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ANDREW A. BONAR

(At the age of 75. By courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. H.W. Brown, Bournemouth.)
ANDREW A. BONAR
(1810-1892):
A STUDY OF HIS LIFE,
WORK, AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

By
Robert E. Palmer, A.B., B.D.

A Thesis
Submitted to
the Faculty of Divinity
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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

May, 1955
To

My Wife
PREFACE

The name of Andrew Alexander Bonar probably first brings to mind the book: Memoir of M'Cheyne. Many people remember him also as the beloved pastor and preacher of the Collace Church, and later of the Finnieston Church in Glasgow. It is often overlooked that he was regarded by his contemporaries as a respected writer on various subjects, and as a great moral influence in the Church. This thesis represents an attempt to investigate the life, work, and religious thought of Bonar, and to present the results of that investigation objectively, critically, and constructively.

The study of Andrew Bonar is also the study of a spirit which he represents - Scottish Evangelicalism in the nineteenth century. The history of Scottish Evangelicalism during that time is difficult to write. There is so vast a quantity of informative material that the industry of a Rancke might be submerged by it, and the perspicacity of a Gibbon would perhaps hesitate before it. Yet, through the study of one man, viewed in correct relationship to his time, much can be learned of the spirit he represents, and of the age in which he lived.

Andrew Bonar, however, is not merely a symptom of the past, but he has a value for his own sake. Samuel Johnson once said that a biographer should thoroughly know the subject of his biography, and should eat and drink with him. The present author has attempted to do this - to read
Bonar's writings, talk with the people he knew, visit the places he lived, note what others have said about him, and examine the background of his life. This study has revealed the great work which Bonar accomplished in his own time, and the abiding significance which he has even for our day.

Because his world is so near to us in time, and we have inherited many of its characteristics and difficulties, we might be inclined to underestimate its dissimilarities from the world of today. On the other hand, many of the differences are superficial, and, underneath the surface, people have the same needs and longings now as then. Thus, the study of Bonar is not only of academic and antiquarian interest, but it is also of practical value for present religion.

It is surprising to learn that no previous study of Bonar has been attempted. At his death, his daughter Marjory edited his Diary. She also published a number of his papers, along with certain recollections of her father, in a book entitled, Reminiscences. At the same time, Fergus Ferguson, a Glasgow minister, published a memorial volume, which is primarily a collection of "Tributes to the Greatness of Dr. Bonar." It contains quotations from Bonar's writings; though less than twenty pages are devoted to his life, and in these pages there are exaggerations and inaccuracies. References to Bonar's life are also to be found in Scott's Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, Wylie's Disruption Worthies, W. Robertson Nicoll's Princes of the
Church, and in the Dictionary of National Biography.

Apart from such brief notices, however, no attempt has been made to investigate Bonar's life, work, or thought.

It would be unfortunate were Andrew Bonar to be forgotten among the pages of the past. That he is not remembered more is probably due to the fact that the order for which he stood has now largely passed away. Also, his life was so subordinate to his work that most writers have taken but scant notice of him. It is hoped that the present thesis may, in some measure, serve to perpetuate his memory, and help to further the high ideals which he represented.

The present author has uncovered many manuscript materials. He learned that a grandson of Andrew Bonar, A.R. Bonar, was living in Fetcham, Surrey. In the garage of that grandson, the writer discovered a trunk, which had been unopened since the time of Bonar's death, containing a large number of his diaries, journals, sermons, letters, and miscellaneous papers. Other papers were discovered in the home of Bonar's grand-daughter, Mrs. H.W. Brown, in Bournemouth. Some manuscript materials were also located in Edinburgh libraries, and a few were found in the churches served by Bonar. Other materials were sent to the present author by those still living who knew Bonar. Conversations with these persons afforded more information. Due to the incorporation of these materials into the thesis, certain sections have been lengthened, especially Part II.

Part I of the thesis is a brief introduction to
Scottish life as it was at the time of Bonar's birth. Part II is an account of his life. Affairs of Church and State, and various religious movements, are dealt with only inasmuch as they relate to an understanding of that life. Part III is a discussion of his activities, specifically as a preacher, pastor, writer, and theologian. Part IV contains a brief study of his character, along with certain concluding reflections.


It is not possible to express adequately one's appreciation of all those who have so kindly assisted in
conference and correspondence. The names of some of these appear in the footnotes throughout the thesis. Many have replied to letters sent out by the present author, and many others have written in response to advertisements placed in the Scotsman, the Glasgow Herald, the London Times, the Manchester Guardian, and the Church of Scotland periodical, Life and Work.

Acknowledgement must also be made of the courtesy and the assistance extended by the staffs of the following libraries:

- New College Library, Edinburgh
- University of Edinburgh Library
- National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
- Church of Scotland Library (Tolbooth), Edinburgh
- Free Church College Library, Edinburgh
- Public Library, Edinburgh
- Register House, Edinburgh
- Signet Library, Edinburgh
- Trinity College Library, Glasgow
- Mitchell Library, Glasgow
- Christ's College Library, Aberdeen
- University of St. Andrews Library
- Cambridge University Library
- Bodleian Library, Oxford
- British Museum Library, London
- Dr. William's Library, London.

The references in this work have been verified, in the hope of diminishing the possibility of error.

The spelling, punctuation, and grammar throughout this thesis, with the exception of direct quotations, which are true to the sources, follow standard American usage.

Edinburgh, Scotland

May 1, 1955

Robert E. Palmer
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frontispiece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronology of Bonar's Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronological List of Bonar's Major Writings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations Employed for Manuscript Materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brief Synopsis of the Thesis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## PART I

**PROLEGOMENA**

Chapter

I. **SCOTLAND DURING THE EARLY PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**  3

Introduction - The nineteenth century was an age of intense vitality - It was also a period of flux - Politics: The old system; The rise of reform - Economics: The Industrial Revolution; Its relation to Evangelicalism; Textiles; Metallurgical industries; Transportation and communication; Agriculture - Social Life: A higher standard of living for most people; Inadequate and unhealthy conditions for many others - Culture: Educational improvements; Increased intellectual activity - Religion: Ascendancy of Evangelicalism; Evangelicals and Moderates distinguished; Evangelical influence in Scotland - Conclusion.
# PART II

**LIFE OF ANDREW BONAR**

## II. EARLY LIFE

### A. Beginning a Life (1810-1825)


### B. Attending the University (1825-1831)

Bonar's matriculation at the University of Edinburgh - Condition of the university - His professors - His academic distinctions - Student life - Membership in the Theological Society - The Classical Society: Minutes and meetings of the society; His early opinions - Commencement of the Diary - Delay of his entrance into the Divinity Hall - Period of uncertainty - Determining influences: Friendships; Literature; Ministers; Edward Irving - His acceptance of premillennial views - His gradual conversion - He becomes a member of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel.

### C. Preparing for the Ministry (1831-1835)

Bonar's entrance into the Edinburgh Divinity Hall - His professors: Brunton; Welsh; Chalmers, his influence upon Bonar - His membership in the Exegetical Society: Meetings and minutes of the society; Bonar's essays, a reflection of his opinions - The Prophetic Society - The Visiting Society: Bonar's endeavors among the poor people of Edinburgh; He was concerned, not with social amelioration, but with the salvation of souls - His activities during summer vacations.
### Chapter II.

**D. Serving in Jedburgh (1835-1836) ... 65**  
Bonar's Licensing by the Presbytery of Jedburgh - The parish of Jedburgh: Community life; The historic Abbey - Influence of John Purves upon Bonar - Life in the Manse - His friends - His experiences of preaching and pastoral work - Youth work - His devotional life - Candidate for a church - His call to Edinburgh - His strong attachment for the people of Jedburgh.

**E. Laboring in Edinburgh (1836-1838) .... 73**  
Edinburgh life in 1836 - History of St. George's Church: Andrew Thomson; Robert Candlish - Bonar chosen as assistant to R.S. Candlish - Influence of Candlish upon Bonar - Bonar's feeling of depression - Parish duties - His interest in Christian missions to the Jews - His friendships - Invitations from other churches - The call to Collace - His removal to Collace - Conclusion.

### Chapter III.

**COLLACE MINISTRY ................... 80**

**A. Proclaiming the Gospel (1836-1839) ... 81**  
Introduction - The Parish of Collace: The rural scene; Life in Collace; History of the parish - Bonar's ordination to the ministry - His introduction to the congregation by R.S. Candlish - Opposition from the senior minister, John Rogers, a Moderate - Bonar's evangelical spirit - Energetic fulfillment of his parish duties - Preaching and pastoral work - His home life - His association with ministerial friends from other parishes.

**B. Furthering Mission and Revival (1838-1840) .................. 92**  
Awakening of the Church to its missionary obligation - The Church of Scotland's "Mission of Inquiry to the Jews" - Bonar chosen as a member of the deputation - His hesitancy in leaving his congregation - Departure - Itinerary - Letters written during the trip - His impressions of the voyage - Return to
Chapter III. Scotland - Continuing interest in missions to the Jews - Revival in Collace and vicinity - His concern for the spiritual welfare of his people - Evidences of revival - Death of M'Cheyne - Bonar's grief.

C. Maintaining a Principle (1838-1843) 105
The relation of Church and State in Scotland - The problem of Patronage - The Veto Act - The Chapel Act - Differing views regarding the relationship of Church and State - Court cases - Bonar's part in the case of Strathbogie - He attends the Assembly in 1842 - Assembly measures - His concern for the future of the Church - He attends the Convocation of 1842 - He joins the Free Church of Scotland in 1843 - His account of the Disruption proceedings - He signs the "Act of Separation and Deed of Demission" - The part played by Bonar in the Disruption.

D. Entering a New Life (1843-1848) 117
Bonar becomes the Free Church Minister in Collace - His people faithfully follow him - Meeting in a tent - New church building - Increase in the spiritual life of the people - Bonar's influence beyond his own parish - Speaking and writing - Invitations to come elsewhere - His acquaintance with Isabella Dickson - Her background and temperament similar to Bonar's - A Victorian courtship - Their restraint of emotion - Their devoted love for one another - Marriage - Birth of children - Family life.

E. Ministering to His People (1848-1856) 129
Bonar's fidelity to his pastoral work - Preaching - Communion seasons - Bible classes and prayer meetings - Interest in the youth - Evangelistic emphasis of his ministry - Prayer, the basis of Bonar's life and work - His observance of Fasts - Writing - Travelling - Vacation seasons - Interest in the courts of the Church - Moderator of Perth Presbytery in 1847 and 1854 - Discouragement with his ministry -
Chapter III. Invitations from other churches - Desire to be a missionary in Glasgow - Call from Glasgow - His removal to Glasgow - Conclusion.

IV. GLASGOW MINISTRY ............................................. 142

A. Building a Church (1856-1863) ............ 143

Introduction - Scottish life during the second half of the century - Glasgow in 1856 - Bonar's conception of the city - The Finnieston district - Presbytery efforts to establish a mission station - The beginnings of the Finnieston Free Church - Induction service - Small number of people - First services - Church helpers - Expanding activities - Increased membership - His success in directing the affairs of the church - Family events - The Revival of 1859-1860 - His interest and participation in the revival - Visits to Irish and Scottish revival scenes - Awakening in Finnieston.

B. Bearing the Cross (1864-1873) .......... 156

Death of Bonar's wife - His grief and mourning - Continuation of his labors - Death of friends - Family interests - The Union Controversy (1863-1873) - Early efforts towards union between the United Presbyterian and Free Church denominations - Bonar's attitude - Approval in 1867 by the United Presbyterian Synod of the Articles of Agreement - Minority opposition in the Free Church - The emergence of a middle party - His opposition to union - His opinion as stated in Ecclesiastical Obedience - Threat of a division - His desire for a peaceful settlement.

C. Extending the Kingdom (1874-1878) ...... 175

Bonar's active ministry in his own church and beyond - Receives D.D. degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1874 - Active interest in evangelistic endeavors - The Moody-Sankey Campaign in Great Britain (1873-1875): Beginnings; Missions in Edinburgh, Glasgow, London; Bonar's assistance in the campaigns; Results; His
Chapter IV. relations with Moody - Bonar's part in Glasgow religious life: Home missions; Conversion of the Jews - Moderator of Glasgow Presbytery in 1877 - Finnieston's new building - Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly in 1878.

D. Defending the Faith (1877-1890) ....... 191

Rise of the Critical Movement in Scotland - The Robertson Smith Case - Robertson Smith's views - Differing opinions in the Free Church - The trial of Smith - Bonar's position as Moderator of the General Assembly - His opposition to Robertson Smith and the attitude of the "higher critics" - His views expressed in A Protest for Reverence - The Dods-Bruce Case - Bonar's earlier action against Dods - Bonar's continued opposition to Dods and Bruce - His "Statement" on the case - Appraisal of Bonar's attitude towards Biblical criticism.

E. Running the Race (1879-1887) ........... 207

Bonar's continuing ministry - Finnieston Church activities: Sunday services; His ideas on worship; Communion times; Meetings; Classes; Lectures - Interest in children and their conversion - Finnieston Mission endeavors - His lack of social concern: An advocate of strict Sabbath Observance; Temperance efforts; He was interested primarily in men's souls - His visit to America in 1881 - Semi-Jubilee celebration in 1881 - Moody Revival Campaign in 1881-1882 - Bonar's participation in the Keswick Conventions - Vacation times - Avocations.

F. Ending the Pilgrimage (1888-1892) ....... 222

Bonar's Ministerial Jubilee Celebration in 1888 - Death of his friends - His continuing activities - Advent Conference in 1888 - Participation in the Moody Campaign of 1891-1892 - His interest in revival - Effects of old age - Need for a colleague - D.M. M'Intyre chosen as Colleague and Successor - Harmonious relationship between the two ministers - Bonar's last efforts - His sudden death - His funeral - His continuing influence - Conclusion.
PART III

ACTIVITIES OF ANDREW BONAR

V. PREACHING AND PASTORAL MINISTRY .......... 230

A. Background ......................... 232

Introduction - The significance of the pulpit in Scotland - Characteristics of the Scottish pulpit during Bonar's ministry - Duration of his ministry - Extent of his preaching activities - The number of his extant sermons in manuscript and published form - His convictions regarding the significance of preaching - His conception of the relationship between the preaching and the pastoral offices - His high regard for the pastoral ministry - Conclusion.

B. Homiletical Method: Exposition .......... 240

Introduction - Bonar's method throughout his sermons is expository - His selection of texts - His knowledge of the original languages - His familiarity with Scripture - His endeavors to present the whole Word of God - Table, showing the "Distribution of the Texts Employed in Andrew Bonar's Sermons" - The wide range of his texts - His preference for those Biblical books which seemed especially to serve the inner life - Preaching upon difficult texts - The variety in his expositions - Preaching upon Biblical characters - Conclusion.

C. Homiletical Preparation and Delivery . 250

Introduction - Bonar's intellectual preparation: Wide reading; Personal observations and experience; Use of the Bible - His spiritual preparation: Prayer and meditation; His conviction that "Holiness is the great secret of a full way of preaching" - His use of notes in the pulpit - Factors contributing towards the effectiveness of his delivery: His impressive pulpit appearance; His rich, forceful voice; His gladness; His earnestness; The unction with which he spoke - Reports of his listeners - The length of his sermons - Conclusion.
D. Homiletical Style and Structure

Introduction - Some outstanding features of Bonar's style: Naturalness; Simplicity; Poetic quality; Imaginative-ness; Use of illustrations; Biblical character - His concern for sermon structure - His deductive approach - Types of sermon structure resulting from this approach - His three, four, and five-point sermons - His occasional use of an inductive or of a Hegelian approach - His sermon introductions and conclusions - Conclusion.

E. Homiletical Characteristics

Introduction - Some prominent characteristics of Bonar's sermons - Doctrinal content - Christocentric message: Christ, the subject of all Scripture; Bonar's desire to proclaim Jesus Christ - Eschatological theme - Emphasis upon "the personal holiness of the believer" - Experiential nature: He preached only what he himself experienced and believed - Evangelistic purpose: His desire to "win men to Christ"; The perils of indecision; The urgency of decision; The evangelism of children - Conclusion.

F. Pastoralia

Introduction - The significance of the pastoral ministry - Bonar had the "shepherd's heart" - His great love for people - His extensive pastoral efforts - His faithfulness - His pastoral ministry continued until the time of his death - His procedure in making a pastoral call - His attention to the sick and the sorrowful - His concern for his people's needs - His especial interest in their spiritual welfare - His desire to convert men was the integrating factor in all of Bonar's activities as a pastor - Concluding reflections upon his preaching and pastoral ministry - The importance of his character and life - Conclusion.
## Chapter VI: LITERARY ENDEAVORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Background</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Missionary Writings</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Biographical Writings</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A. Background

- **Introduction** - Extent of Bonar's writings - His literary career -
- **Relation of godliness to learning** -
- **His scholarship** - His attitude towards his studies - Refuses the opportunities of a Hebrew Professorship and a Cunningham Lectureship - His wide reading - His interest in the Bible -
- **His opinions on various authors and books** - His correspondence.

### B. Missionary Writings

- **Introduction** - Bonar's interest in missions - His Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews - The question of the authorship of the volume - A brief sketch of the journey to Europe and the Near East - What the Narrative reveals about Bonar's conception of the Mission of the Christian Church: The necessity of missions; the problems confronting the Church's mission; the need for evangelism - Evaluation of the volume - Palestine for the Young -
- **Bonar's desire to interest others in the Jewish people, and in their conversion** -
- **Nature of the volume** - Conclusion.

### C. Biographical Writings

- **Introduction** - Bonar's interest in individuals - His conception of the dual purpose of biography - His editing of biography - Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne - Its wide circulation - Bonar's view of events sub specie aeternitatis - His particular interest in M'Cheyne's conversion and death - Similarity of Bonar and M'Cheyne - Influences of the Memoir - Tributes to the work - Memoir of the Rev. David Sandeman - Its similarities to the biography of M'Cheyne - Criticisms: Lengthiness; Dis-proportionate arrangement of materials; Preponderance of the moralistic element -
- **James Scott, A Labourer for God** - Use of anecdotes - Lack of organization - Bonar's references to himself - Summary of Bonar's biographical writings: His hagiography;
Chapter VI. Advantages and disadvantages of this type of writing; His use of materials; His deductive approach - Conclusion.

D. Expository Writings ...................... 321

Introduction - "Readings in I Chronicles" - Contents - Bonar's method of exposition - The significance of Hebrew names - Commentary on the Book of Leviticus - Writing - Bonar's exposition is pre-critical - His Biblical scholarship - Contents of Leviticus - Examples of Bonar's exposition - His Christocentric emphasis - The homiletic character of his commentary - The spiritual value of Leviticus - Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms - Titles of the Psalms - Examples of Bonar's exposition - His tendency to sermonize - His appreciation of the Psalms - Bonar's principles of interpretation: Linguistic; Historical; Empirical; Theological; Practical - Conclusion.

E. Devotional Writings ...................... 338

Introduction - Samuel Rutherford's Letters - Bonar's interest in Rutherford - Fourteen Communion Sermons of Samuel Rutherford - Quaint Sermons of Samuel Rutherford - Reminiscences of Andrew A. Bonar - Heavenly Springs - Wayside Wells - Diary and Letters - The manuscript Diary - Problems relating to the study of Bonar's Diary - Changes made in the published Diary - The Diary was intended as a private record - Its cursory treatment of world events - It is primarily a record of his inner life - Dangers of excessive self-consciousness - Popularity and influence of the Diary - Its adequate portrayal of Bonar's spiritual history - Conclusion.

F. Practical Writings ...................... 346

Introduction - The Visitor's Book of Texts; or, The Word Brought Nigh to the Sick and Sorrowful - Its purpose - Outline of the book - Examples from it - Its emphases - The Brook Besor - Summary of Contents - Its style - Value of Bonar's practical writings - Concluding reflections regarding Bonar's literary endeavors: Literary worth of his writings; Their
value in revealing Bonar's thoughts and ideals; Characteristics of his writings; His writings were an integral part of his ministry - Conclusion.

VII. THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT ..................... 354

A. Background ..................... 355

Introduction - Movements of thought influencing nineteenth century theology - Rationalism, and its positive strain: Credal dogma; The development of Christian Apologetics - Rationalism's reactionary strain: Evangelicalism; Wesleyanism; Romanticism - Theological thought in Scotland: Evangelicals and Moderates; The Evangelical Revival; Theological changes during the nineteenth century - Bonar represents the spirit of Scottish Evangelicalism - Sources of his theology: Scottish Evangelicals; Calvinism; The Bible; Experience - His theological writings - Purpose of this chapter: to set forth the leading ideas in Bonar's theological thought.

B. The Person of Christ ............... 364

Bonar's theology was profoundly Christocentric - All other doctrines were interpreted in the light of his Chalcedonian Christology - The prominent position of Christology in nineteenth century thought - Bonar's ideas regarding the pre-existence of Christ: Christ, the world's Redeemer "from the Fall till now"; God's covenant of grace with mankind - Bonar's conception of the two natures of Christ: God and man in one person; The practical advantages of this doctrine; His Alexandrian emphasis upon the divinity, rather than upon the humanity, of Christ's person - Bonar's objections to Arianism and to Socinianism - The person of Christ reveals the fatherly nature of God, and the sinful nature of man - The intimate relationship, in Bonar's thought, between the person and the work of Christ.
Chapter VII.

C. The Work of Christ

The person of Christ is the One Who accomplishes the Atonement - The meaning of Christ's death - Bonar's sacrificial conception of the Atonement - Old Testament influence - Sacrifice, its significance as set forth in Leviticus - Christ, Himself, is the Sacrifice; He atones for man's sin, and reconciles the world to God the Father - Bonar speaks not only of an objective Atonement, but also of its subjective appropriation - Union with Christ - Bonar's firm belief in the sovereignty of God, and in the doctrine of election - He also firmly believed in the universal offer of God's free salvation to all men - In this, he was especially influenced by the "Marrow Theology" - He said that the solution to the apparent inconsistency of these doctrines lies ultimately with the person of Christ.

D. The Believer's Life in Christ

The work of the Holy Spirit in the life of a believer - Bonar emphasized the believer's inner experience, though he was not a mystic - The importance of the Bible in the life of a believer - The nature of the believer's life: "Union to Christ's Person" - Bonar believed that sanctification is to be attained by "Looking to the Person of Christ" - Though "personal holiness" is possible, the believer is still engaged in a lifelong struggle with sin - The believer can be assured of salvation - Bonar also spoke of the social expression of the believer's life in Christ, namely, the Church - He affirmed the Lordship of Christ over both the Church and the State - He spoke of the Church as the Body of Christ - He emphasized the Christocentric nature of the Sacraments of the Church: Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

E. The Second Coming of Christ

The eschatological emphasis throughout Bonar's thought - He spoke of the
comfort afforded to believers by this doctrine - He believed in the imminence of Christ's Second Coming - Bonar's premillennial views, though not new in the history of thought, were regarded in his day as peculiar - The influence of Edward Irving - Premillennialism in the Bible - Bonar's pessimistic view of the world - He was not dogmatic about his Premillenarianism - The Christocentric nature of his eschatology - His conception of the intermediate state of the righteous and the wicked - Precursors of Christ's Second Coming - The First Resurrection - Bonar's view of the sequence of events during the millennial period - The final victory of Christ over Satan - The Second Resurrection and the Great Judgement - Eternal rewards and punishments.

F. Conclusion .................................. 407

Bonar's debt to evangelical Calvinism - His innate conservatism - His theology was his own - The absence of systematization in his theology - Every doctrine was considered in the light of his high conception of Christology - The practical aim of his theology - The experiential nature of his theology - His theology was grounded firmly upon the Bible - The main emphases of his theology - Though he claimed strictly to maintain the Westminster Standards, yet, his type of thinking contributed towards a less strict interpretation of them - His theology might be classified as a modified Calvinism - His significance for Scottish Theology - He occupied a mediating position between certain "radical ideas" and the hyper-Calvinism of his day - Conclusion.

PART IV

EPILLOGUE

VIII. CHARACTER ........................................ 415

A. Introduction ..................................... 417

Introduction - Bonar's strong character

xix
undergirded his entire ministry -
Negative aspects of his personality:
"Hebraism"; Melancholic; Unrealistic -
These are over-shadowed by the
greatness of his character - He was a
saint - He lived sub specie
aeternitatis - He viewed the life of
man in the light of God.

B. Practice of Prayer ................. 421

Bonar often spoke of prayer, and made it
an integral part of his ministry - He
believed that prayer was the most
important part of his life - It was a
regular habit for him - His deep sense
of blameworthiness in the neglect of
prayer - The close relationship he
recognized between his spiritual effective-
ness and his prayer life - The prominence
of the element of intercession in his
prayers - Prayer as a constitutive factor
of the Christian life.

C. Feeling of Unworthiness ............ 425

Bonar was conspicuous as a pattern of
humility - His mild disposition - His
desire to be meek and lowly - His
feeling of unworthiness evinced itself
in many ways; three of these, in
particular, may be mentioned: His frank
confessions of secret pride; His
willingness to be obscure and unnoticed;
His own estimate of himself.

D. Spirit of Love .......................... 429

Bonar's experience of the love of Christ,
and his devoted love for Christ - He
demonstrated this by his loving efforts
in behalf of men - Even in times of
controversy, he regarded his opponents
with kindness - His consideration for
others, as shown in his ministry - His
friendly relations with Christians of
other denominations - His ministry was
a "labour of love."

E. Attitude of Firmness ................. 433

Bonar's firmness was demonstrated by his
personal life - It was also evidenced
by the firm position he adopted regarding certain controversial issues - His steadfast adherence to his principles - His nickname of "Old Obstinate" - His firmness in proclaiming the Gospel was based upon his conviction that it was God's message, and upon his own experience of that Gospel.

F. Sense of Humor .................................... 436

Bonar was called "the sunniest of saintly men" - His joyful spirit was founded upon his conviction that all things rest in the hands of God - His joviality was especially evident in the company of family and friends - His playfulness was evidenced in his correspondence - His habit of writing comic verse - His humor as a pastor and preacher, and at the General Assembly - Conclusion.

IX. CONCLUSION ........................................ 440

A. Summary of Bonar's Ministry .............. 441

Introduction - His personal relationship to God in Christ was the basis of his life, the strength of his work, and the guiding principle of his thought - His devoted and strenuous efforts - He was a "Man of Iron" - His participation in the affairs of the whole Church - The local parish, however, was his unit of activity - Concluding reflections regarding his ministry as a pastor, preacher, writer, and theologian.

B. Characteristics of Bonar's Ministry .... 446

His ministry may be characterized as:
(1) Evangelistic; He regarded evangelism as an all-important task of the Church, and was himself an evangelist in all his endeavors - (2) Limited; He failed to take sufficient account of the world at large - (3) Individualistic; He was interested in individual persons - (4) Biblical; The Bible was his treasury, authority, and guide - (5) Spiritual; There was an "otherworldly" aspect of his life, and he viewed all things in the light of eternity.
C. Estimate of Bonar's Ministry .......... 451

The difficulty of estimating Bonar's significance - He was a representative of Evangelicalism in the nineteenth century Scottish Church - He was also a member of a smaller group within the Evangelical party: a "School of Saints" - His varied ministry proved to be effective for many people - His influence upon his family - His influence upon the churches he served - The results of his interest in the conversion of the Jews - His influence upon young men - The importance of his character - His value for the present lies largely in the ideal he set as a saintly, dedicated, able, and indefatigable minister of Jesus Christ - His greatness - Conclusion.

APPENDICES .................................................. xxxi

BIBLIOGRAPHY ............................................. xli

xxii
CHRONOLOGY OF BONAR'S LIFE

1810
Birth (May 29) in Edinburgh

1825
Entered University of Edinburgh

1831
Entered Divinity Hall, Edinburgh

1835
Licensed as a preacher, Jedburgh

1836
Chosen Assistant to R.S. Candlish, St. George's, Edinburgh

1838
Ordained to the ministry at Collace

1839
Mission of Inquiry to the Jews

1839
Beginning of a Revival in the Collace area

1843
Joined the Free Church of Scotland

1847
Moderatorship of the Perth Presbytery

1848
Marriage to Isabella Dickson

1854
Second Moderatorship of the Perth Presbytery

1856
Transferred to the Finnieston Free Church, Glasgow

1859
Beginning of a Revival in Ireland and Scotland

1864
Death of wife

1863
Beginning of the Union Controversy

1873
Beginning of Moody's campaigns in Great Britain

1874
Received the D.D. from the University of Edinburgh

1876
Beginning of the Robertson Smith Case

1877
Moderatorship of the Glasgow Presbytery

1878
Moderatorship of the Free Church General Assembly

1879
Completion of new church building

1881
Visit to America

1888
Ministerial Jubilee

1890
The Dods-Bruce Case

1892
Death (December 30) in Glasgow
CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BONAR'S MAJOR WRITINGS

1842  Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews
1844  Memoir and Remains of Robert M'Cheyne
1846  A Commentary on the Book of Leviticus
1847  Redemption Drawing Nigh
1848  Letters of Samuel Rutherford (ed.)
1851  Anderson's Winter Night (ed.)
1852  The Gospel Pointing to the Person of Christ
1853  The Old Gospel Way
1853  Emelia Geddie: A Child of the Covenant
1854  Tyler's Nettleton and His Labours (ed.)
1856  The Visitor's Book of Texts
1859  Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms
1861  Memoir of David Sandeman
1865  Palestine for the Young
1876  Rutherford's Communion Sermons (ed.)
1878  Gospel Truths
1879  The Brook Besor
1880  Scots Worthies (ed.)
1885  James Scott, A Labourer for God
1885  Rutherford's Quaint Sermons (ed.)
1893  Diary and Letters (posthumous)
1895  Reminiscences (posthumous)
1904  Heavenly Springs (posthumous)
1908  Wayside Wells (posthumous)
[1936] Sheaves After Harvest (posthumous)
ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED FOR MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS

All manuscript materials are arranged in the Bibliography according to their location. Since such materials are used extensively throughout the thesis, the following abbreviations have been employed. When a manuscript is cited in a foot-note, it is preceded by one of the following abbreviations, designating its location. Both the abbreviation, and the title of the manuscript, are enclosed within inverted commas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Location/Author</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;AMS&quot;</td>
<td>Synod of Perth and Stirling, Auchterarder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;BMS&quot;</td>
<td>Bournemouth, England (Mr. &amp; Mrs. H.W. Brown)</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;CSMS&quot;</td>
<td>Church of Scotland Library, Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;CMS&quot;</td>
<td>Collace Church, Collace</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;FMS&quot;</td>
<td>Finnieston Church, Glasgow</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;NCMS&quot;</td>
<td>New College Library, Edinburgh</td>
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<td>&quot;PMS&quot;</td>
<td>Robert E. Palmer, Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;PPMS&quot;</td>
<td>Presbytery of Perth, Perth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;RHMS&quot;</td>
<td>Register House, Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;SGMS&quot;</td>
<td>St. George's Church, Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;SMIS&quot;</td>
<td>Fetcham, Surrey (Mr. &amp; Mrs. A.R. Bonar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;UEMS&quot;</td>
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Chapter I. Scotland During the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century

During the early part of the nineteenth century, Scottish life was in a state of flux. In the political sphere the watchword was - Reform! In the economic realm, greatly influenced by the Industrial Revolution, significant material gains were made. Whereas these benefited the upper and the middle classes, they often resulted in inadequate and unhealthy social conditions for the workers. On the other hand, the general cultural level of the population was raised. In the religious life of the nation, there was in evidence an Evangelical revival, with the resultant ascendency of the Evangelical party in Church affairs. As a member of this party, Andrew Alexander Bonar was to take his place.

Chapter II. Early Life

Andrew Bonar was born in Edinburgh in 1810, into a pious, devoted family. He later attended the high school and the university in Edinburgh, where he won academic distinction. During these years, several factors contributed towards his eventual conversion in 1830. In 1831 he entered the Divinity Hall, where he was distinguished for his intellectual attainments and for his efforts among the poor. He also participated in the activities of several student societies. In 1835, he became the assistant minister to John Purves in Jedburgh, where he gained valuable experience. From 1836 till 1838 he served as the assistant to Robert Candlish, in St. George's Church, Edinburgh, where, in addition to his parish duties, he expressed a deep interest in missions.

Chapter III. Collace Ministry

Bonar began his Collace ministry in 1838. In 1839 he visited Palestine on a "Mission of Inquiry to the Jews." Upon his return, the rural parish of Collace, and the surrounding area, witnessed a season of revival. Though not an ecclesiastic, he took part in the Disruption of 1843. At that time, followed by most of his congregation, he joined the Free Church of Scotland. His labors as a Free
Church minister in Collace were highly successful: a new church was built, and an increase in the spiritual life of his people was evident. In 1848 he married Isabella Dickson. This marriage proved to be a happy one for both he and his wife, and several children were born to them. In 1847 and again in 1854 he was elected as the Moderator of the Perth Presbytery. Through his varied activities - preaching, teaching, pastoral work, and writing - both within his own parish and beyond, he was enabled to exercise a singularly effective ministry.

Chapter IV. Glasgow Ministry

Bonar was transferred to the mission church of Finnieston, Glasgow in 1856. From a handful of believers, he built the church into one of the largest and most active congregations in the city. During the Revival of 1859-1860, he took a leading part in the meetings. In 1864 he suffered the loss of his wife. During the Union Controversy of 1863-1873, he was led to oppose a union with the United Presbyterian Church. The Moody-Sankey Campaign of 1873-1875, marked an epoch in the life of Bonar; it called forth the best of his efforts, and his succeeding ministry was richer because of it. He also took an active part in many other aspects of Glasgow's religious life. Earthly honors came to him in the form of a D.D. degree from Edinburgh University, the Moderatorship of the Glasgow Presbytery, and the Moderatorship of the General Assembly in 1878. His view of the Bible led him to oppose the findings of higher criticism, as put forth by Robertson Smith, Dods, and Bruce. He was able to continue his active, varied, and successful ministry, and maintain his many interests, almost unabated, till only a short time before his sudden death on December 30, 1892.

Chapter V. Preaching and Pastoral Ministry

Andrew Bonar began his ministry during the time when the Evangelical Revival was making itself felt in the Scottish Church. Throughout his long career, his ministry retained its evangelical characteristics. It is possible to formulate an adequate picture of his preaching, since over two hundred of his sermons have been preserved, in manuscript and published form, dating from 1845 till 1892. His method of preaching was expository, and he endeavored to preach upon the whole Bible. He demonstrated a great variety in his treatment of Biblical texts and themes, and he displayed a particular fondness for preaching upon
Biblical characters. His sermons evidence his careful spiritual and intellectual preparation. The effectiveness of his sermon delivery was enhanced by his impressive pulpit appearance, his rich voice, his gladness, his earnestness, and the unction with which he spoke. In style, his sermons were natural, simple, poetic, imaginative, well-illustrated, and Biblical. He usually employed a deductive approach in formulating the structure of his sermons, which might have three, four, or five points. Throughout his sermons, certain characteristics are particularly in evidence; among these are: a doctrinal content, a Christocentric message, an emphasis upon the inner life, an experiential quality, and an evangelistic purpose. His extensive pastoral ministry was closely related to his preaching ministry. He had the "shepherd's heart," and took a deep interest in his people's needs, particularly in their spiritual welfare.

