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THE LIFE AND WORK OF

JAMES ALEXANDER HALDANE

Presented in the Field of Church History
to the New College
University of Edinburgh

In Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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PREFACE

Never before in the past century has there been such an active interest in evangelism, not only in the English speaking countries but on the Continent and in some sections of the Far East. Over ten of the leading graduate schools of theology in the United States are in the process of establishing or enlarging their departments of evangelism. One item conspicuous by its absence is the lack of material in the field of church history covering the subject of evangelism. These schools are handicapped at the very outset by a lack of research in this field.

The following thesis is a study of the life and work of the one man who, above all others, led the way in establishing evangelism as a legitimate and necessary means of propagating the Gospel in Scotland. This work is neither an apology nor a vindication of this phase of church history. It is the product of research- diversified occurances and facts- presented in narrative form.

The delineation of the material requires more than a critical spirit; it is imperative that one possess a sympathetic understanding to see, in its proper perspective, the contribution of James Haldane to the improvement

of the religious life of Scotland. The subject was marred by the defects caused by the taints of the times. He was dubbed narrow, purist, fanatic. We, however, would say after over a century has tried his works that he was a man of strong conviction, a Christian idealist, a man upon whom the spiritual destitution of the nation and the world lay heavy.

His accomplished work was, and is his best vindication. He possessed no great outstanding talents or any special privileges but he was a man who believed that he had a mission to fulfil in Scotland and a message for its people. He had a passion for souls; the sincerity of which can be measured by what he suffered and what he sacrificed for the sake of proclaiming the Gospel.

James Haldane was the father of modern evangelism in Scotland and the greatest evangelist this country has produced. His deep insight into the motives and methods of evangelism placed him a century and a half in advance of his times. The methods which he set forth are more advanced and more comprehensive in some respects than any system of evangelism in use today.

One evangelical denomination in the United States has adopted three of his four basic principles which brought a weekly influx of over five thousand new

converts for the past ten years and seven thousand a week for the year 1954 bringing the year's total to approximately four hundred thousand. The present research in this phase of church history is designed to bring to light the amazing work of this outstanding man for the ultimate purpose of improving methods in use in modern day evangelism.

The scarcity of original material makes his work an excellent subject of research. This sparseness is attributed to the strength of the Moderate controlled Established Church in an age when any kind of evangelism was considered intellectual imbecility. Even such notable revivals as that under Stewart in the parish of Moulin did not appear on the Kirk Session Records.

> No history of Christianity can ever do justice to facts, which shall ignore or pass lightly by the labours of the Haldane brothers and their coadjutors in originating that spiritual revival which took place at the opening of the nineteenth century.[1]

> The life work of the Haldanes...is sufficient to commend their history to the study of every Christian.[2]

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[1]Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,082. Saturday February 15, 1851. p. 3. col. 3.

[2]Hanna, Essays by Ministers of the Free Church. p. 9.

> The Haldanes must be set down as the great pioneers of Evangelicalism in the early years of the nineteenth century. They have not had justice done them by ecclesiastical historians.[1]

> These men were signal blessings to Scotland and the world, they gave such a mighty impulse to Scotland and its Church, that the culminating point in their history may be called the dawn of the third Reformation.[2]

The punctuation used in the thesis is that prevalently in use in the United States today. The spelling is according to modern Scottish dictionaries with the exception of towns and islands which are spelled as they were in the time of James Haldane's ministry.

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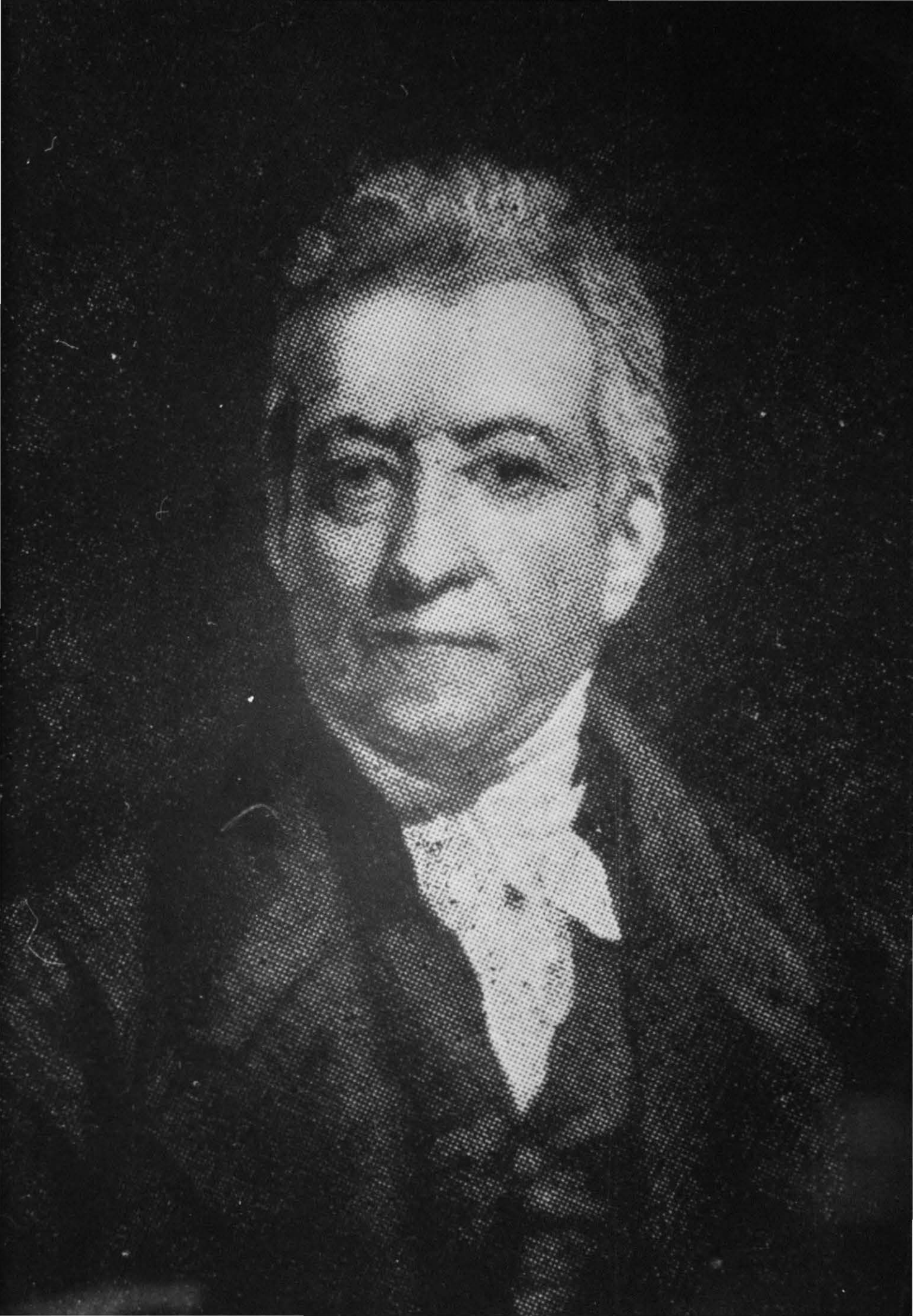
[1] MacPherson, Scotland's Battles for Spiritual Independence. p. 177.

[2] Matheson, The Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 116.



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CHAPTER ONE

EARLY YEARS AND FORMATIVE EXPERIENCE

James A. Haldane was the human origin of that great evangelical movement at the turn of the nineteenth century in Scotland which, according to the historian George Yuille, was consummated in the Disruption of 1843 and the greatest revival of Scottish church history which followed in 1859 and 1860.[1] There can be no doubt that he did a great and good work in his day and generation which had far reaching effects.[2]

He lifted evangelism from an obscure and scouted sect, confined almost exclusively to the lower orders of social and religious life and vindicated for it a place in the highest circles and most influential spheres in the land.[3] Fired with evangelistic fervour, he proclaimed the glad tidings of the Gospel "to the conversion of thousands."[4] His evangelistic ministry generated a spiritual movement which spread throughout the land

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[1]Yuille, George, History of Baptists in Scotland. Glasgow: Baptist Union Publications Committee. 1926. p. 237.

[2]Naismith, Robert, The Story of the Kirk. Edinburgh: Johnstone, Hunter and Co. 1865. p. 153.

[3]Walker, Norman L., Scottish Church History. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1882. p. 128.

[4]M'Crie, Thomas, The Story of the Scottish Church. London: Blackie and Son. 1875. p. 518.

to its extremities.[1] "From the Tweed to the Orkneys, Scotland was evangelised as it had never been before."[2]

James Alexander Haldane was born at Dundee on the fourteenth of July 1768 within a fortnight after his father's death.[3] He was named after his father Captain James Haldane and his maternal grandfather Alexander Duncan of Lundie.[4] Certain salient facts concerning his ancestry are important, though it would neither be possible in this limited space, nor consistent with our purpose to trace all the branches of his genealogical tree.

The Haldane family was of Norse rather than Anglo-Saxon origin: the family name has long been common in Denmark, dating back to the twelfth century.[5] On both his father's and his mother's side, they were indirectly descended from an ancient Stirlingshire family.[6] On

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[1] Yuille, History of Baptists in Scotland. p. 55.

[2] Ibid. p. 216.

[3] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. London: Blackie and Son. 1870. p. 190.

[4] Haldane, General Sir J. Aylmer L., The Haldanes of Gleneagles. London: William Blackwood and Sons. n.d. p. 212.

[5] Roger, Charles, The Scottish House of Roger. With Notes Respecting the Families of Playfair and Haldane of Bermony. Edinburgh: Printed for Private Circulation. 1875. p. 32.

[6] Haldane, Alexander, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of his Brother, James Alexander Haldane. Edinburgh: William P. Kennedy. 1860. p. 1. Care should be taken in regard to references to compare them with the seventh edition as page numbers vary.

minutely examining the genealogy as given by his biographer, it appears that James Haldane's uncle only purchased the estate of Gleneagles or Airthrey with a fortune which he had made in India; and that he was not one of the old stock of Haldanes. He was only connected by half-blood as his uncle's mother had been married to a Haldane.[1]

HALDANE was a surname derived from HALDENUS, a Dane who first possessed land in Scotland which was later named after him- Halden Rig.[2] The name was variously written: Haldan, Halden, Haldane, Hadden, Hauden or Hawden.[3] Geographical locations such as Haldan Hill near Exeter and Halden Rig near Kelso still bear the family name.

James Haldane, his father, the only son of Colonel James Haldane of the Royal Horse or the Second Regiment of Life Guards,[5] married his first cousin, Katherine, the daughter of Admiral Viscount Duncan of Lundie, and

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[1]Quarterly Review. Vol. 98. London: John Murray. March 1856. p. 381.

[2]Anderson, William, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. London: A. Fullarton and Company. 1868. p. 398.

[3]Laing Charters. Anderson, John, editor. Edinburgh: James Thin. 1899. p. 834.

[4]Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of his Brother, James Alexander Haldane. Herein after referred to as The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 1.

[5]Ibid., p. 6.

Helen Haldane, commonly called Lady Lundie. To this marriage three children were born: Robert, born in 1764, who inherited the family estate of Airthrey; Helen, born in 1765, who died in childhood; and James Alexander, who was his youngest and posthumous son.[1]

The father, Captain James Haldane, was commander of "The Duke of Albany," a ship of the East India Company, for many years,[2] and was on the eve of being elected a director of the East India Company when complications of an inflammatory sore throat led to his death in 1768 at the age of thirty-nine.[3]

He was reported to be a man of great wealth and very generally respected. He was also a man of high moral and religious standards: profanity was not tolerated among his men; and he was exceedingly careful of the moral discipline and the personal manners of those who sailed under him.[4] When asked of his hopes for eternity before his death, he replied, "I have full confidence in Jesus."[5] It was not only an echo of Paul's

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[1] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 9.

[2] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 142.

[3] The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. Edinburgh: Fullarton and Company. March 1851. p. 65.

[4] Beattie, James, Memoir of Robert Haldane, and James Alexander Haldane; With Sketches of Their Friends. New York: p. 12.

[5] Haldane, op. cit., p. 10.

words, "I am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him against that day,"[1] but it was indicative also of the simplicity and sincerity of his faith.[2]

Of the mother, Mrs. Katherine Duncan Haldane, much more is known. She was the daughter of Alexander Duncan of Lundie Castle near Dundee.[3] Her father was a distinguished supporter of the Protestant secession, and, as Provost of Dundee, did good service to the government during the rebellion of 1745.[4] She was a strong Christian; "She lived very near to God," said her eldest son, "and much grace was given to her."[5]

From their infancy her three children were taught to memorise and understand portions of the Shorter Catechism and the Scripture. It was apparent that her chief concern was to bring up her children "in the fear and admonition of the Lord."[6] She laboured earnestly to instill into their young minds the importance of

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[1] 2 Timothy 1:12.

[2] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 10.

[3] Kay, John, A Series of Original Portraits. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1872. p. 37.

[4] The Eclectic Review. Vol. 4. n.s. London: Ward and Company. September 1852. p. 343.

[5] Beattie, James, The Haldanes. A Lecture Delivered in Melbourne. Edinburgh: A. Elliot. 1880. p. 6.

[6] Ephesians 6:4.

eternity, prayer and a vital personal religion.[1] What she taught concerning sin and punishment made a deep impression on their minds. There was no inconsistency in her teachings and her life of practical godliness.

It was stated by James Haldane in the sermon preached after the funeral of his brother, that the latter mentioned on his deathbed that in childhood after their mother thought that the children were asleep, he often overheard her, on her knees by their bedside, in earnest prayer on their behalf.[2] She was no ordinary woman; long after her death the influence of her sincere fervent piety could be traced making itself felt in a powerful way in the lives of her children.[3]

This unusually strong religious influence could still be seen in later years when the boys were in High School in Edinburgh, when it was their custom after they had retired in the evening to talk together about those spiritual things to which their mother had attached so much importance.[4] Even when James Haldane was in the East India Company and least susceptible to the influence

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 11.

[2]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. London: Ward and Company. February 1851. p. 54.

[3]Landels, William, The Haldanes. Edinburgh: William P. Kennedy. 1857. p. 2.

[4]Haldane, op. cit., p. 19.

of the Gospel, he wrote, "The early impression made on my mind by her care was never entirely effaced: and to this, as an eminent means in the hand of God, I impute any serious thoughts which, in the midst of my folly, would sometimes intrude upon my mind."[1]

Katherine Duncan Haldane had survived her husband only six years when an illness similar to that of her husband's also cut her life short in 1774.[2] Her medical attendant, although himself an avowed unbeliever, declared that her deathbed was enough to make one in love with death.[3]

The children were placed under the guardianship of their maternal grandmother Lady Lundie, of Dundee, and their two uncles: one a military officer of high reputation--Colonel Alexander Duncan, of Dundee; and the other, the celebrated naval Commander, Admiral Viscount Duncan, the hero of Camperdown.[4] Under their care both boys received a far better education than was customary even

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[1] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 12.

[2] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. p. 192.

[3] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. February 1851. p. 54.

[4] Biographical Sketch of the Late J. A. Haldane, Esq., Reprinted from the Edinburgh Newspapers of February 15, 1851. With Additions. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1851. p. 4.

in the more respected classes of society.[1] Both uncles realised the value of a good education even more than the average Scottish gentry of the period. They not only had the advantage of good elementary school training at Dundee with its stimulus of competition, but the guidance of a superior Christian tutor at their home.[2]

Two events occurred in the succeeding two years which made deep impressions on their minds and affected them by a sense of the importance of the truths their mother had so earnestly inculcated. The first was the death of their sister in 1776; and the second was the death of their grandmother Lady Lundie, one of their guardians, in 1777.[3] Once more at this very early age as these two orphan boys attended two other funerals as they had attended their mother's, death and things of eternity became very real to them.

The two wards were sent in September of 1777 to the High School of Edinburgh where they were boarded with the Rector, the celebrated Dr. Adam, the author of the Roman Antiquities and other works.[4]

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[1] Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 14.

[2] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. February 1851. p. 54. This was the Rev. Dr. Fleming afterwards minister in Edinburgh.

[3] Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. p. 201.

[4] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 185.

When he started his schooling in Edinburgh, James Haldane was ridiculed for his reverence of sacred things. This ridicule soon began to tell in his life as can be seen in his recollections of that period.

> Till I was twelve years old I continued to pray, go to church, and read my Bible, or other good books, on the Sabbath, but it was only from a principle of duty, and was indeed only that kind of bodily exercise which profiteth little...I was well pleased if any slight illness, or anything occurred which seemed a sufficient excuse to myself for staying at home on the Lord's Day. Indeed, I hardly attended to one word I heard when at Church, but only made a form of joining in the different parts of worship...About that time, the text of Proverbs 26:12, 'Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit,' struck me a good deal. I had just been thinking that I was in the right road to heaven, but that text rather cast a damp upon my hopes, for it seemed to describe my character...From about thirteen to sixteen I became more careless, often spending the Sabbath evenings in idle conversation with my companions, and I was pleased to find my conscience become less and less scrupulous. I also began to swear, because, according to the fashion of the times, it seemed to be manly, and, except for a form of prayer which I still kept up, every serious idea seemed to have fled. Some things, however, occurred which led me back to a kind of decency. Some vexation I met with from a quarrel with some companions, caused me to pray to God, and I began again to read my Bible on the Sabbath, and completely gave up swearing for a season ...it certainly proceeded more from pride than from principle.[1]

Within two years he had made such scholastic

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. pp. 21, 22. These notes are taken from a paper written by J. A. Haldane in 1798 entitled "The Dealings of God with my Soul."

progress that he was advanced to the highest class with boys two years his senior and generally stood third highest in his class.[1] After leaving the High School in 1781, he matriculated in the University of Edinburgh. He attended the University for three years until he had completed his studies in Latin and Greek, and gone through the curriculum of logic, metaphysics, mathematics and natural philosophy.[2]

In 1783, Colonel Duncan took him on a visit to Gosport, near the Isle of Man, where he became acquainted with the famous Dr. Bogue to whose ministry he became ardently attached during his lengthy stay in Gosport. Dr. Bogue was a Scottish Presbyterian minister, educated for the Established Church, who settled in 1778 at Gosport where he continued to his death in 1825, as the minister of an Independent Church. He was one of the foremost men in the realm of Christian benevolence, the originator of the London Missionary Society in 1795, and for many years the president of a college for the training of young ministers.[3]

Almost a century later it was said of him that there was no man who could be named within the compass

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 18.

[2]Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 190.

[3]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 24.

of English Congregationalism who wields a greater influence than this distinguished divine.[1] Through his ministry and personal counselling, he had a great influence on James Haldane's early life.

For three generations the Haldane family had owned a major interest in the "Melville Castle" one of the East India Company's regular chartered ships.[2] At the age of seventeen James Haldane entered the service of the East India Company[3] as a midshipman on board the "Duke of Montrose."[4] The agreement was that as soon as he attained the age of twenty-five, Captain Dundas, then Captain of the "Melville Castle," should retire, and he would assume the command.[5]

Such a position virtually insured him a comfortable fortune and it also presented the possibility of rising to the post of a director of the East India Company. A tempting proposal also came from another source which would have likewise insured him a fortune. A close

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[1] Evangelical Repository, Vol. 3. No. 9. Eighth Series. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1885. p. 6.

[2] Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. p. 212.

[3] He entered the service of the East India Company not the Navy as several historians suggest. See: The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 65.

[4] Encyclopaedia Britannica. Ninth Edition. Vol. 11. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1880. p. 380.

[5] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 185.

friend of the family offered to take him into his bank with a view to a share in the business. This more than generous offer was declined for the "Duke of Montrose" and a two year voyage to Bombay and India.[1]

Prior to his sailing, he visited Dr. Bogue who furnished him with a valuable store of books which filled a large sea chest. Among these books were several religious works such as Doddridge's Rise and Progress. Considering Dr. Bogue's discriminating taste, it is little wonder that this seaman-preacher in later years appeared so well-read and well-informed. His love of general literature, which his previous education had imparted, made him spend all his leisure time in study of the best authors.[2] He was unconsciously training himself to become an able theologian, writer and preacher.

The influence of his fellow sailors was far from helpful, although he was able to maintain a highly exemplary conduct throughout his first voyage winning the approbation of his superiors.[3] Many events occurred during this first voyage which caused his thoughts to be turned to the more serious matters of life.

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[1] Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. pp. 212, 213.

[2] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2, p. 190.

[3] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 44.

During a storm, when it became necessary to take in sail, he was going aloft when he was ordered to wait for a more experienced seaman to take the lead. Moments later, this seaman who took his place was struck by the rigging, knocked overboard and drowned.

Haldane was impressed by the fact that this was the only sailor on board who possessed a vital Christianity and consequently the only one who was fully prepared for death. It was the general remark on the ship that it would be well if they were all fully prepared for death. In later life as he looked back over this period, he felt that in numerous events his life had been providentially spared.[1]

The reading of Doddridge's Rise and Progress made him realise that all was not well with his life and brought forth resolutions to ameliorate certain conditions in his life, but his resolutions were soon forgotten.[2] Concerning this period he wrote,

> After going to sea, I went on much in the same way for about twelve months, having no more fear of God than others around me, excepting that I abstained from taking His name in vain, and that I read my Bible on the Sabbath, and still used a form of prayer.[3]

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[1] Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 399.

[2] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 46.

[3] Ibid., p. 45.

On his second voyage, which was aboard the "Phoenix," he spent nearly six months on shore in Calcutta. Although his moral principles were high, they were neither high enough nor strong enough to escape the contamination of the polluting atmosphere which surrounded him. Since he was a pleasant companion, his company was much sought after; he was thus exposed to the temptation of falling into the prevailing vices of the times. Within a short time, his life was a constant round of fashionable dissipation.[1]

Prior to his third voyage, he was unexpectedly appointed third officer of the "Foulis,"[2] but owing to unforeseen difficulties which detained him in Scotland, his place was filled and the "Foulis" sailed before he could reach London. This led him to think of an overruling Providence as the "Foulis" was never heard of again.[3]

James Haldane made a total of four voyages to Bengal, Bombay and China for the East India Company, the last one which lasted fifteen months as second officer on the

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[1] Beattie, The Haldanes. p. 11.

[2] He received the appointment from Sir Robert Preston. See: The Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,082. Saturday, February 15, 1851. p. 2. col. 7.

[3] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 185.

"Duke of Montrose."[1] When he sailed on this fourth voyage in 1792, he was twenty-three years old.[2] He was a distinguished officer, a skilled navigator and a good seaman in every sense of the word.

Because of unusual circumstances which existed on board the "Duke of Montrose," he was virtually in command of the ship. Whenever circumstances were difficult, the Captain admitted that he could not sleep in comfort unless he knew that James Haldane was on the deck. It was because of his skilled seamanship, and ability to make quick decisions that the "Duke of Montrose" was saved from breaking up on a rocky shore.[3]

The morality of seafaring men was exceedingly low. Profanity was looked upon as a gentlemanly accomplishment, duelling was very common, and convivial intemperance was almost universal.[4] "It was then considered a reproach to the hospitality of any ship which sent away a party sober."[5]

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[1]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 185.

[2]His biographer- his son- erroneously states that he was twenty-four, but later contradicts this.

[3]The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 67. The "Winterton" commanded by Captain Dundas of Dundas was wrecked in this same area under almost the same circumstances in 1792.

[4]Beattie, The Haldanes, p. 11.

[5]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 36.

During the return voyage from India, the "Hillsborough" was crowded with passengers among whom was a notorious captain of Dragoons who had been forced to leave the King's service in consequence of his temper and aptitude for brawls. This captain made himself very disagreeable to Haldane in an attempt to make him a party to a practical joke designed to provoke a man who lay sick on his cot. Heated words passed between them, with the result that at the first opportunity the captain publically insulted him, threw a glass of wine in his face and challenged him to a duel.[1]

Haldane consulted with a friend to determine the propriety of accepting the challenge. It was decided that since the captain was under the condemnation of his own regiment it was optional to accept or decline the challenge.

After the preliminaries were arranged, the party went ashore at St. Helena. They had only one case of pistols which belonged to Haldane's second, an officer who later served under Lord Nelson and commanded the Portuguese fleet-Admiral Donald Campbell. The two men met on the field of honour and were instructed to take twelve paces apart, to turn and fire together at a given signal.

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[1]Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. pp. 213, 214.

When the signal was given, James Haldane raised his pistol and with a strange inconsistency uttered a secret prayer, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." With this prayer in his heart, he calmly pulled the trigger only to have his pistol explode in his face. His face was only slightly cut, but the duel was terminated at the suggestion of the captain after his own pistol misfired.[1]

In later years he was instrumental in preventing several duels. His character was changed to the degree that on one occasion when he was the subject of rudeness, he said, "There was a time Sir, when I should have resented this impertinence, but I have since learned to overlook insults, as well as to forgive injuries."[2] His driving energies, his courage and determination remained but they were directed into a higher channel.[3]

His fourth voyage on the "Duke of Montrose" ended in June 1793 just a month before he reached the age of twenty-five. At this same date- the earliest period at which the rules of service permitted-[4] he passed the necessary examinations and was appointed Captain of the

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[1] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 190.

[2] Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. pp. 39, 40.

[3] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 58.

[4] Encyclopaedia Britannica. Ninth Edition. Vol. 11, p. 380.

"Melville Castle"[1] bound for Madras and Calcutta.[2]

In September 1793 he married Mary Joass,[3] the daughter of Major Alexander Joass,[4] Governor of Stirling Castle. The circumstance of his marriage[5] was calculated to foster a desire to remain at home; but the situation he held at that period was a sure road to fortune. This was more especially true because of the double support of his own and his wife's connections. The former, secured to him the patronage of Lord Melville, the

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[1] Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. Vol. 2. p. 37.

[2] Encyclopaedia Britannica. Ninth Edition. Vol. 11, p. 380.

[3] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. pp. 58, 59.

[4] The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club. Vol. 26. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable. p. 135.

[5] To this marriage nine children were born; James,(1) Alexander, Robert,(2) Elizabeth, Catherine, Henrietta, Mary, Margaret and Joseph. Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. p. 212.

(1) It was this son who later, as a landed proprietor, gave assistance to the evangelistic work of his day after his father's death. Smith, George, A Modern Apostle. London: John Murray. 1891. p. 124.

(2) Robert Haldane of Cloanden W. S., 1805-1877, was the father of the well known Viscount Haldane, 1856-1929, eminent statesman, one time War Secretary and then twice Lord Chancellor of England. Anderson, W. Pitcairn, Silence That Speaks. Edinburgh: Alexander Brunton, 1931. pp. 86, 107. Robert Haldane's youngest son was Sir William Stowell Haldane B. L. He was born in 1864; became a crown agent in 1905 and was knighted in 1912. The Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable. 1936. p. 180.

president of the Board of Control and the latter, the patronage of Sir Robert Abercromby, the Governor of Bombay and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in India.[1]

Mrs. Mary Haldane had been brought up in a Christian home and accustomed to the evangelical ministry of men such as Walter Buchanan, of Canongate,[2] and William Innes, of Stirling Castle.[3] She was shocked at her husband's disregard of the Lord's Day and his abandonment of public worship when they moved to London. His excuse was that they were out of bounds of the presbytery and under no obligation to countenance Prelatical worship. There was little time for serious thought amid the gaieties of the metropolis and the preparations for the voyage.[4]

The "Melville Castle" was scheduled to sail from Portsmouth in January 1794. James Haldane had

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[1]Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. Vol. 2. p. 38.

[2]Walter Buchanan: 1755-1832, translated to Canongate, Presbytery of Edinburgh in 1789, member of the Evangelical Party, D.D. Edinburgh, 1805. Scott, Hew, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol. 1. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915. p. 29.

[3]William Innes: 1770-1855, appointed Chaplain of Stirling Castle in 1793, adopted Independent views and resigned his charge in 1799. He became minister of the Elder Street Baptist Church, Edinburgh, D.D. Washington College, Penn., 1843. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol. 4. p. 325.

[4]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. pp. 20, 60.

arranged for his wife's transportation to return to Scotland and returned to his new command at Portsmouth. The expected sailing date was postponed because of the continuance of westerly winds and other circumstances which combined for their detention for a period which exceeded four months.[1]

The delay in sailing caused a restlessness among the men. A mutiny broke out on board the "Dutton" one of the thirty-six East India ships which was waiting to sail in a convoy with the "Melville Castle." When an attempt was made to rectify the situation, the mutineers seized control of the ship. The Captain of the "Dutton" left his ship to seek the assistance of the Admiral at Portsmouth.[2] Captain Haldane was informed of the mutiny and that the "Dutton's" Captain had fled his ship. On the "Dutton" shots were fired and blood was shed as the mutiny took on desperate proportions.

Haldane ordered out his own boat under the cover of night and at the height of the confusion went along side the "Dutton" in spite of the warnings of the mutineers that they would sink the first boat that came along side. Disregarding the menaced violence, he effected a skillful manoeuvre and swung aboard in the midst of the angry

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[1]Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. p. 215.

[2]Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 399.

mutineers and in a few minutes had restored the command of the ship to its officers and placed the ring-leaders of the mutiny in irons.[1] He was a man of dauntless courage, determination and utter devotion to duty.[2]

Religious reflections and compunctious visitings of conscience had been mysteriously intermingled with his career of pleasure and excitement.[3] The four month period of detention was filled with long periods of meditation as well as periods of self examination which revived the impressions of early religion which had been made by a godly mother's anxious care but which seemed to be well nigh effaced in the buoyancy of youth and the joyous exuberance of life and high spirit by which he was distinguished. It was in these quiet hours that there came upon him the cumulative effect of the incidents of his past life which were calculated to turn his thoughts and heart to the Saviour: the many times his life had been providentially spared; the publications which had warned that all was not well with his life; and the beneficial influence of his wife.

We perceive here some of the symptoms of the

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[1]The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 66.

[2]Grant, James, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh. Vol. 3. London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin and Company. 1883. p. 158.

[3]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 186.

of the approaching change and something of the inner struggle which was to continue for the greater part of a year before it was settled.[1] Instead of being careless and indifferent about religion as he had been, he then came to see that it was the "chief end of man."[2]

In a letter dated June 29, 1801, and written to the Captain of one of the ships with which he sailed, he described the events which transpired during this period.

> I never was acquainted with solid, rational happiness till my attention was turned to religion. My former merriment was really like the crackling of thorns under a pot. I was governed by passion and under such a guide no wonder I missed my road...My present peace of mind does not arise from any vision or supposed new revelation I have received. I had a book by me which from prejudice of education, and not from any rational conviction, I called the Word of God. I never so far surmounted the prejudice of education as to profess infidelity, but I was a more inconsistent character. I said I believed a book to be a revelation from God and treated it with the greatest neglect, living in direct contradiction to all its precepts, and seldom taking the trouble to look into it, or if I did, it was to perform a task- a kind of atonement for my sins. I went on thus till, having much time on my hands when the 'Melville Castle' lay at Mother Bank, I began to think I would pay a little more attention to the Book. The more I read, the more worthy it appeared of God; and after examining the evidence with which Christianity is supported, I

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[1] Landels, The Haldanes. p. 8.

[2] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 187.

became fully persuaded of its truth.[1]

Referring once again to his notes entitled, "Dealings of God With My Soul," he wrote,

> At length some impressions seemed to be made on my mind, that all was not right and knowing that the Lord's Supper was to be dispensed, I was desirous of being admitted, and went and spoke with Dr. Bogue on the subject. He put some books into my hand on the nature of the ordinance, which I read, and was more regular in prayer and attending public worship...However dark my mind still was, I have no doubt that God began a work of grace on my soul living on board the "Melville Castle"...There is no doubt that I had sinned against more light than many of my companions who had been cut off in their iniquities, and that I might justly have been made a monument of his wrath.[2]

He resolved that henceforth the influence he exerted on the men of his command would be for good; he decided that in the future he would institute a worship service for his men on the "Melville Castle."[3]

It was during this time- in early 1794-[4] that the idea of quitting the sea first came to him. His object was to live the quiet life of a country gentleman.[5]

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[1]The Scottish Congregational Magazine, Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 67.

[2]Ross, James, A History of Congregational Independency. Glasgow: James Lehose and Sons. 1900. p. 273.

[3]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 64.

[4]Anderson, The Silence that Speaks. p. 85.

[5]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 187.

Circumstances occurred which seemed to prohibit this but only two days before his ship sailed[1] he was able to sell his command for nine thousand pounds exclusive of the Captain's share in the property of the ship and stores which amounted to an additional six thousand pounds.[2]

> The cause of this is to be traced to his early religious education, which had more or less clung to him in his after-career, so that in all he had undergone and enjoyed, as well as all that he had hoped or feared, he had felt the contention of two hostile elements within him- he had been a man divided against himself, with an earnest longing that the spiritual should prevail, so that he might be renewed, he felt withal as if such an end could not be in his pursuits and occupations. Frequent conversations with the Rev. Dr. Bogue of Gosport confirmed him in his purpose.[3]

Early in the summer of 1794, he joined his wife in Scotland. They spent a short time in Stirling Castle, where her father was stationed, and then took a house in George Square, Edinburgh, where he became a student of theology in the best sense of the word.[4] They attended the Canongate Parish Church of which Walter Buchanan was the minister. Rev. Charles Simeon had said concerning him that he was a "Scottish minister, whom I

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[1] The "Melville Castle" was later wrecked on the Dymchurch Wall near Hythe with a loss of over four hundred and fifty lives.

[2] Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 400.

[3] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 190.

[4] Ibid., p. 191.

think it one of the greatest blessings of my life to have known."[1] They also became acquainted with the Rev. David Black,[2] of Lady Yester's Church and with the esteemed John Erskine,[3] of Old Greyfriars.[4] These men were largely responsible for the early spiritual instruction of Mr. and Mrs. James A. Haldane.[5]

As they lived in Edinburgh, James Haldane's mind became increasingly occupied with religious investigations as the inner struggle within him moved towards a climax. He wrote concerning this period,

> I was, however, sensible I had been a great sinner, but my views of God's mercy were such that I was under no great alarm.[6]

This statement can be attributed to the fact that his religious thought during this period was corrupted by certain Socinian tendencies which were so prevalent at that time. In reference to a remark made by a minister

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[1]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 47.

[2]David Black: 1762-1806, translated to Lady Yester's, Presbytery of Edinburgh in 1794, member of the Evangelical party. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol. 1. p. 82.

[3]John Erskine: of Carnock, 1721-1803, translated to Old Greyfriars, Presbytery of Edinburgh in 1767, for many years leader of the Evangelical Party in the General Assembly, a classical scholar of distinction. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol. 1. p. 47.

[4]Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. Vol. 2. p. 39.

[5]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 187.

[6]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 70.

in one of the Socinian controversies, he wrote,

> I shall never forget the earnestness with which he said, 'If I did not know my Saviour to be God, I should this night lie down in despair; the Scriptures could, in this case, convey no comfort to my mind.' The expression struck me much, and led me to compare my views of Christ with his. I compared the Scriptures which he and others quoted, and the result was a conviction that Jesus was indeed the Son of the living God. I took some opportunities of conversing with the person to whom I have alluded, and, being desirous of having my mind satisfied, and of submitting to the truth, I soon became more established in this fundamental and most important of all truths. Conversations I had with two pious ministers were also very useful to me.[1] They saw I was inquiring, that I was indeed desirous to know the truth... Fuller's[2] Comparison of Calvinism and Socinianism was peculiarly useful to me, not so much from the general argument, which is admirably conducted, as that it brought into my view that text in Job where he expresses self-loathing and abhorrence. I saw that my views of sin must be very inadequate, and I asked of God to teach me all He would have me to know...However erroneous my views were, my whole thoughts were engrossed about religion.[3]

Thus had his inner quest become a struggle for peace with God. He had faced the intellectual difficulties of the Socinianism of his day and had overcome them,

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[1]These were William Buchanan and David Black.

[2]Andrew Fuller of Kettering, England, a Baptist minister and theologian who with Carey, Ryland and others founded the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792 and remained its secretary until his death in 1812. Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 30.

[3]These notes were taken from his "Confession of Faith" on the occasion of his ordination.

but he had one more seemingly overwhelming difficulty to overcome. Much of his self righteousness was left behind as his struggle neared its end. He confessed,

> I read the Scriptures in a more child-like spirit, for hitherto I was often obliged to search for some interpretation of Scripture which would agree with my system...I saw now the freeness of the grace of the Gospel and the necessity of being born again, and was daily looking for satisfactory evidence of this change. My desire was set upon frames and feelings, instead of building on the sure foundation. I got no comfort in this way. Gradually becoming more dissatisfied with myself, being convinced especially of the sin of unbelief. I wearied myself with looking for some wonderful change to take place- some inward feeling, by which I might know that I was born again. The method of resting on the promises of God, which are the yea and amen in Jesus Christ, was too plain and easy, and, like Naaman the Syrian, instead of bathing in the Jordan and being clean, I would have some great work in my mind to substitute in place of Jesus Christ, but the Lord opened my eyes.[1]

The struggle had reached its climax, and with his dramatic decision to trust the finished work of Christ, it was over.[2] His conversion experience took place late in the year 1794. Such was the dynamic experience with

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[1]Notes from his "Confession of Faith" given on the occasion of his ordination.

[2]His conversion took place in Edinburgh, not in Motherhead as several historians suggest; for an example see: Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 400. According to Haldane's own words this experience was begun in Motherhead but not consummated until he reached Edinburgh. For a correct account, see: Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh. Vol. 3. p. 158.

Christ,[1] which needs to be seen in its fullest expression to comprehend the high place he gave it in his preaching. This emphasis in his preaching given to repentance and faith in a similar encounter with Christ was a new note in the preaching of his day and it was unquestionably the reason his message produced such tremendous results.

So pronounced was the change in his life that it had an influence upon his brother- Robert.[2] Before 1794 came to a close Robert Haldane had also accepted Christ as his Saviour. It is interesting to notice the latent effect of their early religious instruction especially on the life of the younger brother. He wrote concerning the period just prior to his conversion, "Many things were brought to my remembrance which I had learned when young, although they seemed wholly to have escaped."[3] It was to their mother's affectionate instructions, her Christ-like example and above all to her fervent prayers that both sons traced the basic influences which

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[1]To attempt to account for Mr. Haldane's altered character- altered at a given time and place- an alteration which proved itself permanent and uniform throughout life- to explain this phenomenon without having recourse to a supernatural principle, operating with power to the conversion of the heart, and the formation of a new character is to resort to an unphilosophical method of accounting for changes without assigning a sufficient cause.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 87.

[3]Ibid., p. 73.

ultimately led to their conversion.[1]

James Haldane shared his brother's new found belief that Christianity is either everything or it is nothing. Both brothers sought ways of promoting the spread of the Gospel. Records indicate that each contributed a sum of fifty pounds to the newly founded London Missionary Society in January of 1796.[2] They were not satisfied by giving alone, but they desired to go to India themselves as missionaries.[3]

James Haldane's desire to retire to the private life of a landed proprietor was frustrated when two efforts to purchase estates failed.[4] Instead, another interest soon gain pre-eminence; it was his interest in Christian work, inspired by the activity of certain devoted laymen with whom he had recently come in contact. Among these men were Mr. John Campbell[5] and Mr. John Aikman both of whom entered full-time Christian service at a later date.[6]

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[1]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. February 1851. p. 54.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. pp. 91, 92.

[3]Beattie, The Haldanes, pp. 16, 17.

[4]Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. p. 217.

[5]Actually Campbell had been a classmate of the Haldanes in high school. Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 192.

[6]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 187.

Mr. John Campbell was a well educated young man operating a small ironmonger's shop in the Grassmarket in Edinburgh. His Christian activity, however, came first. It was this devotion which led him to be regarded as a living model of a city missionary, a district visitor, a Scripture reader, a tract distributor, a Sabbath-school teacher and an organiser of Sabbath-schools.

At this time he was a Presbyterian and was just launching out in his Christian service. His place of business was a sort of port of call for missionaries and Christian workers and a clearing house for religious tracts and other Christian literature much of which he wrote and published himself.[1] In addition, he carried on an incredible amount of correspondence. So indefatigable were his labours for Christ that the Countess of Leven once styled him "one of the wonders of the world."

This was the man who was later to become a preacher, an author and a missionary traveller in the unexplored interior of Africa.[2] It was in Mr. Campbell's shop that Haldane first met Mr. John Aikman. At that time, Mr.

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[1] Mr. John Campbell began to publish religious tracts in 1789 and continued for several years before founding the Edinburgh Tract Society which preceded the formation of the London Religious Tract Society in 1799. Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 66.

[2] The Church of Scotland. Story, R. H., editor. Vol. 3. London: William MacKenzie. n.d. p. 745.

Aikman was a Presbyterian theological student preparing himself for the ministry.[1] He had good talents and a fine education being so well acquainted with several foreign languages that he was later able to preach to the French prisoners of war at the Castle of Edinburgh and at Greenlaw Barracks near Penicuik. For his excellent work he received commendations from the Secretary of State in the name of the Government.[2]

Such evangelical publications as the "Missionary Magazine" were exerting a great influence on evangelical circles. In this periodical many highly evangelistic books were reviewed, such as the supplement to Dr. John Gilles' Historical Collections by Dr. John Erskine.[3] The supplement brought up to date the excellent history of evangelistic work in Great Britain. Many articles appeared in this publication which must have had an influence on Haldane, articles under such titles as "The Importance of Spreading the Gospel at Home,"[4] and "A Plan for Spreading the Gospel at Home."[5]

The same zeal which had moved James and Robert

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[1] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 191.

[2] Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. Vol. 2. p. 40.

[3] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 9. February 20, 1797. p. 84.

[4] Ibid., Vol. 1. No. 6. p. 274.

[5] Ibid., Vol. 2. No. 9. February 17, 1797. p. 49.

Haldane to look to the foreign mission field was also at work in others in Scotland. A missionary society had been formed in Glasgow and another in Edinburgh. The universal respect held by John Erskine, its president, and Greville Ewing, its secretary, gave added weight to the latter society.[1] Other societies having the same object in view were formed in quick succession at Stirling, Kelso, Paisley, Greenock, Perth and Dundee. Some of these chose to act independently while others united with the London Missionary Society.[2]

Everywhere the evangelical churches within the Establishment were stirred for the cause of foreign missions. Overtures came from the Synods of Fife and Moray urging that the General Assembly should "take into consideration by what means the Church of Scotland might most effectually contribute to the diffusion of the Gospel over the world;" and that "an act might be passed recommending a general collection throughout the Church, to aid the several societies for propagating the Gospel among the heathen nations."[3]

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[1] The Church of Scotland. Story, R. H., editor. Vol. 3. p. 740.

[2] Missionary Magazine, Vol. 1. No. 2. August 1796. pp. 94, 95. The London Missionary Society had been formed just one year before in 1795. Evangelical Repository, Vol. 4. No. 14. Eighth Series. September 1885. p. 110.

[3] Hetherington, W. M., History of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: John Johnstone. 1842. pp. 693, 694.

Since James Haldane was so vitally interested in missions, he was present when it came up in the General Assembly and listened to the discussions with eager anticipation. The favourite argument of the Moderates against the overture was based on this question which they asked repeatedly, "Why send missionaries to foreign parts when there is so much ignorance at home?" One unspoken weakness in their argument was that they were just as much opposed to home missions as foreign missions.

Mr. Hamilton of Gladsmuir representing the Moderates spoke opposing missions on the ground that Paul did not preach to the barbarians but to the cultured Ephesians, Corinthians, and Athenians. From this assumption he concluded that the heathen must be civilised before they could be receptive to the Gospel.[1]

James Haldane often told of the effect produced by Dr. Erskine,[2] when, after Mr. Hamilton's speech, he came forward to the table and began his address in a broad Doric accent thrilling the Assembly by his first words,

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[1] Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 10. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 78.

[2] Bishop Warburton in writing to Dr. Erskine called the missionary debate "Paganised Christianity." The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 188. This was too harsh a censure but there is no question that the Assembly erred in their over cautious approach to the subject of missions. The Church of Scotland. Story, R. H., editor. Vol. 3. p. 74h.

"Moderator, Rax me that Beeble."[1] Erskine read the great commission, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." He followed this by reading the account of Paul's shipwreck when he preached to the barbarious people of Melita.[2]

The General Assembly dismissed the overture by a vote of fifty-eight to forty-four.[3] The narrow margin by which the overture was dismissed indicated the fact that there was a good amount of interest in the subject. This was further indicated by the circulation of the "Missionary Magazine;" during its first thirteen months of publication it averaged a monthly circulation of more than five thousand copies.[4]

Such a demonstration as Haldane witnessed in the General Assembly could hardly fail to rouse one with such ardent temperament and energetic spirit to make some effort to raise the standard of the Gospel at home.[5] Although many societies were exerting themselves sending men abroad, no effort was being made to reach men in

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[1]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 188.

[2]Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 10. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 78.

[3]Cunningham, John, The Church History of Scotland. Second Edition. Edinburgh: James Thin. 1882. p. 405. Also see: An Account of the Proceedings and Debate of The Assembly of the Church of Scotland. 27th May, 1796.

[4]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 47.

Scotland.[1] Since the door to their India mission enterprise was being closed by the East India Company, he felt that his place of service must surely be in Scotland.[2]

This was the period when Moderatism had reached its ascendency. Rationalism had been largely substituted for the Gospel. Many had turned from all signs of the old orthodoxy, such as the eminent and scientific Professor Playfair[3] to whose Moderate preaching James Haldane had listened as a boy when living with his grandmother Lady Lundie.[4]

Mr. Charles Simeon of King's College, Cambridge, was invited by Walter Buchanan to visit Scotland in the summer of 1796. His visit proved to be greatly beneficial to James Haldane's spiritual growth.[5] He accompanied Simeon on a three week preaching and sight-seeing tour of Scotland. Their tour took them from Airthrey down the valley of the Forth, along the southern side of the Ochil Hills, through Alloa, Dollar, Balgonie, St. Andrews,

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[1]The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No. 22. October 1819. p. 600.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 125.

[3]John Playfair: 1748-1819, ordained minister of the Parish Church at Benvie, Presbytery of Dundee, later occupied the Chair of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol. 5. p. 349.

[4]Haldane, op. cit., p. 121.

[5]Ibid. p. 126.

St. Madoes, Perth, and Dunkeld to Moulin.

In Moulin they visited briefly the Rev. Alexander Stewart, the minister of the Parish Church,[1] who "had been perviously earnest about his work from a sense of duty, but in himself coldly orthodox."[2] Their visit led to a revival in Mr. Stewart's soul. "It was no revival; I never was alive till then,"[3] so wrote Mr. Stewart to the Rev. David Black after their visit. Stewart recorded how, after showing the last of his guests to his room Mr. Haldane "opened up to me the great story of God's redeeming love."[4] Shortly after Stewart's conversion one of the most remarkable revivals[5] of the period took place in his parish and neighbourhood.[6]

They continued their tour through Taymouth, Killiecrankie, Inverary, Arroquhar, and Luss. From Luss, these

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[1]Mr. Alexander Stewart: 1764-1821, ordained minister of Moulin, Presbytery of Dunkeld in 1786, translated to Dingwall in 1805 and Canongate in 1820, a Gaelic scholar and a member of the Evangelical party. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol. 4. p. 169.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 129.

[3]Sievewright, James, Memoirs of the Late Rev. Alexander Stewart. Second Edition, Edinburgh: William Oliphant. 1822. p. 109.

[4]Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 12. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 268.

[5]Stewart, Alexander, An Account of a Late Revival of Religion in a Part of the Highlands of Scotland in a Letter to the Rev. David Black, Minister of Lady Yester's Church. Edinburgh: Ogle and Aikman. 1800. p. 1.

[6]See page 196.

two travellers climbed to the top of lofty Ben Lomond and there knelt together in prayer and dedicated themselves afresh to God.[1] It was as a result of this experience that an even holier impulse than the foreign mission debate was communicated to James Haldane to engage in Christian service in Scotland instead of India.[2]

They completed their tour returning through Glasgow and New Lanark to Edinburgh.[3] Simeon's account of the tour indicated that James Haldane's progress in his spiritual growth had been both rapid and decisive.[4]

The "Missionary Magazine" was intended as an advocate for foreign missions but it was employed to promote home missions as well. It printed information supplied by correspondents regarding the low state of religion at home. This greatly deepened the conviction of many Christians that the ordinary religious agencies in connection with the churches were quite inadequate to meet the spiritual needs of the people.[5]

Early in 1797, John Campbell began to set up Sabbath

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[1]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 188.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 126.

