the English Missionary Societies. A comparative study with some of these

1. L&W, September 1964.

2. Drummond & Bulloch, op.cit., p.166. Philip's son and grandson both worked sporadically at a defensive Life which remained unfinished. W.M. MacMillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton (Revised edition, Oxford 1963), p.2.

Societies would, therefore, be instructive and helpful in the attempt to put the Scottish scene into proper perspective. The role of the Missionary Records in publicising the lives of missionaries and creating the legends which sprang up around certain figures is also worthy of further study.¹ Missionary theorists consistently stressed the importance of gaining the interest of children,² often in a denominational spirit,³ and the part this played in influencing the choice of biographical subjects would repay thorough investigation. At this early stage, we can perhaps do little more than acknowledge and ponder over the words of James Hood Wilson. Addressing some young Free Church missionaries during his Moderatorial year(1895), Wilson said:⁴

Men who in ordinary circumstances might have been forgotten had been immortalised by being missionaries of the Cross.

Included in his list were Livingstone, Mackay of Uganda, and Duff, Wilson, and Hislop of India.

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1. In February 1920, the UF MR quoted Sir W.R.Nicoll, editor of the religious publication the British Weekly, as follows:
 I always feel that the most valuable part of The Record to me is the obituary notices.
 There are so many excellent and worthy men of whom this is the sole record and memorial.
 2. Vide. CS HFMR, April 1878; WMC 1910, Volume VI, pp.33-7.
 3. Elgin & Inverness UP Presb. Min., 14 June 1887.
 4. Wells, Wilson., p.367.

CHAPTER EIGHT.MISSIONARY PUBLICATIONS AND THE SECULAR PRESS.

Between the 1870's and the 1930's missionary biography was the major propaganda weapon of the missionary movement, so much so that the Rev. J.R.Fleming, one of a long succession of ministers/church historians, wrote in 1933 that:¹

Foreign Missions form a great part of recent Church history, but can be best studied in the biographies of missionaries.

This contention was representative of a broader attitude towards religious history in this period, an attitude given expression by the Rev. John Watson of Liverpool, a near-contemporary of Fleming:²

If one desires to appreciate a party he may either approach it through the measures which it passes, or through the men which constitute it, and in the religious world where character is supreme and the issues are spiritual, it is convenient to study persons rather than policy.

By the 1950's this philosophy had been almost entirely abandoned, and the author of an updated History of the London Missionary Society, 1895-1945 optimistically wrote:³

Maybe the day of Societies' histories, written largely in terms of persons, is now passing.

There is no denying that volumes of biography were an important element in promoting missions, but there

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1. Fleming, op.cit., Volume II, p.257.
 2. J.Watson, The Scot of the 18th Century (Lond. 1907), p.158.
 3. Goodall, op.cit., p.14.

were a number of equally important branches of missionary literature, such as denominational magazines, Annual Reports, Field Histories, and Prayer Handbooks. All of these had a distinct purpose which was summarised by Norman Goodall's predecessor at the turn of the century:¹

But missionary history is hardly worth the telling unless it leads the reader to bring the experience of the past to bear upon the missionary problems of today, and enables him to solve the problems of today by the insight and the instinct, as it were, that reward the patient investigator into the deeds and the purposes of those who have gone before.

The first part of this chapter will consider the dissemination of missionary information through the medium of the religious press, with particular emphasis on the denominational magazines. The second section will examine the secular press as a complement to this process, although lack of sufficient data will limit the usefulness of this study. The third and final section will look at the image of the Scottish missionary outreach as seen through the eyes of a number of Scottish novelists.

1. Missionary Publications.

In the early years of the 19th Century, missionary intelligence was a much sought-after commodity,² probably through a combination of evangelical zeal and a desire to know more about those exotic lands whose first modern

1. Lovett, LMS, Volume I, p.vii.

2. Vide. James Montgomery's introductory essay to the 1829 Glasgow edition of J. Edwards' Life of the Rev. David Brainerd, p.xxvi.

European inhabitants were often missionaries. Even at the end of the century, some missionaries wrote as if this virtual monopoly of the market had remained unchanged. In the Preface to his account of the work of the English Presbyterian Mission in China, the Rev. James Johnston stated that:¹

My great aim has been to bring the remote near, and to make the strange familiar.

Although some parts of the globe still awaited a revelation of this magnitude, the missionaries had largely been superceded by travellers and explorers in this field of literature. From the 1850's onwards, attempts to overcome this competition brought a number of uneasy compromises into the realms of missionary literature, often with results detrimental to the cause.

The field which most frequently suffered in this manner was Africa, a Mecca for explorers and often regarded as a panacea for the growing ailments of industrial civilisation -an area where raw materials could be obtained far below the market value, and shoddy trade-goods off-loaded. One of the first to suffer in the attempt to bridge the gap between missionary and secular interest was David Livingstone. W.G.Blaikie believed that Livingstone's reputation as a missionary first and foremost had been tarnished only because of:²

...his desire to interest a larger class than that which usually shows an interest in the progress of the Gospel.

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1. Johnston, op.cit., Johnston was a Scotsman, born in Roxburghshire in 1819.
 2. Blaikie, Recollections, p.292.

For those missionaries who were aware of the problem the task facing them was that of walking a very narrow tightrope. The difficulty is clearly outlined in the Preface to W.C.Holden's The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races. Holden was concerned to alleviate the prejudice which many potential readers might feel because of his missionary status, yet at the same time he wished to arouse the interest of the Christian public. In so doing, there was a distinct possibility that he would fail to satisfy either body.

One solution to the problem was the production of a book of purely missionary appeal, the course followed by Canon Robinson in 1915:¹

This volume is not intended to serve as a dictionary nor as a commentary upon missions, but as a text-book to encourage and facilitate their study.

In a country such as Scotland, with a numerically limited market, this kind of narrow appeal could not be put into practice. Scottish missionary writers had to employ a more alluring propagandist approach in order to make fullest use of available resources. It has been shown that many missionary biographies dealt with figures who had additional political, geographical, or other appeal, and a similar strategy compelled other missionary publications to manipulate topical concerns. Thus the Rev. J.M.Graham grasped the opportunity afforded by the

1. Robinson, op.cit., p.v.

Boxer Revolution to publicise the work of the UF Mission in China.¹ In the 1920's, J.N. Ogilvie took this process a stage further in the Duff Missionary Lectures for 1923. By publishing these under the title of Our Empire's Debt to Missions, Ogilvie hoped to cash in on the current interest in the Empire,² and thus gain an enlarged audience.³

Apart from the difficulty of attracting fresh readers without antagonising existing supporters, missionary publishers also had to reconcile the need to encourage support with the desire to report truthfully on events in the mission field.⁴ The problem was summarised in his usual striking manner by Dan Crawford in the 1920's:⁵

Far too often the common caterpillars
of actual life in Africa become the
gorgeous butterflies of a missionary
platform!

In common with the majority of Scottish missionaries,⁶

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1. J.M. Graham, East of the Barrier (Edin. 1902). Graham wrote in his Preface that: 'My aim in this little book has been to revive interest in our Mission.'
 2. Ogilvie, op.cit., Preface.
 3. The Rev. Norman Maclean's review in the Scotsman, 20 May 1924, began:
It is only the few who know the romance that lies in the records of the missionary labours of the Churches, and Dr Ogilvie has written a book which will enable the many to realise something of their thrill.
 4. R. Stothert, Sabbath Mornings With the Bombay Mission (Edin. 1880), p.73.
 5. Crawford, op.cit., p.11.
 6. Unfortunately, I have no knowledge of the reactions of English missionaries.

Crawford deplored any move to sensationalize or ^xeaggerate the results of missionary work. James Chalmers was openly contemptuous of missionaries who over-stated the dangers which they faced -or imagined that they faced- in undertaking work in 'savage parts'.¹ He was equally scathing, in a letter to the LMS Directors, dated 11 February 1884, of the practice of dressing facts to look well in missionary reports.² As James Stewart of Lovedale put it:³

Missionary reports were always best when purely realistic.

This almost universal agreement among missionaries in the field is fairly easy to understand. Many of them felt that over-optimistic Reports put extra pressure on them to produce results, an expectation which the true facts of the situation often did not warrant.⁴ In a highly-competitive environment where continued support depended on a continued reported success, the false raising of hopes could well rebound on the missionaries in later years. In these circumstances the FMC's could hardly win. Badgered by the missionaries to drum up fresh support, they were almost always criticised for the ways in which they tried to meet these demands.

In 1910, Norman Maclean was harshly criticised for

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1. Lovett, Chalmers, p.390.
 2. ibid., pp.217-8.
 3. Shepherd, op.cit., p.265.
 4. Chalmers, op.cit., p.260.

his Scotsman Reports on the course of the Missionary Conference in Edinburgh. One correspondent, who firmly believed that trade and commerce must precede evangelisation, claimed that Missionary Committees regularly pruned the reports of their agents in order to present a distorted view of achievements in the field.¹ Although critical of the exaggerations of this 'Believer in Man', Archibald Lamont, a former missionary of the English Presbyterian Church in Singapore, now minister of Leith Wardie UF Church,² endorsed the accusation that many reports were 'garbled and edited for home consumption.'³ Fifty years earlier the Rev. John Fordyce of Duns Free Church, a former Calcutta missionary, had argued that such distortions arose from a false estimation on the part of the various editors of denominational publications. In his experience as a Home Deputy, Fordyce had found that tales of missionary hardship did more to quicken the missionary spirit and invoke missionary prayers than did any number of 'bright paragraphs'.⁴ What Fordyce and others in his position perhaps failed to realise was that a personal appearance would, in the majority of cases, provoke a far more emotional response than the same speech laid out on the printed page. What started off as a straightforward manly account on stage might well become totally flat and uninspiring if committed unaltered to

1. Scotsman, 1 June 1910.

2. Lamb, Fasti, p.17.

3. Scotsman, 3 June 1910.

4. Proceedings of the Conference on Missions held at Liverpool in 1860 (Lond. 1860), p.84.

paper.¹ Consequently, the editors of the missionary magazines were placed in an exceedingly difficult position. If they wrote to attract an audience they brought down the wrath of missionaries, but if they reported accurately and soberly they failed to gain the required circulation, and the magazines often became a financial burden on the Church or Society. At least one religious journalist, not connected with any missionary periodical, was openly willing to reprimand the readers of such publications for their critical approach to the subject. In 1901 W.R.Nicoll, a former Free Church minister who became the first editor of the British Weekly, preached the sermon at the annual meeting of the Wesleyan Foreign Missionary Society in London. During the course of his address Nicoll made the following hard-hitting statement:²

Your missionary magazine will come to you, and you will look at it, or perhaps you will complain that these missionary periodicals are so dull. And you think that the world will be converted after this fashion!

The remainder of this section will chart the success or otherwise of these various denominational magazines in Scotland.

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1. This problem emerged as soon as a missionary society became too big for deputations to regularly visit all subscribers. In the 1770's the Moravians changed from verbal reports by missionaries to a system of published missionary reports and stories. This led to a wider diffusion of information, but the movement was hampered by a lack of personal contact, which it had previously enjoyed. J. E. Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions (Lond. 1923), p.195.
 2. W.R.Nicoll, The Lamp of Sacrifice (Lond. 1906), p.74.

The earliest Scottish missionary periodical was the Missionary Register of the Scottish Missionary Society. First published in 1820, and continued until 1848, this monthly magazine was intended to contain the Proceedings of the SMS and of other Societies for the propagation of the Gospel at home and abroad. For the first seven years the magazine dealt copiously with all the major Societies -including the LMS, CMS, Baptists, and Wesleyans- until the extension of Scottish agencies allowed it to take on a more national, though still interdenominational, flavour. The first denominational publication was the Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, which came into being in 1838. After the Disruption this was joined by the Free Church Monthly Record, and by the United Presbyterian Missionary Record, a direct successor to the Missionary Register. The UP's had, in addition, a monthly magazine of a more general nature. The level of success of these periodicals differed enormously, and bore a close relation to the level of denominational interest in missions, delineated in previous chapters.

The Established Church, as always, made the poorest showing in this sphere. Although given a head-start over its rivals, the Church of Scotland had not managed to rid the Record of its unenviable 'tradition of stodgy routine'¹ in the 1860's, and the launching of a separate

1. Fleming, op.cit., Volume I, p.157.

literary magazine, Life and Work, in 1879 (under the auspices of Professor Charteris) only intensified the lack of response to the Record. In December 1880 the current editor, the Rev. H.W. Smith, stated the terms of a manifesto which was both admirable and brave:

Our part is to chronicle facts, to let our people know what they are giving and what they are doing, to hold up before our Church a mirror in which she may see a true reflection of her appearance as a living working missionary Church.

With this kind of prosaic statistical commitment, the Record could not hope to win popularity, and the three-fold plan laid down in December 1884¹ did little to alter the status quo. By 1887, the position was critical enough to provoke an abrasive exchange in the correspondence columns of the national press. Life and Work, with a circulation of around 100,000 per month, was barely showing a profit while the Record, with a distribution of a mere 25,000 copies, was dependent for its survival on subsidies from the major Schemes. 'Layman' blamed the managers of the publications for this situation, and argued that they should remedy the defect before calling for an increased income to carry on missionary operations.² The defensive reply of 'A Friend of the Church' two days later suggested that there was an air of mingled

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1. The aims then unfolded were:- to dispense accurate information, to educate with respect to missions, and to stimulate interest.
 2. Scotsman, 17 May 1887. This attack was reiterated by 'A Churchman' in the Scotsman, 25 May 1893.

complacency and despondency over this state of affairs:¹

In regard to the 'Mission Record' it is difficult to see how a penny monthly paper, with a circulation of 25,000 can be made to pay when that circulation includes gratuitous distribution to the ministers of the Church, and the cost of printing forty pages of figures in the May number.

For the publications officials the problem was the perennial one of weighing costs against potential returns. In the case of the forty pages, they hoped that the exposure would shame non-contributors into redressing the balance, while it was also recognised that many of those congregations which did contribute would take umbrage if this was not publicly acknowledged. With such a small circulation, neither of these elements were effectively dealt with, and the continued necessity of this unattractive format further hindered any expansion of the Record.

At the local level the circulation of the Record differed greatly from parish to parish. With a membership of around 460,000 in 1875, the Church printed one copy of the Record for every twenty or so members.² In the more prosperous congregations, and with an enthusiastic minister, the Record might be distributed free to every household, as happened in Gala during the ministry of

1. Scotsman, 19 May 1887.

2. By 1900 this figure stood at about 1 in 26. Church membership had risen to 648,000, while the circulation of the Record remained stationary at 25,000.

Dr P.J.Gloag(1871-92).¹ In other congregations the Kirk Session made relatively determined, though short-lived, efforts. Perth St Paul's attempted to 'awaken a more lively interest in the Missions of the Church' in 1873 by distributing 100 copies of the Record each month among its 1000 members.² By 1880 the Session was gravely concerned about a deficit of £8/15/- on Life and Work,³ and by 1882 seems to have decided that it was the responsibility of individual members to subscribe for copies of the Record.⁴ In another congregation within Perth Presbytery, efforts to circulate the Record were almost derisory. With a membership of around 650, the Session of Errol Church resolved to order a mere twenty-four copies for distribution, something like one for every twenty-seven members.⁵ By 1900, missionary officials were eagerly anticipating the amalgamation of the Record with Life and Work. Although this might curtail the amount of space available for missionary intelligence it was believed that:⁶

...with a circulation of over 100,000 a month, a certain amount of missionary intelligence will reach a much larger constituency than the Record could ever boast.

The statement was tantamount to an admission that the Record had failed to achieve its aim despite the grandiose

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1. E.S.Gloag, Paton J.Gloag, A Memoir (Edin. 1908), pp.121-3.
 2. Perth St Paul's KS Minute, 17 September 1873.
 3. ibid., 20 December 1880.
 4. ibid., 8 February 1882.
 5. Errol KS Minute, 17 December 1878.
 6. CS HFMR, December 1900.

intentions of 1880 and 1884, and in the ensuing years it seems as though the smaller was swamped by the larger body. In December 1921 Life and Work contained a statement which must have cast grave doubts on its effectiveness as a missionary organ:

The policy of making the Magazine attractive to the great body of the people rather than of pleasing a certain number of individual workers with a fuller account of their activities is not unjustifiable.

In the Free Church, the Monthly Record made a considerably better showing. In 1860 the circulation was already 20-23,000, with a quarterly paper of which 95,000 copies were distributed.¹ The year 1863 saw an abortive attempt to publish the Record as a weekly, and for some time there was a severe fall in the circulation.² By the late 1860's the circulation had stabilized around 33,000 copies per month, a figure which climbed to around 38,000 by 1875. With a membership of 257,000 this amounted to one copy for every seven members, roughly three times as great a coverage as that achieved by the Established Church. By 1880 the circulation stood at 46,000, and the following year the Record was enlarged to contain more magazine material,³ a direct response to the launching of

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1. Liverpool Proceedings, p.75. Speech by Rev. Dr Tweedie.
 2. Fleming, op.cit., Volume I, p.158.
 3. FC MR, December 1881. Not satisfied with these efforts, the editor (the Rev. N.L.Walker) enlarged the Record once again in January 1889, and included more material to ensure its continued welcome as a source of 'general fireside reading'. FC MR, December 1888.