Chapter VI. Literary Endeavors

Andrew Bonar contributed several volumes and a multitude of lesser writings to the field of Christian Literature. While he wrote throughout his entire career, his most prolific period occurred during the Collace ministry. Though he was a capable scholar, he severely limited his literary work, as he thought it detracted from his usefulness as an evangelist and a pastor. His missionary writings, though now largely antiquated, are still of value as a study in the historical geography of Palestine. While his ideas on missionary aims, methods, and emphases were limited, he was nevertheless successful in furthering the cause of Jewish missions in his day. His biographical writings - didactic in purpose, ethical in tone, and deductive in method - were meant to commemorate the dead and to serve as models of Christian piety, devotion, and service. One of them, the Memoir of M'Cheyne, continues to exert a lasting influence to our own day. His expository writings, though pre-critical in outlook, were nevertheless written in a scholarly manner. Most of them are concerned with Old Testament passages. They demonstrate his consistent observance of certain basic linguistic, historical, empirical, theological, and practical principles of interpretation. His devotional writings are pervaded by a spirit of simplicity, humility, honesty, and a deep love for the person of Christ. His practical writings, though evidencing a certain sameness throughout, are an able attempt to relate the Scriptures to men's problems.
Chapter VII. Theological Thought

Andrew Bonar's theological thought resulted from the influence of several factors: Scottish evangelicalism, Calvinism, the Bible, and his own experience. His theology, while not systematic, was profoundly Christocentric, and all other doctrines were interpreted in the light of his Chalcedonian Christology. Christ's person reveals the fatherly nature of God, and the sinful nature of man. The work of Christ is fully understood only in terms of His living sacrifice. The objective work of Christ must be subjectively appropriated by faith, an idea which Bonar expressed in terms of the believer's union with Christ. Bonar taught both the sovereign election of God, and the universal offer of His salvation to all men, saying that the solution to their apparent inconsistency lies ultimately with the person of Christ. Bonar emphasized the work of the Holy Spirit, and the importance of the Bible, in the life of a believer. While recognizing that the believer is engaged in a lifelong struggle with sin, he stressed the importance of the "personal holiness" of the Christian. He regarded the Church as the Body of Christ, composed of individual members, and he maintained a high view of the Sacraments. The theme of the Second Coming of Christ, which Bonar believed will be premillennial, is prominent throughout all his thought. Though Bonar affirmed his fidelity to the Westminster Standards, yet, his type of thinking gradually led to a less strict interpretation of the Confession of Faith. On the whole, his theology was a modified Calvinism. Though his theological significance is limited, he may be regarded as occupying a mediating position between certain "radical ideas" and the hyper-Calvinism of his day.

Chapter VIII. Character

Bonar's life, work, and religious thought must be viewed in the light of his personal character. What he was, is so intimately related to what he did, that some knowledge of the former is essential to an adequate understanding of the latter. He was a saint: living his life sub specie aeternitatis. He viewed the life of man in the light of God. Among the most prominent of his characteristics, the following may be mentioned: his practice of prayer; his feeling of unworthiness; his spirit of love; his attitude of firmness; and his sense of humor. His saintly life was wedded to his great work, and both were supremely devoted to his Lord.
Chapter IX. Conclusion

Bonar's personal relationship to God in Christ was the basis of his life, the strength of his work, and the guiding principle of his thought. His ministry may be characterized as: (1) Evangelistic; (2) Limited; (3) Individualistic; (4) Biblical; (5) Spiritual. He is to be understood as a representative of Evangelicalism in the Scottish Church of the nineteenth century. Further, he was a member of a smaller group within the Evangelical party—a "School of Saints." He exercised an influence which was significant not only in his own day, but which continues even to the present time. His primary value for today, however, lies in the lofty ideal he set as a saintly, dedicated, able, and indefatigable minister of Jesus Christ.
PART I.

PROLEGOMENA
Chapter I.

SCOTLAND DURING THE EARLY PART
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
CHAPTER I

SCOTLAND DURING THE EARLY PART
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Lord, give us the light that shineth in the dark
world, and make us shine ourselves till the day dawn
and the Daystar arise, whose beams shall gladden and
sanctify our hearts to the full!
- Andrew Bonar, Commentary on
Leviticus, pp. 431f.

"Universal History, the history of what man has ac-
complished in this world is, at bottom, the History of the
Great Men who have worked here."¹ In this sentence,
Thomas Carlyle emphasized a significant consideration for the
historian. Likewise, Croce declared that history emerges
from the sub-historical only in so far as individuals
determine to act in specific circumstances.² Such a
consideration is especially relevant for the study of
Scottish history, as Peter Hume Brown points out:

Scottish history for many people, indeed,
consists of the biographies of prominent
personages with whom are identified the events
of their time. And what is noteworthy is
that these personages are not historical
characters in the ordinary sense: they are the
incarnation of different tendencies and ideals
which will never cease to evoke passion and
prejudice so long as the Scottish people

¹ Thomas Carlyle, On Heroes, Hero Worship and the Heroic
² John H.S. Burleigh, The City of God (London: Nisbet &
retains its distinctive character.\textsuperscript{1}

In the course of this thesis the attempt will be made to set forth the life and work of one who was a representative of Evangelicalism in the Scottish Church of the nineteenth century: Andrew Alexander Bonar. Curiously enough, no attempt to do this has previously been made. Yet, as John Buchan has said, "a great man lays upon posterity the duty of understanding him."\textsuperscript{2} Although Andrew Bonar cannot be considered as being great in the sense of which Buchan spoke, nevertheless his life is worthy of serious study. Of him it may also be said, "Behind him, largely explanatory of both the man and his work, lies the conundrum of his time."\textsuperscript{3}

Andrew Bonar lived during an age of intense vitality which revealed itself in many signs and wonders: in unfoldings of thought, in political change, in artistic and literary fruitfulness, in material advances, in religious revival. His life embraced the period of Waterloo, the Continental Revolutions of 1848, the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and the Civil War in the United States; of social and political reform, the Romantic Revival, the expansion of the British Empire, the rise of commercial and industrial enterprise, the conflict of Capital and Labor; of

\textsuperscript{1} Peter Hume Brown, \textit{Surveys of Scottish History} (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1919), pp. 6f. Note: In the preparation of Part I, the author has depended largely upon secondary sources in the attempt to portray briefly some leading aspects of the historical background, preparatory to a study of Andrew Bonar's life and work.


\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., pp. 20f.
scientific advance and discovery, and the beginnings of rapid communication and transportation. Among its prose writers were Scott, Macaulay, Thackeray, Dickens, Eliot, Emerson, Carlyle, and Ruskin; while its poetical literature extended from Wordsworth to Tennyson, and embraced Coleridge, Southey, Keats, Byron, Shelley, Longfellow, Stevenson, and the Brownings. In the realm of religion we witness the Evangelical Revival, the Tractarian Movement, the rise of "higher criticism," and the missionary enterprise. During the course of Parts II and III, some of these topics will concern us in our study of Bonar's life and activity. However, let us now briefly consider some of the dominant features of Scottish life during the early part of the nineteenth century.

One of the earliest recollections of Andrew Bonar was the firing of the guns at Edinburgh Castle in 1815, announcing the victory of Wellington over Napoleon at Waterloo. At this time there was no telegraph system, but couriers hastened with the glad tidings. When they reached Scotland there was great rejoicing, as the nation looked forward to a period of peace and progress. Henry Cockburn says: "This event separated the lives and the recollections of that generation into two great and marked parts." The preceding generation had witnessed the American War of Independence, the fear of Jacobinism, the French Revolutionary

War, and finally the Napoleonic War. Now, Britain emerged as the Mistress of the Seas, the possessor of a vast new Empire, and the greatest manufacturing country in the world.¹

At the outset of the nineteenth century we find the Tory party in power. Under the influence of Henry Dundas, Scotland continually returned a solid block of obedient Tories to Parliament.² Many of the corrupt elements in the land were gathered to this party. Yet, some of the noblest men of the time were also attracted to it.³ To such men it represented that which was best in national life, and they looked upon Whigs and radicals as utilitarian, mundane, and irreligious.⁴

Nevertheless, public opinion was slowly and steadily growing in favor of the Whig party. There was an awakened interest in public affairs,⁵ hitherto limited to a narrow group but now evidenced in all ranks of the population. Accompanying this was a widespread demand for burgh and Parliamentary reform.⁶ The result of this increasing desire

² Cockburn, op. cit., p. 74. Cockburn estimates that the Tory party constituted at least three-fourths of the population.
³ Cf. the Toryism of Sir Walter Scott, and of Thomas Chalmers.
⁵ Peter Hume Brown, History of Scotland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), III, 396. One aspect of this development was the growth of secret societies, which contributed towards the rise of new political powers.
⁶ Ibid., III, 298ff.
for reform\(^1\) is to be seen in the Reform Bill of 1832,\(^2\) and in the Burgh Act of 1833.\(^3\) The political scene for half a century following, until the third Reform Bill of 1885, has been termed "the heyday of Scottish Liberalism."\(^4\)

No less striking than the struggle for political reform was the spirit of industrial and commercial enterprise which was the concomitant of the Industrial Revolution. During the reign of George III\(^5\) "new forces of machinery and capitalised industry worked their blind will upon a loosely organized, aristocratic society that did not even perceive that its fate had come upon it."\(^6\) A new "age" in history had dawned.\(^7\) Though this changed economic situation in Scotland had many serious drawbacks for the working class, it not only vastly increased the national wealth, but greatly

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1. George Macaulay Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century (1782-1901)* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1922), p. 33. It is a remarkable fact that Scotland had no representative parliamentary or municipal institutions until 1832. Trevelyan explains this by saying, "Scottish democracy had been matured in the Kirk and in the Kirk alone." In the new and more secularized age "that vessel was no longer able by itself to contain so strong a spirit."

2. L.E. Elliott-Binns, *Religion in the Victorian Era* (London: The Lutterworth Press, 1936), pp. 22, 60. Elliott-Binns has pointed out that, in spite of the great significance of this Reform Bill, it actually went no further than to remove abuses and to correct anomalies. It did, however, benefit the middle class, and he has called it "the foundation of ... middle-class dominance."


5. Extending from 1760 till 1820.


7. Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, trans. by Arthur Mitchell (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1911), p. 146, "In thousands of years ... the steam-engine, and the procession of inventions of every kind that accompanied it ... will serve to define an age."
contributed to the material and social improvement of the population.\(^1\)

It is interesting to notice here the relationship of Evangelicalism and industrialism. In their struggle for ascendancy, the Evangelicals received much support from the class which was rising to power and wealth through the growth of the new manufactures. Evangelical religion maintained that the first duty of man was to concentrate upon his own personal salvation. Such introspective, self-regarding, doctrine harmonized well with the habits and motives of the rising industrialism.\(^2\)

Scotland's textile industries were revolutionized by the development of machinery and the factory system. Particularly significant was the application of steam power. At the beginning of the nineteenth century cotton spinning was a machine industry, though in flax only the preparatory and finishing stages were mechanical, while the weaving of all fabrics was done by hand looms. By the middle of the century the entire cotton industry was on a factory basis.\(^3\) The woollen industry expanded slowly with several small and widely-scattered mills. It was after the middle of the century that the hand loom gradually gave way to power.\(^4\) In the linen industry, hand-spinning was the method for the first quarter-century. After that time the work of spinning was slowly transferred from country cottages to mills in the

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larger towns.\(^1\)

In the rise of the metallurgical industries from a subordinate position at the beginning of the nineteenth century to one of equality with textiles by the middle, and to one of dominance by the close, the predominant feature was the interdependence of the various branches—coal, iron, steel, engineering and shipbuilding. A technical improvement in one department tended to benefit the others in turn.\(^2\)

Though severe working conditions were often imposed upon the laborers, with accompanying moral and social evils, these industries were largely responsible for the increased wealth and strength of the country. Abundant raw materials, together with native ingenuity, opportune inventions, and engineering skill, gave the nation an eminent position in world trade.\(^3\)

Almost as a prerequisite to this expansion was improved transportation and communication. Accordingly, the early nineteenth century witnessed the building and rebuilding of roads, bridges, canals, harbors, and docks. This was soon accompanied by the development and expansion of railway and steamship travel. Such improved means of transport enormously facilitated commerce and social intercourse.\(^4\)

Other factors contributing towards nineteenth century commercial advance were the stabilization of banking houses,\(^5\)

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2. Ibid., p. 219.
inexpensive postal service, and the development of newer industries.¹

Agricultural methods also moved steadily ahead during the period under discussion. The Napoleonic Wars obliged Scottish farmers to raise large crops, with a resulting prosperity. However, agriculture, like other industries, had its ebbs and flows from the conclusion of the war in 1815 onwards. Nevertheless, farming became more and more of a scientific endeavor, divorced from its old allies of spinning and weaving, attractive to new capital and conducted by wage-earning labor.² Not only were older "improvements," as long-leases, enclosures, and efficient implements applied to backward areas which had previously failed to adopt them, but new ones also appeared - drainage, modern fertilizers, the reaper and steam-powered machinery. Further, Scotland's fame for stock-breeding was established.³

In the latter half of the eighteenth century as industries had grown, wages became higher and work was more plentiful, with the result that the standard of living was raised for most people. In the nineteenth century there was a continued prosperity for the upper and middle-classes of the population.⁴ However, though the material progress of the period was great, the same was not true of social advance. Villages became towns, as we read in John Galt's Annals of

². Rait and Pryde, op.cit., p. 213.
the Parish,¹ and the towns evidence the fact that, while the nation's energies were being directed towards the rapid amassing of wealth, little heed was paid to the welfare of the human factor. Working conditions were generally poor; many houses were neither healthy nor comfortable; poverty and over-crowding were much in evidence. Though work was often plentiful, it was subject to great fluctuations in supply and demand. Child-labor was unchecked till certain reforms were enacted towards the middle of the century, and even then it did not cease entirely.² The hardships inflicted upon the workers by the economic policy of unrestricted wages and free labor led to the rise of Trade Unions. However, such unions, barely legalized by the Act of 1825, were only gradually able to further their cause of industrial emancipation.³

Though urban life changed in the early nineteenth century, rural life manifested fewer departures from traditional ways. Living conditions for the average agricultural worker were very poor. If the towns and cities were huddled together without thought of planning or health, country villages were only better inasmuch as the conditions of fresh air and sunlight were better. Wages were low, housing was bad, and a large proportion of the rural population emigrated to the cities and towns. As the century progressed and new methods and machinery were introduced, reforms were enacted which gradually improved rural living and working

² Rait and Pryde, op.cit., p. 226.
³ Mackinnon, op.cit., pp. 158ff.
changes. 1

Changes were to be noted also in the cultural life of Scotland in the nineteenth century. Throughout the period the national or parochial educational system had been materially supplemented by ecclesiastical and private effort. 2 Teachers' salaries were raised and the number of schools was increased. Educational improvements 3 in the latter half of the century were even more marked. 4 In addition to education, literature and the Press played a distinctive part in shaping Scottish culture. 5 In the works of Scott, Carlyle, and later, of Stevenson, there is apparent not only a deep appreciation for Scottish life, but also a widening of the nation's intellectual horizon. This same development is to be noticed in the periodical literature and newspapers of the day. 6 Scottish art also developed throughout the century. 7 Influenced particularly by Raeburn and Wilkie, it, too, evidenced both a strong Scottish character and also a cosmopolitan interest. 8

3. Cockburn, op. cit., p. 236. In 1810, Cockburn writes: "The modern improvements in education were just beginning to dawn."
7. Cockburn, op. cit., p. 231. In 1808, Cockburn writes: "The Arts . . . advanced systematically; and there were more and better paid artists in Edinburgh in the next ten or fifteen years, than there had been in all Scotland during the preceding century."
Yet another cultural change is mentioned by Lord Cockburn in 1840: "The change from ancient to modern manners, which is now completed, had begun some years before this, and was at this period in rapid and visible progress." The development here mentioned consisted in the change of national manners, customs, and modes of speech for those of England. In this, as in other matters, the Scotland of the nineteenth century was closely linked to England.

If the early part of the nineteenth century was fraught with significance in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres of life, the period was also a religious epoch. It was at this time that Cockburn wrote: "Everything in the empire is tinged for the present with church." While not discounting the significance of English influence upon the growth of dissenting groups in Scotland, and the work of such men as the Haldane brothers, let us confine our attention to the Church of Scotland during this time.

Though the Moderate element of the Scottish Church had been predominant throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, from the beginning of the nineteenth there may be observed the rising of the star of Evangelical ascendancy. The older type of Moderatism declined. Such

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1. I.e. at the turn of the centuries.
2. Cockburn, op. cit., p. 25.
3. This change was more noticeable in the upper and middle classes of Scottish society.
6. The years following, as well, were of momentous significance for the Scottish Church.
outstanding Moderates as William Robertson, Alexander Carlyle, and Hugh Blair were not succeeded by men of equal stature. The leading figures were Evangelicals.¹

Throughout this period, Moderates and Evangelicals were often arrayed against one another, with the former on the defensive. The Evangelicals were able to rescind the Assembly's Act of 1798 in regard to the licensing of Chapels of Ease. They shortened and simplified the procedure in cases of discipline. They were largely responsible² for an enactment that none but acting elders, certified as such by their respective church-sessions, should be eligible for membership of the General Assembly.³ The Evangelical conception of the ministry was evidenced in the discussion on pluralities. At the various universities it had been the practice to combine the duties of a chair and a parish. Though this practice was less widespread in the nineteenth century than it had been previously, it still existed. However, the Evangelical conceived of the ministry as being more exclusively confined to the salvation of souls. After a series of debates, in 1817 the Evangelicals succeeded in carrying a measure which prohibited a minister from holding a chair and a parish at the same time, unless the parish were

1. Henry Craik, A Century of Scottish History (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1907), II, 314. The outstanding figure was Thomas Chalmers. Craik says Chalmers' life was "the reflection of the various phases through which the national spirit passed."
2. The Moderates had anticipated the Evangelicals in attempting this measure of reform.
located within the university city.¹

Yet, the policies of the Moderate and the Evangelical parties were not as dissimilar as they seemed. They shared an interest in educational endeavors, and in 1824 the General Assembly inaugurated its plan for erecting additional schools in the parishes of the North.² Their similarity was also shown at the Assembly of 1824 by the interest of both parties in missions. Though the Evangelicals were especially noted for missionary concern, it was John Inglis, leader of the Moderate party, who introduced and carried a motion that the Church should establish a mission in India.³ The doctrinal⁴ and practical similarity of the two parties is attested to by Inglis in 1833:

In the course of the last forty years there has been a gradual approximation, on the part of the clergy of what are called the two sides of our Church, to a closer resemblance of one another in all the great features of their public teaching.⁵

This having been said, the question then arises: wherein did the difference between the two parties lie? To be sure, there were groups within the Church of Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as there had been two groups in previous centuries. Yet, in the nineteenth century there appeared to be a greater similarity between the

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2. Ibid., pp. 169ff.
3. Mathieson, op.cit., pp. 272ff. Inglis was later the convener of the committee which was concerned with the management of the mission in India.
two. There were many shades of Evangelicalism and Moderatism, and while several men had acquired distinctive characteristics, a large proportion were of an indeterminate shade. As Hugh Watt points out, various attempts have been made to distinguish the Moderates from the Evangelicals by their preaching, their attitude towards foreign missions, their position in regard to pluralities, or their use of alcoholic beverages. However, all such distinctions are misleading. "The real dividing line between the two - as parties in the Assembly - appeared in their respective attitudes to the exercise of patronage." Since the latter half of the eighteenth century the Moderates had evidenced two principles: (1) acquiescence in, and support of, the law of Patronage; (2) concern for the orderliness of Presbyterian Church government. On the other hand, the Evangelicals supported popular rights, insisting that effect should be given to the people's desires in regard to the selection of their ministers. Thus, "Moderate and Evangelical were differing but complementary Christian types."2

The Evangelical influence in Scotland is to be observed not only as that party strengthened its position in the Assembly, but also in developments in the individual and personal religious life of the people. In many Scottish homes the people were reading John Bunyan, Thomas Boston,  

Ralph Erskine, and Howie's *Scots Worthies*. Praying societies flourished.\(^1\) Family worship showed signs of reviving. Church attendance increased.\(^2\) It was due to Evangelical influence that the Church of Scotland inaugurated a church extension programme by erecting Chapels of Ease where the population had greatly increased.\(^3\) Finally, it was largely due to Evangelical influence that many young men were taking their place in the service of the Church. One such a man was Andrew A. Bonar, whose life we shall now consider.

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PART II.

LIFE OF ANDREW A. BONAR
Chapter II.
EARLY LIFE
CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE

When God comes to a man He does not only say, 'Arise, receive!' but 'Arise, shine!'
- Andrew Bonar, Heavenly Springs, p. 98.

A. Beginning a Life (1810-1825)

Sir Walter Scott recognized it as a "national prerogative" that "every Scottishman has a pedigree." Such a prerogative is certainly permissible in the case of Andrew Alexander Bonar. He was born into one of the most famous manse families in the history of Scotland. His indebtedness to them was great. As Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in 1878, he spoke of his forebears:

We who are of this tribe (if I may so speak) like to think ourselves connected with that James Bonar, minister of Maybole, who stood by the side of the great Alexander Henderson in the struggle against Prelacy; but, especially, we boast of our descent from one who in the days of the Covenant forsook Episcopacy, and forfeited ease and

4. John Bonar was born in 1671; he graduated M.A. in 1689. He was licensed at Linlithgow in 1692, at the age of twenty-one years, during the time of William and Mary. This indicates that he must have been a very young Covenanter. Perhaps tradition has somewhat exaggerated his doings.
position, if not wealth, that he might become a minister of Christ in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland . . . John Bonar.¹

John Bonar² was Andrew Bonar's great-great-grandfather. He served the parish of Torphichen in West Lothian for fifty-four years³ after his ordination in 1693.⁴ He was an intimate friend of Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, and was among the twelve ministers who, in 1721, dissented from the proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in its censure of the book, The Marrow of Modern Divinity.⁵ During the difficult period which followed the revolution of 1688 he stood for the cause of Presbyterianism in spite of the efforts of his father⁶ and the principal of his college at St. Andrews to induce him to become an Episcopalian. In 1712, he refused to take the oath of abjuration. Following the secession in 1733 he defended the censured ministers, though he regretted their separation from the Church of Scotland.⁷

² Anderson, op.cit., III, 686ff. Cf. section T/275 in the Register House, Edinburgh, for six boxes of unclassified materials relating to Andrew Bonar's ancestors. It is interesting to note that the name "Bonar" was originally "Bonare." Guillaume de Bonare came from the province of Anjou to Perthshire in the thirteenth century. The spelling of "Bonar" dates from the seventeenth century.
³ John Bonar and his descendants have served as ministers in the Scottish Church for not less than an aggregate of 364 years.
⁴ For the record of John Bonar of Torphichen and his descendants who were ministers, cf. A.W. Fergusson, Sons of the Manse (Dundee: James P. Mathew & Co., 1923), pp. 44ff.
⁵ John C. Johnston, Treasury of the Scottish Covenant (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1887), pp. 165ff.
⁶ His father was John Bonar of Wester Kilgraston, Perthshire.
⁷ Fergusson, op.cit., p. 44.
Andrew Bonar's great-grandfather was also named John Bonar. He was ordained minister of Fetlar in Shetland in 1729, and was distinguished as a classical and oriental scholar, an impressive preacher, and a composer of poetical pieces.¹

The grandfather of Andrew Bonar, also named John Bonar, was ordained to the ministry at Cockpen in 1746, and later served in Perth. He was noted for his persuasive evangelical preaching, and for a book written in 1750 on The Conduct and Character of Judas Iscariot. After his death, his widow and large family moved to Edinburgh. The eldest son, John, became Solicitor of Excise, and was one of the original founders of the Speculative Society in Edinburgh. The fourth son, Archibald, became minister of Cramond. The seventh son, James, became the father of Andrew A. Bonar.²

James Bonar was born in Perth in 1757. He was educated at the high school in Edinburgh, and attended the university there. He later entered the Excise Office and eventually became Second Solicitor of Excise for Scotland.³

In this position he served as prosecutor in many court cases involving disputes over revenue on alcoholic beverages. Being the prosecuting attorney, and a teetotaller besides, we should not be surprised to learn of his unpopularity with those who resented governmental interference in the lucrative liquor trade.⁴ At the age of forty he married Marjory

3. Ibid., 797f.
Maitland, of Edinburgh. They had eleven children, seven sons and four daughters.

James Bonar has been described as "cheerful, sagacious, devout, and consistent\(^1\) . . . of great literary tastes and varied gifts."\(^2\) In addition to being a writer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and a contributor of articles on political economy to the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*,\(^3\) he revealed his aptitude for languages in writing *Disquisitions on the Origin and Radical Sense of the Greek Prepositions* in 1805. He served as President\(^4\) and as Secretary\(^5\) of the Speculative Society, which was connected with the University of Edinburgh.\(^6\) He was one of the founders of the Astronomical Institute of Edinburgh, a Treasurer of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and

3. Andrew Bonar, "BMS Letter, to James Bonar" (from Craignure: July 20, 1885). In this letter, Andrew Bonar discusses his father's interests in political economy. Andrew's son, James, became an authority in this field. For an explanation of the abbreviations employed in referring to manuscript materials please refer to the list of abbreviations in the preface, or to the bibliography at the end of the thesis.
5. Ibid., p. 455. He served as Secretary from 1783 till 1787.
6. The Speculative Society was the only institution of its kind whose existence was formally recognized by the University of Edinburgh. The members of the society, for the most part, were younger men who were interested in law and literature.
a member of several other literary and benevolent organizations. ¹
He was also an active churchman, serving as an office-bearer in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel and as an elder in the Edinburgh Presbytery. Ebenezer Mason, a fellow-officer in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, said of James Bonar: "A more valuable life I cannot name in the city, to his large family and to a wide circle of friends; a distinguished scholar, and a member of almost all the literary societies in Edinburgh."²

A sidelight on Edinburgh life at the time of Andrew Bonar's birth may be obtained from a glance at a Scottish newspaper.³ The "New Town" is expanding in many directions. Scott's Lady of the Lake is announced. There are trials for sedition. Several volumes of sermons are offered for sale. The Edinburgh Bible Society offers an English edition of the New Testament for 10d. A university professor intimates that his summer course of lectures will be postponed till the winter, in order to accommodate his students. Advertisements appear for life insurance companies, public lotteries, dancing classes, cures for chilblains, palsy, and a new medicine "for the constitution after a nocturnal debauch with wine." A victory over the French forces is reported, and a new style of dress arrives from Paris. English influence is evidenced by the many news items from London, the visit of a London dramatic company, and the advertisement of English elocution lessons. A new coach, capable of seating six

1. Ibid., p. 134. During this period James Bonar also wrote several essays on various subjects; their titles are listed in this volume of the Speculative Society's history.
2. Bonar, Diary, p. ix.
3. Cf. The Caledonian Mercury, for the year 1810.
passengers, now runs from Edinburgh to Glasgow in six hours. Cultural interest is evidenced by the announcement of a performance of Hamlet and an exhibition of paintings.

In the diary of James Bonar on May 29, 1810, there is recorded the birth of his seventh son, Andrew Alexander Bonar, with the hope that "he may be spared to be a blessing to his friends, and a real member of the Church of Christ." The birth took place in the Bonar residence, a large, old-fashioned "pillared house" in "Paterson's Court," Old Broughton, "nearly alone in its garden, on the northern limit of Edinburgh, and from it, green fields and hedges sloped away to the sea." The family later moved to 3 London Street, then to 24 Gayfield Square, finally settling down in 15 York Place.

From the house addresses listed above, it is seen that the Bonars resided in the "New Town" in Edinburgh. It was about this time in Auld Reekie's history that she took on new dignity as the "Modern Athens." Then, as today,

2. Bonar, Diary, p. x. As the seventh son of a seventh son, Andrew Bonar later said that he ought to have the gift of "second sight."
4. A drawing of this house appears on the frontispiece of Volume I of Bonar's manuscript diary, with the inscription, in his handwriting: "Paterson's Court. My Birthplace."
6. After the death of James Bonar.
8. Ibid., p. x.
Edinburgh was noted for its picturesque beauty and its cultural advantages. In poetry and in song her templed crags, varied architecture, and absorbing history as the ancient capital city of the Scots were proclaimed abroad. Robert Louis Stevenson said of Edinburgh: "The ancient and famous metropolis of the North sits overlooking a windy estuary from the slope and summit of three hills. No situation could be more commanding for the head city of a kingdom; none better chosen for noble prospects." Yet, there was a pronounced distinction between the "Old Town," with its malodorous closes and dimly-lit wynds, its confusion of overgrowth, vicissitude and decay; and the "New Town," with its spacious squares, ample streets, and austere beauty.

Without dwelling upon the inequalities between the Old Town and New Town, we may briefly mention the state of the society in which Andrew Bonar was reared. It was the era of an unfamiliar peace, at the close of the Napoleonic Wars. The overthrow of Bonaparte had created a hiatus that was soon to be filled with local activities, urged on by the realization that local affairs had been largely neglected during the war. Cockburn comments upon the revival of interest in Edinburgh in municipal affairs, and the resultant civic ameliorations. He remarks further: "The society of Edinburgh has never been better, or indeed so good,

since I knew it as it was about this time." With certain exceptions, this testimony is borne out by the singularly strong leaven of intellectual enthusiasm in the Edinburgh of this period. The names of a considerable proportion of its citizens are remembered with distinction to this day in the fields of divinity, jurisprudence, philosophy, medicine, natural science, literature, and the fine arts.

The Bonar home in which Andrew was reared was a happy place, and his later recollections of it were always favorable. It was a home pervaded not only with purity and affection but also with a strong sense of family solidarity. Family religious exercises were observed, and the children were required to commit to memory the Shorter Catechism, together with psalms and paraphrases. Every morning and evening in the home there would be a period of family prayer and Bible reading. On Sunday evenings there would be an additional time of Bible instruction which the entire family would attend. The value of this training was to be seen in the later lives of the children. Though Andrew's parents exercised strong authority over the children, it was done with great love and understanding. In fact, the entire family atmosphere was one of filial affection, blessed abundantly with the fruits of the old Scottish family order.

Andrew's father died on March 25, 1821, when Andrew

1. Ibid., p. 197.
4. Bonar, Diary, p. x.
was not yet eleven years of age. The father left his large family to the care of their mother and his eldest son, James, who became a second father to the household.\(^1\) Mrs. Bonar rose courageously to meet the new responsibility and was a blessing to the members of the family. During her life she exerted a profound influence upon her family by her piety, her childlike faith, and her "loving, unselfish devotion."\(^2\) At the time of his mother's death in 1854, Bonar reflects: "I never forget the firmness and regularity with which she kept to herself the morning hour for being alone after breakfast, and the hour before evening worship. This struck me when a boy."\(^3\) Andrew's debt to his mother for her tender love and Christian piety during his formative years was immeasurable.

Three of the Bonar children died in infancy, though five sons and three daughters reached maturity. Marjory, the eldest sister, died of typhus fever in the year 1824 when she was about twenty-four years of age. Shortly before her death, with the family gathered around the bedside, she asked her mother to help her to repeat the hymn, "There is a land of pure delight." These verses ever after had tender associations for all the family.\(^4\) Such scenes and recollections from his early childhood doubtless contributed

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1. Ibid., p. 8. James Bonar cared for the spiritual as well as the material welfare of his younger brothers and sisters. As late as 1830, when Andrew was twenty years of age and studying in the Edinburgh Divinity Hall, James gave Bible instruction to the family.
2. Ibid., p. ix.
3. Ibid., p. 167.
4. Ibid., pp. ixf.
towards making Andrew the serious-minded, spiritually-sensitive youth that he was to become.

Every pious home in Scotland desired to have at least one of its sons in the ministry. The Bonar home was especially blessed in this respect when three of its sons became ministers—John, Horatius, and Andrew. Andrew's life is thus closely related to that of his brothers, John James and Horatius, both of whom had outstanding careers as ministers in the Scottish Church.¹

The older brother, John, was born in 1803. When he had completed his divinity studies in the University of Edinburgh, he served as assistant minister at Leven in 1829. Several years later he went to Greenock as minister of St. Andrew's Parish. In 1843 he joined the Free Church, and continued his labors in Greenock till his death in 1891. Though less widely known than his two brothers, he won distinction for his scholarship and his eloquent preaching.²

Andrew's brother, Horatius, was born in 1808. Educated at the high school and the University of Edinburgh, he later performed mission work in Leith. In 1837 he was ordained as the minister at Kelso where his abilities as a preacher became well-known. Supplementary to his ministerial labors, he began publishing pamphlets and other short works

¹ Fergusson, op. cit., pp. 45ff. Andrew Bonar also had two cousins, John Bonar and Andrew Redman Bonar, who enjoyed distinguished careers as ministers in the Scottish Church of his day.

which were widely circulated throughout Scotland. In 1843, he joined the Free Church, and continued to be a leading figure in its history. He received the honorary degree of D.D. from Aberdeen University in 1853, and was elected as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church in 1883. In 1866 he was appointed minister of the Chalmers Memorial Free Church, Grange, Edinburgh. He died in 1889. He is probably best known for the contributions he has made to the hymnody of the Christian Church.¹

The strands of the lives of the three brothers were destined to cross and recross throughout the years. Though their ministries were similar in many respects, each had its own particular characteristics and emphases. In the words of one writer, they were equally remarkable for the "unity of their principles, and the variety of their gifts." In the words of another: "Dr. Andrew was less vigorous and intrepid than Dr. John James of Greenock but equally genial and humorous. He was less grave and logical than Dr. Horatius, but equally poetical, though not in verse."²

The spiritual home of the Bonar family during Andrew's youth was Lady Glenorchy's Chapel in Edinburgh. Lady Glenorchy had been one of a group through whose influence English Evangelicalism was brought to bear on Scotland. She has been called "the Scottish Lady Huntingdon,"

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and her career in that character originated in a friendship she had formed in England with the sister of Rowland Hill. In 1770, wishing to provide an interdenominational pulpit for evangelical preaching in Edinburgh, she hired a hall which had formerly been a Roman Catholic chapel. A year later, however, she closed the chapel, being unwilling to countenance the Wesleyans who had disagreed with her Calvinistic ideas.

Upon the death of her husband, Lady Glenorchy inherited a considerable fortune. Accordingly, she desired to use a portion of this to provide a chapel in Edinburgh. The chapel was intended to be a place of worship for the many who could not find accommodation in the parish churches, or who desired to hear a more evangelical type of preaching. She was troubled over the struggle between the Evangelical and the Moderate elements in the Church. Fearing that Evangelicalism was in danger, she established the chapel "in the hope of furnishing it with a lodging place, in which, in its time of depression and defeat, it might find shelter."

Accordingly, in 1774, a plain, substantial stone building was erected in what was then known as the Orphan Park, but is now the site of Waverley Station and its

4. i.e. Evangelicalism.
adjoining area of railway lines and signals. In those days it was a quiet, grassy hollow between the Old Town and the New Town. The chapel was capable of accommodating upwards of two thousand persons. The intention of Lady Glenorchy was that it should be in connection with the Established Church of Scotland, while remaining an independent, self-governing congregation.