[3]Ibid., p. 132.

[4]Ibid., p. 136. Also see: Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 47.

[5]Matheson, A Memoir of Greville Ewing. pp. 162, 163.

schools in and around Edinburgh. There, he formed a Society completely independent of clerical superintendence, for the organisation of Sabbath-schools in destitute communities. Within six months after the formation of the Society thirty-four Sabbath-schools had been established in and around Edinburgh.[1] These schools were intended at little expense, as no salaries were given, to diffuse the Gospel and give a place of service to private Christians.[2]

In addition to the teacher two members of the Society[3] were appointed to attend each school to assist in the devotional exercises. On alternative Sundays, each one gave an address to the children and parents. Children from eight years upwards were accepted.[4] The sole object was religious instruction. Each school met from six to eight o'clock on Sunday evenings. The boys sat on one side of the room with the girls on the other with the youngest sitting nearest to the teacher.

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[1]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 48.

[2]Kinniburgh, Robert, Unpublished Manuscripts. Section 1, p. 10.

[3]The secretary of the Society in Edinburgh was Mr. Alexander Johnstone, a glazier, located in the Grassmarket, Edinburgh.

[4]There were no maximum age restrictions and many adults attended the meetings according to the Report on The Laing MSS., Historical Manuscripts Commission. Vol. 2. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1925. p. 644.

The school was limited to sixty unless it was not possible to open another school in the same district. Prayers were limited to five or six minutes. The children were taught to memorize as much Scripture as possible. This was supplemented by a school on Sunday mornings for the purpose of improving the children's ability to read the Scriptures.

James Haldane, seeing the usefulness of these schools, planned to extend them throughout the north of Scotland. First, however, he toured the west of Scotland accompanying Mr. John Campbell for the same purpose. They distributed many thousands of tracts during their journey[1] and set up the new Societies to form Sabbath-schools, in Glasgow, Paisley and Greenock.[2] They conferred with ministers of different denominations about the feasibility of the Sabbath-schools and met with no strenuous objections. As a result of this tour sixty schools were established within a three-month period.[3]

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[1] Philip, Robert, The Life and Times of Rev. John Campbell, London: John Snow. 1841. p. 129. The first public distribution of religious tracts in Scotland was made by Charles Simeon and James Haldane on their three week tour in northern Scotland. They distributed tracts entitled "The Friendly Advise," the author of which is unknown. Mr. Campbell formed the Edinburgh Tract Society in 1795.

[2] Ibid., p. 129.

[3] The Church of Scotland. Story, R. H., editor. Vol. 3. p. 745.

Through friends, Mr. John Campbell had learned of the destitute religious conditions at Gilmerton,[1] a large collier village south of Edinburgh,[2] in the parish of Liberton.[3] Word came to him that "they had nothing like the Gospel in the Parish Church for at least forty years." This message coming to a man such as John Campbell, who was continually striving to open new vistas for the proclamation of the Gospel, needed no extra persuasion. He attempted to persuade Dissenting ministers of nearby churches to preach an occasional sermon at Gilmerton but this was in vain.[4]

Mr. Campbell was introduced to a Mr. Joseph Rate, a preacher trained in Dr. Bogue's Academy at Gosport, who promised to preach at Gilmerton on Sabbath evenings as long as he remained in Scotland. A suitable meeting place was secured and Mr. Rate preached there on the following two Sundays. A problem arose during the next week when he was called back to England unexpectedly.[5]

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[1] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 49.

[2] Gilmerton had the reputation of being a very wicked village. For a description see: Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh. Vol. 3. p. 346.

[3] The Church of Scotland. Story, R. H., editor. Vol. 3. p. 745.

[4] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. pp. 138, 139.

[5] Ross, op. cit., p. 49.

This left Gilmerton without a preacher for the following Sunday.

Campbell was unable to secure anyone on so short a notice. James Haldane suggested that Mr. Aikman be asked to preach, but since Aikman had yet to preach his first sermon he refused with diffidence. To gain his consent Haldane promised to preach the following Sabbath if Mr. Rate had not returned, thinking that he would certainly have returned long before then. Such a promise coming from a sailor struck the right chord in Aikman's heart and he consented to preach.[1]

The following week Mr. Rate had not returned, nor did he for several weeks. James Haldane was thus compelled to fulfil a promise that he had made in a jesting manner.[2] He preached his first sermon on the sixth of May, 1797.[3] Dr. Charles Stuart, of Dunearn,[4] was present

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[1] Both men were reluctant to preach since they were of the same opinion as the majority of the people that only ordained ministers or probationers should preach. Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 49.

[2] Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 132.

[3] Anderson, The Scottish Nation. p. 401. The preaching station was founded in 1796 not 1785 as stated by Good, George, Liberton in Ancient and Modern Times. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot. 1893. p. 114.

[4] Dr. Charles Stuart: a medical doctor, formerly a minister of the Establishment, adopted Independent views, became a dissenter and finally a Baptist, and a "promoter of every enterprise which had for its object the diffusion of the Gospel." Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 80.

and was delighted with the power, energy and earnestness of the preacher. He pronounced him the Boanerges of the new Independent movement at Gilmerton.[1]

His preaching was accompanied "with a success he considered to be very encouraging,"[2] and far beyond what he had ever expected. People came from all quarters to hear Aikman and the sea-captain.[3] The building was crowded for every service. Haldane and Aikman preached on alternate Sabbaths until Mr. Rate's return. So well did the work prosper and so much did the lay-preachers enjoy their opportunity that they instituted a week night service.

When Mr. Rate returned, the three took regular turns preaching every third service.[4] Their work found little favour with the Moderate parish minister who found means to deprive them of the school house in which they were meeting.[5] This forced them to meet in a large barn which was continually filled to overflowing.[6] The following

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[1] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 189.

[2] Encyclopaedia Britannica. Ninth Edition. Vol. 11. p. 380.

[3] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 49.

[4] Phillip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 133.

[5] Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,082. Saturday, February 15, 1851. p. 3. col. 1.

[6] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 141.

notice of these events appeared in the "Missionary Magazine."[1]

> That private citizens in Scotland should go forth to preach the Gospel, is a fact so entirely new, that many, even those who have heard, with pleasure, of such things at a distance, may be ready to be startled at the idea of a general movement at home. We scruple not, however, to express the highest satisfaction in stating to the public, that for some time past, the Gospel has been preached in a neighbouring village, by some disciples of the Lord Jesus, who like Apollos, are fervent in Spirit, and who have no doubt as to the obvious general application of our Saviour's command, "to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." A numerous and very attentive congregation has hitherto attended their labour in the service of the Gospel.

Subsequently he attracted great attention preaching on Sunday evenings to congregations of ten thousand and more on Calton Hill.[2] The common people thronged to hear him; and while much good was affected more than a little opposition was awakened in some quarters.[3]

Two brief tours of Scotland- one with Mr. Simeon in the north of Scotland for three weeks and the other later with Mr. Campbell in the west of Scotland for one week- had done much to call forth his Christian zeal and

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[1] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 14. July 17, 1797. p. 335.

[2] Anderson, Silence That Speaks. p. 85. Also see: Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh. Vol. 3. p. 158.

[3] The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 60.

an ardent compassion for the souls of men. He had seen the lack of concern which had been pointed out to him by the Moderates from the floor of the General Assembly and with such a vision, he determined to undertake greater things for the cause of Christ.[1] It was only natural that the joy of winning so many to Christ at the little Midlothian village should prompt him to undertake the same thing on a larger scale.[2] From Gilmerton to something more pronounced was a relatively easy transition.[3]

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[1] Landel, The Haldanes. pp. 15, 16.

[2] Evangelical Repository, Eighth Series, Vol. 3. No. 10. 1885. p. 76.

[3] The Church of Scotland. Story, R. H., editor. Vol. 3. p. 745.

CHAPTER TWO

EARLY EVANGELISTIC TOURS

The ascendency of the Moderate party had produced a relatively low spiritual condition among the Scottish people during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Evangelistic doctrine was at a very low ebb.[1] Only a small percentage of the clergy felt any obligation to carry the proclamation of the Gospel to those outside their own churches.[2] Most ministers within the Establishment were caught up in the dominate current of philosophical speculation and consequently looked upon zeal as a mark of a weak mind and branded it as mad enthusiasm.[3] Even if they had been highly zealous many would have been handicapped by physical limitations.

> The parishes on the mainland of the Highlands, are for the most part intersected by arms of the sea reaching far into the country, or by rapid rivers destitute of bridges, and in the winter generally

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[1]Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh. Vol. 3. p. 158.

[2]This is the fundamental purpose of the Church. So said Dr. W. F. Graham in an address to over one thousand Scottish ministers and Church leaders of all denominations at the Renfrew Street Church in Glasgow June 9, 1954; so said Karl Barth in his Dogmatik im Grundis. pp. 35-38.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 10. March 20, 1797. p. 106.

> impassable;- many of them by high mountains, which for months together are covered with snow; so that all intercourse is prevented between several parts of the same parish, and of course, between the minister and the people, except in the district which he happens to reside.[1]

Near the end of the century many of the prayer societies of various denominations began to establish monthly meetings for prayer for a revival of religion.[2] Earnest Christians throughout the land were concerned about the spiritual condition of Scotland. Many plans to remedy the situation came before the public but none was put into action.[3] One such plan was suggested by a member of the Evangelical party, Greville Ewing, minister of Lady Glenorchy's Church in Edinburgh.[4]

> With much pleasure we inform our readers that an itinerancy is proposed to be established immediately in this country, for a trial of one year at least. Any two preachers of the Gospel, of approved character for piety, zeal and

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[1]The Religious Monitor. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: W. Laing. January 16, 1804. p. 10.

[2]Matheson, J. J., A Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 132.

[3]The Publication of the "Missionary Magazine" in 1796 by Dr. Charles Stuart and Greville Ewing might be considered an exception to this.

[4]Greville Ewing, 1767-1841, ordained second minister of Lady Glenorchy's Church in the parish of Edinburgh; became the first Secretary of the Edinburgh Missionary Society in 1796 (later known as the Scottish Missionary Society); became the first editor of the Missionary Magazine later the same year; seceded from the Establishment in 1800, adopting Independent views. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol. 1. p. 79.

> abilities, who will undertake to travel through Scotland, according to a route to be given them; who will preach as often as they can get opportunity, either within or out of doors; who will make it their study to converse with the people on religious subjects, and to distribute among them religious books and pamphlets; and who will take down in writing, as they go along, their remarks on the state of religion in the different places where they shall reside, for the inspection of their constituents, and perhaps the public; will receive every necessary assistance and encouragement. Inquiry may be made respecting this scheme, by those who may wish to engage in the execution of it, at the publishers of the Missionary Magazine.[1]

During the next five months nothing more was mentioned in the "Missionary Magazine"[2] about this venture.

At this time James Haldane was preaching once and occasionally twice a week at Gilmerton and on Sunday evenings on Calton Hill but it proved to be too confining a sphere for a man of his energies and abilities. The article just mentioned in the "Missionary Magazine" seemed to be the solution to his problem of finding a larger field of service. Dr. Charles Stuart,[3] one of the founders of the "Missionary Magazine," was very familiar with James Haldane's work at Gilmerton, and urged

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[1] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 9. February 20, 1797. p. 92.

[2] The "Missionary Magazine" later became "The Christian Herald" and ultimately "The Scottish Congregational Magazine" which is the recognised organ of the Congregational Churches in Scotland. Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 183.

[3] James Haldane later became Dr. Stuart's pastor when the Edinburgh Tabernacle was built. The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club. Vol. 26. p. 130.

him to undertake such a tour. The idea was very acceptable and he began almost immediately to make plans for the tour. He declined to accept the offer of the publishers of the "Missionary Magazine" as he had no need of financial assistance.[1]

It is impossible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the influence Whitefield's work may have had on his decision but it cannot be discounted. Another influence may have been the revivals occurring in Wales during the later part of the century. The most notable of the awakenings occurred in 1791 and 1792. It is difficult to form a correct estimate of the exact scope or the results of the revival but it produced a very powerful upheaval and marked effects upon thousands.[2]

The motivating power of his planning was the lethargic spiritual state of Scotland which had become an overwhelming burden on his heart. He resolved to make the tour not only to ascertain the state of religion in the north[3] but to rouse the people and clergy alike

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[1]James Haldane had a competence drawn from several estates which provided a comfortable income without ever receiving any remuneration for his Christian work. The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 9. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 3.

[2]The Religious Revival in Wales. Awstin, Editor. London: Western Mail Limited. 1904. p. 2.

[3]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 4.

from their lethargy.[1] A serious problem had arisen in the meantime as a result of his preaching at Gilmerton. It was the question of the Scriptural authority of lay-preaching. The Moderate party and even some of the Evangelical party had brought the question to the attention of the public.

Certain formidable difficulties became a stumbling block in the mental attitude of those who were his friends. Even evangelical ministers like Dr. Erskine and Mr. Black were not resigned to the propriety of lay-preaching. No doubt Haldane's high social position gave evidence of deep personal Christianity; but he had not been set apart for the work of the ministry, neither had his associate Mr. Aikman been formally ordained.[2] Lay-preaching was normally considered by many to be disorderly as it encroached on what was regarded as the special function of ordained ministers.[3]

After searching the Scriptures Haldane was convinced that "it is not only lawful but the bounden duty of every Christian to preach the Gospel,"[4] but he realised that the majority of Christians had neither the time, the

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 141.

[2]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 10. Eighth Series. 1885. pp. 76, 77.

[3]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 50.

[4]Haldane, op. cit., p. 141.

talent nor the opportunity to devote their full time to it. He considered every Christian under the obligation "to point out Jesus as the Saviour." If a Christian did this to one, one hundred or one thousand, he felt that he would be considered a preacher of the Gospel.[1]

In his defense, he drew a clear distinction between the work of an evangelist and that of a pastor of a church indicating that he did not presume to act in the capacity of a pastor. He defended lay-preaching on the missionary basis that every one who knew the Gospel was obligated to help spread the good news.[2] He proposed that none would require a person to have a license to speak to one of his neighbours about the way of salvation. "Why then," he asks, "should he need a license to speak to more than one?"[3]

He declared that "those who confine the right of preaching to a certain order of preachers, maintain that preaching is something different from simply

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[1]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. pp. 50, 51.

[2]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 10. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 77.

[3]Haldane, James, Journal of a Tour through the Northern Countries of Scotland and Orkney Isles in Autumn 1797. Undertaken with a View to Promote the Knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1798. p. 6. Hereinafter referred to as Journal of a Tour.

declaring the Gospel."[1] He argues quite logically that

> If we are acquainted with anything valuable, of which our neighbour is ignorant, the law of love requires that we should make it known, and the more essential it is to his happiness, the greater the obligation.[2]

He pointed out two Scripture references: "The case of Apollos is an unanswerable proof that a license was not deemed necessary in the Apostles' days;"[3] and, "That they were all scattered abroad except the apostles, and they that were scattered, went everywhere preaching the word."[4]

He is careful to point out that "John Knox and some of the other leaders of the Reformation were unlicensed except possibly by the Church of Rome."[5] He concluded with the thought that many laymen have written on the subject of religion with much praise from the clergy, "Strange! then, if we might not speak on subjects on which we might have written."[6]

With these conclusions reached from the Scriptures and from church history he felt that his position as an unlicensed lay-evangelist was beyond reproach. His defense won the approval of Rowland Hill and Charles

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[1]Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 6.

[2]Ibid., p. 9.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 17. October 16, 1797. p. 451f. Also see: Vol. 2. No. 16. September 18, 1797. p. 408f.

[4]Haldane, op. cit., p. 12. Acts 8:1f.

[5]Ibid., p. 14.

[6]Ibid., p. 17.

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Simeon of England and partially satisfied many of the good men in Edinburgh with whom he had been associated.[1] He stated at the end of the tour that he was sure the possession of a license would not have given him bigger crowds or a better response.

Others stood shoulder to shoulder with Haldane in his defence of lay-preaching. Ewing, in disagreement with Mr. Jones, the other minister of Lady Glenorchy's Church, did much to justify Haldane's lay-preaching. He pointed out the fact that it had long been practiced in England and had contributed greatly to the revival of religion which had been experienced there.[2]

Mr. Cowie, the AntiBurgher minister of Huntly, also published a defence of lay-preaching; in it he declared that he had never heard anyone who preached as powerfully as James Haldane.[3] Possibly the most outstanding work from England which helped to remove the prejudice against lay-preaching was William Kingsbury's

Apology for Village Preachers; or, an Account of the Proceedings and Motives of Protestant Dissenters, and Serious Christians of other Denominations, in their Attempts to Suppress Infidelity and Vice

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[1] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 10. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 77.

[2] Missionary Magazine, Vol. 2. No. 14. June 17, 1797. p. 335.

[3] Missionary Magazine, Vol. 2. No. 19. December, 18, 1797. p. 544.

and to Spread Vital Religion in Country-places; Especially Where the Means of Pious Instructors are Rare. Southampton: Chapman and Company. 1798.

Haldane's tour with Campbell in the west of Scotland had shown that although there were teachers of the Establishment and others supported by various classes of dissenters, "the prevalence of unbelief and iniquity daily admonishes us, that something more is necessary."[1] John Aikman and Joseph Hate, his preaching companions at Gilmerton, were persuaded to accompany him and to help share the preaching burden.

He believed that this scheme of evangelism "afforded the greatest prospect of usefulness in their particular situation."[2] He believed this, though he knew many would violently criticise it.[3] They prepared to go forth conscious of the suspicion and even opposition to which they would be exposed. They had fully considered their action and felt confident that their work was fully justified by the Scripture. They were also encouraged knowing the success of similar evangelistic work which had been carried on for some time in various parts of England.[4]

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[1]Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 3.

[2]Ibid., p. 4. [3]Loc. cit.

[4]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 50.

Just prior to leaving Edinburgh, they drew up a statement of their fundamental doctrinal beliefs.

> We consider all mankind as being by nature under condemnation, and that none can escape the wrath to come, but by believing on Jesus Christ, God manifest in the flesh 1 Tim. 3:16. Who his ownself bare our sins in his own body on the tree 1 Peter 2:24. We are farther persuaded that no man can say from a conviction of its truth, that Jesus is Lord but by the Holy Ghost 1 Cor. 12:3. When any man believes this, we consider him as born again, born of the Spirit, without which he cannot see the kingdom of God John 3:3. The means employed by the Spirit in the new birth, we conceive to be the Word of God, as it is written in the Scripture, or preached agreeably thereto; for faith cometh by hearing and hearing by the Word of God Rom. 10:17.[1]

He readily admitted that holding these convictions "will entitle us to the character of enthusiasts[2] in the opinion of many."[3]

A note of their proposed tour appeared in the "Missionary Magazine"[4] with a request for the prayers of all interested Christians. The editor of this magazine urged that if many would undertake such a tour for the purpose of preaching the Gospel in destitute areas,

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[1]Haldane, Journal of a Tour. pp. 4, 5.

[2]See definition p. 104. It is readily apparent that the Moderate definition does not apply to him as he based his belief on the Scripture and claimed no special revelation.

[3]Haldane, op. cit., p. 5.

[4]Vol. 2. No. 14. July 17, 1797. p. 335.

founding of Sabbath-schools, etc., it would "effectually repel the objection, which has been made against foreign missions, that they have a tendency to divert the attention of Christians from the work that should be done at home."[1]

The "Missionary Magazine" also published a manifesto of their intentions about the time they left on their tour. It stated that they were undertaking this period of itinerant evangelism "not to disseminate matters of doubtful disputation, or to make converts to this or that sect, but to endeavour to stir up the brethren to flee from the wrath to come, and not rest in an empty profession of religion."[2]

This plan was made the subject of the prayer meetings held at the Rev. Black's home. Many who were concerned with the spiritual darkness of the land had gathered here regularly praying for revival.[3] The evening before their departure a special prayer meeting was held there for the purpose of recommending them "to the grace of God for the work in which they were about to engage."[4]

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 14. June 17, 1797. p. 335.

[2]Matheson, A Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 131.

[3]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 10. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 75.

[4]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 142.

The editor of the "Missionary Magazine" wrote, "It is remarkable that so many new schemes of this kind (lay-preaching) should have been set on foot in different places, about the same time without the smallest previous concert."[1] The Synod of Relief which met in Glasgow on May 16, 1797 appointed two missionaries to the Highlands because of the low state of religion.[2] The result of their summer's work was not spectacular as their labours were restricted chiefly to one parish.[3] Two ministers of the Established Church went throughout their parishes on a number of tours for the purpose of promoting a revival of religion. Their labours met with much greater success than those of the men sent out by the Relief Church.

James Haldane and his two companions left Edinburgh on July 12, 1797. He was "actuated by a sense of the importance of eternity, and the value of immortality."[4] He went forth not as a minister but as an evangelist calling men to repentance.[5] He preached first at

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[1] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 14. July 14, 1797. p. 335.

[2] Ibid. Vol. 2. No. 13. June 19, 1797. p. 286.

[3] Ibid. Vol. 2. No. 15. August 21, 1797. p. 387.

[4] Ibid. Vol. 21. n.s. February 1851. p. 57.

[5] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 191.

North-Ferry in a school house to a congregation of about fifty persons. The following morning in Keltiebridge the size of his congregation had doubled. The next day at Cupar on the fourteenth it had doubled again being about two hundred.[1]

Although this was but a small beginning, the farther they proceeded north on their tour toward Caithness the larger their congregations grew. By the time they had reached Aberdeen early in their tour they had gone far enough to see that this venture in itinerant evangelism would be a prosperous one. In a letter to John Campbell, dated July 28, 1797, he said,

> We have met with enough of the Lord's goodness to put to shame our unbelief. He sometimes brings us down that we may look to him...It is a great comfort to know that so many of the Lord's people are praying for us. We have, I am persuaded experienced the benefit of their prayers.[2]

This statement was no doubt prompted by the fact that the population of Aberdeen turned out by the thousands to hear this East India Captain preach from the text "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth."[3]

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[1]Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 37.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 150.

[3]Philip, Robert, The Life, Times and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell. p. 138. Afterwards referred to as The Life of John Campbell.

It was here that he had a brush with the College authorities, "which made him notorious, and did much to fan the flame of his fame through out the country."[1] Here, too, there was a great turnout of the upper classes. It was found, to the delight of his friends, that he could impress his cultured hearers by his earnest and unstudied eloquence as truly as he had impressed the miners at Gilmerton.[2]

By this time his powers as a preacher began to be known and large crowds gathered each time he preached. Not only did his preaching become very popular with the masses of the people but even the "carriage folks" came to hear him.[3] His itinerant evangelism excited great attention. No work of this kind had ever been undertaken in the northern sections of Scotland.

It is true that George Whitefield[4] had toured a few places in the vicinity of Edinburgh and Glasgow a quarter of a century before on evangelistic missions but his were only short visits and never extended north of Edinburgh.[5] Simeon's tour in 1796 was more of a sight-

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[1] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 10. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 79.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Philip, The Life of John Campbell. pp. 138, 139.

[4] Wesley attempted no evangelistic work in Scotland.

[5] Philip, op. cit., p. 133.

seeing tour in which his preaching was secondary; it definitely would not be classed as an evangelistic tour.[1]

The criticism which had arisen preceding the tour concerning his lay-preaching was minor indeed in comparison with the amount of criticism which arose over his procedure during the tour in attacking what he considered to be false doctrines. The entire body of Moderates were united as never before in opposing him. The majority of the clergy were up in arms and even those who had advocated his tour were disturbed by his action. The reason for this can readily be seen in the following two entries from his journal which may be considered as representative of many others which reveal his reaction upon being dissatisfied with what he heard in the local church. He intercepted the people on their way home and expatiated at large upon the doctrinal defects of the parish pulpit.[2] The first entry referred to was written from Kerriemuir and dated the Lord's Day July 16, 1797, being four days after they left on their journey.

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[1] For reference to his tour see the Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A. Edited by the Rev. William Carus. London: Hatchard and Son. 1857. pp. 151, 152.

[2] The Church of Scotland. Story, R. H., editor. p. 745.

> When the Established Church was dismissed in the evening, we went to the top of a walled stair in the market-place, which the congregation had to pass, and immediately began as usual by singing. There might probably be near 1000 people who stopped. Preached to them from Mark 15:16...Told the people plainly, that what they had heard was not the Gospel, and urged them to search the Scriptures for themselves, mentioning at the same time, that our only motive in making these observations was love to their immortal souls, whose final state we were convinced depended upon their belief or rejection of the Gospel.[1]

The second entry referred to was written from Kirkwall and dated the Lord's day August 13, 1797.[2]

> Preached in the morning to between 1200 and 1300 persons. Went to the Established Church and heard sermon by a neighbouring minister...The name of the Lord Jesus Christ was not once mentioned in the whole of the sermon...In the evening preached to about 3000 hearers, from Pilate's question, John 17:38. 'What is truth?' Endeavoured, at considerable length, to point out the inconsistency of what had been preached in the forenoon, with the truth as it is in Christ.[3]

This course of action was not undertaken on the spur of the moment but was apparently decided upon before the journey was undertaken.[4] It must be pointed out that

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[1]Haldane, Journal of a Tour. pp. 39, 40.

[2]Ibid. pp. 55, 56.

[3]One attack against these tactics appeared under the title "Respect Due the Clergy" by one who only acknowledged himself with the initials G. T. It centered around Haldane's attack on false teachers. Missionary Magazine. Vol. 3. No. 21. February 19, 1798. p. 63f.

[4]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 51.

in both these entries there is a statement similar to this:

> Had the happiness to hear the Gospel preached in the afternoon in the Antiburgher meeting. The house is unfortunately too small: it cannot accomodate all the hearers.[1]

Such a statement might bear out another statement made when he was charged with preaching against the Establishment.

> We neither preached for nor against them, but endeavoured to preach the Gospel. We generally mentioned that when at home we heard the Gospel in the Established Church; and when we knew that in any place they enjoyed a faithful Gospel ministry in the Establishment.[2] We warned the people against misimproving so high a privilige.[3]

This statement seems to be verified by other references to this period. He condemned false teachers where ever he found them and praised those who proclaimed the full Gospel regardless of denomination. One vital point to be remembered is that he was not condemning the Establishment as a whole but only individual ministers. If he had thought the Establishment was thoroughly corrupt, he would have left it immediately, but he was

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[1] Haldane, Journal of a Tour. pp. 54, 55.

[2] He praised the Establishment minister at Tain for his faithfulness in proclaiming the Gospel. See: Ibid. p. 79.

[3] Ibid. p. 34.

still a member in good standing of Lady Yester's Church in Edinburgh.[1]

He justified himself by references to Christ's condemnation of the teachings of the Scribes and the Pharisees and by Timothy's example of naming Hymenæus and Philetus as false teachers.[2] He recorded they met

> In every part of the country, unconverted men on the brink of destruction. We met with ministers who were trifling with their cases...leading them to put their own sincere obedience in the place of Christ's finished work.[3]

When he found conditions such as this, he lashed out against them and lashed out with all his might.

Such caustic methods had not been seen in Scotland since the time of Guthrie and the Covenanters. But in a fashion, James Haldane was fighting in much the same way for religious liberty. He considered it to be a desperate time and he chose drastic methods to combat it. He says,

> If we had only preached the Gospel

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[1] This church is situated nearly opposite the Old Infirmary at the foot of Infirmary Street. It owes its origin and name to Dame Margaret Ker, Lady Yester, who in the year 1647 gave to the city magistrates 15,000 merks (about 833 pounds) to build a church and granted them 1000 merks per annum for the stipend of the minister. Stevenson, R. H., The Chronicles of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: William Whyte. 1851. p. 296.

[2] Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 22.

[3] Ibid. p. 23.

> (i.e., in the normal way) many would have heard in that dull sleepy manner so common in many places of worship. They might have approved both of their minister's sermon and ours; when we declared our doctrines to be perfectly opposite to those of their ministers; when we mentioned the objectionable passages of the sermons we had heard, and showed that they contradicted Scripture, could there be a more probable means of leading them to examine for themselves?[1]

He realised the method he had chosen would create a furor but he did not anticipate it reaching the scale that it did. Some Highlanders were already dissatisfied with their clergy. Though Presbyterians, their attachment to the Church was inclined to be rather loose. Among these unhappy people the evangelist reaped a rich harvest.[2]

He felt that the fundamental purpose of lay-preaching was to rouse the clergy to greater action.

> We sincerely desire to see ministers throughout the country so faithful and labourous, that lay-preaching may become no longer necessary.[3]

He claimed to have no private end in view. His one purpose was to move men in all denominations to a more aggressive form of Christianity.

Even among the Seceders, ministers too

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[1]Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 23.

[2]Stewart, Major General David, Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland. Vol. 1. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Company. 1825. pp. 135-137.

[3]Haldane, op. cit., p. 28.

> often content themselves with preaching on the Lord's day to their own people, while thousands are perishing in their own neighbourhood for lack of knowledge.[1]

How great this lack of knowledge was can be seen in a multitude of entries throughout his journal similar to the following:

> July 29. (Banff, Portsoy and Cullen) Religion appears in all these places to be at a low ebb.[2]

> July 31. (Fochabers) This place is notorious for its laxity of morals and indifference to religion.[3]

> August 12 (Orkneys) The manners and conduct of the people, as in every other place, are corrupted in due proportion to their ignorance of the Gospel.[4]

> October 9. The state of religion in Thurso is very low. We are credibly informed that this town, containing about 2000 souls has not been catechised for forty years.[5]

When they had left Edinburgh, they took with them a very large supply of religious tracts. In addition to this they sent a number of packages of tracts ahead to be picked up on their tour.[6] The following is a detailed list of the tracts they handed out over a period of four months.[7]

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[1] Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 31.

[2] Ibid. p. 45

[3] Ibid. p. 46.

[4] Ibid. p. 52.

[5] Ibid. p. 74.

[6] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 52.

[7] Haldane, op. cit. p. 35.

Short Sermons	2000
Three Dialogues Between a Minister and one of his Hearers on the True Principles of Religion.	2000
Address to a Stranger.	4000
Affectionate Address on the Importance of Religion	3000
Friendly Advise to All Whom it may Concern.	5000
An Account of the Conversion of a Negro. .	2000
Poor Joseph	2000
Affectionate Address to Young Christians .	150
Regulations for Sabbath Schools, (Copies from the Missionary Magazine)[1]	250
Total	20400

They used tracts as well as every other means at their command to reach men for Christ. They were impressed with a sense of urgency about their task that they felt justified their means. On one occasion Haldane expressed it thus:

> The time is short; souls are perishing and Christians ought to embrace every opportunity of warning their brethren to flee from the wrath to come.[2]

This sense of urgency gave an added emphasis to his already powerful preaching. His urgency added a persuasive note that touched the hearts of thousands. This, however, is only a partial explanation of the reason people came in such tremendous numbers to hear his message. The following are some accounts of the numbers that listened attentively to his preaching:

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[1] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 12. May 17, 1797. p. 268.

[2] Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 35.

> August 15. Returned to Kirkwall, and preached in the evening to nearly 2000 people. Received pressing invitations to visit different places.[1]

> August 17. Preached in the morning to about 2000, and in the evening to about 4000 persons.[2] Kirkwall.

> August 20. Preached in the morning, again at one o'clock, and at four and six in the evening. The hearers of the two last sermons were supposed to be near 6000.[3] Kirkwall.

There was a fair in progress when he was in Kirkwall. He preached near the fair-grounds in the court of the Old Palace[4] with such results that the fair was almost emptied every evening.[5] Inclement weather did not greatly diminish the size of the crowds who desired to hear him.

> August 8. Preached on Tuesday morning to about 500 people, who stood all the time in the rain.[6]

> October 1. Inverness. Preached in the evening to a great concourse. It began to rain excessively, but the people, when it was proposed to them to seek shelter some where, declined it, and remained in the rain till the sermon was concluded.[7]

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[1] Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 57.

[2] Loc. cit. [3] Ibid. p. 58.

[4] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 11. p. 2.

[5] Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 58.

[6] Ibid. p. 84.

[7] Loc. cit.

Something of the following extract is indicative of the moving power of these messages that made multitudes stand in the rain to hear him.[1]

> August 4. The fair began this day. Preached in the Palace-close in the morning to about 1200 and in the evening to about 2300 hearers. Many of the people appeared much affected and in tears.[2]

Numbers meant little to him, for wherever he found people that would listen he was eager to preach. He did not avoid even the smallest village.

> October 27. Preached to about eleven or twelve people.[3] (Cullen).

While he was preaching, his two co-labourers were not inactive, as can be seen by this typical entry.

> July 29. Preached in the morning at Battery Green, and then separated for the Lord's day; one remained at Banff, another went to Portsoy, and the third to Cullen; at all which places, we preached on Saturday evening and thrice on the Lord's day.[4]

Their preaching was having its desired effect; it was stirring up both the people and the clergy[5] and it was

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[1] Many of the people at Campbelltown went into the fields to reap corn at three o'clock in the morning in order to be able to have time off to hear him preach. The same thing happened at Wick and other places. See: The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 10. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 82.

[2] Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 56.

[3] Ibid. p. 90. [4] Ibid. p. 78.

[5] For the result of the tours of the men sent out by the Relief Church and the Burgher seceders, see: Struthers, History of the Relief Church. pp. 397, 400.

reaching the hearts of men and women for Christ.

Generally they sent ahead to the next town on their itinerary, requesting the town drummer or bellman to announce an open air meeting at a given location. Upon arriving in the town they often went about distributing tracts and inviting people to come to the meeting.[1] The meeting was opened by the singing of several Psalms; the prayer was followed by a Scripture reading and a Gospel message with an urgent invitation for men to trust Christ.[2] Joseph Rate was left to work in and around Inverness while Haldane and Aikman carried the tour up into the Orkney Islands.

The same procedure was used in their tour of the Orkney Islands, which was considered one of the most desolate places in Scotland.[3] They preached on twenty-seven out of the twenty-nine inhabited islands.[4] Later in the tour they visited the remaining two islands--Wells and Flota.[5] A revival had taken place in the Orkneys just prior to their arrival as a result of the preaching

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[1]Beattie, The Haldanes. p. 19.

[2]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 90.

[3]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 11. p. 1.

[4]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 162.

[5]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 10. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 8.

of several AntiBurgher ministers. The revival was greatly extended by Haldane's preaching.[1] They preached a total of fifty-five times in ten days which would have made an average of three times a day for each, had not an injury disabled John Aikman and put the burden of preaching on James Haldane.[2]

Signal fires were built on the high places in these islands to signal their more distant neighbours to the open-air meetings. At no time in his life did his preaching produce such great results as the six weeks he spent in Caithness.[3] It was during this period that the ten-day tour of the Orkneys took place.

Multitudes dated their conversion from this period.[4] Many incidents might be quoted which tell of individual conversions or the conversion of entire families. Mrs. McNeil, the wife of a minister of Elgin, wrote a letter shortly after James Haldane's death in which she mentions his first visit to Caithness over a half century before as being responsible not only for her own conversion but for that of three other members of her family, including

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[1]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 11. p. 1.

[2]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 163.

[3]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 162.

[4]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 54.

her father.[1]

> My aunt had gone into Thurso, and when she returned she said the town seemed in an uproar, or something to that effect, 'bout a remarkable preacher who had come there, and that he seemed very zealous, and was preaching in the open air. I immediately set off, accompanied by one of my cousins. It was one Saturday evening. I went with my cousin to the place. He was standing on the top of an outer stair, dressed in a gray coat, with tied hair, and powdered. But I think I shall never forget the fervour and divine unction with which he proclaimed the Gospel of mercy. It rained very heavily, and although wet and miry where the congregation stood, no one, I think moved to go away until the sermon was over.[2]

Such a revival took place that it was said one could hardly find two persons conversing together but religion was the subject.[3] In the small town of Wick alone, the number of conversions totaled forty according to the Rev. John Cleghorn, a dissenting minister there who wrote of the evangelistic tour several years later.[4] Many walked as much as twenty miles to hear him while he was preaching in Caithness.[5]

One of his purposes for his tour in the north had been to establish Sabbath-evening schools. He did not forget this while he was engaged in preaching two, three

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 167.

[2]Ibid. p. 168.

[3]Biographical Sketch Reprinted from Edinburgh Newspapers. p. 11.

[4]Beattie, The Haldanes. p. 19.

[5]Haldane, op. cit. p. 170.

and quite often four times a day.

> August 7. Preached morning and evening in the streets to very great multitudes. Had a meeting with some friends, who formed themselves into a society for erecting Sabbath-evening schools.[1] (Inverness).

Other such meetings must have taken place which were not recorded in his Journal. His first entry in going through Montrose only records the fact that they were denied the use of the town-hall because they had enough Gospel in that town. On their return, however, the entry indicates that even more had happened on their first visit.

> October 31. Were happy to find that two Sabbath-evening schools had been erected since we were there last, and they were about to form themselves into a Society for promoting the establishment of others.[2]

By the time the tour was completed, the Society formed at Inverness had established three additional schools.[3] Probably the greatest success along this line was seen in Paisley where twenty schools sprang up and soon grew to the point where their attendance totaled around fifteen hundred.[4]

The tour was also a success as far as the primary goal was concerned. Their desire had been to awaken the

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[1] Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 49.

[2] Ibid. p. 93. [3] Ibid. p. 49.

[4] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 3. No. 25. June 18, 1798. p. 288.

clergy to their responsibility to those outside the doors of their own churches. On their return journey, they found that they had experienced a good measure of success on this point.

> October 31. We were happy to find that the Burgher minister had begun to preach in some parts of this neighbourhood; an example which we hope will be followed by his brethren in other parts of the country.[1] (Montrose).

"This tour, partly from the novelty of lay-preaching and partly from the deadness of the times, produced a great sensation."[2] The unconventional methods and arrangements he adopted were calculated to attract attention.[3] Though he met with success in almost every phrase of this first journey, it was not without some shortcomings. His greatest failure was his complete lack of ability in the field of personal soul winning.

There was no lack of compassion for individual souls as is seen in his visit to Inverness. He had preached to three thousand in the morning in Inverness and after going to the island of Shap/inshay where he preached twice in the afternoon to about five hundred by the seaside, he was still ready to visit an elderly man of ninety-two who was without a saving knowledge of

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[1] Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 93.

[2] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 189.

[3] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 53.

Christ.[1]

No details are given about this interview, but in cases where the details are included,[2] it is plain that there is a gross lack of knowledge of the basic elements of personal soul-winning which are so vital in the field of itinerant evangelism. This was not only true of Haldane but also of many who were intimately associated with him. A man of Lochton, who had been influenced to Deistic views by Paine's Age of Reason, heard the Gospel preached by one of the agents of Haldane's Society and was brought under deep conviction. "He continued, however, in much darkness (for several months) till about the end of July."[3] Another of the Society's evangelists, M'Callum working in Kintyre, tells of a man who was convicted of sin twelve months before he found peace.[4] These men lacked the ability to meet the individual's problem by use of the Scriptures and lead them to Christ.

The praise of church historians of the purity of the motives which moved Haldane to make this tour seems to be well justified. There seems to be no

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[1]Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 56.

[2]For an example see: Ibid. p. 63.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol.7. No. 68. January 18, 1802. pp. 9, 10.

[4]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. August 15, 1803. p. 366.

jealousy on his part for fear that others would enter his chosen field and steal part of the spotlight. On the contrary, he seems very much in earnest when he asserts the main purpose of his publishing his Journal is that

> Others may be excited and encouraged to undertake similar journeys.[1]

He brings his Journal to a close with a plea for other labourers to "come over and help us."[2] For him, he felt there was a job to be done--Scotland needed to be awakened to the cause of Christ; revival fires needed to be kindled--who received the glory for it was very unimportant.

As a result of the tour, many who had formerly denounced lay-preaching were won to its cause. John Campbell was among this number. He had never approved of itinerant evangelism but when he saw the vast good produced by the tour, he said the tour vindicated itself.[3] He was so convinced that he later joined James Haldane in a similar tour in 1801. The estimation of evangelism was raised in the eyes of men of all denominations but along with this came increased opposition to his cause. Lady

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[1]Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 33.

[2]Ibid. p. 94.

[3]Philip, The Life, Times and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell. p. 139.

Leven[1] was another who had disapproved of lay-evangelism but she soon decided "it may kick up a dust, but anything is better than dust gathering through drowsiness and indolence."[2]

John Newton sent Haldane a message of "love and honour" to encourage him in his work. His letter indicated how little of the sacerdotal bigotry existed in some of the evangelical clergy of the Church of England.[3] Dr. John Erskine, leader of the Evangelical party, not only disregarded the edict of the General Assembly to denounce the Haldane party, "as no friends to our civil constitution, and as abusers of the name of liberty and a cover for secret anarchy,"[4] but he wrote praising James Haldane's work in bringing a revival to the Highlands which, he said, led to the conversion of many who would never otherwise have listened to the Gospel.

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[1]Lady Leven or Countess Leven was one of the women who united with the Countess of Huntingdon, the Lady of Balgownie, Lady Francis Gardiner, Lady Jane Nimms and Lady Mary Hamilton, in opening their houses in London alternately for a Methodist prayer meeting. She was one of Whitefield's ardent friends and shared much of his spirit.

[2]Philip, The Life, Times and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell. p. 141.

[3]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 191.

[4]Philip, op. cit., p. 224.

[5]Beattie, Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 95.

In spite of his approval, Erskine was jealous of the influence Haldane had on the Church for he had been able to do in a matter of four short months what the whole of the Evangelical party within the Establishment had not been able to do within the past half century. Fuller also noticed this; he commented that Mr. Black and Mr. Buchanan as well as Dr. Erskine, "all of whom are good men but they look with a jealous eye" upon Haldane's work.[1]

The Evangelical party was at last firmly united; the whole of Scotland was awakened to the deadening effect that Moderatism was having on the religious life of Scotland. Also, a mighty impetus had been given to the Evangelical party which was the beginning of an upsurge that ended in the ascendency of the Evangelical party, the decline of the Moderate party and the Disruption of 1843. William Landels, in his lecture on the Haldanes, said that other agencies and other influences contributed to bring about the change in Scottish religious life, but the influence of Haldane was the greatest by far.[2]

With the close of his tour came an increased number of charges that ran in scope from disloyalty to the

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[1] Ryland, John, The Life and Death of the Rev. Andrew Fuller. London: Button and Son. 1818. p. 235.

[2] Landels, The Haldanes. p. 21.

Establishment to treason against the country.[1] The latter was unfounded and ridiculous and to the former charge Robert Philip, the biographer of John Campbell, a man who was far from being in complete sympathy with Haldanes, says that "it is not necessary to vindicate Haldane, or his coadjutors, from the charge of disloyalty." They did not persecute the church unless as he suggests the exposure of idle and unfaithful ministers could be construed as persecution.[2]

Numerous publications rolled off the press in which both the tour and the men who had participated in it were denounced in scathing terms. One such publication was entitled A Cobler's Remarks on a Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland. In it, its author, the Rev. W. M. Moodie, minister of St. Andrew's,[3] denounced lay-preachers for their lack of education. Such loose charges against their work

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[1]Dr. William Porteous wrote to the Duke of Portland in a letter dated February 21, 1798 describing what he considered to be the dangerous tendencies of this work. Historical Manuscript Commission, Report on the Laing Manuscripts. Vol. 2. London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1925. p. 644.

[2]Philip, The Life, Times and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell. p. 139.

[3]William Moodie: 1759-1812, ordained to Kirkcaldy in 1784; translated to St. Andrews, Presbytery of Edinburgh, in 1787; moderator of the General Assembly in 1799. This pamphlet was published anonymously, but was known to have been written by him. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol. 1. pp. 88, 89.

and their personal character as the following were made:

> I am afraid those missionary preachers are going to introduce Popery under a new shape.[1]

> If I did not know better, I should suppose those fellows belonged to a gang of swindlers.[2]

He made the following comment in reference to a point of their doctrine:

> Will it be believed, that in the estimation of a holy God, no preference is given to the man of integrity.[3]

He indicates it is his belief that only the wicked come under the judgment and wrath of God and not the honest and upright man. He quotes certain passages of Scripture in an effort to prove that salvation can not be by faith alone but must be accompanied by good works.[4]

An anonymous attack was made on Haldane in one of the Edinburgh newspapers charging that he and his co-workers claimed to be "Missionaries to the Heathen, sent by the London Missionary Society and supported at their expense." There were none who could substantiate the charge and the newspaper was forced to print a retraction.

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[1] Moodie, W. M., A Cobler's Remarks on a Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland. Edinburgh: Booksellers in Town and Country. 1798. p. 6.

[2] Ibid. p. 8.

[3] Ibid. p. 7.

[4] Ibid. p. 8.

The opposition was rarely based on objection to the doctrines of his preaching. He preached and taught the Westminster Confession of Faith and was never charged with heresy. Opposition did not arise over his evangelical doctrine but his lay-preaching.[1] He did not leave the Establishment over this opposition, nor did such a step seem necessary because of the course of action he had begun to pursue and the sentiments which he had entertained for sometime.[2]

Three short entries in his Journal indicate not only an awareness of the problem of the time but also a solution formulating itself in the back of his mind.

> October 12. (Speaking of the Society for the Propagating of Christian Knowledge in Scotland) We are happy to state, that much good has been done in this, as well as other parts of this country, by means of missionaries and schoolmasters employed by this Society.[3]

The fact that touched his heart was that their number was neither sufficient to place men in even the most destitute places nor even make replacements for those who were forced to leave the field. In speaking later of the rich religious heritage of Inverness, he makes this entry:

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[1]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 73.

[2]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 7.

[3]Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 75.

> October 15. It is hoped, however, that this knowledge may yet serve to promote the revival of real religion in this place, if it please God to send zealous ministers among them, of which the people are truly desirous.[1]

After speaking of the hunger of men for the Gospel in Thurso, he says,

> September 9. Were Gospel ministers to be sent into this part of the country, we think there is reason to hope that a general and abiding concern for the things of eternity would be the consequence.[2]

Certainly if not during the tour, then as a result of the tour, he came to the conclusion that it was necessary to make a systematic effort to continue and extend, on a larger scale, the work which he had already begun. The culmination of his planning was the formation of an interdenominational "Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home."[3]

James Haldane published his Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland in the early spring of 1798. The book excited widespread interest and ran quickly through three large editions. So quickly was the first edition sold out that it became necessary to publish a second edition in less than a month. The second and following editions were published

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[1] Moodie, A Cobler's Remarks on a Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland. p. 7.

[2] Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 75.

[3] See: p. 202.

for the benefit of the Society for the Propagating the Gospel at Home.[1] His journal added greatly to the general interest taken by the public in the Society.[2]

The editor of the "Missionary Magazine" in a review of the Journal praised the work very highly. Concerning their attacks on the doctrines preached by various ministers, he said,

> It seems evident, that our opinion here ought to depend on the question, what was the doctrine which they attacked? If any attack ministers for preaching the doctrines of God's Word, they are guilty of insulting, not men merely, whom they ought to esteem very highly in love for their work's sake, but also the great God Himself, on the other hand, if they be ministers so called, who take upon them to contradict the Bible, it is certainly very allowable, nay a bounden duty, in any Christian to contradict them.[3]

The leading consideration urged upon him by most people was that it was imprudent for any man in his position to do such a thing regardless of how much Scriptural authority he had for it and regardless of how false might have been his opponent's views.

The furor created by Erskine's approval of Haldane's evangelistic tour was only exceeded when Greville Ewing expressed his approval of his work in the "Missionary

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[1] Matheson, A Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 162.

[2] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 56.

[3] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 18. November 20, 1797. p. 530.

Magazine." Ewing had preached a powerful sermon on the "Defence of Itinerant and Field Preaching," in his own church in December following Haldane's tour. The sermon was published and became a famous defence for itinerant evangelism. When published, it was accompanied by copious notes illustrating the inefficiency of the Establishment to be the exclusive medium of evangelism.[1]

In April 1798, the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home was reinforced by English trained clergy employed to continue the itinerant evangelism already started in Caithness. Ballantine and Cleghorn,[2] later ministers of Wick and Thurso respectively, toured, with considerable success, every part of Caithness where English was understood.[3] To the Gaelic speaking areas the Society sent two catechists provisioned with copies of tracts which they had translated into Gaelic.[4] The financial status of both James Haldane and John Aikman

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[1] This is a strong indication of the growing weakness of the Moderate party. As short a time as five years before such an attack against the Establishment would not have escaped censure. The offender would have been brought before the General Assembly and censured or deposed.