Life and Work in 1879. This brought an almost instantaneous upward swing, to 63,000 within a year (1881-2), and by 1893 this figure had steadily climbed to reach 82,000. The rate of expansion was maintained, and in 1900 one copy was distributed for every 3.5 members, a coverage twice as great as that which pertained twenty-five years earlier.

At congregational level this willingness to work for success was repeated. On 31 August 1880 the Deacon's Court of Perth Free St Stephen's authorised its Clerk to purchase 150 copies of the Record to enable one copy to be distributed to each household,¹ costs to be met by the Deacon's Court. By 2 May 1882 only 75 members (one in seven) had expressed a desire to purchase the Record, and the Court resolved to circulate it gratis to every family, costs to be met by an annual collection. These collections never covered the cost of the magazines, but the Deacons persisted until 5 May 1885, when it was resolved that those wishing to take the magazine should pay for it in advance. The results were a gratifying reward for the Deacons' faith and persistence. Out of a membership of c.550, 114 had paid a year's subscription by 30 June, and a further ninety-three had paid for six months' copies. In the light of such activity it is not surprising that the Free Church Record flourished.

1. The membership in 1879 stood at 520, and had risen to 619 by 1891.

In the UP Church there was no such spectacular leap forward, but a continued steady advance from a position of strength. Dr Somerville had been able to announce to the 1860 Conference that the circulation of the UP Record was upwards of 40,000,¹ a figure almost as great as the other two Presbyterian periodicals combined. With such a successful magazine there was little need to change the structure, regardless of what the other Churches did. By 1870 the circulation had reached 50,000, distributed chiefly through booksellers, and a continued growth meant that by 1875, with a total membership of 188,000, the UP's were circulating two copies for every seven members, twice that achieved by the Free Church, and about six times as great as the coverage obtained by the Established Church. By 1900 a rise to more than 72,000 copies meant that one was available for every 2.7 members, thus maintaining the superior position of the denomination.

These figures bear out the contention that the UP Church was most active in missionary work, but this was not achieved without much effort and a certain amount of resentment. In 1879, Hamilton MacGill, the Foreign Missions Convener, drew attention to the previous year's profit of £900 on the Record, and asked that this be allocated for Record and other missionary expenses in future, instead of being given into a 'common expenses' fund. At this point Mr Flint, an elder from Ayrshire,

1. Liverpool Proceedings, p.71.

rose to complain that such a profit was hardly surprising since congregations had to take the Record, 'and at a high price (A laugh).'¹ The laughter suggests that Flint's was a minority opinion, but his statement did contain a certain degree of accuracy. By 1884, the profits on the Record had reached embarrassing proportions, and the Foreign Board and the editor met and resolved to use at least some of this money to enlarge the space in the Record devoted to intelligence direct from the mission fields.²

Even after the attainment of this degree of success, probably unparalleled by any other British missionary organisation, the UP missionary supporters relentlessly pressed forward. In December 1884 the Record contained a plea for a further increase in the circulation of the Record and the Children's Magazine, on the grounds that the distribution of these was not proportionate to UP membership in many congregations. In similar fashion, deputations from the Presbytery of Elgin and Inverness recommended that congregations should give saturation coverage to the Record, in order to increase mission interest, even in congregations where interest and contributions were already running at a high level.³ The

1. Scotsman, 13 May 1879.

2. UP MR, June 1884.

3. Presb. Min., 14 June 1887. Reports of visitation of congregations of Nigg, Nairn, and Campbeltown. George Robson, editor of the Record, was one of the visitors to Nigg and Nairn, which may account for the enthusiasm of the proposals.

same proposal was contained in the Annual Report of Perth North congregation in 1890; the major difference between the UP's and the other denominations seems to be that the UP's normally implemented these suggestions.

After the Union of 1900 this UP drive was maintained in the enlarged Church, although the Record circulation found its saturation point around the 1900 Free Church figure. In 1903, 145,000 copies were distributed to the 498,000 UF members, a ratio of one copy to every 3.4 members. By 1928^{if}, had regressed to one copy for every 3.7 of the Church's 539,000 communicants, and the Established Church had narrowed the gap, with 130,000 copies of Life and Work shared among its 760,000 members, at a rate of one copy for every 5.8 members.

In addition to the periodicals already noted, the Churches also published a number of other magazines of a more restricted appeal. Many of these were intended for Sunday School children, and had a larger circulation than their adult counterparts.¹ The aim was, once again, to enlist the support of children for the denominational missions, in the hope that this would be continued in later life. At the same time, some congregations did display a more ecumenical and enlightened attitude towards the missionary movement as a whole. Perth North

1. In 1881, for example, the Free Church Record accounted for only 46,000 copies, while the Children's Record boasted a circulation of 76,000.

UP Church, for instance, gave Sunday School scholars the LMS Juvenile Magazine in addition to the UP Church's own Juvenile Magazine.¹ In some cases, individual fields published monthly/quarterly papers, one of the most successful being the Kikuyu News. These papers normally reached only those who had already committed themselves to support of the particular field, and had a very small circulation in Scotland itself. In the non-periodical side of the business the Churches published occasional mission field handbooks,² which were usually a re-issue of previous accounts, with only minor amendments to correct details about staff changes or Church membership figures in the mission field.

In concluding this section, some attempt must be made to put these circulation figures into perspective. In the years following the 1910 Conference, the suggestion that missionary magazines should be placed on a more professional footing³ was caught up with some vigour in the UF Church. In December 1911 the Record heralded Simpson's Our Mission Fields and Lennox's South African Missions as a considerable advance in UF missionary publications:

It is hoped that in a short time it may be no longer possible to bring up the charge against our Church that we are far behind the English Missionary Societies in educating our people by good missionary/

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1. Perth North Annual Report, 1881, p.10.
 2. These were considered ideal for prayer meetings - a very gathered group. vide. Perth UP Presb. Min., 2 October 1894.
 3. WMC 1910, Volume VI, pp.52-3.

/missionary publications.

The following year saw the appointment of a full-time editor to the Record, another of the points put forward in 1910, and by 1913 agitation for further improvement was rife in the lesser courts of the Church. In that year one Presbytery suggested to the Publications Committee¹ that the Church ought to set up its own retail outlets in centres other than Edinburgh and Glasgow, in order to combat the present 'great loss of sympathetic interest and thereby of hearty financial support.'¹

In comparing the Scottish circulation figures with those of other missionary and religious publications we may well conclude that the UF Church was hyper-critical of its performance. The CMS, the largest of the British Societies, could never point to a circulation on a par with that of the Scottish Churches. By the end of the 19th Century, the Church Missionary Intelligencer, a high-class 6d. monthly, had a circulation of only 6,500. The popular Church Missionary Gleaner (revived in the 1870's when the Intelligencer and old-style Record were amalgamated) published 82,000 copies monthly, though half

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1. The Established Church had no equivalent committee. Publications were dealt with by a sub-committee, established in the early 1880's, of the Committee on Christian Life and Work. The sub-committee tended to be chaired by men who already had heavy commitments in other areas of Church work. e.g., John McMurtrie was convener of the Publications sub-committee on Life and Work magazine for almost two decades. It was not until 1901 that the Record was brought under this committee -it had previously been entirely in the hands of the FMC.
 2. Perth UF Presb. Min., 17 April 1913.

of these were localised editions.¹ Among non-denominational papers, the most successful was the British Weekly, founded in 1886. Edited by W.R.Nicoll, who had demitted his Free Church charge in the Borders on health grounds, the Weekly was a successor in spirit to the Rev. Norman Macleod's Good Words, which had achieved a circulation of 110,000 in the 1860's.² The Weekly was mainly staffed by Scots, a fact which gave it 'immense influence north of the Tweed'.³ By Christmas 1901, the circulation of the Weekly had reached no more than 80,000 in England and Scotland, despite a rise of almost 24,000 over the previous two years.⁴ Although such evidence is by no means conclusive, it does imply that the Scottish missionary publications, with the benefits of an official seal of approval, did manage to achieve a much fuller coverage than their counterparts elsewhere. The question of the effectiveness of this coverage will be dealt with at the end of this chapter.

2. Missions and the Press.

When the missionary movement awoke from its slumbers in the late 18th Century it attracted little attention from the Press. As one Scottish newspaper historian wrote in

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1. Stock, CMS, Volume III, pp.66,694. For a discussion of the elitist role of the Intelligencer vide. Liverpool Proceedings, pp.77-8.
 2. Fleming, op.cit., Volume I, p.157.
 3. T.H.Darlow, William Robertson Nicoll (Lond. 1925), p.408.
 4. J.T.Stoddart, W.R.Nicoll, Editor and Preacher (1903), p.140.

the 1940's:¹

...the birthpangs of the Sunday school and foreign mission movements were subjects not of criticism but merely of notice, usually brief.

When attention was later focussed on Missions it was frequently in an unremittingly hostile spirit, as occurred in the pages of the Edinburgh Review in the early 19th Century,² and in Punch Magazine.³ This prejudice was so deep-seated that George Smith believed that secular literature was almost always opposed to missions until after the deaths of Livingstone, Wilson, and Duff in the 1870's, when the eyes of journalism were opened to facts.⁴ Smith, who only returned to Britain in the 1870's, was perhaps a little harsh in his judgment. As long ago as 1860 the former Wesleyan missionary, the Rev. R.S. Hardy, had paid tribute to the improved tone of the chief periodicals, notably the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and to that of the daily press, singling out the Times for a special mention.⁵

This changing attitude encouraged another speaker, the Rev. T.B. Whiting of the CMS, to introduce the concept of using the daily press to complement the regular

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1. Cowan, op.cit., p.105.
 2. Smith, Carey, p.305.
 3. D.W.Duthie, The Church in the Pages of Punch (Lond. 1912), p.210.
 4. Smith, Carey, p.306. Smith did not acknowledge the part played by H.M. Stanley in stimulating journalists to regard missionaries as newsworthy items. Tim Jeal, op.cit., p.164, claims Livingstone as the hero of the 'rapidly expanding penny press' of the mid-19th Century.
 5. Liverpool Proceedings, p.90.

channels of missionary information:¹

Incidents and facts introduced into newspapers, would catch many an eye which would never look upon a missionary periodical.

This proposal was not included in the Minute on the Means of Exciting and Maintaining the Missionary Feeling at Home, drawn up at the end of this diet of the Conference, and it may be that Whiting's plan was an over-optimistic one for his time. The Mildmay discussions made no reference to this subject, and the idea was not revived seriously until the 1910 Conference. The reasons for this lapse of half a century are probably those given by the Conference Commission in its estimate of the current climate:²

It is only within comparatively recent years that it has come to be known that missionary information may be regarded by newspaper men as live news....These are facts that not only should be used for the good of the cause, but which Missionary Societies are under obligation to give to the general reading public for their information.

In Scotland, the development of a rapport with the newspaper press on the subject of foreign missions pre-dated this 20th Century breakthrough by a number of years. The Scotsman was recognised as second only to the London Times as 'the most notable of all the organs of public opinion in Great Britain'.³ Its circulation had

1. Liverpool Proceedings, p.61.

2. WMC 1910, Volume VI, p.44.

3. W. Knight, Some Nineteenth Century Scotsman (Edin. 1903), p.169.

reached 50,000 by 1877, and by 1886 12,000 copies were being distributed by the special newspaper train to Glasgow, a Scotsman innovation in 1872.¹ As Chapter Four demonstrated, the paper had never been reluctant to take an active role in ventilating issues connected with foreign missions. The Scotsman, in common with other newspapers, had given a marked degree of publicity to the Nyasaland Missions ever since their inception in the 1870's. Although the Established FMC sometimes yearned for a less probing concern, the Scotsman remained impenitent over the nature of its interest. Having forced the FMC to make enquiry into the conduct of the Blantyre Mission, on 29 December 1896, the editor added a postscript to Robert Cheyne's letter announcing the pending investigation:²

In view of this decision, the correspondence may now cease.

When the issue came before the Assembly in 1897, the Scotsman again defended its role in the affair. In an editorial of 28 May it argued that it had a duty to present facts of public interest impartially, and gave unqualified approval to James Rankin's use of the newspapers, on the grounds that his allegations would thus gain 'widest notice and promptest redress', instead of being smothered by Archie Scott's constitutional processes.

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1. The Scotsman Publications, The Glorious Privilege (Edin. 1967), pp.41,47.
 2. The paper achieved this by giving repeated publicity to Rankin's allegations.

At the height of this furore the Scotsman received a commendation from an unexpected source. In May 1897 the Church of Scotland Record reviewed the Rev. P. Barclay's Survey of Foreign Missions. The reviewer praised Barclay for not basing this on Society or Church Reports. Instead, Barclay had taken the bulk of his evidence from sources like the British Weekly and:

...strangely enough, from The Scotsman, which appears to furnish a larger amount of missionary intelligence to its readers than most people would credit.

This realisation was carried through to the new century. On 24 May 1910 the Scotsman published a letter on 'The World Missionary Conference' from the Rev. Robert Stevenson, minister of Gargunnoch Parish, 1888-1927. Stevenson thanked the paper for printing Norman Maclean's articles on this subject, and added that these and the Scotsman's influence would 'powerfully help' this cause. With the possible exception of one or two FMC members, the newspaper was clearly regarded as positively sympathetic to foreign mission work. By 1923, this specific praise had been expanded into a generalisation embracing the bulk of Scottish newspapers:¹

A problem that affects England more than Scotland is that of 'educating the editors' of the Press regarding missionary matters. The great majority of Scottish newspapers are in sympathy with missions, but the position is different in England.

This topic is one which could, and should, be

1. CS L&W, August 1923.

explored more fully. The Scotsman was consistently regarded as biased in favour of the Established Church,¹ which explains the lack of hostility to its role in exposing FMC scandal over the years. The Glasgow Herald, circulating mainly among the business community of the West, most of whom were non-Establishment Churchmen, probably dispensed its sympathies in a different direction. It would be an interesting, but lengthy, exercise to compare the respective responses of the two papers to events in the mission field.

One factor which undoubtedly did influence Scottish press attitudes towards missions was the existence of personal links between Scottish missionaries and leading press figures. Alexander Russel, editor of the Scotsman from 1849 to 1876, married one of the seven pioneering ladies who, led by Sophia Jex-Blake, demanded that Edinburgh should admit them as medical students.² One of the strongest arguments brought forward in favour of this startling innovation was the need for female missionary doctors, and it is more than likely that Russel met and was influenced by exponents of this argument.³ In later years, John P. Croall, editor from 1906 to 1924, was a member of Archie Scott's congregation

1. Sjöblinder, op.cit., p.207.

2. M. Masefield, Seven Against Edinburgh (Lond. 1951), p.299.

3. ibid., pp.142,288. A.H. Charteris is named as one of these. Russel was a member of Broughton Place UP Church. C.A. Cooper, An Editor's Retrospect (Lond. 1896), p.262. Broughton congregation contained a very missionary-minded element.

of St George's, and was sufficiently familiar with Scott to dine tete-a-tete with him in Scott's manse.¹ In the non-established sphere, even closer relationships with the mission field were to be found. Christina Forsyth of Fingoland was the daughter-in-law of the editor of the Inverness Advertiser.² Alexander Sinclair, manager of the Glasgow Herald for a great number of years, was an elder in Camphill UP/UF Church for thirty-seven years, and was especially interested in temperance and foreign missions.³ He had visited the UP Missions in South Africa in 1890,⁴ and in 1899 his son-in-law, the Rev. George S. Stewart of Inverness, minister of George Robson's former charge, went as a Children's Own Missionary to Kaffraria, in response to a call from the FMC. Sinclair's son, John Dickson Sinclair, had previously hoped to obtain a Calabar post,⁵ but the absence of vacancies thwarted this ambition, and he eventually had to be content with an appointment to the Calcutta Mission in 1918.

These ties were noted purely by chance, and it is feasible that others also existed. It is obvious even from this limited list, however, that Scottish press leaders generally moved in those circles of society which favoured the missionary enterprise, and provided many of

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1. The Glorious Privilege, pp.86-7.
 2. W.P.Livingstone, Christina Forsyth of Fingoland (Lond. 1918), p.53.
 3. Glasgow UF Presb. Min., 13 September 1910.
 4. UP MR, April 1891. John must have accompanied his father, for some of his pictures adorned Slowan, op.cit.
 5. UP FMC Minute, 16 June 1897.

the missionary personnel. With the close-knit and provincial nature of Scottish society it was almost inevitable that these newspapermen should receive largely favourable impressions of foreign mission work, in contrast to the jaundiced and critical impressions which editors often received elsewhere.¹ In consequence of all this, the Scottish press seems to have been remarkably free from the vituperative attacks on foreign missions which so often characterised the popular press in other areas of the UK. As Lord Sands wrote in 1926:²

The Education Acts by which education became compulsory, have in our time changed the mental standard of the nation. Practically everybody can now read, and the Press has become more powerful in some ways than the pulpit - mainly a power for good.