However, as might be imagined, the ecclesiastical authorities in Edinburgh became somewhat critical of this temple of Evangelicalism, which was to be in connection with them but not under their control. It was inevitable that suspicion should arise when Lady Glenorchy attempted to introduce a minister from England who proved to be so strict a dissenter that he refused to settle in Edinburgh, except on terms of separation from the Church of Scotland. Though she sought to rectify the situation by offering the charge to a minister of the Church of Scotland, the Synod of Lothian, on the motion of Alexander Carlyle, resolved to discountenance the chapel. The General Assembly reversed this decision, and a battle raged between the Moderates, who sought to have the chapel's organic connection with the Church of Scotland entirely severed, and the Evangelicals, who sought to have it

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1. Lady Glenorchy's North Church. Edinburgh: Centenary Retrospect (Issued by authority of the Kirk Session, 1946), pp. 13ff. In November, 1844, the North British Railway Company obtained possession of the ground upon which the chapel was erected.
3. Ibid., pp. 346ff.
5. Mathieson, op.cit., p. 54.
maintained. In May, 1777, the General Assembly decided to continue the chapel's connection with the Established Church, though the precise nature of the affiliation was not defined.¹

In 1779, a permanent minister, Thomas Snell Jones, was finally settled in the church. Jones was a Welshman who had received his theological training at the Nonconformist Academy of Trevecca in Wales, and was ordained by the Presbytery of London in 1779. He was minister of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel till his death in 1837, a period of fifty-eight years.² During this time the chapel was noted for its evangelical life and activity. Jones' sermons were decidedly orthodox, evangelical discourses, and quite powerful in content and composition. They were expository in nature, and evidence some original thought.³ Jones was well-liked by his congregation. He was a man of strong personality, and apparently exercised a considerable influence over the members of the Bonar family,⁴ who often recalled him in later years.⁵

4. Thomas Smith, Memoirs of James Begg (Edinburgh: James Gemmell, 1885-1888), I, 197. Though Jones had an influence upon him, Andrew Bonar years later mentioned his former minister in a letter saying, "we scarcely knew him in private."
5. Bonar, Diary, p. xi. One of the stories the Bonars recalled in regard to Thomas Jones concerned his antipathy to paraphrases and hymns. One day another minister announced a paraphrase for the congregation to sing, when the door behind him in the pulpit opened and Jones was heard to say, "We sing no paraphrases here!"
Andrew Bonar's father and uncle both served as elders in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, and several other relatives were intimately connected with its work. ¹ Throughout his early years, Andrew regularly attended the services of the Church with the other members of his family. One of the things which most impressed his young soul was the Communion Sabbath. As the congregation took their places in the white-covered pews below, Andrew would climb up into the second gallery. From there, with a feeling of awe and wonder, he would gaze upon the affecting and impressive scene being enacted below. He referred to this, many years afterwards, when addressing the youths of his own congregation:

As a child I used to love to creep up into that old gallery on Communion Sabbaths. How I trembled as I climbed up the stairs! And how I shuddered when the minister entered and began the service! When I saw young people of my own acquaintance take the holy emblems for the first time, I wondered if, one great and beautiful day, I should myself be found among the communicants. But the thought always died in the moment of its birth. For I found in my heart so much that must keep me from the love of Christ. I thought, as I sat in the deep recesses of that gloomy old gallery, that I must purge my soul of all defilement, and cultivate all the graces of the faith, before I could hope for a place in the Kingdom of Christ or venture as a humble guest to His table. But, oh, how I longed one day to be numbered among that happy company! I thought no privilege on earth could compare with that.²

¹. Cf. section T/275 in the Register House, Edinburgh, for references to eight aunts, and eleven uncles of Andrew Bonar who worshipped in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel. Also, cf. Lady Glenorchy's North Church, Edinburgh, p. 41. Andrew's brother, James, later served the church as Session Clerk (1843-1867), and Deacon's Court Clerk (1844-1867).
Andrew Bonar's first formal education was received at Mr. Lindsay's School on Hanover Street in Edinburgh. At the age of eleven years he entered the Edinburgh High School.¹ From the pages of the class books kept by his teachers, the young Bonar's scholastic distinctions are readily discernible.² He studied under Benjamin Mackay and under Aglionby Ross Carson, whose influence on Bonar was especially significant in stimulating his interest in the Classics.³ Under Carson's guidance, the young Andrew found a new world of enchantment disclosed to him in the literature of Greece and Rome. For forty years A.R. Carson sent out from his classes a succession of remarkable Scotsmen all over the world, not the least of whom was Andrew A. Bonar.⁴ In 1825, Bonar was awarded the Dux⁵ Gold Medal of the Rector's Class.⁶

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1. At this time, the old high school was located on Infirmary Street.
2. In the "SMS Geography Poena Book. During Session 1824-1825," Andrew A. Bonar received no mention on eight days; on twenty-seven days he was second; on all other days he was the Dux Student. In the "SMS Poena Book for the Rector's Class. During Session 1824-1825," Bonar received no mention on thirty-two days; on thirty-three days he was third; on thirty-six days he was second; on all other days he was the Dux Student. In the "SMS Poena Book for the Greek Class. During Session 1824-25," Bonar failed to receive mention only once; on twenty-one days he was third; on ninety-five days he was second; all other days he was the Dux Student. In these books he was not once recorded as being absent or late, nor was he ever reprimanded for "trifling" or "noisiness."
5. The second and third place awards were won by Archibald Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Inglis, who was later to become Lord President of the Court of Session.
6. Andrew Bonar, Reminiscences of Andrew A. Bonar, ed. by Marjory Bonar (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1895), p. 101. The day on which Andrew received this award he came
The Rector, A.R. Carson, is reported to have said of him that Andrew Bonar was doubtless the best Latin scholar he had ever had. Andrew and his brothers later looked back in fondness to Carson and to their days at the High School.²

1. This medal is in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. A.R. Bonar, Fetcham, Surrey.
2. Bonar, Diary, p. xi.
B. Attending the University (1825-1831)

In 1825, at the early age of fifteen years, according to the practice of the time, Andrew A. Bonar began his studies in the Arts Faculty at the University of Edinburgh. At this time the noted institution, like the city and the nation, was in a stage of transition. Yet, instead of adaptation to the fresh claims of a new day, there was an incessant rebellion of the professors against the Town Council, with whom lay university patronage and a certain control of the internal economy of the University.

Nevertheless, there was distinction about a university which included so many outstanding men in its teaching staff. It has been said that the strength of the Scottish university lies in the personality of its professors. If this is so, Bonar entered the University at a propitious time. The professors under whom he studied were: William Wallace, in Mathematics; George Dunbar, in Greek; David Ritchie, in Logic and Metaphysics; John Leslie, in Natural Philosophy; William Hamilton, in Universal Civil History and Antiquities; and Andrew Brown, in Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. Two professors in the university who had an

1. Cf. Alexander Grant, The Story of the University of Edinburgh (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1884), II, 492. At this time there were 891 students in Medicine, 821 in Arts, 298 in Law, and 249 in Divinity.
especial influence upon Bonar were James Pillans, Professor of Humanity, who was widely known and respected in Scotland; and John Wilson, Professor of Moral Philosophy, who was both a hero and a friend to his students.\(^1\) Though Wilson did not teach systematically, his glowing rhetoric and his charming personality had their own inspiring power. Wilson, who was better known as "Christopher North" of *Blackwood's Magazine*, presented a book to the admiring Andrew, in which he inscribed: "Professor Wilson to Mr. Andrew A. Bonar, one of the most distinguished students in the Moral Philosophy Class during the session of 1828-9. The College, Edinburgh, 10th April, 1829."\(^2\) Wilson also offered his distinguished student the opportunity of tutoring his sons in Latin and Greek during the summer of 1829. Though this was a common practice of the time, young Andrew refused the offer, "thinking what would my soul do in such company."\(^3\)

Throughout his undergraduate course young Andrew distinguished himself by his scholastic attainments. In 1827, in James Pillans's Humanity Class, he was awarded the coveted Gold Medal given by the Society of Writers to the Signet.\(^4\) One of his fellow-students later said of him that

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1. A. Grant, *op. cit.*, II, 304ff.
2. The book presented was Dugald Stewart's *Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*. Though most of Andrew Bonar's books have been donated to various libraries, a portion of them may still be found in the homes of Mr. and Mrs. A.R. Bonar, Fetcham, and Mr. and Mrs. H.W. Brown, Bournemouth, England.
3. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Diary," I, 3. Wilson's name has been omitted in the published Diary, probably to avoid any wrong impressions of Wilson, and any prejudice against Bonar.
Bonar was an excellent scholar, particularly in regard to language studies.\footnote{Statement made by William Laughton, in Ministerial Jubilee of Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, D.D. (Glasgow: Wm Hodge & Co., 1888), p. 40.}

However, to Bonar, the University of Edinburgh was primarily the place where he attended classes. His home still remained the centre of his existence and the medium of his social life. Being fortunate enough to live at home, he was not subjected to the privations and hardships faced by so many students who had to struggle through their university careers.\footnote{Cf. A. Grant, \textit{op.cit.}, II, 488f.}

One of the more agreeable aspects of student life was the establishment of various societies and clubs which came into existence from time to time. Edinburgh differed from the other Scottish universities in the variety and the importance of its student debating societies. In Bonar’s day these were to some extent the equivalents of the junior common rooms and Hall dinner tables of Oxford and Cambridge.\footnote{MacEwen, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 92.}

These societies provided students with the opportunity of discussing common interests and of making new acquaintances.\footnote{A. Grant, \textit{op.cit.}, II, 484ff.}

During Bonar’s university course he was interested in the Theological Society,\footnote{Bonar, \textit{Diary}, p. 9.} and took an active part in the Classical Society.\footnote{In the 1895 edition of MacEwen’s \textit{Life and Letters of John Cairns}, he states on page 93: "Cairns was enrolled in the session of 1839 in the Diagnostic, which was chiefly occupied with literary and political questions, and which at the time included many students of mark.}
Society, and from 1828 till 1830 he served as its Secretary, assiduously recording its proceedings during his entire term of office. From the "Minutes of the Classical Society" we gain some understanding of its activities.

However, this could not have been Andrew A. Bonar, as MacEwen infers, for Andrew Bonar was ordained in the previous year, and could not have been an active member. The distance from Collace to Edinburgh would have prevented such activity. Moreover, Bonar was abroad from April to November, 1839, on "The Mission of Inquiry to the Jews," and could not have been present at any meeting in the summer session of 1839, when Cairns joined the society. As further evidence, Bonar nowhere refers to membership in the society, nor is his name among the membership lists of the society. Also, as Bonar's Diary reveals, it is highly improbable that he would take part, after his ordination, in a university debating society. He was exclusively devoted to the work of the ministry. Perhaps the solution to MacEwen's reference to Andrew Bonar's membership in the society, and his assumption that Horatius Bonar, Andrew's brother, was also a member, lies in this fact - According to the minute-books of the society, Andrew Redman Bonar was admitted an ordinary member in the session of 1834-35, and was made an honorary member in 1839, the year in which Cairns became a member. On May 16, 1839, A.R. Bonar and Cairns participated in a debate on "Ought Temperance Societies to Be Encouraged." "UEMS Minutes of the Diagnostic Society" (Edinburgh University, 1839-1841), IV, 42f.

In MacEwen's other reference to Andrew Bonar, on page 584, he says that in Diagnostic debates Cairns "championed the right of Temperance societies to exist, against men like Horatius and Andrew Bonar." It is the present author's opinion that neither Horatius nor Andrew were ever members of the society, and that MacEwen's reference would rather apply to their cousin, Andrew Redman Bonar. At any rate, in the 1898 edition of MacEwen's otherwise valuable biography, he omits these two references to Andrew Bonar.

In 1830, the society awarded to Bonar three volumes of Pindar. Inscribed in the first volume were the words, "From the Classical Society to their first Secretary, 1830." Bonar remained a member of the society till 1831 when he entered the Divinity Hall. Cf. Diary, pp. 10, 16f.

Cf. Andrew Bonar, Secretary, "UEMS Minutes of the Classical Society" (Edinburgh University, 1828-1830).
The Classical Society was founded for the purpose of discussing "subjects not immediately connected with the Christian Religion." The society met on Friday evenings at six-thirty o'clock in the old High School. In June, 1829, through the interest of A.R. Carson, the members of the society were allowed to meet in a room of the new High School at Calton Hill. Later that year the Town Council withdrew its permission to use the room, and the society moved to a room in the university, provided by the Professor of Scots Law, George Joseph Bell. Finally, in 1830, the society moved to the Clyde Street Hall, as a "more healthy place."

The minutes of the society also afford us with an idea of the questions brought under discussion, and of the views taken by Bonar in regard to them. We find him vindicating the merits of a Pure Republic as against the merits of a Pure Monarchy. Also, he believed a representative ought to vote according to the opinion of his constituents, rather than according to his own opinion. Again, he contended that the love of glory was never a justifiable motive to action.

1. Ibid., pp. 86ff. Among the members of the society, the following might be mentioned: David Anderson; John Balfour; Benjamin Bell; James Connell; Patrick Borrowman; Christopher Douglas; George McCrie; James Moncreiff; Archibald Swinton; John Thomson; Samuel Warren.
2. Cf. A. Grant, op.cit., II, 374f.
4. Student debates cannot be regarded as a valid indication of a debater's real opinions. The topic may be prescribed, and speakers may have to make the best case they can for a position that is not their own. However, the following statements are based upon views actually expressed by Bonar, either by his vote or by his choice of a subject.
5. Ibid., pp. 2f., 50, 54.
When the young debaters turn to questions of the day, Bonar appears as a rule on the conservative side, opposing Roman Catholic Emancipation, the diffusion of scientific knowledge among the poor, and the maintenance of a Standing Army. Among the learned essays composed by him, the following may be mentioned: "On the Delphic Oracle," "On the Silver and Brazen Age of Roman Literature," "On the Teutonic Mythology," "An Inquiry Regarding Mathematical Knowledge Among the Romans." Yet, at the very same time that Bonar was discussing such academic subjects, he was experiencing a profound conflict within his own mind and heart. He was keeping another book — his Diary — and in its pages his inner turmoil is evident. He was attempting to answer in the sight of God the all-important question — "What must I do to be saved?" Though it might be said of him, as it was of Thomas Guthrie: "He drank in the Gospel from his mother's milk," nevertheless, he doubted his religion. He had never been certain of his salvation, nor confident in his faith.

Bonar began recording his thoughts in the Diary on August 21, 1828. He writes:

It was this week that I resolved to enter upon the study of divinity. My chief motive was the indistinct hope and belief that thereby I should be more likely to find salvation, being much taken up, as I thought I must be, with the pursuit of divine things. For I felt myself unsaved, and felt a secret expectation that in the course of my studies in divinity I might be brought to the truth.
However, because he was undecided about his personal religious convictions, he conscientiously postponed the beginning of his studies at the Divinity Hall. As he later explained: "I always kept back till I was in Christ, before I could think of entering the Hall." In 1829 he was still uncertain: "Thoughts of delaying my going to the Divinity Hall for another year, because I feel still so far from Christ." In the autumn of 1830 he writes: "I mean to delay entering the Divinity Hall this year, because I am not yet brought to the knowledge of God."

Throughout this period, his Diary reflects his uncertainty: "Great sorrow because I am still out of Christ." "I sometimes think I may be believing; but yet I do not see the forgiveness of sin to be above all things desirable." "I have not received Christ into my heart . . . I wept . . . just from feeling the misery of not being in Christ." "Still longing to be a partaker of divine grace."

Although Bonar had completed his course of studies at the university in 1829, he matriculated in the autumn of that year, and again in 1830. Yet, though he spent an additional two years in university study, he did not receive a degree. The reason for this was not his lack of intelligence. Rather, it can be explained by the fact that during the early part of the eighteenth century, "partly arising from a change

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1. Ibid., p. 18.
2. Ibid., p. 8.
3. Ibid., p. 10.
4. Ibid., pp. 5ff.
5. "UEMS The Matriculation Roll of the University of Edinburgh" (1811-1829), III, 955, 969, 987, 1001, 1021; (1830-1838), IV, 1036a.
in the course of study, by the appointments of separate Professorships, the practice of taking degrees in Arts fell into general disuse." ¹ Thomas Brown comments upon the status of the Arts degree² in the early nineteenth century: "Not one in ten of the Edinburgh students cared to have it. The general feeling was that it was not worth the money it cost."³ Nevertheless, Bonar continued to attend several of the classes offered by the university.⁴ He also "heard Chalmers lecture in the Divinity Hall,"⁵ though he fails to record his impressions at this time of the great church leader.

During this period there were other factors influencing Andrew's conversion and his eventual entry into the Divinity Hall. Though the factors may seem insignificant to the casual observer, the pages of his Diary reflect their great importance for his thinking. Nicholas Berdyaev in our own day has recorded how significant such influences can be:

Sometimes I felt the fate of the world might hang on the outcome of some single meeting, or conversation, or argument . . . every single occurrence has literally universal implications.

2. MacEwen, op. cit., p. 40. The condition of the Arts Faculty may be inferred from the fact that in 1835 it was enacted that degrees should not be conferred without proper examination. This enactment reduced the average annual number of graduates from twenty-two to twelve.
3. Quoted in Horatius Bonar, D.D., No. 118. The pages are not numbered.
4. Bonar, Diary, p. 4. Also, cf. "UEMS General Index to Matriculation Roll of the University of Edinburgh (1825-1830), Vols. XXI-XXVI.
5. Bonar, Diary, p. 4.
Sometimes an apparently insignificant conversation, a film or an unimportant novel provided an occasion for new insights.1

Andrew Bonar was greatly influenced during this period of his life by the sight of his many friends declaring their faith in Christ, while he could not follow them. In 1829 he writes: "Have had my desires much excited by seeing many of my friends, and those I respect most, already in Christ." Again, "It often comes to my mind, 'my friends will be forever lost to me,' for they shall be taken and I shall be left."2 When his brother, Horatius, decided to partake of the Lord's Supper for the first time, Andrew reflected: "It grieved me, because it makes me feel myself left, while others seem pressing into the kingdom."3 Looking back upon this time, Bonar said: "It was seeing many friends whom I loved in Christ that led me most of all to be always anxious for a change."4

The youth had disciplined himself to private study. The writings of Thomas Boston and Thomas a Kempis, together with Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, had a marked influence on Bonar's thought at this time.5 The Bible, of course, continued to be a constant source of guidance and strength. It was in 1828 that he began writing in his interleaved Bible, which he used so diligently, and which aided him in the study of the Scriptures throughout

his life.¹

The book which most strongly influenced him at this particular time was William Guthrie's *The Christian's Great Interest*, or, as it has often been called, *The Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ*. The book has two main sections. The first is called: "The Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ," and begins by assuring the reader that he may know whether he has an interest in Christ. There follows a discussion of the ways in which men may enter into a personal relationship with God through Christ, and the marks of such a relationship. Finally, some important aspects of the life of fellowship with God are briefly outlined. The second main section attempts to answer the question, "How to attain an interest in Christ?" It begins by stating that only by an acceptance of God's way of salvation through Christ can men become sons of God. This acceptance must be personal, cordial, sincere, and deliberate. Saving faith leads both to union with God in Christ, and to communion with Him. In a final part, encouragement is afforded to those who may not have been able to take the step of faith, and an explanation is given of the nature and manner of personal covenanting.²

Guthrie's book has been called "one of the best balanced, sober, and considerate of all the treasures of practical divinity that we inherit from the 17th century."³

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¹ Cf. "FMS Interleaved Bible," 3 vols. A reproduction of one of its pages may be found in Appendix III.
Its influence upon Bonar is to be seen in his references to the book, and in his appropriation of some of its phrases and concepts. It was Guthrie's book that Bonar was reading when he came to the conclusion that he was a child of God.

In addition to such great books, Bonar was influenced by several ministers whose sermons were beneficial in directing his thoughts towards a knowledge of God. One of these preachers whom he particularly mentions was the assistant minister at Lady Glenorchy's, John Purves. Of him, Bonar writes: "A most impressive sermon in the evening from Mr. Purves . . . I came home in deep anxiety to be saved." Again, "I thought that I received my first real impression of the Saviour's love this day, when Mr. Purves preached." Another minister who exerted a lasting influence upon Bonar was the eloquent Edward Irving.

In May, 1828, Edward Irving, still at the height of his popularity in Scotland, visited Edinburgh during the sessions of the General Assembly. The famous minister of Regent Square, London, chose to deliver his course of lectures at six o'clock in the morning, and the Apocalypse was his subject. The first day he preached in St. Andrew's Church, and the crowds were so great that on the next day the meeting was moved to the largest church in Edinburgh - the West Church. The people thronged to hear him every morning

2. Bonar, Diary, pp. 14f.
3. I.e., St. Guthbert's Church.
Hundreds could not gain admittance to the church, and some were trampled by the excited crowd. A writer of that day said that "the grand object of all his discourses" was "the second Advent and reign of Christ upon earth, and the nature of the kingdom then to be established." It was at this time that the young Bonar was first influenced by the dynamic personality and the forceful preaching of Irving.

During the General Assembly of 1829, Irving again visited Edinburgh and continued his lectures on "Unfulfilled Prophecy." This time, the use of St. Cuthbert's Church was denied him, so he spoke in the Hope Park Chapel instead. Once more, he preached to capacity audiences, as people from every walk of life arose early from their beds to hear his forceful, two-hour discussions. Like the voice of Elias raised from the dead, he thrilled the spirits of many thousands. Young and old hastened to ponder the things which were to be realized upon the earth before the end came. Among the throng was Andrew Bonar, deeply stirred, and moved to write in his Diary, on May 24:

Have been hearing Mr. Irving's lectures all week, and am persuaded now that his views of the Coming of Christ are truth. The views of the glory of Christ opened up in his lectures have been very impressive to me.

3. The present Newington Parish Church.
5. Bonar, Diary, p. 5.
Bonar continued to attend the lectures, and a week later he writes: "Mr. Irving's lectures go on with great power."¹

Irving's influence upon the thinking of Bonar continued. Shortly after his conversion, he writes of the years 1829-1830: "Mr. Irving's lectures used to give me great ideas of the world to come, and his 'parable of the sower' cast in some of the first beams of light into my soul as to spiritual truth."² It was about this time that Andrew, and many of his companions,³ adopted that view of the Premillennial Advent of Christ which was later to become one of the characteristic themes of his preaching and his theological thought.⁴

When Bonar first heard Edward Irving's eschatological views, he and three or four other students sought Chalmers' opinion and advice. Chalmers replied: "Go on, gentlemen;

1. Loc. cit.
3. They came to be called a little band of "pre-millenarians." The group included the three Bonars, Robert M'Cheyne, Walter Wood, John Milne, Robert Macdonald, William Cousin, and others.
4. Cf. Chapter VII. Though it is quite certain that Edward Irving gave the first impulse to Bonar's pre-millennial beliefs, there is no evidence of any subsequent connections between the two men. There is not even a trace of Bonar's opinions of Irving's later life and thought. In Bonar's extant writings, the only references to Irving are the following: (a) Bonar mentions his indebtedness to Irving for the lectures he delivered in 1829-30, Sheaves After Harvest. A Group of Addresses by A.A. Bonar, ed. by his daughters (London: Pickering & Inglis, [1936]), p. 43. (b) Bonar agrees with some of Irving's eschatological views, and quotes certain of his writings, Redemption Drawing Nigh. A defence of the premillennial advent (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1847), pp. 250ff., 349. (c) Bonar commends an opinion of Irving's in regard to the book of Psalms, Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1859), p. vi.
proceed in your study of the Word; this thing will do you no manner of harm."¹ Chalmers later said of the literal fashion in which the words of Revelation were taken by Bonar and others: "I like these literalities."² One day, while Chalmers was discussing the subject with Welsh, he said: "I tell you, Dr. Welsh, the millennium will come in with a hammer-smash!"³ In 1888 Bonar made the statement that Chalmers, before his death, had declared himself to be on the side of the Pre-millenarians.⁴

In the providence of God, these various factors - family influence, church impressions, educational experience, the example of his friends, great books, and great preachers - gradually contributed towards Bonar's conversion. He felt he was finally assured of his salvation on October 17, 1830. His conversion was then effected, not in any cataclysmic fashion, but, rather, as a result of a gradual realization of God's redemptive purpose in Jesus Christ. The culmination of his search for God's favor and assurance of salvation came, as it did for Martin Luther, not at a great revival gathering, but in the solitude of his room. As he sat in a room used for study in the Bonar home, he read William Guthrie's⁵

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1. Related by J. Elder Cumming in the Christian. Quoted in Fergus Ferguson, The Life of Dr. Andrew A. Bonar, Also Tributes to His Greatness (Glasgow: John J. Rae, 1893), p. 133.
4. Bonar, Sheaves After Harvest, p. 44.
5. Macfarlane, op. cit., p. 123. It is interesting to note that William Guthrie owed the deepening of his spiritual life to Samuel Rutherford. Andrew Bonar also testified to a similar indebtedness.
Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ. While engaged in this study he was led to the conclusion that he might already be in Christ, though he did not realize it. In the margin of his diary for that eventful day he wrote: "Assurance begun."1 Two months later, he looked back upon this experience:

"Reading Guthrie's Trial of a Saving Interest was very much the means of giving me any hope that I had undergone a change. The marks laid down there2 apply to me."3 As late as the year in which he died, he looked upon this time as a turning point in his spiritual pilgrimage: "Born again and fully brought to Christ in 1830."4 In 1874, while addressing a group of young converts, he referred to his conversion:

I remember the first hour in which I realised my interest in Christ. I remember the place where I was standing, - the side of the room and the part of the room where I was standing when I first saw that the sinner could have confidence toward God, simply in receiving what was offered in Christ himself. This occurred 44 years ago, and through the grace of God I have never lost sight of that for half a day. And I want to say to you, young converts: There is no need why you should ever for a minute lose sight of the ground of your confidence. It was enough at the first; it will be enough to the last. 'Hold fast the beginning of your confidence steadfast to the end.'5

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5. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Notes of an Address Delivered in 1874."
It is interesting to reflect upon the nature of Bonar's conversion. Though his religious training had basically been Calvinistic, he was also influenced, through attendance at Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, by a type of evangelicalism such as was found in Wesleyanism. These two influences are reflected in statements he later made in reference to his conversion: "He took hold of me! that year... He promised me that day I found Him that I would have rest in Himself always\(^2\)... it was in the year 1830 that I found the Saviour, or rather that He found me."\(^3\) Here, we perceive both the objective and the subjective aspects of his salvation, as he interpreted it. The feeling of a need for conversion was also strengthened for Bonar since he believed that when the Lord returns a man will be either within or without the Kingdom, depending upon whether or not he has been converted. At any rate, Bonar's conversion became for him the "habitual centre," as William James says, from which he was to feel, and think, and act for the remainder of his life.

Thus having gained this assurance of his salvation, Andrew Bonar desired to seal his decision and become a member in the Church of Christ. Accordingly, he was examined by Jones of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, and in the minutes of that church for July, 1831, we read: "Andrew Bonar, student, was admitted as a young communicant."\(^4\) With a deep sense of unworthiness and reverence he took part in his first

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1. Italics added.
2. Bonar, Diary, pp. 37f.
3. Ibid., p. 392.
Communion. "I felt little excitement, but much calmness at the Table. I believe I have got increase of power to look at God. I have sometimes fears, though not very distressing."¹

In the autumn of that year, Bonar enrolled as a student in the Divinity Hall in Edinburgh.

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¹ Bonar, Diary, p. 15.
C. Preparing for the Ministry (1831-1835)

On October 26, 1831, Andrew Bonar "passed easily and comfortably through the examination before the Presbytery, previous to entering the [Divinity] Hall." The following month, at the age of twenty-one years, he began his studies at the Divinity Hall in Edinburgh. In preparing for the ministry, he was guided by able professors. The Professor of Hebrew was Alexander Brunton, who, among his other occupations, was Minister of the Tron Church in Edinburgh. However, two teachers who exercised the greatest influence upon the young Andrew were Chalmers and Welsh. In 1892, he mentions them as "teachers I will never forget."

David Welsh became Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History during the same year in which Bonar began his divinity studies. Welsh was an eminent divine, who, as colleague to Chalmers, added great strength to the Theological Faculty of the University. By his high conception of his duties as a professor, and by his great abilities, he gave a new impetus to the study of Church History in Scotland. He was well-suited for the labors of a University Chair, and gladly devoted himself to the study and teaching of Church History. Each session he would revise his lectures so much as almost

1. Ibid., p. 18.
2. Cf. "UBEMS Roll of Cives of the Theological Library of the University of Edinburgh," for the years 1831-1835. From 1833-1835 Andrew Bonar, as the Treasurer, kept these records of the library.
3. A. Grant, op. cit., II, 291f.
to write them anew. The complete course offered by him was of three years duration. The lectures of the first year dealt with the history of the Christian Church until the time of Constantine, those of the second year treated the rise of Papal power until the thirteenth century, and those of the third year embraced the subsequent history of the Papacy and the history of the Reformation in most of the European countries. In his lectures he attempted to embody the findings of contemporary scholarship, and he evidenced throughout a genuine concern for the intellectual advancement of his students.¹

The man who was to exercise a greater influence upon Bonar during these impressionable years than anyone else, however, was Thomas Chalmers, who had been appointed Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh in 1828.² At this time he was an extremely popular figure. He was universally recognized in Scotland as a great intellectual and moral force. He had a reputation as a successful pastor, an eloquent preacher, a learned teacher, and a leader of men. Of him it might be said: "famam ingenii expectatio hominis, expectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superabat."

His lecture room was thronged not only by Divinity students,

1. A. Grant, op. cit., II, 310ff. An evidence of the interest aroused in his students may be found in James Dodds, "On the Study of Church History," The Edinburgh Academic Annual (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1840), pp. 1ff. Dodds was a pupil of Welsh.

2. Norman L. Walker, Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1895), p. 134. Walker states that it was not until Thomas Chalmers became an Edinburgh professor in 1828 that "the cause of Moderatism was lost" in that seat of learning.
but also by many of the most intelligent citizens of Edinburgh.¹ His more strictly theological lectures treated such subjects as Natural Theology, Christian Evidences, Systematic Theology, Butler's Analogy, Paley's Evidences, and Hill's Lectures on Divinity. In addition, he lectured on Pastoral Theology.²

It has been pointed out that as a theological professor Chalmers was more distinguished for the influence he had on his students than for any original contribution to the study of theology.³ Though he did not produce from his classes a series of theologians, he did contribute enormously towards the formation of an active, earnest generation of pastors and preachers. Hanna says of Chalmers that he "ever filled the youthful breasts of those who were afterwards to occupy the pulpits of the land, with the fire of so generous and so devoted an enthusiasm."⁴

Thus, from Chalmers, Bonar received not only a grounding in the creed of his Calvinistic forbears, but also an increased enthusiasm to proclaim the Gospel. He referred to the strong bond of affection between Chalmers and his students, saying: "there never was a professor loved as he was."⁵ Chalmers' gracious personal interest in Bonar

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1. One of his pupils, David Masson, in "Reminiscences of Edinburgh University," Macmillan's Magazine (December, 1864), XI, 127, has spoken of Chalmers' lectures as "really a course of Chalmers himself, and of Chalmers in all his characters."
2. Most of these lectures have been published in book form.
5. Bonar, Diary, pp. xiif.
kindled in him a responsive glow of admiration and affection which remained with him throughout all his life.

While Andrew Bonar was attending the Divinity Hall, he was a member of several student societies. He became associated at this time with a group of fellow students who were to become men of influence in the Scottish Church.¹ They formed the "Exegetical Society" which met "for the purpose of Biblical Criticism, begun and concluded with prayer; in some sort a prayer-meeting over our studies in the Bible."² It was said that Bonar was "the soul of the society" as it met, week after week, in the early mornings.

From the Minutes of the Society, and the four volumes of its essays prepared by its members, we may gain an understanding of its functioning, and of the part Andrew Bonar played in its activities. He was elected as Secretary at the first meeting in 1831, and retained this position until 1835, when the society ceased to function. Each member, in turn, served as President. In the two volumes of carefully recorded Minutes, we learn that the members of the society gathered together in the vestry of St. Stephen's Church, Edinburgh, through the courtesy of its minister, William Muir. They met every Saturday morning at six-thirty, except during the months of August, September, and October.


². Ibid., p. 18.
We might imagine the proceedings of such a meeting. The eighteen members enter the vestry and gather round the small coal fire. One of the members, acting as President, opens the meeting with prayer. Andrew Bonar then calls the roll, reads the minutes of the preceding meeting, and summons one of the men to present a carefully prepared essay. This is followed by an open discussion of the subject covered by the essay, after which the President attempts to draw some conclusions. Following this, certain items of business are discussed, and the essayist for the next meeting presents a brief outline of his subject. If time permits, one of the members might read an additional "voluntary" essay. The meeting is then concluded by the President, who leads the group in prayer. Bonar took an active part in all the proceedings. If ever one of the members failed to present his essay at the required time, it was usually Bonar who was ready to read one of his "voluntary" essays.

All the essays presented during the course of the meetings have been copied by the various members on the pages of four volumes. Andrew Bonar arranged the essays in the volumes, and drew up a table of contents and a Scriptural

1. Cf. Andrew Bonar, "NCMS Minutes of the Exegetical Society," 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Divinity Hall, 1831-1835). During the entire period of the society's existence, Bonar served as the Secretary, and kept careful minutes of the proceedings.

2. The members of the society presented their essays in turn. If a member failed to be prepared, the opportunity was given to anyone who desired to volunteer an essay. Bonar volunteered seventeen such essays. In addition, if any member was guilty of an infraction of the society's rules, he was required to write an "incurred" essay. If the offense was serious, the member was required to write the essay in Latin.
index. Thirty-five of his own essays are included in these volumes. These essays are illuminating forecasts of his later criticism and interpretation of the Bible. In his first essay, "On the Subject Matter of Biblical Criticism and the Requisites for it," he sets forth his conviction that the Bible is "all throughout perfect, being dictated immediately from heaven." He quotes from the Early Church Fathers, the Swiss and German Reformers, and several Scotsmen from the Reformation onwards, in order to show "the pious spirit which influenced the critical research of an able divine in former times." In contradistinction to such men, "the German commentators have now cast aside all this excellent mode of mind, and are merely men of letters."

Bonar's essays are either exegetical treatises on a particular passage of the Bible, or a consideration of some Biblical concept. His treatises evidence considerable research and Biblical knowledge. Greek, Hebrew, and Latin quotations are found throughout. His usual method of interpretation is to discuss the grammatical points of a text, and then draw certain moral lessons from his findings. Throughout these essays, though he says all related knowledge

2. Ibid., I, 5ff.
3. Ibid., I, 13.
4. Loc. cit.
should be used to clarify the meaning of the Bible, he employs a literal interpretation of the Scriptures, and advocates this method over all others.¹ He states, as a general principle of interpretation, that "we are never to ask what is the use of a truth ere we receive it as the saying of Scripture, but must receive it as scriptural on its own claims and then ask its use."²

When Bonar discusses an Old Testament passage, he is constantly alert to discover some prefiguration of a New Testament person or event. When he discusses a New Testament passage, he is prone to relate its Old Testament background. He considered the two Testaments as intimately conjoined. As he says: "Many have no better acquaintance with Christ and his Apostles, just because they know not Moses and Aaron."³

As Bonar prepared these essays, he was developing a method of interpretation which he was to utilize throughout his career. The same spirit of reverence for the Bible which characterized his essays was later manifested in his sermons and commentaries. In 1892, he looked back upon the meetings of the society and remembered especially "the reverential spirit in which the study of the Word was carried on."⁴

The various members of this group formed a close bond of friendship and understanding which was maintained during

¹. Ibid., I, 220.
². Ibid., I, 411.
³. Ibid., I, 17.
⁴. Bonar, M'Cheyne, p. 179.
their careers. Throughout the century they preached a similar message, held the same aspirations, and all, but one,¹ joined the Free Church in 1843. They played significant roles as members of the Evangelical party in the Scottish Church during the nineteenth century.

Chiefly under Bonar's influence, another group - the Prophetic Society - was formed. They met at stated intervals, and their meetings were much akin to those of the Exegetical Society. However, at these meetings the essays and discussions were limited primarily to the consideration of millenarian theories.²

Not content with meeting together for prayer and Bible study, the young group of Evangelicals, like Wesley and his associates at Oxford, began to visit among the poor and destitute of Edinburgh. In this, too, the zealous Andrew was a leading figure. In December, 1831, he writes: "God is opening up ways of usefulness to me; I have some influence among my fellow-students, and am beginning to visit among the poor this week."³ His influence upon other students is reflected in an entry in Robert M'Cheyne's Diary: "Accompanied A.B. in one of his rounds through some of the most miserable habitations I ever beheld."⁴

A group known as the "Visiting Society" was formed,

¹. James Cochrane. One other member, Robert M'Cheyne, died before the Disruption. It is interesting to note that William Muir, who permitted the meetings to be conducted in the vestry of his church, did not join the Free Church in 1843.
³. Bonar, Diary, pp. 18ff.
"the sole object of which was to stir up each other to set apart an hour or two every week for visiting the careless and needy in the most neglected portions of the town." It was their rule not to take time from their studies but to devote leisure hours to the work. Bonar reflects: "All of us felt the work to be trying to the flesh at the outset; but none ever repented of persevering in it." Bonar referred to this work many years later. In commenting upon the life of John Miller, he says:

A little company of us agreed together to form a prayer-meeting association, with the special end of visiting some neglected portions of Edinburgh, and seeking there the lost pieces of silver. A few hours every week were understood to be set apart for this end, two of us working together. Mr. Miller and myself had for our small district a close in the High Street, on the Castle Hill. We visited every house, from time to time, for a considerable part of the year, and held a weekly meeting on Friday evening; one of us teaching a question of the Shorter Catechism each evening, and the other opening up a passage of Scripture. It was there the first conversion I had ever witnessed occurred. The individual was the widow of a soldier, a Roman Catholic. Her joy when she came clearly to understand Isa. lv. 1, 'Come, buy wine and milk without money and without price,' was no common joy; and we shared in that joy.