[2] Both these men were educated for the Burgher Secession before they joined Haldane. The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No. 22. October 1819. p. 602.

[3] Missionary Magazine, Vol. 3. No. 30. November 19, 1798. pp. 524, 525.

[4] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 3. No. 25. June 18, 1798. p. 287.

enabled them to carry on the work of the Society without being dependent on it for support.[1]

They announced in the "Missionary Magazine" their intention of spending the following summer in itinerant evangelism but following a different procedure.[2] The following is an extract from their letter to the editor:

> Sir, we last year requested the prayers of our Christian brethren through the channel of your valuable publication. The favour we met with and the many opportunities we enjoyed of preaching salvation, through Jesus Christ, to multitudes of our northern brethren, proved that their prayers were heard on our behalf... Two of those who went out last year are about to set off for the western and southern parts of Scotland, with a view of calling upon the careless to consider their ways. While we take this opportunity of requesting a renewal of the prayers of our brethren for our direction and success, we would observe that it is our intention to adopt a different line of conduct from that which we formerly pursued, in animadverting upon the sermons of particular ministers. This afforded a handle to those who did not approve of our design, to represent us as actuated by party spirit and ill-will to individuals...We accordingly take this opportunity to state, that we are resolved to confine ourselves in our intended journey to the declaration of what we consider as the truth of God, without making personal remarks on any individual.[3]

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[1]Missionary Magazine, Vol. 3. No. 26. July 16, 1798. pp. 331, 332.

[2]Mr. Joseph Rate did not accompany them on this tour as he had already set off on a three-month tour of the Fife coast for the Society. He preached from two to five times a day to crowds numbering as many as three thousand. Missionary Magazine. Vol. 3. No. 26. July 16, 1798. p. 332f.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 3. No. 26. July 16, 1798. pp. 331, 332.

Whether the change in their procedure was prompted by a desire to remove all opportunities of criticism as stated, or whether it was a compromise of conviction is impossible to determine. The weight of evidence would seem to bear out a statement found in "Evangelical Repository," "When he found that it gave offence to some of his best friends, he discontinued the practice."[1] Regardless of the motive, no tour had such immediate results or far reaching effects as the first tour, in which a bolder course was followed.

Prior to their departure, James Haldane received a letter from Charles Simeon dated April 16, 1798, in which he says:

> I have been reading your Journal, if not with unqualified approbation, I can truly say with exceeding great joy and delight. I Bless and adore my God, who has stirred up your soul to seek the salvation of his people ...If I cannot do the good which you did, be thankful that I wish to glean your leavings.[2]

Simeon was accompanied by Mr. Buchanan, Minister of the Canongate Church in Edinburgh;[3] their tour took four

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[1] Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 10. Eighth Series. 1885. pp. 78, 79.

[2] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 183.

[3] Canongate Church was built by the town council of Edinburgh at the request of James VII of Scotland. The congregation originally met at the Abbey Church of Holyrood and for fifteen years before the church was finished at Lady Yester's Church. The Church was built on the north side of Canongate Street just after the middle of the seventeenth century. Stevenson, Chronicles of Edinburgh. pp. 289-300.

months and followed the same route that Haldane had taken. He limited himself to preaching in either Presbyterian or Episcopalian Churches, never preaching in the open air or against false teachers.[1]

James Haldane and John Aikman began their second tour on June 14, 1798, preaching at Peebles, Biggar, Hamilton, Greenock, continuing through the counties of Ayrshire and Galloway and returning by way of Berwick. Since no journal was kept of the journey, little information is available except a few letters which mention the tour.

At Ayr, he was threatened with imprisonment if he preached at the appointed time.[2] He met his congregation at the scheduled time and preached without being arrested.[3] The magistrate sent officers to stop him but these men would not advance past the outskirts of the crowd because they "were ashamed to execute their orders against such a gentleman."[4] In a letter written by Mr. Watson and dated shortly after the death of James Haldane, he stated,

These were seasons refreshing from the

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 183.

[2]He claimed the protection of the Act of Toleration.

[3]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 98.

[4]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 159.

> presence of the Lord, and long remembered by many. Mr. Haldane's visits to the west of Scotland were the means of awakening not a few out of their spiritual slumbers, and of infusing fresh life into the languishing souls of many of God's own people...And I may well remember that first sermon of Mr. Haldane's, in 1798, standing as he did on the steps of the old cross of Ayr, as it may be said to have been the pivot on which the events of my after-existence all turned. It was that sermon that led me to Christ.[1]

As a result of this experience, Mr. Watson gave up a lucrative business to join Haldane's Seminary and ultimately became the Congregational minister at Dumfries.

Sabbath schools were organised in Annan which had an attendance of eighty and Canonbie where the attendance of five schools totaled about one hundred and thirty.[3] The attention Haldane and Aikman excited in the west and south of Scotland rivalled that of the preceding year's tour. Here again multitudes were gathered wherever the Gospel was proclaimed.[4]

Because they refrained from attacking the false doctrines of individual ministers on this tour, approval of even more of the clergy was gained for the cause of itinerant evangelism both in Scotland and in England.

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. pp. 186, 187.

[2]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1835. p. 159.

[3]Haldane, op. cit., pp. 187, 188.

[4]Ibid. p. 184.

The Rev. John Newton, of St. Mary Woolnoth, wrote in a letter to John Campbell,

> If all were like-minded with Messrs. Haldane and Aikman, I would pray the Lord to increase their number a hundred-fold...Tell them I rejoice in their zeal...Why should not the Orkney and the Shetland Islands deserve attention as much as the islands of the South Sea? I hope the Gospel will, in due time, sail northward to Shetland, and westward to St. Kilda, and all the intermediate islands.[1]

In December 1798, following James Haldane's second evangelistic tour, Greville Ewing withdrew from the Established Church and resigned his charge. He seceded that he might increase his sphere of service.[2] That same month he left Edinburgh on a short evangelistic tour of Scotland under the direction of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home.[3]

Ewing, Aikman and Haldane were not alone in this evangelistic work. Numerous other ministers were similarly engaged under the direction of the Society through 1798 and 1799. The English trained ministers- Cleghorn

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[1]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 97.

[2]Matheson, A Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 182.

[3]See: Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. pp. 71-76, for a journal of his tour. (This book was probably edited and written, for the most part, by James Haldane. The style of writing as well as the character of the argument is characteristic of his works. Some of the arguments used here are to be found in other of his works.)

and Ballantine-[1] made separate tours into the north of Scotland.[2] Joseph Nate was sent out for a tour through Fifeshire.[3] Mr. Bennet, minister of Rumsay in England, was employed for a tour to Aberdeen and its vicinity.[4]

The expenses of Mr. Garie, minister of Perth, were paid to enable him to carry on evangelistic work outside of Perth. Mr. Slatterie, minister of Chatham in England, who was in Edinburgh was engaged to tour central Scotland in an evangelistic effort about the same time as Ewing's tour. Mr. Taylor, minister of Osset, Yorkshire, offered his services to the Society and was employed to engage in tours through many sections of the country. This is not to mention an even greater number of catechists who were employed by the Society.

For a time many ministers of the Established Church viewed the evangelists as auxiliaries of the National

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[1]Both men had left the Secession Church when they were almost through with their training. They had gone to Gosport to Bogue's Seminary for two additional years training. They were ordained in England and were on their way to take churches in Thurso and Wick when they were employed by the Society.

[2]See: Anonymous, Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. pp. 20-30, for Ballantine's journal and pp. 31-41 for Cleghorn's journal.

[3]For his journal, see: Ibid. pp. 42-59.

[4]For his journal, see: Ibid. pp. 61-64.

Church[1] but with the growing success of the Society and the work of James Haldane came an ever-increasing measure of opposition. At first it was a negative and covert opposition, shown by individual ministers who refused to permit him the use of their places of worship. Later, ministers began to warn their people not to attend his meetings. In 1799 overtures were presented to the General Assembly of the Establishment from the Synods of Aberdeen, Angus and Mearns regarding their disapproval of his work.[2] It was this that instigated the Acts of the General Assembly.[3]

When the General Assembly met in the spring of 1799, it passed two measures which were specifically aimed at James Haldane as the originator and promoter of itinerant evangelism in Scotland.[4] The first Act was known as the "Declaratory Act of the General Assembly of the Church

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[1] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 25.

[2] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 66.

[3] The Scots Magazine. Vol. 61. Edinburgh: Alexander Chapman and Company. June 1799. p. 442.

[4] It was not directed, as Hetherington suggests, primarily at Rowland Hill; Hill had only been in Scotland for a few weeks the preceding year. Hill's work had produced little to antagonise the General Assembly in comparison to the two years of evangelistic work of James Haldane. It was the Haldanes who were responsible for bringing Hill and a number of other evangelical ministers to Scotland from England. See: Hetherington, History of the Church of Scotland. pp. 697-703.

of Scotland, Respecting Unqualified Ministers and Preachers." That it was actuated by embittered feeling cannot be denied. It would scarcely be in human nature for these ministers to know that systematic censure was being hurled at them and not have taken means to put a stop to it.[1]

This Act prohibited all ministers of the Establishment "from employing to preach upon any occasion, or to dispense any of the other ordinances of the Gospel... persons not qualified...to accept of a presentation, and from holding ministerial communion in any other manner with such person."[2] Such an act which now seems to have set forth such uncharitable restrictions must be judged by the necessities of the times in which it was passed. If it was the conviction of the Established Church that the doctrines proclaimed from her pulpits were in danger of being corrupted by Haldane, and his Society, then she had no other alternative but to follow such a course.[3]

Following this a Pastoral Admonition, which manifests the strength and bitterness of the opposition, was issued

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[1] The Church of Scotland. Story, R. H., Editor. pp. 746-747.

[2] Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. 1638-1842. Edinburgh: W. Ritchie, Jr. 1843. p. 869.

[3] The Church of Scotland. op. cit. p. 749.

on June 3, 1799. It is indicative of the narrow and illiberal spirit not only of the Moderate party but of most denominations of the time. It was grossly slanderous, accusing the Society for the Propagating the Gospel at Home and its agents of being guilty of spreading anarchy and tyranny and of being teachers of sedition and enemies of the Government.[1] It admonished,

> Reject with contempt and indignation that false philosophy, pregnant with lies, which has wrought so much mischief amongst mankind.[2]

The letter was ordered to be read from every pulpit and along with it there were circulated copies of a report hostile to Sunday schools for the use of the ministers and people.[3] Copies of the letter were sent to the Sheriff of every county and the chief magistrate of every burough. Thus it remained until it was rescinded by the General Assembly in 1842. Dr. Cunningham,[4] who had introduced the overture to rescind,

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[1]The Evangelical Repository, Vol. 4. No. 14. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 115.

[2]Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. 1638-1842. p. 871.

[3]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 67.

[4]William Bruce Cunningham: 1806-1878, educated in Glasgow; licensed by the Presbytery of Nairn; ordained in 1833; joined the Free Church and became minister of Prestonpans in 1843. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol. 1. p. 390.

referred to it as,

> Eminently discreditable to the Church of Scotland...It was passed for temporary purposes, and upon motives and grounds which he believed, were now regarded by a great majority of the Church of Scotland as of the most erroneous and improper kind, and as amounting to nothing less than a hatred to the cause of evangelical truth.[1]

The Rev. Dr. Guthrie[2] declared that he considered it

> One of the blackest acts the Church of Scotland ever passed; and rejoiced with all his heart that such an overture had been made as that introduced by Dr. Cunningham.

He concluded, "They had shut their pulpits against not heretics but saints, and not against error but truth."[3]

Dr. Candlish[4] added his condemnation by charging that the Act was framed for the very purpose of barring from the pulpits of the Establishment men whom it would

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[1] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 75.

[2] Thomas Guthrie: 1803-1873, ordained to Arbirlot in 1830; translated to Old Greyfriars in 1837; joined the Free Church and became a minister of Free St. John's in 1843; D.D. Edinburgh in 1849; moderator of the Free Church General Assembly 1863, 1864; founder of the Edinburgh Original Ragged Industrial Schools; one of the earliest temperance reformers; an eloquent preacher and popular writer. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol. 1, p. 108.

[3] The Evangelical Repository, Vol. 4. No. 14. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 115.

[4] R. S. Candlish: 1803-1873, ordained 1834; D. D. Princetone College, New Jersey in 1839; joined Free Church and became minister of Free St. George's in 1843; the moderator of Free Church General Assembly in 1862; the Principal of the New College in 1862; D.D. Edinburgh in 1865; after the death of Chalmers, he was the most influential leader of the Free Church. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol. 1, p. 106.

have been an honour to have in any Church. Such was the contrast between the spirit which animated the Moderates and that which characterised the majority of Chalmers' party in 1842.[1] The narrow and repressive spirit of the Moderates was clearly indicated after the Disruption when they re-enacted these acts.[2]

The Act had empowered the Procurator of the Church to bring legal charges[3] against unauthorised teachers of Sabbath-schools on the basis of certain obsolete Acts of the Scottish Parliament which were directed against Papists and malignants.[4] The bigotry of the Moderates, expressed in this way, led to the strengthening of the cause of evangelism as promoted by James Haldane.

Rowland Hill, who was in Edinburgh for the opening of the Circus Church,[5] said, "We shall shine all the brighter for the scrubbing we have got from the General Assembly today."[6] Immediately upon its release, replies

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[1] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 236.

[2] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 75.

[3] See the "Report Concerning Vagrant Teachers and Sunday Schools" in which these laws were brought to the attention of the General Assembly. Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. 1638-1842. p. 873.

[4] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 12.

[5] Haldane, op. cit. p. 239.

[6] Rogers, Charles, Christian Heroes in the Army and Navy. London: Sampson Law, Son and Marston, 1867. p. 87.

and denials of the libel of the Pastoral Admonition were published in the leading newspapers not only by the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home[1] but by most of the men connected with the Society.[2]

The Society denied point by point the charges brought against them, giving ample evidence to show the falsifications of the charges. They repeated that their sole object was the revival of declining religion among their countrymen.[3] Evidence seen in their letters of instructions to their new itinerant evangelists seems to support the validity of their statement. "The work in which you are to be engaged is important beyond description. It has immediate reference to the eternal interests of the souls of men. You are to show to your fellow men the way of salvation."[4] Although this was written several years later, it epitomizes their sentiments from the time the Society was founded.

Mr. George Burder, a minister of Coventry, England, who had worked under the Society, replied in the "Scots Newspaper," calling attention to the fact that the

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[1]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 13.

[2]For an example of one of these replies see: Matheson, A Memoir of Greville Ewing. pp. 212, 213.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 4. No. 38. July 15, 1799. pp. 293, 294.

[4]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 70. March 15, 1802. p. 97.

methods condemned in the Pastoral Admonition had been used with great success for years in England and Wales with none of the ill-effects it suggested. Instead of rebellion, he said, it resulted in the peaceful conversion of tens of thousands of people. He points out that Mr. Matthew Henry, author of the Bible Commentary, had followed a similar course of evangelistic tours in England without incurring such charges.[1]

The Establishment was not alone in its attempts to stamp out the rising tide of itinerant evangelism. The Cameronians at Glasgow subjected some of its members to church discipline for listening to a sermon preached by some one outside their communion. The session was instructed to endeavour to bring them to a sense of the "sinfulness and offensiveness" of their actions and censure them accordingly. This group would not submit to the imposed sentence of the session and were expelled from the church.[2]

The Antiburgher Synod passed a decree forbidding any of its members "attending upon, or giving countenance to, public preaching, by any who are not of our communion."[3] They actually deposed the Rev. George Cowie of

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 4. No. 38. July 15, 1799. pp. 296, 297.

[2]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. pp. 71, 72.

[3]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 240.

Huntly, one of their leading ministers; his sole offence being that he had listened to the preaching of James Haldane.[1] He had listened to Haldane from the window of his manse on the forenoon of a Sunday and was so deeply impressed with his unction that he said, "I cannot act the coward any longer; I must accompany that servant of God into my own church." The evening discourse so moved him that he felt "as if he could not venture up his own pulpit stairs again," so much did he feel the inadequacy of his own spiritual power.[2]

The AntiBurgher Session in Perth exercised discipline on Mr. William Grimman for listening to his own son preach --his son being a minister of the Relief Church.[3] This same Synod showed itself equally opposed to missionary work at home.[4]

In the same year, 1798, the Relief Church passed a similar decree which forbade any of their ministers to give his pulpit to anyone "who had not gone through a full curriculum of philosophy and divinity in one of the universities of the nation,"--forgetting their founder,

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[1]Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 402.

[2]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 157.

[3]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 71.

[4]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 11.

Thomas Guthrie, had studied under Doddridge, The Independent, at Northampton.[1] They let it drop from their code of regulations in 1811 as something of which they were ashamed.[2] The Associate Synod passed a decree against lay-preaching and declared, "No person in the communion of the Secession Church ought to countenance the public ministrations of such persons."[3]

The Pastoral Admonition had little effect on the attitude of the Evangelicals within the Establishment who favoured Haldane's evangelistic work. It had even less effect on Haldane himself when he learned of it while he was engaged in this third evangelistic tour. Rowland Hill, on the contrary, had become so engrossed in retaliating against the General Assembly that his usefulness as an evangelist was marred.[4] John Campbell remarked that he had not heard of one conversion as the fruit of Hill's second tour to Scotland.[5]

On his earlier tours James Haldane had proclaimed the Gospel as a lay-evangelist. Early in 1797,

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[1] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 157.

[2] Struthers, History of the Relief Church. p. 405.

[3] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 11.

[4] He published a series of letters in answer to the Pastoral Admonition. Ibid. Sect. 1. p. 13.

[5] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 239.

however, he became the minister of the Circus Church in Edinburgh and went forth on his third evangelistic tour as an ordained minister. The customary announcement of his tour was published in the "Missionary Magazine" in May.[1] He departed alone on May 7, 1799 and was joined by two companions early on the tour. He preached two or three times a day in Dunfermline, Kinross and Perth as his tour got underway. The first Saturday he preached in Dundee, his birthplace, to overflow congregations. He had determined from the experience of his first tour to preach in the open air as much as possible, for he said,

> When he preached in a meeting-house, we found the bulk of the congregation were such as heard the Gospel regularly. Our design was not so much to preach to Christians as those who knew not the Gospel.[2]

When the weather did not permit, a church or meeting-house of some description was usually made available to him.

During the next week, he preached at Kirriemuir, Forfar, Glamis, Brechin and Montrose, returning to Dundee for the following Sunday.[3] Before leaving on his tour, he received a letter signed by several of the

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 4. No. 35. May 20, 1799. p. 229.

[2]Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 29.

[3]Haldane, Lives of the Haldanes. p. 239.

people of Meigle stating the determination of the people to hear no more itinerants. On Monday he went to Meigle where "all the village turned out to hear."[1] The next day he was joined by Mr. William Innes. Together they proceeded to Arbroath where they were joined by Mr. John Aikman. These two companions remained with him the rest of the tour.

They proceeded through Aberdeen to Banff which completed the first month of their tour. James Haldane had preached more than sixty times--most often in the open air to congregations numbering in the thousands; the continued exertion combined with the rainy weather to give him a sore throat. When his companions returned, complications were added to the sore throat and he was so ill they decided to return him immediately to Edinburgh. By the following morning he was much improved and refused to return. In less than a week he was at Huntly preaching in the open air once more.[2] As their tour progressed they found evidence of many who had been converted on their first tour through this area in 1797.[3]

When they arrived in Inverness they learned of the Pastoral Admonition which had been issued by the General

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 242.

[2]Ibid. pp. 243, 244.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 4. No. 40. September 16, 1799. p. 432.

Assembly. That afternoon he preached on the words of a "vagrant preacher" who was well known in Judea--Matthew 3:10. On July second, they crossed the Pentland Firth to Walls and began their circuit of the Orkney Islands. On July seventh, they left Mr. Aikman to work out of Kirkwall, while they sailed for the Shetland Islands.

They preached at Fair Island thirty miles north of the Orkneys. A missionary of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge preached there previously but his labours had been terminated. Owing to his advanced age, the minister of Dunrossness was unable to visit them. The people had not heard a sermon in six years. They went to the Shetlands to be married and took their children there to be baptized.[1] They proceeded to Lerwick, the principal town on the mainland of the Shetlands. Because of the great distance, the people had little connection with Scotland and Haldane was invited to preach in a number of the Established Churches.

They visited the islands of Whalsay, Skerries, Tottar, Unst and North Yell where Mr. Mill, an eighty-eight year old minister stood and in a commanding tone warned the people to take heed to the message Haldane had just delivered.[2] They separated later that they might

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[1]Missionary Magazine, Vol. 3. No. 33. November 4, 1799. p. 525.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. pp. 245, 246.

cover a wider circuit. They finished their tour of the Shetlands on August the eighteenth after spending nearly six weeks there. They had preached to most of the twenty-six thousand people who occupied the thirty scattered parishes. It was here that some of the most striking results of his ministry were produced[1] and the spiritual awakening which followed was directly attributed to his evangelistic endeavours.[2]

While they had been in the Shetlands, Mr. Aikman had made a large number of tours out of Kirkwall, including one tour through the Orkneys. They joined him on August nineteenth, and began their return journey, preaching two or three times a day in Stromness, Walls, South Ronaldshay and Flota. Passing through Caithness, they saw much of the fruit of their previous journey, not only in the number of souls won to Christ, but in the number of ministers who were venturing out in evangelistic endeavours.[3] They returned, preaching at Thurso, Wick, Nairn, Inverness, Elgin, Huntly, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh.[4]

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[1]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 15. p. 2.

[2]Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,082. Saturday. February 15, 1851. p. 3. col. 1.

[3]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 250.

[4]Ibid. p. 251.

From the numerical standpoint of conversions which were attributed to James Haldane's preaching, his early evangelistic tours were an overwhelming success. In the little town of Wick, the number had climed from forty[1] after the first tour to one hundred and twenty which was considered to be a very conservative estimate. Concerning this number the minister of Wick wrote,

> I do not recollect any under fifteen, and none above sixty years of age. Some of them were openly wicked and vile both in speech and behaviour, as they themselves declared; others were noted for their strictness and sobriety; some were stupidly ignorant and could not even read; and others were well informed and intelligent persons. A few thought themselves religious characters, and were esteemed such by their neighbours.[2]

In Thurso there were as many, if not more than at Wick. One hundred and forty-five were reported in and around Dunkeld, eighty in the district of Moulin and around one hundred in Breadalbane.[3] Such were the results of one phase of his amazing labours. While many scoffed at his design, and others looked coldly on his zeal, there was something about him which of

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[1]Cleghorn was ordained as minister of a church composed of these forty people on March 17, 1799. Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 3, p. 7. He later became co-pastor with John Aikman in Edinburgh in 1804. Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. p. 40.

[2]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 83. September 18, 1803. p. 410.

[3]Hanna, William, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church of Scotland. Constable and Company. 1858. p. 126.

necessity, because of the results he produced, commanded attention and rendered his proceedings the object of involuntary respect and admiration.[1]

Haldane gained a name from the Solway Firth to the Tweed.[2] From almost every point of view his early evangelistic tours before the turn of the century were an outstanding success. Every one of his original goals had been reached. Both the clergy and the people had been roused from their spiritual lethargy. A great impulse had been given to the Evangelical party which continued to increase in strength from that time on. The exposure to the nation of the deadening effects of Moderatism led to the decline of the Moderate party.

Religion everywhere, outside the Gaelic speaking areas of the north, had been greatly revived. Never before or since had such extensive evangelistic work been carried on in Scotland. The revivals were being extended by the Society's evangelists. The revival was such that one of the Society's evangelists working in Thurso and its vicinity wrote to the Society in a letter dated November, 1798, "there are daily some calling, who are

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[1]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 21. n.s. February 1851. p. 61.

[2]Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,082. Saturday. February 15, 1851. p. 3. col. 1.

under serious concern."[1]

By the close of 1799, nearly forty catechists and itinerant evangelists were travelling throughout the land; thirty to forty thousand tracts had been distributed. The whole of the north of Scotland was aflame with revival fires as the result of his ministry and leadership.[2]

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[1] An Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. p. 38.

[2] Struther, History of the Relief Church. p. 402.

[x] The Moderates defined an enthusiast as "One who depends on private internal revelations, without regarding the written word, or in general, who is guided by an over-heated imagination in matters of religion, without regard to Scripture or common sense." Brown, John, Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of Secession. Eighth Edition. Glasgow: Niven, Napier and Knull. 1802. p. 101.

CHAPTER THREE

COOPERATIVE WORK WITH ROBERT HALDANE

In a biographical sketch of the Haldanes, appearing in "The Evangelical Repository," the author stated that the story of the brothers is without parallel in church history.[1] James Haldane's life after his conversion had a great influence on his brother and led ultimately to a similar spiritual change in his life. From this experience onward throughout the remainder of their Christian lives the two worked very closely together in a united effort to propagate the Gospel. In their first attempt to find a place of service, they planned to go to India as missionaries. This was a courageous decision since it was made in a period when "missions were widely regarded as the product of Quixotic enthusiasm."[2]

Both men were bold, ardent and energetic. In the younger there was greater quickness of perception and more ready fluency in speech while in the elder there was a greater depth of originality as well as a larger infusion of habitual caution.[3]

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[1] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 9. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 3.

[2] The Church of Scotland. Vol. 3. p. 740.

[3] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 273.

James Haldane had seen the great need for missionary work when he had been in India a short time before and impulsively he decided to go. Robert Haldane had heard of Carey's work but with his characteristic caution he weighed the matter thoroughly for six months before making his decision. Thus both decided to give their lives to the Lord's work in India.[1]

Robert's plan was to sell Airthrey, his estate, to finance their missionary project. Airthrey, formerly known as Gleneagles, was one of the largest and most beautiful estates in its day in Scotland. It was situated two miles north of Stirling,[2] in the junction of the counties of Stirling, Perth and Clackmannan.[3] For ten years Robert had been engaged in transplanting trees and otherwise landscaping the lands around his newly completed Airthrey Castle.[4] The popular watering place where the Bridge of Allan now stands was on the western section of the estate.[5]

Preparations were made for their missionary under-

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[1] Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,082. Saturday. February 15, 1851. p. 3. col. 1.

[2] Bartholomew, John, The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles, Ninth Edition. Edinburgh: Bartholomew and Son. 1943. p. 8. Also see: map p. 24.

[3] Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. p. 201.

[4] Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 398.

[5] The Church of Scotland. Vol. 3. p. 745.

taking. The Rev. William Innes of Edinburgh, Dr. David Bogue of Gosport, the Rev. Greville Ewing of Edinburgh, and Mr. James Ritchie, a printer, also of Edinburgh were persuaded to join them.[1] The East India Company, however, was opposed to the mission being founded in India and would not give their permission. Every persuasive measure was brought to bear but all to no avail.

Robert Haldane went to London for frequent conversations with members of the Government on their plans and especially with his own powerful relative, Mr. Secretary Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville. After considerable delay he received a formal letter from the Government couched in the regular red-tape phraseology and ending with the words, "The court have weighty and substantial reasons which prompt them to decline a compliance with your request."[2]

The younger brother was not one to be easily turned aside from a life of active Christian service. When he saw their missionary plan was doomed to failure he decided he would serve at home and in the spring of 1797 he began to preach at Gilmerton.[3] He launched out

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[1]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 59.

[2]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 9. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 7.

[3]Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh. Vol. 3. p. 158.

on his first evangelistic tour within a few weeks after he began to preach.[1] The overwhelming success of his tour accelerated the abandonment of the India mission.[2]

Robert sold part of his estate for seventy thousand pounds[3] and joined hands with his brother to help finance his new evangelistic enterprise. Both devoted themselves and their fortunes to the task of evangelising Scotland.[4] Much interest was excited by two men of their position devoting themselves and their talents to the cause of evangelism especially since evangelists work during this early period was derided as "intellectual imbecility."[5]

James Haldane returned from his first tour determined to work out some scheme to provide for itinerant evangelists and catechists to carry the Gospel systematically to every village in Scotland. He conferred with his brother on the subject and the founding of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home in December

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[1]Haldane, Journal of a Tour. p. 37.

[2]Haldane, Lives of the Haldanes. p. 113.

[3]Bullock, John, Centenary Memorials of the First Congregational Church in Aberdeen. Aberdeen: James Murray. 1898. p. 164.

[4]Stephen, W., History of the Scottish Church. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1896. p. 566.

[5]Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. Section Four: "In the Days of the Haldanes." Landels, W., London: T. Nelton and Sons. 1883. p. 173.

1797 was the result.[1] The Society was formed the same month in which a proposal for such an endeavour appeared in the "Missionary Magazine."[2] This was regarded by many as the red-letter day of modern Scottish evangelism.[3]

Two serious problems were involved in carrying out the program of the Society. First, there were too few men who were available for this type of work. Second, the men who were interested were usually not sufficiently trained. To solve these problems James Haldane began to make plans.

In the meantime, it was suggested at a social gathering at which the Haldanes were present, that it would be good to have a place of worship in Edinburgh similar to the Whitefield Tabernacle at Moorfields, London.[4] The Circus, located at the foot of Leith Walk on the intersection of Little King Street, Broughton Street and Leith Street, was available.[5] It was

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[1] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 178.

[2] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 19. December 1797. p. 547.

[3] MacKay, John, The Church in the Highlands. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1914. p. 227.

[4] It is not known who suggested the idea. Mr. John Campbell claims to have made the suggestion; but Robert Haldane said it was the suggestion of an English minister. The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No. 22. October 1819. p. 601.

[5] Derwent, J. W., Historical Account of the Tabernacle Church, Leith Walk and Duncan Street Baptist Church. Edinburgh: 1926. p. 7.

leased for a year by Robert Haldane as an experiment.[1] The intention was not to organise a new church but "to remain in the Established Church."[2]

The brothers conferred on the advisability of such a project.[3] When they investigated the matter, they found that "while the population had increased two-fold, church accomodations had in a great measure remained stationary."[4] They found that the seat rents in the average church of the city prohibited the poor from hearing the Gospel.

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[1]The Relief Congregation that was meeting in the Circus had completed the rebuilding of their Church on College Street. Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 390.

[2]Those present at this social gathering were all members of the Established Church according to John Campbell.

[3]Chalmers shared their sentiment on this point; in 1835 he published a tract entitled "Re-assertion of the Evils in the Edinburgh System of Seat Letting." See: Anderson, John, Reminiscences of Chalmers. Edinburth: John Nichol. 1851. p. 235. He wanted to make seat letting on a territorial principle to bring down the price of the seating. See: Philip, Adam, Thomas Chalmers, Apostle of Union. London: James Clarke and Company. 1920. p. 94. He went on to advocate building more churches with lower seat rents making the Gospel more accessable to the people. See: Anderson, Reminiscences of Chalmers. p. 220. Years later when Chalmers was minister of the Tron Church in Edinburgh, the letting of seats was still in the hands of the Town Council and the charges were much too high for the poor. "The vast majority of the people of the parish regardless of their inclination were denied access to their own sanctuary." See: Dodds, James, Thomas Chalmers. Edinburth: Oliphant and Company. 1870. p. 141.

[4]See page 111 for footnote.

An advocate for the building of more Established Churches in Edinburgh pointed out that eighty percent of the population of Edinburgh did not have an adequate income to pay for seats in one of the Established Churches. The poor could not gain standing room in many of the Established Churches without paying for it.

Learning these things, they decided to go ahead with the experiment and make most of the seats available free of charge.[1] In less than three years all the seats in the Circus were free.[2] They proposed to bring different ministers from England to preach in rotation to excite and maintain the interest of the people.

They requested Rowland Hill, a well known and successful minister from England to open the Circus.[3] He preached the first time in the Circus on July 29,

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[4]Footnote from preceding page. This fact was first brought to light by a Presbyterian minister giving reasons why the number of Established Churches in Edinburgh should be doubled. Haldane, R., Plans for Promoting Religion. p. 57. Even if additional churches had been built, the difficulty of supplying them with ministers remained. There were not a sufficient number of students enrolled in the schools to provide an adequate supply of ministers. Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 195.

[1]Derwent, Historical Account of the Tabernacle Church, Leith Walk, and Duncan Street Baptist Church. p. 7.

[2]Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 160.

[3]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 21. n.s. February 1851. p. 57.

1798 to over two thousand people.[1] He filled the Circus pulpit for three Sabbaths, preaching three times each Lord's Day and apparently every night during the week.[2] The Circus was not intended to be a church but simply a Gospel preaching station which would supplement the work of the Establishment. It was so arranged that the hours of their services--seven in the morning and six in the evening--would not conflict with the hours of worship of the other churches.[3]

Rowland Hill[4] had met James Haldane and John Aikman

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[1]Sidney, Edwin, The Life of Rowland Hill. London: Seeley, Burnside and Seeley. 1844. p. 193.

[2]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 12. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 269.

[3]The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 67.

[4]Rowland Hill was born August 23, 1744, at the time Whitefield was preaching in Scotland and drawing the fire of the Seceders. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge, at the close of 1764. Two years later he became personally acquainted with Whitefield who exercised a great influence upon him. Admitted to Deacon's orders by the Bishop of Bath in 1773, he was settled as Curate of Kingston, near Tφunton. He was a fiery evangelist in his own pulpit. He was denied his priest's orders because of his persistence in itinerant evangelism. Though his loyalty to the Church was pronounced, the influence of Whitefield and the evangelical movement was too great to resist and he finally became pastor of the Independent Surrey Chapel, which was opened in 1783. The assumption of this preaching post did not end the itinerant preaching to which he had become so accustomed in the preceding ten years. He was said to have preached twenty three thousand sermons by the time of his death and it was as a travelling evangelist that he influenced Scotland. Jones, William, Memoirs of the Rev. Rowland Hill. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1853. p. 75f. 1a

in southern Scotland. In his published journal, Hill has a graphic account of this incident.

> I was told in very candid language, their errand and design; that it was a marvelous circumstance, quite a phenomenon, that an East Indian Captain, a gentleman of good family and connections should be an itinerant preacher; that he should travel from town to town all against his own interests and character.[1]

Hill was persuaded by Haldane not to limit himself to preaching in the Circus but to take every opportunity for preaching in the vicinity of Edinburgh. James Haldane had often preached to congregations of ten thousand on Calton Hill, and to large congregations on the Bruntsfield Links and King's Park and knew the value of such efforts.[2]

Thus encouraged, Rowland Hill preached to eight thousand on Calton Hill the same afternoon he opened the Circus.[3] He preached the next day to four thousand on Calton Hill and to two thousand the following Thursday at Leith. The following week he preached to five thousand at Glasgow. His sermons were simple, direct and highly evangelistic. His method of preaching was

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[1]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 189.

[2]Biographical Sketch of the Late J. A. Haldane, Esq. Reprinted from the Edinburgh Newspapers of February 15, 1851. p. 1.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 27. August 20, 1798. p. 382.

completely different from that to which Scottish congregations were accustomed.

As a student at Oxford, Hill had caught the full influence of Whitefield and Wesley's movement.[1] In many ways his preaching was similar to Whitefield's. No Scot would have ventured an anecdote in the pulpit but Hill used them freely to make his messages lively and effective. His frank, jovial manner greatly commended what he taught and "he preached the Gospel with a large-hearted freeness."[2] The great fervour of his preaching drew such crowds that the Circus could not contain half the number that came to hear him.[3]

James Haldane returned from his evangelistic tour and left immediately with Hill on a short tour through Fife to Dundee and returned by way of St. Andrews. Back in Edinburgh, Hill preached to over fifteen thousand on the Calton Hill.[4] He did not have the rugged constitution which Haldane possessed and the third week he was so fatigued he was unable to go on.

Haldane continued his tour until Hill had regained his strength. The exertion of open air preaching only

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[1]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 12. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 269.

[2]The Church of Scotland. Vol. 3. p. 746.

[3]Sidney, The Life of Rowland Hill. pp. 197-198.

[4]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 57.

once seemed to have affected his iron frame. We find him on one occasion at Huntly suffering with quinsy; he was on the verge of returning to Edinburgh when "the quinsy burst" giving him instant relief and after a day or two of rest he rejoined his co-labourers and continued his tour.[1] On September 2, 1798 Hill preached his last sermon in the morning at the Circus and in the afternoon preached to twenty thousand on Calton Hill.[2]

The opening of the Circus created a great deal of excitement in Edinburgh. Charges were made that it was an attempt to overthrow the Establishment[3] but all those who were interested in the Circus and were supporting it were members of the Established Church. Their primary aim was the conversion of the unsaved.[4] They hoped that it would not draw people away from the Establishment but like the Tabernacle in London, it would reach those who had no church affiliation.[5] The Circus had no connection with the Society for Propagating the Gospel

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[1] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 156.

[2] The Church of Scotland. Vol. 3. p. 746.

[3] The same unfounded cry was raised when the Tabernacle was built in London. Haldane, Plans for Promoting Religion. p. 53.

[4] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 8.

[5] Haldane, op. cit. p. 53.

at Home.[1]

The doctrines proclaimed from the pulpit of the Circus were "essentially the same as those contained in the Confession of Faith, and in the Articles of the Church of England, and preached by those in the Church of Scotland denominated evangelical or Gospel ministers."[2]

Many English Congregational ministers followed Rowland Hill at the Circus in the following few months. Among these were Mr. James Bennett of Romsey, Mr. Edward Parsons of Leeds, Mr. James Boden of Sheffield, Mr. George Burder of Coventry, Mr. Slatterie of Chatham, Mr. Simpson of Hoxton, Mr. Thomas Taylor of Ossett, Mr. John Griffen of Portsea and Mr. Jay of Bath.[3] These men came to Scotland at their own expense to preach at the Circus.[4]

These men were among the most zealous and eminent of the English Dissenters.[5] They preached occasionally on the nature of a Church of Christ, the materials of which it is composed and the New Testament strictures which govern it. This led many to entertain Independent

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[1]Haldane, Plans for Promoting Religion. p. 53.

[2]Ibid. p. 54.

[3]Waddington, John, Congregational History. Vol. 4. London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1878. p. 42. ?

[4]Haldane, op. cit. p. 55.

[5]Matheson, The Memoirs of Greville Ewing. p. 170.

views.[1] On many occasions these ministers preached in the open to crowds which sometimes numbered as many as twenty thousand.[2] This caused a sensational amount of excitement for the population of Edinburgh was only eighty thousand at the time.[3]

In December 1798, fourteen people met in a house at number sixteen George Street, Edinburgh[4] and formed themselves into a church for Christian fellowship.[5] It was "partly from their own principles and partly from the hostile attitude of the Presbyterian Church, they drifted into Congregationalism, and formed the first body of Independents in Scotland."[6] The opposition from the Establishment forced the move.[7]

James Haldane did not wish to break with the

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[1]Haldane, Plans for Promoting Religion. p. 55.

[2]Kinniburgh, Robert, Fathers of Independency in Scotland. Glasgow: A. Fullarton and Co. 1851. p. 462.

[3]Watt, H., Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption. Edinburgh: T. Nelson and Son. 1943. p. 1.

[4]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 191.

[5]The Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. Edinburgh: A. Fullarton and Co. 1849. Section three: Kinniburgh, Robert, "A Historical Survey in Scotland From its Rise in 1798 to 1812." p. 59.

[6]Stephen, History of the Scottish Church. Vol. 2. p. 566. See: p. 243 for an additional statement of this.

[7]Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 137.

Establishment but rather to carry on a movement which would benefit and ultimately purify it.[1] Through two years of evangelistic work he had no idea of separating from the Established Church and setting up a distinct sect. More was involved in the principles that he advocated than he realized at the time. It was not until events cleared the way that he was prepared to take the final all important step of secession.

When the formation of the Church was made public, three hundred people made application for membership. From its very birth, the Circus Church was a strong and healthy ecclesiastical infant. Its membership was composed not only of new converts but men and women from other evangelical churches throughout Edinburgh. Though Dr. Erskine and Walter Buchanan were numbered among his best friends they were more than mildly disturbed when "the very cream of their congregations, for piety and social influence, left them," to become members of the Circus Church.[2]

It is very clear that this body of Independents originated, not in any pre-conceived plan but in a variety of unforseen circumstances, and from causes many of them independent of and altogether unconnected with each other.

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[1]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 13. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 271.

[2]Ibid. Vol. 3. No. 11. p. 153.

There seemed to be a preparation in the minds of many to receive other sentiments on the constitution of the church than those in which they had been brought up.[1]

The Haldanes formed the Circus Church with the intention of receiving only those to its membership who gave credible evidence of being regenerated.[2] The Church was not identified with any particular denomination.[3] Its constitution was Independent more from necessity than from choice. With the exception of Ewing their concept of church polity at this time was very meager.[4] It was organised on the Congregational order and although it was not the first Congregational Church in Scotland,[5] when the Congregationalists held their Jubilee service in 1848 they traced their origin to the Circus Church.[6]

It is interesting to note that each secession up to this time that had come out of the Established Church

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[1] The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No. 22. October 1819. p. 602.

[2] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. pp. 161, 162.

[3] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 53.

[4] The London Christian Instructor. Op. cit. p. 601.

[5] See p. 243.

[6] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. iii.

retained the Westminster Confession as their doctrinal standard and the Presbyterian polity as their form of government.[1] But in its first stages, the new Independent movement was not ecclesiastical but purely evangelistic in its character and aims.[2] There was no idea of forming another religious party. The sole aim was the conversion of sinners and bringing about a revival of religion.[3] The formation of the Church at the Circus was followed by others patterned after it in different parts of the country.[4]

James Haldane was chosen and ordained minister of the new Church.[5] Though Robert Haldane did not have the ability to preach like his brother, he did occasionally hold religious services[6] and later became co-pastor of the Edinburgh Tabernacle.[7]

When Rowland Hill returned to England, he was

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[1]Taylor, W. M., The Scottish Pulpit from the Reformation to the Present Day. London: Charles Burnet and Company. 1887. p. 24.

[2]Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 136.

[3]Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 54.

[4]Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 166.

[5]See p. 242.

[6]Derwent, Historical Account of the Tabernacle Church, Leith Walk, and Duncan Street Baptist Church. p. 6.

[7]Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 182.

accompanied by Robert Haldane. As they travelled, they discussed the advantages and benefits of a place of worship like the Circus.[1] The possibility occurred to Haldane of building similar places of worship in other localities in Scotland.[2] When he returned to Scotland, he conferred fully with his brother who heartily agreed with the plan.

James Haldane was to take charge of the Tabernacle to be built in Edinburgh, Ewing the Tabernacle in Glasgow,[3] Innes the Tabernacle in Dundee and other ministers were to be picked later to take charge of the Tabernacles in other locations.[4] It is undeniable that the visits paid to Scotland from time to time by such men as Charles Simeon and Rowland Hill did much to solidify and extend this work.[5]

Other Tabernacles were quickly erected in such strategic centers as Elgin where the building was capable

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[1]The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No. 22. October 1819. p. 601.

[2]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 12. Eighth Series. p. 270.

[3]Ewing was a classmate of the Haldanes at the High School in Edinburgh. Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. p. 192.

[4]It is difficult to determine the degree of presumption involved in the Haldanes' decision as both Ewing and Innes were still members of the Established Church.

[5]The Evangelical Repository. op. cit. p. 271.

of holding one thousand five hundred people;[1] Dumfries where the Tabernacle cost two thousand pounds and the cost was shared equally by the brothers; Perth,[2] Dunkeld,[3] Aberdeen,[4] Helensburgh,[5] Thurso,[6] and Wick.[7] From the Shetlands to Wigtonshire some kind of building was purchased or erected for the expansion of the work.[8] Everywhere the Tabernacles were crowded. The collections received in these places were partly for the poor and the remainder went towards the spread of the Gospel.[9] The building of the Tabernacles was called, "one of the most philanthropic plans that had ever been conceived."[10]

While the plans for the Tabernacles were being

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[1] MacKay, The Church in the Highlands. p. 228.

[2] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 294.

[3] Ibid. p. 292.

[4] The Aberdeen Tabernacle was also called the Loch Chapel. Morris, J. W., Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller. London: E. W. Morris. 1816. p. 136.

[5] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 9. No. 92. January 16, 1804. p. 48.

[6] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 155.

[7] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 4. No. 35. May 20, 1799. p. 229.

[8] The Evangelical Repository, op. cit. p. 155.

[9] Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 2. p. 13.

[10] Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 389.

developed, other important plans were in the making. James Haldane had devised a solution to the problem which confronted the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. He suggested to his brother that they pick young men to be trained for the work of itinerant evangelism.

Robert Haldane had been thinking about a similar plan; the idea occurred to him when he heard the plans for a divinity school discussed at the third general meeting of the London Missionary Society in May 1797.[1] Just such a plan had also appeared in a letter to the editor of the "Missionary Magazine"--a proposal for an Academy to provide gratuitous training in practical courses.[2]

It was James Haldane's idea to send the men to be trained by Dr. David Bogue.[3] It was for the purpose of securing this cooperation that Robert Haldane had accompanied Rowland Hill to England. The formation of the Seminaries which followed was occasioned entirely by contingent circumstances. Such a desire to supply trained men to carry out a program of evangelization in

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[1] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 13. June 19, 1797. p. 281.

[2] Ibid. Vol. 3. No. 25. July 18, 1798. p. 263.

[3] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 226.

the homeland could not be gratified by any other means then in existence.[1]

Dr. Bogue readily agreed to the brothers' plans but unfortunately he had rather liberal political tendencies and the Haldanes determined not to send their young men to him as they might be leaving themselves open to the charge of political intrigue. Consequently a seminary was established in Edinburgh, founded along undenominational lines.[2] They consulted with Greville Ewing and persuaded him to take charge of the instruction of the first class.[3] In December, Ewing resigned his charge and seceded from the Establishment.[4]

Ewing had long felt alienated from the majority of ministers with whom he had ecclesiastical connections because of his position favouring evangelistic work. He

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[1]The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No. 22. October 1819. p. 602.

[2]MacCowan, Roderick, The Men of Skye. Glasgow: John MacNeilage. 1902. p. xiv.

[3]Ewing was the editor of the "Missionary Magazine." Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh. Vol. 1. p. 361. At this time--the fall of 1798--he was still the minister of Lady Glenorchy's Church in Edinburgh. Lady Glenorchy's was opened in 1774. Her ladyship retained during her lifetime the patronage of it. She stipulated that the clergymen who officiated in it should be in connection with the Church of Scotland but not under its Presbyterian authority. Stevenson, Chronicles of Edinburgh. p. 304.

[4]For the action of the General Assembly against Ewing, see: Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 13.

made the separation only after making the independent study of the New Testament regarding the principles of a Christian Church and being convinced that "the church-life and order based on Congregational principles were most in accordance with the principles and practice of the early Christian Churches and with the teaching of the Scripture."[1]

In January 1799, Ewing began to teach the first seminary class of twenty-four men.[2] The men had been carefully chosen. Each had passed a rigid examination as to his character, knowledge, personal piety, intellectual potentialities and political sentiments. Many who proved deficient upon examination were rejected.[3] Ten other young men were likewise chosen and sent to Dr. Bogue for similar instruction to determine if his political disqualifications were more imaginary than real.[4] All of the men comprising this class were Presbyterian; some were from the Relief Church, others were from the Burghers and Anti-Burghers.

The classes met in Edinburgh until Ewing left to

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[1]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 61.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 228.

[3]Haldane, Plans for Promoting Religion. p. 62.

[4]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 228.

take charge of the Tabernacle in Glasgow.[1] The population of Glasgow at this time was 77,385.[2] Robert Haldane contracted to pay Ewing two hundred pounds a year to be minister of the Glasgow Tabernacle and an equal amount to be a professor in the theological school.[3] The Glasgow Circus which stood on the west side of Jamaica Street,[4] was purchased and fitted as a place of worship which would accomodate three thousand people.[5] It was opened on July 28, 1799 by Rowland Hill preaching to a packed house with hundreds unable to gain admission.[6] He preached in the open air that afternoon to over six thousand near the Cathedral.[7]

Andrew Fuller wrote in his journal, concerning this event, that Mr. Ewing,

> Opened a very large place of worship; an amazing congregation is gathered, and was

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[1]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 154.