3. Missions and Scottish Fiction.

In April 1914, Life and Work contained a leading article in which it was claimed that books, especially novels and plays, acted as a barometer of public interest in religion. The conclusion arrived at by the author was that contemporary literature illustrated a high point of such an interest. In a speech to the Free Church Assembly a decade prior to this, the Rev. Ewan Macleod of Oban, Moderator, had attacked the fiction writers of the past forty years, accusing them of harming religion and morality. Their duty was, he thought, to portray an

1. Vide. WMC 1910, Volume VI, p.43.

2. Sands, Church Finance, p.162. The main Act referred to was the 1872 Scottish Education Act.

ideal life, in order to benefit the public good.¹ Macleod's attack was less than just in the case of a number of contemporary Scottish writers, the so-called Kailyard School who constituted the major literary (although many would quibble with the term) output of Scotland from the 1870's till at least the beginning of World War One.²

In strict literary terms the Kailyard writers have been scathingly dismissed as, at best, reasonably competent commercial novelists,³ indebted in the most part to Dean Ramsay for their dry and pithy wit,⁴ which was largely spoiled by the exaggerated emotionalism of the writing. In the midst of this tirade, critics were forced to stop and admit that the Kailyarders found a ready market, so that:⁵

The circulating libraries became charged to overflowing with a crowd of ministers, precentors, and beadles.

As Lewis Grassie Gibbon and Hugh Macdiarmid, two of the most acerbic critics of the school, noted in their joint compilation, Scottish Scene (Lond. 1934), Kailyardism was:⁶

...all of Scottish literature that is known to or appreciated by the great majority of the Scottish people.

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1. Scotsman, 27 May 1905.
 2. The fullest account of this movement is G. Blake, Barrie and the Kailyard School (Lond. 1951).
 3. ibid., pp.12-3.
 4. J.H. Millar, A Literary History of Scotland (Lond. 1903), p.657.
 5. ibid.
 6. p.278. The sentence was penned by Macdiarmid.

In numerical terms this meant that 'Ian Maclaren'¹ sold 256,000 copies of Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush (1894) in Great Britain alone before his death in 1907, plus almost half a million official editions in America.²

More specifically, the Kailyard School appealed to what one Glasgow journalist described as 'the amiable, respectable, slightly cosy church folk'.³ Kailyard novels were given a seal of approval by the Scottish Churches from their first appearance. In 1894, a review of Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush depicted it as a faithful and true representation of Scottish rural life, with tendencies which were altogether wholesome.⁴ The Established Church was less unreservedly enthusiastic, for reasons which will appear later, but even she agreed that Maclaren had written with 'the affectionate pen of a patriot and an optimist the life of the Scottish country side.'⁵ The outcome of this approval meant that as recently as 1960 one correspondent remembered Kailyard works as part of the literary background of most UF families around the time of the Great War.⁶ More recently still, the tables

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1. Pseudonym of the Rev. John Watson of Liverpool.
 2. A.L. Drummond, The Churches in English Fiction (Leicester 1950), p.231.
 3. W.Power, Literature and Oatmeal (Lond. 1935), p.161. The Kailyard also appealed to expatriots. Chalmers of New Guinea delighted in the works of J.M.Barrie as a true picture. Lovett, Chalmers, p.403.
 4. FC MR, December 1894.
 5. L&W, June 1907. By December 1911 L&W exhibited a marked change of tune in castigating the Kailyard School as the mother of 'the mawkish and untrue'.
 6. J.A.Russell in L&W, June 1960.

have been turned, and Life and Work itself condemned as:¹

...all too largely a kailyardy collection of stories with couthie references to 'oor ain man', kirk soirees, encounters with Scots in distant parts, etc.

In terms of those who produced this type of literature the Church's influence is equally strong. The hard-core of the Kailyard School consisted almost exclusively of Free Church ministers. The mainspring of the movement was Robertson Nicoll's British Weekly, and the principal authors were J.M. Barrie, a Free Church member, the Rev. John Watson of Logiealmond Free Church and Liverpool Sefton Park, and the Rev. S.R. Crockett, minister of Penicuik Free Church from 1886 to 1894, when he resigned to devote his time to literature. There is a continuous controversy about the true origins of the Kailyard prior to this emergence in the 1890's. Many would trace it back to John Galt in the early 19th Century, others to a series of 'James Tacket' sketches in the Hamilton Advertiser in 1858,² while a third group would attribute its growth to Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk (1871), a novel of Disruption times written in the Doric by William Alexander, editor of the Aberdeen Free Press.³ The immediate predecessors, who never won such mass acclaim, included a number of Auld Kirk ministers, among whom were Dr J.

1. J.H. Martin in L&W, May 1966.

2. Cowan, op.cit., p.307.

3. One of Alexander's characters utters the symbolic line, 'We live here like prences, wi' oor Kailyard for a kingdom.'

Cameron Lees (Edinburgh St Giles, 1877-1909), J.R. Macduff (Sandyford, 1855-70)¹, and P.H. Hunter (Elie, Yester, and Edinburgh St Andrews, 1883-1909). Post-Kailyard authors included J.M. Hay, minister of Elderslie (1909-19), and Isabel Cameron, wife of the Rev. John Cameron, minister of Helmsdale and Elgin Hopeman UF Churches.

During the first three-quarters of the 19th Century, British writers of fiction had echoed their newspaper colleagues in their attitudes towards missions. The majority had ignored them, and those who had dealt with the subject had been generally derogatory.² The most celebrated example was Mrs Jellaby in Dickens' Bleak House (1853), a woman whose obsessive concern with West African natives led her to neglect husband and family to concentrate on this far-seeing 'Telescopic Philanthropy'. Missionary supporters understandably resented this implication, and Sir William Muir made reference to it in his opening address to the Mildmay Conference. Not deigning to mention Mrs Jellaby by name, he claimed that she was never included in any list of Dickens' characters, because people regarded her portrayal as an utter and unrecognisable travesty.³ In similar self-righteous fashion, the missionary movement largely ignored Laurence Oliphant's Piccadilly, published in 1870 after

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1. Macduff demitted his charge in 1870 to become a full-time writer. The bulk of his work consisted of books of devotional literature.
 2. Vide. A.L. Drummond, English Fiction, p.243.
 3. Mildmay Proceedings, p.16.

serialisation in Blackwood's Magazine in 1865.¹ Oliphant criticised the luxurious living of some missionaries, the false claims of missionary success, and the general self-satisfaction of an elitist group. In Scotland, missions rarely formed the subject of an episode in a novel, and one of the very few exceptions, George Mills' Beggars Benison, did so only in order to cuttingly parody Glasgow's vaunted interest in foreign missions. The Rev. Mr Gusset, a drunkard and a hypocritical parasite on his congregation, offered advice to the young narrator who was about to take up a South American commercial appointment, in a manner reminiscent of Polonius's speech to Laertes in Shakespeare's Hamlet:²

Oh! may he be a missionary to the heathen;
may he enlighten the darkness of these
superstitious places(sip, sip); may he be
an example and an adviser to the inhabitants
-above all, may he be successful in his
adventure;

-and make a fortune!

If the newspaper press began to take a less prejudiced view of missions in the 1870's, the same could not be said about writers of popular literature. The position was précised in the mid-1880's by one of the

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1. Oliphant's satire enjoyed an immediate and scandalous success. P. Henderson, The Life of Laurence Oliphant (Lond. 1952), p.130. This notoriety was long-lasting, and on 26 May 1888 a contributor to the South Glasgow Gazette's column, 'The Easy Chair', warned foreign mission supporters of the dangers of their complacency in failing to examine, refute, or explain the charges made by Oliphant.
 2. Act I, scene iii.

host of Livingstone biographers:¹

The fact is that a majority in the world make no account of exiled missionaries or their work, and with some popular writers 'missionary enterprise' is a favourite subject for caricature and ridicule that do not help the 'collections'.

With the preponderance of ecclesiastical writers in late 19th Century Scottish fiction, some counterbalance to this attitude might have been expected to figure prominently in their literature. At the very least, the foreign mission movement could expect to be treated with some sympathy and understanding. In practice, the majority even of this cluster of authors continued to ignore, carp at, or parody the missionary movement, a fact rendered even more surprising by the 'ideal' nature of much of their output.² The first of these responses may be explained by the fact that Robertson Nicoll had little interest in missions, and while he remained sympathetic towards them, they had no particular appeal for him.³ He was therefore unlikely to encourage his Kailyard protégés to take up this theme.⁴ The extent to which writers actively criticised the movement is not so

1. R. Smiles, op.cit., p.98.

2. 'Ian Maclaren' deliberately refrained from painting the dark side of life, although he could have drawn a blacker picture than George Douglas's grim and macabre The House With Green Shutters (1901), gleefully embraced as an anti-dote and scourge to the Kailyarders. W.R. Nicoll, Princes of the Church, pp.212-3. The wide-spread adoption of this attitude was attested in an article in the UF MR, August 1924.

3. UF MR, November 1925.

4. The Church in Scotland was, however, a central theme of Scottish literature throughout the period here discussed.

easily explained, and calls for some analysis.

Many of the incidents related in these novels dealt with acknowledged facts, which suggests a certain concern on the authors' part to see these defects publicised, and steps taken to remedy them. 'Ian Maclaren', the only one of the Kailyarders to write extensively on the subject, affords a number of examples of this. His account of the local Scrooge who was enticed to a missionary meeting, only to put coppers in the plate instead of the anticipated bank-note,¹ is apparently based on a true incident in the life of Robert Arthington of Leeds.² In Afterwards and Other Stories (1898), one of the characters, Liverpool cotton broker, bitterly proclaims:

And if those operators who have knocked
the market to pieces haul in £30,000,
they will likely give £1000 to missions.

The parallel with the wealthy Glasgow industrialists with whom Watson undoubtedly came into contact during his ministry in Glasgow (1877-80) is not hard to discern. In the 20th Century, A.J. Cronin's version of a missionary incited to go to the Chinese field by wildly optimistic statistical returns, only to be later reprimanded for his poor -but accurate- returns, is an equally truthful description. Criticism, even caricature, cannot be lightly dismissed as mere bias when it is so patently made on the basis of informed opinion.

1. In the opening pages of Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush.
2. Moorhouse, op.cit., p.161.

It is more difficult to estimate why so many writers from within 'gathered' Church circles vindictively caricatured the unmarried women who were so often considered to be the backbone of the movement. The earliest example of this which I have traced occurs in the Rev. J.R. Macduff's The Parish of Taxwood (Edin. 1883), an idealised history of an exemplary Scottish parish. Macduff stigmatises the females -elderly and single by implication- who slavishly attend Assembly diets and missionary meetings, and describes one such meeting in graphic, if uncomplimentary, detail:¹

As is customary (Exeter Hall in London exhibits the same affinities), the element of 'ministerivorous' ladies preponderated, and gave the semicircular gallery very much the look of a garden-plot in full flower.

'Ian Maclaren', almost inevitably, provides us with the next example of this breed of lady. Church Folks (1900) contained a portrait of a faddist whose pleadings on behalf of an unheard-of and unpronounceable mission in Asia Minor, claimed to be the most important mission of all, are founded on the sole authority of the missionary stationed there.² Joseph Laing Waugh, a Dumfries-shire successor to the Kailyard tradition, maintained Macduff's imagery in his Cracks Wi' Robbie Doo (1914). Miss McBride, the Foreign Missions collector, acted as a

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1. The Exeter Hall of the quotation was the nerve-centre of the evangelical missionary movement in England, and was the main target for attacks on it.
 2. A similar scene was enacted in Oliphant's Piccadilly.

complete damper on a New Year Party, with her forceful insistence on giving a pious, though tuneless, party-piece, followed by a game of 'Bible Guesses'. A.J. Cronin's drunken American missionary in Grand Canary(1933) is more than adequately compensated for by the sensitively-drawn Keys of the Kingdom, but one of his characters in The Citadel(1937) has no later counterpart. This woman, the wife of a doctor in Wales,¹ was described as 'a stringy zealot who talked West African missions for one hour by the second-hand Regency clock', another Mrs Jellaby in essence. The image persisted into the 1950's, with the appearance of Mrs Cameron's Mossford Manse(1957). The book opened with arrangements for a Presbyterial FMC meeting, at which the first arrival was Miss Eliza Gordon, spinster sister of a minister who married late in life. Despite the warm weather, Miss Gordon was arrayed in her customary heavy tweed and fur hat, forever prepared to act as a Calvinist kill-joy. The later account of an Assembly missionary meeting, presided over by a tailor-made homespun tweed 'platform lady' received no more sympathetic a depiction.

It is hard to see what writers hoped to achieve by this sort of attack. Most had a fairly high regard for mission work, but an almost pathological dislike of those who conducted its administration. Antagonising supporters

1. Cronin himself worked in Wales for a time, and may well have drawn on personal experience there or in the strict nonconformist circles to which his wife's family belonged.

was hardly the way to aid the venture, yet this was virtually a commonplace in Scottish fiction of this type. By contrast, Lewis Grassie Gibbon, whose dislike of the Church is sharply drawn throughout his Scots Quair trilogy of the early 1930's,¹ never so much as mentions missionaries. Church magazines did nothing to condemn this criticism from within; indeed, they positively encouraged the reading of such wholesome literature, and all of the authors cited enjoyed a certain popularity in Scotland. If this is a reliable criterion, it can only be assumed that the inner circle of missionary supporters was equally disliked even within Church circles, since no voluble opposition to the caricature was expressed. This entire line of reasoning, if correct, has some important consequences. Instead of breaking up the gathered nature of Scottish missionary support, it merely caused a taciturn closing of the ranks and, presumably, failed to shake the self-righteous confidence of those within the fold. Instead of complementing the missionary press, Scottish 'religious' fiction tended to undermine it. To employ the imagery of Life and Work, the mercury in the barometer was falling fast.

In addition to giving a version of the involvement in missions more akin to the findings of this thesis than to the Church's own view of its past, Scottish fiction

1. Gibbon went so far as to claim that in country parishes it was the understood thing for 'the middle-aged, genial minister' to sleep with his housekeeper!
Scottish Scene, p.263.

also plays a useful part in confirming the changes in the geographical interests of the Scots.¹ In the first half of the 19th Century the Scots looked mainly towards the West Indies as a source of topical concern.² India proper was never a great source of inspiration,³ and by the later part of the century Africa provided most of the exotic settings in Scottish novels. By the later 1890's, Livingstone's name was occasionally used to add period authenticity to novels,⁴ although with nothing like the same frequency as that of Thomas Carlyle.⁵ In the 20th Century this utilisation of Africa was abandoned, and attention was transferred very emphatically to China. The first indications of this switch came in 'Ian Maclaren's St Judes (1907), a semi-autobiographical chronicle of a Glasgow parish. One of the short stories contained in this volume was named 'Her Marriage Day', and was a pathetic tale of a missionary nurse who had gone out to China, where she was killed during the Boxer Revolution. The tale bore an authentic hallmark in the way in which her death prompted other members of the family to take up a missionary vocation, although the

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1. In 1952 S.G. Smith wrote that: 'Between Ferguson and Macdiarmid, Scotland remained a parish as far as her writers were concerned.' S.G. Smith (ed), Robert Fergusson, 1750-1774 (Edin. 1952), p.38. Even the Kailyarders, however, showed some awareness of events outside Scotland.
 2. Vide. D.M. Moir, Life of Mansie Waugh (1828), M. Scott, Tom Cringle's Log (1833), G. Mills, Craigclutha (1849).
 3. Vide. M. Edwardes, British India, 1772-1947 (Lond. 1967), p.306.
 4. Vide. G. Setoun, Robert Urquhart (1896), A.J. Cronin, Hatter's Castle (1931).
 5. Vide. J.M. Barrie, When a Man's Single (1888), S.R. Crockett, The Stickit Minister (1893), and Bog-Myrtle and Peat (1895), G. Setoun, Skipper of Barncraig (1901)

portraiture of the girl as a guaranteed spinster who had gone to China as a last resort was less than chivalrous, though well within the bounds of credibility. China continued to figure as a land of mystique and topicality. The Rev. J.M.Hay's *Barnacles*, hero of the book of that name (1916),¹ faced the prospect of being sent to China as a missionary by his amanuensis, who was conscience-stricken by a family fortune made from the opium trade. The trend was continued in The Keys of the Kingdom, the first full-length Scottish novel to treat of the missionary theme.² This pattern parallels that found in missionary biography, with the exception that Africa never received a complete study. This can probably be explained by the number of real-life missionary heroes found in Africa, in contrast to China which had only Jackson and Christie to offer the Scottish Churches. In this sense at least, Scottish novels proved to be complementary to the dissemination of literature of a purely missionary origin. Taken overall, however, Scottish fiction paints a fairly dismal picture of the country's efforts in foreign mission spheres.