In Bonar's Diary for this period there are several references to his task of visiting the poor. Though at times he can write: "Find the difficulty of visiting the poor to be less than I thought," yet, he admits: "Often I have to drag myself to visit the poor." In 1832 there was a violent outbreak of cholera in Scotland, and there were reported to have been over twenty thousand cases of the

1. Loc. cit.
2. Ibid., p. 182.
disease. More than fifty per cent. of the afflicted persons died.\textsuperscript{1} Edinburgh suffered under this disease, particularly in the poorer sections of the Old Town. Nevertheless, this did not stop the young Bonar from calling on the people: "Cholera has come among us. My visiting goes on . . . We do not cease visiting on account of the appearance of the cholera. It is the very time for visiting more."\textsuperscript{2} In a pamphlet on the subject of Church Extension written by Thomas Chalmers in 1835, he mentions the area visited by Bonar: "From the Castle to No. 529 High Street, on the North Side of the Castle Hill: Population, 418; Sittings, 59; Proportion, less than 1 in 7; Authority, Rev. John Thomson & Mr. Andrew Bonar."\textsuperscript{3}

It is interesting to notice that though Bonar was acutely aware of the dreadful conditions under which the people lived, his purpose was never one of social amelioration. His concern was the salvation of souls; any socio-economic improvements in the living of the people was a matter he left to God, or to the people themselves. His visiting of the poor seems to have followed a standard pattern: "I generally begin with reading a chapter, then say a few words, and pray."\textsuperscript{4} In 1832, during the outbreak of cholera, he increased his activities among the poor on High Street. "We have begun a

\begin{enumerate}
\item Bonar, \textit{Diary}, p. 19.
\item Thomas Chalmers, \textit{The Cause of Church Extension and the question shortly stated, between Churchmen and Dissenters in regard to it} (Edinburgh: John Anderson, Jun., 1835), Appendix.
\item Bonar, \textit{Diary}, p. 19.
\end{enumerate}
meeting in our district on Friday evening for reading Scripture and prayer." With the aid of other students, and certain of the Edinburgh ministers, Andrew continued these Friday meetings until the time when he finished his studies at the Divinity Hall. In addition, he taught Sabbath School in Leith, where his brother Horatius was serving as the assistant minister of St. James Church.

During his summer vacations, Andrew spent much of his time in study. He also met with Robert M'Cheyne and Alexander Somerville one morning a week "for the purpose of investigating some point of Systematic Divinity, and stating to each other the amount and result of our private reading." At another time during the week they met "till [they] had overtaken the chief points of the Popish controversy."

During another summer, Bonar was drawn to meet with others who were acquainted with Hebrew and Greek to study "Unfulfilled Prophecy." Such meetings bound the young students together, and years later Bonar remembered:

In those days, we, with perhaps some three others, used to go out early in the summer months to some part of Arthur's Seat, where we exercised ourselves in open-air declamation, and dealt in friendly criticisms. We had our times for united prayer, and the house of Dr. Moody Stuart was one of the places where 'prayer was wont to be made.'

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1. Ibid., pp. 19ff.
4. Ibid., p. 183.
D. Serving in Jedburgh (1835-1836)

In January, 1835, Andrew Bonar was proposed to be taken on trial before the Edinburgh Presbytery, and in March he completed his studies at the Divinity Hall. In June, he was approached by John Purves, minister in Jedburgh, who wanted the young Andrew to serve as his assistant in the parish church. Bonar's acquaintance with Purves dated back to April, 1826, when the latter had come to Edinburgh as Assistant and Successor to Thomas Jones at Lady Glenorchy's Chapel. Purves' influence upon Bonar at that time was considerable. The relationship between the two men was made more intimate when Purves married one of Bonar's cousins, a member of Lady Glenorchy's. In October, 1830, Purves demitted his Edinburgh charge and began his labors in Jedburgh.

When Bonar graduated from the Divinity Hall he had been undecided as to whether he should serve as a missionary abroad or remain at home. After a certain amount of thought and prayer, he became convinced of the leading of God and accepted the Jedburgh charge. On July 30, he submitted a "Homily, Exercise & addition, and Exegesis," and was licensed

2. Bonar, Diary, p. 27.
3. Ibid., p. 28.
4. Infra.
5. Ibid., p. 29.
by the Presbytery of Jedburgh.¹

In appearing before the Presbytery, Bonar was well-qualified to be commissioned to preach the Gospel. He had spent ten years at the University of Edinburgh, six in Arts and four in Divinity. He had entered with zest into the work of the various classes, and had gained distinction. He had obtained invaluable experience in his ministry among the poor. He had dedicated his life to God. Thus, it was with a profound sense of responsibility that the young minister regarded his licensing:

Now I am sent forth to preach the Gospel of Christ. This verse was upon my mind through the day, 'Faithful is He that called you, who also will do it,' so that I had no anxiety almost as to the issue of the discussion concerning licensing me that day. I knew that if it were delayed God had some intention in that delay. May the Holy Spirit fill my Soul with the awe of Himself.²

A few months before Bonar came to the border town of Jedburgh, John Purves had submitted the information of that parish to the New Statistical Account. From the pages of this record we learn that the population of the parish was well over five thousand. Many of the people were employed in agriculture, though the commercial and industrial life of the town was rapidly increasing. The iron and brass foundry, the printing-press factory, and the woollen factories employed over five hundred of Jedburgh's families. Men, women, and children were working from ten to twelve hours every day except the Sabbath. On that day, it was still

¹. "CSMS Records of Jedburgh Presbytery," 1815-1844, p. 236. Extensive research has failed to uncover any trace of the Jedburgh Kirk Session records for this period.
². Bonar, Diary, p. 30.
customary for them to attend the services of one of the churches in the area.¹

The church which Andrew Bonar served must have appealed to his interests in the past. In his edition of Rutherford's Letters, he mentions that Rutherford once attended a school which met in a part of the Jedburgh Abbey.² Even today the Abbey is of considerable historical interest. Jedburgh Abbey, perhaps the most imposing of the four abbeys of the Scottish Borderland,³ remains one of the most enchanting ruins in Scotland. Its chancel is the veritable work of David I, the royal builder and illustrious Scottish King. The nave combines grace with simplicity and stately appearance. It is engaging for the student, exemplifying every style of architecture from Early Norman to the period of the Reformation. The parish church in Bonar's day consisted of the western half of the nave of the Abbey, "fitted up for modern worship." It accommodated approximately nine hundred worshippers, and the average attendance was over seven hundred.⁴

Purves vigorously carried on the work of the parish in Jedburgh, and exercised a considerable influence upon Bonar during the years 1835 - 1836. Purves was faithful in his many pastoral duties. He was also a good preacher, and

³. The other abbeys are located at Kelso, Melrose, and Dryburgh.
his sermons evidence his evangelical spirit, his sincerity, his interest in the Bible, and his energetic temperament.¹ In a letter to a friend, Bonar writes: "Mr. Purves gathers in souls as the farmer does under a lowering sky in autumn, believing that the storm may next day rush down upon his fields."²

Purves' influence upon young Bonar was even greater since Bonar lived in the manse during his Jedburgh ministry. Though John Purves and his wife had four children,³ they were able to accommodate Andrew in their spacious living quarters. The Purves family accepted Andrew as one of themselves, and invited him to participate in their activities. Andrew particularly appreciated the morning and evening devotions at the manse, and often alluded with fondness to such times.⁴ Through personal conversations and sermons, Purves also encouraged Bonar in his study of prophecy and in his desire to spend time in prayer.⁵

Bonar was gladdened when his former classmate at the Divinity Hall, Alexander Somerville, came as minister to the chapel in nearby Edgerston. They spent many hours together in praying and in talking about their mutual interests.⁶ At times, they would exchange pulpits.⁷ The visits of other

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5. Andrew Bonar, "PMS Letter, to Alexander Somerville" (from Jedburgh: February 20, 1837). Note: Many of the Palmer Manuscripts, designated as "PMS," have been deposited with the New College Library, Edinburgh, by the present author.
friends were always welcomed by Bonar, and were regarded as opportunities for praying together. On other occasions, Andrew travelled to Edinburgh to preach in one of the churches or to visit his family and friends. However, such times were infrequent, for the young assistant was busily engaged in the work of the parish.

It was during his first week in Jedburgh that Purves asked Bonar to preach. It was his first sermon, and his anxiety concerning it is clearly revealed in his Diary. He had spoken to smaller groups before, but now he was confronted with the task of addressing a large congregation. During the week preceding this first attempt at preaching, the entries in his Diary are almost entirely concerned with his proposed sermon. He worked hard all week, and by Saturday he was able to say: "I feel good hope that I shall preach not only without anxiety, as one getting through a first sermon, but with real desire for souls."3

It was also during this time that he gained valuable experience in pastoral work. He seemed particularly concerned about his calls to the local prison. His visits to the inmates had the twofold effect of providing some of the prisoners with the benefits of a minister, and also of gaining for himself valuable insights into human nature which he never forgot. The spirit of the evangelist.

1. Bonar, Diary, p. 42.
3. Ibid., p. 31.
was strong in Bonar, and he became as much interested in these prisoners as in those parishoners who regularly attended church. In addition, he visited some gypsies who lived in the area, and soon became their friend.  

Another aspect of his service in Jedburgh was his work with the children in the parish. As the assistant to Purves, it was Bonar's responsibility to supervise the work of the Sabbath School. In this capacity, he helped to organize and train the teachers, and took upon himself the task of teaching some of the children. He thus developed that strong interest in children's work which was to become a vital part of his later ministry,

Though he was busily engaged in these various activities, at the very beginning of his ministry he made it a practice to devote time every day to the cultivation of his devotional life. He considered this to be of the utmost importance for the welfare of his own soul and for the success of his ministry. On the first day of his work in Jedburgh he affirmed:

\[\text{I resolve in the strength of the Lord to rise at six o'clock at least, and to read morning and evening, not only my Bible carefully, but also some biographical notices and some practical works, and O may the spirit of prayer be given me every day, and the gifts of the Spirit.}\]

When Bonar began his Jedburgh ministry, it was with the understanding that his residence there probably would not not
be of long duration. It was to be a time of preparation and training, as well as of service. Accordingly, when he had been there a year he was willing to consider a nomination for St. Peter's Church, a Chapel of Ease in Dundee. His two friends, Alexander Somerville and Robert M'Cheyne, were also nominated for the position. As it was, M'Cheyne was selected for the church.¹

Four months later, Bonar was offered the position of assistant to Robert S.Candlish in St. George's Church, Edinburgh. Though he did not want to leave Jedburgh at first, it seemed to him that it was in the will of God for him to go to Edinburgh. He regarded the district in which he would be working as "needy and destitute," and he believed the Edinburgh call to constitute a missionary challenge. Personal factors also entered into the decision of the young minister. In a letter to his brother James, he comments upon the advantages of serving among his many Edinburgh friends, and with such a well-known figure as Candlish.² At any rate, he became convinced of the leading of God, and accepted the new position.

Even though Bonar had spent scarcely a year and a half in Jedburgh, it was with great difficulty that he departed from the town and his friends there. His Diary reveals the love shared by the young assistant and his parishioners, many of whom gave him farewell gifts. So deep was his fondness

². Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to James Bonar" (from Jedburgh: November 18, 1836).
for the people of Jedburgh that even after he had begun his ministry in Edinburgh, he writes: "I have had as yet unceasing desire after the people of Jedburgh, and a spirit of prayerfulness for them, so that once or twice I could do nothing, but go alone and weep over them and pray."¹

¹ Bonar, Diary, pp. 48ff.
E. Laboring in Edinburgh (1836-1838)

When Andrew Bonar came to St. George's Church in 1836, Edinburgh, though a small city as regards population, was still the centre of Scottish life. Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen were rapidly growing, but did not as yet make a claim to rival the "Athens of the North." At this time, science, philosophy, law, and religion had taken the place formerly occupied by literature. The beginnings of a great school of medicine were being made. Scottish Philosophy was about to discard its provincialism, and to claim the attention of Europe. The Church was evidencing new signs of vitality and strength. However, to the twenty-six year old Andrew, Edinburgh represented a mission field, "full of irreligion, full of lukewarmness also, which thing, it seems to me, God might make me useful in testifying against."  

St. George's Church had been erected in Charlotte Square in 1814 to accommodate the increased population of that area. Andrew Thomson, the Evangelical leader, who had "caught the mantle of the Erskines and Moncrieffs," was chosen as its first minister. In this position he exercised a highly effective ministry, as well as representing the cause of Evangelicalism in the General Assembly.

From pulpit and platform he proclaimed the truth and credibility of the Bible during the Apocrypha Controversy, and he expounded his views by means of the Christian Instructor.\textsuperscript{1} His death in 1831 was a loss to many, and Andrew Bonar viewed it with great sorrow.\textsuperscript{2} A successor, James Martin, was finally chosen; but his ministry was cut short by illness in 1833. While Martin was abroad for his health, St. George's Church sought an assistant for him in his work. The promising young Candlish, who had previously served as assistant at St. Andrew's, Glasgow, and then in Bonhill, was eventually chosen for the position. In 1834, when James Martin died, the twenty-eight year old Candlish became minister of St. George's Church.\textsuperscript{3}

In 1836, the young Candlish was beginning to feel the burden of St. George's Church extremely heavy, and he contemplated a move to a smaller charge. However, he was persuaded against this, and it was decided that he should have an assistant in the work. Accordingly, he chose the promising young assistant minister in Jedburgh, and Bonar began his Edinburgh labors\textsuperscript{4} in November, 1836.\textsuperscript{5} In a letter written years later, he refers to this time:

\begin{quote}
It was November 1836 that I came from Jedburgh
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. Jean L. Watson, \textit{Life of Andrew Thomson} (Edinburgh: James Gemmell, 1882).
\textsuperscript{2} Bonar, \textit{Diary}, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{"SGMS St. George's Parish Kirk Session Minutes,"} 1814ff. These records afford no information regarding Bonar's ministry in Edinburgh.
\textsuperscript{5} Wilson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 67.
(where I had been for eighteen months partly as a friend and partly as a missionary with Mr. Purves) to be missionary to St. George's parish. So far as I can remember I was the first missionary. Rose Street and William Street (the schoolroom in each of these streets furnished a place of meeting) were the backbone of my mission district. The hostlers in these streets formed part of my charge; there was service for them at four o'clock on Sabbath afternoon, and sometimes there might be four, sometimes twelve, sometimes twenty, or even more, who came. Occasionally Dr. Candlish preached in the schoolrooms referred to. When about to begin my work I asked him, 'Will you tell me how I shall go about visiting here, and what meetings I should hold on week day and Sabbath?' In his own way he replied, 'I'll tell you nothing. Find out for yourself what may be best. Your way will be opened up for you.' And so I was left entirely free to do less or more, and to take any way I pleased. He liked me to call in upon him in a morning now and then (he was not so busy then) to report anything going on in the district. If I had a case of sickness that seemed to fall to his hands more than mine (e.g. some member of the congregation) I was welcome to call even on Saturday; and sometimes he most kindly told me what his lecture was to be, and would say, 'Now, does this look fanciful?' or something to that effect.

During a part of Bonar's ministry in Edinburgh, he suffered from times of depression, brought about by the fear that his labors were inadequate and unappreciated. In a letter to his friend, Alexander Somerville, he writes: "I have been saddened and brought near to melancholy because - not so much I see no fruits as - because I feel myself speaking so feebly and uninterestingly." His Diary reflects this same pensive mood: "Now I feel that I am not cared for, and in St. George's I am counted heavy and


2. Andrew Bonar, "PMS Letter, to Alexander N. Somerville" (from Edinburgh: [1837]).
lifeless." He was not happy unless he felt that he was giving his utmost for his Lord. Gradually, however, he found himself taken up with the mission work of the parish. Though he would occasionally preach in St. George's, his primary responsibilities were with the people of the William Street and Rose Street area - preaching, catechising, and visiting. His duties also extended to the District School, where he labored among the children of the area.

Bonar had early expressed his concern for the conversion of the Jews. This interest, stimulated by the preaching of Thomas Jones and John Purves, was further increased by his premillennial views, according to which the conversion of the Jews was regarded as a precursor of the Second Coming of Christ. Thus, when Bonar went to Edinburgh he had "hope of seeing some Jews in the town," and he believed God had brought him to the metropolis "for the sake of drawing attention to the Jews, and being able to do something for them." In a letter written at this time, he tells of some Jewish people who were attending his preaching services, and were sending their children to be taught in the school with which he was connected.

2. Bonar, "PMS Letter, to Alexander N. Somerville" (from Edinburgh: [1837]). In this letter, Bonar mentions speaking at a service every night during the week, except on Monday and Tuesday. Cf. Bonar, Diary, pp. 50ff.
5. Ibid., p. 51.
6. Ibid., p. 54.
7. Bonar, "PMS Letter, to Alexander N. Somerville" (from Edinburgh: [1837]).
interest in Christian Missions to the Jews found further expression in his private dealings with various Jewish people in town,¹ in his labors in behalf of the Missionary Association and the Committee of the Jewish Society,² and in his fervent prayer for the proposal to the General Assembly of 1838, which he attended, that a committee for Jewish Missions be appointed.³

Bonar would occasionally visit his friends in the ministry whom he had known so well during their days at the Divinity Hall. He always looked forward to such occasions as opportunities for corporate prayer and study. During the time of the General Assembly in 1838, several of the members of the Exegetical Society gathered together and made an agreement:⁴

We the undersigned members of the Exegetical Society hereby declare our intention to read during the course of next year the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah or one [sic] other of them in Hebrew - and one of the books of the New Testament in Greek.

(signed)
Henry Moncreiff
Andrew A. Bonar
Robt. Kinnear
Tho' Brown
Walter Wood
John Thomson
Alexander N. Somerville
George Smeaton
Robt. Murray M'Cheyne.

Edinburgh
24. May 1838.

By 1837, the year which witnessed Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, Andrew Bonar was willing to consider the possibility of accepting another charge. The entries in his Diary for this period reflect his anxiousness to be allowed more freedom of action and more occasions to preach the Gospel which he so dearly loved. Opportunities for service at Cardross and Newhaven were placed before him, but he was not chosen for either church. Evidently, the young Andrew did not make the most desirable impression on the people when he preached as a candidate. Though he was willing and devoted, he observed: "There is something in my manner, both in private and public, which does not commend itself, but rather gives the idea of feebleness."

During the summer of 1838, he was approached by the patron of the church in Collace, Perthshire, James Nairne. Nairne, who was the "sole heritor," offered him the position of Assistant and Successor to the minister, John Rogers. Accordingly, Bonar preached a sermon before the people and was selected for the position. After he passed the examination administered by the Presbytery of Perth, the date was arranged for his ordination. About the same time, he had received invitations to preach in three other

2. Bonar, Diary, pp. 53, 57f.
3. Ibid., p. 55.
5. "PPKS Perth Presbytery Record" (1828-1838), XXV, 620ff.
6. Ibid., XXV, 624, 627. His "Pieces of Trial" were: Lecture, Luke 7:19-36; Exercise and addition, Hebrews 8:8, 9; Popular Sermon, Ephesians 4:16; Exegesis, "An Ecclesia debeature aliquod Stependium"; Hebrew, Psalm 18.
churches, which he declined.  

Personal factors might have led him to a church which was larger in membership than the rural parish of Collace.  

In addition, the older minister, Rogers, was not altogether agreeable to the settlement of a young Evangelical in the parish. Nevertheless, Bonar's youthful eyes envisaged the possibilities of the church, and in his mind and heart there burned the unyielding assurance that God was calling him to Collace. Such a conviction was irresistible for him, and in the autumn of 1838 he embarked upon his Collace ministry, which was to extend over a period of eighteen years.

1. Bonar, Diary, pp. 63f.  
2. "PPMS Perth Presbytery Record." (1828–1838), XXV, 620. Bonar's salary at the outset of his Collace ministry was £80 per annum.  
3. Bonar, Diary, pp. 64f.
Chapter III.  
COLLACE MINISTRY
CHAPTER III

COLLACE MINISTRY

Let me work on and labour, and at last will come the sweet rest that remains for the people of God.

- Andrew Bonar, Diary, p. 144.

A. Proclaiming the Gospel (1838-1839)

The rural parish of Collace is situated approximately eight miles to the northeast of the city of Perth.\(^1\) It lies in the beautiful, rich valley of Strathmore. To the north are the towering Grampians, casting a distant grandeur over the soft Lowland scene. Immediately to the south there rise the round masses of the Sidlaws - tower-capped Kinpurney, swelling Auchtertyre, and the bold Dunsinnane. In Bonar's time, the parish of Collace was pre-eminently a crofter's community. Three-fourths of the population lived in the three hamlets of Saucher, Kinrossie, and Collace;\(^2\) the remainder of the people lived in farm houses and bothies.\(^3\)

We might imagine the parish picture, and the prosaic, parochial life, as the twenty-eight year old Bonar first

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1. For the description of the Parish of Collace I have relied upon three sources: (A) Personal observations; (B) The New Statistical Account of Scotland, X, 210ff.; (C) Photographs included in Andrew Bonar, "SMS Communicants of the Free Protesting Church of Scotland in the Parish of Collace and its Neighbourhood." This last-named source constituted Bonar's private record of the calls he made, and the births, deaths and other happenings connected with his pastoral ministry from 1843 till 1856.

2. Thorngreen, a small group of buildings, was also included in the parish.

viewed it in 1838. One of the villages in his parish is named Saucher. It is formed by several low buildings arranged around three sides of a large square, with an opening on the south. The houses are generally old, and, with one or two exceptions, they are small, with low ceilings and thatch roofs. Some are in a state of disrepair. Others have a neat, and even a bright appearance. Most of the dwellings consist of but two rooms, one for sleeping and the other for eating and living. The average family residing in such a house consists of five members.\(^1\) Between the east and west rows of houses is a large plot of vacant ground, over which vehicles, cadger's carts, and baker's vans pass at will.

Mounting his horse, Bonar then rides over the dirt road to the village of Collace, which is located about a mile southeast of Saucher. Collace is at the base of the Sidlaws, and occupies a beautiful and romantic situation. Through the village, in a ravine, runs a burn from the Sidlaws. At the top of the ravine, on either side, the houses are built, some facing the south, others the west, and some the east. Such a scene might recall the lines from the "Gentle Shepherd":

\begin{quote}
A flowrie howm, between twa verdant braes,
Where lassies used to wash and spread their claes,
A trottin' burnie whimpling through the ground,
Its channel pebbles, shining, smooth and round.\(^2\)
\end{quote}

Most of the thatch-roofed houses, with their byres, stables, and outhouses, stand apart from each other. Their style

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differs but little from the homes which were common throughout Scotland a century earlier.

Proceeding about two miles further to the west, Bonar finds the third village in his parish - Kinrossie. It is the largest village of the three, and is formed by two long rows of houses on either side of the road. With few exceptions the dwellings are neat and in good order. A bay window here and a rustic porch there gives the locality a slightly superior appearance to the other villages. The houses stand several yards back from the road, and on the north side there is a broad strip of grass. Near the center of the village stands an erect cross, to which formerly the "jougs" for the punishment of offenders were attached.1

In those days, nearly eighteen hundred acres of the land in the parish were under cultivation. Over five hundred acres were covered with Scotch Fir trees and Larches, while one hundred acres were used for pasture. At the time, iron ploughs were becoming standard equipment, and iron harrows were used quite generally. The crops which were grown consisted of wheat, barley, oats, grass, potatoes, and turnips. Improvements were being made in animal breeding, and some of the best breeds of cattle, horses, and sheep were raised in the area. The land was divided into small farms, which were generally leased to tenants for nineteen years. The annual rent of the land

1. This cross is still standing.
varied from £1 to £3 per acre. A ploughman was paid £12 to £14 per annum, "with the usual allowance of meal and milk," and women received from £6 to £6.6s. per annum. During the busiest seasons, day-laborers were hired for 1/6d per day.¹

Apart from agriculture, weaving was the principal industry of the community. Before weaving became widespread, the spinning-wheel whirred at almost every fireside in the parish. By 1837, however, over one hundred looms in the parish were in full operation. Young and old of both sexes were employed in the trade. In 1837, the Statistical Account reports: "The produce of the loom has long been our staple article of commerce, and has of late greatly increased."² Yet, the cloth industry was to undergo another change. Gradually, the weaving industry was transferred to the large towns and cities of the land. As a result, the villagers and country weavers lost their trade, and were forced to seek other employment. Emigration resulted. Whereas the population of Collace was 730 in 1831, by the time of Bonar's death in 1892 it was about 400.

The history of the parish of Collace is an interesting one, and excited the imagination of the young minister from Edinburgh.³ On the hill of Bandirran are the remains of a Druidic circle. In the vicinity of Collace there had been the settlement of St. Euchan, the Culdee ¹

Ibid., X, 215.
Cf. Bonar, "SMS Communicants of the Free Protesting Church of Scotland in the Parish of Collace." Among other things, this volume contains Bonar's notes on the historical background of the parish.
missionary. 1 This is commemorated in the old rhyme, long familiar in that countryside:

Truth and grace came by Collace,
And by the door o' Dron.

Within the bounds of the parish is Dunsinnane Hill. From its summit Great Birnam Wood is clearly visible fifteen miles away to the northwest. Whether the Swan of Avon ever crossed the Tweed is a moot question, but on Dunsinnane Hill are still traceable the lines of a British Fort, the Castle, according to popular tradition, of Macbeth.2 It is said that Macbeth erected here a strong castle in the eleventh century, after his usurpation of the Scottish crown. Meanwhile, Malcolm, son of King Duncan whom Macbeth had murdered, applied to Edward the Confessor for assistance. An army, under Siward, the Earl of Northumberland, was granted. Other discontented barons flocked to the English standard raised in Malcolm's behalf. The result of the ensuing struggle was the death of Macbeth and the destruction of the castle.3

After the Reformation of the sixteenth century the settlement of the parish minister of Collace became the concern of the Patronage of the Crown. The first Protestant minister was James Anderson, whose poem, The Winter

1. James Anderson, The Winter Night, ed. by Andrew Bonar (Edinburgh: John Greig, 1851), p. 4. The market cross in the village of Kinrossie was reputed to be a Culdee cross.
Night, written in 1589, attempted to show "plainly the blindness wherein we were misled by Popery, and the clear light of the Gospel now manifested in our days, to the glory of God, and the comfort of all them that hope for salvation."¹ In the introduction to his edition of the poem, Bonar traces the successive history of the parish until the time of his pastorate there.

On the evening of September 20, 1838, by the light of overhead flickering lamps, Andrew Bonar was ordained in the Collace Church by the Presbytery of Perth.² It was an occasion of great interest, and a united and cordial welcome was extended to the new minister. The four hundred seats of the church were filled by his family, friends, and congregation, as they heard John Findlay of Perth preach the ordination sermon on the "Servant of the Lord."³ When the several ministers placed their hands on Bonar's head, he "felt like one for whom very strong intercession was going up to God to the very highest heavens," and he dedicated himself to God, "and expected henceforth His promised Spirit."⁴ This event, as the ensuing years demonstrated, marked the beginning of a new era for the people of Collace.

On the following Sunday the new minister was formally introduced to his congregation. The honor of performing the introduction went to his friend Robert Candlish, under whom he had recently served. Candlish was one of the most

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³. The text was Isaiah 53:3-5.
⁴. Bonar, Diary, pp. 73f.
popular preachers in Scotland, and the occasion was a great one for Collace. The people crowded the church to listen to him and to celebrate the introduction of the young minister to his flock. Candlish preached upon "Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men," and many of the people were moved to tears. Bonar was thrilled by the occasion, and was led to write: "I do think God is visiting this place; everything has been so apparently directed of Him." 

Bonar's expectations for his Collace ministry were to be fulfilled during his eighteen years among the people in Perthshire. However, at the outset the people were not impressed by his preaching. This fact inclined his senior minister, John Rogers, to make no opposition. Had the young minister been popular with the people from the beginning, the somewhat jealous Rogers might have opposed his coming. A member of his parish, years later, said to Bonar: "It's a gude thing, sir, we didna' like ye at first, or we wadna hae had ye noo!" 

John Rogers, a minister of the Moderate party, had come to Collace in 1798 to serve as assistant to William M'Leish. M'Leish had been an undutiful minister in Collace since 1783, and was finally set aside in 1800 by the

1. II Corinthians 5:11.
2. Bonar, Diary, p. 75.
4. Cf. Bonar, "SMS Communicants of the Free Protesting Church of Scotland in the Parish of Collace." In this volume, Bonar includes a history of the ministers who have served in Collace since the Reformation. Cf. also J. Anderson, op.cit., pp. 3ff.
Presbytery for his "dissolute habits." At that time Rogers, now married, was ordained as minister to the parish, "though not acceptable to the people." In 1838 there was only one woman in the parish who was known to have received any specific help from Rogers. Thus, in the words of one writer, when Andrew Bonar came to Collace, the parish was suffering "from the blighting reign of 'Moderatism.'"

We might readily imagine the tension which soon developed between the two ministers. On the one hand, Rogers, at the age of seventy-four, was hoping to spend the remainder of his years in peace, without any interference from the "new doctrines." On the other hand, Bonar was convinced of the necessity of proclaiming the Gospel, and he hoped for a revival among the people. A member of Rogers' family asked Bonar: "Do all you young men preach that it is necessary for people to be converted, or is it just yourself?" He replied: "Oh, every one of us preaches what the Word says - that it is needful for all to be born again."

In the pages of his Diary, particularly for the first year at Collace, there are several references to the tension between Rogers and him, and he admits regretfully that he has been

1. Ibid., pp. 9f.
3. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 122.
4. Bonar, "SMS Diary." In the manuscript copy of the Diary, Bonar throughout refers to Rogers, his senior minister. However, in the published Diary, the term "old minister" is substituted in preference to "Mr. Rogers."
5. "CMS Parish of Collace, Register of Church Discipline," II. Unfortunately, the extant records of the Kirk
guilty of "murmuring against God in regard to the old minister."

Nevertheless, the people were attracted to their new minister. Though he felt, upon his arrival in Collace, that "their religion was decency and formality," he soon noticed a revived interest in spiritual matters. The people came to appreciate his efforts, and admire his spirit. His zealous preaching of the Gospel stirred the hearts of many. As a great believer in pastoral visitation, he did the work of an evangelist, and speedily established friendly relations with his parishioners. These visits to their homes endeared Bonar to his people, who expressed "a great anxiety to be visited and catechized." Not content with his regular duties, he inaugurated a week-day service of preaching and prayer in Kinrossie. In addition, evening services were occasionally held on the village green in Saucher, when the

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Session in Collace are incomplete. They give no information regarding Andrew Bonar, and only serve to illustrate the negligence of the moderator, John Rogers. For the period between February 24, 1838, and August 6, 1848, approximately six months before Bonar came to Collace, the session was deliberating a case of discipline regarding a young girl who had given birth to an illegitimate child. The session had disciplined the girl previously for her illicit affairs. Now, it was learned that she was again guilty of fornication. In the midst of the discussion of her case, in the middle of a sentence, the record suddenly stops! Ten years later, in the same handwriting the record is again taken up. However, there is no explanation for the previous abrupt break, nor is there any reference to the preceding years.

1. Bonar, Diary, pp. 75, 77.
4. H. Bonar, Life of Milne, p. 60.
5. Bonar, Diary, p. 77.
farm people would gather under the stars to sing their well-loved psalms and thrill to the preaching of the Word.\textsuperscript{1} He also served the parish school in a supervisory capacity, and taught various classes in the Sabbath-School.\textsuperscript{2}

Bonar's first home in Collace was Dunsinnane House. Here, he lived with James Nairne, Laird of Dunsinnane, sole proprietor, and friend of the young minister. Later, he moved to Kirkton,\textsuperscript{3} an old-fashioned, ivy covered, two-story house located behind the church.\textsuperscript{4} His elder sister, Christian, stayed with him during this time, and was assisted in caring for the house by a servant who remained with the family for many years. It was here that several of his friends and family visited him during his early years in Collace.\textsuperscript{5}

Many of Bonar's friends were ministers in the various parishes surrounding Collace. When he climbed to the top of Dunsinnane Hill he could look towards the east and see the parish of Abernyte, where James Hamilton\textsuperscript{6} had just begun his

\begin{enumerate}
\item Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to John Milne" (from Collace: April 27, 1842). John Milne was a minister in Perth, and one of Bonar's best friends.
\item Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to Robert M'Cheyne" (from Collace: November 9, 1838).
\item On the fourth floor of the Church of Scotland Office Building, 121 George Street, Edinburgh, there is a bench from the garden of this house, bearing the inscription: "Garden Seat from the manse at Collace - on which Andrew and Horatius Bonar and R.M. M'Cheyne often sat together ..." The bench was not actually from the manse, as Rogers lived there, but from the church-owned building called "Kirkton."
\item Two photographs of this building may be found in Bonar, "SMS Communicants of the Free Protesting Church of Scotland in the Parish of Collace."
\item Bonar, Reminiscences, p. 8.
\item Bonar, Diary, p. 98.
\end{enumerate}
ministerial career, and where Joseph Wilson[^1] was afterwards to labor so successfully. When he looked to the north he saw Blairgowrie, where his dear friend Robert Macdonald exercised a successful ministry. Looking to the southwest he saw the smoke rising from the buildings of Perth, where John Milne was laboring, and where William Burns often preached. As he looked to the southeast he could see Dundee, the bustling seaport at the mouth of the Tay, where his most intimate friend, Robert M'Cheyne, was carrying on his glorious, though brief, ministry.[^2]

In addition to these friends there were many more in other parts of the country[^3], such as John Purves in Jedburgh, Andrew's brother Horatius in Kelso, and his brother John[^4] in Greenock. With such men, Bonar would exchange pulpits and assist during Communion times. Often, they would gather together for Bible study and prayer. At his jubilee in 1888, Bonar referred to his early years at Collace: "Do you see... what a ministerial education I was going to get, with all these friends so near me? Many, many a happy meeting we had together."[^5] It was largely because of his friendship with one of these men, M'Cheyne, that Bonar was enabled to realize one of his fondest dreams: a missionary visit to Palestine.

[^2]: Bonar, Diary, pp. 76, 78f., 84, 88, 90, 93ff.
[^4]: Bonar, Diary, pp. 80, 86, 94.
[^5]: Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, pp. 28f.
B. Furthering Mission and Revival (1839-1840)

One of the most significant of all the movements in the nineteenth century was the missionary expansion of the Church. It was this enterprise that led Kenneth Scott Latourette to call the period between 1815 and 1914 "The Great Century."\(^1\) As Hugh Watt states:

One fact was common to the whole Christian world. Through safer and accelerated intercommunication the world had become a smaller place. The problem of the non-Christian peoples came home with a new urgency. The nineteenth century was a century of Foreign Missions.\(^2\)

The Scottish Church had been conscious of the missionary ideal in previous centuries. Yet, it was only when colonizing began that the Churches seem to have been roused to any practical interest in this area of their admitted responsibility. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were to see the expansion of the missionary enterprise throughout the world.\(^3\) In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, with a fresh-born anxiety for the progress of Christ's kingdom, there was a concern in the Scottish Church for the conversion of Israel. Since it was uncertain as to where missions for that purpose could best be started, it was resolved, in 1839, to send forth a mission

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of inquiry into the state of the Jews - their numbers, condition, and character.

Two veterans had been selected for the mission - Alexander Black, Professor of Divinity in the Marischal College, Aberdeen, and Alexander Keith, minister of St. Cyrus, and author of various works on the subject of Prophecy. An elder from Glasgow, Robert Wodrow, was originally to have accompanied the mission, but illness prevented him from doing so. Robert Candlish was largely responsible for the appointment of the two junior members of the mission. At this time, Robert M'Cheyne had become ill and was forced to seek a rest from his strenuous endeavors in Dundee. Candlish thought the trip would serve the twofold purpose of giving M'Cheyne his needed rest, and of providing the mission with a valuable member. It seemed quite natural to Candlish that M'Cheyne's friend, and his own former assistant, should become the fourth member of the deputation.¹

Bonar had been interested in the conversion of the Jewish people previous to this time, even before his own conversion.² During his service at St. George's, Edinburgh, this interest had been quickened,³ and he thought God had led him there in order that he might be "able to do something for them." He became engaged in the activities of the

2. Bonar, Diary, p. 7.
Missionary Association and the Committee of the Jewish Society, and stated his opinion that Jewish missions ought to have priority in the missionary programme of the Church. He prayed for the cause of Jewish missions, and was delighted when the Church of Scotland began to take an active interest in that cause.