[2]Reid, William, The Merchant Evangelist Being a Memoir of William M'Gavin. Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier. 1884. p. 38.

[3]The Scots Magazine announced the opening of the Glasgow Tabernacle on August 1, 1799. The Scots Magazine. Vol. 61. Edinburgh: Alexander Chapman and Company. 1799. p. 572.

[4]Reid, op. cit. p. 48.

[5]Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 391.

[6]Reid, op. cit. pp. 48, 49.

[7]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 14. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 202.

> gathered from the very first Sabbath, and that chiefly from they knew not where,--from the highways and the hedges. The other ministers in the town, it is true, have lost some; but all speak highly of Ewing.[1]

To a large extent, the Church consisted of non-churchgoers.[2] The supreme goal here was not to make men Independents but to make men Christians.[3]

The Glasgow Tabernacle had been open only two weeks when Fuller preached there; he preached to about four thousand. He considered this to be the greatest day in his preaching experience.[4] The accession of men of high character and high commerical standing gave the Independent movement in Glasgow a commanding position.[5] The work grew rapidly; when Fuller was in Scotland on his second visit--in 1802--he preached in Glasgow Tabernacle to four thousand in the afternoon and five thousand that evening and received a collection of two hundred pounds for William Carey's work in India.[6]

In these early years of Independency, ministers and

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[1]Matheson, Memoirs of Greville Ewing. p. 225.

[2]Reid, The Merchant Evangelist. p. 49.

[3]George Greig, a member of the first Seminary class, became Ewing's assistant; he was later ordained minister of a church in Kirkcntilloch in June 1804. Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 16. p. 12.

[4]Laws, Andrew Fuller. p. 81.

[5]Reid, op. cit. p. 51.

[6]Laws, op. cit. p. 84.

members of the larger churches would go into the neighbouring villages to preach the Gospel.[1] This was especially true of Ewing who would preach frequently in the open air in those parts of the city which were chiefly inhabited by the working classes.[2]

This aggressive evangelism was the means of drawing many out of the Secession and Establishment who were dissatisfied with the lack of zeal and with the general passive attitude of the churches. An illustration of this can be seen in the life of William M'Gavin, a book dealer in Glasgow. The attitude of the Anti-Burghers in the controversy on lay-preaching turned him from their Church. "To him the salvation of souls was the one thing needful; and what ever seemed best adapted to gain this great end had his approval."[3] Since the Independents were active in this field, he soon joined Ewing's Church and later became a lay-evangelist in the Highlands of Scotland.[4]

Robert Haldane had furnished most of the finances necessary to carry out the plans of the brothers. He also provided for the support and medical expenses of students in the Seminaries in Scotland and England. The

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[1] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 67.

[2] Reid, The Merchant Evangelist. p. 49.

[3] Ibid. p. 44.

[4] Ibid. pp. 83f.

finances were supplied on a graduated scale for married and unmarried students. This scale was borrowed from the English institutions at Gosport and Rotherham.[1] Unmarried students received twenty-five pounds the first year and thirty pounds the second year, excluding books and medical expense.[2]

Alexander, the biographer of John Watson, said that sustaining theological seminaries as Robert Haldane did for nearly ten years at the expense of approximately eighteen hundred pounds a year was an act of generosity that was unparalleled.[3] The Seminary in Glasgow was moved to Edinburgh where it continued under the supervision of other tutors until the end of November 1800.[4]

There were twenty-four students who made up the first class in Edinburgh plus ten additional students in Gosport.[5] Robert Kinniburgh wrote of this class, "Our class was selected from the different bodies of Presbyterians...I am not aware that there was a single individual amongst us, that could be called a

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[1]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 155.

[2]Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 29.

[3]Ibid. p. 30.

[4]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 4. No. 14. Eighth Series. September 1885. p. 114.

[5]Alexander, op. cit. p. 28.

Congregationalist in sentiment."[1] Ewing's system of teaching was to make the Bible its own interpreter by comparing one part with another. To accomplish this they were accustomed one day a week to engage in the exposition of a passage appointed for that purpose; each student giving his remarks upon a portion of it and Ewing followed with much criticism and explanation as the occasion required.[2]

Congregational principles were taught by Mr. Ewing so effectively that at the close of the second school year every student was a confirmed Congregationalist. Students came from all sections, from the Highlands, Lowlands and from Ireland.[3] The first class included George Robertson, Dr. Bruder, Dr. Fletcher, Dr. Payne of Exeter, John Munro afterwards of Knockando father of Alexander Munro of Forres,[4] Daniel Gunn, William McKillican, James Robertson and David Sutherland.[5] One of the ten men trained by Dr. Bogue was the Rev. John Angell James of Birmingham who

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[1] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 68.

[2] Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 32.

[3] Ibid. p. 30.

[4] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 4. No. 14. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 203.

[5] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 15.

became an outstanding preacher and author in England.[1] They completed their term of study in December 1800, and were sent out to different preaching stations under the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home.[2]

These young men were not being trained to serve in any one location.[3] The first class was required to promise to spend their lives in the Lord's work in Scotland. Subsequent classes were not required to take such an oath. Every class, however, was to serve for one year under the direction of the Society.[4] A high caliber of students enrolled in the Seminaries, many left occupations which paid more than they ever received in the ministry.[5]

Since even more men were needed, they established another Seminary at Dundee after persuading Mr. William Innes to take charge of their training. Mr. Innes was then the minister of an Established Church in Stirling and Chaplain to the garrison of the Castle.[6] He would

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[1] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 155.

[2] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 68.

[3] Haldane, Plans for Promoting Religion. p. 63.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] Ibid. p. 64.

[6] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 9. No. 96. May 21, 1804. p. 225.

probably have remained within the Establishment but for an unfortunate incident.[1] It was apparent long before this occasion that he had been out of sympathy with the state of things existing in the Established Church.[2] He published his Reasons for Separating from the Church of Scotland, in a Series of Letters, Chiefly Addressed to Christian Friends in That Establishment. Edinburgh: 1804. Innes like Ewing had long been dissatisfied with the restrictions imposed by the Church courts on preaching the Gospel where it was most needed.[3]

As a Tabernacle was being erected in Dundee, Innes was not inducted until 1800. He moved his residence to that town and in the beginning of the Seminary's life he taught the students in his own home until the Tabernacle was completed. The Dundee Seminary was for students gathered chiefly out of the northern districts.[4]

The second class numbering between fifty and sixty students[5] began in January 1800 under Mr. Innes' direction

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[1]He was ordered to join his presbytery in the ordination of a profane swearer. He could not do so with a clear conscience so he seceded. The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 154.

[2]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 61.

[3]The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No. 22. October 1819. p. 600.

[4]The Evangelical Repository. Op. cit. p. 154.

[5]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 16.

and continued with him for a year when they were transferred to Ewing at Glasgow for an additional fifteen months.[1] It is striking proof of the effects which were produced in the northern areas by Haldane's evangelistic work that such a large number of students were enrolled in this class.[2] "In this class were a few who had been catechists, and who were found to possess talents capable of being trained for the ministry."[3] The main students of this class were Dr. Paterson afterwards a celebrated missionary to Siberia, Alexander Thomson the father of Independency in Aberdeen,[4] David Davidson of Elie, Hugh Fraser of Pitsligo, Robert Caldwell of Newcastle and Mackay afterwards of New York.[5] After he had finished his term of service with the second class, Mr. Ewing relinquished his connection with the Seminary. Immediately following this, the Seminary was returned to Edinburgh.[6] This truly made "auld Rookie" the head-

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[1] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 100.

[2] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 154.

[3] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 69.

[4] The Evangelical Repository. Op. cit. p. 156.

[5] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 15.

[6] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 69.

quarters of the new movement.[1]

A third class of twenty-two[2] was started in Dundee in December of 1800[3] which followed more or less the same program with the exception that at the end of their first year of training the students were sent out for a year to preach under the direction of the Society. They returned to their studies in Edinburgh in 1804. In this class were Francis Dick and Alexander Kerr.[4]

The fourth class began in Edinburgh in 1802 under Aikman, Wemyss[5] and Stephens.[6] In it were William Henry and Peter M'Laren.[7] The fifth class began in 1803 under the direction of the same men. During the second year Cowie took Aikman's place. The total number in the

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[1] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 191.

[2] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 16.

[3] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 101.

[4] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 69.

[5] Wemyss was the author of Clavis Symoblica, a Key to the Symbolical Language of the Scripture and Job and His Times. Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 30.

[6] William Stephens was formerly pastor of the Congregational Church in Aberdeen. Bulloch, Centenary Memorials of the First Congregational Church in Aberdeen. p. 44.

[7] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. pp. 69, 70.

fourth and fifth classes amounted to approximately sixty students.[1] In this class were Dr. David Russell[2] of Ward Chapel Dundee another pillar of Scottish Independency, John Watson, afterwards pastor at Musselburgh and long secretary of the Congregational Union,[3] Alexander Dewar and Peter Grant.[4]

The sixth class assembled in Edinburgh in 1804 under Wemyss, Stephens and Cowie who acted as the president of the Seminary.[5] The second year Cowie alone had charge of the class. In this class were John Black and Alexander Knowles afterwards minister for many years at Linlithgow.[6]

The seventh class began in 1805 under Cowie and Walker. John Neave, Dr. Henderson and William Orme subsequently of Perth and London, a brilliant preacher and author, were the outstanding students of this class.[7]

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[1] Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 29.

[2] Dr. Russell ranked after Ewing and Wardlaw as a leader in early Congregational history. He was the author of Infant Salvation, an attack on ultra-Calvinism.

[3] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 156.

[4] Alexander, op. cit. p. 57.

[5] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 5. p. 25.

[6] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 70.

[7] Ibid. p. 69.

The eighth class commenced in 1806 under Cowie and Walker. At the end of the 1807 session Cowie resigned his position with the Seminary. In this class were Thomas Smith and Robert Aikenhead.[1] At the close of their training most of the students were sent by the Haldanes to England, since the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home had been disbanded.[2]

The ninth and last class was formed near the end of 1807. It was a small class under direction of William Walker; it continued until the Seminary was discontinued in 1808.[3] The break up of the Seminary, when James Haldane became a Baptist, cut off all the supply of preachers. To repair this loss the Congregationalists established the Glasgow Theological Academy in 1811.[4]

On Sundays the senior students of Haldanes' Seminaries were often sent to assist ministers in nearby churches or to supply vacant churches or one of the preaching stations which they maintained in and around Edinburgh.[5] In such

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[1] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 69.

[2] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 17.

[3] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 101.

[4] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 92.

[5] Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 33.

work junior students were rarely used.[1]

The greatest criticism levelled against the new Seminaries was that they sent their students out without adequate training as the classes were only continued twenty-four to twenty-seven month periods. The reason stipulated for the short period was the fact that most of the students came to the Seminaries after finishing or nearly finishing their training in schools of other denominations.

It must be pointed out that the students had an extra long school year with only six weeks vacation each year. It was exceptional for a student at the Divinity Hall of the Establishment in Glasgow to attend classes for the entire four years. Attendance on classes the fourth and sometimes the third year were in many instances almost wholly dispensed with.[2] Their six weeks summer vacation was not given over to leisure. Those students who were deemed competent were sent out either alone or in pairs to itinerate through different parts of the country.[3]

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[1] Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 33.

[2] Wilson, William, Memorials of Robert Smith Candlish. Edinburgh: Adam Black. 1880. p. 31.

[3] Alexander, op. cit. p. 30. For the journal of a typical tour taken by two of these students, see: p. 34f.

The Seminary courses generally covered English grammar, rhetoric, Greek, Hebrew, systematic theology, and homiletics. In homiletics, each student, in rotation, delivered a sermon before the class with the tutor commenting on his efforts.[1] Latin was added to the curriculum of the last three classes. A French teacher was provided for those who cared to acquire a working knowledge of that language.[2]

Among the textbooks furnished every student were: Murray's English Grammar, Fulton and Knight's Pronouncing Dictionary, Walker's Rhetorical Grammar, Ewing's Greek Grammar, a Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament and LXX, Wilson's Hebrew Grammar, Pike's Hebrew and English Lexicon, a copy of the Greek New Testament and a Hebrew Old Testament.[3]

Among the approximately four hundred men[4] trained in the Seminaries were "some choice spirits who, having got a start in learning, pushed on in their studies with vigour and obtained success."[5] In a letter of instructions

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[1]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 101.

[2]Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 30.

[3]Ibid. p. 29.

[4]Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 402.

[5]Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 402.

from the Society received as they went into their field of labour, the Society warned,

> During your course of education you have enjoyed the best of opportunities of instruction and improvement. But remember that all the advantage that can be had at any college or seminary, is only the laying of a foundation of knowledge. The superstructure must entirely depend, under God, on your own future exertion and diligence.[1]

The obituaries and biographical sketches of the evangelical magazines of later years revealed the tremendous amount of work accomplished by the untiring labours of many of these Seminary men.

Some of these young men were intoxicated with vanity when they found themselves raised within two short years from the workshops to the tables of the first people of Glasgow or Edinburgh who vied to show them favours.[2] They were starting their ministry on the reputation of James Haldane, William Innes and Greville Ewing and consequently the popularity they enjoyed was such that only the strongest could sustain. They were warned constantly by the Society against the danger which they faced. This is typical of their admonitions,

> Called from a private and obscure

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[1] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 70. March 15, 1802. pp. 96, 97.

[2] Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 406.

> station in life to be a teacher of others, you are in much danger of being lifted up with pride. We know not how to caution you against this in terms sufficiently strong. It is impossible fully to represent the heinous nature, or the dangerous consequences of this sin.[1]

At first when the preachers were sent out, crowds of hearers generally attended but with the coming of the baptism controversy the numbers declined.[2]

In many instances these new ministers, preaching under the auspices of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, met with strong opposition, persecution and even imprisonment. In order to ascertain whether they could stop the Sabbath-schools operated by the Society, the Establishment sought the opinion of Mr. Henry Inglis, a leading advocate of the time. His decision was that the schools were entirely legal. This discouraged general opposition with the exception of a few presbyteries.[3] Mr. Inglis[4] drew up a statement of existing law for the Society showing how their preachers,

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 70. March 15, 1802. p. 96.

[2]Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 406.

[3]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 68.

[4]Mr. Inglis was not the advocate for the Society. Mr. William Dymock W. S. was regularly employed by the Society to take of their legal work. The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club. Vol. 26. p. 64. Also see: The Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet. p. 143.

evangelists, catechists, school-masters and Sabbath-school teachers were protected by law and that they could neither be disturbed by the old laws which the Establishment had resurrected and attempted to use against them nor by the civil magistrates.[1] This greatly encouraged them to go forward fearless of all opposition.[2] The evangelists had always been earnest in their labours but they began to manifest a still greater fervour in their work. "Such zeal had been but seldom apparent in the calm and impassioned utterances." It commended itself to the popular taste and attracted the attention as well as the favour of the people.[3]

Robert Haldane arranged for the collections of the Tabernacles up to a specified amount to go to the minister and all above that amount went towards the expense of training young men for the ministry and to the poor.[4] It has been estimated that Robert Haldane supplemented this by the amount of twenty-three thousand pounds on the operation of the Seminaries and the

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[1] Inglis, H. D., Memorial and Enquiry for the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. Edinburgh: (no publisher given) 1799. p. 1f.

[2] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 70.

[3] The Church of Scotland. Vol. 3. p. 760.

[4] The Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 2. p. 13.

training of some four hundred men;[1] this was exclusive of his gifts to the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home for their maintenance and his support given to preachers after the Society ceased to exist.[2] The financial subsidy of Congregationalism in its early years in Scotland was so great and so single in its source that it might safely be said that these churches could not have come into being had it not been for the seventy thousand pounds Robert Haldane was able and willing to expend between 1798 and 1808.[3] In all he spent one hundred thousand pounds for the spread of the Gospel in Scotland during this period.[4] Approximately thirty thousand pounds of this amount went to purchase or to erect houses of worship.[5]

From a long range point of view this financial aid proved detrimental. It was helpful at first to open and carry on the work but it later became a hinderance. It restrained the liberality of the people through the

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[1] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 71.

[2] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 19.

[3] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 24. p. 195.

[4] Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. p. 201f.

[5] Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,082. Saturday. February 11, 1851. p. 13. col. 1.

fostering of a spirit of dependence.[1] Dr. Lindsay Alexander observed, in one of his historical surveys, that "it was to some extent a forced plant, and yielded at first on account of these subsidies, both more blossom and fruit than the vitality of the plant itself would naturally warrant."[2]

The Tabernacle in Edinburgh was completed at the expense of Robert Haldane in 1801. The congregation moved from the Circus and the Tabernacle was opened officially on July 9, 1800.[3] Its seating capacity was over three thousand people.[4] For many years it was filled every Sunday. The Tabernacle had been ostensibly to provide a place where the poor could hear the Gospel without cost. This was evidently not the purpose in building the Glasgow and Dundee Tabernacles. Greville Ewing published the financial statements of the Glasgow Tabernacle from 1799 and 1808 and the report reveals that seat rents were charged from the very opening of the Tabernacle.[5]

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[1] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 177.

[2] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 156.

[3] Kinniburgh, Fathers of Independency. p. 463.

[4] It was the largest meeting house in Edinburgh.

[5] Ewing, Greville, Facts and Documents. Glasgow: James Hedderwick and Company. 1809. pp. 228-245.

It was pointed out by Robert Haldane that the church government of the Circus was Congregational,[1] as were the other Tabernacles. The records indicate that this was limited by Robert Haldane himself. Only the Circus congregation seems to have had any choice of their pastor and he was the very man whom Robert Haldane had picked for the job months before. In most cases he personally appointed the ministers of the remaining Tabernacles.[2] The congregations had little or no voice in the choice of their minister or in the disposition of their collections as this too was largely controlled by the elder brother.[3]

In spite of these and other handicaps, the work continued to grow rapidly. This rising denomination was strengthened by the accession of leading ministers of other denominations such as Mr. Cowie and Mr. Wardlaw.[4] As the first churches were organised, they were called "The Tabernacle People."[5] Later they were known as "The Haldane People." Many who were favourable to the evangelists so long as they were preachers addressing promiscuous

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[1] Haldane, Plans for Propagating Religion. p. 54.

[2] Ibid. p. 61.

[3] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 230.

[4] Matheson, Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 313.

[5] Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 387.

crowds became bitter in their opposition when they found them organising churches to which some of their own members were lost.[1]

The work of James Haldane was regarded as "one of the noblest schemes which modern times have witnessed for diffusing religion and evangelising the population of the country."[2] It was sound in its doctrine and evangelical in its outreach; it could promise that "what the Puritans or Independents had done for England, they would do for Scotland, holding as they did the same principles, and preaching the same doctrines."[3] The effects produced by these new Tabernacles were soon apparent throughout the country. They roused a spirit of attention and when it was nothing more than alarm it led to inquiry.[4]

There was an instantaneous rise into considerable strength of a new religious body hitherto nearly unknown in Scotland.[5] In a much shorter period than could have been expected the sect which was spoken against every-

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[1] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 70.

[2] Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 407.

[3] Ibid. p. 392.

[4] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 195.

[5] Taylor, The Scottish Pulpit from the Reformation to the Present Day. pp. 43, 44.

where acquired a footing in the country.[1] The new body achieved an extent and a respectability which encouraged the expectations of much future success.[2] In areas where there were not sufficient numbers of converts to form a church or support a minister, the people became members of the Circus Church in Edinburgh.[3]

After the Independent Churches began to be formed everything externally argued abundant success but there were weaknesses at the root which later revealed themselves and which were the source of much trouble and bitterness of spirit. It was engendered by the rapid concoction of the system rather than by anthing bad in the men that originated it.[4]

In 1798 seven Independent Churches had been formed, viz., at Paisley, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Wick and Thurso.[5] By the end of 1800 there were fourteen of the new Independent Churches.[6] By the year 1807, the

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[1]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 26.

[2]The London Christian Instructor. Vol.2. No. 22. October 1851. p. 602.

[3]Kinniburgh, op. cit. Sect. 4. p. 5.

[4]Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 391.

[5]Kinniburgh, op. cit. Sect. 1. p. 14.

[6]Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 66.

number had risen to eighty-five.[1] In general they had their origin in the prayer and fellowship meetings which had come under the influence of James Haldane. In these meetings they conversed freely on the Word of God. They agreed on the laws and order of Christ's Church. Being satisfied on these points, they organised a church connection by prayer and fasting--"giving to each other the right hand of fellowship and agreeing to observe the ordinances of the Gospel as contained in the New Testament." In not a few instances, however, these churches were composed chiefly of those who had been converted under Haldane's ministry.[2]

So rapidly were these churches organised after the Seminary students went on to the field that the new churches and chapels came into existence at the rate of almost one a week for the next five years. By 1805 there were over two hundred tabernacles, churches, chapels and preaching stations throughout Scotland.[3] The agents for the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, for a time, met with almost apostolic success.[4]

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[1] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 92.

[2] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 66.

[3] Henderson, G. D., The Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: Church of Scotland Youth Committee. 1939. p. 120.

[4] MacKay, The Church in the Highlands. p. 229.

"There can be no doubt," says a distinguished writer connected with the Free Church, "that, during the eight years when they moved on as an unbroken Phalanx, multiplying their Tabernacles, sending out their reinforcements of ardent evangelists, they stirred to its depths the quiescent mind of Scotland."[1]

Although the Haldanes conferred with each other in almost every important decision that was made and worked together in the promotion of every worthwhile scheme, they worked on certain projects independent of each other. James Haldane had entered into his itinerant evangelistic work without consultation with his brother. Robert Haldane likewise acted independently when he brought twenty-four African children to Scotland for their education and Christian training; sending them back as missionaries to work among their own people.[2]

Robert Haldane's greatest work was not done in Scotland but on the Continent.[3] He left Scotland in 1816 expecting to be gone about six weeks[4] but remained

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[1]Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 21.

[2]Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 402. Their arrival in England was announced in the Missionary Magazine. Vol. 4. No. 37. June 17, 1799. p. 288. He secured a house for them in King's Park in Edinburgh which was afterwards used for the Deaf and Dumb Asylum.

[3]Henderson, The Church of Scotland. p. 120.

[4]Records of the Scottish Church History Society. Vol. 9. Glasgow: R. E. Robertson. 1947. p. 74.

for three years.[1] He taught twenty-five students in Geneva who were connected with the Reformed Church Seminary.[2] This resulted not only in the conversion of twenty-four of the students in the first year but the beginning of a general spiritual awakening in Switzerland.[3] Among his converts were Merle D'Aubigne, Felix Neff, Dr. Ceasar Malan, Empaytaz, Guers, Gaussen and Pyte the evangelist of the Pyrenees.[4] D'Aubigne became an evangelist for about fifteen years before he returned to Geneva to found an Evangelical Divinity School which was the prelude to world wide fame as an historian of the Reformation.[5]

When D'Aubigne was in Scotland in 1845,[6] he vividly described Robert Haldane's meetings to the Free Church General Assembly. When he told how they sat around a great table covered with copies of the Scripture in Hebrew,

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[1] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 390.

[2] Shearer called Haldane's hotel room a Home Bible College. Shearer, John, Old Time Revivals. London: Pickering and Inglis. n.d. p. 57.

[3] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 14. Eighth Series. 1885. pp. 4, 5.

[4] Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 404.

[5] Records of the Scottish Church History Society. Vol. 9. p. 82.

[6] Blaikie, W. G., Thomas Chalmers. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier. 1897. p. 138.

Greek, Latin, French, German and English,[1] Chalmers remarked that this was his "beau ideal" of the study of theology.[2]

D'Aubigne called Haldane's work "the second reformation in Geneva."[3] At another time he referred to his work as "one of the most beautiful episodes in the history of the Church."[4] Again he said, "If Geneva communicated light to Knox, she received it again from a successor of Knox who, two and a half centuries later re-lit the candle of the Church's faith in a Divine Saviour."[5]

The President of the Evangelical Society--Count de St. George said in 1852,

> The Church of Christ knows nothing of the political limits of terrestial kingdoms or republics. Geneva remembers with gratitude that it was France that sent her Farel, Calvin and Theodora Beza, nor is she ashamed to trace the origin of the present revival to a pious Scotsman, Robert Haldane.[6]

His successor in the work in Geneva was carried on by

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[1] Shearer, Old Time Revivals. p. 57.

[2] Philip, Thomas Chalmers, Apostle of Union. p. 171.

[3] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 13. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 6

[4] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. February 1851. p. 59.

[5] Records of the Scottish Church History Society. Vol. 9. p. 82.

[6] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 404.

Henry Drummond.[1] For two more years Haldane carried on the same type work in Montauban on the Tarn in France with the same results.[2] M. Daniel Encontre who had been President of the Faculty of Sciences was one of his many converts.[3] Sixty ministers from all over France date their conversion to the time of his work in their midst.[4]

On his return to Scotland in 1821, he followed up his personal ministry by the founding, in London and Edinburgh, of the "Continental Aid Society" for the support of evangelists--the pioneer of Franco-Swiss Home Mission organisation.[5] The work of Robert Haldane and his Society stimulated British and especially Scottish interest in the Reformed Churches of Europe.[6] It was through his efforts that colporteurs covered all of France with the Gospel.[7]

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[1] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 426.

[2] Montauban was the center of education for the Protestants of the Reformed Church in France. Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 404.

[3] Haldane, op. cit. p. 446.

[4] Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 126.

[5] This Society was patterned after the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. Anderson, op. cit. p. 404.

[6] Cowan, Henry, The Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom. The Baird Lectures for 1895. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1896. p. 129.

[7] Haldane, op. cit. p. 456.

After Robert Haldane returned from the Continent, he discovered to his surprise the printing of the Bible, which he and his brother were largely paying for, had the Apocrypha appended.[1] Immediately they threw all their energy into the task of having the Bible printed without the Apocrypha or notes. James Haldane was not so much engaged in the heat of the controversy as his brother.[2] They regarded "the certainty of the canon of Scripture as the grand point at issue in the Apocrypha controversy."[3]

The Edinburgh branch withdrew from the British and Foreign Bible Society as there were none in the north who harboured Apocryphal sympathies. The Edinburgh Society formed an establishment of its own for the circulation of an unadulterated Bible. A controversy ensued which lasted many years. England and Scotland were once more on the battlefield, with the canon of the Scriptures itself as the issue.[4]

Even before the crisis came in this twelve year controversy,[5] Dr. Andrew Thomson, who was the Secretary

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[1] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 197.

[2] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 549.

[3] Ibid. p. 511.

[4] Biographical Dictionary, op. cit. p. 197.

[5] Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 404.

of the Edinburgh Bible Society, joined them in the battle.[1] At that time he stood unrivalled as a debater in the General Assembly and Church courts of the Establishment.[2] They worked together in the closest harmony until Dr. Thomson's death in 1830.[3] The tide of the battle had been turned and it soon came to a victorious climax.[4] The Bible was henceforth printed in the English Bible Society without the Apocrypha or notes.[5]

This close cooperation with the Evangelical party in the Established Church is seen in many instances. It was apparent in the annuity tax controversy. The stipend of the clergy of the Establishment in Edinburgh was paid by an annuity tax levied upon every house holder within the royalty of the city. At this time many of the dissenters and seceders had demurred and took a stand in open opposition to the Established Church.[6] The annuity tax, therefore, was one of the key items in the

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[1]Cunningham, Church History of Scotland. p. 444. Also see: The Church History of Scotland. Vol. 3. pp. 767-768.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 495.

[3]Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 197.

[4]Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 17.

[5]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. February 1851. p. 59.

[6]Biographical Dictionary, op. cit. p. 191.

voluntary controversy. Voluntarism had become one of the accepted principles in the United Secession Church. The crux of the controversy was the separation of Church and State--they felt it was not the duty of the State to maintain religion.[1] Many were willing to incur the risk of fines or even imprisonment rather than support what they called the "State Church." The Haldanes' work turned the tide of popular feeling on this matter.[2] They received the commendation of Chalmers and others of the Evangelical party.[3]

Following this time there was a continually improving relationship between the Haldanes and the Evangelical party.[4] In 1842 the Evangelical dominated General Assembly rescinded the oppresive acts which had been directed against James Haldane. Her pulpits were once again open to him. His fellowship was sought out by more and more of the Evangelicals.

Working by Andrew Thomson's side in the Edinburgh Bible Society, Robert Haldane served as one of the Society's secretaries. It was so arranged that when he was not able to be present his brother took his place

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[1] The Church of Scotland. Vol. 3. p. 731.

[2] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 191.

[3] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 573.

[4] Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. p. 42.

and brought the necessary reports.[1]

The Haldanes dedicated intellectual talents of no common order to the task of Scottish and world evangelisation.[2] In all matters they advanced with united zeal and strength. They were connected with the committees of various religious and benevolent institutions which were designed to promote the Gospel at home or abroad.[3]

Each was distinguished by independent thought and a strong individuality of character but there existed between them a remarkable harmony of design and oneness of spirit.

> Never, during their long and honourable course of mutual cooperation, was there one jarring feeling to disturb their efforts for the common object they so consistently pursued. That object was the glory of Christ and the salvation of their fellow-men.[4]

Mr. Murray of Edinburgh watching the brothers in their old age walking together, said, "There go the Haldanes who have always dwelled together in unity."[5] On his death-bed Robert Haldane spoke with fond affection of the complete harmony of purpose that had existed between

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[1] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 560.

[2] The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 70.

[3] Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,082. Saturday. February 15, 1851. p. 3. col. 1.

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[5] Quarterly Review. Vol. 98. p. 380.

them from the beginning.[1] So similar were their characters that Landel said a two-fold description was unnecessary--to describe the one was to describe the other.[2]

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[1] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 191.

[2] Landels, The Haldanes. pp. 3, 4.

CHAPTER FOUR

LATER EVANGELISTIC TOURS

Lay-preaching, prior to James Haldane's early evangelistic tours--1797 to 1799--was not unknown in Scotland but it was almost completely confined to the Wesleyan itinerants whose labours were usually inoffensive and always obscure.[1] Certainly for a layman to venture to cross swords with the clergy on theological matters must have aroused much interest and provoked much discussion.

The success of his first itinerant tours cannot be explained on these grounds alone. The power and passion of the preacher, his tremendous earnestness and concern for the souls of men counted far more. Above all, it is to be remembered that many, amid the distress and upheaval of the times, were eager to hear just such a message as he so eloquently proclaimed. The success which attended his labours in all quarters was very great.[2] It was truly a time of revival.

A correct estimate of the good accomplished by his three earlier tours cannot be limited to the fact that his work brought about a great spiritual awakening. It was far more visible in the impulse given to the

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[1] Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland. p. 64.

[2] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 192.

Established Church and to the other denominations of Scotland.[1] "That the Church of Scotland shared in the awakening was made manifest by the increasing number of evangelical ministers who occupied its pulpits and the growing number of earnest and devout men and women who sat in its pews."[2]

There had been very different sentiments concerning the lawfulness and propriety of lay-preaching but there were extremely few who questioned the purity of his intentions.[3] Although there may be no question that James Haldane and his co-workers had the best of intentions and the purest of motives, it must be admitted that "neither prudence nor meekness was, indeed, a prominent feature in all that was said against false teachers and false doctrine."[4] His evangelistic effort, even after he ceased to refer to the teachings of the local ministers, still brought a barrage of criticisms. The very fact that such attacks were made is proof of the stir that his preaching had made throughout Scotland. The general impression that a new and important movement had been launched could not be ignored.

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[1] The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 72.

[2] MacKay, The Church in the Highlands. p. 230.

[3] Quarterly Magazine. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. Vol. 1. No. 1. March 31, 1797. p. 63.

[4] Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 139.

The very fact that such a man, a gentleman, a wealthy East India Captain, preached especially in the open air excited great interest among sympathisers and opposition alike. The earnestness of his preaching and the solemnity of his manner could not fail to produce a favourable impression. His direct and simple statements, easily understood, went forcibly home to the hearts of his hearers. Thus Scottish evangelism underwent a transformation.[1] A completely new type of evangelism came into being which set the pace for evangelism for a century and a half to come.

Prior to this time evangelism in Scotland was connected with the Church and the Sacraments. Primarily in the Highlands but ultimately throughout Scotland revivals had always been associated with the celebration of the Lord's Supper.[2] "A revivalism that was divorced from the Sacraments was unthinkable to these Evangelical ministers and people."[3]

Whitefield's preaching in Scotland had been in connection with and under the auspices of the Evangelical party of the Established Church. The revival of Cambuslang in 1742, where Whitefield played such an active part,

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[1]Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 22.

[2]MacInnes, John, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland. Aberdeen: The University Press. 1951. p. 155.

[3]Ibid. p. 166.

was centered in the parish Church of which Mr. MacCullough was the minister,[1] and its climax was the celebration of the Lord's Supper when an estimated thirty to fifty thousand gathered for the services from all over Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland.

The old type of evangelism had several serious disadvantages. Large numbers of people drawn from many miles were thrown together for several days at a time. These people away from their homes had to depend on the public houses for their food. Many imbibed too freely. Brawls and immorality were only a portion of the unfortunate results. Another disadvantage lay in the boundary lines between the parishes. The Moderate clergyman became jealous of the success of his Evangelical brother in the adjacent parish and would not invite him into his parish. Consequently parish boundaries became blockades to thwart the progress of evangelism. In spite of the disadvantages it had one overwhelming advantage--it connected the new converts immediately to the life of the local church.

The new type of evangelism seemed to have appealed more to the intellect and less to the emotion with the result that it was not accompanied by the bodily agitations which had so often characterised the older type of evangelism. This was a good sign as "the history of

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[1]Couper, William James, Scottish Revivals. Dundee: James P. Mathew and Company. 1918. p. 41.

revivals in the north warrants the remark, that in inverse proportion to its demonstrativeness in outcries and prostration is the permanent good fruit of an awakening."[1]

James Haldane was the first evangelist of this new school. The three greatest evangelists of that century--Charles G. Finney, Dwight L. Moody and Ruben A. Torrey--followed in his footsteps adopting the principles of evangelism which he established. In spite of the amazing success which it brought, it was not faultless. The greatest disadvantage which accompanied this new type of evangelism was found in the fact that it was not church centered. Of the tens of thousands of people who were won to Christ in English speaking countries many never united with the fellowship of any church. Their lives in most cases, were lost to the Lord's service and their struggle for spiritual maturity was greatly handicapped. It took a century and a half before mass evangelism began once more to be church centered. So it was that many new converts in Haldane's work had no church affiliation and were left to attempt the difficult climb to spiritual maturity without the church's aid.

This new type of evangelism was needful at the time.

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[1]Kennedy, J., The Apostle of the North, The Life and Work of John M'Donald. London: T. Nelson and Son. 1866. p. 232.

Because of the limitations of parish boundaries, it was necessary for it to arise outside the Establishment. A minister of the Established Church, in a letter to the editor of the "Missionary Magazine" praised Haldane's work for this reason and indicated something of its necessity.

> We have clergy, like all other parts of Scotland, many of them faithful and respectable characters, but the extent of many parishes in the Highlands precludes our ministers however faithful from compassing all committed to their charge; while the weak, in the extremities of their parish, can but seldom obtain the opportunity of hearing them; which the statistical accounts, and the many applications for missionaries to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, fully declare.[1]

On these evangelistic tours Haldane was more concerned with setting up Christian communities than establishing Independent Churches.[2] This was true not only before the formation of the Tabernacles but even afterwards. Instead of churches, his evangelistic tours left behind them a string of praying societies.[3] This was not only true among the adults but the young people as well. In a letter to the editor of the "Missionary Magazine" dated June 22, 1798, a resident of Nairn revealed an interesting

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 3. No. 20. January 15, 1799. p. 18.

[2]Bulloch, Centenary Memorials of the First Congregational Church in Aberdeen. p. 164.

[3]Kennedy, The Apostle of the North. p. 228.

illustration of this which took place as a result of Haldane's preaching. He recalled how a number of young boys between eleven and fourteen had been meeting regularly for prayer without any external inducement but simply as a result of their newly awakened religious interests.[1]

Establishing Sabbath-schools and Sabbath-school Societies had been an intricate part of every evangelistic tour. Within a year after Haldane's first visit to Dundee, Cleghorn wrote in his journal, "They have already sixteen schools in this town."[2] So it was in every town touched on the tours. Sabbath-schools sprang up everywhere but not without opposition. A Sabbath-school Society was looked upon by the clergy with suspicion as the teaching of a Sabbath-school was considered and opposed as but a modification of lay-preaching.[3]

> In Knockando in the parish of Morayshire a Sabbath evening school was opened. This roused the indignation of the parochial clergy ...An interdict was laid upon them (the Sabbath school teachers) but neither did this answer the end. Teachers from Elgin--a distance of fifteen or sixteen miles--went and taught the school, until the original teachers were

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[1] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 3. No. 26. July 16, 1798. p. 334.

[2] Haldane, Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. p. 31.

[3] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 8.

honourably acquitted.[1]

The legality of the Society's catechists and preachers to hold public meetings had already been established by virtue of the Act of 1693 and consequently they were not subject to any action of the Presbyteries.[2]

Mr. Cowie of Huntly wrote in a letter to a Sabbath-school teacher who had been summoned to appear before the Presbytery of Turriff;

> It is my opinion that you should not go near the presbytery nor mind their summonses. They cannot imprison you, as they have no civil power; and if any of them call upon you, you may tell them that you have commenced to preach and this will free you from all trouble with the law. Only you must exhort as well as examine in order to act up to your new character as a preacher. And if questioned I will give you a license to preach.[3]

One objection to the Sabbath-schools by the Dissenters in the north was that some of the teachers pronounced the Apostolic benediction at the close of the service and the Dissenters felt this was "a function to be performed by no one but a regularly ordained Presbyter."[4]

Court action continued to be taken in various parts

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[1] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 73. Also see: Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 10. p. 17.

[2] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 3. No. 33. November 1799. p. 527.

[3] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 8.

[4] Loc. cit.

of the country until,

> Three of the ablest advocates of that time gave it as their opinion that Sabbath-schools are of the nature religious exercises, and come under the Toleration Acts, which in Scotland was very ample and full;[1] and that the law does not require the teachers to take the oathes to the government unless they please.[2]

These same advocates declared that the law on which the Establishment was building their case was made in 1745 to keep papists from teaching and it only referred to schools teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, language etc.[3] Many of the Sabbath-schools soon developed into evangelistic meetings.[4] A few of these and even more of the praying societies became Independent Churches.

The opposition to this evangelistic work was culminated in the Pastoral Admonition and as is always the case, ecclesiastical repression only fanned the flame instead of extinguishing it.[5] Rowland Hill with his typical quick wit said, "Three reasons alone can be

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[1] The Act of Toleration specified, "That it is free for all subjects in Scotland to meet for divine service without any disturbance, and to settle their congregations in what places they shall think fit." Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. p. 15.

[2] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 74.

[3] Kinniburgh, op. cit. Sect. 1. p. 9.

[4] MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland. p. 144.

[5] Stark, James, The Lights of the North. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie and Son. 1896. p. 272.

assigned for their conduct, these are madness, malice, or an attempt to discover our treasonable plots; and the first of these reasons should seem the most probable, the Pastoral Admonition being dated on the day of the full moon."[1]

In a series of letters occasioned by the Pastoral Admonition this same English wit jested,

> Respecting the little army we are about to raise to overthrow the King and the constitution, it should be considered that the children of these schools of sedition are, on the average six to twelve years of age, consequently they will not be able to take to the field at least these ten years; and half of these being girls, unless we raise an army of Amazons, with a virago Joan at the head of them, we shall be sadly short of soldiers to accomplish the design.[2]

After becoming pastor of the Edinburgh Tabernacle, James Haldane continued for a number of years on his lengthy evangelistic tours during the summer months.[3] These tours covered the entire face of Scotland to the furtherest and least frequented islands.[4] The tours continued in spite of the many hardships they entailed.

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[1] Stephen, History of the Scottish Church. Vol. 2. p. 576.

[2] The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review. Philadelphia: W. H. Mitchell. Vol. 24. October 1852. pp. 688, 689.

[3] Quarterly Review. Vol. 98. March 1856. p. 378.

[4] The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review. Op. cit. p. 681.

Travel was slow and tedious. In the Highlands only a "small portion of the country was opened up by roads." Cleghorn, doing evangelistic work in this area for the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, wrote in his journal, "You can form no idea of the roads in this country, for in fact there are none."[1] John Campbell relates on one of his tours with Haldane how they were forced to walk over rough roads and barren hills "for it was as much as the horse could do to drag the chaise after him."[2] One historian suggested that a labourer in that field,

> ...required a frame, built with strong bone and muscle, in a constitution without taint, urged by the active power of an unflagging zeal. A temper not easily ruffled was just as needful as a body not easily wearied; for he must meet with the many provocations, which he would require to bear with patience.[3]

Such was an applicable description of James Haldane.

Perhaps the most outstanding of all his characteristics was his zeal. Even those who wrote in opposition to his work were forced to admit that Haldane and his fellow evangelists had "certainly more zeal for their cause, than

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[1]Haldane, The Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. p. 38.

[2]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 381.

[3]Kennedy, The Apostle of the North, the Life and Work of John M'Donald. p. 74.

we have for our Church."[1] He had written a "Letter of Instruction to the Preachers and Catechists" which embodied the course and goal of his evangelistic work. He wrote,

> Your great object is to rouse the attention of men to their sinful state by nature, to their need of regeneration by the mighty energy of the Spirit of God; to the impossibility of their saving themselves by their own power or righteousness; to the all-sufficiency of the atonement of Jesus Christ for the salvation of men; to the necessity of believing in him for the remission of sins; and to the indispensible obligation of holiness in heart and life.[2]

The greatest results of his evangelistic work and the most lasting were to be found in Caithness.[3] The "Missionary Magazine" records the fact that an accident happened to Mr. Aikman when they arrived at Caithness which restricted him to a house in Thurso, but even here he preached to a minimum of six hundred in the morning and eight hundred in the evening and often to more than twice that number.[4]

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[1] Tabernaclism; or a Dialogue between a Country Gentleman and one of his Work-People, who had been led away from the Church, under the Pretext of Hearing the Gospel and Attending Evangelical Preachers. Glasgow: Niven, Napier and Khull. 1802. p. 49.

[2] Haldane, Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. p. 82.

[3] Mackay, The Church in the Highlands. p. 228.

[4] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 17. October 16, 1797. p. 481.

Haldane's influence on the Gaelic Highlands was equally great but it was mainly through his agents.[1] Such men as "Kennedy of Aberfeldy and Inverness; Campbell of Oban; Peter Grant of Strathspey; the Dewars of Nairn and Avoch--fruits of the awakening, were eminent soul-winners."[2] Peter Grant, born in Strathspey in 1783, has been the most popular of the sacred bards. He was reared in the Established Church but after a rather stormy conversion experience he cast his lot with the "Tabernacle people." He became the minstrel of the home missionary movement, initiated by Haldane, "which shortly swept through the National Church like a flood."[3]

These men claimed themselves to be converted under Haldane's preaching but he was extremely reluctant to claim any converts to his ministry. He wrote in his Journal of a Tour,

> We might have mentioned other instances of the power of God accompanying His Word in the course of our journey, but declined it from our not having had an opportunity of knowing whether the effects were abiding. We have related this instance because the change appears so far to be permanent.[4]

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[1] MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland. p.164.

[2] MacKay, The Church in the Highlands. p. 229.

[3] MacInnes, op. cit. p. 291.

[4] Haldane, Journal of a Tour. pp. 81, 82.

This seems to have been the typical attitude of the day toward new converts. Cleghorn wrote in his journal, "Whether any soul has been called out of darkness into light by my means, is a thing I dare not say."[1] Such an attitude must have been a handicap to his evangelistic ministry, for it prevented him from giving his converts the proper instruction on how to grow spiritually.

The legislative action taken in several courts was not an unmeaning threat but it had no effect on Haldane's plans for further evangelistic work.[2] In a letter written by Mr. John Campbell in the spring of 1800, he remarked, "We are preparing in the course of next summer to make another attack on the kingdom of Satan."[3] The Haldanes' had persuaded Mr. Campbell to give up his iron-monger's shop and devote full time to the Lord's work. He was connected temporarily with the first class of the Seminary in Glasgow until the summer's evangelistic work.[4]

In the same year as that in which Thomas Chalmers returned to Edinburgh to enter his second session in the divinity school,[5] James Haldane began his fourth

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[1]Haldane, Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. p. 32.

[2]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 134.

[3]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 257.

[4]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 272.

[5]Hanna, Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers. Vol. 2. p. 26.

evangelistic tour in 1800 accompanied by John Campbell. The "Missionary Magazine"published the usual request for the prayers of all concerned Christians that their work might be "effectual in the conversion of many sinners."[1] They usually preached four times each day on their journey which took them through the towns of Peebles, Biggar, Douglas and Ayr.[2] At this time their intention was only to visit the island of Arran and return to Edinburgh.[3]

Mr. Campbell recorded in his journal of the tour this typical experience,[4]

> Whenever we go in a town, doors and windows everywhere are thrown open to allow those within to examine our appearance as we pass along. When we enter a town we generally disperse a few pamphlets, to notify that the missionaries are arrived; then, after putting up our horses, we take a walk through the town to tell the people of the sermon. This, along with drum, horn or bell (according to the custom of the place), makes our intention generally known. Last night I heard some of the hearers, after the sermon, express their surprise that there was not a collection.

They were welcomed to Ayr by one of the magistrates who two years before had violently opposed them. They preached to crowds varying from three to five thousand and found that much good had been accomplished as a

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 4. No. 47. p. 356. Also see: Vol. 5. No. 49. June 16, 1800. p. 268.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 258.

[3]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 285.

[4]Haldane, op. cit. p. 258.

result of his previous visit.[1] At Ballintrae they received similar good reports. The Excise remarked that the people had been much more orderly on the Sabbath since Haldane's last tour.

After they had remained at Ayr for two Sabbaths, their tour was continued preaching in Portpatrick, Stranraver, Stoneykirk and Dumfries.[2] In some places they received a very warm welcome; in other places they met with opposition and hostility. In Sanquhar a collier begged them not to mention he had helped them for fear of the trouble it might bring him. Later in their tour they visited the island of Cumbray and sailed for the island of Arran where he preached in all its villages.[3] Mr. John Campbell wrote, "Our parish extended to wherever there were human beings."[4] In Arran they found not one Gospel minister in the whole range of seventy miles except in Campbelton--the main town on the island. They preached in Campelton for several days to "about a thousand people in the morning, and fifteen hundred in the evening."[5]

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[1] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 5. No. 50. July 21, 1800. p. 310.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 260.

[4] Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 285.

[5] Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 137.

Haldane had sent a man ahead to intimate four sermons at Kintire where some of the proprietors in the county of Argyle came together to prevent him from preaching in that district.[1] They were joined in this opposition by the local clergy, civil magistrates and a military man.[2] An ultimatum was delivered to Haldane who not only ignored it but defied interference by preaching in the middle of Kintire in the very presence of all his opposition. They had assembled to prevent him from delivering his sermon, however, none of his antagonists moved to disturb him.[3]

Mr. John Campbell had gone ahead in the meanwhile to preach in the next town--Whitehouse. He was in the act of going forward to preach when he was arrested and under a warrant issued by the sheriff was ordered to be taken to the magistrate in Argyle. When Haldane came to Whitehouse he found Campbell "a prisoner at large."[4] He accompanied Campbell although he was not under arrest

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[1]Haldane's biographer identifies them as Highland chiefs but this is questionable. See: Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 261.

[2]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 287. There is little wonder they were not opposed by some of the landed proprietors. The evangelists had compared some, who had a reputation for being unjust, to the taskmasters in Egypt. See: Stewart, Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlands of Scotland. Vol. 1. p. 140.

[3]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 267.

[4]The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 161.

himself. Under the guard of a sergeant and a body of soldiers, Campbell was taken to the sheriff at Argyle[1] some thirty miles distant.[2]

There had been an Act passed a short time before against seditious political assemblies which prohibited meetings of over fifty persons. The clergy and proprietors tried to deter the evangelist by the restriction of this Act. The Act was not intended, however, to prevent any number of persons meeting for worship, but only dealt with meetings for the purpose of "considering or preparing any petition, complaint, remonstrance or declaration or other redress to the King or to both Houses of Parliament."[3]

After some deliberation by the sheriff it was plain that he had no legal grounds to hold Campbell and he was released.[4] Evangelistic lay-preaching was thus vindicated in another section of the country. They returned to preach in Whitehouse where Campbell had been arrested; Campbell wrote, "The whole town seems to have turned out."[5]

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[1]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 192.