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1. Hay's widely-praised first novel, Gillespie (1914), was a harrowing tale in the George Douglas mould. Like Douglas, he died before revealing his full literary potential. Vide. obit. in L&W, January 1920.
 2. It was probably the success of this book ~~which~~ and the continued Communist struggle in China which prompted Harrap & Co. to publish The Missionary in 1948. A tale of an American Mission in China, it appeared under the name Cornelia Spencer, the pen-name of Mrs Grace Yaukey (nee Sydenstricker) who had spent almost all her life in the country, presumably, like the author Mervyn Peake, as a missionary's child.

Conclusions.

The conclusions to be drawn from this plethora of information relating to missions are nowhere near as favourable as one might expect. Two modern writers have evaluated missionary work as 'perhaps one of the most underexposed stories around',¹ an assessment which is not sustained with regard to Scotland in the fifty years after Livingstone's death. Both the denominational and the newspaper press have been shown as devoting a proportionately higher amount of attention to missions than many of their counterparts elsewhere, and both reached a very wide audience. The Records were widely regarded by FMC officials as the most effective means of conjuring up support, and missionaries were constantly urged to write for such publications, even if they felt that it diverted some time from their immediate task.² High circulation figures, however, are no guarantee of knowledge. Betty Grier's husband in J.L. Waugh's novel of that name (1921) read only 'sound' books on Sundays - at her insistence - but he concealed the Gardening World inside his copy of the Christian Herald. This ruse was widespread; my own great-grandmother, who married into a strict Sabbatarian Congregationalist household, fooled her husband for many years with an identical use of her Christian Herald, the Congregationalist organ. Indeed, the Church magazines are themselves a catalogue of the

1. R. & H. Exley, op.cit., p. 1.

2. Vide. NLS Ms. 7864, f. 214, J. F. Daly to A. S. Chalmers of Livingstonia, letter dated 21 March 1902.

ignorance of Church members on the subject of missions in general, and their own denominational fields in particular.

In the earlier part of this period, such ignorance was regarded with a good deal of complacent humour, and the magazines constantly and cheerfully repeated two old chestnuts:- that 'Old Calabar' was a very long-lived person,¹ and that 'zenana' was a specific place in India, which could be found upon any map.² When this lamentable lack of knowledge persisted well into the 20th Century, mission advocates became more alarmed. In October 1913, Life and Work recorded that one Church elder believed Nyasaland to be somewhere in India. In 1926, Donald Fraser had a similar experience, when a fisherman elder confidently talked of Bombay as lying just next door to Livingstonia. Even then, Fraser was willing to make some excuses for such mistakes:³

Is this the knowledge of the average Church member? When you expect definite knowledge, people justly plead that our missions are scattered over so wide a range that they cannot be expected to know where all are.

Although Fraser was too diplomatic to do so, he might well have added that much of the blame lay within

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1. Vide., e.g., UP MR, April 1882.
 2. Vide., e.g., FC MR, September 1877. In 1895 the Rev. Mr Gardner of Peebles optimistically claimed that this mistake was no longer made. Gunn, op.cit., Volume X, p.69.
 3. UF MR, June 1926.

the ministry itself. A previous chapter told how Presbyteries or individual ministers could effectively prevent FMC contact with the members. In the same fashion, ministers could hinder the flow of missionary information. In January 1875, a Free Church minister requested that the Record should print a map showing Free Church mission stations. When this occurred, a full understanding of the location was very often dependent upon some previous geographical knowledge which many Scots did not possess. A conscientious minister might overcome this, and at least one did so by undertaking to teach some basic geography to a local devout, but uneducated, member of his congregation.¹ As early as 1860, it had been generally accepted that ministers should use pulpit readings of extracts from missionary periodicals as a means of keeping congregations informed about the progress of the work.² In Scotland, ministers were often actively encouraged to do so by their local Presbyteries, a plan which was not always successful in practice. In some cases, ministers themselves remained ignorant of the basic facts concerning the mission work of their own Church. More than ten years after the establishment of Livingstonia, one Free Church minister asked Robert Laws if the Mission was connected with the Free Church!³ In 1915, a more general illustration of

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1. Rev. A. Philip, The Evangel in Gowrie (Edin. 1911), p.436.
 2. Liverpool Conference, p.74. Speech of Mr R.A. Macfie of Liverpool.
 3. FC MR, May 1892. The incident took place during Laws' furlough in 1886.

this void was noted in a Presbyterial Return to an Assembly Report on 'The Recognition of the Place of Women in the Church's Life and Work'. On one point the Presbytery's answer was as follows:¹

Any judgment worth tabulating on this recommendation seems to require a more intimate knowledge of conditions existing in the Foreign Mission field than many members of home Presbyteries possess.

A systematic reading of missionary publications, often supplied free to ministers, could, one feels, have provided them with the information necessary to forward a worthwhile recommendation. Most of these examples have been taken from the non-established sector, the most active, and it can be safely assumed that the situation was usually worse within the Church of Scotland. A further indication of the lack of propaganda efforts on the part of ministers is given by a recent doctoral thesis on Preaching and Theology in Scotland in the Nineteenth Century.² This work makes no reference to foreign missions as a theme, and contains only 2-3 brief references to the subject, all contained solely within the body of quotations used to exemplify other points.

If the denominational press and Church officials could not be relied upon to successfully transmit missionary propaganda, it was perhaps an act of desperation

1. Inverness UF Presb. Min., 2 November 1915.
2. W.G. Enright, Edinburgh PhD, 1968.

to rely upon the secular press to do so. In this sphere the Scots were better placed than their counterparts in England. South of the border, provincial newspapers often lacked a good foreign news service, because the cost of maintaining it was prohibitively expensive.¹ With the presence of a large number of missionaries scattered over the globe, and the contacts which the Scottish Churches had with newspaper proprietors, this problem might be partially overcome. This did occur to a limited extent in Scotland, but the Churches never fully harnessed the rapport thus established in order to further their cause, an omission acknowledged by W.B. Stevenson in 1922, when discussing the proposed Missionary Campaign:²

It is felt that sufficient advantage is not being taken at present of the Press, and especially of the provincial Press, for advocating the claims of the work.

For this failure the Churches had only their own lack of drive and enthusiasm to blame. While the tight-knit inner circle of subscribers remained staunch in their support, the administrators appeared unable or unwilling to undertake full-scale efforts to alter the complacent structures of their movement. This interpretation also makes it easier to understand the antagonism of these novelists who based their criticisms

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1. D. Ayerst, Guardian -Biography of a Newspaper (Lond. 1971), p.575.
 2. CS L&W, June 1921.

on seen facts, and not on theoretical disputes over the value of mission work. In May 1927, 'H.F.F.'¹ contributed an article on 'The Mission Cinema in a Country Kirk' to Life and Work. In this short piece he described how such a film counteracted the long-held view of missionaries as men in lum hats distributing tracts. It was almost a century since Livingstone had vigorously refuted the image of the missionary as a 'dumpy sort of man with a Bible under his arm', but the Scottish Missions had not yet rid themselves of the image. Whatever their claims, missionary publicists had not yet achieved their ends. The final condemnation of this failure may be left to Dorothy J. Stewart, formerly of the Scottish Churches College in Calcutta:²

Contact with young people since coming back from India leaves me with the impression that, even among the church-going and Sunday school-teaching students, there is much vagueness as to what a missionary does today, and what the work demands.

Even among the gathered community, the Foreign Missions and Publications Committees had failed to communicate successfully.

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1. Probably the Rev. Hugh Fulton Frame, minister of Forgan parish, 1921-42.
 2. 'The Missionary Motive Today', in IRM(1945), pp.150-4.

CONCLUSIONS.

Throughout the 19th Century, as befitted her role as the principal maritime trading nation of the Western World, Great Britain contributed more men and money to foreign missions than any other country.¹ In a bid to escape from the shadow of England, the dominant partner, a significant proportion of Scottish Churchmen have persistently argued Scotland's case for recognition of her superiority and leadership in foreign mission endeavour.² As early as 1867, for instance, Dr McKerrow asserted that the Secession Church, a minority body within Scottish Presbyterianism, had been second only to the Moravians in this branch of Christian work.³ Ten years later, Dr Macgregor of Edinburgh St Cuthbert's Parish Church displayed a similar arrogance, typical of this strand of Scottish Christendom, when he expressed the belief that:⁴

...the mission to Lake Nyasa would yet rank as the foremost mission of Christendom.

Obviously, a certain amount of bombast and exaggeration was only to be expected as part of missionary propaganda, but many Church spokesmen displayed an insistence which went beyond this to enter the realms of assured conviction. Addressing a Free Church Jubilee celebration

1. Murray, op.cit., p.134.

2. For a slightly cynical evaluation of the latter-day desire of the Scottish junior partners to entirely divorce themselves from the declining force of Anglo-Scots' Imperialism, vide. T.Nairn, 'The Three Dreams of Scottish Nationalism' in K.Miller(ed.), Memoirs of a Modern Scotland (Lond. 1970), pp.45-6.

3. McKerrow, op.cit., p.2.

4. Scotsman, 26 May 1876. Macgregor's speech to the General Assembly.

in Perth in 1893, Dr Stalker of Glasgow demonstrated this confidence very clearly:¹

Scotland seem(sic) destined at no distant date to become one of the great missionary countries in the world. Missions would really take a mighty and unprecedented place in the mind of the Christian Church, that was coming, and it would be no surprising thing if this turned out to be the Disruption enthusiasm of fifty years before.

The cumulative effect of this fervent belief in imminent Scottish paramountcy reached its triumphant peak with the Union of the Churches in 1929, when the Rev. Dr White, first Moderator of the enlarged Assembly, stated that:²

We now rank as one of the greatest missionary agencies in Christendom.

Less excusable than these propagandist attempts to motivate interest and pride is the misrepresentation put forward as historical accuracy by later writers. A prime example of this kind of false statement about the level of involvement by the Scottish people is D.M. McFarlan's claim, made in the March 1961 issue of Life and Work:

Was there a Christian home in Scotland a generation ago which had not some connection with Foreign Missions, through kinsman or woman, or partnership letters, or a Sunday School visit, or at the least a missionary box on the mantelpiece?

McFarlan's words paint a valid picture of the workings of the mechanism within the gathered community of mission supporters, but they do not reflect the apathy or

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1. Rev. A.K. McMurchy(ed.), Free Church of Scotland. Jubilee of the Presbytery of Perth, with Brief Historical Sketches of Congregations (Perth 1894), pp.67-8.
 2. Gunn, op.cit., Volume X, p.650.

hostility of the Scots as a whole. There are, however, two mitigating factors which may be brought forward in McFarlan's defence. Missionary writers have consistently alluded to the greater concern of previous generations, as a spur to contemporary efforts,¹ and McFarlan was far from being alone in accepting such exaggerations at face value.² Secondly, the heads of Scottish writers may have been turned by the praise which came from outwith Scotland. Eugene Stock, in 1899, acknowledged that Scotland had contributed able and cultured men to the Foreign Mission Movement to an extent far in excess of its relative size.³ The sentiment was repeated in the General Account of the 1910 Conference,⁴ and by latter-day observers such as Max Warren.⁵

The major fault of all these writers has been their willingness to equate outstanding individual labours with the performance of the Church or nation as a whole. Throughout the previous eight chapters the word 'failure'

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1. Vide., e.g., FC MR, May 1879: '...and we are greatly mistaken if, among the Christian congregations of this country, there is at this moment the same enthusiastic interest in the evangelisation of the world which was felt a generation ago.'
 2. 'Journalistic' and secular historians have been especially prone to this. vide. Moorhouse's comment on reaction to the 1840 Exeter Hall meeting, op.cit., p.22:
For the best part of a century now, they were to this cause with obsessive enthusiasm, sending their agents out across the world in an increasing flow, supporting them with money, with goodwill and with esteem on a lavish scale.
 3. Stock, CMS, Volume I, p.310.
 4. WMC 1910, Volume IX, p.18.
 5. Warren, Social History, p.55.

has been a recurrent comment on the efforts of the Churches, and especially of the Established Church, to stimulate a deeper and more popular concern for missions. The exposure, in Chapter Six, of the inaccuracy of the myth woven around Livingstone's supposed impact on Scotland has been symptomatic of the required revision of Scottish missionary history, enveloping the entire history of the Churches' relations with missionary agents abroad. Messrs Drummond and Bulloch noted that the earliest Scottish missionaries were not representative of the Scottish Churches as a whole,¹ and -as was shown in Chapter Seven- this distinction continued to be an accurate one. The underlying reasons for this failure are complex and obscure, and a multitude of explanations abound. A number of Churchmen believed, along with the Rev. T.W. Armour of Inverness, who was writing in connection with the forth-coming Scottish Churches' Missionary Campaign, that:²

We have been all too apologetic about our Foreign Missions, so that not a few have come to treat them as they might a beggar at the door, instead of realising that here was that for which, supremely, the Church exists.

Others might agree with the Rev. David McDougall, who blamed the stifling effects of Scottish parochialism:³

Most of us lost our world vision round our own village pumps.

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1. Drummond & Bulloch, op.cit., p.139.
 2. UF MR, January 1921.
 3. McDougall, op.cit., p.v.

Whatever the reasons, the effects of the Churches' lack of concern were a constant source of disillusionment and anger for the missionary force. In 1891, R.S. Hynde (CS, Blantyre, 1888-93) pointed out that a mere four or five congregations contributed nearly 20% of the Church of Scotland's missionary income, 'a fact which is highly creditable to them, but a burning shame to the Church at large.'¹ Almost forty years later, Alexander Hetherwick presented the most devastating indictment of its lack of support which the home Church had been required to face. During the 1927 Auld Kirk Assembly, Lord Sands had addressed the outgoing missionaries with these words:²

We will never be ashamed of you. God grant you never may be ashamed of us.

Hetherwick's retiral speech to the Assembly of 1928, containing the pent-up frustration of forty-five years of struggling with inadequate resources of material and men, provided Sands with the answer which he had most dreaded to hear. Hetherwick's accusation that the Church had largely neglected and betrayed its missionaries came as a stunning contrast to the prevailing mood of a self-congratulatory gathering,³ although the Church proved its resilience by failing to heed his challenging words in any practical manner.

The impact of the specifically Scottish missionary

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1. CS HFMR, March 1891.
 2. CS L&W, July 1927.
 3. ibid., July 1928.

presence was comprehensively described by the Rev. B.J. Ross, a third-generation, Lovedale-born, missionary of Scots' descent, during his defence of the Lovedale educational policy in the South African Outlook, January 1931:¹

As in every school and university in the world some at Lovedale, Europeans and Natives, did not assimilate the teaching they got. Some did. They were led to look at the world around them: and think. To look at the peoples in the world; and think....To know something of the struggle for freedom and independence of the people of Scotland: and think. To see something of the past, the present and the future of their own people: and think.

It was this preoccupation with education and with questioning and challenging current values and assumptions, the legacy of a people who remained discontented with the failure of the Act of Union of 1707 to bring the Promised Land, which drew so many Scottish Mission-trained contemporary African leaders -Banda, Kenyatta, Kaunda- to the forefront of their countries' political development. In this respect, James Calder's description of missionary history as one of the Scottish Churches' 'chief glories'² is partly accurate, but it must be recognised that successes in the foreign fields were often achieved in spite of the obstacles raised by the Church structures, rather than as a result of any aid which accrued from them.

1. Reproduced in Wilson & Perrot, op.cit., p.217.

2. Calder, op.cit., p.1, in the opening sentence of the book.

APPENDIX A.JEWISH MISSION AND THE SCOTTISH CHURCHES.

In considering the foreign mission enterprises of Scottish Presbyterians it has been a matter of common practice to disregard any efforts made on behalf of missions to the Jews.¹ The two schemes were, however, inextricably bound up with one another as part of the attempt to convert all men to the Christian religion, and it is impossible to adequately chronicle the background of the foreign mission work without at least a brief survey of parallel developments in the Jewish undertaking. There is as yet no satisfactory account of Scottish Presbyterian involvement in this branch of mission, the most recent compilation being the Rev. David McDougall's In Search of Israel (1941), which he freely admitted to be a purely interim work motivated by the fear that the success of the missions might be forgotten or 'languish unread in minutes and magazines and blue books.'² In making statements like:³

It is no idle boast to say that in its own way this has been the most successful mission of our Scottish Church.

McDougall was transparently biased in favour of the Jewish Mission work, and his conclusion has not been shared by many Scottish missionary historians; Annie S.

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1. English missionary historians showed this same tendency. Canon Robinson, for example, devoted only 4 pages from a total of 500 to his chapter on 'Missions to the Jews'.
 2. p.142.
 3. ibid., p.166. vide. also p.131 for a similar claim made from a slightly different angle.

Swan, for instance, regarded the results of Jewish Missions as even slower and more discouraging than those accomplished in the Foreign fields.¹ Nevertheless, McDougall did pose the crucial question which sums up the nature of the relationship between the foreign and Jewish enterprises since the latter was first mooted in the 1830's:²

It may be that we have gone about foreign missions in the wrong way. Should we not have concentrated upon the Jews, as upon a key point?