However, when the opportunity of going to Palestine was presented to Bonar, he hesitated to accept. He was uncertain as to his own duty. He had been in Collace only six months. Would it be right to leave his people? He writes: "The matter is taken so deeply by my people, and they are so alarmed at the thought of being left without a shepherd . . . it is trying to set before me the prospect of leaving my people desolate." Neither Bonar nor his flock had much confidence in the spiritual leadership of Rogers.

Bonar's difficulties are expressed in a letter he wrote to M'Cheyne on March 8, 1839:

My difficulties are 1st. Since you have Dr. Black with you, you have little need of me in regard to languages. 2d. Your argument, drawn from the importance of the subject, is in this manner turned aside from its reference to me - for, all the object of the Tour may be attained by the three worthy and gifted men that form the deputation, even though the fourth remain in the field of Ephratah. 3d. I have got no light whatsoever as to supply [sic] my Parish. On the contrary, I cannot ascertain, though I have made enquiry, whether or not the appointment would be left to me. Now, to leave my people in this

1. Bonar, Diary, p. 54.
2. Ibid., pp. 60ff., 63.
4. Bonar, Diary, pp. 81ff.
state seems to me like a shepherd, whose voice his own sheep know, calling a flock into a field and then all at once leaving them to the danger of grievous wolves. The very circumstance that as yet I do not know of conversions among them seems to me a reason for not leaving.¹

Like the apostle who wrote to the Philippians, Bonar was "in a strait betwixt the two." However, when R.S. Candlish informed him that the General Assembly's Committee on Jewish Missions considered his participation as "indispensable to the carrying on of the plan,"² he was disposed to go. "The great cause of Israel," he saw, perhaps "would be benefited" if he shared in the mission. As for his parishoners in Collace - "I would not fear to trust the Lord with the souls of my people; when John the Baptist was removed, Christ Himself came."³ Besides, since his people had "no conscience of the duty of attending to the Jews; it is perhaps the very way by which God will have them all round get this."⁴ On March 19, 1839, Bonar obtained the permission of the Presbytery of Perth "to form one of a committee sent out by the General Assembly to Palestine, with a view to collect information regarding the present state of God's ancient people." During his absence, Rogers was completely responsible for the work of the parish.⁵

A journey to Palestine in those days was an event of great interest and concern. An old woman in the parish, when

2. R.S. Candlish, "PMS Letter, to Andrew Bonar" (from Edinburgh: March 8, 1839).
4. Bonar, Diary, p. 81.
5. "PPMS Perth Presbytery Record" (1839-1846), XXVI, 8f.
told that her minister was going to the Holy Land, asked by which route he would travel. When told that he would first go to Egypt and then to Palestine, she held up her hands and exclaimed: "Oh, then, we'll no' see him again for forty years!" The day on which Bonar left for his trip, a farmer in the parish met him on the road and hailed him thus in the broadest Doric: "You'll be gaun to Pairth the daay, Mister Bonar?" "No!" was the unexpected reply, "I'm going to Jerusalem." 

Bonar's trip to Palestine need not be discussed in detail here. He and M'Cheyne have given a complete account of their travels in the Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews. Bonar's impressions of the mission are also preserved in the letters which he wrote to his friends at home. The contents of twelve of these letters are known. They trace his itinerary from London to Leghorn, then to Palestine via Syria and Alexandria. From Jerusalem, Mt. Carmel, the Sea of Galilee, and Beyrout, he describes his stay in the Holy Land. Later, he writes from Smyrna, Constantinople, Galatz, and Bossanze. His letters deal primarily with the spiritual condition of the various peoples, rather than with their material circumstances or the scenery of the lands through which the expedition travelled.

1. Bonar, Diary, p. 82.
3. Cf. Chapter VI.
4. Cf. Andrew Bonar's passport, showing the places he visited, which was signed by Lord Palmerston. The passport is in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. A.R. Bonar, Fetcham, Surrey.
The letters are of value in illuminating Bonar himself, rather than for the information they give of the scenes he saw and the people he met.

In France, Bonar was distressed by seeing that the Jews there were "very careless about religion." He attributes this state of affairs to the fact that "they have got very much engaged in business, and have found that they will get into more business by not being so strict as they used to be." Nor was he pleased by the practices existing among Roman Catholics. "They make Sabbath a day of gaiety and pleasure,¹ and they worship the cross, instead of Christ, when they worship anything. But most . . . of France has really no religion."²

In Italy the religious condition of the people was even more distressing to Bonar. "In Italy things are much worse. There is no keeping of the Sabbath . . . at almost every corner of the street, there is an image of the Virgin Mary." Such sights intensified his dislike for the system of Roman Catholicism, and prompted him to declare: "Popery is still 'Mother of harlots and the abomination of the earth.' Pray for its destruction."³ In the legalistic framework of the two systems of Judaism and Roman Catholicism, he observed many similarities, and believed the adherents of both religions to be desperately in need of the Gospel of Christ.⁴

¹ Throughout his life, Bonar maintained strict sabbatarian views.
² Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to the people of Collace" (from Alexandria: May 14, 1839).
³ Loc. cit.
⁴ Andrew Bonar, "NCMS Letter, to John Bonar" (from Syria: May 10, 1839). John Bonar was the brother of Andrew.
Bonar's greatest joy came when the party reached the Holy Land. He revelled in the Palestinian scenes, and gloried in the land his Master had trod. Each locality had its particular significance: the place where Abraham pitched his tents, the spot where Hagar received a vision from God, the plains which had belonged to the tribe of Simeon, the road travelled by the Ethiopian Eunuch. Especially was he thrilled in visiting the places associated with Christ's life: Bethlehem, where Jesus was born; Bethany, where He comforted Mary and Martha; Sychar, where He conversed with the woman at Jacob's Well; Jerusalem, where He was crucified. Bonar felt that in Palestine, "every spot is just a page of scripture spread out and addressed to the soul." He writes: "I wonder from time to time at the hand of God in bringing me to the 'Promised Land.' I hope it is a type and pledge that he will one day so carry me to Immanuel Himself." In viewing the Dead Sea, Bonar says: "Jesus never visited it, because it is a type of hell, and no soul ever is redeemed if once in hell."

His reflections upon Palestine also serve to illustrate how his thoughts were accustomed to rise to God and the things of the spirit. In visiting the plain of Jezreel, he comments: "It is probable that the great

1. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to the people of Collace" (from Mount Carmel: June 29, 1839).
2. Andrew Bonar, "NCMS Letter, to John Bonar" (from Jerusalem: June 17, 24, 1839).
4. Bonar, "SMS Letter, to the people of Collace" (from Mount Carmel: June 29, 1839).
battle of Armageddon will be fought here, when Antichrist comes against the Jews after they are restored." In describing the beautiful scenery of parts of the Holy Land, he says: "When Christ comes again to judge the world and to reign, he promises to make all this earth new, and 'the glory of Lebanon' shall be given over to the barren hills of Scotland."1

His thoughts often turned to Scotland, and foreign places reminded him of home. He liked to compare Palestinian sights with those of his homeland. He also expressed a concern for the welfare of the Church of Scotland, and followed with great interest the activities of such men as Chalmers and Duff.2

His people in Collace were often in his mind. Some of his letters to them have been preserved, in which he expresses his deep concern for their welfare. The letters are addressed to: "My Dear People, for whose souls I must give an account."3 As he described the scenes he saw, he often drew religious lessons from them. In writing from Mt. Carmel, he related how the wolves would howl during the night. This reminded him of Christ's parable, "wherein he represents his people as safe in his fold from all such enemies. If anyone, young or old, in all the parish of Collace, is not in Christ's fold, then that poor weak soul

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1. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to the people of Collace" (from Galacz, on the Danube: September 3, 1839).
2. Andrew Bonar, "NCMS Letter, to William Bonar" (from Beyrout: July 6, 1839). William Bonar was one of Andrew's brothers.
may become the prey of the wolf - of the devil - this very night."1 Again, in writing from Alexandria, Bonar noted that the Jews who were approached by Roman Catholics rejected Christianity as being a sect of idol-worshippers, while the Jews who were approached by Protestants rejected Christianity by saying there was no sin in men. Bonar concludes: "Is this not the way with some of you? You try to find fault where you can, and where you cannot, you nevertheless keep away from the truth."2 James Nairne of Dunsinnane had these pastoral letters printed for the people of Collace, and a charming picture has come down to us of the old precentor seated upon a grassy knoll in the village reading the letters aloud to the people on the Sabbath evenings.3

When Bonar and M'Cheyne returned to Scotland, they were called upon to speak of their recent travels in churches throughout the land. In his Diary Bonar records these visits to such places as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Perth, Greenock, Kelso, as well as his appearances before some of the nearby presbyteries.4 In November, 1839, he gave a report of his findings to a commission of the General Assembly5 and in 1840 he presented a report to that body.6 His interest in

1. Bonar, "SMS Letter, to the people of Collace" (from Mount Carmel: June 29, 1839).
2. Bonar, "SMS Letter, to the people of Collace" (from Alexandria: May 14, 1839).
3. Bonar, Diary, p. 82.
furthering the cause of Jewish Missions continued throughout his ministry in Collace, and later in Glasgow.

While Bonar was in Palestine, his senior minister, Rogers, conducted the affairs of the Collace parish. The minister who took M'Cheyne's place in Dundee was William Burns, under whose labors signs of revival appeared. When the two travellers returned home, M'Cheyne found his people enjoying a spiritual awakening. Many other parts of Scotland, as well, were witnessing this new surge of the Spirit. During this time, Bonar often visited Dundee and other places of revival - speaking at evangelistic meetings, addressing groups of interested persons, counselling new converts, and furthering the work of revival by whatever means possible. Writing to his brother Horatius, in January, 1840, he tells of his participation in a series of meetings in Perth, where "a real work of the spirit" was taking place. "The whole town is stirred; everybody is talking of the movement."¹

Collace was also affected by this spirit of revival. In December, 1839, Bonar noted "the first drops of a coming shower,"² and in the following months he witnessed the conversion of many of his people. Visiting ministers spoke at the Collace Church, and of one such time he writes:

One evening we had been holding meetings together, three of us,³ and it was at the end of a meeting, just as Horatius Bonar had finished

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1. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to Horatius Bonar" (from Collace: January 24, 1840).
2. Bonar, Diary, p. 83.
3. I.e. A. Cumming, and Horatius and Andrew Bonar, March 22, 1840. Ibid., p. 86.
102

a most solemnising address upon the woman of Samaria having the water of life put to her lips, that there was a dead silence in the congregation. Then there was weeping . . . many burst into tears, old and young . . . A deep and awful solemnity spread over the whole meeting, and, after the blessing was pronounced, fifty or sixty people remained in their seats, most of them in tears . . . 2 It was the beginning of our first awakening in the parish—quite a new era in the place. 3

Similar services followed this, and throughout the parish Bonar "found the hearts of anxious people in a manner burst open." 4

The entries in his Diary for this period make reference to several conversions which occurred in the parish. In a notebook which has been preserved, he recorded the first of these— that of Elizabeth Morrison. In minute detail he traces sympathetically her spiritual biography from her conversion in 1839 till her death in 1848. 5 In the same notebook he records the conversion and spiritual pilgrimage of another parishoner—James Keay. In both instances, Bonar manifests a genuine concern about any problem which arises in their understanding of the Bible or their interpretation of Christian truth. At such times we see clearly his great love and deep compassion for the members of his flock. Largely because of his continued interest in the new

1. Horatius Bonar, D.D.
2. H. Bonar, Life of Milne, p. 62. This quotation is from Andrew Bonar's "Report to the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale on the Revival in Perth," which he submitted in response to a request made by that Synod.
3. Horatius Bonar, D.D.
converts,\(^1\) the time of revival was for them not merely the opportunity for an emotional outburst, but the turning-point in their Christian experience and understanding.

The increase of interest in matters pertaining to the faith was evidenced not only by a greater response to the preaching and a larger number of inquirers, but also by the inauguration of additional prayer meetings throughout the week. The life of the entire community was stirred. Bonar was even encouraged in regard to John Rogers. In April of 1840, he says: "I never felt it easier to pray for the old minister than to-night. I have great hope and great desire that he may be one of the fruits at this season."\(^2\) These were glorious days in Collace, and no one was more thankful for them than Bonar: "a revival, a shower of the Spirit in my own parish, a thing I had long prayed for, and reckoned among the highest blessings I could ever receive."\(^3\)

Since his days at the Divinity Hall, Bonar's closest and dearest friend had been Robert M'Cheyne. After they were located in their respective parishes, they wrote to one another regularly,\(^4\) and often exchanged pulpits. However, on March 25, 1843, M'Cheyne, at the age of twenty-nine years, died. He had not enjoyed good health for a long time, and now an attack of typhus fever proved fatal. No one was more

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3. Ibid., p. 91.
4. Cf. the "NCMS" and the "SMS" letters of Bonar to M'Cheyne, which clearly evidence the intimate friendship which existed between the two men. References are made to their interest in one another's affairs, their visits with each other, and their travels together.
deeply affected by this tragedy than Bonar. He writes:

Never, never yet in all my life have I felt anything like this . . . My heart is sore. It makes me feel death near myself now. Life has lost half its joys, were it not the hope of saving souls. There was no friend whom I loved like him.¹

As soon as he learned of M'Cheyne's death, Bonar rode to Dundee to comfort the congregation. When he arrived, the church was full and the people were weeping. Several of the elders tried to pray, but their voices were drowned by the mourning. He finally dismissed the gathering after he had spoken on the twenty-first chapter of Revelation.² Two weeks later he was offered M'Cheyne's position as minister at St. Peter's, Dundee, which he declined.³

The impression of the sorrowful experience of his dear friend's death appears never to have left Bonar during the course of his entire ministry. It was characteristic of him in this, as in other things which deeply touched him, that he did not refer to it openly. However, in succeeding years he marked in his Diary certain recollections of M'Cheyne, particularly on the anniversary of his friend's death.⁴ In 1873 he writes, after a visit to St. Peter's Church, Dundee:

"There is still some peculiar fragrance in the air round Robert M'Cheyne's tomb!"⁵ His deep feeling for, and his profound appreciation of M'Cheyne has been recorded for posterity in the famous Memoir of M'Cheyne.⁶

6. Cf. Chapter VI.
C. Maintaining a Principle (1838-1843)

The controversy leading up to the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 was actually a phase of the recurring problem of the proper relation between Church and State. It was the same struggle for the spiritual independence of the Church which had appeared in the days of John Knox, was maintained by Andrew Melville, and was later asserted by the Covenanters and the Seceders. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the problem was occasioned by the increasing dissatisfaction with the operation of the Law of Patronage of 1712. This dissatisfaction resulted from the coincidence of several factors: (1) The rise of liberal democratic ideas, fostered by the French Revolution; (2) The building of new churches, necessitated by the growth of cities and the shifting of population in connection with the Industrial Revolution; (3) The activities of the Secessionists; (4) The Evangelical Revival. Although the Moderate party in the Church had acquiesced in the system of Patronage, the Evangelical ministers, while chosen under Patronage, were nevertheless opposed to it.

Although Andrew Bonar shared with the Evangelicals their views regarding Patronage, he did not take a part in the controversy till 1838. While he was still at the

1. The voluminous literature on the subject of the Disruption has been duly considered by the present author. However, this subject is treated here not in any exhaustive manner, but only as it relates to an understanding of Andrew Bonar.
Divinity Hall, in 1834, the Evangelicals had gained a majority in the General Assembly. Accordingly, they used their power to pass the significant Veto Act, which declared "that the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families resident within the parish ought to be of conclusive effect in setting aside the nominee of the patron."¹ It is significant to note that the Act was not directed against Patronage, but against the intrusion of unwanted ministers.

The same Assembly which passed the Veto Act also enacted the Chapel Act. Under the Church Extension movement there had grown up a large number of chapels supernumerary to the old parish churches and often serving busy sections of such parishes. These chapels were served mainly by ministers of the most consecrated type, and their members included many of the pioneers of the new industries and the new residential areas in the larger towns, people whose zeal made them active church members. Such charges, however, suffered under certain disadvantages - the new churches had only chapel status, they had no church session of their own, and their ministers had no right to membership in the courts of the Church. The Chapel Act was designed to remedy these anomalies.²

Although the Church had been assured by legal advisers that she was lawfully competent to pass such measures, the Acts soon became the subject of litigation in the Court of Session. Certain patrons were unwilling to

accept the veto of parishioners on their nominees, and several court cases ensued. The first occurred in October, 1834, when a probationer of the Church, Robert Young, was presented to the parish of Auchterarder by the patron, the Earl of Kinnoul. Of the 330 heads of families in the parish, 287 recorded their veto against him. Accordingly, the Presbytery declared him rejected and refused to proceed with his ordination. After many appeals and protests on various details in the ecclesiastical courts, patron and presentee finally brought the matter before the Court of Session. In March, 1838, the verdict was given, which declared in effect that the Veto Act was illegal. The Church was now to acknowledge that she had exceeded her rights, and to revert to her practice before 1834 as though the Act had never existed.¹

This decision of the Court of Session, later sustained by the House of Lords, caused consternation to the Evangelicals. The General Assembly of 1838, which young Bonar attended as a visitor,² adopted a militant Declaration of Spiritual Independence, which strongly advanced the claims of the courts of the Church.³

The difference of opinion between the Moderates and the Evangelicals regarding the problem was marked. Though the Moderate party did not support the notion that the Church was a servant of the State, it held that when a difference arose between the two, the ultimate decision should rest with

the Courts of Law. This was the price to be paid by an Established Church. The Non-Intrusionists, however, while recognizing the rights of the State in all civil matters, claimed for the Church the right to regulate her own spiritual matters.¹

The area of conflict was soon widened, and other cases ensued to complicate the issue. The Presbytery of Dunkeld had refused to induct a presentee to the united parishes of Lethendy and Kinloch. In the face of an interdict of the Court of Session, the Presbytery ordained another presentee who had received the call of the congregation. For this defiance of the order of the civil courts, the Presbytery was summoned before the bar of the Court of Session and severely reprimanded for having disregarded its authority.²

In another case, regarding the Presbytery of Strathbogie, Andrew Bonar was to play a part. In the Marnoch case within the Strathbogie Presbytery a Moderate majority had insisted upon ordaining a rejected presentee in defiance of the Veto and a decision of the General Assembly. Though they maintained that they were merely obeying the civil law, for their action, they were suspended from their ministerial offices by a commission of the General Assembly. The General Assembly then appointed ministers to conduct public worship in the parishes of the suspended ministers. The Court of Session replied by issuing an interdict prohibiting

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such ministers from using the church property in the Strathbogie area. Undaunted, the ministers preached on hillsides and highways, in barns and in upper rooms. A second interdict was then issued prohibiting such ministers from holding services not only in the churches, but anywhere in the parishes of the suspended ministers.¹

The Church could not abide by such an interdict, and now deliberately defied the Court. No power on earth had the right to forbid her from ministering to the spiritual interests of the persons committed to her care. At her call, several of her loyal sons, including Andrew Bonar, hastened to Strathbogie. Although a humble and mild-mannered person, Bonar now felt it to be his responsibility before God to preach in the restricted area. Along with the other ministers, he was duly served with an interdict. In the seventeenth century the State never shrank from enforcing its decrees upon recalcitrant churchmen; now, it wisely abstained from the manufacture of martyrs. The interdicts were not enforced by actual arrests. Indeed, it would have been a piccquint complication of the matter if ministers of the Established Church had been imprisoned for preaching in Strathbogie, while all other sorts of preaching men and women might hold forth to their hearts' content. Under the risk of arrest, Bonar, along with other ministers, preached to crowds of interested folk throughout the area.² He might have added his name to the words of M'Cheyne, who declared: "I can say

¹ Ibid., pp. 206ff.
with Paul, that 'from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, I have preached the Gospel of Christ,' and no interdict will keep me from preaching in Strathbogie."¹

There followed several attempts, on the part of the Church and the State, to arrive at a peaceful solution to the growing conflict.² However, such attempts failed to accomplish their purpose. Bonar was distressed by the "direful influence of Moderatism,"³ and spoke of "the cloudy and dark day that is coming on our land."⁴ Indeed, he thought to himself: "The affairs of our Church are very dark."⁵ His fears were not without a basis, for the Church-State situation was becoming more ominous. The extent of public interest in the problem was evidenced on August 25, 1841, at a meeting of Commission, followed by a popular meeting. He writes of that day:

Attended the great meeting in Edinburgh in defence of the Church. An immense assembly of ministers and elders, the numbers beyond anything known hitherto since our fathers' days. Both the Commission and the meeting in the evening very solemn. We have now looked our danger fully in the face, and it is wonderful how many are standing fast.⁶

Andrew Bonar was a member of the decisive General Assembly in 1842.⁷ He was appointed to several committees,⁸

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1. Wylie, op. cit., p. 36.
4. Bonar, Diary, p. 95.
5. Ibid., p. 96.
6. Ibid., p. 93.
8. Ibid., pp. 59f. Cf. Church of Scotland, Acts of the General Assembly, pp. 11, 20; Appendix, pp. 4, 7f. Bonar was a member of the following committees: Committee
and, more significant, he agreed with the Evangelical majority of the Assembly, whose views were formulated in two famous documents - an Address on Patronage, and Claim, Declaration, and Protest, popularly known as the Claim of Right. The Address declared Patronage to be a grievance, and favored its abolition. The Claim of Right summarized the views of the majority regarding the prior relations of Church and State in Scotland and the recent proceedings of the Court of Session. The conclusion of the document was that the encroachments of the State in the spiritual domain had been such that the Church of Scotland was no longer a Church of Christ.¹ Bonar commented upon the General Assembly of 1842 in his own characteristic manner:

The General Assembly, of which I have been a member, has now passed. Most important acts have been resolved upon. Patronage has been declared a grievance that cannot be borne longer. There was a calmness and subdued feeling in our debates, that showed our sense of the seriousness of the crisis. There seemed much interest taken in the general schemes for promoting the cause of Christ. The spiritual interests of Christ's kingdom were much more felt than in former days.²

Before the decision of the government regarding the requests of the Church was made known, the Evangelicals summoned the famous Convocation. Bonar refers to this time by saying:

When matters had come to a point, the memorable convocation was held at Edinburgh, 17th November 1842, at which were present, from all quarters of Scotland,

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¹ Brown, History of Scotland, III, 430f.
² Bonar, Diary, p. 97.
those ministers who saw that now they must look forward to a Disruption, since their liberties were invaded. Above four hundred and fifty were present; they met in Roxburgh Church.

The Convocation began with an open meeting for public worship in the church where Bonar had served as an assistant, St. George's, on November 17. This was followed by a week of private conferences in the Roxburgh Church, which Bonar characterized as a time of "remarkable union and prayerfulness." It closed with another open meeting in Bonar's home church, Lady Glenorchy's, on November 24. Though he did not take a leading part in the proceedings, Bonar was present at all the gatherings, and expressed the hope that "Christ will smile on our efforts for His Church, and the principle of spiritual independence." The Convocation served a two-fold purpose. For those who believed separation to be inevitable, it was imperative to make certain that the clergy, whose temporal status would be drastically affected by the Disruption, were willing unitedly to face the consequences. Also, for those who yet hoped for a settlement, it was important to demonstrate to all concerned the magnitude of the movement and the reality of the threat of Disruption.

Two series of resolutions were placed before the assembled Evangelical ministers. The former series was a brief restatement of the Church's grievances against State

3. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Convocation - 1842." The pages are not numbered.
4. Loc. cit.
encroachment upon spiritual affairs. This was signed by 423\(^1\) of the ministers present. The latter series contained a declaration that if the State should refuse to grant certain minimum requests, the Establishment would have to be abandoned. This was signed by 354\(^2\) ministers.\(^3\)

Bonar concurred with the view of the majority, and on returning to Collace he writes of the meetings:

> We met from Thursday last week till Thursday this week. It has been a very remarkable time; much prayer. Very great unity among the brethren. There was a spirit, too, of brotherly love and Christian feeling that was quite unusual. Often our discussions ended with unanimity, although previously there seemed complete opposition of views. There was a solemnity, too, over all, for we felt the circumstances were imminent to the land. Of those present upon Tuesday evening 340 resolved to leave the Church in event of no response being obtained from Government [sic], after our remonstrance and application had been laid before them.\(^4\)

The summoning of the Convocation was an act of ecclesiastical statesmanship, and for this Thomas Chalmers was largely responsible. The conference undoubtedly gave the party cohesion. It confirmed the weaker members, and it strengthened the confidence of the leaders in their plans. The resolutions of the Convocation amounted to a pledge of separation unless the State yielded to the terms set forth in the Claim of Right.\(^5\)

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2. Hanna, op.cit., IV, 317 f.n. Hanna gives the number of ministers as being 333, though Turner and others give the number as being 354.
In the early part of 1843, the State, failing to realize the seriousness of the situation, clearly rejected the demands made by the Non-Intrusionists. All efforts to heal the ever-widening breach of Church and State proved abortive.\(^1\) In March, Bonar viewed the situation as being fraught with danger; it was "the day of our Church's calamity."\(^2\) Though he sorely feared the consequences of a division in the Church, nevertheless, he felt such an event was necessary for the spiritual welfare of the land. On May 8, he writes: "I feel as if calamity may be near; I feel great want of strength of faith; my hand seems to hold Jesus with a feeble grasp."\(^3\)

When the Disruption occurred on May 18, 1843, Andrew Bonar joined the Free Church.\(^4\) Though not a member of the General Assembly that year, he took his place in the procession of Evangelical ministers and laymen which left St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh. They marched through crowded streets of observers to Tanfield Hall in the Canongates of the Canongates to form the Free Church of Scotland. There, he, along with 473 other ministers, signed the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission, by which they agreed to "separate from and abandon the present subsisting Ecclesiastical Establishment

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4. During the entire period of the "Ten Years' Conflict" there is no evidence, apart from his voting with the Evangelicals, that Bonar took a leading part in any Presbytery, Synod, or General Assembly meeting.
5. Fleming, op. cit., I, 22ff. Fleming fixes the number of ministers at 474; others vary slightly.
in Scotland, and abdicate and renounce the Status and Privileges derived to them."¹

In his Diary, Bonar preserved his thoughts of the day of the Disruption:

We have passed a day which will be memorable in the world till the Lord come. [St. Andrew's Church] was crowded two or three hours before the time. At length the time arrived. The Moderator prayed very suitably and solemnly. Immediately thereafter he stated the peculiar circumstances under which we met, and that therefore this could not be considered a true Assembly. This done, he read the Protest in his own name and in the name of those that adhered. He then withdrew slowly, bowing to the Commissioner, and walked up the passage with much firmness and calmness, followed by Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Gordon and by all on that side. Deep silence followed. In the street occasional cheers, but all seemed solemnized also. Some wept, none scorned. A line of people, all the way to Canonmills. Solemn meeting there. I forgot too much at the time that the eye of Christ was upon us. He was smiling and saying: 'I know thy works.' I was too much occupied with thinking upon the impression this would produce upon the people. Yet I was able to pray a good deal.²

In reviewing these events of Bonar's life in regard to the Disruption, it has been manifest that he was not one of the leaders in the movement.³ He was neither an ecclesiastic in matters of Church law nor a debator on the fine points at issue in a controversy.⁴ These matters he was willing to

¹ Cf. Act of Separation and Deed of Demission Executed at the Meeting of the Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Held at Edinburgh on the 23rd. of May, 1843 (Edinburgh: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1843). The original document is in the Register House, Edinburgh; the official duplicate is in the archives of the Church of Scotland in the Tolbooth.
² Bonar, Diary, pp. 107f.
³ Cf. "PPMS Perth Presbytery Record." Cf. also, "AMS Record of the Synod of Perth and Stirling," 1838-1843. Though Bonar is listed as a member of these two bodies, there is no evidence that he took a leading part in their proceedings.
⁴ Most libraries, including the British Museum, and also
leave to the abilities and interests of such men as Chalmers, Candlish, and Cunningham whose penetrating minds guided and expounded the involved issues evolving in the conflict. However, the Disruption was also a movement of the people, and it required popular support. Had the people not been informed and enlisted in terms which they could comprehend, the Disruption would have been little more than another secession. But the people followed, and towards this Bonar contributed his influence. He "gave tone to the movement." He maintained by his words and actions the principle of the spiritual independence of the Church. In the words of Adam Philip, he was one of "the most fearless and successful exponents of the principles which compelled the Disruption." He was able to command the respect and devotion of the people he served, and the majority of the Collace flock followed him into the fold of the Free Church of Scotland.

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1. Scott, op. cit., IV, 201, have attributed to Andrew Bonar a pamphlet on the church question in 1842. The pamphlet is: Reasons for Religious People taking a lively interest in the present position of the Church of Scotland (Stirling: Stirling Anti-Erastian and Non-Intrusion Association, 1842). However, the pamphlet is written in a more invective manner than any of Bonar's works. Further, the pamphlet bears the author's name: "Mr. Bonar of Larbert and Dunipace." Andrew's cousin, John Archibald Bonar, was the minister of Larbert and Dunipace during this period. This tract is number four of a series in which John Bonar wrote number six. Thus, the pamphlet was evidently written by John Bonar, and not by Andrew.


D. Entering a New Life (1843-1848)

At the Disruption a third of the Scottish clergy left the Established Church, giving up their manses, stipends, and positions. It was certainly a great act of moral courage, and had a heightening effect upon the religious life of Scotland. Soon, the Free Church was established in parish after parish in a zealous rivalry with the Established Church. Cockburn tells of the ministers who were willing to make great sacrifices "easily, cheerfully, and contentedly." Yet, this did not free them from the hardships which many of them had to endure in the succeeding months and years.

When Bonar returned from Edinburgh to Collace on May 28, 1843, he entered upon a new life. The Disruption had placed him in "new circumstances altogether." He no longer had either a church or a home. John Rogers, his senior minister, remained in the parish church till his death in 1851. However, almost all of the congregation followed Bonar into the Free Church. Even the most humble folk, who failed to understand the significance of the Disruption, joined the Free Church. As one of them said: "I dinna ken anything about the Disruption, but I'm going wi'"

2. Bonar, Diary, p. 112.
3. Scott, op. cit., IV, 200f. After the Disruption, James Laing was appointed as John Roger's Assistant and Successor. During Bonar's ministry in the Free Church in Collace, two other ministers served the Established Church there: Thomas Leishman (1852-1855) and Thomas Brown (1855-1901).
the man that was blessed to my soul." The same day on which Bonar returned, a stirring meeting was held in the open air where over five hundred people had assembled. He preached upon the text: "See that ye refuse not Him that speaketh."

By the following Sunday, Edward Caird had presented a canvas tent to Bonar's flock in Collace. The tent was erected on the village green in Kinrossie. As there were but few Free Churches in the district, the people came from great distances to Collace. The tent, which held nearly five hundred people, was filled to overflowing every Sunday with worshippers from the surrounding area. One of Bonar's parishioners commemorated the Disruption in Collace with a poem:

Next Sabbath day we all were seen
To worship on the village green;
Our Pastor dear there fed his flock,
And streams ran from the smitten rock.

Our royal King we thanked and praised,
As we our Ebenezer raised,
For now we found that streams of grace
Still flowed to us in dear Collace.

The Free Church congregation of Collace met in the tent until November, when they were able to occupy their new church. In certain areas of Scotland, landlords had

1. Marjory Bonar, "SMS December, 1892," p. 2. This notebook contains remembrances of incidents related to Andrew Bonar's labors in Collace and Glasgow.
2. I.e. a friend of Andrew Bonar, from Dundee.
4. The poem is entitled: "Collace - A Reminiscence of the Disruption," and is simply signed, "G.P." A printed copy of the poem may be found among Andrew Bonar's papers in Fetcham, Surrey.
5. Cf. Andrew Bonar, "SMS To the Members and Adherents of the Free Church, Collace, in regard to the Sustentation or Pastoral Fund."
refused sites for the erection of Free Church buildings. However, the people of Collace were fortunate in having James Nairne, who not only provided the land but also attended and supported the new church. In the village of Kinrossie there was a building capable of seating two hundred persons which had previously been used for prayer-meetings.¹ Now, this building was enlarged to accommodate the new congregation. This site, as well as the sites for the Free Church manse and the school, was donated by Nairne.²

Bonar was encouraged by the signs of revived interest among his parishioners. Not only was church attendance increased, but several people were converted.³ In retrospect, he said of that time: "No year in my memory has been more remarkable for awakening of souls here."⁴ In his pastoral visitations, he noticed among his people a deeper interest in Christ and the Church. In his preaching, he speaks of a greater sense of freedom and power.⁵ He even mentions his pleasure that he was now "free from the old minister," Rogers.⁶

Bonar's activities also extended beyond the confines of his own parish. Through his efforts at Collace he had "rapidly obtained a high position as a rising man on the evangelical side."⁷ Accordingly, he was called upon to speak

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3. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to Horatius Bonar" (from Collace: October 2, 1843).
5. Ibid., pp. 108ff.
6. Ibid., p. 112.
in many of the Free Churches throughout Scotland, and in churches in Ireland and England.¹ Such experiences were enjoyable to him whether he preached in the open air of the Highlands, among a silent group of Plymouth Brethren, or to a great congregation at Regent Square, London. He loved them all as children of God, and proclaimed to all God's offer of salvation in Christ.² Through his writings his influence became even greater, though he regarded this aspect of his work as of lesser importance.³

During this time Bonar received a call to serve as the minister of Huntly, which he declined.⁴ Two years later he received a call to the Ranclogh Chapel in London which he seriously contemplated accepting.⁵ However, when he realized how determined his people were to retain him, he decided to remain in Collace.⁶ A third opportunity was offered to him by the General Assembly of 1846. It was proposed that he serve as a missionary to the Jews in Constantinople for a period of three years. The proposal appealed to his missionary spirit. However, when it was learned that no one could be found to care for the flock at

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4. Ibid., p. 108.
5. "CSMS Record of the Free Presbytery of Perth," I, 128f., 134. This call was considered by a session of the Presbytery of Perth. However, the call was not extended to Andrew Bonar, as "he did not feel that he would be justified in accepting the Call," though "he was willing to abide by the judgement of the Presbytery."
Collace during his absence, the Foreign Missions Committee suggested that the appointment to Constantinople be made permanent. He did not feel, however, that he should accept such an appointment,¹ and the Presbytery of Perth settled the issue by deciding against his participation in the mission.²

It was during this time that Bonar's personal life assumed a new character. In the course of his visits to Edinburgh, he became acquainted with Isabella Dickson, whom he later married. From a memorial volume which he compiled in later years, and a sketch of her life written by her brother, we may gain an understanding of her life and an appreciation for the profound influence she exercised upon her husband's career.

Isabella was born in Edinburgh on December 10, 1825. Her father was James Dickson, an Edinburgh stationer. She had seven brothers and sisters, four of whom died in infancy. The Dickson family was very much like the Bonar family, in regard to their interest in the Church, their sense of family solidarity, and their economic status. Two of her brothers, David and William, later became devoted and eminent elders in Edinburgh. As a girl, she was known for her pleasant disposition, her interest in the welfare of others, and her excellence at school.³ In one of her letters she tells of her conversion in 1842, which was largely the result of

1. Ibid., pp. 124f.
3. David Dickson, "SMS Notes as to Mrs. A.A. Bonar," pp. 1ff.
attending a prayer-meeting for Christian missions to the Jews, at which Robert M'Cheyne spoke. The thing which most impressed her about M'Cheyne "was not his matter nor his manner" but, as she said, "it was just the living epistle of Christ - a picture so lovely, I felt I would have given all the world to be as he was, but knew all the time I was dead in sins." A short time later she was convinced of her salvation, and became a member of St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh.