[2]Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,082. Saturday, February 15, 1851. p. 3. col. 1.

[3]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. p. 15.

[4]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 290.

[5]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 290.

They also preached in the remainder of the towns where the interest excited by Campbell's arrest drew forth such numbers to hear them as amply compensated for their previous interruption.[1]

On their return to Edinburgh they persuaded a Mr. Macallum, a native of Kintire, to return to that area and make his headquarters at Whitehouse. Mr. Macallum had just finished his studies both at the Haldane's Seminary in Glasgow[2] and the University of Glasgow.[3] When Campbell preached for Macallum two years later he found one of Macallum's converts to be the sergeant[4] who had delivered him to the sheriff at Argyle.[5] Another convert was the former beadle of the parish church. He had listened through a hole at the end of the barn where Macallum was preaching and his heart was changed.[6] The new converts had been given an acre of ground, to build a church, by a landed proprietor who was incensed at the parish minister for taking a different side from the proprietor in a

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[1]Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. p. 42.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 265.

[3]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 290.

[4]This was not the sheriff as suggested in--Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 144.

[5]Haldane, op. cit. p. 266.

[6]Philip, op. cit. p. 291.

contested election.[1]

Campbell recorded the following report of an aged man concerning Macallum's ministry: "I was at that time chairman of a whiskey-toddy meeting, that regularly met for the purpose of drinking whiskey and water in the evenings. After Mr. Macallum came amongst us, one ceased to attend then another and another did the same, till I was left alone in the chair. I began to wonder what it could be that they liked better than good Highland whiskey. This determined me to go and see; so I went and attended the ministry of our friend, and also found that which I liked better than whiskey-toddy."[2] After they returned to Edinburgh, Haldane preached quite often in the open air on Calton Hill, beneath an overhanging rock in King's Park, the Bruntsfield Links, Leith and Newhaven.[3]

During these first four tours, he spent considerably more than twelve months in continual evangelistic work, preaching at least a thousand times.[4] The work which he accomplished during this time would have filled the life of an ordinary man.[5] From the summer of 1797 to the

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[1]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 291.

[2]Ibid. pp. 292-294.

[3]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 145.

[4]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 274.

[5]Beattie, op. cit. p. 144.

summer of 1800, his four summer tours were only a part of his evangelistic work. Many shorter tours were made from time to time. One such tour was in the fall of 1800 when he was accompanied by William Finlay. Finlay's ministry had been divided between the inmates of Magdalen Asylum,[1] the prisoners of Bridewell and the destitute of Edinburgh. Their tour took them through the villages on the east coast of Fife.[2] Among the villages they visited was Anstruther, the birth place of Thomas Chalmers. They continued north as far as St. Andrews where a large number of soldiers were among the multitudes that formed his congregations.[3]

In May 1801, for the third time in five years, James Haldane began an evangelistic tour in the south of Scotland. This tour differed from the four previous tours in that his family accompanied him on part of the tour. His family remained in Dumfries, the town which became the centre of

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[1] The Magdalen Asylum was founded by the Philanthropic Society of Edinburgh of which Mr. John Campbell was the organiser and secretary. Its object was the reformation of prostitutes who had no real means of extricating themselves from being outcasts of society. See: Philip, The Life of John Campbell. pp. 152-158. Another of its purposes was "the reclaiming to habits of virtue and industry the convicts who are discharged from Bridewell." See: Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 14. June 1797. p. 338.

[2] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 271.

[3] Ibid. pp. 272, 273.

his operations from which he might radiate on evangelistic excursions. For four successive months he preached in Dumfries every Lord's Day, to large congregations in the open air or under a tent. He also preached once every day in the neighbouring towns and villages except for one week in the beginning of harvest.[1] Some of his excursions carried him as much as fifty miles in one day during which time he preached as many as three times.

Before leaving Dumfries, in September, he crossed over to Ireland for a period of six to eight weeks. He was accompanied by the Rev. George Hamilton, minister of Armagh. He preached in the Parish Church of Portadown, and several times to large audiences under Episcopal jurisdiction. The "Missionary Magazine" reported that he also preached to large congregations in the different parts of the north of Ireland.[2] He preached in Belfast and the neighbourhood for several days just before his return to Scotland. Several of the men trained in the Haldane's Seminary chose Northern Ireland as their field of labour.[3] It is important to point out that his visit excited so much interest in spiritual matters that a

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[1] Missionary Magazine, Vol. 6. No. 65. p. 438.

[2] Ibid. p. 470.

[3] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 281.

revival broke out in the fall of the same year--1801.

In the summer of 1802 his sixth evangelistic tour was undertaken. Like the tour of the previous year, none of his earlier helpers accompanied him; his work was done, for the most part, independently. His wife accompanied him to Buxton, in Derbyshire, England, to recruit her health and spirits after the loss of their youngest daughter. While he was in Buxton, he preached in the ball-room of the hotel in which they stayed.[1] Mrs. Haldane remained in Buxton while her husband preached in such surrounding towns as Rotherham, Sheffield, Nottingham, Matlock, Derby, Manchester and others throughout Derbyshire and Strattfordshire.[2] On many of these and other excursions he was accompanied by a zealous Irish clergyman.[3]

This was his first extended tour into England but here as in each of his previous tours in Scotland and Ireland, his evangelistic endeavours resulted in a "season of revival and awakening." In most places on this tour he enjoyed the sanction of the local clergy meeting with none of the opposition which had come to be so characteristic of his Scottish tours. The eloquent Melville Horn invited him to Macclesfield in Cheshire

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[1] Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 162.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 289.

and opened his own church to him.[1]

Until this time James Haldane had avoided certain sections of northern Scotland where the Gaelic language was predominent. But in the summer of 1803 he determined to carry the Gospel into these areas which represented the only parts of Scotland he had not covered in his evangelistic tours.[2] Another purpose of this tour, revealed by Campbell's journal, was to examine at first hand the results of the work done by the men which had been trained in the Haldane's Seminaries and were then working in the north.[3] A Mr. Farquharson, who had been trained at the Dundee Seminary for the work of a catechist, had been the means by which a revival had begun in Breadalbane.[4]

When Haldane visited Mr. Stewart, of Moulin, who was then located in the neighbouring district of Blair Athol, he learned that since his visit there with Simeon, "About eighty people had been awakened by his own preaching to a deep and abiding sense of the Gospel of salvation."[5] The pastor of the Dunkeld Tabernacle reported that there had

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 289.

[2]Ibid. p. 290. In the Highlands it was calculated that 335,000 people spoke the Gaelic language and that of these, 300,000 could not understand a discourse or a book in English. See: The Religious Monitor. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: W. Laing. January 16, 1804. p. 14.

[3]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 330.

[4]See: p. 228.

[5]Haldane, op. cit. p. 290.

been an additional one hundred forty-five which "had experienced the power of Divine grace in and around Dunkeld."[1] He attributed this good work to James Haldane and his co-labourers.[2] Mr. Dewar wrote from Aberfeldy that no less than fifty-seven had been awakened in that area. Lady Glenorchy's Chaplain, Mr. Gerie, of Perth, wrote that of seventeen out of twenty-one who were received for church membership within a few weeks, "most of them young people, and lately awakened."[3] The result of his evangelistic zeal was even more pronounced further north. Mr. Cleghorn, pastor of the Congregational Church at Wick mentions one hundred and twenty converts in his town with a similar number at nearby Thurso.[4]

With Mr. John Campbell accompanying him, they attempted "to visit all the cities, towns, and large villages, in the north of Scotland from Edinburgh to the Orkney Islands."[5] At this time Mr. Campbell was minister of a Congregational Church at Rutherglen, near Glasgow; their church building was constructed through the generosity of Robert Haldane.[6] In the Gaelic districts they prayed

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[1] This would include the adjacent village of Birnam.

[2] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 292.

[3] Ibid. p. 293.

[4] Loc. cit. [5] Loc. cit.

[6] Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 330.

with the sick, who were suffering in a wide-spread epidemic of fever, although they could not understand their language.[1] Their sermons were translated by Haldane's servant, Daniel MacArthur, who was born in the Highlands.[2]

Not only did the lack of roads prove a serious handicap, but the elements often held up their tour. When the travelers met at Dalwhinny, after temporarily taking different courses to reach more people, "The snow was deep on the hills all around and falling thick," although it was in June. Great peat fires had to be built and the heaviest coats put on.[3] The tour continued north through Bulder, the district of Badenoch, Inverness, Dingwall, along the Firth of Cromarty to Drummond.

On the north side of the Firth of Cromarty--a district which had once been called "the Holy land" because of the number of its faithful ministers--John Campbell said they heard of none who preached the Gospel.[4] The summer days were long and afforded them much opportunity for preaching. Daylight was such "that at 11:00 P.M. Mr. Haldane read on the mountain from a very small

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[1]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 332.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 292.

[3]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 168.

[4]Haldane, op. cit. p. 296.

New Testament."[1] They preached at Wick where Campbell attempted to trace the remnant of one of the first Baptist Churches in Scotland which was organised by the Baronet, Sir William Sinclair.[2]

They continued on to John o'Groat's House and to Kirkwall, the capital of the Orkneys, preaching on some of the small islands, at North Ronaldshay and South Ronaldshay where their congregation was composed entirely of women.[3] They remained in the Orkneys preaching on the islands of Sanday and North Ronaldshay, the most northernly of the islands. Sir Walter Scott recorded in his diary an incident which took place when John Campbell visited North Ronaldshay. He tells of a missionary preacher who came ashore there, but being a very little, black-bearded man, the seniors of the island suspected that he was an ancient Pecht or Piet. Some one slipped into the preacher's sleeping room and brought out his shoes to a waiting crowd. Since the shoes were very, very small, every one was convinced that their suspicions of Pechtism were well founded, until someone identified him as Mr. John Campbell.[4]

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[1]Further north they were able to do this even after midnight.

[2]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 337.

[3]A warship had landed what the islanders thought to be a press gang and all the men had fled into the hills.

[4]Lockhart, J. G., Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott. Vol. 4. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1822. p. 235.

On North Ronaldshay Mr. Campbell was asked by the baliff or steward of the island to preach in the Parish Church. He declined on the grounds that he did not belong to the Established Church and consequently would not be permitted. The baliff insisted and Campbell preached there the next day. The baliff informed him that they were a part of the parish of Sanday but the minister was afraid to cross the channel and would only come across once a year to marry the people, baptise the children and preach one Sabbath.[1] Sir Walter Scott recorded a similar incident in his diary on a visit to the Shetland Islands. "The clergyman of Dunrossness, in Zetland, visits these poor people once a year, for a week or two during the summer ...even the summer visit is occasionally interrupted for two years...One of the children was old enough to tell the clergyman who sprinkled him with water, 'Deil be in your fingers.' Last time, four couples were married; sixteen children were baptised."[2]

They preached for the last time in the Orkneys on this tour on the islands of Stronsay, Stromness and Hoy, after which they returned across the Pentland Firth which Campbell described so graphically in his journal as having gurgling whirlpools and jutting perpendicular

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[1] Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 343.

[2] Lockhart, The Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott. Vol. 4. p. 235.

rocks.[1] After leaving Thurso they preached in all the major towns which lay on their route to Edinburgh.[2]

Almost immediately after their return to Edinburgh after their four month tour to the north, they set out once more on a shorter tour to the south of Scotland and the northern counties of England.[3] They were accompanied by Mrs. Haldane on most of this tour. They preached in each town, passing through Berwick, Alnwick, Flamlingham, Chaullingford, Glenwhilt, Gilsland and Carlisle to Longtown where Mr. Campbell was refused admittance to the pulpit of the church which he and James Haldane had been instrumental in founding a few years before. The Church had connected themselves with the Establishment and were afraid to open their pulpit to a non-Presbyterian cleric.[4]

The tour continued through Annan and Dumfries to Garlieston where the Haldanes were entertained by Lady Elizabeth Stewart and the Lord and Lady Galloway. Lord Galloway gave them a site for a chapel in the village.[5] Haldane preached at Wigton in spite of the protest of

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[1]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. pp. 351-355.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 298.

[3]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 169.

[4]Philip, op. cit. p. 356.

[5]Haldane, op. cit. p. 298.

the principle magistrate. At Sanquhar some of the Anti-Burghers defied their minister by attending the meetings. It was here that the Anti-Burgher minister had inflicted Church discipline on some of his people who had listened to Haldane's preaching a few years before.[1]

They returned preaching throughout Ayrshire, at Greenock, Bishoptown, Paisley and Glasgow.[2] Mr. Campbell remained in Edinburgh only a short time; he was invited to become the minister of an Independent Chapel at Kingsland near London where he remained until his death. He stipulated in his acceptance that his ministry at Kingsland should not be allowed to interfere with his itinerant evangelism; and two years later he rejoined Haldane for another tour.[3]

In the summer of 1804,[4] James Haldane again visited Buxton with his wife and eldest daughter on his eighth summer of itinerant evangelism. Leaving his family in Buxton, he made excursions into all the surrounding towns and villages. One excursion carried him as far as Dublin where he preached frequently at Bethesda

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[1] Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 358.

[2] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 299.

[3] Ibid. pp. 299, 300.

[4] Not in 1801 as his son mistakenly recorded. See: Ibid. p. 318.

Episcopal Chapel.[1] He was received at Omagh at the house of James Buchanan, Esq., who was afterwards so well known for many years as the British Consul in New York. The memory of this visit was still vivid in Mr. Buchanan's memory as he recalled it in a letter a half a century later.[2] After his return, he preached at Manchester and Sheffield on his route from Buxton to London. "At this period he was much followed and preached to great crowds in the Tottenham Court Chapel, Mr. Whitefield's Tabernacle, in the City Road, and in Camden Chapel, Camberwell."[3] In his dialogue between a fictitious landed proprietor and his servant, one who violently opposed Haldane's evangelistic work numbered Haldane's followers in the thousands.[4]

In the spring of 1805 he made another extended evangelistic tour accompanied by Mr. John Campbell. The two evangelists took separate routes in most cases in order to reach the maximum number of people. They proceeded

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 318. The ministers here were Mr. Mathias and Mr. Walker of Trinity College.

[2]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 158.

[3]Haldane, op. cit. p. 319.

[4]Tabernaclism: or, a Dialogue between a Country Gentleman and one of his Work-People, who had been Led away from the Church, Under the Pretext of Hearing the Gospel and Attending Evangelical Preachers. p. 18.

by way of Perth and Dunkeld into Breadalbane where they separated.[1] There had also been much opposition and persecution when their work was begun in Breadalbane-shire; no one but a poor widow would venture to give shelter to the evangelists.[2] But after the revival in this area under Mr. Farquharson there was a general amelioration of conditions. On this occasion thousands turned out to hear their preaching.[3]

Mr. Campbell preached in the "birks of Aberfeldie" to three hundred people; he administered the sacrament to one hundred and fifty and baptised a child.[4] When Haldane had been to Killin two years before, he reported that he had not heard of one pious person in that community but on this visit they found a "goodly number of true disciples."[5] Mr. Peter Grant, the Gaelic poet who was the minister at Killin, gave this report of their visit:-- "The novelty of a field-preacher, especially a gentleman, attracted multitudes. In a short time the whole country was in a stir...Another circumstance not to be forgotten,

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 321.

[2]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 380.

[3]Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 174.

[4]Philip, op. cit. p. 379. This is the only occasion on any of the evangelistic tours where there is any record of any of the participants administrating either ordinance of the Lord's Supper or baptism.

[5]Haldane, op. cit. p. 321.

is that he induced my father-in-law to set up a Sabbath-school, especially to teach the people to read the Scriptures in the Gaelic language, for hitherto the children were only taught to read English, of which they did not understand one word. Thus Mr. Haldane was the founder of the first Gaelic Sabbath-school that was in our country, and, as far as I have heard, the first in all the north of Scotland."[1]

Their tour continued to Tumblebridge, Dalnacardoch, Kencusie, and Avenmore. Outside of Avenmore they were overtaken by a former soldier who related that he had come to mock their meetings two years before but was converted.[2] After preaching in many other locations in the Highlands they came to Inverness where many were surprised to see a London minister--Mr. Campbell--so far north. They continued northward to Tain, Dornoch, Helmsdale, Portmock, Thurso and Dunbeath to Caithness where they remained for a fortnight.

At nearby Dun-Robin Castle a regiment of volunteers on field day were dismissed early that they might hear Mr. Haldane preach.[3] They returned, preaching at every opportunity throughout Morayshire, Banffshire and part

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[1]Seattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 175.

[2]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 382.

[3]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 325.

of Aberdeenshire.[1] From Edinburgh Mr. Campbell returned to his church after an evangelistic tour which lasted four months and three days.[2] This was the last of James Haldane's extensive tours of three to four months in duration. He had completed nine such tours in nine successive years, exclusive of many shorter tours.

The four hundred young men trained in the Haldane's Seminaries up to this date, holding their doctrines and animated by their zeal, rendered his preaching tours less necessary. Prolonged absences from home became less consistent with the increasing number of duties as a pastor of a growing church which made increased demands on his time.[3] His main reason for the cessation of these prolonged tours was becsuse one of his primary goals of his evangelistic work had been realised. "The National Church[4] had been roused from its slumber, and within its pale greater men had risen as the champions of evangelism."[5]

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[1]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 386.

[2]Ibid. p. 388.

[3]The Edinburgh Tabernacle at that time consisted of about six hundred members. See: Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 327.

[4]In relation to the Established Church, Independency fulfilled its mission and having accomplished it, silently retrograded for a short time leaving what remained to be accomplished to a more popular agency. Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 195.

[5]Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 23.

Then, too, the general revival of religion superseded the necessity of such lengthy evangelistic tours.[1]

These lengthy tours which ended in 1805 were followed by innumerable shorter tours in the ensuing years; they took him into the Highlands, the west and north of Scotland, and the Isle of Man. These tours, however, never lasted more than a few weeks at a time. In spite of the brevity of each tour, much of his time was spent in this work each year until his death.[2]

Dr. Russell, of Dundee, who was for a time connected with the Haldanes' Seminaries recorded this testimony:-- "By means of the movement which took place at that period there was awakened a spirit of greater zeal in various religious bodies. A more pointed manner of preaching was adopted by many...In the course of time there appeared an increased and increasing number of Evangelical ministers in the Establishment, and a beneficial influence formed to operate upon other denominations."[3]

This earlier period of his work was by far the most productive as doubtless it was the most brilliant and

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[1] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 191.

[2] Dictionary of National Biography. Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. Vol. 24. London: Smith Elder and Company. 1890. p. 13.

[3] Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 177.

exciting.[1] In both the summers of 1808 and 1809 he was particularly active in preaching on Calton Hill, St. Anthony's Wall in King's Park, Bruntsfield Links, Newhaven, Stobhill, Leith, Portobello, Musselburgh, Dalkeith, Lasswade and Broxburn.[2] He rarely spoke of his success but in a letter to John Campbell in 1809, he said, "We have received more converts from the world than from four years previously."[3] His evangelistic tours left behind them a number of praying societies. At this period prayer meetings were so discountenanced by the clergy that the members of them in order to keep out spies and informers were admitted only by tickets.[4]

Dr. Jones, minister of Lady Glenorchy's Church, Edinburgh, who was greatly prejudiced against the Edinburgh Tabernacle, readily admitted that in examining candidates for admission to his semi-annual communion he "had found a greater number of instances of awakenings attributed to the preaching of Mr. James Haldane than to that of any other preacher in Edinburgh."[5] The same

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[1]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. February 1851. Vol. 29. n.s. p. 161.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 366.

[3]Ibid. p. 474.

[4]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 12.

[5]Haldane, op. cit. p. 474.

testimony was borne by the celebrated Dr. Andrew Thomson. Dr. Thomas M'Crie, although he was opposed by Haldane in controversial writings, was of the opinion that he preached the doctrine of free justification through faith more fully and more clearly than anyone he knew.[1]

Although Haldane's views on baptism had been changed quite drastically, his new view did not seem to obtrude in his evangelistic work; his grand object was to lift a fallen standard and in so doing reach men for Christ.[2] Even as late as three years before his death he remarked, "I care nothing for Baptism, except as it embodies the truths of the Gospel. As a party question, I take no interest in it."[3] The amount of apologetic writing which he devoted to baptism near the end of his life would seem to contradict the latter part of this statement.

Opposition had continued to mount against Haldane and his work. Many of the attacks made against him were grossly unjust. He was accused of attending the parish churches on many of his tours and attacking the doctrines with which he disagreed. This was not the case, however,

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 474.

[2]Rogers, Charles, Christian Heroes in the Army and Navy. London: Sampson Law, Son and Marston. 1867. p. 137.

[3]Haldane, J. A., Baptism as it Embodies the Grand Doctrines of the Gospel. With Remarks on Dr. M'Crie's Recent Work. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1851. Preface.

on any after the first of his tours.[1] A remonstrance was put before the Premier by Mr. Pitt which was designed to put a stop to all lay-preaching and render it difficult to obtain a license to preach.[2] In London, Wilberforce declared that he was "never so much moved by any public measure," and if it carried, it would be "the most fatal blow, both to Church and State, which had been struck since the Reformation."[3] The bill which was first introduced in 1798 was so opposed it had to be withdrawn.

In 1811 the bill was resurrected and amended mainly to oppose itinerant evangelism and local missions. The bill stated that no man could have a license unless he previously produced a certificate of his moral character from six respectable householders, and from three members of the sect to which he belonged, that he was fit for the office of a teacher. Against this enactment, Wilberforce in England, Haldane in Scotland and advocates of religious liberty everywhere rose like one man so that Lord Sidmouth was again compelled to withdraw the measure.[4]

In 1820, he preached to large congregations on a short tour to the Isle of Man. These shorter tours

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[1] Church of Scotland. Vol. 3. p. 745.

[2] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 257.

[3] Wilberforce, The Life of William Wilberforce. Vol. 3. p. 509.

[4] Haldane, op. cit. pp. 473, 474.

continued as late as the summers of 1829 and 1830 when he made tours first into Ayrshire and second into the north of England. On this last tour at the age of sixty-two his voice was still clear and powerful.[1]

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[1] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 553.

CHAPTER FIVE

OTHER EVANGELISTIC WORK OF THE TIME

It is a striking thing to notice in reading Scottish ecclesiastical history for the first half of the nineteenth century, that the only revivals of any size or proportion originated under the guidance or the direct influence of the men of the Tabernacle movement or their Society of the Propagation of the Gospel at Home. The work of Robert M'Cheyne might be mentioned as a possible exception to this, but M'Cheyne was in the Near East when the revival broke out in his parish and did not return until it was well under way.[1]

The most outstanding revival which took place as a result of the influence of the men of the Tabernacle Movement was the revival of Moulin in 1799 to 1802. Alexander Stewart had been ordained minister of the Parish Church of Moulin at the age of twenty-two in 1786.[2] He described the knowledge of the people concerning the principles of Christianity as being superficial and confused. He said, "The opinion of their own works

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[1]Stewart, Alexander, 1764-1821, Educated at the University of St. Andrews; licensed by the Presbytery of St. Andrews in 1786; ordained to Moulin September 1786; Translated to Dingwall in 1805; outstanding Gaelic scholar. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol. 1. p. 26.

[2]Philip, Life of the Rev. Alexander Stewart. p. 30.

recommending them to the favour of God and procuring a reward from His bounty, was almost universal...There was little reading of the Scriptures at home; little religious instruction of children; hardly any family worship and no religious conversation.[1]

Concerning his preaching prior to his conversion, he said, "My public addresses and prayers, for the most part, were cold and formal. They were little regarded by the hearers at the time, and as little recollected afterwards. I preached against particular vices and inculcated particular virtues."[2]

He was brought to a partial realization of the truth by the writings of Mr. Newton, an Independent, and Mr. Scott, a commentator, both of London.[3] After that, he admitted his preaching "consisted of a mixed kind of doctrine."[4] He dated his actual conversion to the visit of Charles Simeon and James Haldane which occurred in

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[1]Stewart, Alexander, An Account of a Late Revival of Religion in a Part of the Highlands of Scotland. In a Letter to the Rev. David Selck, Minister of Lady Yester's Church. p. 5. Afterwards referred to as An Account of a Late Revival.

[2]Ibid. p. 6.

[3]The works referred to here are John Newton's Sermons, and Stewart Thomas Scott's Force of Truth. Couper, Scottish Revivals. p. 79.

[4]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 5. No. 54. November 17, 1800. p. 480.

the spring of 1797 and more particularly to a talk with Haldane.[1] The Sunday following his conversion he announced publicly that the great transformation had taken place in his life.[2]

Haldane's influence on him seems to have been very great. After his conversion, his preaching was patterned after Haldane's. It was composed of sound evangelical doctrine and contained more pointed personal appeals. Stewart said of this period, "One might now observe at Church, after divine service, two or three small groups forming themselves round our few more advanced believers, and withdrawing from the crowds into adjacent fields to exchange Christian salutations, and hold Christian converse together."[3]

In the course of a series of practical sermons on regeneration, preached from March until July 1799, a more general awakening took place. Almost every week two or three persons were brought under a deep concern about their souls, accompanied with strong convictions of sin and an earnest inquiry after a Saviour.[4] Stewart said, even

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[1]Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 12. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 268.

[2]Couper, Scottish Revivals. p. 82.

[3]Stewart, An Account of a Late Revival. p. 10.

[4]Selvewright, James, Memoirs of the Late Rev. Alexander Stewart. Edinburgh: William Oliphant. 1822. p. 94.

Glenbriarachan, the most remote part of the parish, "was blossoming as the rose."[1]

The revival was carried on in a quiet manner, without any confusion or ungovernable agitation of mind or convulsion of body.[2] Within a few months the number of new converts rose to seventy.[3] Among the converts were James Duff and Jean Rettray both under seventeen who were later married and became the parents of Dr. Duff, the famous missionary of the Established Church to Calcutta.[3]

The revival had its effect even among those who were not directly connected with it. It had an ameliorating effect on the moral tone and general behaviour of the whole parish.[4] The chief opposition arose from those Moderates who contended, as they had at the foreign mission debate in the General Assembly in 1797, that there could be nothing substantial or necessary in that experimental knowledge which illiterate persons may attain. They declared that these could have no greater share of saving knowledge than those who were better versed in the Scriptures.[5]

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[1] Couper, Scottish Revivals. p. 83.

[2] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 5. No. 54. November 17, 1800. pp. 481, 482.

[3] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. p. 28.

[4] Couper, op. cit. p. 84.

[5] Loc. cit.

At the height of the revival Black went to spend some time with Stewart and to witness at first hand the effects of the awakening. He wrote in his diary, August 24, 1800, "Returned from St. Madoes, Perth and Moulin, where I spent the last two weeks...My visit to Moulin was peculiarly gratifying. Such a revival I never witnessed[1] before,--it is truly the doing of the Lord and marvelous in our eyes. Much as I heard of it before, it far exceeded expectation."[2]

The reviving work proceeded with varying degrees of intensity through 1800 and 1801 and terminated sometime in 1802. Stewart said after 1802 their numbers began to decrease rather than increase. A moderate minister followed Stewart as minister of the parish. His ministry had a deadening effect on the religious life of the parish with the result there was no renewal of the spirit of revival.[3]

All other revivals of any consequence were originated either by James Haldane or by the agents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home which he founded. Since the formation of this Society has not been dealt

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[1]It is notable that the Kirk-Session minutes contain no reference to this revival.

[2]Selvewright, Memoir of the Late Rev. Alexander Stewart. p. 162.

[3]Couper, Scottish Revivals. p. 85.

with, it is important to note something of its origin, growth, the scope of its work and some of the more prominent revivals which occurred as a result of their agents' work.

The Society was, for the most part, patterned after the Societas Evangelica instituted in London in the year 1776, for the purpose of enabling ministers of the Gospel to extend their usefulness by itinerant preaching.[1] This was only one of several similar societies founded about this time in England. The "Evangelical Magazine" says that three new societies--Baptist, Congregational and Independent--have been established in London for the purpose of diffusing the Gospel more extensively throughout the country.[2]

Haldane had been reminded by the Moderates, in their opposition to foreign missions, that there were enough heathen at home to be concerned with; and he was convinced that the words they had spoken were only too true. Dr. David Bogue had established a Society in his own neighbourhood in Hampshire for the purpose of evangelising the surrounding villages. He was quite ready

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[1] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 10. March 20, 1797. p. 1h3.

[2] The Evangelical Magazine. Vol. 6. February 1797. Preface p. 1.

to assist in helping James Haldane form a similar society and in the training of ardent young men for the ministry.

A meeting was held in Edinburgh on December 20, 1797[1] to consider whether anything could be done more effectively to enlighten the dark parts of Scotland. James Haldane submitted his plan for sending the Gospel to the most destitute areas. It was then agreed to form a Society for that purpose which should be called the "Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home."[2] It was chiefly a non-sectarian organization intended for the promotion of itinerant preaching and tract distribution.[3]

The first general meeting of the new Society was held on January 11, 1798, when a committee was appointed to draw up a statement containing an account of its rise and progress which they proposed to publish.[4] The following twelve laymen were appointed as Directors, nine of whom were engaged in secular work.[5]

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[1] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 6. February 1797. p. 73.

[2] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 5.

[3] Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 2. Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. p. 13.

[4] Kinniburgh, op. cit. Sect. 1. p. 5.

[5] Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 400.

Mr. James Christie	Mr. Robert Morris
Mr. Robert Haldane	Mr. Walter Russell
Mr. A. Johnstone	Mr. James Haldane
Mr. John Campbell	Mr. John Greig
Mr. George Gibson	Mr. George Peattie
Mr. John Aikman	Mr. Andrew Rochead

Officers of the Society
Mr. John Ritchie, Secretary
Mr. Alexander Steel, Treasurer
Mr. George Wilson, Clerk[1]

The Society was composed of men of different denominations; several were well known and highly respected members of the Established Church.[2] They declared their reason for organising the Society was a strong conviction of the low state of real religion in Scotland[3] and their purpose was to promote a revival of vital religion throughout the land.[4]

To accomplish this purpose they sought to use every conceivable means to promote religious knowledge. They proposed to employ approved men as itinerant preachers, to whom a certain district should be assigned--

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 3. No. 21. February 19, 1797. p. 63.

[2]Matheson, A Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 161.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 5. No. 55. December 15, 1800. p. 531.

[4]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 6. February 1798. p. 74.

to encourage the formation of schools, especially Sabbath-schools throughout the country--to promote the reading of the Scriptures--to circulate pious tracts--to establish libraries of books on practical religion--and to defray the expenses of such ministers or others approved by the Society. In short to adopt any approved plan of religious instruction.[1]

In its first year the Society employed two classes of agents: young men whose duty was to establish, superintend and teach evening schools and Sabbath-schools in various villages; the second class of agents were ministers of well-known character brought from England. Denominational background of the ministers from England or Scotland was of no major consideration. One of their agents was Mr. Ward, minister of an Episcopal Chapel at Old Deer in Aberdeenshire.[2]

In their first publication, they stated,

> It is not our design to form or to extend the influence of any sect. Our sole intention is to make known the Evangelical Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ...In employing itinerants, schoolmasters, or others, we do not consider ourselves as conferring ordination upon them or appointing them to the pastoral office. We only purpose by sending them out to supply the

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[1]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 5.

[2]Ibid. Sect. 1. p. 6.

> means of grace wherever we perceive a deficiency.[1]

The motives of James Haldane's first tour, for the most part, became the motives of the new Society. This can be seen most readily in the Society's "General Regulations for Itinerant Preachers and Catechists." Their rules were patterned after those drawn up by the Relief Synod for their missionaries to the Highlands.[2]

> Avoid entirely speaking on politics.
>
> Do not show a preference to any denomination of Christians, either Established or Dissenting.
>
> Endeavour to strengthen the hands of all faithful ministers.
>
> Never make any collections.[3]

The Society was not set up in opposition to the Establishment but rather to supplement its work; several of its Directors including the Haldanes were members of the Established Church. It had much praise for the ministers of the Evangelical party.

> The Society rejoices in the number of faithful ministers in connection with the

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[1] Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 400.

[2] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 2. No. 13. June 19, 1797. p. 376. Also see: Vol. 2. No. 15. August 21, 1797. p. 382.

[3] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 55.

Church of Scotland.[1]

Although it was not in opposition to the Established Church, it was made up deliberately of different denominations to place it outside its jurisdiction. For within the Establishment, regardless how warm a man's zeal might be and how deplorable the spiritual ignorance of those around him, he could not pass the boundary of his parish without either an invitation or the possibility of submitting himself to prosecution for irregular conduct.[2]

The Society rejoiced in the efforts of two ministers of the Church of Scotland who toured their own parishes in the summer of 1797 in an evangelistic endeavour which resulted in the conversion of many.[3] Their object was to encourage more to do the same. James Haldane had had some success along this line but he had found that even many of the Seceders had tied their own hands by

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[1] Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. p. 3.

[2] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 25.

[3] Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. pp. 4, 5. The Relief mission in Argyll and Kintyre in 1797 was accompanied by such evidences of deep interest that it might well have developed into a widespread revival but the political associations of the missioners, especially Douglas, made their ultimate motive questionable. Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 399.

what they called the Presbyterian order in restricting themselves to working within the confining limits of one parish.[1]

The men employed by the Society had to undergo a rigid examination on personal piety, morals, and doctrine. As a result of their carefulness, not one of their men was ever questioned about his personal behaviour or his doctrinal teachings. Their evangelists came from all denominations and proved to be as popular with the people as the ministers of the Evangelical party.[2] The Society quiet often received petitions from a district through which one of their evangelists was passing, requesting the Society to permit him to remain with them.[3]

The Society was careful not to show any form of opposition to any denomination. This can readily be seen in the case of Mr. Hugh Ross one of their agents who was working as a catechist in the Dowally area. The people insisted that he use the parish church to meet in during a heavy rain. When the Society learned of the incident, they sent Mr. Aikman to Dowally to

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[1] Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. p. 4.

[2] Struthers, History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 401.

[3] Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. p. 19.

apologize to the parish minister for the catechist using the Church without permission. To show their disapproval of his actions, they transferred Mr. Ross to another area.[1]

The agents of the Society--evangelists, schoolmasters, Sabbath-school teachers and catechists--were paid by the Society. A limited amount of public subscriptions was received by the Society but by far the greater part of the income was supplied by Robert Haldane.[2]

The formation of the Society was brought to the attention of the public by the "Missionary Magazine." An appeal was made in this and similar periodical publications for men who would be willing to work under the auspices of the Society.[3] In May 1799 they had in their employ sixteen full time Christian workers. These were stationed throughout the country and testimonies of those among whom they worked indicated that their labours were beneficial above expectation. In one of

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[1]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. p. 39.

[2]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. pp. 55, 56.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 3. No. 21. February 19, 1798. p. 63. Also see: Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 6. February 1798. p. 76.

the reports of the Society, John Ritchie, the secretary, reported that the Society had been "strengthened by the confidence which their brethren in Christ of various denominations, appear to have placed in them by very liberal donations."

The charge was made that the Society carefully concealed their real designs until they obtained a footing in the country; and then, after pretending zeal for the good of destitute areas, they set themselves down in the fat places of the land.[1] It is true the work of the Society was done in the largest towns as well as in the smallest villages in the land on the conviction that the need was everywhere present.

The evangelists reached only a small percentage of the people for Christ in all areas. Quite naturally, because of the population distribution, the only places where a sufficient number of people could be gathered to organise a church, in the beginning, were in the larger towns.

The Society continually tried to send their men where the need was the greatest. A close perusal of the work and correspondence of the Society will readily indicate that their original purpose was maintained until it was disbanded. Their exertions in destitute areas even in the last year of their existence were in full proportion to

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[1] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 7.

their means.[1]

In his report for December 1800, John Ritchie revealed that they then had twenty-eight preachers and catechists in different parts of the country. Some of their preachers were assigned the task of itinerant evangelists.[2] The Society's agents had an advantage over the school-masters employed by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, as their agents were limited in their usefulness being confined to one place.[3] Agents for the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, who were stationed in a given area also covered much of the surrounding country on evangelistic excursions.[4]

The Society's work prospered and requests came to Mr. Ritchie from various parts of the country where their agents were serving requesting the Society to provide a permanent minister. Within a short time so great grew their reputation that applications came from towns outside the

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[1]The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No. 22. October 1819. p. 603.

[2]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 5. No. 50. December 15, 1800. p. 531.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 69. January 18, 1802. p. 11.

[4]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 5. No. 50. Op. cit. p. 531.

[5]For an example of such a request, see: Missionary Magazine. Vol. 6. No. 58. March 16, 1801. pp. 129, 130.

areas in which their agents were working. Thirty applications came in for preachers during the later part of 1801 alone.[1] Some of the people of Kirkcaldy were so anxious to secure the services of one of the Society's preachers, they built a temporary meeting-house to provide a place of worship.[2]

The increased success and influence of the Society's agents caused many to withdraw their countenance from the work or oppose and speak evil of it. Many others who had beheld its beginnings with indifference or opposition became friendly and zealous in the cause.[3] A letter from a minister of the Established Church appeared in the "Missionary Magazine" praising the work of the Society's preachers.[4]

The doctrines proclaimed by the Society's agents were set forth as:

1. Deep depravity of human nature and the power of innate corruption.
2. Justification by faith in Jesus Christ.

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 68. January 18, 1802. p. 6.

[2]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 79. December 20, 1802. p. 522.

[3]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 1.

[4]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 68. Op. cit. p. 11.

3. The necessity and nature of regeneration.

4. Active and diffusive benevolence and the necessity of cultivating holiness.

5. Brotherly love as a prominent feature of the Christian character.[1]

Great opposition arose as large numbers began to be converted.[2] None objected more strenuously than the Dissenters who felt that the new converts should join them.[3] In certain islands of the Orkneys, Haldane had recommended that converts join the AntiBurghers because they had been instrumental in bringing about a revival of religion in that area. Later, when he felt the growing necessity for stricter New Testament principles, he encouraged the converts to form themselves into Independent Churches where they would have the advantage of purity of communion.[4]

The Society continued to employ ministers visiting

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[1]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 20.

[2]Dr. William Porteous, in a letter to the Lord Advocate dated February 21, 1798, describing what he considered to be the dangerous activity in setting up Sabbath-schools and sending out evangelists. Historical Manuscript Commission, Report on the Laing MSS. Vol. 2. H. M. Stationery Office. 1925. p. 644.

[3]Kinniburgh, op. cit. Sect. 2. p. 2.

[4]Ibid. Sect. 1. P. 1.

from England.[1] Three of these worked under the Society at their own expense, one labouring in the south and the other two in the north.[2] Two ministers from Ireland also itinerated for the Society. The expense of several ministers in different parts of the country itinerating in their own neighbourhood, was also defrayed by the Society.[3] Great care was not only exercised in the selection of these men but in watching over the conduct of those who were in their service.[4]

Men were employed from all denominations. The Society wrote, "If more labourers of any one denomination than of another have been employed, it is because such have offered themselves, and not from any perference given by the Society to any party."[5] Three of the twenty-eight preachers sent out by the Society in 1802 spoke Gaelic; one itinerated in Kintyre, while the other two were placed in fixed situations in the north of Scotland where Gaelic was needed.[6]

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[1] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 12. 1807. Appendix. p. 1.

[2] Ibid. Vol. 7. No. 68. January 18, 1802. p. 6.

[3] Loc. cit.

[4] Ibid. Vol.12. 1807 Appendix. p. 4.

[5] Ibid. Vol. 5. No. 50. December 15, 1800. p. 532.

[6] Ibid. Vol. 7. No. 68. January 18, 1800. p. 5.

At this same time, they sent one of their agents to the Orkneys and another to the Shetlands.[1]

In March of the same year, fifteen men were sent to Ireland and thirty-seven into different parts of Scotland. Some of the latter group, being acquainted with the Gaelic language, were stationed in the Highlands. Four months later, in July, eighteen others were sent out by the Society. The total number sent out by the Society to this date was over one hundred[2] of whom ninety-eight had received their education for the ministry at one of the Haldanes' Seminaries.[3]

In 1804 an unusually large number of petitions came into the Society for preachers. So heavy was the demand it was decided to place the students in one of the Seminaries under the Society's direction for a short time. Twenty men were sent out to itinerate for three months in different parts of Scotland and Ireland and one was sent to the Isle

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 68. January 18, 1800. p. 6. The Society's agents were often subjected to great hardships and certainly none were overpaid for their work. For example, James Dewar was given five pounds by the Society to take him to Nairn (in Inverness?) and support him there for several months. Since there were no coaches he walked the entire distance of one hundred and fifty miles. Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 14. p. 4.

[2]This number includes only those who were sent out for a year or more.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 12. 1807 Appendix. p. 4.

of Man.[1] A month later twenty others were sent out under similar circumstances to preach at different stations.[2] The most neglected districts and most secluded nooks were soon pervaded with the itinerant evangelists.[3]

Of those agents sent out by the Society during the year 1802 and the first half of 1803, about one-fourth were sent to Ireland and placed under the Ulster Society.[4] The Evangelical Society of Ulster was formed in October 1798 and employed ministers of various denominations.[5] It was not a part of their original purpose to establish Sabbath-schools but after intercourse with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home, they soon began to do so. In 1804 the average attendance in their Sabbath-schools amounted to several thousand. They had employed around sixteen ministers in itinerant work during their first few years. Their work encouraged ministers outside their own ranks and stirred many to a greater zeal and some

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 9. No. 99. August 20, 1804. p. 381.

[2]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 9. No. 100. September 17, 1804. p. 429.

[3]Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 195.

[4]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 86. July 18, 1803. p. 313.

[5]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 9. No. 93. February 20, 1804. p. 81.

to undertake similar evangelistic work.[1]

In eight places, churches had sprung up under their guidance, several of which had their own meeting houses. They neither formed churches as a Society nor settled ministers; "All we attempt is to afford the means of salvation where they are wanted."[2] After the churches were formed they claimed no kind of ecclesiastical control over them.

The London Missionary Society not only gave their approval of this plan but also sent financial aid to carry on the work. They were aided by Scotland with both preachers and money.[3] The following is a table of the collections taken at several of the Haldane Tabernacles for the Ulster Society in the summer of 1804. It is an indication of their generosity towards other evangelical work.

Edinburgh Tabernacle . . .	£ 100	17	3
Mr. Aikman's Chapel . . .	53	9	1½
Glasgow Tabernacle . . .	44	-	-
Mr. Wardlaw's Chapel . . .	30	-	-
Dundee Tabernacle . . .	20	-	-

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 9. No. 93. February 20, 1804. p. 82.

[2]Ibid. p. 84. [3]Ibid. p. 83.

Perth Tabernacle	10	-	-
Dunkeld Tabernacle[1]	3	10	-

In a letter to its preachers and catechists, John Ritchie, secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, wrote, "During this year, while you are under our charge, you are not pastors of churches, but preachers of the Gospel. You must not therefore on any account agitate questions on church government. This is to depart entirely from the object of your appointment, which is to preach the Gospel at large, without any incumbrance. In proportion as your mind is engrossed by lesser matters, your ardour in winning souls to Christ will cool."[2]

The Society usually supported its agents for only one year. "During that period, the people have full opportunity of trying the temper and gifts of those sent among them; and at the termination of the year, have it in their power to make a choice which may seem best."[3] The Society hoped that a sufficient number of people could be gathered in a

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 10. No. 104. January 21, 1804. p. 47.

[2]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 6. No. 56. January 19, 1801. pp. 12, 13.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 68. January 18, 1802. p. 7.

year to build a church and support their agent as the minister. When these men became ministers of churches, they continued their evangelistic work in the area surrounding their churches. The Society defrayed any extra expense incurred in this work.[1]

A number of the ministers of the Tabernacle Movement met in Dundee in 1802 and formed an association for the purpose of fellowship and mutual encouragement. They met in the evening for public worship. The following day they met from ten to three for a conference. The meeting was composed of prayer, singing, discussion of religious subjects, and a report from each minister on the progress of his work. In the evening they concluded with a period of public worship. A meeting of this type was held semi-annually in various locations.[2]

Although the legality of lay-preaching had been vindicated numerous times, the Society's agents still faced persecution from the Establishment. The most notable case of oppression was that of M'Arthur versus Campbell which was decided by the court of Session. M'Arthur, working in Port Bannatyne, was seized while

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[1] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 89. The Congregational Union also followed this policy after they took over the Society's work.

[2] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 79. December 20, 1802. p. 521.

preaching and put on board a ship bound for Greenock and handed over to a naval captain as a person fit for service in the navy under the press gang system. He was removed from the jurisdiction of Scottish courts and compelled to serve for five weeks on various ships of war.

Finally he was released by the Lords of the Admiralty. In the court action that followed M'Arthur was accused of preaching "immoral and seditious doctrines." The charges were proved to be unfounded and Lord Meadowbank decided the case in favour of Mr. M'Arthur and awarded him a solatium of one hundred and five pounds for the wrong done to him with indemnification of expenses incurred by him in securing his release. This was one of the last attempts to use such oppressive measures to persecute the evangelists.[1]

Because of the scope of the Society's work and the zeal of its agents, it met with a great measure of success. Reports came of "villages not long ago remarkable for open wickedness, now greatly reformed."[2] In the winter when itinerant work became impractical, the Society stationed their agents in a fixed location and urged that they hold

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[1]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 69.

[2]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 68. January 18, 1802. p. 6.

not only services on the Sabbath and week nights but that they go from house to house examining the religious knowledge of the people and instructing them in matters pertinent to their soul's salvation.[1] A letter to the Society from one of its agents indicated the procedure followed in the house to house visitation and the success which accompanied it, especially in dealing with each member of the family individually.[2]

Never before or since in Scottish church history had such an extensive plan of evangelistic endeavour been put into operation. The Society's men could be found preaching in every glen and village. In every locality they had their schools and agencies.[3] This scheme also had a place for the individual church. The following is the plan followed by the Church at Armagh. It was followed with minor variations by most of the churches of the Tabernacle Movement.

1. "This institution has for its object, the diffusion of divine truth and the revival of practical experimental religion among the people of every denomination.

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 70. March 15, 1802. p. 100. Also see: Vol. 6. No. 60. May 18, 1801. p. 220.

[2]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. pp. 20, 21.

[3]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 72.

2. "The means to be employed for the attainment of these important ends, are the reading of short, plain, experimental sermons; together with the reading of the Holy Scriptures, singing and prayer.

3. "The persons to be engaged in this service are pious young men, possessed of good understanding, a prudent warm zeal, and much devotedness of spirit; with these, aged disciples of more matured experience will be occasionally united.

4. "The young men shall be sent forth, two and two, changing every Sabbath, till they go round the circuit; but at each meeting not less than three shall engage in the service, if a third person can be obtained.

5. "The extent of the circuit, for this summer, shall not exceed the distance of four miles from Armagah, except in some particular instances. The time of meeting, in every place, shall be exactly at five o'clock on the Sabbath evening.

6. "A meeting for receiving reports, returning sermons, etc., will be held at seven o'clock every Monday evening at the meeting-house, where all young men will be expected to attend.

7. "Any young man acting out of character, shall immediately be called to an account, and if the painful necessity should appear, he shall by the vote of the whole be cut off from their body.

8. "Lastly, the pastor of the congregation, or his substitute, shall be the constant president of this little society, all the meetings of which shall be opened and closed by prayer."

"In this work we have twenty-one engaged on the evenings of the Sabbath, besides others called probationers. The commencement has been very promising in all quarters; vast multitudes attend, with every appearance of seriousness, and a deep concern for their souls."[1]

This system of evangelistic work provided a constant source of supply of students for the Seminaries and the Seminaries a supply of agents for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home. In January 1807, a short time before the Society disbanded, they published the following report of the number of ministers sent out by the Society for a year or more. The report covers the ten year period from 1797 to 1807.

December 1797 to December 1801			32
March 1802			53
July 1803			20
October 15, 1804	To Ireland	9	
	To the Highlands of Scotland	8	
	To the Lowlands of Scotland	11	. .28
December 31, 1805	To Ireland	4	

[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 6. August 17, 1801. p. 346.