In the first half of the 19th Century this belief in carrying the Gospel to the Jews occupied a prominent place in Scottish missionary theory,³ and evoked an enthusiastic response in the late 1830's. The Rev. Andrew Bonar, member of a well-known ecclesiastical family, addressed the Edinburgh University Missionary Association in 1837 on the duty of giving first place in missionary effort to the Jews,⁴ and agitation of this kind led to the establishment of a separate Jewish Mission Committee within the National Church in the early 1840's. Bonar's Diaries for the 1830's reveal that he repeatedly considered the advisability of offering himself for foreign mission work,⁵ and the actions of his

1. Swan, op.cit., p.133.

2. McDougall, op.cit., p.166.

3. Murray, op.cit., pp.173,175-8.

4. Bonar, Diary and Letters, p.54. A fairly exhaustive study of the origins of this work can be found in D.Chambers 'Prelude to Last Things: The Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews' in Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Volume XIX(1975), pp.43-58.

5. Bonar, Diary and Letters, pp.9,17,20,23.

contemporaries in the foreign field display this same lack of antagonism between the two branches of the Church's outreach. Dr Wilson of Bombay, for example, found time amidst his multifarious tasks to teach a school of 200 Jewish children,¹ and Alexander Duff threw himself into the fray with the same unqualified approval during the course of the Free Church General Assembly of 1850:²

His first speech, on the first business day of the Assembly, was on the report of the Committee for the conversion of the Jews. As a missionary to the Gentiles he sought to express the intensity of his sympathies with a cause which is emphatically that of foreign missions.

Despite this testimony, enthusiasm in Scotland was already on the wane and the Jewish cause was beginning to assume a very subsidiary role in the missionary enterprise. In May 1857 the UP Synod received an Overture from the Presbytery of Kilmarnock, urging them to establish a Jewish Mission on the grounds that there were many of Jewish descent in Africa, 'which is our chosen field of missionary operation'. The Overture also claimed that the UP members already contributed large sums 'towards the support of missions to that interesting people', but subsequent events seem to contradict this notion. The Jewish work was never more than a small-scale operation which attracted little enthusiasm,³ and was eventually

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1. Bonar, Diary and Letters, p.63.
 2. Smith, Duff, Volume II, p.181.
 3. McKerrow, op.cit., pp.496-504.

allowed to lapse altogether.¹ In the smaller denominations the same pattern was frequently followed. From 1846 to 1859 the Reformed Presbyterians had a one-man Jewish Mission in London which was abandoned when the missionary left the Church and the Committee could find no suitable successor from within its ranks, a situation which appears to have been something of a relief to the members:²

When the Jewish Mission came to an end, the work in the New Hebrides had assumed dimensions that would afford ample scope for all the energies of the Church, while it was accompanied with such a manifest blessing as to encourage to persevering efforts.

By the turn of the century the 'Wee' Frees, as in so many other matters, stood in splendid isolation in advocating that Jewish Missions should be granted the premier place in the Church's work.³ In the majority body of the UF Church the position was very different, as the author of 'Letters From The Assembly' pointed out in the July 1904 issue of the UF Record:

The speeches on the Wednesday evening are apt, unlike those that we shall hear tomorrow on Foreign Missions, to take rather an apologetic tone. Even in our Assembly, missions to the Jews seem always more or less on their defence.

Interest in Scotland continued to decline under this weak generalship and reached its nadir by the end of the decade,⁴ by which time the Jewish Mission was clearly

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1. W.Ewing, Paterson of Hebron, p.120.
 2. Hutchison, op.cit., pp.307-8.
 3. FC MR, September 1901.
 4. W.P.Livingstone, A Galilee Doctor, p.218.

regarded as positively inferior in importance to the work in Foreign Mission fields:¹

The Jewish Mission as well as the Foreign Mission finds a record of its work in these pages. Indeed, in a sense, it is a Foreign Mission too.

With the post-War renewal of interest in the Jewish people (pogroms in Russia, the occupation of Palestine, etc.) general interest in the Jewish Mission also began to increase, with the renewed prospect of a significant breakthrough into a dislocated race,² the traditional 'lift-off' point for missionary effort. By 1929, previous trends had been reversed, advocates of the Jewish work began to carry the attack to their brethren of the Foreign Committees, and at the Assembly of 1929 one speaker, the editor of the Jewish Mission Quarterly,³

...attributed the comparative failure of foreign missions to the Churches' neglect of the divine order of precedence - 'to the Jew first'.

Turning from theological and theoretical to practical criticisms of Jewish Missions the pattern of declining interest is equally sharply defined. As Chapter One demonstrated, partisan loyalties were often in evidence in the speeches of the office-bearers of the various Committees, and it was from this source that the first major attack on the Jewish work was directed. In 1872 the Rev. Norman Macleod, in the course of his report on

1. CS L&W, January 1910.
 2. Reith, op.cit., pp.260-1.
 3. ibid., pp.335-6.

the Church of Scotland Indian Mission, turned furiously on critics of his Committee:¹

He had never heard any criticism for many years on the Jewish Mission. Did they not think they might get very rich pickings there? He had never heard any talk of the system pursued in reference to the Jews. He had never seen any weeping or wailing in reference to the want of conversion among the Jews.

Macleod went on to contrast this with the annual scrutiny which the Indian Committee members had been subjected to year after year as they faithfully discharged the instructions given by the Assembly, 'even when he thought there was not very much wisdom in them'. These provocative words helped focus attention on the Jewish work and brought about a prolonged and hostile campaign, based mainly on the failure to win converts. The major attack was concentrated on the very tangible aspect of the per capita cost of conversion, and was well under way by the later 1870's. On 7 June 1877, the Scotsman featured a letter on the 'Conversion of Jews and Hindoos' written by a man who had spent thirty years in India. 'History', as he called himself, had previously tried to enlist the Scotsman's aid to ascertain what returns the Free Church Jewish Mission had received from an expenditure of £4500 in 1876, and he now wished to find out how much had been gained from a Church of Scotland expenditure of £5000+ in the same cause. Unlike later correspondents, 'History' did not confine his scorn solely to Jewish Missions; he also castigated the Free Church female missionaries for

1. Scotsman, 31 May 1872.

their failure to gain converts, and claimed that Hindoos could never be satisfactorily converted.

By the mid-1880's, the high percapita cost of Jewish converts was a standard item in newspaper reports of the Assemblies, and even when newspapers gave credit for the indirect benefits derived from this branch of mission, the reports offered more fuel for the fires of critics than for those of supporters of the work.¹ By 1889, the Scotsman could be relied on to report in mocking fashion the fact that the Jewish Missions, with their failure to report any success, offered a humorous interlude in Assembly business,² a practice which was continued for many years.³

As a natural consequence of such analyses, criticism was heaped upon the management of the Jewish Schemes. In 1899 for instance, when James Rankin launched yet another onslaught on the management of the Church's Schemes, he reserved his specific criticism for the Jewish Mission rather than for the Foreign Mission,⁴ although his personal antipathies were directed against the office-bearers of the latter and not the former Scheme. The cumulative impact of this propaganda war was noted in

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1. Vide. Scotsman editorial, 24 May 1886, and the Aberdeen Daily Free Press editorials of 24 & 25 May 1886.
 2. Scotsman, 30 May 1889.
 3. Reith, op.cit., p.261.
 4. Scotsman, 8 May 1899.

1903, when 'Still Unconverted' claimed that the falling subscriptions to Jewish Missions in both the Established and UF Churches showed that the general public were at last beginning to see the futility of these missions.¹ This reaction to Jewish Mission work played an important part in shaping the distribution of effort between Jewish and Foreign Mission work in the half century after 1873. During that period the home income of the constituent parts of the UF FMC more than doubled, while that of the Established Church increased more than five-fold. In both Churches, in stark contrast to this, the income for Jewish Mission work remained virtually static.² Equally significantly, the Free Church Juvenile Offerings Cash Books(1865-1900)³ show that the JMC were unable to maintain childhood interest into adulthood. In these Cash Books the allocation (and number) of donations to the Jewish Fund was second only to the Foreign Fund, and far ahead of those for any other Scheme. This Appendix will conclude, therefore, with an examination of the likely causes of this marked evaporation of concern for Jewish Missions.

The obvious starting point for this is an examination of the JMC's which were the target for so much criticism

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1. Scotsman, 26 May 1903.
 2. It is worth noting here that the UP Church, with no Jewish commitment, had by far the greatest response to Foreign Missions. It is at least possible that the lack of success of the JM's may have discouraged potential donors to FM's in the other denominations.
 3. Held in the NLS Mss. Department.

over the years. A study of the various Conveners who served from the 1870's to the 1920's reveals a group of talented men, many of whom were highly respected in Church circles, and many of whom were also actively interested in foreign missions. James Hood Wilson of the Free Church also acted as Convenir of the WFMS for some ten years;¹ his successor as Convenir of the JMC, and his biographer -Dr James Wells- gave a daughter to the Free Church Mission in the Central Provinces of India, and also gained fame as the biographer of James Stewart of Lovedale;² from 1892 onwards, the Secretary of the JMC was the Rev. G.M.Rae, who had newly-completed twenty-four years' service in the Madras Mission. In the Established Church a similar pattern can be discerned, and two of the six Conveners who served in this period -Henry Wallis Smith of Kirknewton and the Rev. Professor A.R.S.Kennedy of Edinburgh- sent daughters to the Poona and Kikuyu fields respectively.³ The quality of such men, and their commitment to the missionary ideal, cannot be doubted, and the explanation for the relative failure of the Jewish Missions must be sought elsewhere.

To a large extent, the Jewish work suffered from the partisan loyalties displayed in Norman Macleod's 1872

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1. J.Wells, Wilson, p.333.
 2. Wells' biography of Stewart, published 4 years after that of Wilson, draws many parallels between the two men. Cf. Wilson, p.32 with Stewart, pp.206-7.
 3. Five of the six, Smith, J.Alison, G.Anderson, Kennedy, and J.A.C.Mackellar had been born and/or educated in Glasgow, where the majority of Scottish Jews lived.

speech, and ploys of this nature, calculated to relieve pressure on the FMC, were a recurrent feature of this period, and co-incided with the rapid expansion of foreign mission work described in Chapter Two. In the 1880's, the JMC Played an important, albeit unwilling, part in diverting attention away from the faults which had been exposed in the FMC, and the letter from 'No Longer A Subscriber' in which he roundly berated the management of the JMC¹ offered a welcome respite.

Although there is no concrete evidence to confirm the supposition, it is reasonable to assume that some advocates of Foreign Missions regarded Jewish Missions as an intrusion upon their resources, and acted accordingly when the chance arose to negate this threat. The fact that they could do so very successfully is an indication that this attitude was widely held throughout Scotland.

In discussing the causes of this opposition to Jewish Missions it should be stressed from the outset that anti-Semitism as such was not a major factor, although the caricatured picture of the Jew as a rich Shylock may well have contributed. The argument seemingly centred on two questions, namely Do the Jews need conversion; and Should we pay for it? Typical of responses to the first of these was the comment of the Scottish People that the Jews already had a 'purely monotheistic religion', and any effort to alter this

1. Scotsman, 11 May 1885.

would be misplaced while there were still so many 'waste places' at home in Scotland.¹ While this resurrection of the 'Charity at Home' argument effectively curbed efforts to convert Jews living in Scotland,² the Jewish failure to accept modern Christianity when first offered played some part in restricting sympathies for Jews living abroad. If exponents of the current economic system could make a virtue of refusing alms to the undeserving poor at home, it would be inconsistent to render spiritual aid to a people who had similarly spurned the opportunity to improve their position on a previous occasion. Finally, it should be emphasised that the Jews were a numerical flea-bite³ compared with the hordes of heathens and Mohammedans who had never heard of Christ, hordes who offered a far greater romantic appeal than the Jews did.

The outcome of all these considerations was a continued diminution of interest after the initial euphoria of the 1840's wore off. The prospect of a swift conversion of the Jewish people as a pre-requisite to the conversion of the entire world and the Second Coming of Christ seemed further and further from fulfilment as each passing year brought no appreciable quickening of the process of conversion. The biographies of many

1. Scottish People, 28 May 1887.

2. ibid. vide. also the Scotsman editorial, 26 May 1896.

3. Canon Robinson, in 1915, estimated the number of Jews as c. 12,000,000.

missionaries bear witness to the fact that they were willing to labour for a life-time with no reward or tangible success within that period, but the response to the Jewish Missions enterprise demonstrates that this degree of faith was not an integral part of the home Churches as a whole. To an even greater extent than in the Foreign Mission Movement, support for this work was of the gathered variety and the most enthusiastic support -ironically- came from members of staff and other advocates of the foreign missions which did so much, deliberately or incidentally, to undermine the Jewish work. In recognising this problem, David McDougall hopefully wrote that:¹

Jewish Missions...must not be the fad of the few, but the duty and privilege of all followers of Jesus.

The barriers erected against this plan in Scotland between 1870 and 1930 had, however, proved to be too strong and too numerous to overcome.

1. McDougall, op.cit., p.173.

APPENDIX B.THE BLANTYRE AND CALCUTTA SCANDALS.1. Blantyre.

When Andrew Chirnside published his pamphlet, The Blantyre Missionaries: Discreditable Disclosures, shortly before the opening of the 1880 Assemblies no one could have visualized the far-reaching repercussions which this brief document was to have on the Scottish missionary movement. A number of Chirnside's claims¹ were proved to be without substance, but the Church's handling of the accusations that it conducted a civil regime maintained by corporal (and on one occasion capital) punishment was sufficient in itself to demand a re-assessment of the entire mission presence and policy in the East African sphere.² In addition to its internal effects on the Church of Scotland, the incident also had an important part to play in formulating attitudes towards Livingstone's blueprint for developing Africa, and towards co-operation with the Free Church Mission at Livingstonia, topics which will be explored in the course of this Appendix.

In itself, the method of punishment by flogging was no new thing even in the mission field. In the early years of the UP Rajputana Mission the Rev. William

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1. A summary of these can be found in the CS FMC Report, 1880, p.138.
 2. The Blantyre Mission was originally regarded as part of East Africa, rather than of Central Africa as in later years.

Martin had been prepared to authorize up to twenty lashes to maintain discipline while overseeing famine relief work.¹ Of the Livingstone Inland Mission, founded at the same time as Blantyre, Mrs Grattan Guinness noted approvingly that the first translation work to be undertaken was the Ten Commandments, 'rightly giving them thus the law before the gospel',² and elsewhere stressed the importance of this:³

God has appointed government for the punishment of evil-doers, and Africa's anguish arises from the lack of this.

Similar sentiments led Dan Crawford to take temporary control of a Belgian fort in the Congo basin in 1894, though he did so with great reluctance.⁴ In Scotland itself, contemporary opinion was not averse to flogging; on 29 November 1881, the Perthshire Courier expressed approval of the Lord Chancellor's decision to flog a boy convicted of petty pilfering as preferable to the demoralisation of prison or the continued pursuit of a life of crime with impunity.

In the case of Blantyre this same philosophy was initially accepted, and Dr Macklin's statement in the Missionary Record (March 1878)⁵ that the flogging given

1. Martin, op.cit., p.230.

2. Guinness, op.cit., p.190.

3. ibid., p.132.

4. Tilsley, op.cit., p.327.

5. Vide. Macdonald's Africana, Volume II, pp.28,34. In many cases flogging was a lenient substitute for the death penalty(p.42), although some artisans were over-vigorous in their use of punishment(p.221). Macdonald also claimed that the 'Directors' of the Mission/

Continued overleaf.

to one thief -nine dozen lashes- 'was nothing like the flogging which used to be for British sailors and soldiers' was allowed to pass without comment. In fact, it was not until 20 April 1880 that the FMC passed a Minute clearly prohibiting the missionaries from flogging wrong-doers. On the question of capital punishment the FMC was equally reluctant to issue precise and timely instructions. According to Duff Macdonald, Dr Macklin had long ago asked for such instructions but had received no reply.²¹ Even after hearing of an execution at Blantyre in mid-1879 the Committee vacillated, disavowed all responsibility for this individual case, but refused to give any positive advice as to future conduct.²² At first, the FMC reacted to Chirnside's exaggerated claims of shocking brutality in the same unconcerned manner, presumably in the hope that the matter would blow over. At this stage both Duff Macdonald and the FMC retained the confidence of the Church, and letters defending them against Chirnside's attack appeared in the Scotsman in ~~May~~^{June} 1880.²³ When the issue was raised in Parliament J.A.Campbell, MP, pointed out that the Committee might have erred in not giving clear instructions, but he exonerated them on the patently false grounds that they

5.(Cont.) /Mission positively sanctioned corporal punishment. It may be helpful to remember here that the last public hanging in Edinburgh had occurred as recently as 1864.