A portion of her diary has been preserved, and in its pages we notice how similar was her temperament to that of her future husband. The diary is a record of her spiritual pilgrimage, in which she notes all those temptations and sins which prevented her from living the holy life which she so dearly desired. In her struggle for righteousness she mentions her constant recourse to prayer and the Bible, and on almost every page of the diary there appears a quotation from Scripture. When she mentions the occurrence of an event, it is usually a happening related to the life of the Church. She was particularly distressed by the Disruption in 1843, and mentions her attendance at the Disruption Assembly. It is interesting to compare her diary with Bonar's in regard to

1. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Memorials of Mrs. Andrew A. Bonar, for the use of the Family," pp. 320ff. This volume was written by Bonar in 1865, as he recalled some of the events in the life of his recently departed wife. Included are several letters written by Mrs. Bonar.
2. Ibid., pp. 20ff.
3. Ibid., pp. 72ff. The portion of her diary which has been preserved was written from April 12, 1843 till May 30, 1843. Andrew Bonar was not able to locate the rest of it.
that Assembly. He was a minister, leaving his beloved Church; she was an excited girl of eighteen years, looking on the scene; yet their feelings were similar:

Andrew Bonar: We have passed a day which will be memorable in the world till the Lord come... the eye of Christ was upon us. He was smiling and saying: 'I know thy works'... Much of God's favour in our Assembly. We get accustomed to the greatest changes. I have felt far too little the deep solemnity of this crisis.

Isabella Dickson: A solemn event has happened in the history of our Church... May they [the Free Church ministers] have grace for their coming duties. Would my heart were more solemnized. I know not what is before even me. Lord make thy grace sufficient for me.

Andrew Bonar's interest in Isabella began in 1846 while she was caring for her ailing mother. He says he was first attracted by "her uncommon cheerfulness under all her cares, and her gentle, ungrudging kindness to her mother who required incessant attention... Another feature of her character that drew me to her was the entire absence of affectation." Though these words may sound unnatural to modern ears, they were not so strange to the minister who lived in the age of Victorian manners and morals.

This same spirit is reflected in Bonar's Diary references to his intended wife. There is no specific mention of her until nearly three months after they had become engaged to be married. On May 14, 1847, the day of their engagement, he simply writes: "I am not worthy of the very least of His mercies." May the Lord keep all things henceforth in their place; earthly affection forming but an

1. Bonar, Diary, pp. 107f.
3. Ibid., pp. 304ff.
undercurrent to the divine."¹ Three months later, he writes: "At times I find myself completely free from the temptation to which Isabella's strong attachment exposes me."² During his courtship with Isabella, Andrew thus felt the tension between his own desires and what he believed to be God's higher purpose for his life. It is an amazing thing to notice how he spiritualized his attachment to her: "Pleasant meeting alone with Isabella; but 'he that drinketh of this water shall thirst again.'"³ From the little that we know of his correspondence with her, the same spirit pervades his letters.⁴

Nor were Isabella Dickson's letters to her future husband any different. Fifty-one of her letters have been preserved, and of these, several were written to Bonar during the year before their marriage. Extracts from fourteen other letters have been kept. In them she speaks of her spiritual state, of a Scripture passage, or of some family matter. Only occasionally does she express her feelings for Andrew, and even then it causes her worry. She confesses to him: "I have got into a sort of habit of supposing I am sinning every time you are allowed to come into my thoughts and feelings."⁵ However, even in such guarded

¹. Bonar, Diary, p. 131.
². Ibid., p. 132.
³. Ibid., p. 133. Italics are Bonar's.
⁵. "SMS Extracts from Letters written by Isabella Dickson to her intended husband - Andrew Bonar," p. 6. The letter is dated November 22, 1847. These letters were copied in a notebook, and were found among the effects of Andrew Bonar at his death.
letters, it is clear that she has a deep affection and love for Bonar: "My heart longs to be made really of some use to you, to help, or comfort, or strengthen, or advise, or do anything that will make you better for having me."¹

As their wedding day drew nearer, her letters became more intimate. Bonar, also, mentioned her in his Diary with increasing frequency. On the one hand, he is apprehensive, lest his "intended marriage may soon become a time of temptation," and so he prays: "Lord, carry me this year over this danger." On the other hand, he anticipates a wider usefulness as he and his beloved serve their Lord together. He reflects: "Felt I could long to be with Christ, even with Isabella beside me."²

The story of Andrew and Isabella is a rather remarkable and charming love story. It is the story of a man and a woman in whose hearts an extraordinary sense of religion had the uppermost place, to whom everything secular and human had a divine relevance, for whom God and His worship were the ends of their existence. Passion was there, deep and abiding, but passion restrained by duty and consecrated by devotion. Andrew’s love was characterized by an immense reverence for Isabella, and her love was characterized by a deep self-sacrificing faith in him and his ministry.

On April 4, 1848, Andrew, at the age of thirty-eight years, and Isabella, at the age of twenty-three years, were married in her home on 49 Minto Street, Edinburgh. The

¹ Bonar, "SMS Memorials," p. 310. The letter is dated May 21, 1847.
² Bonar, Diary, p. 134.
service was performed by Charles Brown. On that day, Bonar wrote of his marriage as his "Jotbath," a land of rivers of waters, a very Eden compared with the sandy waste. They enjoyed a honeymoon trip to Castlecary and Callander. During this time he writes of his great happiness in his new estate. After a few days together, he says: "Distraction is over, and we can now be calmly happy in each other's fellowship without excitement."

Shortly after their return to Collace, Andrew Bonar and his young wife moved into the new manse which had been built for their occupancy. The manse was an attractive, two-story building. It was erected on the edge of Dunsinnane Wood, partly hidden by the growth of trees and hedges. In the garden, Bonar planted two trees - an olive and a fig - which he had brought back from his tour of Palestine. Over two of the windows he carved in Hebrew: "He that winneth souls is wise," and "For yet a little while, and He that shall come will come and will not tarry." In this home Andrew and Isabella Bonar were very happy. It was here that they loved and lived, prayed and worked, for eight years.

Bonar frequently refers to his wife during this time,

5. Bonar, Diary, p. 137.
6. This house is now known as "Bonarwood."
7. Bonar, Reminiscences, p. 23. The trees in the garden, and the carvings over the windows, may be seen by the visitor today.
and always in the most endearing, affectionate terms. ¹ He loved her for what she was: a strong, simple, Christian woman. He loved her for all the things she did: encouraging him, loving him, caring for him, and being in every way an ideal minister's wife. He loved her for what she made of him: a better servant of Jesus Christ.² Their marriage was one of mutual understanding and deep love, for which Bonar was thankful throughout the remainder of his life. He says: "How the Lord has cared for me. . . . What a calm home he has given me, and one who unselfishly cares for my own comfort far beyond what she does for her own."³

During the succeeding years in Collace the Bonar home was blessed with three children.⁴ Andrew Bonar was eager to discover the significance of his new role as a father, and often he prayed for God's blessing upon the children. The first child, Isabella Renwick, was born on October 19, 1850.⁵ On that day, Bonar wrote: "Praise to the Lord! Let this be an heir of glory, and then how are we honoured. Strange confusion still in thinking of my new relation."⁶ On September 27, 1852, a boy, James, was born,⁷ and his father dedicated him to God with prayer and fasting.⁸ On December 23, 1854, a second girl, Marjory, was born into the Bonar home,⁹ and was dedicated to God by

1. Bonar, Diary, pp. 139ff.
her loving and excited father. These children served as an immeasurable source of contentment, love, and gratitude to their parents. The Collace Manse was occupied by a family which, in every respect, exemplified the nineteenth century Scottish ideal of a Christian household.

The later years of Andrew Bonar's ministry in Collace, if less varied than the early years, were, nevertheless, characterized by a devoted application of all his strength to the needs of the parish. Perhaps this is to be seen most clearly in his pastoral fidelity. He loved his people, and he enjoyed being among them. The visitation of a rural congregation, settled within relatively narrow bounds, became his opportunity for intensive spiritual labor. In the Scottish Church of the nineteenth century, ministerial visitations were never merely social attentions, and under his direction they were even less likely to be so. The pastoral visits were times when he spoke of the Sabbath discourses, and applied them to family conditions; they were times when he urged the necessity of accepting Christ as Saviour and Lord; they were opportunities of exhorting people to the responsibility and the opportunity of secret and family prayer.

He knew the name of each man, woman, and child in his congregation, and he was intimately acquainted with their problems and affairs. The different circumstances of the people interested and touched him, and made him feel his visitation was a pleasure and a benefit to himself as well as to them. One of his parishioners said: "He was that

1. Cf. Bonar, "SMS Communicants of the Free Protesting Church of Scotland in the Parish of Collace."
ta'en up aboot me," as she recalled his thoughtful interest in her. On the other hand, when he thought some person, or group of persons, had committed an act of unrighteousness, he felt it his duty to rebuke them regardless of who they were.

His parishioners need never have been in doubt about his opinion on a subject or his feelings concerning any matter. At times, he was almost shockingly frank in his utterances. One night he was detained in travelling to a meeting. When he arrived, late, the people were all seated, waiting for him. Without a word of apology, he said: "I have kept you waiting a long time, but not nearly so long as some of you have kept Christ waiting."

Bonar had early received from his parents the ideal of total abstinence, and he was now determined to oppose the custom of drinking which was prevalent in his parish, as it was throughout the land. Then, more than now, it was the custom for people to offer a glass of wine or whiskey to someone calling in their home. He firmly refused all such attempts at hospitality, and because of this he was, at first,

2. Bonar, Diary, pp. 78, 89. Cf. "PPMS Perth Presbytery Record," 1839-1846, XXVI, 237, for an example of Bonar's disciplinary action in regard to cases of fornication in his parish.
3. Bonar, "SMS Diary," p. 40. On the occasion of a marriage in Collace, there were "many festivities and much dancing in the parish." Bonar felt constrained to denounce the frivolity displayed at this season, which reminded him of the Israelites and their false worship of the Golden Calf. Though the editor of Bonar's Diary discreetly omitted the details of this happening, the manuscript diary shows that the reference was in regard to the wedding of the daughter of James Nairne, the most influential man in the parish.
considered to be "awfu' prood." However, his parishioners soon came to understand his attitude and offered him other things to drink.\(^1\)

As he made his visits he either walked, or else he rode upon his white pony. He was blessed with good health and a strong spirit. He visited both day and night, in all types of weather, in the homes and on the farms of Collace.\(^2\) When he was unable to see the men at home he would visit them and speak with them at their work. A minister of the Collace Parish Church recalls how, on one occasion, Bonar was seen walking to and fro the length of a field catechizing a young farmer as he followed the harrow.\(^3\)

In addition to his visitation, Bonar effectively ministered to his people by his preaching. He ordinarily preached twice every Sunday morning and once in the evening. His evangelical, expository, searching sermons awakened an attentive response in his hearers, who frequently would burst into tears. On other occasions, one or more of his hearers would stand up during the sermon to shake off their drowsiness, and sometimes his wife would awaken a sleepy hearer with a touch of her parasol.\(^4\)

Communion was always a special time for Bonar and his Collace congregation.\(^5\) A certain hush brooded over the community during the Communion season. Prior to the service,

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1. Bonar, Reminiscences, pp. 84f.
2. Ibid., pp. 24f.
5. Bonar, Diary, pp. 144, 150, 158, 167.
attention was given to preparatory exercises, fast-time sermons, and the fencing of tables. Communion tokens were distributed to those allowed to participate in the sacred supper. During the service, snow-white cloths were draped over the pews, as the people gathered from far and near. One or more ministers aided Bonar at such times, and he would reciprocate by visiting their Communion services.\(^1\) He always looked upon these seasons as "sweet, sweet days," when he felt himself especially near to his God and his people.\(^2\) Many years later, he looked back upon these times with fond memories. Often, on the morning of the Summer Communion in the Finnieston Church, which was held on the same day as in Collace, he referred to the bygone Communions as "the finding of a heaven upon earth."\(^3\) After one such season, an elderly woman of Collace remarked: "I canna say much, but my heart's like a burnin' coal!"\(^4\)

Nor were these the only services held for the Collace people. Bonar started a Young People's Bible Class on Sunday mornings.\(^5\) Here, week by week, he expounded Scripture truths to his young hearers who grew to love and admire him. Besides this class, he had another during the week for old women, many of whom were unable to attend church, and were in need of religious instruction.\(^6\) He also took a personal interest in the other Sabbath-School classes of the church, 

1. Ibid., pp. 141, 145, 168, 172, 174.
5. Ibid., p. 24.
and met weekly with the teachers for prayer. Further, the Church had a weekly prayer service to which all the members were invited.

In all of these varied activities, Bonar was a Seelenführer, a seeker of souls, and in this he never abated his eagerness nor abandoned his quest. Nothing pleased him more than the conversion of one of his parishioners, and towards this end he spent long hours in work and prayer. He realized the necessity for evangelism in everything he did, and reflected: "What if the Lord's people were no more than half-a-million, I see that to keep up that number there must be about two hundred souls saved every week!"

A special area of his concern was the conversion of the youth, and he firmly believed this to be one of the primary responsibilities of the Church. Accordingly, he exhorted the Sabbath-School teachers on the prime necessity of the conversion of their pupils. He described in detail how even the youngest children could be expected to manifest those Christian characteristics which are usually associated only with adults. His many pamphlets and tracts for children evidence his further efforts to evangelize the

1. Ibid., p. 119.
2. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to John Milne" (from Collace: May 16, 1851).
young. In one of his discourses to young men we see his forthright approach. He tells them that they are utterly sinful, that Christ is able to save them, and that they are to believe in Christ while they are yet young. In a concluding section, he challenges them, once they have believed, to become young men of prayer, and serve their God.

His own criterion of the success of his preaching was whether or not it helped his hearers in their spiritual lives. He was unhappy about his preaching unless he felt his flock was being blessed and some were being converted. This evangelistic spirit is well illustrated in his Farewell Sermon at Collace:

Little as I am acquainted with the Lord, I will leave it as my testimony that there is none like Him. God has been good to a soul that but poorly sought Him. Often, on riding home on Sabbath evenings, I have felt 'Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides Thee ...' Believer, is He not all this to you? O sinner, O unsaved ones of my flock He might be more than all this to you! Young People, whom I greatly long for, remember what James Laing said to one, 'Remember, if I see you at the left hand, I told you to come to Christ.' Shall I see any of these faces on which I have so often looked, and those which have so often looked up to me, on the left hand? Shall any one here gaze on an angry Judge? and hear Him say,

Depart? I beseech you, receive Christ... to-day. I beseech you, by remembrance of past Sabbaths, by the many witnesses that the Lord sent among you from time to time, by the messages of grace so many and so varied, by the joy that your salvation would give above as well as here and to yourselves, by the thought of approaching death, by the thought of the Lord's speedy coming, by the opening of yonder veil, when eternity shall receive you, and time be for ever gone, receive Christ now.¹

In a letter to a ministerial friend, James Manson, Bonar speaks of this all-pervading, urgent need of evangelism. The salvation of souls was the end towards which he directed all his efforts:

Surely we need much to pray - and to sigh and cry for the land. How little fulness in our messages! How little of the love that is as a most vehement flame! How seldom we feel commissioned by God at the time! How rare the felt and evident presence of the Holy Ghost! Few are saved - our hearers float down the stream to the lake of fire, and we sit on the banks writing sermons and speaking words, instead of really rushing to their rescue, declaring the whole mind of God opened out at Calvary.²

In this last reference, we find a clue to that which formed the basis of Bonar's entire ministry - prayer. His personal, private communion with God was at the very core of his life; it gave direction and purpose to all that he did, and it strengthened him in all his labors. Prayer, for Bonar, was as the very breath of life. It was of the utmost necessity. At the beginning of 1851, he writes:

Fully convinced by Scripture, and past experience especially, and by the experience of all saints, that the best thing I can do, in my study and mode of conducting work, will be to give more time to prayer, and always to give it the earliest place in my

¹ Bonar, Reminiscences, pp. 31f.
² Ibid., p. 182.
A favorite place to which Bonar often went when he wanted to be alone with his God was Dunsinnane Wood. Here, he would spend an hour, or the greater part of a day, in prayer. At other times he would pray in his study, at the manse, in the empty church, or any place where he might be alone. He prayed as he rode his pony, as he visited a parishoner's home, as he entered the church.

This is not to say that he prayed only while he was alone. He and his family prayed together in the manse, and he and his wife often had times of prayer together, even before they were married. In addition, he was instrumental in forming and directing times of prayer in which several ministers participated. They would agree together to set aside a certain day for prayer and meditation. To make certain the day was kept, Bonar wrote to each minister:

Do not forget Monday next. In spite of Satan and the flesh keep it from morning to evening. In spite of the temptation, 'O this must be done,' or 'that sick person must be seen,' or 'that caller on business must be listened to for a moment, only a moment!' - in spite of all, keep the day.

An interesting entry regarding prayer appears in Bonar's Diary: "I have joined fasting with prayer, as it always helps me to freedom from distraction." Just as

1. Bonar, Diary, p. 150.
2. Ibid., pp. 151f.
3. Leishman, op. cit., p. 130.
National Covenants, in previous generations, had given rise to personal covenants, so National Fasts prompted individual ones. Such personal fasts were regarded as extra-ordinary duties, and were gradually disappearing from the Scottish scene. Nevertheless, he observed such fasts. Usually, a time and place would be chosen beforehand, and the attempt was made to prepare oneself for the occasion. During the fast, time would be spent in the study of the Bible and in prayer, with especial attention to the confession of sins.

In addition to the personal fasts, the Collace congregation observed a fast day on the Thursday preceding Communion Sunday. Though all the people did not observe it, nevertheless, the day was remembered in many homes, and services were held in the church. The Bonar family always kept the day as a special time of prayer and worship. Further, Bonar often took part in the fast days of other churches, at Perth and Edinburgh.

His efforts were not entirely limited to his people in Collace during these years. The books and pamphlets which he wrote enjoyed a wide circulation. In addition, he was called upon to speak in churches throughout the land. Though a minister of a rural congregation, he was widely known in Scotland as a devoted Christian and an evangelical preacher. The reader of his Diary and his letters is amazed

2. Ibid., p. 118.
4. Bonar, Diary, pp. 147, 154, 161f., 172.
5. "Dr. Andrew Bonar," The British Weekly, No. 371 (December 7, 1893), XV, 97.
by the frequency of his visits to the various churches, sometimes for several days at a time.¹

Even during his vacation periods, he would often spend his time on special preaching missions.² This characterized his attitude towards leisure time and recreation: he felt that every day was a gift of God, and was to be used for Him. Though his views on this matter broadened after his marriage, and in later years changed considerably, his attitude was basically that of Richard Baxter, whose words he quoted with approval:

Baxter's words are not less than the truth: 'Recreation to a minister must be as whetting is with the mower, that is, only to be used so far as is necessary for his work. May a physician in the plague-time take any more relaxation or recreation than is necessary for his life, when so many are expecting his help in a case of life and death? Will you stand by and see sinners gasping under the pangs of death, and say, God doth not require me to make myself a drudge to save them? Is this the voice of ministerial or Christian compassion, or rather of sensual laziness and diabolical cruelty?'³

Bonar considered it as an obligation before God that he attend the various courts of the Church.⁴ Accordingly, we find him accepting his presbyterial duties: attending the meetings as a commissioner to the General Assembly,⁵ participating in the discussions,⁶ and serving as a member of

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3. Quoted in Bonar, M'Cheyne, p. 74. [From Ref. Past. vi, 6.]
various committees.1 He was the Moderator of the Presbytery of Perth in 1847, and again in 1854.2

Towards the latter part of his Collace ministry there are evidences of his discouragement with his work. The seclusion of Collace afforded him the time and the opportunity to study, write, and, above all, to pray. Yet, he did not feel that his efforts were producing sufficient results. He was willing to accept his position in life with humility and trust,3 yet, he was grieved by the lassitude of his people. This led him to pray, in 1850: "that either the Lord would awaken souls or send me to some place where He might do so." In 1851, he regarded his ministry as "very fruitless," and in 1852 he laments: "evidence of only one soul in my congregation blessed this year." In 1853 he was grieved to see his people "so unmoved," and in 1854, he was troubled by his little success and influence.4

During these years Bonar had received invitations from other churches, but he did not perceive the call of God in any of them.5 Earlier, he had not considered such proposals, for, as he said, "The Lord has work for me here ... I do not see any strong reasons whatever for removing, and many for remaining."6 While in London at one time he wrote:

1. Ibid., I, 269ff.; II, 4ff. Bonar served on committees relating to the subjects of Prayer, Temperance, Popery, and Sabbath Observance.
2. Ibid., I, 202; II, 132.
4. Ibid., pp. 148, 152, 154, 162, 167.
5. Ibid., pp. 108, 121, 156, 159, 166.
6. Ibid., pp. 108, 121.
Many an upbraiding do I meet with for what they count the 'folly and absurdity' of continuing to feed a few sheep at Collace, rather than agree to plunge into the mass of misery among souls here. But, nevertheless, I am not moved from my belief that the Lord may mean to work more in a very small spot than in a great city.¹

However, in 1851 he writes: "I have been led more than once to think if it may not be my duty to go to such a place as Glasgow, and there as a missionary dig out the wretched people of the wynds."² This conviction grew in Bonar's mind,³ though it was not till 1855 that a specific opportunity for such work was presented to him. At that time a minister was needed to serve a mission station in the Finnieston area of Glasgow.⁴ He writes of the proposal:

I am much pressed to consider the subject of Glasgow evangelization - in short, to agree to be called to a district and church about to be erected in Finnieston in Glasgow. I have prayed, considered, and in every way, reviewed the matter as impartially as I could, and the result is I am feeling my way toward it. The thousands in that part of Glasgow (it is quite like a district of London) made me yearn; so few to care for them, and every day more houses built, and more souls arriving, richer and poorer. To leave Collace I have always thought would be like Abraham leaving Ur of the Chaldees - that is, nothing but the clear call of the God of glory would effect it; but this seems to me like His call.⁵

There is an amusing story of a minister who received a call from a large church. One of his elders visited the manse to learn what the decision would be, and was greeted at the door by the minister's son. "Has your father decided to move?" asked the elder. "Well," replied the boy, "Father is

2. Bonar, Diary, p. 152.
downstairs praying about it, but mother is upstairs packing to go!" Such was not the case in the Collace manse. In the private diary of Andrew Bonar's wife we find the record of her thoughts regarding Glasgow:

This matter of Glasgow is at His disposal . . . We are . . . now in the position of waiting, to see, whether by His providence He says 'go forward' or 'remain where you are.' Oh! Searcher of hearts, let us be stripped of all but a desire to glorify thee - let no one inferior motive be suffered to sway our minds.¹

Bonar's Diary reflects this same spirit of trustful waiting,² until August, 1856, when the Free Presbytery of Glasgow agreed on his coming to Finnieston.³ Though some objected to his leaving Collace, and all his people were sorry to see him go, his decision had been made. Accordingly, he writes: "announced my conviction to my people that if I did not go to Glasgow I feared I should be acting the part of Jonah."⁴ On October 22, 1856, he left Collace,⁵ to begin a ministry in Glasgow which was to be highly successful, and which was to have such far-reaching consequences for Christian good throughout the years.

¹. Bonar, "SMS Memorials," pp. 362ff. These pages of the diary of Bonar's wife, dated May 20, 1855, were found after her death, and were included in the "Memorials" volume.
². Bonar, Diary, pp. 170ff.
⁴. Bonar, Diary, p. 177.
⁵. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to Horatius Bonar" (from Collace: October 22, 1856).
Chapter IV.
GLASGOW MINISTRY
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Glasgow is the world in its thirst for riches, everyman seeking to get. But the times of refreshing are coming, for the Lord is at hand... Lord, go forth with me... give me a baptism of the Holy Spirit that I may have new zeal, compassion, love to Thee and to souls.

- Andrew Bonar, Diary, pp. 181, 193.

A. Building a Church (1856-1863)

Andrew Bonar began his ministry in Glasgow in 1856, and remained there until his death in 1892, more than two-fifths of his life. During these thirty-six years Imperial History was marked by the end of the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and the later Egyptian campaigns, the American Civil War, and the Franco-Prussian War. In the realm of politics there were the dominant personalities of Disraeli and Gladstone, the Irish problem and the Free Trade controversy. The social and economic life of the country was influenced by a spirit of democracy, reform, and progress. The religious activity of the period was vigorous, as evidenced by church attendance, prayer meetings, revivals, and missionary interests.

When Bonar went to Glasgow in 1856, the population of the industrial centre had grown to 330,000.¹ The commercial importance of the city was demonstrated by its

many factories, shops, business establishments, and shipyards. From its docks, ships of iron sailed throughout the empire and to all parts of the world. These signs of economic prosperity, however, proved to be not an unmixed blessing for the life of those who lived there. The Glasgow of this time was a city of striking contrasts - of opulence and prosperity, of inadequate housing and social discontent. It had a West End of growing wealth rising up side by side with an East End of poverty and unemployment. It was also a city of great religious movements, and if iniquity abounded in its terrible slums, grace did, if not much more, at least equally abound in its long streets.

For Andrew Bonar the change from the rural parish of Collace to the long, dingy streets of Glasgow must have been great. Yet, he did not have Ruskin's hatred of industrialism and the great industrial cities. He loved the natural beauty of the countryside, but more than mountain or moor he loved men. The city was no inferno to him, but a great ocean of human life, whose storms and tides it was an exhilaration to breast and swim. He lamented "the sins and sorrows of the city, its drunkenness, its luxury, its Sabbath-breaking, its keen pursuit of gain and pleasure, its forgetfulness of God." Towards the goal of reforming and redeeming the people of Glasgow, he directed his devoted energies.

The area of Finnieston, where Bonar labored, was laid

1. Cf. The Glasgow Herald, for the year 1856.
out as a village in 1770 by the proprietor, John Orr of Barrowfield. Twenty acres of his lands of Stobcross were set aside for the village, and named in honor of his chaplain, John Finnie.¹ As Glasgow expanded in the nineteenth century, the village of Finnieston, located along the western limit of the city, was incorporated into the growing metropolis. In the second half of the century, increasing numbers of people were moving into the Finnieston district from farms and towns to be employed in the industries of the city. Uprooted from their rural life, many of these people were now without any church connection.

The Free Presbytery of Glasgow was anxious that these people should be brought into the life of the Church, and that a congregation should be formed from the non church-going population in the west of the city. Accordingly, in connection with the Glasgow Evangelization Scheme, a church was erected as a mission station in the Finnieston district in 1855.²

The church was built upon a piece of waste land at the head of Finnieston Street.³ Behind the building was a dairy company. At first, the area around the church was largely residential, though with the passing of time the neighborhood became more and more devoted to commercial purposes.⁴ By the end of Bonar's ministry the district had

¹ D. Reid, Glasgow Past and Present (Glasgow: David Robertson & Co., 1884), I, 37.
² "CSMS Record of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow," III, 17, 159.
³ This is now the location of the Carlaw Motor Engineering Works.
become a cosmopolitan thoroughfare, for between the Docks and Dunbarton Road, immortalized by Rudyard Kipling in Macandrew's Hymn, there passed persons of every description from every walk of life.

Bonar was inducted into the newly erected church as its first minister, on December 4, 1856. The pulpit and pews were still in the freshness of white unpainted pine. A fair number of interested persons had assembled. The presbytery was represented on the platform. In the words of one member of the congregation, Bonar is described as being at that time "a tall, straight, and somewhat spare man of about forty-five, with hair just tinged with grey."

His work in Finnieston was extremely difficult during his early ministry there. While surveying the district in December, 1856, he stated: "Multitudes of souls, very few indeed that even seek to know the Lord." In January, 1857, he confesses: "Have felt a sinking of heart in view of the indifference and uninterested state of the people in my district." Although the surrounding area was densely populated, the services at the church were poorly attended. At the first regular meeting of the congregation there were only ten persons present! These circumstances caused Bonar to feel "like a missionary to the heathen, who has to

4. Ibid., p. 189.
spend months in learning the language and habits of the people." He said, "I must be content gradually to get acquainted with the faces and characters and the ways of my poor district, and to seek openings among the indifferent, the drunken, the lazy, the ignorant, the practical atheists, the bitter Papists, the formal professors, the young and old, sick and healthy."¹

In this trying work, Bonar was helped by his faculty for remembering and recognizing people. He contemplated: "It will take all 1857 to know the faces and the ways of the people of my district, and till I thus know them I can scarcely expect to see many of them come to the church."² As the church membership grew, he came to know every man, woman, and child in his congregation by name, and he was sincerely interested in their welfare. If a member of his congregation was not in church on Sunday morning, he would notice it and pay a visit to that person during the following week to inquire after the cause of the absence. By his genuine concern for the welfare of his people, he gradually created an intimate pastoral relation with them, and they, in turn, developed a firm loyalty to him and to the Church.

The minister of Free St. Matthew's, Glasgow, Samuel Miller, and certain of its members, had been interested in the formation of the Finnieston Church. Not only were they interested, but three elders and two teachers of Free St. Matthew's had offered to give their assistance to the new

¹ Bonar, Reminiscences, pp. 35f.
² Bonar, Diary, p. 187.
mission church during its initial stages. During the early part of 1857, Bonar worked closely with these helpers and with a few other faithful laborers. Then, he says:

There came to our help the recently-converted band of living souls from Jordanhill. Their sympathy and prayers we will never forget. And soon we began to see in the district round us a real movement among the dry bones. Workers were raised up. The Lord sent us office-bearers, elders, and deacons, sabbath-school teachers and tract distributors.

Throughout the year 1857, the Finnieston minister worked very hard. By March, he could say, "We are beginning to get in order as a congregation; we have chosen elders and deacons." Every member was encouraged to take some active part in the life of the church, and the people responded willingly. The feeling prevailed that minister and people were working together for the great cause of Christ's Kingdom in Glasgow. Additional church services, outdoor gatherings, prayer meetings, and Bible classes were inaugurated. At the first communion service, in April, there were ninety-four present. By the middle of December the church was filled to capacity during a series of special meetings, and Bonar could report that the communion roll now numbered 136, and the average attendance at church services was between four hundred and five hundred. In 1858 the

5. Ibid., I, Entry for April 12, 1857. Though these church records are quite well-kept, only the first few pages of the first volume have been numbered. As a result, references must be made according to the dates, rather than the page numbers.
number of members grew to 250, and each successive year witnessed a gradual increase in membership.¹

Persons of wide variation in theological opinion, economic status, and social position, were content to make Finnieston their church home. It is a tribute to Andrew Bonar's greatness that he was able successfully to unite these people: laborers, merchants, business men, and professional men, into a homogeneous body. All were not equally helpful, however, and some even proved to be burdensome to the church. Space prevents the discussion of any of the members, but perhaps an amusing story regarding one of them might be related. There was a sedate deacon who sat in a front pew in the side gallery, and yawned so capacitiously at intervals of about three minutes, that many of the persons in the opposite gallery found themselves yawning in unison. In order to correct his bad habit he began to take notes of the sermons with a quillpen. However, one day he tipped the ink-bottle over into the area of the church, and after that he was obliged to continue his reporting labors on the floor below.²

In all the activities of the church, Bonar was an untiring leader. Throughout the week he faithfully called upon his people. He conducted a Wednesday night prayer

¹. Finnieston, there were always in attendance a great many persons who, while not joining the church, nevertheless supported its activities.
². "FMS Kirk Session Minute Book," I. In the back of the first volume, the communicant membership during several years is given: 1860: 321; 1861: 413; 1862: 417; 1863: 428; 1864: 440.
2. Waddell, op.cit.
meeting, a Tuesday night workers' meeting, various Bible classes and special services. He took an active interest in the weekday school which was conducted by the Finnieston Church. ¹ On Sundays, he was busily engaged in church functions from morning till night. At 9.30 in the morning he would visit the young men's meeting, and at 10.30 he presided at the elders' prayer meeting. Then, he conducted the main service of worship which began at 11.00. This was followed by a brief mid-day prayer meeting, with a fifteen-minute discussion on some Biblical passage. At 2.00 there was an afternoon service which lasted at least two hours, and sometimes more. At 5.30 he conducted the young men's Bible class, and at 6.30 he attended the Sabbath School, showing an interest in both the teachers and pupils. Finally, he led the evening worship service at 7.00. ²

The rapidity with which he brought the congregation into working order was indeed a remarkable accomplishment. From a mere handful of believers in a mission church, he organized what was to become one of Glasgow's largest and most active congregations. He was the influence behind every endeavor of the church, attending and leading the meetings, taking a warm, personal interest in all his people, and ever challenging them to greater efforts as fellow-laborers for Christ.

In addition to his efforts in the church, Bonar was also deeply interested in his family. His beloved wife was

¹ "CSMS Record of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow," V, 285.
² Munsie, op.cit., p. 4.
a constant source of inspiration and help to him, and he was
devoted to her. He took a great delight in his three
children, Isabella, Marjory, and James. During the first
years in Finnieston, three more children were born into the
Bonar family. On March 23, 1858, a second son, Andrew
Alexander, was born. His father had great hopes for the
boy: "Oh, if this were a child over whose birth many may
have cause to rejoice, gathering many to Christ before the
great and terrible day!" The child, however, died two
years later. On June 18, 1861, a third daughter,
Jane Christian, was born. On September 24, 1864, a
fourth daughter, Mary Elizabeth, was born.

Between the years 1857 and 1860, the lands on both
sides of the Atlantic experienced a great religious
awakening. The revival of religion began in America in
1857, and soon spread to Northern Ireland, and then to
Scotland, Wales, and England. Bonar speaks of this time:
"In 1859 a wave of blessing from America broke on the shores
of Ireland ... The report of what God was doing in America,
and then close at hand in Ireland, produced fruit everywhere." The news of the revival attracted much attention in
Scotland, and prompted a man like Bonar to pray: "O my God,

1. Bonar, Diary, pp. 194ff.
2. Jane Christian later married D.W. M'Intyre, Bonar's
successor at Finnieston.
3. Ibid., pp. 215, 234.
4. W.J. Couper, Scottish Revivals (Dundee: James P.
Mathew & Co., 1918), pp. 130ff.
5. Andrew Bonar, James Scott, a Labourer for God (London:
Morgan & Scott, 1885), p. 5.
6. Evidences of revival had already appeared in certain
places in the north of Scotland, particularly in Aberdeen.
come over to Scotland and help us. O my Lord and Saviour, do like things among us in this city."¹ In order to gain a clearer picture of the awakening in Ireland, and in the hope of carrying some of the revival fire back to Scotland, Bonar made a trip to the Emerald Isle. Along with several other Scottish ministers of various denominations he visited Ulster during the early part of August, 1859.

We know something of Bonar's activities in Ireland from a journal in which he recorded his impressions of the places he visited and the people he met.² He attended the various meetings, and was thrilled by the size of the gatherings and the large number of persons who were experiencing conversion. He had the opportunity of speaking at several of the services with great success. He records enthusiastically the many conversations he had with anxious persons about their salvation, following the services. He speaks of the many prayer meetings he attended, and how effective such gatherings were in furthering the revival. He mentions certain dominant themes in the preaching of the Irish ministers: the free offer of salvation to all, the pre-millennial coming of Christ, the utter sinfulness of man, and the necessity for commitment to Christ and separation from the world. Another feature of the revival which struck Bonar was the fact that the converts were from all classes of people. On leaving the scenes of revival, he penned the following reflections:

¹ Bonar, Diary, p. 200.
² Andrew Bonar, "SMS An Eight Days Visit to Scenes of Revival in Ulster." The pages are not numbered.
The work is one in which, I think, this may be noticed. 1. The quickening power of the Holy Ghost. Man may persuade, man may excite, man may teach, man may move; but there are hundreds in every village & town of Ulster made at once without eloquent preaching, nay by prayer chiefly, to love, desire, delight in, relish, what lately they hated; & to hate what before they revelled in. 2. It is a work wherein is seen that salvation is for 'babes.' For, it is not depth that characterizes it; it is breadth. It is spread over a vast number, but the amount of knowledge is not great. Nay, it is in general simply a discovery to the heart and conscience of this, viz. 'You are a real sinner, & Christ came to save sinners such as you.' This is wrought into man by the Spirit.1

Upon his return to Scotland, Bonar, like several other ministers, frequently addressed groups of people who were interested in the revival. A quickening of spirit was evident in the Scottish churches: special services and prayer meetings for revival were held, extra efforts were made to reach the unchurched, and ministers and laymen alike evidenced a concern for a religious awakening. Though no definite time or place can be given for the origin of the movement in Scotland, evidences of revival began to appear, and by the middle of August, 1859, the Glasgow Bulletin stated that there were reasons for believing that Scotland was about to experience a movement similar to that which had influenced Ireland. The tide of revival soon appeared throughout the country - on the north-east coast among the fishermen, in the Highlands, in some districts of the west, and particularly in the cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen.