	To the Highlands of Scotland	3	
	To the Lowlands of Scotland	12	19
July 1, 1806	To Ireland	7	
	To the Highlands of Scotland	5	
	To the Lowlands of Scotland	21	33
	Total		185

Of this number, one hundred eighty-two had been trained in the Haldanes' Seminaries.[1]

An account of the expenditures was published at the same time covering about the same period.[2]

December 28, 1797 to May 15, 1803.	£2676	8	10
May 15, 1803 to December 31, 1804.	1549	18	5½
For the Year of 1805	929	-	6¼
For the Year of 1806	1375	17	2½
Total	6531	5	-¼

Of this total amount, ninety-one percent was spent for preachers' salaries, seven percent for tract publication and two percent for incidental expense.[3] No remuneration was given to those who held offices in the Society.[4]

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 12. No. 129. p. 69.

[2]A brief financial statement of the Society's expenditures was published for the period 1798 to 1801 in the Missionary Magazine, Vol. 7. No. 68. January 18, 1802. p. 18.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 12. No. 129. February 16, 1807. p. 71.

[4]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 12. 1807 Appendix. p. 5.

The Society ceased to operate shortly after the Tabernacle disruption.[1] The work, however, was carried on independently in many places. When the Congregational Union was formed, it took over the independent work and carried it forward along much the same lines that the old Society had followed.[2] When the new Society was organised John Aikman became its chairman and Robert Kinniburgh its secretary-treasurer.[3]

The money and effort expended brought about the desired results. A wide spread revival was taking place. By 1803 there were four localities where over four hundred conversions had taken place under the leadership of the Society's agents.[4] By 1807 there were six places where their agents were working which had more than six hundred conversions.[5]

Because of the limited space only two areas affected by the revival will be reviewed. The work at Kintyre and Breadalbane have been selected as typical and representative. The district of Kintyre begins about ten miles north of Campbelton and extends to Tarbert--a tract of about thirty

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[1] Matheson, A Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 344.

[2] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 89.

[3] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 33.

[4] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 86. July 18, 1803. p. 314.

[5] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 12. 1807 Appendix. p. 5.

miles in length.[1] James Haldane and John Campbell toured this area in 1799 and described it as an area which needed the Gospel more than almost any other place in Scotland.[2]

From the beginning there was opposition to the preaching of the Gospel. It was in this area, at Whitehouse, that John Campbell had been arrested for his preaching.[3] Mr. Archibald M'Callum, a former school teacher--trained in Haldanes' Seminary--was the Society's agent in Kintyre.[4] For a time he worked in Campbelton, making evangelistic excursions from this center. He met with the united opposition of the clergymen. He found the same difficulty as Haldane and Campbell in gathering a congregation. Campbell had written that they could only find five or six to hear a sermon. He said it was the only place on their entire journey where they failed to gather a congregation.

He tried various methods all of which failed. Finally he was forced to change his plans and wait until after sundown to preach so that those coming might not be recognised, and incur the wrath of the opposing clergy. "The plan succeeded and multitudes flocked to hear the Word."[5]

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[1] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. August 15, 1803. p. 361.

[2] Philip, The Memoir of John Campbell. p. 186.

[3] See p. 173.

[4] Missionary Magazine. Op. cit. p. 361.

[5] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. August 15, 1803. p. 362.

During the first six months, Mr. M'Callum's labours met with no more success than simply preaching to large congregations. In the summer of 1801, eight persons were awakened in Carradel, where he preached twice a week. The number soon rose to thirty.[1]

When he first preached at Clachan, five miles south of Whitehouse, only nine persons ventured to hear the sermon. At the end of the message he was taken before the magistrate and warned never to preach there again. In spite of this, he continued his visits and a number of conversions took place and weekly prayer meetings were organised. His congregations soon reached six to seven hundred.[2]

At Whitehouse, which is located about six miles south of Tarbert, he found about twelve members of the parish Church which had been excommunicated or deprived of church privileges for attending a sermon of Mr. Haldane when he preached there in 1798.[3] Most of these plus many others who were converted under Mr. M'Callum's ministry became the members of a new church organised there.[4]

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. August 15, 1803. p. 363.

[2]Ibid. p. 365.

[3]They were deprived of admission to the sacraments in the church and baptism for their children.

[4]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. August 15, 1803. p. 365.

Mr. M'Callum was later ordained as minister of the Church composed of fifty-five members in 1802. Within a few months the number grew to about ninety. When Campbell made a second tour of Kintyre in 1803 the number was about one hundred.[1] By 1806 it consisted of one hundred and fifty members.[2] In Carradel, fellowship meetings were begun in which there was prayer, singing, reading of the Scriptures and exhortation. These meetings were open to strangers who desired to attend. They endured a great deal of persecution. Several families were given their choice by their proprietor to either relinquish all connections with M'Callum or leave their farms on which they worked. Without hesitation they left their farms and later found others near Campbelton.[3]

As the work progressed, it took on the proportions of a revival. Twenty were converted at Baillenack;[4] twenty at Shipness;[5] sixty in Lamblash.[6] The additions to the church at Campbelton increased rapidly. Early in 1806 at the height of the revival the total membership of the four

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[1]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 2. p. 7.

[2]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 11. No. 120. May 19, 1806. p. 213.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. p. 364.

[4]Ibid. p. 367. [5]Ibid. p. 365.

[6]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 10. No. 109. June 17, 1805. p. 269.

Churches in Kintyre[1] was two hundred and seventy-two members,[2] with a total number of converts of more than twice this number.

The standard of morality was raised higher in this area in consequence of the good conduct of the converts. Public dances were generally given up, swearing, revels, etc., were considerably decreased among the unconverted. One visitor to this place said, "Had I not been an eye witness of the change which has taken place upon that once dark and dismal region, since my former visit to it about three years ago, I could hardly have conceived such an alteration possible."[3]

Even a greater revival took place in Breadalbane--a populous area thirty-two miles in length surrounding Lock Tay.[4] Mr. John Farquharson, who had received a very liberal education and was a school-master for a time in the parish of Tealing,[5] had studies for a time at one of the Haldanes' Seminaries but did not show the necessary progress and consequently was sent to Breadalbane as a

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[1] They had a total of twenty-six weekly prayer meetings at this time.

[2] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 2. p. 8.

[3] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. August 15, 1803. p. 361.

[4] Ibid. p. 368.

[5] Kinniburgh, op. cit. Sect. 12. p. 2.

Scripture Reader. Principal Daniel Dewar of Aberdeen writing long afterwards declared that Farquharson "was the most remarkable man he had ever known," and that though preaching daily, "he was remarkable in this respect, that he seldom preached without someone being awakened."[1]

The Breadalbane district was occupied by people almost completely destitute of religion.[2] Unlike the people of Kintyre, they were generally of a decent and moral deportment, and not much addicted to any of those vices which were so degrading to society. But, "they were grossly ignorant of the way of salvation."[3] Couper says that the doctrine of Salvation by grace was a great novelty to the people.[4]

Bibles were sold at a price far too high to be within the reach of the average Highlander.[5] They were extremely scarce[6] and very few possessed even a New

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[1]Couper, Scottish Revivals. p. 101.

[2]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. August 15, 1803. p. 369.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 86. July 18, 1803. p. 320.

[4]Couper, op. cit. p. 100.

[5]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. p. 4. The Old Testament alone was fifteen shillings. This was the cost of six sheep. Stewart, Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlanders. p. 150.

[6]Missionary Magazine. Op. cit. p. 320. Also see: Vol. 8. No. 83. September 1803. p. 412.

Testament. Among these people Mr. Farquharson was well received. The people turned out remarkably well and seemed eager to attend. There was not the slightest bit of opposition at the beginning of his work. Within a month, however, means began to be used to impede his work.[1]

He began his work at Killin, a large village at the head of the loch. He preached there regularly to about one hundred young people and as many adults.[2] The growing opposition soon deprived them of their meeting-house and forced him to divide the congregation into three groups and meet with them separately.[3] Opposition grew on the part of the Established Church and the landed proprietors until there were only three families who would receive him into their homes.[4] The people would gladly come to hear him preach but would not dare to have him in their homes. Every inn in the area was soon closed to him.[5]

A new start was made unostentatiously at Ardconaig, Artalnaig and Acharn where the chief events of his

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. p. 369.

[2]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. p. 3.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Op. cit. p. 369.

[4]Kinniburgh, op. cit. Sect. 12. p. 3.

[5]A speech delivered before the commission of the General Assembly by Dr. Alexander Irving of Dunkeld was an unrestrained attack on the revival. Couper, Scottish Revivals. p. 102.

ministry took place.[1] He continued labouring with great diligence and self-denial four or five months through the winter of 1800 before he had any measure of success. His preaching was very energetic and in general well received by considerable gatherings of people.

At an early stage in his work, he was arrested for his preaching at Castleton in Braemar and imprisoned at Aberdeen. One soon appeared who was better acquainted with the Act of Toleration than Mr. Farquharson's persecutors.[2] One of the magistrates gave his a book and told him to read a while and he would soon be liberated. He found to his surprise it was a copy of Rutherford's Letters which had been written in the same cell in which he was confined.[3]

He also preached in the villages along the south side of the loch. The first fruits of the revival came when a few people were awakened at Arduneck early in 1801 and a spirit of inquiry about things spiritual began to manifest itself. During the summer, several more became concerned about their soul's salvation.[4]

Meetings of new converts began to be held for prayer

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[1] Couper, Scottish Revivals. p. 100.

[2] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. p. 2.

[3] Ibid. Sect. 12. p. 12.

[4] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 86. July 1803. p. 320.

at Arduneck and throughout the area. No sooner had the meetings been established than many in the village expressed a desire to attend.[1] It was primarily in these meetings that the greatest results of the awakening took place in April 1802.[2] A short time later a similar awakening took place at Ardtallanaig, a village three miles to the east and at Artallanaig on the north side of the Loch.[3]

By the fall of 1802 the results of his ministry were of such importance that they could be spoken of as a revival.[4] The awakening soon spread to Strathspey and east to Artradnaig where about fourteen were converted. This number, with many others, spent the greater part of the night in prayer. The meetings continued for about ten days with conversions taking place at almost every meeting.[5]

A new convert went from the Artradnaig meeting to Archarn where similar results took place. The people at Carnich, hearing of the sweeping revival taking place on the south side of the Loch, invited some of the new converts to come to their village and hold a meeting. In this way the revival spread to Carnich and to Fortingal where many

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. August 15, 1803. p. 370.

[2]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. July 1803. p. 320.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. Op. cit. p. 372.

[4]Couper, Scottish Revivals. p. 101.

[5]Missionary Magazine. Op. cit. p. 372.

more were converted.[1]

Mr. Farquharson was employed for some time almost day and night dealing with the new converts.[2] At Ardtalnaig groups of converts went from house to house praying and praising God for eight to ten days with no more than two hours sleep at night.[3] At a meeting at Cartlechan a most extraordinary influence was felt, so that fourteen fell to the ground and cried out to God for mercy. The same effects were to be seen in other villages in the area. For some time the only concern of the people was in spiritual and eternal matters. Secular business came to a stand still. Large numbers spent entire nights in prayer and exhorting one another.[4]

In the early stages of the revival two years before two young men were converted and went to the Haldanes' Seminary for additional training. They completed their work in time to return to Breadalbane at the height of the revival and aid Mr. Farquharson. These men were Mr. John Campbell, a native of Ardeonaig who later became pastor of the Independent Church at Oban and Mr. James Dewar who

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. August 15, 1803. p. 373.

[2]Ibid. p. 372.

[3]Couper, Scottish Revivals. p. 100.

[4]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. July 1803. p. 320.

later became minister at Nairn.[1]

About this time several ministers came to observe the work of the revival and were used themselves in continuing the work not only in the revival center but in the area of their own churches after they returned.[2] Sixty-five of the converts[3] at Ardradnaig formed themselves into a church and invited Mr. Farquharson to be their minister. At the ordination service, Mr. William M'Killican, minister of the Gaelic Church at Perth, brought the introductory message in Gaelic. The account of Mr. Farquharson's conversion, call to the ministry and confession of faith were given. Mr. John Campbell of Dunkeld closed the service by giving a charge to the new minister and church.[4]

It cannot be denied that at this period there was a considerable mixture of enthusiasm and extravagence which accompanied some phases of the revival.[5] Numbers fainted and fell down under the preaching of the Word and others cried out under great alarm. One unfortunate girl became

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[1] Couper, Scottish Revivals. p. 100.

[2] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. August 15, 1803. p. 374.

[3] Kinniburgh, places this number at seventy. See his Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. p. 6.

[4] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 79. December 20, 1802. p. 523.

[5] As a result of these extravagences manifest by the awakening, Mr. Farquharson was charged with witchcraft. Kinniburgh, op. cit. Sect. 12. p. 5.

so bewildered in her imagination by the picture drawn of the punishment of unbelievers that she destroyed herself in a fit of desperation.[1]

After a lapse of several months, the "Missionary Magazine" said, "It still appears to be the Lord's doing and it is wonderous in our eyes."[2] The sincerity of the new converts can be seen in the answer given by one who was ridiculed for joining the new church.

> Do you not see the difference between yourselves and us? We are all afraid lest any one of our number should bring reproach upon the Gospel by improper conduct; anything of this kind would keep us from our sleep. You plainly show you care nothing about each other, and that you do not consider yourselves connected together at all.[3]

Their sincerity was further seen in the fact that they were engaged in making restitution for the wrongs of their past lives. It was also said of them that they "received nothing from anyone as truth, unless he prove it to them from the Word of God."[4]

The new converts found themselves assailed from all quarters in a storm of persecution. Many left the

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[1] Stewart, Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlanders. p. 139.

[2] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 86. July 1803. p. 321.

[3] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. August 15, 1803. p. 375.

[4] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. p. 10.

Establishment and it was these who were subjected to the greatest persecution. Conversions toward the end of 1802 were less frequent but the revival continued. There was a great eagerness on the part of the converts to impart their new found joy to others, and to hear the Gospel themselves. Many would walk ten or twelve miles or more along bad roads and even in heavy rain, to sit on the side of the mountain for a meeting.[1] James Haldane had heard of the dramatic results of the revival and planned a tour through the Breadalbane area to investigate and see if the revival was as great as reported in Edinburgh. John Campbell accompanied him on the tour and reported "that there had been no exaggeration" in the reports of the revival.[2]

After Mr. Farquharson's ordination, the number of church members rose quickly to one hundred.[3] In addition to his work at Ardradnaig, he preached weekly at various villages along a thirty mile circuit.[4] Much of his work was done from house to house.[5] Soon four churches had

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 86. July 1803. p. 321.

[2]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. p. 10.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 8. No. 87. August 15, 1803. p. 374.

[4]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 79. December 20, 1802. p. 523.

[5]Couper, Scottish Revivals. p. 100.

sprung up around the loch[1] at Tuar, Lawers, Killin and Glenlyon.[2] These churches had a total membership of two hundred and fifty-eight.[3] This was approximately one-third of the total converts of the revival exclusive of the number of Christians who joined these churches coming from other denominations.

It is interesting to note that after Mr. Farquharson left Breadalbane, on his way to Nova Scotia, his ship was forced by contrary winds to remain several weeks at a port on the island of Skye.[4] During his stay there, he preached throughout the island and was instrumental in beginning a revival which later swept the whole of the island.[5]

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[1]For the unusual origin of one of these churches see: Missionary Magazine. Vol. 12. No. 129. February 16, 1807. p. 72.

[2]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. p. 11.

[3]Missionary Magazine. Op. cit. p. 71.

[4]Kinniburgh, op. cit. Sect. 12. p. 12.

[5]Couper, Scottish Revivals. p. 90.

CHAPTER SIX

MINISTRY AT THE TABERNACLE

If it had been the desire of James Haldane to gain a name as the founder of a sect, his ambition might have been easily gratified at the close of his first evangelistic tour.[1] The success which accompanied his work from Solway Firth to the Orkneys was very great.[2] Self-aggrandizement, however, did not seem to have any place in his scheme. His first two summers of evangelistic endeavour were completed while he was still a member of the Rev. David Black's Church in Edinburgh. He had no thought of secession; his only desire was for "room and opportunity to preach the Gospel."[3]

There was likewise no opposition to the Established Church when the Circus was leased as a preaching station.[4] It was opened, rather, by men most of whom belonged to the Established Church and who were concerned with supplementing its work in reaching the poor outside the church

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[1] Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. Vol. 2. p. 42.

[2] Biographical Sketch of the Late J. A. Haldane, Esq. Reprinted from the Edinburgh Newspapers. With Additions. p. 13.

[3] Walker, Scottish Church History. p. 125.

[4] The Circus was also known as the "Theatre of Edinburgh." It was described as being "most elegently and commodiously fitted," and larger than the Theatre Royal. Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh. Vol. 2. p. 178.

with the Gospel.[1] Haldane was careful to state that the opening of the Circus was not a separation from the Establishment but simply the opening of another place of worship. Those who worshipped there were urged to return to the Established Church for the Lord's Supper.[2]

Increased opposition from the National Church gradually drove him and his fellow workers from its fold. Ecclesiastical opposition alone was not the sole factor for their secession; another major factor was a desire for a warmer evangelical fellowship.[3] Following his second tour, in 1798, he began to meet with a few men who were united by their interest in the Circus and the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. These men included Mr. Robert Haldane, Mr. Greville Ewing, Mr. John Campbell, Mr. George Gibson, Mr. John Ritchie, and usually about five others.[4]

There was already a large measure of true church life among them before a church was formed. There were the weekly Sabbath meetings at the Circus seeking the conversion of the lost; the fellowship meetings as

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[1]Haldane, Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. p. 82.

[2]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 65.

[3]Aikman made a statement concerning this. See: Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 217.

[4]Loc. cit.

mentioned above; a Sabbath-school and tract distribution work. All these enabled the active Christian workers to enjoy a very real fellowship. When they returned to their own churches, however, there was not the same keen spirit of discipleship; their ministers lacked the spiritual dynamic possessed by those who proclaimed the Gospel at the Circus; there was little active zeal to inspire a warm fellowship. The difference was painfully felt and gradually, as the cleavage grew in fellowship with their own churches, the bond of fellowship in the Circus group grew increasingly stronger. This became one of the major contributing factors in the formation of the new Church.[1]

After many meetings of prayer and consultation, they resolved to form themselves into a church. It was organised as an Independent Church affiliating with no denomination. It subscribed "to no standard, and acknowledged no authority but the Word of God; it soon[2] became strictly a Congregational Church."[3]

It was announced by Mr. Haldane: "The form of church government is what is called Congregational. It is exercised in the presence of the church itself, by its

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[1]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 60.

[2]"Soon" here evidently meant a period of several years for records indicate it was not until 1805 that a group left the Tabernacle to form a Congregational Church.

[3]London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No. 22. October 1819. p. 601.

pastor and office bearers, and with the consent of the members, independent of any other jurisdiction, a form long known and acted upon in England."[1]

Almost immediately James Haldane was invited to be their pastor. He declined their invitation with the explanation that he considered his qualifications better suited for the work of an evangelist than that of a pastor. His explanation was ignored and their call was pressed persistently. Finally he yielded to what he considered to be the will of the Lord.[2]

The Circus Church was organised with 310 members in January 1799. About thirty of these, however, continued as members of the Establishment and only desired to have fellowship occasionally at the Lord's Supper with the members of the Circus Church.[3] Large numbers had their application for church membership rejected because upon being examined there was a gross ignorance of the Gospel or a failure to maintain a becoming Christian walk and conversation.[4] Later Haldane reversed his opinion on this point and advocated that they be received on the basis of forbearance.

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[1]Haldane, Plans for Promoting Religion. p. 54.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 217.

[3]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 63.

[4]Ibid. p. 62.

James Haldane's ordination took place on the third of February 1799.[1] Since this is the first ordination in connection with any of the Scottish Congregational Churches it is important to include a brief account of the proceedings. The "Missionary Magazine" revealed that the service was opened by Mr. Taylor in Osset, Yorkshire, who led in the singing of the 122nd Psalm; this was followed by prayer and a sermon. Mr. Ewing gave out the hymn, "God the Glory and Defence of Zion." Mr. Garie of Perth[2] then went to the pulpit and asked Mr. Haldane the following questions:

1. "As an unconverted ministry is allowed to be a great evil, will you, Sir, be pleased to favour us with some account of the dealing of God with your soul?
2. "Will you inform us what are the circumstances and motives which have led you to preach the Gospel, and to desire to engage in the work of the ministry?
3. "Will you favour us with your views of the leading truths of the Gospel?

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[1] Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 402.

[2] Mr. Garie was educated in an English Theological Academy under the patronage of Lady Charlotte and Lady Glenorchy. He was one of Lady Glenorchy's chaplains for a time. The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 191. He became a licentiate of the Church of Scotland and was presented to the Church at Brechin by the Crown. The Presbytery opposed his ordination and as a result he became the minister of an Independent congregation at Perth. Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. p. 43.

4. "Will you explain your view and purposes respecting the duties and trials before you in the pastoral office?"[1]

These questions put to James Haldane at his ordination are precisely the same questions used in the Congregational Churches in the United States for the candidate for ordination to answer in a paper prepared by him for the Ordination Council. Haldane became the first Congregational minister to be ordained in Scotland,[2] but not the minister of the first Congregational Church.[3]

In answer to one of the questions, he revealed his intention of following the plan of the Surrey Chapel, London, by procuring a regular rotation of ministers to assist him in supplying the Tabernacle.[4] He declared

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[1]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 4. No. 33. February 1799. p. 76.

[2]Dictionary of National Biography. Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. Vol. 24. London: Smith Elder and Company. 1890. p. 13.

[3]The George Street Chapel in Aberdeen was organised with nine members on September 9, 1798 just four months before the Circus. Bulloch, J. M., Centenary Memorials of the First Congregational Church in Aberdeen. p. 33. Kinniburgh declares that the oldest Congregational Church in Scotland is the School Wynd Church in Paisley. His date--1795--is based on a date found in one of the hymn books. Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 13. p. 1. The Church was founded through the agitations of a branch of the society called "The Friends of the People." The Scottish Congregationalist. Vol. 42. n.s. Edinburgh: Bishop and Sons. January 1946. p. 12.

[4]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 4. No. 33. February 18, 1799. p. 76. Also see: Evangelical Repository. Eighth Series. Vol. 3. No. 11. 1819. p. 156.

that his pulpit would be open to any faithful minister of the Gospel no matter to what denomination he belonged.[1]

The English ministers who supplied the Circus maintained the same high level of evangelistic preaching as was characteristic of its pastor. All these men had "commenced their labours more or less under the stirring influence of Whitefield."[2] In accepting the Church he made it clear that he acted only upon the condition that he would be permitted to continue his itinerant tours.[3] His purpose in following the plan of the Surrey Chapel was that he might be freed from his pastoral duties during the summer months in order to go on with this evangelistic work.[4]

The Church was addressed once again by Mr. Garie asking what steps they had taken in order to establish a pastoral relationship between Mr. Haldane and themselves. Mr. Aikman answered on behalf of the Church giving a brief account of the events which led to the formation of the Church[5] and their invitation to Haldane

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[1] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 220.

[2] The Eclectic Review. Vol. 4. n.s. September 1852. p. 353.

[3] The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 69.

[4] The Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 11. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 156.

[5] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 63.

to be their pastor. Mr. Carie then asked the Church if after they had heard his answers they desired Mr. Haldane to be their pastor. After the congregation expressed their desire, he asked Mr. Haldane if he would accept their call. On receiving an affirmative reply, he was set apart for the work of the ministry and the pastoral office of the Circus Church by the ordination prayer and the imposition of hands.[1] Mr. Ewing preached a sermon which brought this five hour service to a close.[2]

After his ordination, the number of church members increased rapidly. For some time numbers were converted by almost every sermon.[3] Records indicate that it was not unusual to have ten to fifteen conversions on a Sunday.[4] The increase was from two sources, those who had been converted at the Tabernacle and others who had adopted Independent views through the influence of the works of Glas, especially his Testimony of the King of Martyrs.[5]

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[1] Each of the ministers participating in the ordination service was himself an ordained minister of an Independent Church. Each acted independent of their churches. Their purpose was not only to set aside James Haldane to the Gospel ministry but also as minister of the Circus Church.

[2] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 4. No. 33. February 18, 1799. pp. 76-80.

[3] Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 129.

[4] Unpublished Records of the Tabernacle in the possession of Mr. E. R. Cormack, of Glasgow. Afterwards referred to as Unpublished Tabernacle Records.

[5] Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 281.

Each candidate for membership was particularly examined and great numbers were rejected. Many of these who were rejected were members of other churches and remained in their own churches; many others joined the Established Church.[1]

The Circus grew to such a size that its claims on the time of its pastor became too great even for the indefatigable Mr. James Haldane. To relieve the situation Mr. John Aikman was subsequently ordained as co-pastor.[2] The ordination service took place on May 17, 1801, led by Mr. Moodie of Warwick, Mr. Ewing and Mr. Haldane.[3] This proved to be only a temporary relief. The rapid growth continued until the physical dimensions of the Circus became the major problem of the Church.[4] The building would seat just over two thousand but it was impossible to expand its facilities.[5] It became apparent that the only solution was to form another church, to divide the congregation and the work among four ministers.

"Much the same thing can be said of the other towns

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[1] Haldane, Plans for Promoting Religion. p. 54.

[2] The Eclectic Review. Vol. 4. n.s. September 1852. p. 353.

[3] Missionary Magazine. Vol. 6. No. 62. July 20, 1801. p. 303.

[4] The Eclectic Review. Op. cit. p. 353.

[5] Ibid. p. 352.

in which the Haldanes planted their Tabernacles; and even throughout the country there are hundred of churches, many of them in a thriving condition." Mr. Aikman erected the Argyle Chapel on North College Street in 1802 at his own expense,[1] with the exception of three or four hundred pounds supplied by Robert Haldane.[2] After the division each church continued its unrivalled growth.

The Circus Church reached men and women from all classes of society. Some of their members later equalled the renown of their pastor. Ralph Wardlaw, a great-grandson of Ebinezer Erskine, completed his theological training under Dr. Larson at Selkirk "when in 1800, he abandoned the Burgher Seceders," and in 1801 he became a Congregationalist and joined the Circus.[3] Wardlaw became an accomplished preacher, an able writer, an acute controversialist and an unwearied promoter of Christian philanthropy.[4]

The biographer of Christopher Anderson recorded his encounter with the Circus. When young Christopher went

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[1]Kinniburgh, Fathers of Independency in Scotland. p. 156.

[2]The total cost of the building was around three thousand pounds. Stevenson, Chronicles. pp. 312, 313.

[3]Evangelical Repository. Eighth Series. Vol. 4. No. 16. June 1886. p. 267.

[4]Anderson, Hugh, The Life and Letters of Christopher Anderson. Edinburgh: W. P. Kennedy. 1854. p. 10.

to the Circus Church, he met with a mode of address which at once arrested his attention. More direct in its appeal to the conscience, the preachers there seemed to be reasoning with him alone. It was the preaching of James Haldane that produced the strongest impression of his mind, and "if not the direct means of his conversion, contributed more than anything else to that important event."[1] Christopher Anderson joined the Circus Church but holding to the doctrine of believer's baptism he was baptized in an English Baptist Church.[2] Later he became an eminent theologian and preacher.

"All those who took an active interest in the object (the Circus Church) at first, were members of the Established Church."[3] They were well pleased with the effect the Church was having on that particular section of the city. Its goal in reaching the poor with the Gospel had met with great success. In that area, the "ale-houses had been emptied and shut up which used to be full on the Lord's day by frequenters of them going to the Circus."[4] Not only were converts won from this source, but most of the churches

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[1]Anderson, Hugh, The Life and Letters of Christopher Anderson. p. 11.

[2]He was excluded from the Circus Church with others because of their views on believer's baptism.

[3]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 280.

[4]Haldane, Plans for Promoting Religion. p. 55.

of all denominations lost some of their hearers or members.[1]

James Haldane's contemporaries testified to the excellency of his work. Thomas M'Crie witnessed to the soundness of his teaching as to the "Way of life and to the blessing that rested on his clear preaching of free justification by faith along."[2] The Rev. Dr. Jones, minister of Lady Glenorchy's Church, was violently opposed to the work of the Circus Church but he admitted that in examining candidates for the Lord's table, he had found more instances of awakening attributed to the preaching of James Haldane than to that of any other minister.[3] Andrew Thomson also testified that he had more converts than any other minister in Edinburgh.[4]

The greatest problem in the early years of the life of the Circus Church was the problem of inadequate seating space. To solve this, ground was secured[5] at the head of Leith Walk only a few hundred yards from the Circus for

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[1] Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 281.

[2] MacLeod, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation. p. 225.

[3] Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 129.

[4] Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 40.

[5] The ground was purchased by Robert Haldane from the heirs of John Baxter, an Edinburgh architect. Watson, Boog, Unpublished Manuscripts. Vol. 3. p. 12. Located at the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.

the construction of a larger meeting house.[1] The building was named after the George Whitefield Tabernacle, at Moorsfield, in London.[2] The Tabernacle, which had a ninety-five foot frontage on Greenside Place, Leith Walk,[3] was designed and erected by James Black,[4] a member of the Church and father of the eminent publisher who afterwards became the Lord Provost of Edinburgh.[5]

Nursery grounds and fields chiefly bordered Leith Walk; here and there blocks of houses had been erected with long open spaces between them. "On the east side of the Walk, overlooking the steep and deep Greenside ravine, stood the huge and hideous building named the Tabernacle."[6] Such was an early description of the new meeting house. It was a spacious building constructed like an amphitheatre rising from the pulpit; above this were two galleries each capable of holding eight hundred people. The normal seating accomodations were three thousand two hundred, but on

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[1] The Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 53.

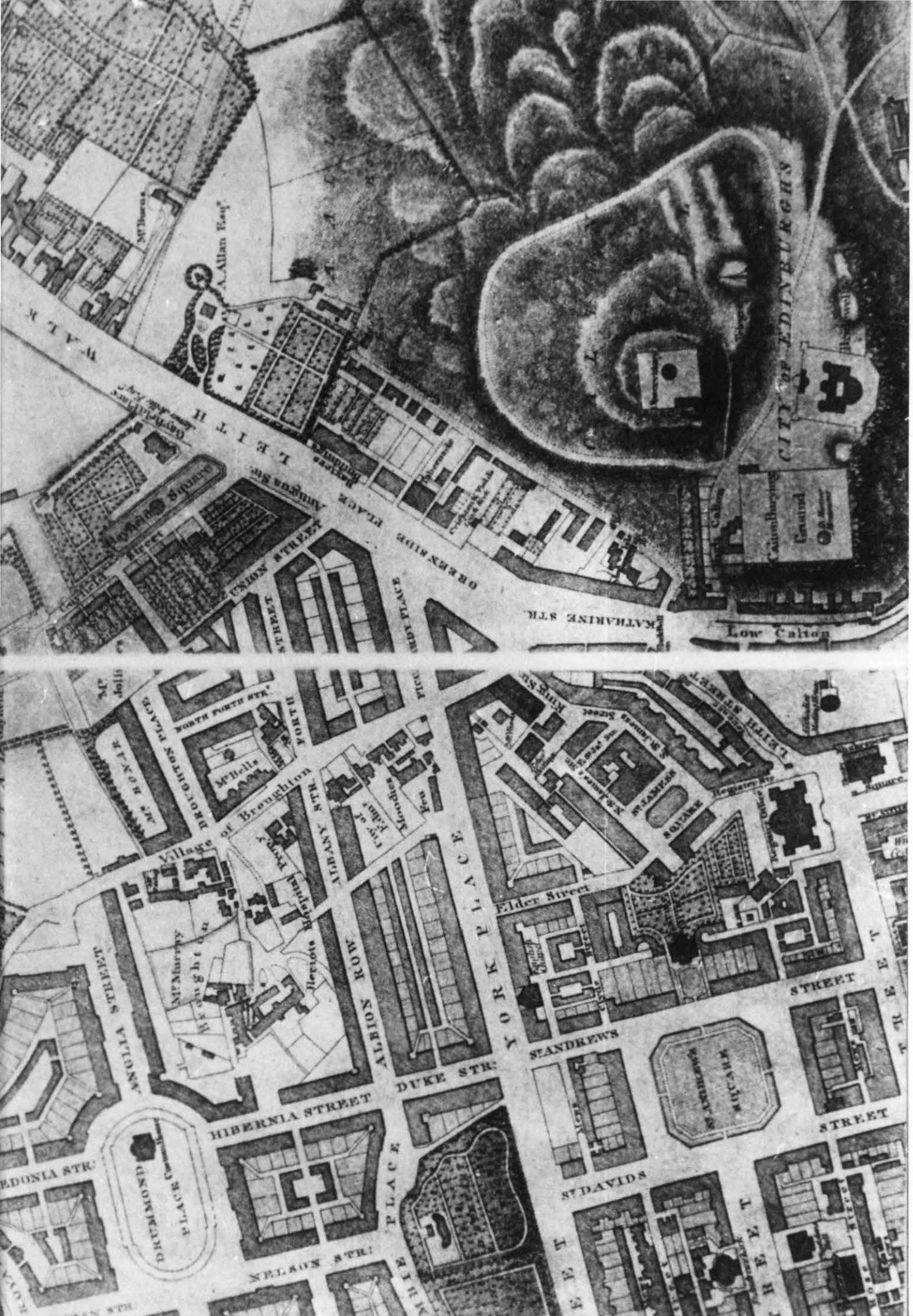
[2] The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 69.

[3] Boog Watson's Unpublished Manuscripts. Vol. 2. p. 12.

[4] See the elevation submitted to the Edinburgh Town Council by Robert Haldane. Minutes of the Town Council. July 25, 1800.

[5] Derwent, Historical Account of the Tabernacle Church Leith Walk and Duncan Street Baptist Church. p. 7.

[6] Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh. Vol. 3. pp. 157- 158.


LEITH WALK
CITY OF EDINBURGHS
Low Calton
CATHARINE STR.
ORENSIDE PLACE
UNION STREET
Village of Broughton
ALBANY STR.
ALBION ROW
YORK PLACE
DUKE STR
HIBERNIA STREET
ANGUS STREET
ST ANDREWS
ST DAVIDS
Elder Street
STREET
NELSON STR
DRUMMOND PLACE

special occasions as many as four thousand people were crowded into the building.[1] The Tabernacle was opened in May 1801.

John Munro described the Edinburgh Tabernacle as "one of the most promising meetings in Scotland."[2] Andrew Fuller preached there in 1802 to a congregation of four thousand and received an offering of one hundred and thirty pounds for William Carey's work in India.[3] Other outstanding English ministers augmented the preaching of Haldane to keep the Church crowded to excess for many years.[4] The records of the Circus Church indicate that average attendance for the Sunday evening service was about three thousand six hundred.[5]

The Circus Church congregation was hardly settled in their new Tabernacle when the question arose as to whether missionaries to foreign countries should be sent out by the individual church rather than by the missionary societies. In 1803 they adopted resolutions expressive

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[1] Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh. Vol. 3. pp. 157, 158.

[2] Munro, John, Remarks on Public Collections; Containing Strictures on the Doctrine Taught in the Scripture Magazine. Glasgow: James Hedderwick and Co. 1811. p. 71.

[3] Ryland, John, The Life and Death of the Rev. Andrew Fuller. London: Button and Son. 1818. p. 185.

[4] Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. Vol. 2. p. 41.

[5] Unpublished Tabernacle Records, 1799-1800.

of their determination to do something in this way.[1] In 1805 they sent out two men as missionaries to India--the Rev. Dr. Peterson, the former minister of a church at Cambuslang, and the Rev. Dr. Ebenezer Henderson, formerly a tutor of Highbury College. Due to sailing difficulties from Copenhagen, however, they decided not to continue to India but to stay,[2] and do evangelistic work in the northern countries of Europe.[3] In the same year they sent Mr. McLae, formerly the pastor of a church at Kirkcaldy, as a missionary to America,[4] and Mr. Francis Dick, as a missionary to Quebec, Canada.[5]

The walls of the Edinburgh Tabernacle, which had withstood every assault from without, now began to be threatened by trouble from within.[6] As was the case with every secession from the Establishment, their strength lay in the very feebleness of the movement. But with its expansion came a sense of growing security which fostered dissension.[7]

Even before 1805 there were threatening clouds beginning to gather round the young Church as Haldane began to

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[1] Matheson, Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 321.

[2] For a brief account of their work, see: Scripture Magazine. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. Vol. 1. p. 391.

[3] Matheson, op. cit. p. 323.

[4] Ibid. p. 322. [5] Ibid. p. 324.

[6] Quarterly Review. Vol. 98. p. 379.

[7] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 191.

be infatuated with the idea of restoring the conditions of the Apostolic Church. But without the Pentecostal endowment it soon brought about chaotic conditions.[1] Soon the fountain which had poured forth the pure waters of evangelical truth with such freeness was polluted and became a bitter stream of strife and dissention. It amounted to flinging away the golden sceptre of evangelical reform "which both awed and improved the Kirk and Secession."[2] But in spite of the ecclesiastical questions which sidetracked those of the Tabernacle, it continued to be the largest church in Edinburgh and still remained crowded.[3]

Ministers later referring to this period spoke of the love, piety and zeal which was manifest so openly. They referred to it as one of the most interesting and important periods in the history of the Independent movement.[4] Matheson described this period as a time of large numbers of conversions and revival in the lives of older Christians.[5] It was true that for a time, in their attempt

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[1] MacLeod, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation. p. 224.

[2] Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 144.

[3] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 167.

[4] Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 24.

[5] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 168.

to establish a purer communion than could be found in existing churches and their adoption of a new ecclesiastical polity, it interfered little with the progress of the Church but conflict came nevertheless.

The first public manifestations of a difference of opinion, likely to issue in a change of practice was given in a book by the Rev. William Ballantine entitled,

> Observations on Confessions of Faith of Human Composition, The Independency and Discipline of Christian Churches, Weekly Communion in the Lord's Supper, Church Meetings, etc. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1803.

In this book, Ballantine declared, "It is evident to me, that primitive churches had a plurality of pastors." This was followed two years later by Social Worship. Its author--James Haldane--contended for public exhortation by the brethren in the churches on the Lord's day, and for a plurality of pastors in every church, even if it was necessary for most of them to be employed in secular business. This was followed by a pamphlet by the Rev. William Ballantine,

> A Treatise on the Elder's Office; Showing the Qualifications of Elders, and How the First Churches Obtained them; also their Appointments, Duties and Maintenance; the Necessity of a Presbytery in every Church, and Exhortation and the Observance of every Church Ordinance on the Lord's Day.[1]

This pamphlet was known to contain the sentiments and

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[1] For a good summary of the contents of this pamphlet see: The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. Supplement, 1819. p. 783. Also see: Missionary Magazine. Vol. 9. No. 93. February 20, 1804. p. 74.

to be published under the patronage of Robert Haldane.[1] This booklet, which was printed in 1807, was the main factor which seriously affected the peace of the churches.[2]

The Edinburgh Tabernacle was plunged into dissention by such momentous questions as, whether the mutual exhortation of the brethren by means of public speaking was or was not a binding duty; whether a plurality of elders was or was not imperative;[3] whether collections should be taken from all the congregation or from the communicants alone; whether the Lord's Supper should be observed twice a year, once a month, or once a week; whether it could be observed without the pastor;[4] whether it was lawful for Baptists and Paedobaptists to communicate together.[5]

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[1] Matheson, Memoir of Greville Ewing. pp. 326, 327.

[2] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 82.

[3] A plurality of ministers was begun in the Edinburgh Tabernacle. Robert Haldane was ordained as one of the ministers. He could hardly be considered a preacher, (MacLeod, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation. p. 225.) but as in many cases a plurality was appointed more for sake of office than from the qualifications of the persons concerned. The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No.20. August 1819. p. 485.

[4] Ross, op. cit. p. 81. A. M. M'Lean taught in his "Strictures on the Sentiments of Dr. Watt Respecting the Lord's Supper," that it was acceptable for "private brethren to dispense the Lord's Supper." James Haldane agreed with him and printed M'Lean's article in his magazine--The Scripture Magazine. Vol. 1. February 1811. p. 80.

[5] Quarterly Review. Vol. 98. March 1856. p. 379.

Contrary to the custom of the Congregationalists in England who observe the Lord's Supper once a month, Ewing recommended that it be observed once a week. From the first most of the Tabernacle Churches observed the ordinance weekly. This seemed to be not so much a carry over from the Glasite Churches as it was an effort to follow the apostolic pattern.[1] James Haldane's view of the Lord's Supper was taken from the writings of Randall of Stirling in his Letters to a Minister from his Friend Concerning Frequent Communicating. Published in Glasgow in 1749.[2]

The dissension spread throughout the Independent congregations in Scotland. Everywhere it was based on questions of ecclesiastical polity. They agreed that the Apostolic model was the only authoritative rule; but what was that model? Here every one had his own opinion.[3] The "Levelling System," as the mutual exhortation was called, caused the most trouble as it resulted in the promiscuous teaching which had the effect of lowering the estimate of the pastoral office.[4] The plurality of elders, which was

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[1]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 78.

[2]Missionary Magazine. Vol. 12. No. 131. April 20, 1807. p. 156. Also see: Vol. 12. No. 133. June 15, 1807. p. 240.

[3]Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. p. 191.

[4]Matheson, Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 329.

a carry over from the teachings of Glas and Sandeman,[1] lowered the pastoral office even more. James Haldane had altered the order of service in his Church to permit the elders to speak in the regular services. It was ultimately discontinued, because as he acknowledged before his death, "It never worked out well."[2] Too late he learned that there was little to be gained by imitating peculiar modes of action, many of which were accomodated to the unusual features of the apostolic time some of which were varied according to circumstances. He found the necessary thing was to hold fast to the great principles which the apostles taught.[3]

Ewing so far admitted the Scripturalness of Haldane's position that he always called on a member of his church to pray at the weekly fellowship meetings and sometimes allowed an exhortation but he was prudent enough not to do it on the Lord's day.[4] Ewing's method of permitting exhortation in the weekly meeting was going through the

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[1] In many respects Haldane followed Glas and Sandeman but it is ironical to note that Glas ridiculed any extensive effort for the diffusion of the Gospel such as Haldane had undertaken in his evangelistic work. The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No. 15. March 1819. p. 144.

[2] Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 9. Eighth Series. p. 272.

[3] Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 98.

[4] Evangelical Repository. Op. cit. p. 272.

New Testament considering a previously announced passage each week. He gave a short explanation of the passage and permitted another to make remarks on it. It was left up to Ewing's discretion whether others would be asked to speak. If none were prepared to speak, the pastor spoke as long as time permitted.[1]

Mutual exhortation had been practiced in the early days of the Scottish Reformation by John Knox and others in their weekly meetings. It had also been practiced by the Glasites, Old Scot's Independents and the Old Scotch Baptists. If all had been content to give mutual exhortation a modest place in their weekly meetings and control it wisely, it might not have caused so much trouble.[2]

Ewing advocated, in his Rules of Church Government that mutual exhortation should be limited to the weekly meeting. Haldane insisted that it should take place on the Sabbath along with the discipline of offending members in the presence of all the members of the church.[3] Ballantine's views were even more radical than Haldane's. His views encouraged some to disregard and even hold contempt for the office of the regular ministry.[4] This

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[1]Matheson, Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 237.

[2]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. pp. 80, 81.

[3]Ibid. p. 81.

[4]Ibid. p. 82.

was also a carry over from the Glasites.[1]

Mr. Scott Moncrieff, a member of the Established Church, detected the root of the trouble which led to the downfall of the Glasite and Dalite Churches[2]- it was "their low view of the pastoral office, their unforbearing dispositions and principles about very trifling things."[3] It is interesting to note that the very questions which caused dissension in the Tabernacle Movement were the same ones that had previously arisen in the Glasite and Old Scot's Independents with such disastrous results. Although Haldane and leaders of the Tabernacles must have been conversant with the fate of the older Independents, they either ignored the warning of history or were not wise enough to see the close parallel between their mistakes and those of the Glasites and Dalites.[4]

It was the misfortune of Independents in Scotland to start with the assumption of these two principles. The first, that Christians are under a religious obligation

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[1]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 30.

[2]The Churches connected with David Dale- The Old Independents or Dalites- were never very strong. At their peak there were never over thirteen churches with about five hundred members. They differed in only a few minor respects from the Glasites. London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No. 20. August 1819. p. 483.

[3]The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. No. 22. October 1819. p. 599.

[4]Ross, op. cit. p. 85.

to conform and practice what its leaders supposed was the practice of the apostolic churches. The second, that it is the imperative duty of every man once he has embraced an opinion concerning the practice of the early church life, to make use of every means within his power to bring everyone else to that opinion.[1]

The natural consequence of adopting these principles was contention, incessant contention, about minute matters of minor importance. It was substituting the tithe of the mint, anise and cummin for the ruling principles of Christianity. This led one historian to venture, "I fear many of the new teachers think more of implicit faith in their own particular doctrines than of good works in their disciples."[2]

Some charged that many of the little troubles in the Tabernacle were due to the fact that the Haldanes "were breaking loose from their moorings."[3] Another charged: "It may be that they did not join to their faith, wisdom, nor to wisdom, patience, nor to patience, charity." There is an element of truth in the harshness of both accusations. The tragic part is that it was not limited simply to the

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[1]Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 98.

[2]Stewart, Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland. Vol. 1. p. 139.

[3]Kennedy, Old Highland Days. p. 145.

Edinburgh Tabernacle. Their unrest produced a corresponding uneasiness in all the new Congregational and Independent Churches which looked to them for guidance.[1]

When Christopher Anderson returned to Edinburgh in 1808, "He was mortified to find that their freedom from the disputatious spirit which was wasting the Tabernacle Church, was at an end, and with it, their zeal for the preaching of the Gospel to sinners. 'Mutual exhortation to the brethren' as an ordinance of the New Testament, had been introduced, and this, with some other observances which Mr. Anderson disapproved of as unscriptural in their authority, and prejudicial to the furtherance of the Gospel in their effects, were insisted on being attended to, not only in their private, but in their public meetings on the Lord's-day."[2]

James Haldane had the honour of originating the greatest means ever devised for the evangelization of Scotland but with a growing fascination for his innovations he failed to keep pace with the very movement he had created.[3] Christopher Anderson's biographer expressed it aptly

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[1]Kennedy, Old Highland Days. p. 145.

[2]Anderson, The Life and Letters of Christopher Anderson. p. 69.

[3]Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 176.

when he said the Haldanes' new work was "prejudicial to the furtherance of the Gospel." Although it had a devastating effect on the life of the Tabernacle, it had no effect on his evangelistic tours through the summer months. These issues do not seem to have intruded themselves into his evangelistic work.

In spite of all the dissension provoked by the innovations, the serious disruption that ensued might have been avoided had it not been for his change of view on the subject of baptism.[1] Baptism was the question which exacerbated the fever which was already sufficiently hot.[2] Although it was by no means the only cause, his great change was the major factor contributing to the disruption which followed.[3]

As early as 1804 he had entertained doubts as to the propriety of infant baptism.[4] He admitted afterwards that he had put off a full consideration of the subject and a decision concerning it because of what he considered to be a sinful dread of its consequence.[5]

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[1] Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 12. Eighth Series. p. 272.

[2] Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 110.

[3] Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 406.

[4] The Eclectic Review. Vol. 4. n.s. September 1852. p. 373.

[5] Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 12. Eighth Series. p. 272.

Finally, in February 1808, he came to a decision and completely reversed his views on infant baptism; and announced to his Church "although his mind was not made up to become himself a Baptist, yet that at present he could not conscientiously baptise children."[1]

After Haldane's baptism[2] a great number in the Church adopted his sentiments at once; many went on, for a time, on the principle of forbearance and afterwards embraced his views; among these was his brother.[3] At first James Haldane thought that baptism might be made a matter of forbearance so that he might maintain at least the outward unity of his congregation and remain their pastor. Ultimately he found it impractical to be pastor of both Baptist and Paedo-baptist.[4] Thus it was the large Church was split unhappily into four parts. A small portion joined Mr. M'Lean's Church in Niddrie Street. Another group united with Mr. Aikman's Church,[5] in College Street

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[1] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 191.