1. Africana, Volume II, p.113.
2. FMC Minute 28 May 1879; Statement by FMC Convener, FMC Report, 1880, pp.142-3.
3. From Rev.J.Russell(4 June), and 'RFF'(probably the Rev. R.F.Fisher, minister of Flisk,1843-85) on 9 June.

had not anticipated that the missionaries might be drawn into civil jurisdiction.¹ By March of the following year it was obvious that the matter was not to be permitted to lapse, and there began an undignified attempt by Committee members to absolve themselves from any individual responsibility, a movement which resulted in the sacrifice of Macdonald as nominal head of the Mission. In trying to extricate himself, Dr Macrae of Hawick soundly compromised the entire FMC when he:²

...defended the adoption of civil jurisdiction, and cited the example of Dr Livingstone in support of his contention. The Foreign Mission Committee, he held, should have been fully alive, from correspondence which took place, of the intention of the sub-committee to assume jurisdiction in Africa, and up to the time that it was known that a murderer was put to death, he was one of those who held that they did what was right notwithstanding what any Act of the British Parliament said. He took all the responsibility. From the very first he had worked out the Mission as a civil as well as an evangelical undertaking.

This statement, amounting to a defiant confession, brought an immediate denouncement of the conduct of the Blantyre Mission from R.H. Story, who regarded Macrae and the Committee as primarily responsible.³ Within a week, a demand for a full inquiry had come from a leading Free Church minister, Dr James Begg:⁴

For the sake of the Churches at home, as well as of our missions abroad, it is absolutely necessary that full justice should be done, and that no time should be/

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1. Hansard, House of Commons, 2 July 1880, p.1434.
 2. Glasgow Herald, 3 March 1881.
 3. ibid.
 4. Scotsman correspondence, 11 March 1881.

/be lost in clearing up matters which imply, if true, not only a scandal upon the name of Livingstone, but an excessive outrage upon Christianity itself.

By mid-May, it was clear that the FMC had lost the confidence of many Church members, and the reasons for this were summed up in a letter from 'Truth' which appeared in the Scotsman on 12 May 1881:

The country now knows that the authorities at home knew of the conduct of the Mission some time before Mr Chirnside made his report; but they had been keeping it quiet.

From the evidence available, it seems that a more serious charge could be levelled against the FMC, that of misleading the Blantyre staff and the Church at large. On 23 March 1880, the FMC wrote to Macdonald; included in the letter was a warning that they considered any assumption of jurisdiction by him would render him liable to prosecution under one of a number of Acts of Parliament passed within recent years. From the proximity of this directive to the publication of Chirnside's pamphlet, it appears that the Committee may have been forewarned of coming events, and was taking steps to avoid any unpleasant consequences for itself. Two facts must be taken into account here. The Jurisdiction Act referred to by the FMC had been enacted in 1878, and the Committee had had ample time to inform the Blantyre missionaries of its existence since that time. More important, the Parliamentary debate made it clear that the Act referred only to crimes committed by British subjects, and could

not be interpreted to include the role played by the missionaries in administering justice as they had done.¹ During the course of this debate Sir Charles Dilke, a Government spokesman, stated very plainly that the British Government had no wish to involve itself in the affair;² a decade later, Dilke re-iterated and expanded the reasons which prompted this recalcitrance:³

...what was one of the reasons which I was directed by Lord Granville in 1880 to give against sending to the Shire Highlands a commission to try the missionaries for murder and for illegal flogging? That if any native chief should carry off our Commissioner we should be forced into a great military expedition.

By its failure to correct its original misleading statement the FMC placed Macdonald in an intolerable position viz-a-viz the Church. If the Church were to condone Macdonald's role at the Head of the Mission, it might itself be brought to trial, according to the letter of 23 March 1880, which was published in toto in the FMC Report for 1880.⁴ In such circumstances it was almost inevitable that the Assembly should agree to sacrifice him, although his own part in the administration had been minimal and accepted only under protest.⁵

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1. Hansard, 2 July 1880, pp.1424,1435. As F.Lugard stated in The Rise of Our East African Empire (Lond. 1893), Vol. I, p.62, even the British Consul appointed in 1883 had no legal right to interfere with mission administration or jurisdiction at Blantyre.
 2. Hansard, op.cit., p.1436.
 3. 'The Uganda Problem', Fortnightly Review, Feb., 1893, p.157.
 4. FMC Report,1880, pp.145-6. Macdonald himself accepted this verdict (Volume II, p.43), as did James Rankin in Buchanan, op.cit., p.205. Macdonald was understandably bitter about this condemnation without trial. ibid., p.253.
 5. Harry H.Johnston, in British Central Africa (Lond. 1897), Continued overleaf.

Against this background of misinformation and fear it is not surprising that Livingstone's concept of the establishment of Christian colonies was challenged and discarded. In the early years of the Missions it was quite frankly stated that these were to be developed along the lines advocated by Livingstone. The Blantyre Mission was to be of the nature of 'a small Christian colony, to impart to the natives our own advantages'.¹ Livingstonia supporters such as James Stevenson had this same vision of checking the slave-trade by the establishment of 'colonies of Christian natives superintended by Europeans'.² In the phrasing of these statements there was an unspoken suggestion that this process would necessarily involve some kind of civil jurisdiction over the territories occupied. As early as 1875, however, there had been disquieting signs that some Scots wished this plan to be forcibly put into practice, with the dispatch of 1000 Volunteer troops to accompany the Mission party.³ The author of this scheme, 'Scoto Africanus', obviously thought that this was in accord with Livingstone's desire to send colonists of good character, but Livingstone had never contemplated such an army of occupation.

5. (Cont.) claimed that Duff Macdonald had withdrawn voluntarily. Macdonald, although exonerated, was summarily dismissed. vide. CS HFMR, April & May 1881.

1. CS HFMR, July 1877.

2. J. Stevenson, The Civilization of South Eastern Africa (Glas. 1877), p.20.

3. Aberdeen Herald, 6 March 1875.

In the aftermath of the Blantyre Scandal, many of the leading Established Churchmen were only too eager to blame the failure on Livingstone's theories, perhaps as a further attempt to evade their own responsibility. Macrae of Hawick, in the letter already quoted, cited Livingstone's example in support of his adoption of civil jurisdiction, and used the same defence against an acrimonious attack by Professor Flint in 1888.¹ In an Assembly debate in 1881, Professor Charteris made a similar point, but the crushing condemnation came from Alexander Pringle, one of the two Commissioners sent out to investigate the situation in East Africa. When Pringle spoke in the debate he was 'imperfectly heard, and was listened to with great impatience',² but his findings were published in the FMC Report and were thus readily accessible. Pringle claimed that the 'Model State' experiment had been a failure at Blantyre, and his elaboration emphasised that this was basically a defect of the system of industrial missions.³ The net result of this debate was the recommendation that the Industrial part of the Mission should be abandoned,⁴ a decision interpreted as 'the conversion of the Mission from a Christian colony into a mission proper'.⁵ This change

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1. Vide. Scotsman correspondence, 24 & 28 May 1888. Flint still mistakenly believed that Macrae's mismanagement could have led to criminal prosecution and penal servitude.
 2. Scotsman, 25 May 1881.
 3. FMC Report, 1881, pp. 94-5. Pringle erroneously assumed that civil jurisdiction was part and parcel of the industrial mission per se, a point disproved by the Livingstonia Mission policy.
 4. FMC Report, 1881, p. 80.
 5. Scotsman, 25 May 1881.

was described by the Rev. John Pagan of Bothwell Parish in terms which cast grave doubts on the entire feasibility of Livingstone's approach:¹

...the work was begun anew on principles more in accordance with the spirit of that Christianity which missions endeavour to advance.

The basic premise of all this discussion was an assumption that the artisan classes were no longer a suitable instrument for spreading the Gospel, despite Livingstone's championing of this ideal. Such a view was decidedly distorted, for the experiment had not been given a fair trial; the FMC, in their desperation to obtain staff and speedily follow the Free Church into the field, had applied inadequate selection criteria,² and a number of the artisans engaged had fallen far short of the type of colonist envisaged by Livingstone. Those Churchmen who unjustly condemned his theories were, therefore, apparently motivated by a desire to reduce the blame which could be apportioned to the FMC. In the long run, as in so many other instances, these theories came to be accepted by the Church, and the proposals for a Christian

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1. In an article written for the UP MR, May 1884.
 2. There is a clear parallel here with the events in the LMS field in Madagascar in the 1870's, which prompted Lovett to write, LMS, Volume I, p.736:

As always happens when a considerable number of men are sent to one field, especially under circumstances of pressure and excitement, there was a considerable percentage of failure.

The Perthshire Constitutional of 23 March 1881 put forward the opinion that the Mission failed for want of an experienced superintendent, and not through any weakness in Livingstone's plan.

settlement were vigorously defended on the grounds that they brought Christianity and civilisation, and did not merely find homes for landless Scots.¹ In contrast to this, the cynicism which dictated FMC policy in the early years of the mission along lines of expediency can be seen in a remark made by the Special Sub-Committee set up to investigate the Blantyre Mission in 1897. This statement claimed that the Mission had wisely pursued an industrial policy and had exercised a wonderful control over the native chiefs,² although the 1880 Scramble for absolution by the FMC had resulted in the positive rejection of Livingstone's theories for civilising the native population, and a resolution to abandon the industrial side of the work. It is little wonder that many discerning Churchmen lost faith in their FMC. As James Begg had publicly stated, the situation in 1880-1 had truly been a 'scandal upon the name of Livingstone.'

If the shabby treatment meted out to their own agents antagonised members of the Auld Kirk, the duplicity of the whole affair soured relations with the Free Church for some considerable time, and proved a sad set-back to what had been a most promising co-operative venture. The decision in 1875 to establish Christian settlements had been greeted with delight as a movement which was to be carried out on a 'thoroughly Catholic basis.'³ First

1. CS L&W, March 1963.

2. CS FMC Report, 1897, p.182.

3. Aberdeen Herald, 20 February 1875.

reactions to the arrival of the Mission parties in the Nyasa region were equally favourable, and Sir Bartle Frere warmly praised the two Scottish Churches for 'working side by side in perfect concord', during the course of an address to the leading citizens of Glasgow in 1876.¹ Even the occasional competitive remark, like the description of Blantyre as 'what may be called a suburban station of Livingstonia' brought no jealous reaction, and the article from which this comment is taken concluded by expressing pleasure at the 'wholly unsectarian' nature of this mission field.² For informed observers outwith Scotland the picture was equally pleasing, as the Rev. W.C. Holden noted in 1877:³

But the spirit of harmony so far pervades both that the agents co-operate as though they were only the representatives of one Church.

The home Churches themselves fell under this spell of amicability, and in 1878 J.A. Campbell, MP, referred, during discussion of the FMC Report, to the aid given to the Blantyre Mission by James Stewart of Lovedale. Although the time was not yet ripe for a united mission, he said, at least the separate missions could -and did- support one another.⁴ After some four years, all was apparently still sweetness and light.

1. Glasgow Herald, 11 November 1876.

2. ibid., 8 February 1877.

3. W.C. Holden, A Brief History of Methodism and of Methodist Missions in South Africa. With an Appendix on the Livingstonia Mission (Lond. 1877), p.503.

4. Scotsman, 31 May 1878.

Even after the first broadside was fired by Chirnside there was no momentous change in this situation. 'RFF', who supported Macdonald's position, also defended the Free Church artisan, Alexander Riddell, against Chirnside's allegations that Riddell was attempting to ingratiate himself with a view to studying for the ministry.¹ Towards the end of the year, Blaikie's biography gave no indication of disharmony in stating that:²

It would have gratified Livingstone to think that in conducting this settlement several of the Scotch Churches were practically at one -Free, Reformed, and United Presbyterian; while at Blantyre on the Shiré the Established Church of Scotland, with a mission and a colony of mechanics, has taken its share in the work.

The Revised edition of 1884, the basis for all subsequent reprints of Blaikie, showed a definite shift of emphasis, and is worth quoting in full. The praise for the work of the non-Established Churches was retained undiluted, but the Auld Kirk was never mentioned by name, and ~~acknow~~ acknowledgement of its presence was by implication only:³

It would have gratified Livingstone to think that in promoting the evangelisation and civilisation of this district all the Scottish Presbyterian Churches were taking a share.

In view of the troubles of 1880-1, this was a tactful

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1. Scotsman, 9 June 1880.
 2. Blaikie, op.cit., (1880), p.469.
 3. ibid., (1884), p.394. The difference in page numbers is accounted for by the size of type/page used in the two editions.

omission to make as the Church of Scotland tried to live down the Blantyre Scandal, but Blaikie may also have been piqued at the unwarranted aspersions cast on the Free Church Mission by the Pringle Report of 1881. This document contained certain allegations -deleted from the version printed in the 1881 FMC Report, although the damage had been done by then- about the conduct of James Stewart, CE⁰, and Dr Laws.¹ In Scotland, though not in Africa, Pringle's irresponsible words brought about a dramatic transformation of the increasing harmony between the Churches. His allegations provoked a sharp denial from George Smith, Secretary of the Free Church FMC, and a bitter rejoinder on the spirit in which they were made:²

Carrying out the principles of unsectarian and brotherly co-operation in Foreign Missions, which in this case the Established Church seems to me to have most ungratefully violated, the late Dr Duff and his Committee gave that Church all facilities for sending out and establishing its pioneer Mission at Blantyre.

Some days later, on 19 March, the Weekly Review entered the fray with praise of an unsullied Livingstonia, and a condemnation of Blantyre, plus a censure of the Auld Kirk

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0. Son of the Rev. Charles Stewart of Kirkmichael Free Church(1843-52), and cousin to Stewart of Lovedale.
1. James Rankin, more tactfully, made a veiled reference by his suggestion that:
 In a general way, our whole policy as to the Mission should aim at our being free from entanglements with other missions or companies.
 -FMC Report, 1881, p.90.
2. Glasgow Herald, 2 March 1881. Many of the newspaper articles cited here were culled from a Volume of Newspaper Cuttings Relating to the Livingstonia and Blantyre Missions, 1876-82, which can be found in the NLS catalogue under 'Free Church of Scotland'.

for trying to implicate Livingstonia. Once again, the injudicious conduct of the FMC representatives brought them into disrepute, and on 26 May 1881 the Scotsman editorial went so far as to argue that the Blantyre Mission should be withdrawn and started afresh in a new location, citing three reasons for the desirability of this step:- the discrediting of the mission in Africa, the earlier entry of Livingstonia into that sphere, and the mutually antagonistic and ill-matched characters of Livingstonia and Blantyre. The judgment was harsh and inaccurate with regard to the third point, insofar as individual workers were concerned, but the FMC's behaviour had done nothing to encourage sympathy on any of the points made by the Scotsman.

The sequel to this distasteful and regrettable episode was wide-ranging in its effect both inside and outside the Church of Scotland. Internally, the main sufferers were Duff Macdonald and the credibility of the FMC structure. Macdonald's name was never cleared of the unfair stigma laid upon it, and his obituary in 1929 made only a veiled reference to his dismissal, in tones which suggest that he was still the scapegoat:¹

The three first years of his superintendence of the Mission were naturally years of exceptional difficulty, as there was no settled government in the land.

On the death of the principal FMC protagonist, a similar twist was given to the facts when the Macrae Hall was

1. CS L&W, March 1929.

opened at Blantyre. The account of this event in Life and Work in British Central Africa (April 1897) had this to say of Macrae:

He trusted his men as no one would trust them at home; he did not know that Africa transmogrifies human character and eats away everything not sustained by noble principle...

Yet again this emphasis was decidedly unfair to Macdonald, whose principles had been waived -if at all- only through the negligence of the FMC. For many years after 1880, resentment over the Blantyre Scandal seethed just below the surface in the FMC discussions, and it was only the eruption of the so-called Calcutta Scandal which diverted at least some of the attention away from the problems of the African field. At the time, however, the course of affairs at Blantyre had been a talking point in missionary circles throughout Western Christendom, and had been discussed in print as far afield as Princeton, New Jersey.¹ Nearer home, the affair was used as a means of keeping alive denominational differences, as James Rankin proved in a lecture to Glasgow University Students' Missionary Association in January 1884. Describing the UMCA errors in forcibly freeing slaves as a parallel to events at Blantyre, he went on to say:²

But our errors had the misfortune to get early into the hands of sectarian enemies, who set about stirring up the home press on the matter -not to correct the error, /

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1. Groves, op.cit., Volume II, p.313.
 2. Buchanan, op.cit., p.237. If Rankin intended to use this to encourage Church of Scotland efforts the attempt was clumsy and in dubious taste.

/error, but to make it a stalking-horse for an attack on the Church, and to frighten us out of Africa altogether.