Bonar's Diary reflects his great interest in the

1. Loc.cit.
movement. He also kept a journal in which he recorded the various scenes of revival which he visited: Dundee, Aberdeen, Eyemouth, Strathmore, Collace, Woodside, Coupar Angus, Kelso, Perth, and others. At Saltcoats many suddenly became anxious about their spiritual state. Meetings were held in the town every evening and were filled to overflowing. He visited the scene, and wrote: "Today at Saltcoats, where God is working much as in all the surrounding places."²

Bonar also kept a brief journal of his visit to Ferryden, in December, 1859.³ From its pages we learn that this small fishing village at the mouth of the river Southesk experienced a particularly active revival. The people cried out and prostrated themselves. Different persons related to Bonar how they had seen visions of Christ and dreamed of His return to judge them.⁴ He writes in his Diary: "Called . . . to visit Ferryden, where the Lord is working wonderfully. It is like the breath of warm sunshine upon ice and snow; the souls of men here are everywhere melted down."⁵

Bonar's own church also experienced a religious awakening during this period. Several evangelists, most of them laymen, visited Finnieston during 1859-1860. Night after night the church was filled to overflowing as the Gospel was proclaimed by men like Hammond of America, Lockhart of

2. Bonar, Diary, p. 201.
3. Cf. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Visit to Ferryden in 1859."
4. Though Bonar regards such religious experiences as exaggerated, he expresses no doubts regarding the validity of the conversions.
5. Bonar, Diary, p. 204.
Liverpool, Richard Weaver and Brownlow North. Hymns were sung, prayers were offered, and souls were saved. Church attendance increased, extra meetings were conducted, and well-organized bands of workers visited the area around Finnieston and brought many into the church. It was with a great sense of thankfulness that Bonar made such entries in his Diary as the following: "This has been a remarkable week: every day I have heard of some soul saved among us." In 1861 the minister of Finnieston reported: "The population is about four thousand, and we are able to point to dwellings in every part of it in which some souls have been born again, so far as man can judge." With the passing of time these gains were made more firm as Bonar and his flock maintained a continuing programme of evangelism and Christian nurture.

1. Waddell, op.cit.
B. Bearing the Cross (1864-1873)

"Burdens are part of a believer's education." These words of Andrew Bonar became painfully meaningful to him during 1864. On October fourteenth of that year, he experienced the greatest sorrow of his long life. While he was still in the height of his usefulness, his beloved wife was suddenly taken from him, and he was left to face the future with five young children. How keenly he felt this loss may be indicated by the entry in his Diary for the day after her death:

O what a wound! Last night most suddenly, after three hours' sinking, my dear, dear Isabella was taken from me. Lord, pour in comfort, for I cannot. It needs the Holy Ghost to work at such a time. Lord, what innumerable kindnesses Thou gavest me through her: a true wife, a true mother, a true mistress, a true friend. She passed away so gently that, till I held her and touched her cheek, I could scarcely believe it was death.

Following her sudden decease, Bonar lived what the French call La vie intérieure. The fact of losing his wife seemed to pervade his every thought and action. He lovingly compiled a book of memories, containing many of her letters, extracts from her diary, and a brief account of her life. For more than a year, his Diary contains nothing but references to her death. Some of these might be quoted here to indicate the state of his mind:

O what I have lost! . . . Days pass on. Nothing seems to me the same as it was. Not a night but I either dream of dear Isabella or think of her the moment I awake . . . Not one day has passed, since this time last year, during

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2. Bonar, Diary, pp. 234f.
which my beloved Isabella has not been distinctly before me... I seldom sleep a whole night now without awakening before the day breaks, and then thoughts of what I have lost come up with sudden power.¹

He often imagined his wife as enjoying the fellowship of Christ in heaven: "she is at home now... she is taken up with Christ," and he looked forward with great anticipation to the time when he expected to see her again: "Our marriage day was looked forward to with immense desire, but not less shall be (through his grace) the marriage day of Christ, when we shall meet together for ever... I have been fancying how she will meet me when I arrive."²

With less to bind him to earth, Bonar sought even more earnestly than before the things which are above. The loss of his earthly joy seemed to bring him more of his Saviour's presence:

My Lord and Saviour is henceforth to be to me instead of what I have lost. He is to take the place of my dear Isabella... Though slow to learn it, to this very hour I believe that in the death of my beloved Isabella the Lord was saying to me, as He did to Abraham, 'Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred into a land that I shall show thee,' My eye ought not now to look around for anything to stay me, but to look upward always for the glory there, and the Lord Himself who is to lead me in.³

The burden of his great loss remained with Bonar long afterwards. In fact, he never really recovered from the shock. In February, 1866, he confesses:

Last Sabbath I nearly broke down in the forenoon; but, though I was obliged to shorten the service, got through. I have learned several things from this

1. Ibid., pp. 235, 243, 253.
2. Ibid., pp. 232, 244.
3. Ibid., pp. 237, 263.
dealing, and today it is as if the Lord would make up for that painful and distressing time, for everything in my study has been uncommonly easy, full, and plain; but now and then comes in the pang of bereavement. 1

Two years after his wife's death, he writes: "Since this time two years ago I have never been able to pass one day without something during its hours recalling my beloved Isabella to my thoughts." In all his sorrow, he confidently looked to his Lord for help: "The Lord can enable me to bear the loss of my beloved wife so as to be more than conqueror." 2

During the remaining years of his life, Bonar often mentions in his Diary the loss he has sustained, and in the letters to members of his family he reveals his deep sorrow. 3 Nevertheless, he did not speak of this in public. He was able to master his grief, and it is doubtful if any of his congregation realized how very deep were the waters through which he was passing.

In spite of this loss, which struck at the very root of his private life, there was no faltering or wavering in the work of the ministry. Bitter as was the sorrow, it never turned him aside from his Master's work. "I find preaching the Word one of my best consolations," he once said. At another time, "God's Lethe is in some degree fruitfulness in time of affliction." 4 Indeed, it would seem that his ministry to troubled souls was even more effective.

1. Ibid., p. 255.
2. Ibid., pp. 258ff.
3. Andrew Bonar, "BMS Letter, to James Bonar" (from Greenock: April 26, 1875). James was Andrew Bonar's son.
than before, because he had faced his own troubles in the light of God's Word, with the example of Jesus Christ, and by the help of the Holy Spirit.

During the following decade some of Bonar's closest acquaintances died, including Alexander Black (1864), John Milne (1868), William Burns (1868), Joseph Wilson (1873), and Robert S. Candlish (1873). He notes, with grief, the passing of each. He also was grieved by the loss of several of his relatives - his brother James in 1868, his cousin Christian Bonar in the same year, and a nephew, niece, and sister-in-law in 1869. More and more Bonar turned to his children for companionship, and between the members of the family there existed a strong bond of love and understanding. He took a keen interest in all their activities, and spent much of his leisure time with them. Three of his four daughters remained unmarried during his lifetime, and shared the manse with their father.

As Bonar had been made to bear a cross in his private life, so now he felt the burden of another in connection with the Union Controversy of 1863-1873. He heartily disliked controversy in church affairs, for, as he said, "anything like jars, or discord, or disputing seems to stop the work of God."

There had been for some time a strong desire for closer relations between the Free Church and the United

3. Cf. the many letters Bonar wrote to the members of his family.
Presbyterian Church.\textsuperscript{1} It was quite natural that such a feeling should exist, for there was already a large measure of unity between the two denominations. Both bodies adhered to the same form of church government, subscribed to the same Confession of Faith, agreed on the question of the spiritual independence of the Church, and appeared to be in substantial accord in regard to questions of discipline and worship.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a movement in the direction of union between the two Churches took tangible shape during the year 1863, when each denomination appointed a committee to negotiate with a view towards union. In the General Assembly of the Free Church during that year there was prevalent a feeling of co-operation, harmony, and hope.\textsuperscript{2} Andrew Bonar writes in reference to that Assembly:

Yesterday was memorable: the meeting of the General Assembly, at which the subject of union between our Church and the United Presbyterian was discussed. It was like one of the days of the Disruption time. There was something very remarkable in the spirit and tone, and in the whole aspect of things that day. It seems likely to bring about new openings, new views of each other, and probably will end in union. It is a solemn time. There was something in the spirit of the United Presbyterian Synod in their late meetings quite unusual; and there was something of the like among ourselves. 'Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness.'\textsuperscript{3}

During the first year, the committees of the two Churches discovered the various items of agreement and disagreement. The committees then hopefully drew up a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} The United Presbyterian Church had come into being in 1847, by the union of the Relief and Secession bodies.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Free Church of Scotland, \textit{Proceedings and Debates} (1863), pp. 181ff.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Bonar, \textit{Diary}, p. 225.
\end{itemize}
programme of eleven points about which discussion or definition seemed desirable. These points ranged from questions of doctrine to matters of finance, though the crucial issue concerned the relation of the Church to the State, or the "Civil Magistrate." It was discovered that the two Churches had more in common on this point than had been realized. Only one point of difference remained. The United Presbyterian Church held that the State, while it might do many things for the Church, must not establish or endow it; while the Free Church held that, in certain circumstances, the State might and should do so. Though the United Presbyterian Church did not insist upon this point as a term of communion, it was known that Voluntaryism was an article in that Church's belief.

At the General Assembly of the Free Church in 1864, the committee made its report and was instructed to continue with its efforts. A small minority in the Assembly raised the issue of the Voluntary principle, and stated that further negotiations towards union should cease. However, their objection failed to obtain a substantial support.

In 1865 the negotiating committees were in agreement, both in regard to the import of the doctrinal language employed in the Confession of Faith, and in regard to the receiving and holding ex animo the doctrine so expressed.

5. Fleming, op. cit., I, 177.
The only possibility of a misunderstanding of doctrinal issue was in regard to the extent of the Atonement. Certain of the more conservative Free Church men looked with disfavor upon the wider views of many members of the United Presbyterian body. Also, a small minority in the Free Church Assembly again expressed their opposition to the union negotiations.¹

The General Assembly of 1866 marked the end of the first stage of negotiations.² Robert Buchanan then reported that the union committee, after investigating the entire area of enquiry, hoped that a common basis of union would be reached. When an overwhelming majority vote demonstrated the confidence of the Assembly in the prevailing policy, a report was sent to the Presbyteries for their information and suggestions.³

The union negotiations reached a critical point in the year 1867. There had never been any anti-union party in the United Presbyterian Synod, and in 1867 that Church by a large majority approved of the Articles of Agreement on the relations between Church and State.⁴ It now remained for the Free Church to make a forward move. The official deliverance at the General Assembly was moved by Robert Rainy, in place of the ailing Candlish. Rainy expressed satisfaction with the progress already made towards agreement. He then asked the Assembly to declare that the amount of divergence which had

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been discovered between the two Church bodies constituted no
bar to union, and that the committee should now give their
consideration to other matters, particularly those dealing
with worship, government, finance, and discipline.¹

However, James Begg,² William Nixon, and other
members of the minority group, now demonstrated that their
purpose was to render further negotiations futile. When the
majority of the Assembly supported Rainy's motion in favor of
furthering the union negotiations, Begg submitted a protest
and withdrew from membership of the Union Committee.³
"Hitherto," says the biographer of Rainy, "anti-unionism had
been a tendency, now it was an organization."⁴

An elaborate machinery of agitation was now set in
motion. Many Presbyteries and congregations were stirred to
opposition. Under Begg's editorship, an anti-union journal
The Watchword, was inaugurated. Those favoring union
responded with a paper of their own, The Presbyterian.
Throughout the land a great number of speeches were delivered,
and a large volume of pamphlets were issued, on both sides of
the controversy.⁵ The cause of orthodoxy as well as that of
established religion was declared to be in danger, and it
was becoming increasingly apparent that the contemplated
Union could be effected only at the expense of disunion within
the Free Church.

1. Free Church of Scotland, Proceedings and Debates
(1867), pp. 259ff.
2. It is worthy of note that James Begg served as Jones'
colleague at Lady Glenorchy's, Edinburgh, from 1830 till
1831.
3. Ibid., pp. 273ff.
In 1868 some of the results of the anti-union agitation were evidenced when several hostile overtures and petitions crowded the table in the Free Church Assembly Hall. The vocal minority threatened legal action and attempted to reverse the verdict of the previous year. Although Andrew Bonar's brother, Horatius, was taking an active part against the proposed Union, he himself did not as yet openly oppose it. However, his distress with the increasing ecclesiastical tension is manifested by his refusal to accept his appointment to the General Assembly of 1868, and by an entry in his Diary for that year:

The times are unsettled, and in our church the Union question is disturbing us greatly. We have come to the time when, even among believers, 'the love of many waxes cold.' It is a world of broken cisterns.

At the 1869 Assembly, the situation was so tense that the Union leaders contented themselves with suggesting that the completed report of the Union Committee should be published for the information of the people. Even this proposal, however, met with strong opposition.

It was thus with great concern that Bonar anticipated the coming Assembly in 1870. He writes:

Now in public matters, our Church is near a crisis through the Union question. This meeting

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of the General Assembly is a very solemn one. I have been led to cry to the Lord as the 'Wonderful,' and then 'Counsellor,' and 'Prince of Peace.'

His desire for peace, however, was not realized, for the Assembly of that year witnessed an intensification of the problem, as the opposition of the minority party continued to grow.

Yet, as J.R. Fleming suggests, perhaps the determining factor which thwarted the Union at this time was the emergence of a middle party in the Free Church. This group was decidedly averse to union at the price of a breach in the Church of 1843, which to them was more sacrosanct than any more comprehensive Church could possibly be.

C.G. McCrie describes this party as being composed of those who did not altogether agree with the anti-union party either in the ends they were prosecuting or in the methods they were adopting, but who questioned whether it was wise or right to accomplish union at the expense of a disjunction, which was now spoken of as possible and even probable.

This middle party was quite small, and some of its members, including Andrew Bonar, had more affinities with the intransigent minority than with the progressive majority. Yet, it carried considerable moral influence and commanded wide respect. When men like Andrew Bonar were known to be opposed to union, others were disposed to waver.

However, the responsibility for the success of the movement opposing union really belongs to James Begg and his followers, who made it evident that they were determined to achieve their ends.¹

During 1870 and 1871 the controversy often manifested itself on the presbyterial and congregational levels. In the Free Presbytery of Glasgow, on November 8, 1870, Alexander S. Patterson² put forward a motion which opposed the Union.³ Andrew Bonar seconded the motion, and gave for his reasons:

First - Because there is not sufficient reason to believe that these Churches receive the Standards throughout in the same acceptance.

Second - Because they [the Presbytery] regard the doctrine of the duty of the Civil Magistrate towards religion and the Church of Christ, and in reference to the godly upbringing of the young, as hitherto held by this Church, as of Scriptural authority, and not to be surrendered.

Third - Because the existing differences of opinion and administration in regard to other important points, render the Union proposed very inexpedient.⁴

In his Diary for November 11,⁵ Bonar comments upon his actions in Presbytery, and reveals the differences of opinion which existed among the members of his session:

Being in the country at a Fast-Day yesterday, did not get time to mark down what I meant to do, viz., the trial I underwent on the Wednesday. It was our Presbytery day, and there the question of Union was discussed, and I took part against

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¹ Fleming, op.cit., I, 181.
² Minister of the Hutchesontown Free Church, Glasgow.
³ "CSMS Record of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow," V, 39f.
⁴ Ibid., V, 45ff. Note: This motion was defeated by another put forward by Robert Buchanan.
⁵ Bonar, "SMS Diary," Entry for November 11, 1870. This is the correct date for the entry. The published Diary, p. 286, gives the date of November 4, which cannot be correct, since the meeting to which reference is made took place on November 8.
it as a matter of conscience. Our Church is very sadly divided. My session have strong feelings on the different sides. I sometimes think that the Lord has let this state of things come to pass in order to complete our weaning from all earthly things, from church as well as self. The future prospect is dark. My soul longs for the Church of the first-born.

The General Assembly of 1870 had sent down to the Presbyteries a report, with the question to be answered: "Whether apart from other considerations bearing on the present movement there is any objection in principle to the formation of an incorporating union among the negotiating Churches on the footing and basis of the Westminster Confession of Faith as at present accepted by the said Churches." At a public meeting early in 1871, R.S. Candlish expressed his belief that this question had been answered in the negative. He stated that "it is no more a mere majority in the General Assembly, but it is the Church ... that has asserted now that there is no bar to Union." Accordingly, he appealed to those who had been opposed to the proposed Union, "to pause now and say, we belong to a Church, which, as such, has declared her mind in a constitutional way, and we are not in a position to abstain from helping our brethren in considering how best and most safely this result may be carried out to its legitimate consequences."

1. Bonar, Diary, p. 286.
3. Quoted in Andrew Bonar, and A. Moody Stuart, Ecclesiastical Obedience, A Respectful Answer to Dr. Candlish's Appeal (Edinburgh: John Maclaren, 1871), p. 2. This pamphlet was also issued in the same year by the same publisher, under the title, Ecclesiastical Order.
In response to this appeal, Andrew Bonar and Moody Stuart, two former assistants of Candlish in St. George's, Edinburgh, issued the pamphlet: Ecclesiastical Obedience, A Respectful Answer to Dr. Candlish's Appeal. The pamphlet is dated May 2, 1871. Bonar earlier refers to it in his Diary as "expressing my opinions so exactly,"¹ and we might thus look to its pages to discover what his opinions were.

The pamphlet evidently was not an easy one to write. Bonar and Moody Stuart state: "In our earnest desire for quiet and conciliation, we have for many months abstained from the controversy in every form . . . and are extremely averse to break our silence." However, they now feel compelled to state their opinions, as "this appeal brings before us a new and high element of moral obligation."²

It is then made clear that they regard the concessions which the majority of the Free Church were prepared to make to Voluntaryism as a surrender of vital truth, a subversion of the creed of their Church: "In this change of creed we are not under the authority of the Courts of the Church, of her Assemblies, and her Presbyteries."³ They solemnly recognize their duty to submit to the will of the majority in regard to matters of government and discipline, but in regard to matters of doctrine, they affirm a higher allegiance: "For the blotting out of defined Articles of Faith, the Courts of our Church by the vote of majorities can constitutionally take

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¹ Bonar, Diary, p. 288.
² Bonar, Ecclesiastical Obedience, pp. 2f.
³ Ibid., p. 4.
no responsibility on themselves, and they can do nothing that will relieve us from being individually responsible to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Head and ours."

The principle which they felt was endangered was "the National Establishment of religion." It was in regard to the question of the relation between Church and State that the difference in principle between the two churches was felt by Bonar to be most acute. To unite with the United Presbyterian Church, with its Voluntary Principle, would mean "practically sacrificing the cardinal truth of the national recognition of Christ."

Bonar and Moody Stuart do not mention, as other opponents of union had done, the difficulties between the two churches in connection with the question of public worship. Nor do they express any dissatisfaction with the position occupied by members of the United Presbyterian Church with regard to the doctrine of the Atonement. The only objection they raise to the proposed Union is against the United Presbyterian conception of the relation between Church and State. If this objection could be overcome, say Bonar and Moody Stuart, they would then be in favor of union.

Union is our earnest desire. Our brethren in every church we love with a sincere heart unfeignedly; and any brother who bears the likeness of our Lord is dearer far than the most earnest Free Churchman not marked with the features of the one family in heaven and in earth.

1. Ibid., pp. 4f.
2. Ibid., p. 9.
3. Ibid., p. 6.
4. Ibid., p. 7.
5. Ibid., p. 11.
Yet, though "Union is in the heart of all Christian men," and "an effort towards it was only natural in good men of both Churches," nevertheless, Bonar regards it as unwise to proceed further with the union movement, for it fails to evidence a "providential and gracious leading of so distinct and marked a character as to warrant the Church to persevere through the great obstacles that have arisen in providence." Therefore, he recommends "an entire cessation now" of negotiations, "with the view of waiting till God in his providence shall open the way for a Union at once Scriptural and harmonious."—

Meetings were held on May 16-17, 1871, in Edinburgh, "against a change in the Constitution of the Free Church of Scotland." Andrew Bonar took a prominent part in these gatherings. He also served as a member of the General Assembly that month. In a speech which he delivered on the floor of that Assembly, he gave the following reasons for his seconding of William Nixon's motion against union: (1) The motion towards union is "one not tending to peace," but only to an armistice in the fighting. (2) "There has been no interposition of Providence . . . no rising tide of blessing" which would indicate the desirability of union. (3) The blessings of union may be found in "co-operation

1. Ibid., p. 12.  
without incorporation."\(^1\) In this speech, Bonar briefly reiterated the opinions he had expressed in *Ecclesiastical Obedience*. In his *Diary* he refers to the speech: "For the first time spoke in the General Assembly against the proposed Union. Very trying to the flesh. But it seemed to me plain duty."\(^2\) Although a majority of the 1871 Assembly favored union,\(^3\) yet, because of the risks involved, and the opposition of the minority, further progress towards union at that time was deemed inadvisable, except in the direction of closer co-operation.\(^4\)

Andrew Bonar wrote with great concern of "our distracted Church" in April, 1872.\(^5\) At the General Assembly in May, the Union Committee proposed a plan of Mutual Eligibility, by which the ministers of the two church bodies might be called to congregations outside their own denominations, and settled over them on acceptance of the formulæ which these congregations might hold. However, this plan was opposed by the minority with as much bitterness as ever. Division and proceedings before the civil courts were threatened if Mutual Eligibility were approved by the following Assembly.\(^6\)

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3. In the Free Church of Scotland, of seventy-five presbyteries reporting, forty-nine approved of union on the basis of the Confession of Faith, fourteen objected, while twelve were more or less neutral. In the United Presbyterian Church, all thirty-one presbyteries approved of union.
5. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to Horatius Bonar" (from Glasgow: April 27, 1872).
Throughout the ensuing year a keen agitation was maintained by the dissentients. During this time, Bonar writes: "Great anxiety prevails about the approaching meeting of the General Assembly. There is division feared, that will send away a good many ministers and people." Again, he says:

A time of very great anxiety and care among us as to the dreaded division in our Church. There perhaps has not been more solemn, humbling, broken-hearted prayer among us for years than there is at present in many places about the Church. Out of this there should surely come some result which will be worthy of the Spirit of supplication who has given this heart to cry day and night.¹

On the eve of the expected division, he writes: "To-night great anxiety prevails about the General Assembly. It is feared now that nothing will prevent the separation of a considerable number." It was clear, however, that Bonar was unwilling to depart from his Church: "Many of us, however decided against the proposed Union, will not separate on the ground of the present measure of Mutual Eligibility."²

It is not surprising that the members of the 1873 Assembly came to it with apprehensive feelings. It was generally known that the anti-unionists were strongly against the Mutual Eligibility overture becoming law. It was reported that they had even made arrangements should they feel compelled to secede. At the Assembly, Begg and his followers strenuously opposed the plan of Mutual Eligibility, and a division was threatened. Finally, however, better counsels

1. Bonar, Diary, pp. 298f.
2. Loc.cit.
prevailed. R.S. Candlish's motion regarding Mutual Eligibility, modified by him to appease the anti-unionists, was passed without a vote - the minority being permitted to enter their dissent. Negotiations towards union ceased. The storm clouds passed, and the Church was saved from a division. With a feeling of great thankfulness, Bonar writes: "Deliverance has come! A most marvellous turn in the discussion after all seemed very dark. Both sides were led to an adjustment. It was as marked a sign of the Divine presence almost as in 1843." He states in a letter: "All was well - harmony restored - the 'Mutual Eligibility' is put on such a footing as satisfies us all."

The failure of the union negotiations was a great disappointment to men like Candlish and Buchanan. Many in the Free Church felt that the tide of Christian opinion had been turned by a small company of obstructionists. Though Bonar had neither harshly opposed the intended Union, nor spoken in its favor, he had stated his conviction that such a union would endanger the "Free Church principles," as they had been stated in 1843. Throughout his life, he looked back upon the Disruption with a certain reverence, and regarded with suspicion any proposal which appeared to alter the principles of the Disruption. As a young man, he had opposed Voluntaryism, with its concept of the separation of Church and State, and its disavowal of the idea of an established church. Now, many Free Church ministers, while

3. Andrew Bonar, "BMS Letter, to James Bonar" (from Greenock: May 29, 1873).
not going over to the Voluntary Principle, and accepting it in its entirety, were nevertheless beginning to view with favor the disestablishment of the church. However, Bonar and others still regarded the ideas of 1843 as being sacrosanct. He could not agree to union with the United Presbyterian Church as long as her members and ministers favored the Voluntary Principle. He was neither a church leader nor an astute ecclesiastic. He was a conservative minister, attempting to maintain those principles which he sincerely believed to be of great value and importance for the Christian welfare of the land.
Andrew Bonar was ever desirous to extend the Kingdom of his Lord. During his life this desire led him to pursue a wide variety of activities. As a minister of Glasgow, the keynote of his policy might well have been furnished by the motto on the municipal coat of arms: "Let Glasgow Flourish by the Preaching of the Word." Whatever theories on the subject others might have had, Bonar was deeply and abidingly convinced that Glasgow would never "flourish" in any true and lasting sense except on the basis of "the Preaching of the Word." In the spirit of this conviction, his efforts were devoted to the propagation of the Gospel, including such things as: building up his own congregation, encouraging evangelistic efforts, supporting foreign and domestic mission endeavors, and suppressing such influences as tended to prevent the Christian welfare of the people.

Reference has already been made to some of his activities in building up his own congregation. In recognition of this accomplishment, and of his many other activities, he was awarded in 1874 the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity by his alma mater, the University of Edinburgh. He writes to his son of his feelings regarding this degree:

The degree came certainly most unexpectedly - & at my time of life such honours probably have not the same attraction as they might at one time have had. However, it is not to be despised; for it is an honour, & may help my influence as a
minister of the Gospel among some who look to these things."

It has been said of Bonar that, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, he was "perhaps the leading Evangelical minister in Glasgow."² He certainly demonstrated his evangelical concern in his work at Finnieston. In addition, he took the lead in introducing the subject of revival on the floor of the Glasgow Presbytery. As the convener of the Presbytery committee on revival, he furthered the cause of evangelism in many ways throughout the city.³ He believed that evangelism should be everyone's concern. In an address to a group of Christian ministers and laymen, he once stated:

*Every one of you should do something, so far as opportunity is afforded you, in this great and all-important matter, the winning of unsaved souls to Christ. . . . The Lord, who saved your soul, expects that you, being saved, will never fail to be on the watch to bring others to salvation. . . . Who is there among you, younger or older, who could not do something for souls from day to day? . . . One object we have in view in this address is to lead, if possible, every individual believer, every communicant, every professing disciple, to the conviction that it is altogether a mistake and a grievous error for any to let others work for the conversion of souls, while he himself looks on, praying perhaps and approving, but not taking part.*⁴

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1. Andrew Bonar, "BMS Letter, to James Bonar" (from Glasgow: March 11, 1874). The degree was conferred on April 22, 1874. In his *Diary*, p. 303, he mentions being in Edinburgh to receive the degree from the University that day. Ferguson, *op.cit.*, p. 102, is incorrect in saying the degree was awarded by Glasgow University, and not by Edinburgh. This same error is committed by G.N.M. Collins in his book, *An Orchard of Pomegranates* (Edinburgh: Free Church of Scotland, n.d.), p. 149.
Andrew Bonar had always taken a keen interest in revivals. As far as he was concerned, the Church was only truly alive and vital when it was experiencing a revival. Revival was the sign that God was blessing the Church. It is thus understandable why Bonar, "a firm friend to Revival movements," took such an active interest in the Moody-Sankey Campaign in Great Britain during the years 1873-1875. He had followed with much interest the news of their campaigns in America, and now hoped that their efforts would also meet with success in Britain. He referred to their work as being "God's way to draw attention to old and well-known truths by means of new men - new voices & new modes of address."

Moody and Sankey landed at Liverpool towards the end of the summer of 1873. Their aim was to conduct religious meetings in the large cities of Britain. However, though these men were widely known in America, few in England had heard anything about them. Their methods appeared to many as strange and aggressive, the season of the year was unsuitable, and their Liverpool campaign ended in failure. They then moved to York, and later to Newcastle, where their meetings met with tremendous success. The news of the revival spread across the country, and they were invited to

2. Bonar, James Scott, pp. 1ff.
5. Andrew Bonar, "BMS Letter, to James Bonar" (from Glasgow: February 4, 1874).
conduct a series of meetings in Edinburgh.¹

For six weeks prior to the campaign in Edinburgh there were daily gatherings for prayer, and late in November the mission began. By the middle of December, large crowds were attending the meetings. Prominent Scottish ministers appeared with the evangelists on the platform and in the inquiry room. This helped to relate the movement with the organized Church.² Among those who assisted Moody in this way was Andrew Bonar. He writes:

Have been since morning in Edinburgh attending the remarkable meetings of Moody and Sankey. What a sight! Our great Assembly Hall crowded with eager, praying, listening souls from ten o'clock till four. It was as full toward the afternoon as in the great days of our keen debates; no possibility almost of getting in. This is the answer to the prayers since the Union strife was closed for revival and blessing.³

From Edinburgh the flame of revival spread to Glasgow. In connection with this campaign, Bonar took a most active part. Moody and Sankey arrived in the western metropolis early in February, 1874, and Bonar wrote in a journal: "Glasgow has been visited at last; Moody and Sankey have been sent by the Lord!"⁴

The contents of a brief journal, and of several of Bonar's letters written between February 8 and March 13, have been preserved. Here, he describes certain aspects of the Glasgow campaign. He mentions the beginning of the work on the morning of February 8, in the City Hall, where Moody

¹ Fleming, op.cit., I, 234f.
² George Adam Smith, op.cit., pp. 55ff.
³ Bonar, Diary, p. 301.
⁴ Andrew Bonar, "SMS Moody's Visit to Glasgow, 1874." The pages are not numbered.
and Sankey addressed and led a crowded meeting of three thousand Sabbath-school teachers. In the evening of that Sabbath day an evangelistic service was held in the City Hall, and the overflow crowds filled three nearby churches. The success of that meeting led Bonar to ask: "Is it another of the Lord's many new ways, in these last days, of graciously compelling men to come in, like the Grecian mother's agony of desire expressing itself in the song that lured her wayward child back from the precipice to safety?"¹

On the next day the first of the noon prayer meetings was held in the Wellington Street United Presbyterian Church. These gatherings were conducted throughout the campaign, and Bonar considered them to be "the most important of all the meetings, since it is here that believers are to be filled with the Spirit to overflowing, and then go forth to the unsaved."² He addressed one of these early gatherings, saying:

Can the arm of God, which shook Egypt, not shake Glasgow? Will that arm which divided the Red Sea not do wonders here? Is the power of the cross vanished? Is the merit of sacrifice gone? Is there no more room, or is the great Substitute weary of taking the sinner's place? We are a little company, but the Spirit of the times of Pentecost is still among us. Let us pray, and never doubt, and the arm of the Lord will still be seen mighty to save.³

Meetings were conducted in Glasgow's churches at

² Ibid., p. 91.
different times of the day throughout the week. There were special services for men, and others for women, some specifically for laborers, and others designed for youth. Some of the largest gatherings were held in the Crystal Palace, a building of glass, which was crowded with five thousand people night after night. After every service there would be from fifty to two hundred inquirers, and Bonar delighted in aiding these people with their spiritual problems. He took the deepest interest in all these meetings, and in the conversions which resulted from them.

His journal and letters contain various accounts of conversion. In another place, also, he refers to the spiritual effects of the campaign:

There have been not a few awakened of late, and the interest is deepening. The ministers of all denominations take part most cordially. Men are coming from great distances to ask the way of life, awakened to this concern by no directly human means, but evidently by the Holy Spirit, who is breathing over the land. It is such a time as we have never had in Scotland before. The same old Gospel as of aforetime is preached to all men: Christ who was made sin for us, Christ the substitute, Christ's blood, Christ's righteousness, Christ crucified; The power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation; but now the Gospel is preached 'with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven,' and amid all this the enemy is restrained, so that we are reminded of Revelation vii. 1-3, the time before the coming of the Lord. . . . Surely it is the time to seek the Lord that He may rain righteousness upon us. 2

Bonar's Diary indicates his continuing activities in

1. Clark, op. cit., pp. 91ff. Also, Bonar, "SMS Moody's Visit to Glasgow, 1874."
the Glasgow campaign till the middle of May, 1874, when Moody and Sankey travelled to visit such towns as Auchterarder, Dunfermline, Greenock, and Paisley. Bonar visited these places during the summer of 1874, and assisted in the work of revival.\textsuperscript{1} At other times, as in Oban, he did a considerable amount of preparatory work by preaching in a place before Moody's meetings would begin.\textsuperscript{2}

In 1875, during the Moody and Sankey London campaign, Bonar participated by speaking, praying, and generally assisting Moody in his work.\textsuperscript{3} Moody's biographer mentions Andrew Bonar and Henry Drummond as the two men who most effectively aided Moody at this time.\textsuperscript{4} Although very little is actually known of the part played by Bonar in the London meetings, the brief notes he took of the campaign, an occasional entry in his Diary, or a reference in a letter, reveals his close connection with Moody at this time. Bonar writes of a meeting in London at the Camberwell Hall: "The crowd was immense, about 10,000 crammed into the building . . . Mr Moody shook hands with me in going in, and then, in giving out the first hymn, said, 'Dr. Andrew Bonar is here with us, and I daresay he would scarcely feel at home if he did not hear a psalm! Let us sing the Hundredth Psalm.'"\textsuperscript{5}

Again, Bonar writes:

\begin{quote}
At Camberwell Hall not less than 9000 assembled, morning, noon, and night. In the morning, before
\end{quote}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Hall, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 88ff.
\item Moody, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 182.
\item Andrew Bonar, "SMS London, 1875." The pages are not numbered.
\item Moody, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 219ff.
\item Bonar, \textit{Diary}, p. 309.
\end{enumerate}
eight o'clock, I was summoned away to preach to the overflow in the neighbouring church. But the most memorable part of the day was our Bible-Reading with Mr. Moody in the forenoon; about thirty Christian friends present. We were like Acts xx.7, talking for two hours, and then dispensing the Lord's Supper. Mr. Moody closed with prayer. Most solemn scene, never to be forgotten.¹

The results of Moody's efforts were extensive. However, for our purposes, we need only note briefly some of the more direct results on the religious life of Glasgow. For one thing, many persons were brought into the life of the Church. At a meeting for converts during the campaign, Bonar led in prayer some three thousand persons who had been converted during the preceding months.² Also, during and after Moody's efforts, there was a general increase in Church attendance and interest. Bonar tells how even the ordinary church services of the various denominations in the city were singularly blessed.³ Further, the revival movement soon extended into philanthropic activities such as free breakfasts for the poor, Y.M.C.A. work, and missions to the outcast and fallen. The schools and universities, also, were strongly influenced. The central motive behind all these activities was the winning of lives for the service of Christ. The notable feature of a union between saving faith and redemptive effort for the world's good, resulted in the dedication of many of Scotland's finest youths to this end.⁴ A year after

¹. Ibid., p. 308.
². Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to Horatius Bonar" (from Glasgow: May 18, 1873). Cf. George Adam Smith, op.cit., p. 60, who gives 3,500 as the number of converts during the campaign.
⁴. Fleming, op.cit., I, 256.
Moody left Glasgow, Bonar commented upon the lasting results of the revival campaign:

We in Glasgow, who have watched this movement and taken part in it, are aware that our testimony cannot have much influence on those to whom we are strangers, but to any of those who will listen we should like to testify to the permanence of the work among us, and any who will come and see for themselves will at once discover how extensive and sincere this work has been. Personally I can say, and many of my brethren are prepared to make the same statement, that the fruit of last year has been as satisfactory in every way as at any period in my ministry, while it has also had some new features of special interest. There have indeed been cases of backsliding, but what of that? Is not the parable of the sower true in all ages?