[2] It was at this time he introduced the kiss of charity in his church. Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 27.

[3] Matheson, The Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 339. Also see: London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. 1819. Supplement. p. 873.

[4] Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 12. Eighth Series. p. 273.

[5] The Church was long afterwards under the pastoral care of the eminent Dr. Lindsay Alexander.

and a number withdrew and met for several years in a building known as the Bernard Rooms.[1] The other members remained with James Haldane in the Tabernacle.[2]

It was not the beginning of the Baptist movement when the Edinburgh Tabernacle became a Baptist Church, but the greatest part of Scottish Baptist history is traced to the time of this disruption.[3] Nor was Haldane the first of the Tabernacle movement to adopt the tenets of the Baptist faith. Fuller speaks of meeting a minister in 1805 who had been the minister of the Paisley Tabernacle but had become a Baptist.[4]

Fuller stated that "the new Baptists of the Tabernacle connection do not unite with the Old Scotch Baptists; indeed many have come off from the old connection to join them."[5] The reason given for the failure to unite with the Old Scotch Baptists was that a doctrinal difference stood in the way; and there was "little or nothing of the life of religion amongst them...There was scarcely any zeal amongst them for the promotion of Christ's kingdom,

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[1]Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 9. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 273.

[2]Matheson, The Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 341.

[3]MacLeod, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation. p. 224.

[4]Morris, J. W., Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller. London: E. W. Morris. 1816. p. 144.

[5]Ibid. p. 147.

or the conversion of sinners." The major point which stood in the way was the fact that they did not require a conversion experience as a prerequisite of church membership.[1]

When Fuller preached in the Tabernacle in October 1808, he said, "I have plainly and freely remonstrated with Mr. Haldane against some of his late measures." His rebukes did not break their friendship for he was given a collection of two hundred pounds for Carey's work in India.[2] There were also some connected with the Established Church who continued to approve of his work until this time.[3]

These separations, as might be suspected, led to more than a little animosity and ill-feeling.[4] In some cases families were divided.[5] In other cases breaches were formed which lasted a life time. So it was with Robert Haldane and Greville Ewing. As early as 1803

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[1] Morris, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller. p. 148.

[2] Ryland, Life and Death of the Rev. Andrew Fuller. p. 202.

[3] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 67.

[4] Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 12. Eighth Series. p. 273.

[5] This was true of William Innes and his brother-in-law Greville Ewing. When the disruption took place Ewing became a Congregationalist and Innes became a Baptist. Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. p. 39.

Robert Haldane found fault with Ewing for teaching too much Congregationalism and for not remembering that he wished the young men to be so impartially instructed in theology that they would be prepared to preach or take churches in any communion.

When Mr. Ewing objected to interference with his mode of teaching, Robert Haldane abruptly removed the Seminary to Edinburgh where it was placed under other tutors.[1] From the beginning Mr. Ewing appeared to have attached more importance to the principles of Congregationalism than any of his associates.[2] To both of the Haldanes, church polity for many years was an unimportant matter. Ewing, on the contrary, had penetration of mind enough to see from the day he published his first issue of the "Missionary Magazine" in 1796, that, if a new movement was to be successful and permanent it must be prepared with a distinct scheme of government for the churches which would inevitably be formed.[3]

The disruption resulted in the loss of popularity, loss of influence and alienation of friends for the whole movement.[4] It not only weakened the churches but exposed

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[1] Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 12. Eighth Series. p. 273.

[2] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 166.

[3] Evangelical Repository. Op. cit. p. 272.

[4] Religious Life in Scotland. Op. cit. p. 172.

them to the ridicule of their adversaries.[1] "Lord Brougham and others, as it is plain from the records of the time, chuckled over the variance with only half concealed satisfaction; while good men on both sides secretly mourned."[2]

Whatever may be thought of their wisdom or lack of wisdom, their actions were based on their firm convictions and acting as they did their courage was exemplary.[3] The leaders of both sides were men of such resolute convictions as they faced the crisis, they could say with Luther, "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise. God help me." They acted, on the whole, from a principle of conscientious regard to divine authority.[4]

The Haldanes' acceptance of Baptist views was a valuable and much needed testimony to the supremacy of conscience. Their motives--political, monetary, etc.--had been questioned from the beginning but this was positive proof of their intentions. It was enhanced in value by the consequences they knew would follow.[5]

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[1] The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. 1819. Supplement. p. 783.

[2] Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 12. Eighth Series. p. 274.

[3] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 172.

[4] The London Christian Instructor. Op. cit. p. 784.

[5] Religious Life in Scotland. Op. cit. p. 172.

The exertions of the Independents not only excited great opposition but led to a great deal of theological controversy. Many attacks were made by the Independents and many loose charges were hurled against the Presbyterian form of church government. Their opposition did not remain silent long. The most outstanding work done by their opponents was by John Brown in his Vindication of the Presbyterian Form of Church Government as Professed in the Standards of the Church of Scotland.[1]

The greatest amount of theological controversy took place among the Independents themselves, as most of the apologetical writing was more controversial than that of other ages. Most of James Haldane's writings would fall into a class somewhere between apologetical and controversial. The greatest amount of controversy took place in the five years following the publication of James Haldane's Social Worship and Ballantine's Treatise on the Elder's Office. Ewing headed the opposition with his Attempt Towards a Statement of the Doctrine of Scripture on some Disputed Points, Respecting the Constitution, etc. It was around this later book that most of the controversy centered. Aikman joined hands with Ewing and published his only book, Observations on Exhortation

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[1]The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. 1819 Supplement. p. 781.

in the Church of Christ.[1] The latter two books were quickly answered by James Watt,[2] William Ballantine,[3] Alexander Carson,[4] James Haldane and others.

The amount of controversy which took place around the subject of baptism was not as great as might be expected. John Aikman succeeded Ewing as editor of the "Missionary Magazine" in 1806,[5] and at the disruption in 1808 became a Congregationalist. A controversy later took place between Aikman and Haldane through their respective magazines. Aikman printed a defence of the practice of public collections at the doors of the places of worship; Haldane answered this denying the right of voluntary contribution.[6] There was scarcely any important religious controversy of his time in which he did not take part.[7]

At the disruption the majority of the people remained attached to the Edinburgh Tabernacle;[8] and in a short time

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[1] The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. 1819. Supplement. p. 783.

[2] Scripture Magazine. Vol. 2. September 1810. p. 334.

[3] Ibid. February 1810. p. 76f.

[4] Ibid. Vol. 1. September 1809. p. 385f.

[5] Matheson, The Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 328.

[6] Scripture Magazine. March 1811. p. 137.

[7] Dictionary of National Biography. Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. Vol. 24. p. 13.

[8] Douglas, Handbook of Duncan Street Baptist Church. p. 31.

nearly all of them were baptised by immersion. Differences of opinion naturally arose in the democratic congregations which made up the fellowship of Independents. It was not to be expected that all would be prepared to follow Haldane.[1] The cleavage had already become too distinct. The sentiments of the ministers of the Tabernacle movement were divided into two camps: Haldane, Innes, Ballantine, Watt and Carson on the one side; and Ewing, Wardlaw and Aikman led the opposition on the other. For a time anarchy prevailed in the churches. The greatest force for evangelization in the history of Scotland had become a shattered ruin.[2]

It is difficult to conjecture what would have been the outcome if it had not been for James Haldane's change of view on baptism. The weight of evidence indicated a similar outcome was probable. The two forces were drawing apart too rapidly for the outcome to have been much different. The changes were such that they could neither be forseen nor prevented.[3]

Greville Ewing appears to have been unreasonably antagonistic during the four years preceding the disruption.

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[1] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 90.

[2] The Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 90.

[3] The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. 1819 Supplement. pp. 783, 784.

He wrote a Memorial Concerning a Theological Academy in 1804 which set forth quite different principles than those followed in the four Haldane Seminaries. Wise friends persuaded him to lay it aside knowing the trouble it would cause if it were published. It was published immediately following the disruption.[1] A short time later he withdrew from the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home and refused to sanction its work.[2] After the disruption he once again supported the work when it was carried on under different leadership. Both parties could have profited greatly by adopting a suggestion of Augustine, "In necessary things, unity, in things doubtful, liberty, in all things, charity."[3]

Every congregation which had been formed from the Shetlands to the Tweed was affected.[4] The Churches of the Tabernacle movement were divided into two almost equal parts.[5] Two powerful circumstances affected most of the men involved. The majority were indebted to the Haldanes

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[1] Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 102.

[2] Matheson, Memoir of Greville Ewing. p. 344.

[3] Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 99.

[4] For the effect of the disruption on one of the churches, see: Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 12. pp. 30-36.

[5] MacLeod, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation. p. 224.

for their education and to Robert Haldane in particular for his financial support while in training. Some were still dependent upon him for partial or complete support. Then, too, there were ministers of Churches who were almost all either wholly or partially indebted to his generosity for the construction or purchase of their meeting-houses. This placed many a man and many a church in a very unpleasant situation.[1]

In about half of the cases the congregations decided to follow their founder and become Baptist. Others voted unanimously to become Congregationalist or Independent. In some cases a church was left without a pastor, in others, the shepherd was deserted by his flock.[2] It was not uncommon for a minister who adopted Baptist views to remain the pastor of a congregation who chose to become Congregationalist on the principle of forbearance on both sides.[3] In a few instances congregations were divided and the cause as a whole was further weakened.[4]

Fifty-five of the Congregational Churches,[5] which were at first held together in a loose fellowship, were

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[1]The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. 1819 Supplement. p. 783.

[2]Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 102.

[3]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscript. Sect. 4. p. 8.

[4]MacKay, The Church in the Highlands. p. 229.

[5]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 92.

soon united under the name, "The Congregational Union of Scotland."[1] It was the Congregational Churches instead of the Baptist which carried on the most aggressive as well as the most extensive and successful evangelistic work after 1813.[2] The aim of the Congregational Union was "to turn men from sin to God."[3] The Edinburgh Itinerant Society was organised under its auspices. Some of the Congregational pastors engaged in extensive evangelistic work in what was technically called "revival meetings." The style of address was strong and pointed. The effects were striking and resulted in many conversions.[4]

The early Congregational Churches maintained the same hours of worship as the Established Church and the same order of service with little or no change. To the casual visitor there was little difference between the two Churches.[5]

Christopher Anderson wrote in his journal concerning this period, "Now, alas! some of those Tabernacles, which were wont to be crowded, are depopulated. One is sold and another is shut up." The churches referred to

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[1]Grub, An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland. p. 170.

[2]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 92.

[3]Kinniburgh, Unpublished Manuscripts. Sect. 1. p. 32.

[4]Ibid. p. 33.

[5]Ross, op. cit. p. 77.

here were those which went to the Congregational side. Orme, in his Historical Sketch of Independency in Scotland, asserted that Robert Haldane demanded payment on the loans on those buildings occupied by congregations who became Congregationalist. If this is true, then as he said, many churches were compelled to procure new places of worship which would account for Anderson's account of some of the Tabernacles being empty or sold.[1] Robert Haldane's biographer--his nephew--indicates that this is not true.[2]

A close study of the facts indicates that it was a mutual misunderstanding. Of the 26,296 pounds[3] which Robert Haldane expended in loans on the chapels, he was repaid only 5,596 pounds. Of this amount, he gave 4,245 pounds to the propagation of the Gospel in the same year in which it was received and the remainder in the following year. The disruption closed this artificial source of income and threw the churches upon their own internal resources.[4]

Those who followed James Haldane formed the basis of a large part of the present day Baptist denomination

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[1]The London Christian Instructor. Vol. 2. 1819 Supplement. p. 784.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 343.

[3]This does not include the cost of the construction of the Edinburgh Tabernacle.

[4]Alexander, A Memoir of John Watson. p. 102.

in Scotland.[1] They later united with other churches to form the Baptist Union of Scotland. In some places its members evinced a disposition to dispute over the insignificant points raised by James Haldane. This led to more divisions and subdivisions. Some congregations adopted views opposed to the payment of pastors and the education of the ministry but this group rapidly died out.[2]

Although unsound judgment had played havoc with his Church, Haldane continued to minister to a diminished congregation.[3] It was necessary to convert the lower floor of the Tabernacle to other purposes using only the two galleries with seats added to the section between the lower galleries. In this way the seating accomodations were decreased from three thousand two hundred to two thousand two hundred.[4] After the total attendance fell off, he still continued to preach to large congregations.[5]

His sphere of usefulness did not seem to be as great as before. In so far as his attention was diverted

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[1]Henderson, The Church of Scotland. p. 120.

[2]Taylor, The Scottish Pulpit from the Reformation to the Present Day. pp. 29, 30.

[3]Quarterly Review. Vol. 98. p. 379.

[4]Unpublished Tabernacle Records for 1808; also see Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. Vol. 2. p. 41.

[5]Ibid. pp. 41, 42.

from his evangelistic endeavours, his work suffered.[1] There is no question that his influence, which had been exerted over a wide circle was greatly diminished.[2] Another result of the disruption was that the leadership of the Congregationalists passed from its founder--Haldane--to the hands of Greville Ewing.[3] It was Ewing who came to be known as "The Father of Congregationalism in Scotland."[4]

Haldane's private life was an eminently happy one.[5] His wife died October 27, 1819 and was buried in the cemetery of the West Church, Edinburgh.[6] A short time later he married Margaret Rutherford the daughter of Professor Daniel Rutherford.[7] To this union was born six children--Daniel, George, James, Isabella, Adamia and Helen.[8]

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[1] Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 22.

[2] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 172.

[3] Biographical Dictional of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. 2. p. 192.

[4] Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 183.

[5] Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 193.

[6] Ibid. p. 219.

[7] Professor Rutherford was connected with the Department of Science at the University of Edinburgh. He was the discoverer of nitrogen gas.

[8] Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. p. 212.

The Scottish Congregationalist Magazine says that it is as a pastor Haldane did his most remarkable work.[1] There is no question that in his fifty-two years as minister of the Church on Leith Walk he was certainly one of the best known and one of the most eminent pastors of his day. Many considered him to be the most outstanding preacher in Edinburgh.[2] George Cowie said, "I and several other ministers heard Mr. Haldane on his late tour; and I confess though I have been little short of thirty years a minister, and have heard many excellent preachers...I have seldom heard anything so much to my satisfaction, and nothing that could exceed Mr. Haldane's discourses."[3] He could not have been popular in Mr. Cowie's circle had he not been a powerful preacher.[4]

A description of his early preaching was given by the wife of the Rev. Dr. Morison of Chelsea in a letter to Haldane's son after his father's death. "Captain Haldane arrived on horseback at the place where the people were assembled to hear him. He dismounted, and gave his horse to the charge of another gentleman who

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[1] The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 71.

[2] He was considered to be so by Christopher Anderson, Thomas M'Crie and others.

[3] Beattie, Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 95.

[4] Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 356.

stood by. He was then a young man under thirty years of age, and had on a blue great-coat, braided in front after the fashion of the times. He also wore powder, and his hair tied behind, as was then usual for gentlemen. And I can never forget the impression which fell on my young heart, as your father, in a distinct clear, and manly tone, began to address the thoughtless multitude that had been attracted to hear him. His powerful appeals to the conscience, couched in such simple phrases, at the distance of more than fifty years are still vividly remembered, and were so terrifying at that time, that I never closed an eye, nor even retired to rest that night."[1]

The way he preached that struck such terror to the heart of this young person may be seen in John Cleghorn's[2] account of his preaching written long after the excitement was over.

> A solemn silence pervaded the multitude. Many were seen to shed tears, and when some truths were expressed, sighs were heard throughout the congregation. Some have told me there was an astonishing authority, and a sort of indescribable evidence attended the Word, which they could not resist. The Word of God on this occasion was truly 'quick and powerful.' I have been informed by others that they heard Mr. Haldane, as if he had been a messenger sent immediately from God, and thought that what they heard was addressed to them individually, and that they were some-

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[1] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 153.

[2] Then minister at Wick, later co-pastor with Aikman in Edinburgh.

> times afraid lest their very names should be mentioned. In short, the attention of almost every one was drawn to what they called THIS GOSPEL. It was indeed new to most who heard it, both as to the matter and the manner of delivering it.[1]

The clarity of his preaching can be seen in Mr. Lachlan MacKintosh's description of his preaching.[2] "The sermons I had been used to hearing were a complete jumble of grace and works...But in the sermons I heard from Mr. Haldane, the distinction was made in the clearest and most solemn manner. The sinner was shown to be a guilty, helpless rebel, and all his righteousness as filthy rags."[3]

With such glimpses of his preaching it is easy to see why it was described as "eminently Biblical, doctrinal, and experimental."[4] The following statement most nearly summarizes the doctrinal content of Haldane's preaching.

> Man is a fallen being; cannot help himself; never seeks God till sought out by him. Yet as the Lord invites sinners, it is entirely their own blame if they perish. We believe that men are justified by faith alone without the deeds of the law. This faith is the free gift of God and uniformly produces good works; which works are not a title to but a qualification for the heavenly inheritence. In short, salvation in its commencement, progress and completion is

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[1]Kinniburgh, Fathers of Independency in Scotland. p. 461.

[2]MacKintosh was later an agent for the Baptist Home Missionary Society.

[3]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 294.

[4]Quarterly Review. Vol. 98. March 1856. p. 682.

> the free unmerited gift of God, meritoriously secured by the death of the Lord Jesus Christ and applied by the Holy Spirit.[1]

He preached on subjects designed to meet the needs of the people. When duelling became a problem, it became the subject of a sermon. When his sermon was preached, he had present not only his usual congregation but officers in full uniform from Piershill barracks and the Castle--cavalry, infantry, artillery, and volunteer officers of Lord Moria's staff, magistrates and men of letters.[2] Although he preached on duelling he pointed men to Christ.

His energetic ministry continued until a very short time before his death. He was actively engaged in his official duties, preaching with his usual fervour and visiting his flock with his accustomed diligence though the weight of more than eighty-three years lay on him.[3] His was indeed a green old age. His voice was still commanding; his eyes undimmed; his hearing unimpaired, his erect gait, gave little indication that his life was rapidly drawing to a close.[4]

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[1] Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 19.

[2] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 313.

[3] The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. p. 74.

[4] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 193.

In addition to the week day service and three services on Sunday,[1] he administered the Lord's Supper when he delivered two addresses equal in length to a sermon.[2] So unusual was his ministry in his latter years that the "Scottish Congregational Magazine" said, "It is most interesting to see a faithful servant of Christ permitted to an advanced age to preach with unabated interest and ardour that same Gospel which in the flesh and fervour of his more youthful energies he had held forth to men."[3]

He completed his fiftieth year as minister to the Edinburgh Tabernacle on February 3, 1849. On April 12, a jubilee meeting was held in his honour.[4] Ministers of several denominations were present and took part in the service--Dr. Glover in whose parish the Tabernacle was located, Christopher Anderson, Robert Kinniburgh, Mr. Watson, Dr. Lindsay Alexander and others.[5]

The Edinburgh Evening Courant announced that his death took place in his house on Drummond Place on February 8, 1851,[6] within an hour after he gave a test-

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[1]Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. Vol.2. p. 42.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 609.

[3]The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 73.

[4]Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 402.

[5]Haldane, op. cit. pp. 629-631.

[6]Edinburgh Evening Courant for Tuesday the 11th of February 1851. No. 22,080. p. 3. col. 3.

imony of his faith in Christ.[1] He was to have preached on the following day at the Free Church at West Port for the Rev. Mr. Tasker.[2] His funeral sermon was preached in the Argyle Street Chapel,[3] by the Rev. Dr. William Innes.[4]

His funeral was intended to be strictly private but it drew a large concourse of citizens who gathered to pay homage to his public character and private worth.[5] The service was attended not only by the members of his family and his congregation but also by no less than six hundred individuals who spontaneously requested permission to attend.[6]

As the cortege proceeded down George Street, the Presbytery of the Free Church in a body headed by the Rev. Dr. Candlish, with their students joined the procession. From the gate of the West Church yard to the Church two rows of clergymen lined each side of the

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[1] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 194.

[2] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 644.

[3] The Argyle Street Chapel was opened May 30, 1802. It was built on the same principle as the Tabernacle. Missionary Magazine. Vol. 7. No. 73. June 21, 1802.

[4] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Op. cit. p. 194.

[5] Biographical Sketch reprinted from Edinburgh Newspapers with additions. p. 3.

[6] The Scotsman for Saturday, February 15, 1851. Vol. 35. No. 3246. p. 2. col. 6.

principal avenue as the coffin was brought into the Church.[1]

There were present ministers both of the Established, Free and Secession Presbyterian Churches as well as Episcopalians, Baptists and Independents who gathered to pay tribute to a man who "was honoured to do so much for the revival of religion in Scotland."[2] The Scotsman, a literary and political journal, said concerning the funeral that it presented "an appearance of spontaneous feeling and respect seldom conferred on a private individual;"[3] and another remarked that with the possible exceptions of the funerals of the Rev. Drs. Chalmers and Thomson, "there has not been such an unsolicited demonstration of public feeling on any like occasion."[4]

He was laid to rest in a tomb which is against the east wall of St. Cuthbert's Churchyard and immediately behind the present Church. The monument is a mural, plain in every detail. It is combined with that of his son Robert and occupies a wall space of eighteen feet.[5] The tablet on the wall reads,

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[1] The Scotsman for Saturday, February 15, 1851. Vol. 35. No. 3246. p. 2. col. 6.

[2] Ibid. p. 2. col. 7.

[3] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 1. n.s. April 1851. p. 194.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] Anderson, W. Pitcairn, Silence that Speaks. Edinburgh: Alexander Brunton. 1931. p. 86.

> James Haldane, born 14th. July 1768, Died Edinburgh, 8th. February 1851. In early life he commanded the Melville Castle East Indiaman. His last fifty-seven years were gratuitously dedicated to the cause of Christ by his preaching, his itineraries and his writings. Along with his brother, Robert Haldane of Airthrey, he was instrumental in promoting a remarkable revival of religion in Scotland. For fifty years he was the devout pastor of the Tabernacle Church Edinburgh, and was honoured to win many souls to Christ.[1]

On the two Sundays following his death, ministers of most religious denominations throughout Scotland and England paid a public tribute to him whose own "praise is in all the Churches."[2] An eloquent tribute from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Campbell, of England, was published in the "British Banner." The Rev. Dr. Henry Bruder, minister near London, wrote, "Few men, and but few ministers... have commanded from all classes such a tribute of the homage of the heart."[3]

James Haldane's Church declined after his death until in 1864 when the Tabernacle was abandoned for the smaller Duncan Street Baptist Church in the Newington District.[4]

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[1] Smith, John, Scottish Record Society - Monumental Inscriptions in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard Edinburgh. Edited by Sir James Balfour. Edinburgh: J. Skinner and Co. 1915. p. 56.

[2] The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 194.

[3] Loc. cit.

[4] Derwent, Historical Account of the Tabernacle Church, Leith Walk, and Duncan Street Baptist Church. p. 7.

The Tabernacle building was rented to a furniture dealer in the days when horse-drawn trams passed by its doors; it was known as the Tabernacle Furniture Warehouse.[1] It was later converted into smaller shops,[2] and still later purchased by the firm of Moss Limited in 1920 to prevent another company from acquiring it for a picture house. It was finally demolished in 1927.[3]

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[1]Derwent, Historical Account of the Tabernacle Church, Leith Walk, and Duncan Street Baptist Church. p. 7.

[2]Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh. Vol. 3. p. 158.

[3]Boog Watson's Unpublished Manuscripts. Vol. 3. p. 12.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ESTIMATE OF THE MAN AND HIS WORK

Much praise is due anyone who though exempt from the necessity of toiling for his own maintenance does not squander his life in indolence or pleasure seeking but devotes it to some creditable endeavour. James A. Haldane's self-sacrifice for the advancement of the cause of Christ became not only a source of amazement on the part of others but also his outstanding attribute.

He had prospects of an almost certain fortune,[1] with competent judges predicting for him a future place on the Board of Directors of the East India Company and a seat in Parliament which had been obtained by several of his contemporaries.[2]

He turned his back on the path to even greater wealth and perhaps fame to devote his life to the propagation of the Gospel. Once he turned his face to the Lord's service he never looked back to the world he left. In all his actions, right or wrong, he sought to follow the Lord; and

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[1] The captain's profits were often as much as thirty thousand pounds for a single voyage. Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. p. 213.

[2] Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 36. Also see: Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,082. Saturday, February 15, 1851. p. 2. col. 7.

[3] Ibid. p. 3. col. 2.

to His cause he dedicated superior talents. Many thought him quite mad to relinquish such a lucrative post to take up the role of an itinerant evangelist.[1] He did not shrink from this course though it meant humiliation and hardship.

The courage of his decision was magnified when it is realized that it was deemed highly contrary to the ordinary procedure for one of his fortune and position to become a minister.[2] His work was the occasion of his spending rather than receiving money.[3] At his own cost, he travelled through the most destitute parts of Scotland, England and Ireland,[4] and for more than half a century served as minister of one of the largest churches in Scotland entirely gratuitously.[5] His private fortune enabled him to serve in this capacity without any salary.[6]

The determination which he displayed in some instances prior to his conversion was insignificant in comparison

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[1]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 61.

[2]Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. p. 201.

[3]Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. p. 42.

[4]Biographical Sketch of the Late J. A. Haldane, Esq., Reprinted from the Edinburgh Newspapers of February 15, 1851, With Additions. p. 15.

[5]The income from his church was devoted to the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. 2. p. 13.

[6]The Quarterly Review. Vol. 98. March 1856. p. 378.

with the determination which governed the course of his religious life and work. The magistrates of Ayr threatened him with imprisonment to prevent his preaching there. "Depend on it," they said, "you will be arrested." "And depend on it," said he, "I will be punctual in my appointment." And he was.[1] Different judgments were formed as to particular phases of his conduct but it was agreed by all that he feared neither the face of man[2] nor man's displeasure.[3]

The same determination to do what he believed to be right according to the Word of God appears in every important step in his life. He considered it his highest ambition to renounce every claim to mere worldly distinction, to consecrate himself and all he possessed to the service of God. It was this uncompromising determination that led him, on matters of church polity, to pursue a course which severed him from the sympathy and fellowship of some of his most intimate friends.[4]

At the disruption many of his closest friends joined the Congregational ranks. In spite of this unhappy cleavage, The Congregational Magazine says, "Of all those who knew

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 186.

[2]The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 70.

[3]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 61.

[4]Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 28.

and loved him at the outset of his career as a preacher I have never heard of any, notwithstanding denominational separation and even the bitterness of controversy, that did not continue to love and respect him to the last."[1]

In all his decisions he showed himself to be a man whom nothing could induce to sacrifice the straight line of duty for the by paths of expediency--a man who would not be turned aside from his purpose either by opposition of foes or the alienation of friends. To him right was right irrespective of man's opinion. Others might compromise but he would not forsake conviction.[2]

With such determination and conviction, life was no pleasure hunt but a stern and ceaseless task of evangelization.[3] In him great acuteness, vigour and grasp of intellect were combined with remarkable energy and a spirit of enterprise, actuated by a single determination of purpose.[4]

His character was admirable even when his actions furnished a warning rather than an example. He lived as

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[1]The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 73.

[2]Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 28.

[3]Biographical Sketch of the Late J. A. Haldane, Esq., Reprinted from the Edinburgh Newspapers of February 15, 1851, With Additions. p. 9.

[4]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 59.

he taught, and preached nothing which he did not practise.[1] His desire was to be free to preach without being accountable to anyone who was customarily adverse to extraordinary exertion.[2] His labours were tremendous. "Modern Congregationalists, as well as the larger section of Baptists, trace their origin to the Haldane movement."[3]

The Encyclopaedia Britannica declared that "in the cause of religion he had secured for his name an honourable place in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland."[4] He had inherited the tradition of the Scottish Puritans and accomplished his greatest evangelistic work before the milk of human kindness in his bosom was curdled by the acidity of a short period of ultra-sectarianism.[5] Had it not been for this lapse when evangelistic principles were set aside for denominational issues and absurd innovations, the good he accomplished might have been greatly multiplied.

His fame was won during a period when the churches were occupied with various aspects of philosophical truth. One Edinburgh newspaper stated that "no one was less

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[1] Quarterly Review. Vol. 98. March 1856. p. 353.

[2] Lews, Andrew Fuller. p. 79.

[3] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 136.

[4] Encyclopaedia Britannica. Vol. 11. p. 380.

[5] Quarterly Review. Op. cit. p. 353.

disposed to court the applause of men or to indulge even in the semblance of ostentation."[1] This was evident in the stand he took which placed him in opposition to every denominational group in Scotland.

He was a man of habitual godliness. His first aim always seemed to be to please God and to secure his approval before entering into any course of action.[2] It could truly be said that he lived for God and not for self. His life and energies were given wholly and unreservedly to God's service. He devoted not only his labours but his fortune to promote the cause of Christ.[3]

In the midst of Moderatism and rationalism, he was convinced that the chief business of the church was to preach the Gospel in such a way as to reach those outside the Church. It was just at this point that so many able ministers and well organised churches were utterly failing. When Haldane set out on his evangelistic work there is no record of any denomination or group of churches which had any organised program of evangelism to reach these masses.

Through his instrumentality evangelism was introduced into the life of the individual church. The Scottish

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[1] Biographical Sketch of the Late J. A. Haldane, Esq., Reprinted from the Edinburgh Newspapers of February 15, 1851. With Additions. p. 3.

[2] Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 41.

[3] Quarterly Review. Vol. 98. March 1856. p. 353.

Church had its first aggressive spiritual weapon. By the example of churches under his leadership, it proved to be a mighty and powerful weapon not only in reaching those without the Church but in revitalizing those within the Church.

No one in his time did so much as he, by his pulpit ministrations, by his intellectual force and by his spiritual momentum to overcome the aversion of men of cultivated taste to the principles of evangelism. The prejudice of thousands gave way before his powerful appeals to the Scripture and no less powerful appeals to the conscience.

Multitudes who held the pleasant theory that man needed only the opportunity to be good and that education would save the world from all its ills were shaken out of their complacency and won to the cause of evangelism. The importance of this is accentuated when it is remembered that any form of evangelism at that time was considered sheer fanaticism. The old methods had been discarded a half century before and none had been put in their place. It remained for Haldane to introduce a new set of methods and values which were to turn the course of Scottish religious life.

Multitudes who had settled down into a cold formalism of lifeless orthodoxy were roused to new activity and life. "Multitudes, who though bearing the name of Christian, were

in reality as ignorant as heathen of all that constitutes the peculiar worth and essence of Christianity, had the Gospel preached to them."[1]

Although every secession from the Established Church was the result of a revived interest in religion none was marked by an evangelistic or missionary spirit--the desire to carry the Gospel to the masses of the people. But what had been the chief omission of former movements became the motivating feature of the secession under Haldane. Viewed from an overall perspective, from the first to the last, it was an aggressive evangelistic movement. "The men who took part were as fully animated by missionary zeal as they had been in seeking to become missionaries to the heathen abroad."[2]

Following the secessions of Erskine and Guthrie, once more within a little more than half a century, a body of devoted men arose out of the bosom of the Establishment and called upon her to shake off her lethargy. There cannot be a shadow of doubt that if she had responded to that clarion call it would have resulted in increased strength and efficiency. She failed once again to accept and direct a current which was soon out of her power to arrest and the final result was a new exodus and the

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[1]The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 72.

[2]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 46.

formation of two new denominations within her territory.[1]

James Haldane emerged from a small group of spiritually awakened laymen to take the place of leadership in a spiritual movement which sought to extend the blessing of the Gospel to others. He led a company of zealous men whose chief qualifications for their work consisted of a gift of speech and an experience with Christ in their own souls.[2] Every possible human means was used--tract distribution, organization of Sabbath-schools, founding of seminaries, formation of a home missionary society, and lengthy evangelistic tours.

The most cursory observor of Congregational history in Scotland cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that during the first ten years of its existence under Haldane's leadership more churches were organised and more people enlisted than in any similar period thereafter.[3] If it had continued at this early rate of growth, it would have been the largest denomination in Scotland by mid-century.

Someone was needed in Scotland to bring about certain measures of ecclesiastical reform. England far surpassed Scotland in religious toleration. Someone was needed to

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[1] Walker, Our Church Heritage. p. 37.

[2] Berry, Scotland's Struggles for Religious Liberty. p. 89.

[3] Alexander, Memoir of John Watson. p. 95.

brave and break the bonds of religious intolerance and advance the cause of religious freedom in Scotland. None within the Evangelical party of the Establishment had even seriously attempted to accomplish the task.

Scotland needed a man like Haldane to accomplish such a work as he had undertaken. Lesser men would have been scattered before the storm which interest and prejudice stirred up against the itinerant evangelist. It needed a man who had been trained not only in the colleges but amid the scenes of danger and strife and whose spirit was accustomed to rise with opposition.

His experience acquired at sea in battling the elements and dealing with rough and fearless men, stood him in good stead when he contended for liberty of speech and worship in opposition to the bigoted and tyrannical measures of the opponents of religious liberty. He was not one to quail before priestly intolerance or magisterial frowns.

Dignified in manner, commanding in speech, fearless in courage, he met the rising storm everywhere with the "boldness of a British sailor and the courtesy of a British gentleman, as well as the uprightness and inoffensiveness of a true Christian."[1] He was opposed by the clergy, dragged unjustly before magistrates, interrupted and assailed by men who called themselves gentlemen. A

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[1]Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 402.

man of less courage would have certainly faltered and fallen under such opposition.[1]

Haldane was conscious of the need of the hour--the need of a reformation in ecclesiastical circles. He made such a statement in his book on baptism, "We require a second Luther to carry forward his Reformation...if Christians had carried out his principles many antichristian errors and practices would have been swept away."[2] He felt that he was the one to carry out this task in Scotland. Even his opponents considered him to be a "fearless reformer."[3]

Less than three years after his conversion he was preaching to multitudes varying from five to more than ten thousand.[4] He had only been preaching a few weeks when he entered on his first evangelistic tour.[5] Rowland Hill pointed out something of the incongruity in the

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[1] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 152.

[2] Haldane, James A., Baptism as it Embodies the Grand Doctrines of the Gospel. With Remarks of Dr. M'Crie's Recent Work. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Co. 1851. p. 61.

[3] Munro, John, (Minister of the Gospel, Knockando) Remarks on Public Collections: Containing Strictures on the Doctrine Taught in the Scripture Magazine. Glasgow: James Hedderwick and Co. 1811. p. 18.

[4] Philip, The Evangel in Cowrie Sketches of Men and Movements. p. 304.

[5] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 151.

picture he presented--here is a well educated gentleman subjecting himself to the sneers of the polished circles to become an itinerant evangelist. He became an evangelist at a time which Chalmers described as "an age of cold and feeble rationality, when evangelism was derided as fanatical, and its very phraseology was deemed an ignoble and vulgar thing in the upper classes of society."[1]

Haldane spoke one day of the fact that it was the anniversary of the day on which he had dined at Calcutta with the Governor-General of India amid the splendors of India's wealth. He added, "If anyone had told me I would start on a career which would bring me so low in public estimation that a collier would be ashamed of having shown me the way to an inn in my native land, I would not have believed it."[2]

When one views the trepidation with which he began to preach, his later ministry seems all the more incredible. He had accompanied John Campbell in 1797 to a Sabbath-school which met in a Cameronian meeting-house at Loanhead--a village about five miles south of Edinburgh--when he was asked to speak briefly to the group, but he "had not the

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[1]Blaikie, The Preachers of Scotland From the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century. p. 274.

[2]Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 9. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 163.

courage to address a few words to the assembly."[1] But in spite of this reticence, within a very short time the community of the Haldane Independents became a force to be reckoned with as an active evangelistic and missionary movement under his leadership.[2]

The compliment Isaac Taylor paid Wesley and Whitefield in England a half century earlier would certainly apply equally to James Haldane.

> The men who commenced and achieved this arduous service- and they were scholars and gentlemen- displayed a courage far surpassing that which carries the soldier through the hailstorm of the battle-field. Ten thousand might more easily be found who would confront a battery, than two who, with the sensitiveness of education about them, could mount a table by the road side, give out a psalm and gather a mob.[3]

Such men as Thomas M'Crie, Andrew Thomson, and Christopher Anderson considered him as the most powerful and effective preacher in Edinburgh.[4] He was described as having an apostolic dignity in his preaching which

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[1] Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 126.

[2] MacLeod, John, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation. Edinburgh: Publication Committee of the Free Church of Scotland. 1943. p. 224.

[3] Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 119.

[4] Anderson, The Life and Letters of Christopher Anderson. p. 14. Also see: Anderson, The Scottish Nation. Vol. 2. p. 402.

never failed to arrest the listener.[1] He was earnestly conscientious in all phases of his pastoral ministrations.

The sick, poor and unfortunate became a special object of his concern. He did not take his own safety into consideration when he felt it necessary to visit the sick. On one occasion when a highly infectious fever was raging in Stockbridge, the doctor left a person in charge expressly to prevent Mr. Haldane from entering a house where the danger was so eminent. The warning was not heeded as he said that any feeling of personal apprehension could not deter him from the path of duty.[2]

It may have been acts such as this which prompted one of the leading Edinburgh newspapers to assert that "there was probably no clergyman of his day more assiduous, both in public and private in the discharge of his pastoral duties."[3]

Mr. William Tulloch, pastor of a Highland church at the Bridge of Tilt in Athol, wrote concerning a dangerous epidemic in his area.

> When Mr. Haldane arrived, he was made aware of this pestilence and referred to it in preaching. When the sermon was ended,

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[1]The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. Vol. 29. n.s. April 1851. p. 61.

[2]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 373.

[3]Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,080. Tuesday, February 11, 1851. p. 3. col. 3.

> he entered the house and prayed by the bedside of Mrs. Sinclair, who was so ill that not one of her neighbours would enter the door of her house for fear of the infection.[1]

At the time of his death the same newspaper wrote,

> The sick and the poor, not only of his own congregation, but throughout the city, have lost in Mr. Haldane a friend whose name has been long familiar to them and to whom they were accustomed to look for advice and assistance and never looked in vain.[2]

Concern for self never seems to have affected his plans for itinerant evangelistic campaigns. He counted no hardship or personal sacrifice too great to promote the cause of Christ. In a letter to his daughter he spoke of arriving in one location where they could find no beds but were given blankets and slept on the floor. In the same letter he mentions walking and leading their horse and gig as the road was too bad to ride.[3]

In another instance they came to the end of an unusually tiring day and could find nothing to eat. At last they found the house of a slater who graciously provided them with bread, milk and cheese. Damp sheets, hard beds, or none at all, and a scanty supply of food,

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[1]Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 373.

[2]Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,080. Tuesday, February 11, 1851. p. 3. col. 3.

[3]Haldane, op. cit. p. 325.

were among the luxuries of those remote itinerancies.[1]

His preaching on his evangelistic tours was soundly doctrinal and not infected with the innovations which for a time played havoc with the fellowship of his Church. When his theology was finally formulated to the point where it would fit into a theological classification, it was pre-eminently that of a conservative Calvinist. He declared in his last years that since he had first begun to preach, he had experienced no change of conviction or belief as to any of the Calvinistic doctrines with the exception of those pertaining to church order and the ordinances.[2] In spite of his Calvinistic theology, in his preaching he seems to have been as liberal as the Wesleyans or the Evangelical Unionists, leaving on his hearers the impression that they alone were to be blamed if they were unsaved.[3]

Andrew Fuller said after an early visit to Edinburgh,

> I have been also in the company with Messrs. Robert and James Haldane, Aikman, Innes, Ritchie and some other leading men in the Circus connection. Certainly these appear to be excellent men, free from the extravagence and nonsense which infect some of the Calvinistic Methodists in England.[4]

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[1] Haldane, The Lives of the Haldanes. p. 297.

[2] The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review. Vol. 24. October 1852. p. 682.

[3] Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 10. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 83.

[4] Ryland, Life and Death of the Rev. Andrew Fuller. p. 169.

Where Haldane differed from the Reformed Faith was in his erroneous view of the Old Testament dispensation. He considered it to be of such a carnal character as to exclude any really high attainment in spiritual life on the part of the saint who lived under its handicaps.[1] This fallacious idea permeated a great deal of his written works throughout his life.

It might be urged that his changes in church polity and on baptism argued a certain shiftiness or instability of mind. This could be attributed to the fact that at the time he was an amateur in the field of theology and only in the process of formulating his theology. Certainly he adopted various innovations for a short time which were extremely foolish. Yet in regard to the cardinal verities of the Gospel he held to a firm unswerving course.[2]

In many respects his preaching was similar to Whitefield's. When he addressed men he forgot everything but their misery and their immortality. He was careful to enforce the essentials--"Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish;" "For by grace are ye saved through faith." All these topics he handled with clearness, solemnity and made a personal application that brought conviction

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[1] MacLeod, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation. p. 225.

[2] Loc. cit.

which spread like wild fire through his congregation.[1] He kindled the fires of revival and set Scotland aflame with his powerful preaching.[2]

There is perhaps not much of what is usually called eloquence in his preaching; he seldom rose into the realm of the artistic. He appealed more to the conscience than to the emotions. There was an intensity of conviction--a fervour which moved the hearts of his congregations. It was based on a simple trust in the power of the Spirit of God which told on the hearts of multitudes.[3]

The frequency of his preaching was remarkable. He seems never to have missed an occasion, indeed, he made openings at every turn in spite of many obstacles. Nothing seemed so important to him as preaching. He preached wherever he could find a place to bring men together--in school-rooms, hospitals, market-crosses, church yards, mountainsides, anywhere possible. He preached as much in three or four months of evangelistic work as the average minister preached in three to four years.

The essence of the basic tenets of the modern day

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[1] Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 119.

[2] Evangelical Repository. Vol. 3. No. 10. Eighth Series. 1885. p. 74.

[3] Hanna, op. cit. p. 119.

evangelist's message stated in its simplest and briefest form is fourfold.

That all men need salvation.

That all men can be saved.

That all men may know they are saved.

That all men should testify to their salvation.

This was also true of the teaching of the messages of many of the leading evangelists since the time of Whitefield--men such as Charles G. Finney, Dwight L. Moody, R. A. Torrey, J. Wilbur Chapman, and W. F. Graham. Haldane's great emphasis was on the first two of these four points. Concerning the latter two points there was either gross ignorance as in the case of the third point or a lack of understanding and emphasis as in the case of the last point.

In his books he occasionally stressed the third point, that it was vital that all men should know that they are saved. But he failed completely when he endeavoured to teach men how they might attain the assurance of their salvation. Failure to understand and emphasize this point placed him under a tremendous handicap in his evangelistic work since it is the basis for all rules of spiritual growth.

On the fourth point one cannot be so harsh in criticising him. This was Whitefield's weakest point. It was not a point of later development but of later emphasis.

It did not become a characteristic of any revival prior to the mid-nineteenth century revival where it appeared in great force.

He was skilled in attracting and dealing with crowds; but he made the individual his concern. His sermons to great congregations were directed to the individual. His main object by gesture, by look, by the constant use of the singular pronoun was to preach so that each member of the congregation might imagine the whole force of the denunications or pleadings of the preacher was directed immediately to himself. To him the individual soul was of more value than the whole world.[1]

In spite of his erroneous views on church polity and the character of the Old Testament, nothing in his character was more noticeable than his high regard for the Word of God. By it he sought to regulate his life. He was ready to accept any of its precepts, in child-like meekness, regardless of how mysterious or how stern as long as it was sanctioned by a "Thus saith the Lord."[2]

It was this high regard for the Scripture that forced him to take such an active part in the Apocryphal controversy. He thought it necessary to vindicate Biblical claims

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[1]Haldane, An Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. p.85.

[2]Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 40.

and defend it from those who sought to impugn its authority. In doing so he did not always act in the spirit of the Word. He dogmatically censured and virtually unchristianized men who revered the Bible no less than himself but differed in their interpretation of its contents.[1] In many respects his earlier ministry revealed this lack of charity.[2]

In his work he carried on an endless series of controversies through the press. One of his opponents wrote, "Mr. Haldane is known to possess eminent talents; his talents are highly cultivated. In the field of controversy, they have long and painfully been exercised; and his proficiency in the science is manifest to all."[3] Added years brought about a mellowing effect and much of his early caustic attitude vanished.

The ameliorative effect produced by time and experience was apparent in a letter written to his son residing in London, when he said, "Although at present there are many defects in all parties, we ought to love all who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and that our love to them ought to abound in proportion...to enable us to throw

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[1]Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 40.

[2]The Church of Scotland. Story, R. H., Editor. p. 746.

[3]Munro, Remarks on Public Collections; Containing Strictures on the Doctrine Taught in the Scripture Magazine. p. 5.

[4]Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 165.

a mantle of love over their defects." One newspaper commented on his later life. "Mr. Haldane never shrunk from maintaining his own peculiar views, he was distinguished for the liberality of his spirit and his readiness to cooperate in every good work which he considered calculated to advance the cause of Christianity."[1]

Especially in his earlier ministry he was a champion of religious liberty. The abundant number of men who were arrested for their preaching gave ample evidence that Scotland did not enjoy the freedom of speech that she possesses now. Against this intolerance, Haldane became a powerful champion. The legality of lay-preaching was established in one court after another wherever he went until he covered the entire country.

Open air preaching was frowned upon by many who were advocates of freedom of speech. It suffered from the stigma of the conventional idea of the work. The differences must be noted to see it in its proper perspective. The minister in the church found a more or less sympathetic congregation bound together by similar interests waiting for his message. Whereas the open air preacher had to gather his heterogeneous congregation by his oratorical powers and by such hold them.[2] At the latter, Haldane was

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[1]Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,080. Tuesday. February 11, 1851. p. 3. col. 3.

[2]Galt, John, Open Air Preaching. London: S. W. Portridge and Company. 1903. p. 13.

outstanding. By his efforts, he did much to remove the prejudice against open air work.

Forced to adopt open air preaching, he made it a highly successful method. He used it constantly. Its novelty, hazard and daring made it very attractive to the multitudes. That a man would brave the changeable Scottish weather, use the vast spaces as a temple and a dull or shining sky as a sounding board and stand up at almost any hour of the day or night to preach was magnetic and appealing. The Free Church was the first group to adopt open air preaching following his lead. When Candlish returned from a three week tour of the Highlands, he preached five miles north of Stirling in an open air evangelistic service on the slopes of the Ochil Hills on the property that formerly belonged to Robert Haldane.

In his work with the Sabbath-schools, he secured the help of qualified advocates, sought the opinions of leading magistrates and pushed forward test cases until he established their legality. In many and various ways he forced into the open the key issues of religious freedom and remained their champion until he had won the victory.

He was an outstanding pioneer in almost every phase of religious work in Scotland. He opened some of the

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[1]Beith, Alexander, A Highland Tour. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1874. p. 268.

first Sunday schools,[1] amost thirty years before Chalmers began to preach on their behalf in the Establishment.[2] Although he did not organise the first Sunday schools in Scotland, he organised many which were among the first; and he has the credit of establishing more than any other man in this country.

In the field of home missions he pioneered in a scheme of evangelistic endeavour beginning in 1797 which surpassed any other similar venture in the evangelisation of Scotland until the present day. In his work he preceded the work of the Established Church which was not originated until 1829.[3] The purpose of the work of the Establishment was to open places of worship with a view to their ultimately becoming parishes.[4]

In the field of foreign missions, he led his Church

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[1]Stephen, History of the Scottish Church. Vol. 2. p. 562.

[2]Anderson, Reminiscences of Chalmers. p. 99. Also see: Hanna, Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers. Vol. 1. p. 445.

[3]As early as 1814 Chalmers was engaged in preaching on behalf of home missions. Anderson, Reminiscences of Chalmers. p. 20. In Glasgow when Chalmers made a religious census he found there were only 73,000 church sittings in a city of 222,000 in 1832. He appealed for help in the task of carrying the Gospel to the people. Probationers were used, with the approval of the presbytery, as parochial missionaries to solve the problem. See: Ibid. p. 177.