On the other side of the fence, Free Churchmen might be forgiven for feeling that they were the ones who had been misrepresented and hampered in their work. In mid-1880, for example, a Lovedale pupil brought false charges of assault against a member of staff in a direct comparison with the Blantyre floggings, charges which were proved to be without foundation only after they had been reported in the Press.¹ By the mid-1890's the lesson of Blantyre had been taken to heart, and Stewart of Lovedale was very careful to emphasise that corporal punishment must not be used in the pioneer Kibwezi Mission in Kenya.² As the Livingstonia Mission had shown in the 1870's, the policy worked equally well at that earlier date, and the errors of Blantyre need never have occurred to serve as a warning to others.

2. Calcutta.

As suggested in the last paragraph, it was fortuitous for the Africa sub-Committee that pressure was taken off them by the emergence of a fresh scandal in another of the Church's mission fields in 1883, although this fresh disaster went far towards confirming the growing suspicions that the FMC as a whole required a thorough revision. A very full account of this case can be found

1. Brock, Thesis, pp.68-9.

2. McIntosh, op.cit., p.105.

in the Rev. D. Macmillan's Life of Professor Hastie, pp. 94-195.¹, and only a brief summary need be given here before examining some of the parallels which this had with the Blantyre Case.

The scandal arose after repeated rumours -most of them true- about faults in the operation of the Calcutta Orphanage of the Church of Scotland, attributable to the Eurasian Superintendent, Miss Pigot. William Hastie, head of the Calcutta Institution, wrote of this matter to the FMC Convener, Archibald Scott, who apparently passed these private and confidential documents over to Miss Pigot. She in turn used these as the basis for a civil action against Hastie in the Calcutta Courts,² the findings of which were almost all in Hastie's favour. Meanwhile, Hastie was dismissed by the FMC on the grounds that his temper and disposition were unsuited to the position he held, and incompatible with harmonious co-operation with the FMC.³ The resulting dispute was continued until 1889, and the details of the prolonged legal and personality clashes are extensively chronicled in Hastie's biography.⁴ In his Preface to this volume,

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1. Many of Macmillan's comments are biased in favour of Hastie, but he does accurately reflect contemporary attitudes which also tended to have this bias. Cf., e.g., Macmillan, p. 131 with the Scotsman editorial of 30 May 1884. A review of Macmillan's book in L&W, October 1926, severely criticised the resurrection of the Scandal which 'is dead and wellnigh forgotten.'
 2. In March 1883.
 3. Vide. transcript of FMC Minute, 6 November 1883, in Macmillan, op.cit., pp. 106-7.
 4. For the results of these wrangles vide. supra., Chapter Four.

Dr Macmillan wrote that he hoped that the twenty years which had elapsed since Hastie's death would enable him to write with calmness and without prejudice, yet the personal animosities engendered by the situation still emerge very sharply. The extent of these feelings, more than forty years after the incident, is an indication of the bitter ~~co~~ⁿflikt provoked by the Calcutta Scandal.

In many respects the Calcutta Case was a repetition of the Blantyre Scandal three years earlier. In both instances the FMC had begged someone to take charge of a position which had remained unfilled for upwards of two years,¹ and in both instances had rewarded obedience to this plea with a summary dismissal without fair or proper trial. One important result of these cases was the fact that neither was likely to inspire confidence in the FMC as an employer;² on the home front, confidence was also shaken, and despite the fact that an Assembly investigatory Committee cleared the FMC of any attempt to conceal relevant information,³ many within the Church remained unconvinced. The decision by Edinburgh Presbytery to destroy the sealed documents referring to the Pigot/Hastie Case in 1910⁴, seven years after Hastie's death, suggests that such misgivings were not entirely

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1. Macmillan, op.cit., pp.55,76.
 2. In August 1883, at the height of the controversy, Archibald Scott, of all people, made an appeal in the HFMR for clerical missionaries!
 3. Scotsman, 5 June 1886.
 4. Edinburgh CS Presb. Min., 7 December 1910.

misplaced. Dr Macmillan's comment on the Report given to the Assembly by the Commissioners sent to Calcutta would, with appropriate changes to names, have been equally applicable to the Blantyre situation:¹

It whitewashed everyone connected with the mission in Calcutta except Hastie and his friends.

In both Cases the FMC not only erred in its conduct, but compounded the error by trying, in equally inept fashion it would appear, to conceal this error by finding a scapegoat. On each occasion, the ploy backfired through the righteous refusal of Macdonald and Hastie to meekly accept the unjustified slur on their reputations. In March 1885, a contributor to the Home and Foreign Missionary Record summed up the two cases in the following optimistic manner:

Our Mission troubles have been the means of casting out in some measure the spirit of apathy which had widely prevailed in the Church at home regarding Missions to the heathen abroad.

It could not be accurately claimed, however, that any such change was a credit to the FMC or, indeed, that a renewed interest in its doings was an unmixed blessing. In rejecting by the narrowest of margins -13 votes to 11- the proposal that the annual Missions Sunday for 1883 should be delayed pending further enquiries into the Calcutta Case, Glasgow Church of Scotland Presbytery² demonstrated the crisis of confidence through which the

1. Macmillan, op.cit., p.170.

2. Glasgow CS Presb. Min., 7 November 1883.

Church was passing; the events of the later 1880's and 1890's, though relatively calm and uncontroversial, did nothing to restore faith, nor could the FMC realistically have expected them to do so.

APPENDIX C.PERTH PRESBYTERIAL CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE FMC'S.

The 400+ FMC Letterbooks of the various Presbyterian Churches, held in the National Library of Scotland, provide an invaluable source of information for mission historians. They contain a wealth of detail concerning the kind of individuals who corresponded with the Committees, the frequency and duration of their interest, and the subjects which were discussed. This Appendix will tabulate the results obtained from an analysis of this correspondence within the bounds of one Presbytery, that of Perth. Unfortunately, the loss of entire sections of the Conveners' and Secretaries' Letterbooks¹ makes it very difficult to draw any direct comparisons between the Established and non-Established Churches. Enough remains, however, to allow some reasonably confident speculation on the major topics of discussion in the individual Churches, and on the fairly distinctive patterns which emerge from the Letterbooks. Although most of the letters are copies of those sent out from the Church Offices, the majority contain a clear enough résumé of the subject matter to enable the researcher to piece together the entire correspondence.

Perth was chosen as the focus for this research for a number of reasons. Unlike many other Presbyteries, the

1. A full list of extant Letterbooks can be found in the Scottish Foreign Missions Draft Catalogue, held in the NLS Mss. Department.

urban and rural congregations were fairly evenly balanced within Perth Presbytery, as was the distribution between lowland and highland areas.¹ Close enough to Edinburgh and Glasgow to maintain direct contact, Perth was often in the vanguard during periods of change within the Scottish Church. The Secession of the 1730's had its roots within the Presbytery. The evangelical revival of 1859-60 brought about the annual Perth Christian Conference, the oldest ecumenical gathering of its kind in Scotland. In foreign mission work, a similar pioneer label can be attached to the region. Alexander Duff, the first missionary of the Church of Scotland, was a native of the County and received much of his education in the city of Perth; the Congregational Associations which he initiated in the Free Church as an aid to foreign mission fund-raising had their first trials in Perthshire in 1858. Even the Established Church, so often left behind, set an example in Perth, which became the first Presbytery to undertake the support of a European missionary, in 1897.² Luckily, Perth combined all these features within a Presbytery which had a large enough population to ensure a representative cross-section of Scottish society, while remaining within manageable proportions. Finally, my own local geographical knowledge of the district proved to be invaluable in abstracting Perth correspondents from the indices of the Letterbooks, a task of some difficulty

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1. The Western part of the Presbytery bounds lies along the Highland fault line.
 2. CS FMC Minute, 6 July 1897.

since the compilers of these often gave incomplete or misleading addresses. Analysis of the data obtained will be split into two categories:- that pertaining to ordained ministers of Perth charges, and that concerned with lay correspondents. All figures in the Tables are percentages unless otherwise stated.

1. The Ministers.

TABLE I. Patterns of Service, c.1865-1929.

	<u>No. in sample</u>	<u>Ordained in Perth</u>	<u>Died/ret'd in Perth</u>	<u>Entire career in Perth</u>
CS ¹	62	55%	73%	37%
FC	53	68%	66%	42%
UP	50	70%	64%	50%
CS	33	55%	39%	12%
UF	50	46%	28%	8%

TABLE II. Correspondence between FMC's and Perth Ministers.

	<u>None</u>	<u>None in Perth</u>	<u>1 letter only</u>	<u>1+(one topic)</u>	<u>2-4 topics</u>	<u>5+ topics</u>
CS	56%	11%	6%	2%	18%	7%
FC	28%	15%	19%	-	19%	19%
UP	20%	6%	20%	6%	28%	20%
CS	49%	18%	12%	3%	18%	-
UF	44%	22%	8%	2%	18%	6%

From these two Tables it is clear that the differences between the Churches were considerably reduced after 1900, a pattern which has been noted in previous chapters of this work. It seems more profitable, therefore, to concentrate on the ministers ordained before 1900. It is

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1. The first set of CS figures refer to those ordained before 1900, and the second set (between those of the UP and UF Churches) to those ordained after 1900. The same format has been used to distinguish the laymen who first corresponded before/after 1900.

immediately apparent from both Tables that the Free and UP Churches were much more akin to one another than either one was to the Established Church. From Table I, it would seem as though Established clergy often came into the Presbytery to serve out the twilight years of their careers, while in the other denominations Perth was a favourite starting point for a clerical career. More important, ministers in the Free and UP Churches were more likely to spend their entire career in the one charge, thus ensuring a certain continuity of interest. Such trends are reflected in the figures in Table II, where the active role taken by UP ministers overshadows that of their colleagues in the other denominations. Not only did a greater percentage of UP ministers spend their entire working life in Perth, they also played a much more direct role in FMC affairs, with almost 50% of them taking a repeated interest in such matters. The subject matter of the correspondence is also indicative of the greater UP involvement in the essential factor in foreign missions, the recruitment of staff. In the other Churches (the UF included) from 3-11% of ministers wrote on the subject of missionary recruitment, in the form of testimonials, inquiries about qualifications, etc. In the UP sector, this category accounted for no less than 36% of the correspondents among the clergy of the Presbytery.

2. The Laymen.

During the period under review, the number of communicant members belonging to the various denominations within the bounds of Perth Presbytery was as follows:

1879	<u>CS</u>	<u>FC/UF</u>	<u>UP</u>
1879	9996	4562	3605
1891	10854	4937	3619
1902	12165	9823	
1910	13461	9489	
1928	13489	8818	

The number of gaps in the correspondence, caused by the loss or destruction of entire volumes, makes it impossible to directly compare the number of writers with the number of communicants, but these figures do offer a rough guide as to the extent of lay interest within the Presbyteries.

The numbers of correspondents are as follows:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of males</u>
CS	44	70%
FC	36	59%
UP	35	70%
CS	42	60%
UF	127	38%

From these figures it appears that less than 1% (1.5% in the UF case) of Church members had any communication with the FMC's. The Church of Scotland remained firmly male-dominated throughout the period, while the UF Church underwent a very marked reverse to become dominated by female correspondents, chiefly because of the long tradition of female involvement as collectors for the missionary schemes. Table III breaks down the frequency of correspondence by laymen exactly as Table II did for the clergymen.

TABLE III.

	<u>1 letter only</u>	<u>1+ (one topic)</u>	<u>2-4 topics</u>	<u>5+ topics</u>
CS	45%	16%	30%	9%
FC	36%	11%	45%	8%
UP	52%	24%	21%	3%
CS	50%	21%	26%	3%
UF	54%	16%	27%	3%

Once again, the patterns begin to merge after 1900, as the two Churches become less and less distinguishable. A comparison of Tables II and III also shows that the UP ministry managed to mobilise a greater proportion of members than did the Established and Free clergy, but UP members tended to be directly involved on fewer occasions than their counterparts in the other denominations (Vide. Table III, columns 3&4). There is a co-relation, however, between the subject matter discussed by ministers and laymen, and Table IV gives the corresponding figures for the percentage of writers who were directly concerned with missionary personnel, whether as relatives or recruiters.

TABLE IV.

	<u>Ministers</u>	<u>Laymen</u>
CS	3%	23%
FC	11%	14%
UP	36%	36%
CS	6%	33%
UF	10%	23%

As on the majority of previous occasions, the UP Church topped the list, in keeping with its reputation as the

most dynamic of the Churches with regard to Foreign Missions.

The last two Tables are concerned with the analysis of the standing and location of people who wrote to the FMC's. In order to keep this relatively simple, I broke the correspondents down into five groups. A sociologist might well disagree with these categories, but they have sufficient validity for the purposes of this study insofar as they allowed me to categorise individuals with an acceptable degree of accuracy. The categories employed are as follows:

- G. Gentry and tenant farmers.
- P. The Professions -law, teaching, medicine, etc.
- M. Retailers, manufacturers, managerial staff, clerks, and other non-manual workers.
- T. Tradesmen, including those who conducted 1-2 man businesses.
- W. Manual or semi-skilled workers.

Information about occupations was obtained from the annual Perth Directory, and where correspondents had no occupation listed, that of a father or husband was taken instead. Of those figures for whom no occupation could be thus entered, the majority were retired, widowed, or unmarried ladies.

TABLE V. % of lay correspondents in each category.

	<u>G.</u>	<u>P.</u>	<u>M.</u>	<u>T.</u>	<u>W.</u>	<u>Not traced.</u>
CS	9%	45%	14%	11%	-	21%
FC	6%	28%	30%	8%	3%	25%
UP	3%	40%	30%	9%	-	18%
CS	7%	43%	7%	10%	2%	31%
UF	2%	21%	28%	11%	4%	34%

From these figures it can be seen that the pattern was very much the same over all denominations. The Foreign Mission Movement, on this evidence, was most actively supported by the comfortable middle classes, most of whom took little more than a passing interest, if the Correspondence Tables are a fair representation.

As a cross-check on the class breakdown shown in Table V I also plotted the distribution of the addresses of correspondents, and the results of this are set out in Table VI.

TABLE VI.

	<u>1.</u> ¹	<u>2.</u>	<u>3.</u>	<u>4.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>6.</u>
CS	6%	9%	11%	3%	31%	40%
FC	23%	15%	15%	6%	26%	15%
UP	28%	14%	20%	3%	7%	28%
CS	5%	19%	12%	5%	26%	33%
UF	15%	7%	15%	12%	21%	30%

The figures in Column 6, giving the percentages who lived outwith the city boundaries, show the Established Church to have been more active in these landward areas. This

1. The key to this distribution is as follows:- 1./
1. Balhousie 2. Craigie 3. Kinnoull 4. Glasgow Road/
7 Cherrybank 5. Town Centre 6. Rural areas.

probably stemmed from the fact that Perthshire was very much a squirearchy -and still is to a certain extent- and farm labourers, tradesmen, and merchants had all been reluctant to offend the local gentry by leaving the Established Church during any of the Disruption periods. In addition to this, the most active foreign mission supporters among the Church of Scotland clergy in the Presbytery were Walter Tait (St Madoes, 1856-1903), Robert Couper (Errol, 1900-14), and K.D. McLaren (Errol, 1914-38) -all ministers of country charges.

Returning to the town, the distribution is even more intriguing. The figures in column 5, referring to the town centre, include the offices of lawyers or merchants who had business dealings with the FMC's (missionary insurance, legacies to the Committees, the sale of missionary publications, etc.). Column 5 also includes the majority of tradesmen and workers as designated in Table V. The most informative addresses of those tabulated are to be found in columns 1-4. In the late 19th Century, the city of Edinburgh began to expand westwards with the erection of villas in areas like Murrayfield, a move described in the following fashion by one researcher:¹

...the wealthier citizens began to invade Ravelston Ridge and the slopes of Corstorphine Hill.

1. G.Gordon, The Status Areas of Edinburgh: A Historical Analysis (Edin. PhD, 1971), p.94. The status conferred by owning a house overlooking the community is vividly described in Douglas's The House With Green Shutters.

Late 19th Century Perth expanded in a very similar manner, using the hills of Craigie(^usoth-west), Cherrybank(west), and Kinnoull(north-east). The fourth area of expansion was in the Balhousie area, along the fringes of the North Inch and the River Tay. The progress of such middle-class expansion can be demonstrated and charted by referring to the provision of postal facilities in the city. The Balhousie development was initiated in 1876 by one of Perth's most prominent businessmen, Robert (later Sir Robert) Pullar, who erected two villas in Balhousie street.¹ By 1879, the GPO had erected a new wall box for mail collection on the corner of Barossa Place and Balhousie Street(at the 'town' end of the street):²

...in response to a largely signed memorial got up by the residents in the rapidly-increasing suburb of Balhousie.

Not to be outdone, the residents of High Craigie made a similar and successful demand in 1884, shortly after expansion began in earnest in that part of the town.³ It was this same dynamic and prosperous section of society that provided a large number of FMC correspondents, especially in the Free and UP Churches. With almost one-third of correspondents resident in the area, the UP Church could have dubbed Balhousie Street as the Clapham of Perth with tolerable accuracy.

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1. Perthshire Courier, 16 May 1876.
 2. ibid., 7 October 1879.
 3. ibid., 27 May 1884.