[4]Rankin, A Handbook of the Church of Scotland. p. 87.

and denomination to send out the first missionaries sent out by any denomination in Scotland during the modern missionary movement. He had an important share in rousing the missionary spirit in the churches.[1] In 1805 his church sent out five missionaries to various parts of the globe. These were the first of many missionaries to be sent out by his church. Here again, the work of the National Church was preceded by more than twenty years.[2] Dr. Duff, who was their first missionary was not sent out until 1829.[3]

In both the fields of lay-preaching and open air preaching he was an active pioneer. Whitefield and others who preceded him did little or nothing to establish these as legitimate means of propagating the Gospel. Through Haldane's efforts both were declared legal in judicial circles and justified in ecclesiastical circles,[4] a half century before they were adopted by the Free Church. The

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[1] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 184. Also see: MacPherson, Scotland's Battles for Spiritual Independence. p. 177.

[2] Chalmers influenced by his work, early "threw himself by voice and pen into the advocacy of foreign missions, defending and promoting the Baptist Missionary Society and the Moravians." Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption. p. 38.

[3] The Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 88.

[4] The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge seen afterwards began to employ such men as Dougal Buchanan and Morrison as lay-preachers. MacKay, The Church in the Highlands. p. 245.

Free Church ultimately adopted the practice of opening mission stations which were under the direction of unordained licentiates.[1]

In the work in which he was not the leading pioneer, he was either one of the co-founders as in the case of the Gaelic School Society[2] or one of the earliest contributors as in the case of the London Missionary Society.[3] He was an eager participant in almost every popular scheme of his day designed to propagate the Gospel.

The indirect influence of his work of bringing about a spiritual awakening is more than a matter of mere conjecture. According to their own account,[4] the Society for

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[1]Naismith, The Story of the Kirk. p. 155.

[2]M'Crie, The Life of Thomas M'Crie. p. 199. The sole purpose of the Society was to teach the people to read the Scripture. No man was employed who was a minister of any denomination. It was patterned after a similar society which had experienced great success in Wales, see: The Scripture Magazine. Vol. 1. February 1811. p. 76. Also see: March 1811. p. 114.

[3]Ross, A History of Congregational Independency. p. 46.

[4]1698 and After, An Account of the SPCK. London: Church Army Press. 1928. p. 9. The Society had been in existence over one hundred years in connection with the Church of Scotland. It had for its object the extension of religion in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church. p. 394. The Society had been instructed in 1704 to raise a fund to support additional schools in the Highlands but for 115 years the proposed undertaking was not begun. MacKay, The Church in the Highlands. p. 235. This problem to which former generations had shut their eyes was at last earnestly dealt with. The Established Church was also awakened to its responsibility for the education of the youth of the Gaelic Society. Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland. p. 233.

the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was one of the last agencies to be infused with new life as a result of the revival.[1]

Their work began to be extended into many new areas so that it could be said that many parishes in the Highlands and the Islands had the benefit of their parochial schools.[2] Besides school-masters they also increased their missionary ministers and catechists to thirteen.[3]

Possibly the best proof of the reality and beneficial influences of the awakening was found in the new agencies which it moved the Church to devise and maintain.

The Edinburgh Gaelic School Society in 1811.

The Glasgow Gaelic School Society in 1812.

The Inverness Education Society in 1818.

By 1825 these three Societies had under their supervision one hundred and ninety schools with an estimated enrollment of over ten thousand pupils.

The religious awakening which turned the tide of Moderatism and led to the ascendency of the Evangelical party is dated to this period of his evangelistic work. Several competent historians attribute the resurgence of strength within the Evangelical party directly to the

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[1]The Religious Monitor. Vol. 2. January 16, 1804. p. 10.

[2]Ibid. p. 14.

[3]MacKay, The Church in the Highlands. p. 232.

revived interest in evangelical principles brought to bear by the revival led by Haldane.[1]

MacPherson said, "The Evangelical revival led to an Ecclesiastical revival, and the result was the Ten Year's Conflict culminating in the Disruption."[2] Again this same author said Haldane "contributed greatly to the rise of what may be called the spiritual democracy which took dramatic shape at the Disruption."[3] There is no question that this spiritual awakening raised up powerful leaders within the Establishment. From 1810, Andrew Thomson became a mighty evangelical influence and in 1811 Thomas Chalmers became an evangelical.[4]

Though Chalmers moved on a broad front, the whole force of his being was concentrated on evangelism.[5] The movement Haldane had been the means of originating grew until it passed beyond his own guidance and personal influence. Its very magnitude eclipsed its originator while other men whom it had raised up, such as Chalmers, took his place.[6] By his singular gifts he raised

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[1]MacKay, The Church in the Highlands. p. 227.

[2]MacPherson, Scotland's Battles for Religious Independence. p. 181.

[3]Ibid. p. 177.

[4]MacKay, op. cit. p. 231.

[5]Philip, Thomas Chalmers, Apostle of Union. p. 17.

[6]Religious Life in Scotland; From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 175.

evangelism even above the high place to which Haldane had elevated it.

The Moderate preaching had drawn the taunts of such sceptics as David Hume.[1] Haldane had "laboured earnestly to awaken the Moderate moral essayists of the pulpits to spiritual mindedness and evangelical preaching."[2] His success was seen in the increasing number of ministers in the evangelical ranks.[3] The Establishment shared in an ever increasing measure in the awakening which continued to spread like an incoming tide and a great change was noticeable in the tone, spirit, and aims of the General Assembly.[4]

Multiplied hundreds who were converted by Haldane's preaching and to some degree shared his sentiments became members of the Established Church. His new emphasis to old doctrines more or less permeated the Church and their influence was felt throughout the land.[5] He had much to do with the revitalizing of a "Church whose subsequent liberality, activity and enterprise, harmonizing with

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[1] MacKay, The Church in the Highlands. p. 231.

[2] Naismith, The Story of the Kirk. p. 152.

[3] MacKay, op. cit. p. 230.

[4] Matheson, The Church and Reform in Scotland. p. 252.

[5] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 184.

self sacrifice which marked its origin, have rendered it the wonder of the world."[1] Even the "Princeton Review" said that it would be folly to say that Haldane was not employed "as the instrument in stirring up the Kirk of Scotland."[2]

In 1824 his influence was sufficient to bring about a change in the policy of the Established Church which was to be the basis for their work for many years. Their great emphasis had been on the efficacy of education; but the Moderate leader, Dr. Inglis, suggested a new policy consisting of a combination of education and evangelistic work.

Since Haldane and his Society had carried on the only active evangelistic work in Scotland turning the tide of public opinion concerning evangelism, the motivating force of this move must be attributed to him.[3] By the time of Andrew Thomson's death in 1831, this policy was in full force. Evangelism became an integral part of the Establishment's policy on the home field. Everywhere evangelistic methods were receiving careful and intelligent study.[4]

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[1] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 184.

[2] Princeton Review. Vol. 24. October 1852. p. 682.

[3] The Church of Scotland. p. 766. The visits of Whitefield had either failed to move the Church generally or his influence had gradually died away. Religious Life in Scotland. Op. cit. p. 139.

[4] The Church of Scotland. p. 744.

A new impulse was communicated to all the evangelical denominations throughout the land.[1] Both in and out of the Establishment evangelical ministers were stimulated to greater diligence to their ministerial duties. Those who agreed with Haldane were encouraged by his work to bear more pronounced testimony to the truths he held.[2] They employed new means to stir up their people to Christian activity. Thus he was the means of infusing a more healthy and vigourous spirit into the various denominations.[3]

He awakened a spirit of greater zeal in ministers everywhere. A more pointed measure of preaching was adopted by many. The empty flourish gave way to messages which were designed to awaken all the sympathies of the soul. The unfettered freeness of the Gospel was more fully proclaimed. The practical application of the Gospel was more distinctly unfolded and his beneficial influence was found operating in denominations throughout Scotland.[4]

Because of his influence most of the denominations in Scotland began to undertake various evangelistic endeavours.

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[1] The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 72. Also see: Beattie, The Haldanes and Their Friends. p. 177.

[2] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 174.

[3] Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches. p. 87.

[4] Loc. cit.

The Congregationalists led the way in the earliest stages with the Baptists under Haldane taking a secondary place. Later they were joined by the Presbyterians under the leadership of the lay-evangelist Brownlow North.

It was this increased zeal in religious life that led the way to Scottish participation in the mid-century revival. Without Haldane's evangelistic ground work which prepared the way it is probable that Scotland like other countries which were unprepared would have been by-passed by the greatest revival the world has yet experienced. It was in Scotland as it was in America--a layman's revival under such lay-evangelists as Duncan Matheson, Brownlow North and Reginald Radcliffe.[1]

The fruit of Haldane's early labours was a revolution in the religious life of Scotland, nearly as striking as that produced by the preaching of Whitefield and Wesley in England.[2] This can be attributed to the fact that there was such a tremendous amount of inflammable material for any religious enthusiast who would meet the people on their own mental level.[3]

His work resulted in the conversion of thousands

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[1] Reminiscences of the Revival of Fifty-Nine and Sixties. p. 11.

[2] Anderson, The Life and Letters of Christopher Anderson. p. 99.

[3] MacPherson, Scotland's Battles for Spiritual Independence. p. 172.

until his usefulness was temporarily curtailed by an unhappy sectarian spirit.[1] His outstanding success earned him the title, "The Whitefield of the North."[2] It must be freely admitted that his greatest work was to be found here, outside of the churches he formed; it consisted in the service he gave to evangelical truth.[3]

What Whitefield and Wesley did for England, Haldane did for Scotland. He reached a greater number of men for Christ in Scotland than any other minister or evangelist until the time of Moody.[4] His results far surpassed even those of Whitefield on the Scottish field. Thousands of converts were added to the churches.[5] The revival which he led was assessed by the most competent judges as being little short of a revival of primitive Christianity.[6]

It was not his aim to convert men to a creed, in the belief that once the creed was adopted, it would mould their spirit and their lives aright. He aimed directly at their souls, plied them with the message of

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[1] M'Crie, The Story of the Scottish Church. p. 518.

[2] Derwent, Historical Account of the Tabernacle Church Leith Walk, and Duncan Street Baptist Church. p. 6.

[3] Religious Life in Scotland: From the Reformation to the Present Day. p. 182.

[4] Ibid. p. 152.

[5] Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. p. 42.

[6] The Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Church. p. 43.

the Gospel that he might bring them into a vital contact with Christ and kindle in them that life without which they were little better than automotons. Seldom was a preacher found who devoted himself more thoroughly to the great business of moving men. To produce movement was his great passion; movement along evangelical lines and always directed to one supreme consummation--the salvation of men and the production of a happy prosperous Christian community.[1]

Although the course of the revival in many cases took a different direction from the intention of Haldane, it produced a state far superior in its moral and ethical results than was characteristic of the period just prior to the close of the eighteenth century.[2] When the total results of this revival are taken into consideration it would take its rightful place as one of the three greatest revivals in Scottish church history.

The question arises, were the results of this spiritual awakening lasting? One author writing about the middle of the century said of the revival,

> Great truths which had been allowed to lie smothered up in creeds and catechisms

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[1] Blaikie, The Preachers of Scotland: From the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century. p. 280.

[2] Brown, The United Secession Church Vindicated from the Charge made by James A. Haldane, Esq., of Sanctioning Indiscriminate Admission to Communion. p. 3.

> suddenly emerged to exercise a mighty sway over the minds of the community. New and fresh views of the doctrines were brought forth and seized hold of the hearts and consciences of multitudes. A fire was kindled which has never since been extinguished in our country. Tendencies were awakened which have been working ever since, and which have had results little anticipated by those who first received and cherished them.[1]

To the question of how extensive was the influence of the revival? the same author replies,

> Of all the influences which have been operating upon our people during the half century just closed, (1850) none perhaps has been more powerful and extensive in all its bearings than that which commenced when God touched the heart of James Haldane with evangelical fire, and sent him from secular occupations to the streets and highways of his native country.[2]

Although this is true one cannot close their eyes to the facts that James Haldane upset an evangelistic enterprise, by the introduction of innovations,[3] which had it been wisely conducted, "might have rivalled the Reformation by Knox, as well as surpassed all that was achieved by the Covenanteers and the Seceders."[4]

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[1]The Scottish Congregational Magazine. Vol. 1. n.s. March 1851. p. 72.

[2]Loc. cit. It was an awakening gratefully acknowledged by the most eminent ministers of the Establishment. Edinburgh Advertiser. December 20, 1842. p. 5. col. 1.

[3]Haldane found to his dismay that his innovations were a "Serbonian bog where whole armies have sunk." Hanna, Essays By Ministers of the Free Church. p. 131.

[4]Philip, The Life of John Campbell. p. 142.

Scotland has rightly been called, "The Land of Revivals." Her evangelistic history began when a great revival took place in the Kirk of Shotts in June 1630. Here, John Livingstone's preaching resulted in the conversion of about five hundred persons.[1] The Cambuslang revival followed in 1742 under the leadership of the parish minister, the Rev. W. M'Culloch and George Whitefield. Numerous other revivals of lesser importance occurred during intervening years. But it remained for James Haldane to lead in the greatest revival Scotland had ever experienced until his time.

All Scotland was by no means revived, if by "revived" one means converted. Nor was the revival as great in proportion as the Welsh revival in 1858 when one hundred thousand people or one-tenth of the population joined the churches.[2] Nevertheless it was an outstanding revival and Scotland's greatest until the middle of the nineteenth century.

When an over-all survey of Scottish evangelism is made, it is readily seen that James A. Haldane was the greatest evangelist Scotland has produced, a great pioneer--the father of modern Scottish evangelism.[3] It was no over-

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[1]Allen, W. E., The History of Revivals. Belfast: The Revival Publishing Company. 1951. p. 13.

[2]Ibid. p. 38.

[3]MacPherson, Scotland's Battles for Spiritual Independence. p. 177.

statement when the Eclective Review called him one of the most outstanding men of his century.[1] Certainly the fruit of his labour was visible on the character of his age[2] and we reap the benefits of his zeal and ingenuity until the present day.

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[1] The Eclectic Review. Vol. 4. n.s. September. 1852. p. 341.

[2] Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,080. Tuesday. February 11, 1851. p. 3. col. 3.

APPENDIX

THE WRITINGS OF JAMES HALDANE

Although many historians consider Robert Haldane the writer and James Haldane the evangelist, when an actual count is made of the number of his works which were published, it is quickly seen that James did more writing than his brother. From a numerical standpoint he had more works published than did any other writer in the theological field in Scotland in the early part of the nineteenth century. Most of his theological works were highly esteemed.[1] A reliable Edinburgh newspaper declared, "Mr. Haldane was remarkable for his profound and Scriptural views."[2]

In his love for truth he issued pamphlets and books controverting the views of others on religious subjects and stating strongly his own. He also wrote with ability on subjects of a non-controversial nature which influenced many. A chronological list of his published works follows with a very brief summary of each.

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[1] Kay, A Series of Original Portraits. p. 43.

[2] Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 22,080. Tuesday, February 11, 1851. p. 3. col. 3.

1. Various contributions to the "Missionary Magazine" chiefly under the signature of "Bubulus." The majority of these contributions were of a doctrinal nature. They appeared during the years 1797 to 1808.

2. Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Isles, in Autumn 1797. Undertaken with a View to Promoting the Knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1797.

This journal of James Haldane's first evangelistic tour proved to be extremely popular and went through many large editions. Several historians stated that the influence of the Journal rivaled the influence of the tour itself in the opening years of the spiritual awakening which swept over the whole of Scotland. It proved to be one of the ablest defences of lay-preaching which appeared during this period. As a commentary on the religious conditions of the day it was not always too accurate. In far too many cases hearsay reports were incorporated into the Journal as facts. It was accurate enough in its overall picture of the Scottish religious life of the period for Thomas M'Crie to send it with high praises to a close friend. M'Crie, the author of the Life of John Knox, was very exacting in matters of historical accuracy.

3. The Obligation of Christian Churches to Observe the Lord's Supper Every Lord's Day Stated in a Letter from J. A. Haldane to the Church of Christ Assembling in the Tabernacle, Edinburgh. To which is added, Miscellaneous Observations. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1802.

In this letter he makes a plea for men to keep an open mind to all matters of faith and practice, to hold the Bible as supreme and authoritative and to follow the example of the apostles. He then launches into a Biblical exposition following the same line of argument he uses five years later in a similar letter to the editor of the "Religious Monitor."

To this is added an even longer section entitled "Miscellaneous Observations" in which he discusses various aspects and views of the Lord's Supper and deals exegetically with passages of Scripture which he considers pertinent to the subject.

4. Early Instruction Recommended in a Narrative of the Life of Catherine Haldane with an address to Parents on the Importance of Religion. Edinburgh: John Newton. 1802.

This is little more than a biographical sketch of Haldane's second child who died in June 1802 at the age of six, but it is remarkable for its truthful simplicity. It not only discloses something of the domestic life of a man who was much before the public, but it is a moving story of tenderness and compassion.

It ran quickly through a dozen very large editions and was circulated widely by the Independent English minister, the Rev. John Newton, who greatly admired it. The book was translated into Danish by Dr. Henderson a few years later and proved to be very popular in

Denmark.

5. A View of the Social Worship and Ordinances Observed by the First Christians, Being an Attempt to Enforce their Divine Obligation; and to Represent the Guilt and Evil Consequences of Neglecting Them. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1805.

The New Testament is set forth as containing the necessary instructions concerning the worship and conduct of the Christian Church both as a body and separately for the individuals who make up the body. A plea is made in all matters of church worship and polity to return to the example of the practices of the Apostolic Church. He sets himself as the judge as to which of the practices should be followed; he dismisses the holy kiss while holding that foot washing is obligatory, although there is no record that either he or his church ever practised it.

A brief section is devoted to the character of those who composed the Apostolic Churches and the type of congregations that they formed. Much more space is devoted to the offices of the Apostolic Churches, i.e. distinguishing between the various offices of the Churches. He advocated "a plurality of elders, or a presbytery" for each church as being binding and necessary for the reason that one man is inadequate for the complex duties of the church.

In a section devoted to the various ordinances of

the church he includes a short section in defence of infant baptism. He is very firm in his insistence that infant baptism is Scripturally sound; however, within four years, his views on the subject are completely reversed. He then writes renouncing his former view and stating his reasons for this change in his Reasons for a Change in Sentiment on Baptism which was published in 1809.

His writing on the subject of forbearance is the basis for a later publication devoted entirely to that subject. Many of his thoughts which are expressed in this early work are developed later and enlarged for publication. With the exception of the view expressed on baptism, this work contains most of his basic views.

In spite of his dogmatic assertions on many subjects he reminds his readers that his purpose is to excite them to study the Scriptures and not to rely on his judgment alone. Although it would seem so on the surface, he insists that the book is not intended as a standard for church order.

6. A View of the Social Worship and Ordinances Observed by the First Christians, Drawn from the Sacred Scriptures Alone: Being an Attempt to Enforce their Divine Obligation, and to Represent the Guilt and Evil Consequences of Neglecting Them. Second Edition- Corrected. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1806.

A deluge of criticism descended on James Haldane after his View of Social Worship came off the press.

He noticed, however, that few of his arguments based on the Scripture were criticised. As a result of this, he revised his earlier publication deleting many arguments not based on the Scripture, appealing inthis edition to the Scripture alone. As he suspected, much less criticism was made of this second edition.

7. The Doctrine and Duty of Self Examination. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1806.

This is one of the most valuable and useful of his works on the subject of faith. It is a development of two sermons he preached in the Edinburgh Tabernacle in 1806. It is also the basis for a later work published in 1823 on the same subject. The main theme of the treatise is the distinction between the act of mere intellectual assent and the saving belief in Christ.

8. Observations on Mr. Brown's Vindication of the Presbyterian Form of Church Government. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1806.

Mr. John Brown, an Independent minister in Cartmore, left the Burgher branch of the Secession to become the minister of the Independent Church at Haddington. He had written a criticism of James Haldane's View of Social Worship; this may explain the vindictive attitude of Haldane in his extreme criticism of Brown's book.

He attempts to show that the principles of Brown's book are subversive to "that subjection of mind which believers owe to Jesus Christ." His argument is very

weak as it is not based on what Mr. Brown has said but on what he has not said.

Haldane charges that Mr. Brown had attempted to defend the principles of the Establishment but not the practices, and had been inconsistent in bringing in the practices of the Independents. He bases his argument not on principles to meet Mr. Brown's argument but on practices such as the following. He charges that it is all too common for the civil magistrate to help in "settling ministers of the Church of Scotland. On such occasions a troop of dragoons have formed the union between the people and their pastor at the point of a bayonet."

9. An Address to the Church of Christ, Leith Walk, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1807.

He begins by magnifying the Word of God and pleading with men to follow it. He urges men to use their every talent and gift in the service of Christ in His Church. He declares that every ordinance of Jesus Christ is intended to promote His own glory in the salvation of lost souls. He stresses the great place the church has to fill in the field of evangelism. How their conduct and Christian witness can be used for the glory of God in winning men to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. He states that his church is not doing all it could or should be doing in the matter of witnessing for Christ

and propagating the Gospel.

10. The Foundation of the Observance of the Lord's Day, and of the Lord's Supper Vindicated from the Objections Published in the Scots Presbyterian Magazine, for February last: In a Letter Addressed to the Editor. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1807.

James Haldane wrote an article in the form of a letter and submitted it to the "Religious Monitor" for publication but it was not printed. Consequently, he had it printed and addressed to the editor of the "Religious Monitor." It was written to try to prove that a weekly observance of the Lord's Supper on the Lord's Day is Scriptural, and to prove that the ordinance of the Lord's Day is an ordinance of Christ. An article had appeared under the name "Agnostos" and Haldane wrote criticising the article. The letter is little more than an expansion of his letter to the Edinburgh Tabernacle congregation written in 1802.

11. Observations of the Association of Believers; Mutual Exhortation; The Apostolic Mode of Teaching; Qualifications and Support of Elders; Spiritual Gifts, etc. In Which Mr. Aikman's Observations on Exhortation, etc. are Considered. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1808.

He once more sets forth the Scriptures as the only safe rule of conduct for believers both in their individual lives and in association with others. The main points of his book are as follows:

1. He points out that the church implies fellowship.
2. Mutual exhortation should be the mode of teaching

of the fellowship.

3. The fellowship's goal is two-fold: the edification of the saints and the turning of sinners to the Saviour through the association of believers.

4. The support and qualifications of elders.

He reveals in this book his reason for his entrance into the field of controversial writing and at the same time he gives some of its disadvantages. "We may sit down to reply to a publication, the principles of which we disapprove. We may refute the arguments of our opponents, and establish our own views with great perspicuity. Some, we may hope, will in consequence be convinced, and renounce error; but many will triumph in the differences that subsist, while they are totally indifferent about the merits of the question. Even believers who are weak may stumble and be perplexed, and may not be able to decide with whom the truth lies. All this is very discouraging." In spite of the many discouragements he felt compelled as Luther to speak out against what he considered to be the evils of his day.

12. Reasons of a Change of Sentiment on the Subject of Baptism; Containing a Plain View of the Signification of the Word, and of the Persons for whom the Ordinance is Appointed; Together with a Full Consideration of the Covenant Made with Abraham, and its Supposed Connection with Baptism. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1808.

The first section of the book deals with the

meaning of the Greek word meaning "to baptise" which he says means to immerse or to plunge.

The second section, which is the heart of the book, deals with the subjects of baptism. This is largely an examination of New Testament examples. From these he concludes that only believers may be Scripturally baptised.

The third section deals with the covenant with Abraham and the possibility of its relationship to baptism. He declares that the argument for infant baptism proceeds from a mistaken view of the covenant with Abraham. Following this is an examination of the popular views concerning infant baptism.

The final section is an examination of infant baptism throughout early church history in the light of what the early church fathers had to say on the subject. A short conclusion follows which includes a brief recapitulation.

His defence of infant baptism had appeared in both the first and second editions of his View on Social Worship, the second edition of which had appeared just two years before his change of view. He endeavours to set forth that Scriptural doctrine respecting baptism which caused him to change his views on the

ordinance and his reasons for adopting the new view.

13. Reasons of a Change of Sentiment on the Subject of Baptism. Second Edition- Corrected. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1809.

This corrected edition differs only in very minor points from the first edition. No addition of any importance was made.

14. "Scripture Magazine"

For five years, from 1809 to 1813, he was the editor of this magazine which contained many valuable critical and expository works. It became a channel for his own writings. The most important of which was a series of articles entitled "Notes on Scripture." He published through this medium a series of articles which he planned to consolidate later into a volume to be entitled "Revelation of Mercy." In these articles he traced the "gradual unfolding of the scheme of redemption from the garden of Eden to the garden of Gethsemane." It was an attempt to trace the successive steps "from the fall of the first Adam to the crucifixion of the second Adam." It was never printed in book form but it appeared in a very condensed form in a tract. The chief object of the "Scripture Magazine" under his guidance was to establish the "grand truths of the Gospel." It was not considered the organ of the Baptist denomination.

15. On the Truth of the Gospel- Addressed to the Jews. 1810.

This work is not now to be found in any of the major libraries in Great Britain.

16. Observations on Forbearance. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1811.

This is largely an expansion of the author's chapter on "Forbearance" in his book, A View of Social Worship. His main object is to establish two principles and to unite them. First, believers are under the strongest obligations to follow the precepts of the Lord, and second, they should at the same time accept into the church as brethren those who have accepted Christ as their personal Saviour although they may be weak spiritually or imperfectly instructed so that they may be instructed more perfecting in the faith, instead of insisting that they grow stronger first or give up certain ideas which may force them into other communions where their prejudices against the truth would be strengthened. The purpose of the book is even clearer when it is interpreted in the light of the context of the disruption occurring in the Tabernacles just prior to this time.

17. Remarks on Mr. Jones' Review of Observations on Forbearance. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1812.

Mr. Jones had written a criticism of Haldane's book on Forbearance referred to above, and this book was written in answer to Mr. Jones' criticism. Haldane in this work simplifies the question of forbearance.

He declares that his book was not directed against any church or any group of churches, as Mr. Jones had charged. There is little that does not appear in his book of the preceding year, with the exception of his criticism of many of Mr. Jones' remarks. His great emphasis, as in his other book, is that the church is under obligation to accept into its membership weak or ill instructed Christians as a matter of forbearance.

18. The Dignity of the Person of Christ. 1813.

This work is not now to be found in any of the major libraries in Great Britain.

19. Two Letters to the Rev. Dr. Chalmers on His Proposal for Increasing the Number of Churches in Glasgow. Glasgow: Adam Black. 1818.

The first edition of these letters was published under the signature of "An Observer." The main purpose in this publication is to bring an attack against the National Church. He builds on the political argument of Adam Smith and attacks Chalmers' argument which is based on the necessity of governmental aid in education and religion. He points out that in many places not over one-sixth of the Churches' accomodations were being utilized. The extension and increase of patronage, he suggests, would be its results. This is followed by a lengthy Biblical inquiry into the subject of the Scriptural grounds of the National Church.

20. Two Letters to the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, on His Proposal for Increasing the Number of Churches in Glasgow, with an Appendix Containing Thoughts on the Increase of Infidelity; and a Letter to the Editor of the Christian Instructor. Second Edition- Enlarged. Edinburgh: Adam Black. 1820.

This second and all subsequent editions were enlarged and published under his name. This edition has several new arguments which are added in the appendix. A letter to the editor of the "Christian Instructor" is added in answer to certain criticisms of his first edition which appeared in that periodical.

21. The Prayer of Moses: or, God, the Refuge of His People. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1819.

This work is not now to be found in any of the major libraries in Great Britain.

22. Three Discourses. Edinburgh: William Whyte. 1820.

A compilation of discourses published separately later.

23. Letters to a Friend: Containing Strictures on a Recent Publication upon Primitive Christianity by Mr. John Walker, Formerly a Fellow of Dublin College. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant. 1820.

He charges that Mr. Walker has given a false representation of various apostolic precepts. He attacks the spirit and temper of Walker's letters as being inconsistent with the humble spirit of the Apostles. He criticises briefly Walker's views on forbearance, discipline, marked separation and oaths, but he devotes a great amount of space to his view of baptism. In the former points of forbearance and discipline Walker had generally followed

the views of the Glasites. He had followed Sandeman in his view of faith which omits the responsibility of man.

He agrees with Mr. Walker that the believers within the church should sit in one part of the church separated from the strangers and unbelievers, but he disagrees that there should be any marked separation to distinguish visibly between the two, on the grounds that he feels it is unscriptural. In the matter of baptism, Walker does not follow the Glasites. He devotes the remainder of the book to a criticism of Walker's view of baptism which is briefly that Christ in His last commission did not command his apostles to baptise with water but with the Holy Spirit. The first edition of this book sold so rapidly that a second edition was printed in the same year.

24. A Pastoral Letter to the Church Assembling for Worship in the Tabernacle. Edinburgh: J. Pitchie. 1821.

This is one of a series of pastoral letters written over a forty year period to the Edinburgh Tabernacle congregation and published for general distribution. These letters usually dealt with a doctrinal issue or an admonition on some phase of the church life such as the one written in 1802. They were by no means short letters but rather they were written in book form.

25. Four Treatises: 1. The Mystery of Redemption; 2. The Prayer of Moses; 3. The Doctrine and Duty of Self-Examination; 4. On the Faith of the Gospel. London: B. J. Holdsworth. 1823.

This is the only compilation of any of Haldane's works; they were published in a rather large volume. Each of the works was published separately at some other date with the exception of 4. On the Faith of the Gospel, which appears only in this publication.

26. The Doctrine and Duty of Self-Examination. Second Edition. Corrected and Enlarged. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie. 1823.

Although this edition is corrected and enlarged, it contains little that does not appear in the first edition. That which is added does not appreciably increase the value of its contents.

27. The Revelation of God's Righteousness. 1823.

This work is not now to be found in any of the major libraries in Great Britain.

28. The Importance of Hearing the Voice of God. Edinburgh: William Oliphant. 1824.

Several brief quotations from this work provide an adequate summary. "The city has lately been the scene of a very striking and impressive visitation. We have, within a very short time, witnessed two fires of an extent unparalleled in this place. Hundred have been driven from their habitations--have lost much of their property and been reduced to great misery." "Every man who believes the Scriptures must contend this calamity as coming from God."

"I know it is at present a very prevalent opinion

in some classes, that the late Musical Festival[1] has been the cause of the judgment...While I do not trace the calamities with which we have been visited to the Festival I am by no means disposed to vindicate its celebration. I view it as one of the most daring acts of contempt of the Divine Majesty which is committed in this country. I view it as a proof of the progress of irreligion and infidelity."

"It is very awful to think of the sufferings of the Son of God being rehearsed for the sake of the music, and that His pains and agonies should be represented for the entertainment of sinners...I consider it as far more sinful than the theatre or the ball-room."[2] A second edition of which work appeared in the following year--1825.

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[1]The third music festival was held on October 25, 1824 in the Parliament House. On November 15, 1824 the most disastrous fire until that time in Edinburgh's history broke out on High Street. The fire destroyed property valued at an estimated two hundred thousand pounds. Eight persons were killed and four hundred families were made homeless. Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century. Gilbert, W. M., editor. J. and R. Allen. 1901. p. 78f.

[2]Hugh Miller spoke of hearing Dr. Colquhoune of Leith preach, on the first Sunday after the great fires, attributing them to an act of Divine retribution against Edinburgh to avenge the profanity of the Music Festival. Miller, Hugh, My Schools and Schoolmasters or The Story of My Education. Seventh Edition. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Company. 1857. pp. 351, 352.

29. A Vindication of the Proceedings of the Edinburgh Bible Society, Relative to the Apocrypha Against Aspersions of the "Eclectic Review;" in a Letter to the Members of the Committee of the Parent Institution. London: Hamilton Adams and Company. 1825.

This work is not now to be found in any of the major libraries in Great Britain.

30. The Jews- God's Witnesses. Edinburgh: William Oliphant. 1827.

He states that though the Gospel was beginning to be preached once more in Jerusalem, he refused to speculate or to make rash predictions as to the restoration of Israel. He declares that Israel was made the witness of God because of the peculiar relation it had with God. They witnessed against idolatry and to a Saviour that was to come. Israel was separated from the nations to bear witness and would have continued to receive God's blessing and prosper if they had continued to bear His witness. When they refused to bear His witness any longer, He took the kingdom of God from them and gave it to a nation (the true Israel) that would bring forth its fruits.

31. The Green Tree and the Dry. Edinburgh: William Oliphant. 1827.

This is a Biblical exposition of Luke 23:31. The emphasis is on the sufferings of Christ from His incarnation to the cross--suffering caused by the lack of response of the people, by their reproaches, etc. He makes several applications of lessons learned from Christ's

sufferings with emphasis on the fact that it is the suffering of Christ that manifest the malignity of sin and God's abhorrence of sin.

32. The Pharisee and the Publican. Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Company. 1827.

It is a Biblical exposition of Luke 18:9-14. It is a condemnation of self-righteousness. He uses the parable to show man's attitude toward God and the character in which we must approach God.

33. Refutation of the Heretical Doctrine Promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving, Respecting the Person and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ. Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Company. 1829.

Edward Irving had set forth his views both privately and publicly in three volumes of his discourses- The Nature of Christ and the Atonement. He declared that Christ experienced the same "law in my members warring against the law of my mind" of which Paul wrote. He taught that the body of Christ was a mortal, corrupt and corruptible body, like that of all mankind. He summarizes Irving's teachings in one statement--Christ had taken upon himself the fallen nature of man. After making Irving's teaching plain, he refutes it by the use of Scripture with great emphasis on the nature of Christ rather than on the Atonement.

Irving was the "not over-popular assistant to Dr. Chalmers in St. Johns, Glasgow." Another point of defection was his teaching concerning the second coming

of Christ. He believed its approach would be revealed by spiritual gifts being restored to the Church. Scenes of the direst confusion were enacted in his church as almost every service was given over to speaking in tongues and spiritual healing. He was finally deposed by the Presbytery of Annan. Thomas Chalmers and many others of the Evangelical party in the Establishment opposed his teaching.

34. Answer to Mr. Henry Drummond's Defence of the Heretical Doctrine Promulgated by Mr. Irving, Respecting the Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ and to his Denial of the Original Sin, and of the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness. Edinburgh: William Oliphant. 1830.

Mr. Henry Drummond undertook to examine the controversy which arose between Edward Irving and Haldane, and wrote in defence of Mr. Irving. In this reply he charges that Mr. Drummond's defence of Mr. Irving is a jumble of wretched metaphysics. He made no new charge in stating this for the editor of the "Christian Instructor" had quipped, "One of the best properties of Mr. Drummond's metaphysics is that they are nearly as amusing as his jokes." ("Christian Instructor" Vol. 29, p. 131).

In his refutation of Mr. Drummond's work he shows a good knowledge of the Greek language and the works of the early Church Fathers such as Basil, Augustine, Tertullian and Jerome.

35. Reply to Mr. Henry Drummond's Supplement to the Candid Examination of the Controversy Respecting the Human Nature of Christ: Demonstrating his Failure in Defending his Misquotations, and Exposing the Unfairness of his Mode of Conducting the Discussion. Edinburgh: William Oliphant. 1830.

This is a good example of carrying theological controversies to an extreme. Not only does Haldane not add anything to his former publication, but he reduces himself to theological hair-splitting revealing too great a vindictiveness of spirit. The controversy was caused by a misunderstanding of Drummond's position, for both men were ultra-conservative in their theology. It was Drummond who took Robert Haldane's place in the Geneva revival.

36. Observations on Universal Pardon, The Extent of the Atonement, and Personal Assurance of Salvation. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1831.

In his controversy with Irving he wrote only on the person of Christ, omitting the atonement because of his limited knowledge on the subject. As a result of this controversy he made a study of the atonement which is published under the above mentioned title.

The first section of the book deals adequately with the atonement and the extent of the atonement. He wrote in defence of the Atonement as it appeared in the Westminster Assembly's Catechism. He said, "The Gospel proclaims that there is an atonement made through the sacrifice of Christ for all who believe, and not that Christ atoned for the sins of every

individual, whether he believes or whether he rejects the divine testimony."

The second section deals with personal assurance of salvation. He declares, "The advocates of the doctrine of universal pardon speak as if full assurance of our salvation were absolutely essential, which is not the case...At the same time it ought to be remembered, that confidence of personal salvation is highly important, that it should be the constant aim of all disciples of Christ, and that none ought to be satisfied without its attainment." But just how a person is to receive this personal assurance he is not at all clear. After stating the negative side of the issue that assurance does not depend on this or that he falters when trying to state the positive element. He uses such various statements as the following: "Assurance of pardon, of acceptance, and eternal life is produced immediately by beholding the fulness and freeness of salvation as revealed in the Word of God." "Personal assurance can only be maintained in the way of close walking with God." "Scriptural assurance must be founded on beholding the glory of God as it shines in the face of Jesus Christ." He claims that the degree of ones assurance will vary and will diminish when one grieves the Holy Spirit as he feels assurance is maintained by the power of the

Holy Spirit.

His lack of understanding on this point must have been a tremendous handicap in his evangelistic work.

37. The Change and Perpetuity of the Sabbath. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1831.

It is an attack on keeping shops open seven days a week and on working seven days a week. The majority of the work is a Biblical Exposition of the Sabbath. He says that the Sabbath is "to give fallen man an opportunity of considering his latter end." He reveals his calling as an evangelist by closing his discussion with an evangelistic appeal for men to trust in Christ as their personal Saviour.

38. "Christian Quarterly Magazine"

He was editor of the "Christian Quarterly Magazine" from 1832 to 1837. Many of his shorter articles appeared in this magazine and many valuable contributions particularly of an exegetical nature on difficult passages of the Scripture.

39. Signs of the Times Considered: With the Duty of Preparation for the Approaching Crisis: Being the Substance of Five Discourses. Edinburgh: J. and D. Collie. 1832.

He discusses the nature of what he considers the apostacy of his day. Roman Catholicism and the union of Church and State are singled out for special attack.

An attempt is made to prove that the destruction of these apostacies will be attended with awful judgment. He draws heavily upon Old Testament texts for his proof. He declared that the time of this judgment and destruction must be very near. He draws his proof from apocalyptic passages. The duty of the believer during this period is to do his utmost in opposing the progress of false doctrine and to be zealous for the diffusion of the Gospel throughout the world. He concludes describing the effect that the apostacy would have on the people of Scotland.

40. A Review of Mr. Thomas Erskine's Errors on the Doctrine of Election and Universal Pardon. 1838.

This work is not now to be found in any of the major libraries in Great Britain.

41. The Voluntary Question Political, Not Religious. A Letter to the Rev. John Brown, Occasioned by the Allusion in His Recent Word to the Authors Sentiments upon the National Churches. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1839.

The Rev. Dr. John Brown referred to here was the minister of the United Associate Congregation, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, and Professor of Exegetical Theology in the Secession Divinity Hall. Dr. Brown had written a book entitled Civil Obedience and the Voluntary Question, and in it he had criticised Haldane's view of the National Church. In return, Haldane wrote restating his views of the National Church but dealing mostly with the Voluntary

Question. He said that "the matter in dispute is, whether it is most beneficial for society that there should be an endowed Church, or that every man should be left to support his own religion." Voluntarism advocated that Dissenters and others resolutely refuse to pay tribute demanded by the civil magistrates for ecclesiastical purposes.

He stated that he had been opposed, from the beginning, to the principles and proceedings of the Voluntaries. He felt that Voluntarism was based on an erroneous view of the Scriptures and would ultimately lead to a revolution. He warned Christians not to engage in this movement as they would be "opposing the will of God, who commands His people to submit to the government under which he has placed them."

He advocates certain Scriptural grounds which Christians may lawfully employ to effect a separation of Church and State, but he warned that when they collect "promiscuous crowds in which infidels and Roman Catholics" have a part, it cannot be considered Scriptural grounds; it can only be political agitation. He claimed that they were working on the principle of resistance to the civil government. He said "If I could subvert the National Church by holding up my little finger I would not do it."

42. The Change and Perpetuity of the Sabbath. Second Edition. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1839.

43. A Pastoral Letter to the Church Assembling for Worship In the Tabernacles. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1840.

44. The Revelation of God's Righteousness. Second Edition. 1840.

45. Man's Responsibility: The Nature and Extent of the Atonement; And the Work of the Holy Spirit; In Reply to Mr. Howard Hinton and the Baptist Midland Association. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1842.

Mr. Hinton had written two books, A Treatise on Man's Responsibility with which Haldane largely agreed and The Work of the Holy Spirit in Conversion of which he was very critical. In the latter book Hinton presented two conflicting views. He stated that man can only receive the truth of the Gospel as aided by the Holy Spirit, but in another place he set forth a semi-Pelagian view in picturing man's ability to receive the Gospel. It was in opposition to this latter view that Haldane wrote this argumentative discourse. He charged that such a view subverted the doctrines of Divine sovereignty, Christ's Atonement and the Gospel itself. He goes on to condemn the doctrine of the Limited Atonement as held by the Particular Baptist.

46. The Crown of Righteousness. Edinburgh: Thornton and Collie. 1843.

This is an exposition of 2 Timothy 4:6-8 but contains little of importance.

47. A Brief Sketch of the Late Robert Haldane Esquire. Edinburgh: Thornton and Collie. 1843.

This short biographical sketch touching on the major events of his brother's life appeared a few weeks after his brother's death on December 12, 1842.

48. The Doctrine of the Atonement. With Strictures on the Recent Publication of Drs. Wardlaw and Jenkyn, on the Subject. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1845.

This work was written as a refutation of what Haldane claimed were the physical views of Dr. Jenkyn and Dr. Wardlaw. He asserted the latter held the same semi-Pelagian view as did Mr. Howard Hinton. This was a rather ridiculous charge in the light of Wardlaw's book, Discourses on the Nature and Extent of the Atonement of Christ. It is plain that both Wardlaw and Haldane held the same position on the atonement but differed only as to the definition of certain words.

Both agreed in what Wardlaw designated "infinite sufficiency," i.e., that Christ made atonement to God by His death only for the sins of those to whom in the sovereign good pleasure of God the benefits of His death shall finally be applied.[1] Both opposed what Wardlaw termed "limited sufficiency" a self explanatory term and

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[1]Compare Wardlaw's Discourses on the Nature and Extent of the Atonement, p. 102, with Haldane's Man's Responsibility; The Nature and Extent of the Atonement, p. 110, and his Nature and Extent of the Atonement, p. 264.

"exact equivalent" by which Wardlaw meant the suffering of Christ formed an exact equivalent for the sins of all who shall be saved by Christ's Atonement.[1]

49. On Christian Union. 1846.

This work is not now to be found in any of the major libraries in Great Britain.

50. The Doctrine of the Atonement, Second Edition, to which has been Added an Appendix Containing a Reply to Dr. Payne's Argument on the Subject. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1847.

There was no change whatsoever in the body of the book itself. The appendix contains a refutation of Dr. Payne's view of Universal Atonement, which Haldane erroneously charged was also held by Wardlaw.

51. An Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, Showing that the Present Division Among Christians Originates in blending the Ordinance of the Old and New Covenants. With an Appendix, on the Opening of the Apostolic Commission. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1848.

This is not purely a commentary as might be suspected, but rather it deals with James Haldane's favourite theme--a comparison of the two covenants. The exposition is made in an effort to prove that the blending of the two leads to disastrous results in the life of the church. His work in the New Testament is limited to this work on Galatians and another on Hebrews because he felt these contained a full exposition of the Mosaic

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[1] Wardlaw, Discourses on the Nature and Extent of the Atonement. p. 204.

dispensation and its relation to the Kingdom of Christ. It is a well written scholarly work which brought forth high praises from the reviewers when it was published.

52. Judaism and Christianity: Their Intimate Relation and Essential Difference. In Reply to a Paper in the Free Church Magazine. With an Appendix, Containing Extracts from Dr. Erskine's Dissertation on the Nature of the Sinai Covenant. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1849.

He suggests that while the Jewish and Christian dispensations are totally different, the former is a pattern and a figure of the latter, the one deals with the earthly while the other deals with heavenly things. He attacked the author of the article in the "Free Church Magazine" as spiritualising the old dispensation to the degree that he carnalised the new. His opponent in his article had criticised many points in Haldane's recent work, An Exposition to the Galations. He agreed with Haldane that certain divisions in Christendom--as the sacerdotal systems of the Churches of England and Rome--can be traced back to the operation of a Jewish element but in most other instances there is disagreement.

He charges that the article in the Confession of Faith referring to infant baptism which was quoted by his opponent is "down right Puseyism" as it is a "sign and a seal," according to the Confession of Faith "of regeneration, of remission of sins." This is one of the few references he makes to infant baptism in this work.

His main object seems to be tracing the two families of the earth which he represents by Cain and Abel and relating these in many instances to Judaism and Christianity. There is much theological hair-splitting on both sides over the point- which group had a "believing, spiritual, regenerated heart." As with his controversy with Henry Drummond, so it is here, we find two conservative men quibbling, for the most part, over very minor issues. He draws heavily in the appendix on Dr. Erskine's Dissertation of the Nature of the Sinai Covenant to show that he, as a Baptist, was not the only one who held this view. Dr. Erskine agreed in almost all points with Haldane.

53. The Ministry of John the Baptist. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1850.

This is a review of the history of the life and work of John the Baptist, for the purpose of dealing with the baptism of John. He suggests that John's baptism was connected with the annunciation of the Saviour and that he felt it had no connection with the ceremonial purification of the old dispensation. He declared that the chief object in John's baptism was to manifest the Lord by picturing His death, burial and resurrection. Infant baptism is compared to baptism by immersion to show what he considers to be the defects of the former. He says that John's baptism was a valid one and "there is no reason to suppose that any of those baptised by John were

rebaptised by the apostles." He mentions the baptism of Apollos and the twelve disciples Paul found at Ephesus in an attempt to prove his point.

54. The Pharisee and the Publican. Second Edition. Edinburgh: W. P. Kennedy. 1851.

55. The Revelation of God's Righteousness. Third Edition. 1851.

56. Baptism as it Embodies the Grand Doctrines of the Gospel. With Remarks on Dr. M'Crie's Recent Work. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1851.

He was in the process of writing this book when he died in 1851. It was published without correction or alteration by his son later the same year and included a chapter which was only partially complete. He discusses the Scriptural meaning of baptism; one of his main efforts was to show how the alteration of Scriptural baptism would effect the doctrines of man's fall and the atonement. He reverts to a refutation of infant baptism and devotes the greater part of the book to this subject. He discusses infant baptism in relation to the Abrahamic covenant, charging again that a misconception of this covenant lies at the foundation of infant baptism.

He gives an estimate of M'Crie's Lectures on Baptism from which he differs only in minor points, with the one major exception that he says M'Crie avows himself an advocate of hereditary Christianity with which he disagrees violently. He declares if the church gives the ordinance of baptism to the infant it is under an equal

obligation to give the ordinance of the Lord's Supper to the infant as well.

57. Notes Intended for an Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Printed from the Unpublished Manuscripts of the Late James A. Haldane. London: James Nisbet and Company. 1860.

Shortly before his death, he had preached on the major themes of the Book of Hebrews in his public ministrations. He had written it out in note form with the intention of expanding it before he would have it published. His correspondence at that time indicated his great interest in the work. It was published nine years after his death, not as a finished exposition but as notes intended for an exposition. Unlike his Exposition of Galatians this is purely a verse by verse commentary. It ranks with his work on the atonement as his best work. He gives a clear exposition of several of the more difficult passages of the Book. Critics praised the work and expressed regret that it could not have been expanded.

58. The Opening of the Apostolic Commission. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company. 1864.

This was first published as an appendix to his Exposition of Galatians. It is reprinted here separately exactly as it first appeared sixteen years before.

59. In the year 1847, he both edited and enlarged one of his brother's books at the request of the publisher. It was, Haldane, Robert, The Books of the Old and New Testaments, Proved to be Canonical, and their Verbal Inspiration

Maintained and Established; With an Account of the Introduction and the Character of the Apocrypha. Sixth Edition, Enlarged, Edited by J. A. Haldane. Edinburgh: 1847.

60. Other books published by James A. Haldane are listed below, the dates of which are not known nor are they to be found in any of the major libraries in Great Britain at this time.

1. On Indecision in Religion.
2. Memoir of James Meldrum.
3. Summary of Divine Revelation.

61. In addition to the works listed above, the author also wrote and published many widely circulated tracts. Some of the best known were:

1. "The Great Salvation"
2. "Salvation to the Guilty"
3. "On the Atonement"
4. "Address from a Stranger"

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