Although the figures cannot reflect it, the majority of those classified in columns 1-4 lived in substantial villas, many of which stood in their own extensive grounds. The preponderance of these correspondents lived in the most select areas of town and very often had one or more of the town clergy in close residence, particularly in the Balhousie and Kinnoull areas, the latter of which contains the aptly-named Manse Road. Even where ministers did not personally correspond with the FMC's, they may have conceivably have encouraged their neighbours to do so.

Conclusions.

In order to fully understand the Foreign Mission enterprise at the grass-roots level, much remains to be done. This Appendix is useful as an indication of the elements involved, but it is only a preliminary study, with a number of major failings. One of the principal requirements is a study of one or more other areas in order to test the validity of Perth as a microcosm of Scotland.¹ Secondly, there is need of a study of interest on a congregational basis. Many correspondents wrote in their official capacities as Session Clerks or Treasurers, but there is not enough information in the letters alone to allocate correspondents to the several congregations. In the case of Perth North UP/UF, all five ministers who

1. The numbers in each sample taken are small enough to warrant extreme caution against basing findings too firmly upon them.

served between 1877 and 1929 corresponded with the Committee, as did at least twenty lay members, and there appears to be a direct link between clerical enthusiasm and lay response. Thirdly, more work could be done in analysing the contents of the letters, and classifying the subject matter.

Giving due attention to these gaps, it still appears as though the data obtained largely confirms and elaborates impressions gained from other sources. The correspondents exhibit all the signs of a gathered group within the Church, composed of the most articulate members. The correspondence files may give a slightly distorted picture in that many humble and faithful workers receive no mention in their pages, but it can be argued that these were not the policy-makers at any time. The FMC's, insofar as they were responsive to public opinion, were responsive to the views of those men and women who did write to them, and changing attitudes may be detected in the phrasing and explanations of many of the letters written on behalf of the FMC's. Finally, this study reinforces the conclusions of previous chapters, namely that all three Churches attracted roughly equal proportions of the various social and economic groupings, and the varying degrees of success can once more be attributed to the differing degrees of application and organisation which were displayed. If the UP Church was demonstrably more responsive than the other denominations,

it was only because its clergy and people devoted more time and effort to the task facing them.

APPENDIX D.WORLD WAR ONE AND THE SCOTTISH MISSIONS.

The cataclysmic events of 1914-18, which virtually destroyed the world-wide pre-eminence of Europe, had profound and lasting influences on the social, political, and economic structures of Britain. The conflict, in the eyes of many observers, also destroyed the credibility of Western civilisation, which had been so confidently extolled to the peoples of Africa and Asia.¹ Christian Missions, as one of the most eager exponents of these Western values, was obviously to be radically affected in the 1920's by the changing situations and attitudes in the mission fields. It is not, perhaps, quite so readily recognised that the War shocked many within Britain into a reappraisal of the missionary movement, a reappraisal which had both immediate and long-term effects. This study is concerned with three major topics which emerged in Scotland during and after the conflict -the impact on missionary staffing, the development of global awareness, and changing attitudes towards German Protestant Missions.

As early as 18 May 1915, a Scotsman editorial put

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1. Within days of the outbreak of the War, one Scottish Church spokesman wrote:

Christendom has been endeavouring to Christianize the heathen, but heathendom might reasonably turn and tell us first to Christianize ourselves.

-UF MR, September 1914. An illustration of African reactions to the conflict may be found in a letter written by John Chilembwe, leader of the abortive Nyasaland Rising of 1915. G.A. Shepperson & T. Price, Independent African (Edin. 1958), pp.234-5. Vide. ibid., pp.229-30 for other African reactions in Nyasaland.

forward the theory that the War might lead to the long-awaited spiritual resurrection of the Scottish Churches. Within the year, Life and Work was hopefully anticipating a marked increase in missionary candidates in the post-war years, with an influx of men unable to settle to the old routine after the Great War ended.¹ This hypothesis was never tested, for the opening of the Somme offensive in July revealed the full horrors of modern warfare in a fashion so devastating that men soon came to talk of 'the lost generation'. Hopes and expectations were, almost overnight, turned into might-have-beens. Among missionaries serving in 1914, direct casualties were surprisingly low. Two UF missionaries, A.C. Grant (Rajputana, 1911-15) and P.S. Kirkwood (Livingstonia, 1906-18), were killed in submarine attacks while returning to Britain on furlough; in the Church of Scotland the Rev. R.H. Napier (Blantyre, 1909-18) died while on patrol in Portuguese East Africa, the only missionary who did so while on active service. Indirectly the War had a much greater effect, and death through prolonged overwork caused by staff shortages was not unknown. The best-known example of this was Dr Hitchcock of Calabar (1911-18), immortalised by W.P. Livingstone.

If the War deprived the Churches of the services of some current and potential missionaries, it also compelled a number of replacements. R.B. Knox (CS, Tibet, 1928-41)

1. CS L&W, March 1916.

vowed to become a missionary while lying wounded on a battlefield in France;¹ J.C. Mackenzie (UF, Bengal, 1919-21) had first visited the Rajputana Mission while recovering from wounds received during service in Mesopotamia;² Alison Morrison (UF, Gold Coast, 1926-30), daughter of the minister of Glasgow Wellington, a famous 'missionary' congregation, went to Africa in 1926 in place of a brother who had died in the War before he could realise his intention of serving as a missionary.³ The net result of these gains and losses apparently balanced out, and the recruitment figures for the Churches before and after the War show no significant variations. If the Churches made no great leap forward after 1918, neither did they suffer any major retrograde step. In November 1929, the UF Record suggested that the current shortage of female candidates stemmed from the fact that many potential missionaries felt that they had a duty to remain with war-widowed mothers. In view of the regularity of missionary recruitment figures throughout the 20th Century, this appears to be one more in the catalogue of excuses, rather than a valid explanation for the Church's inability to attract staff.

For many years it has been customary for denigrators of missions to claim that these have generally been the lackeys of Imperialism, an accusation hotly denied by

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1. L&W, July 1963.
 2. UF FMC Minute, 20 December 1921.
 3. UF MR, November 1926.

missionary apologists. During the First World War this link was deliberately cultivated by Scottish missionary spokesmen as a means to maintain interest in their work. In October 1914 the Women's Missionary Magazine of the UF Church carried a lengthy article on the War in which it was argued that the support given to Britain by Asia, Africa, and Islam strengthened the Church's obligation to continue missionary work.¹ The article also emphasised the close interaction of Missions and Empire in this instance:

Every (missionary) sale of work needlessly abandoned this winter is a failure towards Christ and a failure towards Imperial responsibility.

The following year, this theme was further developed by the Rev. A.B.Wann, a Church of Scotland missionary in India from 1887 to 1909:²

People are being awakened to the real facts of life in India and Africa and all other places where men are dying in battle and empires are contending for mastery; and it is felt that missionaries have something to say.

In October 1916 this growing relationship between Mission and Empire was re-iterated, probably unconsciously, in a Life and Work leading article which described Scottish munitions workers as 'missionaries of Empire'.³ The post-war publication of The Army and Religion(1919), an

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1. This statement was widely circulated, and extracts were reprinted in congregational magazines. vide. Perth North UF Congregational Record, November 1914.
 2. CS L&W, September 1915.
 3. This exhortation came at a time when Clydeside socialists were engaged in trying to disrupt the munitions work carried out there.

interdenominational study edited by the Rev. D.S. Cairns of the UF Church, confirmed that the War had taught men to think of Foreign Missions as part and parcel of an integrated movement for the uplifting of humanity.¹ In the ensuing years Churchmen continued to promote this partnership between Missions and Empire as part of their attempt to foster the work. As one correspondent noted, there was a growing feeling that the Foreign should be dropped from the title of the work, for the black men among whom the labour was undertaken were truly Britons who had fought for the Empire.²

If the War helped to boost interest in Missions, it must also be said that missionaries helped to confirm or restore a faith in Empire. The Scotsman report on the UF FMC Report for 1915 contained the following comment, taken from a letter by an unnamed missionary, described as 'well entitled to speak':³

I do not think there will be any difficulty in letting the natives see that we have taken the Christian part in this conflict.

During the course of the War, missionaries continued to press this claim, and a number of W.P. Livingstone's biographies dating from this period stressed this very point with regard to their subjects.⁴ Coming as they did from men and women of some repute and an extra-parochial

1. The Army and Religion, pp.178-82,413.

2. CS L&W, May 1927.

3. This extract was taken verbatim from the first paragraph of the FMC Report.

4. Vide., e.g., Mary Slessor, p.333 and Christina Forsyth, p.210.

awareness, these statements were an invaluable propaganda aid in support of a war which numerous radicals within Scotland regarded as an imperialist capitalist fight directly opposed to the interests of the working classes throughout Europe.

On the debit side, this chauvinistic attitude on the part of the missionaries proved to be permanently damaging to their long-term relations with their Protestant brethren from Germany. Concern over the prospect of a European War had been expressed in a UF Record editorial in May 1913, when the author pointed out that this would hamper the work of Britain and Germany, the two leading missionary peoples in Europe. Even in October 1914, however, Scottish missionary leaders were optimistic that the disruption to their work would be minimal. An article in Life and Work stated that one consoling feature of the situation was the fact that:

In unselfish labour on behalf of less advanced peoples, Germans and Britons are not enemies but fellow-workers.

In this same issue, the Rev. J.N. Ogilvie endorsed this view, thus lending it the full weight of authority of the FMC Convener.

By 1916 a new attitude was emerging, stirred up by comments from men serving in the field, such as James Reid, General Agent in the Blantyre Mission from 1892 to 1932. At a missionary breakfast held during the Assembly

week Reid made the astonishing statement, apropos of the East African field, that 'wherever Germans were their baneful influence had been at work'.¹ Reid's ire was probably aroused by the belief, common at this time, that the Germans had provoked the Chilembwe Rising in Nyasaland in 1915, an event which had led to unjustified criticism of the Blantyre Mission by the civil authorities.²

Special circumstances apart, Reid's outburst was symptomatic of a new hard-line attitude with regard to German Missions. The 1917 FMC Reports discussed the possibilities of taking over the German Missions in Tanganyika,³ and on the Gold Coast these plans had assumed the mantle of a Holy Crusade. In a reversal of his previous statements J.N. Ogilvie, whose voice carried added authority in this his Moderatorial year, argued that to return the East African fields to Germany after the War would be a real calamity. In words cruelly unfair to the former missionaries, he claimed that they now knew what German methods were, having witnessed them in Belgium, Serbia, and Russia.⁴

The Assemblies of 1919, after the signing of the Armistice in November 1918, saw the debate continued in

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1. Scotsman, 2 June 1916.
 2. Vide. Shepperson & Price, op.cit., pp.255-8 for an evaluation of this belief. A number of German prisoners of war actually assisted in putting down the Rising.
 3. For the effects in Africa, vide. Groves, op.cit., Vol. IV, pp.9-57, and, from a German viewpoint, M.Wright, German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891-1941 (Oxford 1971), pp.137-58.
 4. Scotsman, 24 May 1918.

fuller and more heated fashion, with some sharp divisions of opinion becoming apparent. In the Established Assembly Ogilvie made somewhat belated conciliatory noises with the statement that in their sector of the former German field in Tanganyika:¹

...they had got to see that Scotland could do as well in mission work as ever Berlin did.

In this statement, which he repeated almost verbatim in 1920,² Ogilvie was tacitly admitting that German missionaries had set the standard to aim for, a far cry from his inflammatory words of 1918. In the UF Church tempers did not cool so easily, and the Scots were treated to the unedifying spectacle of Scottish missionaries openly contradicting one another. The controversy began on 10 April 1919 with the publication of a letter from the Rev. J.H. Maclean (FC/UF, Madras, 1895-1939) in the Scotsman. Maclean, who was careful to add that he was neither pacifist nor a German, testified that the German missionaries in India had been loyal to Britain during the War years.³ This testimonial was challenged by Reginald Wilson, Secretary of the British Empire Union, and in the correspondence which followed it became clear that opposition to the Basel Mission had primarily come from the Madras Chamber of Commerce, which looked on it as a

1. Scotsman, 23 May 1919.

2. ibid., 21 May 1920.

3. As proof of this, the CS Kalimpong Homes in N-E. India continued to receive contributions from German missionaries, prompting the Honorary Treasurer in Scotland to exclaim '-good for an "alien"!'. NLS Ms.6039, Box 9, J. Paterson to Rev. J.A. Graham, 1 April 1915.

trading rival.¹ The extent of racist feeling within the UF Church only became fully apparent during the debate on Foreign Missions in the Assembly.² The Rev. Adam Andrew (FC/UF, Madras, 1879-1916) directly contradicted his erstwhile colleague Maclean in claiming that the Germans in India had been Germans first and missionaries afterwards. Andrew had been invalided home to Britain in late 1915 or early 1916 and it may be queried, therefore, whether his opinion was as valid as Maclean's. It did, however, suit the prevailing mood of the Assembly, where the Rev. G.R. Robertson of Tranent gained only twenty supporters for his proposal to restore the German Missions.

A more cautionary note was struck by the Rev. W.H. Hamilton of Logie and Gauldry, in a letter published in the Scotsman on 26 May. Lamenting the continuation of hostile feeling, Hamilton also pointed out that the Scottish Churches lacked the resources to adequately man even their own stations, and cited the death of Hitchcock as an example. By 1920 this latter view was gathering support, largely through necessity, and the Rev. J.W. Findlay of Manchuria successfully proposed that German missionaries should be allowed back into China.³ The restoration proceeded slowly, and as late as 1925 there were many Churchmen who still had serious reservations

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1. Vide. Scotsman correspondence, 19, 24 & 28 April and 5 May 1919.
 2. ibid., 23 May 1919.
 3. ibid., 27 May 1920.

about allowing the Germans to return.¹ The basic folly of the dispute can be seen in Marcia Wright's concluding sentence to her chapter on 'War and the Scottish Interlude':²

Yet the Scots, with basically similar religious values, responded very much as had the Germans to the character and needs of the situation in the Southern Highlands.

The War did not disrupt the home work of the Foreign Mission enterprise as much as might have been feared or expected. For the FMC's it was very much a case of 'Business as Usual', aided by prompt and clever propaganda, as demonstrated during the meeting of Perth and Stirling Established Synod on 15 October 1914. A Resolution was framed, to be read in all pulpits, to remind Church members that missionary schemes must not be neglected. In support of this contention the Synod cited the loyal and speedy response of India to the Imperial summons. The emphasis on this relationship helped to maintain a flow of cash and recruits both during and after the War, but there was a price to pay. When the nationalist fervour died down, many at home as well as in the mission field began to question the validity of a religion in which both combatants had claimed to have God on their side;³ the concept of a

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1. Vide Scotsman Reports of the FMC debates, 22 May 1925.
 2. Wright, op.cit., p.158.
 3. For a dramatisation of the hypocrisy this involved vide. The Keys of the Kingdom, in which French and German nuns indulged in bitter accusation and counter-accusation.

unified missionary effort, which had been greeted with great enthusiasm at Edinburgh in 1910, received a severe setback. The Scottish Churches did not lose any of their gathered support, although the inflation of the War years did limit contributions from the large number of subscribers who existed on fixed incomes.¹ At the same time, the hypocritical conduct of the Churches during the War years and the early 1920's did nothing at all to broaden the basis of their appeal, or to embrace the multitudes whom Cairns' Enquiry had claimed were eager to take some part in the cause.

1. Vide. NLS Acc.6039, Kalimpong Papers, Box 9. J.Cornwall to J.A.Graham, letter dated 23 May 1918.

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In compiling this biography I have classified the sources used along guide-lines arrived at after discussion with Dr A.C. Ross. Traditionally, all manuscripts have been listed as primary sources, along with official documents, while all printed books have been lumped together as secondary sources. The distribution employed here is an attempt to escape the rigidity of this approach and give a clearer picture of the way in which I used the diverse materials catalogued here. As a rough rule of thumb, those materials which I regarded as interpreting events through contemporary eyes have been included in the primary sources. This covers the majority of books published before 1930, particularly those written from a propagandist standpoint i.e., the bulk of missionary biography, and most of the denominational histories. Where a book was used only to obtain historical or factual data it has been included in the list of secondary sources. In some cases, such as McFarlan's Calabar, the decision has been a marginal one. Ultimately, the choice has been a purely personal one, dependent on my own interpretation of how I used particular sources, and I can only ask the readers' indulgence for any apparent discrepancies.

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7. Fiction.

After some hesitation, I have included Scottish fiction of the 19th and early 20th Centuries as a primary source. Most of the authors consulted have been mentioned in the course of the text, especially in Chapter Eight, although I have not given an exhaustive list of the novels which I read. It seems to me to be valid to cite these works as a primary source where they give dramatic expression to aspects of Scottish society which can be corroborated from non-fiction. The Kailyarders and others appear to meet this criterion with regard to their depiction of the religious life of Scotland. For reasons of space and time a full list of the novels used has been omitted. vide. my comment on the IRM at the top of this page.

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