The results of the Glasgow campaign were in no congregation more evident than in Finnieston. Moody himself had preached there. The members of that church had contributed as much to the revival campaign as any church, serving as counsellors, choir members, speakers, and assisting in the various evangelistic agencies throughout the city. It is not surprising, then, to learn that Bonar's congregation had received "a larger share of blessing than any other in the city." In his Diary there are numerous references to the persons under his care who had been converted during the various meetings: "Not a few have been brought to Christ this week. . . . Every day I have met with some who have been blessed . . . I have a Communicants' Class of fifty-two.

Most of them very distinct in their account of their conversion . . . I have fifty-four coming to the Lord's Table for the first time." In one place he mentions that seventy adults and one hundred children in his parish had been converted during the period of the revival campaign.\(^1\)

The revival of 1873-1875 certainly marked an epoch in the life of Andrew Bonar. It called forth the best of his efforts, and his succeeding ministry was richer because of it. He was particularly impressed by the intensity, the prayerfulness, and the high moral and spiritual tone which characterized the movement. An intimate friendship grew up between Bonar and Moody, and it was said that, from the human standpoint, Bonar contributed more than anyone else towards the success of Moody's Scottish campaign.\(^2\)

Moody acknowledged his indebtedness to Bonar on several occasions. He once said that he "would walk five miles any day to hear Dr. Bonar speak on consecration."\(^3\) At another time, when asked who rendered him the most assistance in Great Britain, Moody replied:

> The Lord Chancellor and Dr. A.A. Bonar, - the first one by attending my London meetings and giving me his powerful influence, and Dr. A.A. Bonar by helping me to deeper knowledge of the Word, and by his letters and counsels.\(^4\)

It was said of Andrew Bonar in 1878: "There is certainly no minister of his age in the country who is

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working harder or doing more effectual service as a home evangelist."¹ This statement is verified by the many activities, apart from the work of his own church, in which Bonar took an active interest. Though he might not always completely agree with a movement, if he felt Christ's interests were being served, he would lend his support to it.² The formation of the Evangelical Alliance, the organization of revival efforts, the battle for the preservation of the Sabbath against the encroachments of the Railway interest, Lord Palmerston's attack on the doctrine of a Divine Providence, the efforts led by Henderson of Park to place the Bible Society on a really national basis—all these furnished occasions for the display of the evangelical, catholic spirit of Bonar, and of his willingness to join with the members of other denominations in furthering without respect of party the cause of the Kingdom of Christ.

Bonar took a particular interest throughout his life in missions. His conception of the missionary obligation of the Church extended not only to the unsaved in foreign lands, but it also included those at home. He lent his support to a wide variety of efforts to reach the unchurched population. He played a leading role in the work of the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association, serving as a director from its founding in 1874 till his death in 1892.³

Under his leadership, the Finnieston Church secured a hall

² M. Bonar, "SMS December 30, 1892," p. 7.
³ A Book of Remembrance, pp. 49f.
and conducted a mission to the poor.¹

Bonar was particularly interested in the conversion of the Jews in Glasgow.² He conducted his own mission to the Jews, with special meetings in his home and at the church, and by training various members of his congregation in methods of witnessing. The success of his efforts was evidenced by the number of Jews who attended Finnieston and eventually became members of that church.³

During this period, Bonar was also active in the affairs of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow. He served on the Sabbath School, Evangelism, Jewish Mission, Sabbath Observance, and Temperance Committees.⁴ He was appointed a commissioner to the General Assembly in 1871, 1874, 1879, and 1882.⁵ In 1877, his various efforts were recognized when he was elected as Moderator of the Presbytery.⁶

During the course of Bonar's ministry at Finnieston, it became one of the largest congregations in the city.⁷ As the number of persons increased, the wish was expressed by many for a newer, larger, and more commodious place of worship.

2. A Book of Remembrance, p. 43. A city-wide Bonar Memorial Mission to Jews was organized in 1893 by the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association in honor of Bonar's interest in the conversion of the Jews.
3. Related in conversation with D.W. Dunnett, Glasgow, July 2, 1954; a member of the Finnieston Church, and formerly acquainted personally with Andrew Bonar.
5. Ibid., V, 81, 323; VI, 281; VII, 12.
6. Ibid., VI, 89.
7. The Position of the Free Church of Scotland in Glasgow and Suburbs, From a Commercial and Practical Point of View (Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1877), pp. 4ff.
Accordingly, in 1875, a committee was chosen, plans were made, funds were collected, and a site for the new church was selected.\textsuperscript{1} The old building was later sold and the proceeds were applied towards the new structure.\textsuperscript{2} The construction began in 1877, and was completed at the end of 1878.

The new structure was a sturdy, gray stone edifice, with Ionic columns in the front and a tall bell-tower. Its large sanctuary was capable of seating over eleven hundred persons. The austere sanctuary was clearly designed for the proclamation of the Word: a large central pulpit, good acoustical properties, but scarcely any decorations or symbolism of any kind. Several smaller rooms were located in the basement and at the rear of the building.\textsuperscript{3}

On December 1, 1878, the old church building in Finnieston Street was abandoned for the new place of worship near the West End Park. Over the door of the newly erected edifice were carved the Hebrew words, \textsuperscript{4} "He that winneth souls is wise." Bonar explained that the words were placed there as an indication of the purpose of the church's existence, and also in the hope that any Jew passing by may see them, and enter to worship. He preached from these words on the day the church was opened, explaining that "winning" was the word used to describe a

\textsuperscript{1} "CSMS Record of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow," V, 476, 491; VI, 109.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., V, 536.
\textsuperscript{3} The church is basically the same today, with the exception of certain additions such as an organ. The ceiling was damaged and the windows were shattered during the air raids of World War II, though they have since been restored to their former condition.
hunter stalking game, and reminding "soul-winners" that their work must be done in a wise way.  

In connection with the new church an incident occurred which Bonar always referred to with thankfulness to God and gratitude to his friends. The cost of the building had been greater than anticipated, and the debt which rested on it was a source of anxiety to the congregation. Several suggestions were made as to how it should be cleared off, and among other things a bazaar was proposed, of which Bonar strongly disapproved. He suggested the delay of further plans until the matter had been made a subject of special prayer. A short time after this prayer meeting, he received from J.H. Wilson a check for £1,000. The money had been contributed by friends of Bonar's, and served to stimulate the Finnieston congregation in their efforts to be rid of the debt on the new building. 

In 1878, the Free Church of Scotland conferred the honor of the Moderatorship of the General Assembly on Andrew Bonar. As one might expect, he at first protested when he learned that his name was suggested for this important position. He says: "Got notice from Dr. Moody-Stuart that I am to be named for the Moderatorship of the

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2. Ibid., pp. 42f.
3. James Wells, The Life of James Hood Wilson (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905), pp. 260ff. Wells seems to imply that Wilson was the donor of the money; however, other friends of Bonar also contributed.
4. Cf. the programmes of the Annual Congregational Meeting of the Finnieston Free Church, 1857-1892. These are in the possession of Mr. & Mrs. A.R. Bonar, Fetcham, Surrey.
next Assembly. I have written to him, entreat ing him to arrest this proposal." As it became evident to him that a great number of persons were in favor of his nomination, he consented: "I have been constrained to let the brethren nominate me to that office after all." Even then, however, he regarded the honor as conferred upon his forebears rather than upon himself: "I know my brethren have respect, not to myself so much as to our family descent, and the work done by those of our family on present and former occasions."¹

At the Assembly of 1878, held that year in St. Andrew's Halls, Glasgow, Bonar's election was proposed by William Goold and seconded by the Earl of Kintore. As Moderator, he delivered an opening address at the Assembly. In this address, which took on a purely religious character, Bonar discussed the various spiritual issues confronting the Church.² During the deliberations of the succeeding days, including the case of Robertson Smith,³ Bonar conducted himself in a manner which proved satisfactory to the members of the Assembly. Being more of a pastor and a preacher than an ecclesiastic, the controversies of that year made his position an especially difficult one. However, he did well, and the Assembly realized the value of having "the meekness of wisdom" in the chair.

Little is known of Bonar's personal feelings regarding the Assembly. Though he kept a brief journal during the meetings, its pages contain not much more than an outline of

2. Free Church of Scotland, Proceedings and Debates (1878), pp. 6ff.
3. Infra.
the proceedings, and a list of some of his engagements during the coming year. It does, however, reveal the great anxiety he felt in regard to the Robertson Smith Case, and the profound relief he experienced when the Assembly had ended.\(^1\) Although, for some ministers, the Moderatorship of the General Assembly marks the climax of their career, Bonar still had several years of active service before him, as the succeeding sections of this chapter will attempt to demonstrate.

1. Cf. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Notes taken during the General Assembly of 1878."
D. Defending the Faith (1877-1890)

From the Reformation period onwards, the Scottish Church has recognized the Bible to be the supreme standard of Faith and Life. Further, it has been a Bible interpreted primarily in terms of a Calvinistic Creed. After the Covenanting Reformation this creed was embodied in the Westminster Confession of Faith and in the accompanying Larger and Shorter Catechisms. During the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, these standards of the Church were, in the main, unquestioned. Most Christians interpreted the Bible quite literally, unconscious of the problems involved, and followed the example of Calvin in making little distinction between the different parts of Scripture. Gradually, however, there ensued a struggle between a new liberal and progressive spirit and the conservative forces of Calvinistic orthodoxy. The new spirit of free inquiry made a promising appearance between 1820 and 1830, though it was almost smothered from 1830 onwards by orthodox reaction and ecclesiastical strife. However, as the Church entered the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, the new spirit was making itself widely felt, and certain questions regarding the Bible and the Confession of Faith compelled an answer. The new attitude of mind was evidenced by the development idea in the philosophy of the German Hegel, the theory of Evolution propounded by the English scientist Darwin, and the works of the Scottish writer Thomas Carlyle.
John Tulloch, speaking in America in 1874 on the theological atmosphere in Scotland, referred to "the rise of a new spirit of thought unconnected with the old standards," and traced the causes of the movement to the "wider historical and critical study of the New Testament and early Christian records, to literary, intellectual, and personal intercourse with England, and to increased acquaintance with German theology."¹ In the departure from the orthodox views of the past, Scotland took an important share, and nowhere was the intellectual activity of the time more strikingly manifested than in the Free Church.

The questions of modern criticism first came into prominence in Scotland in connection with the Robertson Smith Case, which dragged on from about 1876 till 1881. During this period the Free Church of Scotland experienced a conflict which, in breadth of scope and acuteness of feeling, has been compared with the "Ten Years' Conflict" of 1833-1843. Once again the issue was that of Christian liberty. However, whereas the prior conflict was concerned with the liberty of the Church in relation to the State, the latter controversy was in regard to freedom of inquiry within the Church.²

Robertson Smith was one of the first Scottish thinkers to study the Bible in the light of recent critical thought.³ As a student he had been profoundly influenced

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¹ Quoted in Fleming, op. cit., I, 221.
by the Hebrew scholar, A.B. Davidson. Following his University career, he made himself familiar with the entire range of contemporary critical thought, and was led to adopt the views of certain German theologians regarding the date, authorship, and composition of certain parts of the Scriptures. In 1870, at the unusually early age of twenty-four, he was elected as Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College at Aberdeen. ¹

In 1875, Smith embodied certain of his views in an article on the "Bible," which he contributed to the eighth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. In particular, he denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. When the volume containing this article was published, the Free Church was thrown into a state of agitation. Many men, who had strictly adhered to the old traditions with regard to the composition, authorship, and authenticity of the Bible, were alarmed. Though the dominant note was one of indignant protest, there were also many men in the Free Church who regarded the new views with sympathy. ²

The opponents of the new ideas were not long in taking action. The College Committee, which exercised a general supervision over the instruction given in the Divinity Halls, was required to examine the offending article, as well as another article which Robertson Smith had previously written on "Angels." The Committee concluded that, while there was no adequate ground for supporting a

². Stewart and Cameron, op.cit., p. 61.
regular prosecution for heresy against the Aberdeen professor, certain matters, such as his views on Deuteronomy, were apt to arouse grave concern and have an "unsettling tendency." The matter was brought before the General Assembly in 1877, and discussed in many lesser gatherings during that year.

Both Robertson Smith and those who opposed him now desired a formal trial. This demanded that the charges against him should be explicitly stated in the form of a "libel." These charges were now to be either proved or disproved by reference to the standards of the Church. The Presbytery of Aberdeen was thus instructed in 1878 to institute an inquiry, and Smith was temporarily suspended from teaching. After discussion in the Aberdeen Presbytery and Synod, the matter was referred to the Assembly of 1878.2

As Moderator of that Assembly, Andrew Bonar presided over its deliberations and was grieved by the critical views he heard expressed.3 After a number of speeches, the issue was narrowed to the question of the Mosaic authorship of the Book of Deuteronomy, and on a motion by Henry Moncreif the Assembly found that this count of the libel was relevant.4 When the Assembly was over, Bonar wrote in his Diary: "Came home full of thankfulness, because the most perplexing case we have had, that of Professor Smith, has been so far dealt

1. Fleming, op. cit., II, 10f.
2. Ibid., 11.
3. Cf. Bonar, "SMS Notes taken during the General Assembly of 1878."
with well, and that without any difference of any consequence in the Assembly. ¹

The General Assembly of 1879, when it took up the case, had first to deal with a complication of technical pleas. The result was to alter the libel still further and reduce it to the one charge on the subject of Deuteronomy. ² Thereafter, Bonar moved a substantive motion, seconded by David Bannerman of Dalkeith, which instructed the Presbytery of Aberdeen to proceed with the case, and in the event of the libel being proved, to suspend Smith and bring up the case to the next Assembly for final judgment. It read as follows:

The General Assembly instruct the Presbytery of Aberdeen to meet, and take immediate steps for having the libel, as regards the second particular of the first alternative charge, served in due form upon Professor Smith; they also instruct the Presbytery, in the event of their finding the libel sustained, either by the admission of Professor Smith, or by adequate proof, to suspend him from his functions, professional and ministerial and judicial, till the next meeting of Assembly, reserving final judgment in the case till that meeting of Assembly; and the Assembly now appoint a Committee to adjust the libel in this view, excluding from it all parts that are not now applicable, and to report at a future diet of this Assembly. ³

Bonar’s motion made the situation critical, both for the party whose interests depended upon tolerance, and for those who, like Robert Rainy, were concerned to prevent the consequences which would follow the triumph of reaction. ⁴

The motion was unequivocal, clearly embodying Bonar’s own

1. Bonar, Diary, p. 324.
3. Free Church of Scotland, Proceedings and Debates (1879), pp. 90f.
strong views, as well as the views of many others who feared the negative results of modern criticism. It was not surprising, therefore, that in moving a counter motion, Rainy implored his hearers to be content to temporize. He proposed the appointment of a committee which would confer with Smith, in the hope of arranging a compromise.\(^1\) When the motions were finally put to a vote, it was seen that Bonar's proposal had been carried by a majority of one (321 to 320).\(^2\) "O, the little more and how much it is!"

Bonar's attitude towards his action in the Assembly is revealed in a *Diary* entry for the same day:

The most important day of all, the case of Professor Smith. With very short preparation I was called upon to propose the motion against him. I took Psalm lxi. 1-3, and then I remembered my own sermon, Isaiah vi.8, and I thought of Mordecai to Esther, 'If thou holdest thy peace' (iv.14). I was not at all at ease, nor had I much power, but I was able to state the case. Fain would I have escaped the duty.\(^3\)

This *is not to* say, however, that the motion failed adequately to express his true opinions, for in the speech which followed the motion, he clearly stated his reasons for opposing Smith. After making it plain that his quarrel was not with Smith's "personal character" or "great abilities," but with his opinions, Bonar stated his view that the results of "higher criticism" were "profitless and vain." He said: "I have read for the last thirty years everything I could lay my hands on in the way of Bible

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criticism," including the writings of Robertson Smith, and "I cannot find anything in them that is of true value." He then says that, not only is Bible criticism without value, but its "effect is most injurious. We find these views most unsettling to the soul, introducing doubts and difficulties that never had troubled our people before." Finally, he bases his opposition on the grounds that Smith, instead of teaching "the very opposite of all this rationalism," was encouraging his students in the study of things which would harm both them and their future parishioners.¹ We see here an evidence of the fact that Bonar, though a scholar, was first of all a pastor and a seeker of souls.

At the Assembly of 1880, by a small majority of seven votes, it was resolved to end the proceedings in the case, and to restore Smith to his chair with an admonition.² Many who favored the liberal views regarded this vote as a sign of progress. Unfortunately, however, only ten days after the Assembly, a new volume of the Encyclopaedia Britannica appeared, containing another article by Smith on "Hebrew Language and Literature." In this article the Aberdeen professor asserted with fresh emphasis the positions which had been questioned, and accepted more definitely than before the theories of Wellhausen and other continental scholars.³ As a result, the controversy broke out again with increased intensity.⁴

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¹ Free Church of Scotland, Proceedings and Debates (1879), pp. 91f.
² Ibid. (1880), pp. 170ff.
³ Fleming, op. cit., II, 12f.
During this time Bonar was led to express publicly his views on the subject of the higher criticism of the Bible. He did so in a pamphlet entitled *A Protest for Reverence*. In reading this pamphlet one can easily detect the resemblance it bears to the views Bonar previously expressed as a student, when he said that the Bible is "all throughout perfect, being dictated immediately from heaven,"¹ and recommended a spirit of reverence to all students of Scripture.² In his pamphlet he says: "There is the very opposite of this reverence in the cool pretentious, presumptuous judgments pronounced by those who belong to the school of higher criticism."³ He characterizes as "irreverent" the attitude of such men as Astruc, Eichorn, Ilgen, Gramberg, Vater, Tuck, De Wette, and Robertson Smith.

Although the pamphlet is not written specifically against Robertson Smith, Bonar does refer to him at different times:

From all the articles on Scripture of Professor Robertson Smith in the 'Encyclopaedia Britannica,' will any one gain help towards the spiritual use of the Word? There is in them nothing that will send a reader back to the Bible to study it and meditate on it, as a revelation from God. He finds rather that he has been a loser, instead of a gainer; he has been indoctrinated in views that shake his confidence for the future in certain portions of the volume which he used to reckon altogether from God. As to what he has gained instead, he will be at a loss to speak.⁴

The main portion of the pamphlet, however, is

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² Ibid., I, 13.
⁴ Ibid., p. 11.
concerned with Bonar's general objections to the methods of the higher critics. He says that higher criticism proceeds by discovering a peculiar feature in the Bible, then makes a bold assertion regarding it, and finally declares that assertion as authoritative. In regard to these methods, Bonar makes seven specific "complaints": (1) The "critics shew no jealousy for the honour of God and His authority." Instead, they "subject the books of the prophets and apostles to the very same literary treatment that they would shew to the writings of an ordinary man." (2) "Whereas there is a wide sphere for legitimate criticism, yet that furnishes no reason for irreverence." (3) "No sympathy is expressed, or tenderness shewn, in regard to the anxious fears of unlearned believers." (4) "Almost invariably arguments against the received views are given in full. . . . Whatever could be said apologetically in favour . . . is omitted." (5) There is a "vagueness and ambiguity of their statements in regard to inspiration." (6) The critics are guilty of a "self-assertion and reckless dogmatism" which "cannot see intelligence or learning worth the name, in any who demur to their conclusions." (7) "In spite of their boastful scholarship and great learning, the writings of their school add amazingly little to our acquaintance with the Word of God."¹

In contrast to the attitude of the critics, Bonar urges an attitude of "reverence" towards the Bible. By

1. Ibid., pp. 7ff.
studying the Scriptures in this attitude, says Bonar, one will come to realize the graciousness of God, the sinfulness of man, and the sufficiency of Christ.

Assuredly, every page of this Book must fill us with holy reverence, if we only submit to its calm teaching; and none the less, as it sets forth the Saviour with His atoning blood, and the sinner at rest through that blood applied. The book then shines with the brightness of heaven; it is the very foundation of holy gladness. Read it thus. Read it through, as brimful of God's thoughts toward man. Read it all. Let God's voice be recognised in every page, in every text.

Many other men in the Free Church, particularly those of the older generation, shared Bonar's antipathy for the new spirit in Biblical interpretation. Their opposition to Smith's recently expressed views, therefore, was demonstrated at the meeting of the Commission during the autumn of 1880. At that time, Smith was interdicted from teaching his classes the following winter. The Assembly of May, 1881, by the decisive vote of 423 to 245, deprived him of his Aberdeen professorship.

Bonar regarded this decision as a victory in the cause of truth, and prayed for peace in the Church. However, he was again led to assume the role of a defender of the faith in connection with another controversy: the Dods-Bruce Case.

Bonar had referred to Marcus Dods as early as May, 1877, in a private letter, saying:

Marcus Dods is coming out with even more serious heresy than Prof. Smith, on Inspiration. I should not wonder but our Presbytery may have a case before it very soon. Men in our day

1. Ibid., p. 13.
seem to try new ways rather than make use of what has satisfied heart & conscience in the case of their forefathers.

In the same year, Dods, who held an influential position in Glasgow as a thoughtful preacher and a learned student of Scripture, delivered a sermon, which was afterwards published, entitled "Revelation and Inspiration." In this sermon he implied that there were errors and imperfections in the Bible. Accordingly, the Free Presbytery of Glasgow appointed a committee, of which Andrew Bonar was a member, "to consider deliberately whether the Presbytery is called to take any action with reference to said views, and if so, of what nature." The Presbytery Committee, while admitting that the sermon was "open to grave objections," and recommending that Dods "would probably do well not to carry the publication any further," nevertheless concluded that in their judgment "the Presbytery is not called to institute any process, or to take any further action in the matter."4

This report did not please Bonar and several other members of the committee, who dissented because of the "apologetic tone apparent in several parts of the report." They regarded the committee's recommendation "as far too weak and altogether inadequate," and recommended instead "that the sermon should be disapproved by the Presbytery, and that Dr. Dods should be enjoined not to carry the

1. Andrew Bonar, "BmS Letter, to James Bonar" (from Glasgow: March 28, 1877).
2. Fleming, op.cit., II, 14f.
4. Ibid., p. 190.
publication any further.\textsuperscript{1} Although Bonar had made a motion for a more stern attitude, the Presbytery, by a small majority (54 to 51) only mildly censured Dods and decided to take no further action.\textsuperscript{2}

Bonar and a group of ministers and laymen now dissented from the decision of the Presbytery and brought the issue before the Free Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. When the Synod failed to recommend action against Dods' views, Bonar and others again dissented, and appealed to the General Assembly of 1878.\textsuperscript{3} This appeal was presented to the Assembly, of which Bonar was the Moderator. However, the Assembly was too much preoccupied with the Robertson Smith Case to bother at that time with another heretic. Accordingly, the appeal was dismissed, and the judgment of the Synod was declared to be final.\textsuperscript{4} In a letter to his son, Bonar explains the action he had taken against Dods:

\begin{quote}
We who oppose him regard as very hurtful & dangerous his views that man is to judge for himself what things in the Bible are of divine authority. We hold, as all our worthies have done, that all things in the Bible have the seal of divine authority & authorship, unless it can be proved from M.S.S. that such & such a reading is not genuine.\textsuperscript{5}
\end{quote}

The name of Dods does not again enter into a study of Bonar's life till 1890, when the views of Dods, along with those of A.B. Bruce, were questioned by the General Assembly.

\begin{itemize}
\item 1. Ibid., pp. 192f.
\item 2. Ibid., pp. 198f.
\item 3. Ibid., pp. 200ff.
\item 4. Free Church of Scotland, Proceedings and Debates (1878), pp. 229ff.
\item 5. Andrew Bonar, "BMS Letter, to James Bonar" (from Glasgow: December 7, 1877).
\end{itemize}
In 1889, Dods had been appointed to the chair of New Testament Criticism and Exegesis at New College, Edinburgh. This appointment implied that the Free Church of Scotland was prepared to tolerate the critical views of the Bible for which Robertson Smith had been removed from his chair only eight years before. Bruce had been appointed to the chair of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church Hall at Glasgow in 1875.¹

The orthodox section of the Free Church had not altogether acquiesced in either of these appointments. In 1889, the occasion of the appearance of Bruce's book on The Kingdom of God especially roused many of the older men, and charges of heresy were made against Bruce and Dods. By the time of the Assembly in 1890, many were stirred to opposition. Though the College Committee reported to the Assembly that they found no grounds for heresy,² their report occasioned a prolonged Assembly debate. In the end, the Assembly, by a large majority, carried a resolution which, while finding no ground for any process of heresy, administered a gentle admonition to the two professors, who were permitted to retain their teaching positions.³

Although Bonar was not a member of that Assembly, he expressed an interest in its proceedings, and was displeased with its decision regarding Dods and Bruce. While the entry is not included in his published Diary, the manuscript

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1. Cf. the Free Church Assembly Proceedings for the years concerned.
2. Free Church of Scotland, Proceedings and Debates (1890), pp. 68ff.
3. Ibid., pp. 145ff.
copy contains a notice of his displeasure. He looks upon the action of the Assembly as a contradiction of the Confession of Faith, involving serious consequences.

Bonar went further than this, however. Though eighty years of age, he became the Convener of a self-appointed Committee of ministers and laymen who drew up a "Statement" on the Dods-Bruce Case. In his introduction to the "Statement" Bonar says it has been prepared "with the view of affording those Office-bearers who so desire an opportunity of publicly and solemnly bearing personal testimony to the vital doctrines impugned by these decisions [of the General Assembly], and especially to the 'infallible truth and Divine authority' of Holy Scripture." The committee plainly stated its displeasure with the Assembly decisions.

Not content with words, the committee called for action. They asked the Church to take effective measures to protect ministerial candidates from the negative influence of the teaching of the higher critics. The committee further desired that the Church should require her professors and ministers to adhere to the subscription they had made regarding the Confession. Finally, the committee suggested that the Church should "declare anew the whole doctrine of Scripture."

2. Andrew Bonar, et al., The Case Stated. Statement by Ministers and Other Office-Bearers of the Free Church in Regard to the Decisions of Last General Assembly in the Cases of Drs. Dods and Bruce (Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1890), Introduction.
3. Ibid., pp. 14ff.
Though these suggestions were not acted upon by the Church, the popularity of the "Statement," and the esteem in which Bonar was held by many, led William G. Blaikie of New College, Edinburgh, to formulate a reply to Bonar.¹ In this reply, Blaikie pleaded for a spirit of harmony and an attitude of tolerance. Though Robert Howie published another pamphlet which sharply disagreed with Blaikie,² the argument was not continued any further. Bonar had stated his position, and was now content to refrain from further action.

Before concluding this section, it might prove profitable summarily to appraise Bonar's attitude towards Biblical criticism. On the one hand, it must be admitted that he was somewhat out of touch with the new spirit of his day. He felt that the recent ideas of Biblical interpretation were at variance with a sincere belief in Inspiration. He was unable to adjust himself to these new ideas, which he regarded as daring and irreverent speculations. Nevertheless, the historical criticism of the Bible was affecting men's minds deeply. The conviction was growing that old formulae and canons of interpretation had outlived their day, and that it was no longer possible for the Church to maintain the orthodox attitude and ignore the results of modern Biblical scholarship.

² Robert Howie, Reply to Letter of Professor Blaikie to Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, on Statement Issued on the Dods and Bruce Cases (Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1890).
On the other hand, it must be said that Bonar did not oppose such men as Smith, Dods, and Bruce from ulterior motives. What placed him in the ranks of opposition was simply his firm conviction that the ideas of these men had not only no sufficient ground in fact, but that they were apt to shake men's faith in the authority of the Bible, and promote the cause of unbelief. He was sincerely convinced that the authority of the Bible as a Divine revelation was in peril. Also, it must be pointed out that Bonar's pious reverential attitude helped him towards a profound appreciation of the Scriptures, and enabled him to become an effective Bible expositor.
E. Running the Race (1879-1887)

One of the most striking features of Andrew Bonar's career was the fact that he was able to continue his active ministry, almost unabated, till only a short time before his death. Though he came to feel that he was "falling behind in the heavenly race," he was still able to carry on successfully as the minister of a great congregation. When he was in his 70's, in addition to his preaching and pastoral endeavors, he continued to write, to travel extensively, to speak at conferences, to maintain his many interests, and in every way to strive to run with patience the race that was set before him.

The amount of work accomplished by Bonar amazed many of his contemporaries, and was evinced in the successful programme and the various activities of the Finnieston Church. His congregation now numbered well over a thousand members, and its reputation was widespread in the evangelical world. Many of Glasgow's eminent citizens were attracted to it, and on nearly every Sunday there would be visitors from distant places present at the services. In carrying on the work, Bonar had the assistance of several candidates for the ministry, who afterwards proved the advantage of their training. His principal help, however, came from the many earnest and devout laymen and women, and the members of the Session and Deacon's Court. In countless ways they

contributed that voluntary but organized support which is a distinction of Presbyterianism in its practical working.

Almost until his death, Bonar continued to maintain the busy all-day Sunday schedule which he had inaugurated at the beginning of his Glasgow career.\(^1\) The main event of the day, of course, was the morning worship service which lasted two hours. This service in Finnieston tended towards austerity. He had inherited a certain distrust of form and ritual, and regarded any liturgical innovations as a relapse into Popery and Prelacy. As previously mentioned, the Finnieston Church had a rather austere architectural design, and was almost devoid of any semblance of symbolism. In two letters to a friend, Bonar expressed his opposition to the use of an organ in the church, on the grounds that it savors of Popery and sacerdotalism, and represents a materialism which is unworthy of the spiritual nature of Christian worship.\(^2\)

Yet, the personality and spiritual genius of Bonar saved the service from becoming cold and lifeless. When the precentor at his desk gave out a psalm, it was the signal for the entire congregation to lift their voices in praise. After Bonar's contact with Moody and Sankey, he added the singing of hymns to the evening service, though the Psalms and Paraphrases were still primarily used.\(^3\) When he first

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1. Supra.
3. "FMS Finnieston Free Church Deacon's Court Minute Book," III, Entry for December 11, 1882. Only the first few pages of volume I are numbered.
came to Finnieston, Bonar started a choir. He also inaugurated the use of Curwen's Sol-fa system, as a means of improving the congregational singing in his church.

Although there was no systematic reading of the Scriptures at Finnieston, the congregation nevertheless benefited from Bonar's appreciative reading of the Bible and his expositional remarks, which his hearers were quick to jot down in their own Bibles. Though his prayers did not always have the proper liturgical form, they nevertheless were the sincere expression of a man who knew God, and who was able to carry the thoughts of his hearers into the very presence of the Almighty. Above all, the sermon was the centre of the worship service, and it was by his preaching that his people were most effectively instructed, admonished, and edified.

Communion times were great occasions in the Finnieston Church. One or more visiting ministers would always be present, and Andrew Bonar was especially happy when his two brothers, John and Horatius, could be with him. The Session Minutes contain summaries of the quarterly communion seasons during Bonar's ministry. One such summary is quoted here to illustrate the importance of these seasons in the life of the Finnieston Church:

1. *A Book of Remembrance*, p. 13. The members of this choir later served as the basis of Sankey's famous "Central Choir" during the Moody and Sankey Campaign in 1874-1875.
3. A.R. Bonar has in his possession a metal communion token bearing the inscription: "Finnieston Free Church, 'This Do in Remembrance of Me,' I Cor. 11:24."
On the morning of the Fast day [Thursday] the service was conducted by the Rev. A. Moody Stuart Edin, who preached upon Isaiah 43:16. "Ye are my Witnesses." In the afternoon, Mr. John Cunningham, Lochwinnoch preached on Rev. III.20. At the Evening Meeting the Minister briefly addressed the Young Communicants from Matth. XXI.10. After all had received their Communion Cards, and prayer offered in their behalf, Mr. Fleming [Elder] addressed them on Continuing to hold fast Christ. Mr. Rowan [Elder] on Christ their strength in temptation, and Mr. Moody Stuart on their freedom in Christ and their Service of Christ. A Prayer Meeting was held by the Elders in the Church on Friday Evening, and on Saturday Evening Dr. [Horatius] Bonar from Edin. preached on Acts XXII.11. "The glory of that light." On Sabbath the Minister read Eph. III.14-21. [sig] preached upon Lamen. I,12. Fenced the Tables by explaining and applying terms used in 1 Cor. 11, and after Thanksgiving served the 1st. Table on the words, "My Voice is to the Sons of men." Dr. Bonar served the 2d. taking for his subject 1 John I,1 and 3d Chapter 1,2. He also served the 3d Table from "The Vine and branches" and then Christ's words John XIV.1. The minister closed by applying 1 Peter XV,12,13. Dr. Bonar preached in the Evening from 1 John V,11. On Monday forenoon the Young met and were addressed by the Minister and several teachers and then the Evening Meeting at which the Minister spoke from Sam. XXII.5 and Dr. Bonar from 1 Corinth I,7-8. Concluded the whole.

The old-fashioned form of communion service was always retained by Bonar. First, there was the Action Sermon, devotional in nature, with an evangelistic appeal. This was followed by the Fencing of the Tables, which was a serious occasion, the minister warning the people with such words as: "There is nothing between a sinner and the Saviour, but there is something between the sinner and the Lord's Table." Then the reverential crowds would move to and from the three Tables in the front of the Church, covered with white linen, while singing the 103rd Psalm. Finally, the Closing Address would

be given. The first half of this address was especially for the children, and the latter part for the adults, in which Bonar would instruct and exhort his hearers regarding the Christian life, finishing with a reference to the Second Coming of Christ. The service was always concluded with the singing of the 98th Psalm.¹

There was a wide variety of meetings in the Finnieston Church: Workers' Meetings, Children's Meetings, Men's Meetings, Women's Meetings, and many others, in all of which Bonar tried to take a part. He was especially interested in the Wednesday evening Prayer Meetings, and urged their support for the following reasons: "(1) In these seasons of united prayer God's people get special blessings. (2) There are special promises to such meetings for prayer. (3) By this means you confess the Son of Man before a wicked generation."²

Every six months Bonar began a new Communicants' Class for all young persons who were to be taken into the membership of the church.³ From time to time he delivered lectures upon subjects which were of especial interest to him, such as the series of monthly lectures on Prophecy between 1879 and 1883.⁴ Probably his most effective teaching, however, was done by means of the various Bible Classes which he conducted for men, women, young men, and young women.⁵

Throughout his life, Bonar maintained a keen

¹. Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, pp. 32f.
². Bonar, Young Men Invited to Wrestle with the Angel of the Covenant, pp. 5ff.
⁴. Cf. "FMS Kirk Session Minute Book" for the period concerned.
⁵. Bonar, Reminiscences, pp. 70ff.
interest in children and their conversion. There were always many children in the services at Finnieston, and he would refer to them in his sermon, and devote a few minutes during the service to addressing them. They would linger in the church as he walked from the pulpit to the vestry, in the hope of hearing him call them by their names.¹ Even today, some of those who were children in Bonar's time remember the profound admiration they had for their "minister with the laughing face" whom they regarded as "God Himself."²

The foreign missionary activities of the Church loomed large in the thinking of Andrew Bonar and in the programme of the Finnieston congregation.³ No less, however, was the interest in the home missionary work in the Finnieston district. After the congregation had taken up its new West-end location in 1878, it continued to maintain an interest in the working people living in the district of the old church. In a large hall near the former location of the church the Finnieston congregation supported its own mission church, and hired a full-time worker to supervise the activities. Several leading laymen and women assisted in the work. Bonar himself would often preach there on a Sunday evening, and the average attendance at such meetings was almost three hundred persons.⁴ This mission station was regarded as "a

2. Related in conversations with D.S. Dunnett and J. M'Lachlan, Glasgow, July 2, 1954; both men are members of the Finnieston Church, and were formerly acquainted personally with Andrew Bonar.
3. Cf. the Finnieston Church Budgets in "FMS Deacon's Court Minute Book."
feeder to the church," and many of those converted through its activities eventually joined the Finnieston congregation.¹

Bonar's interest in the problems of society was demonstrated primarily by his efforts in behalf of Sabbath Observance and Temperance. He took an active part in these movements because he regarded the desecration of the Sabbath and the use of alcoholic beverages as influences which tended to militate against the Christian welfare of the people.²

It was Bonar's belief that the "neglect of the Sabbath arises from the infidelity of the age in regard to the Redeemer."³ Though he was not a leading figure in the movement against railway travel on Sundays, he was opposed to the practice, and served as a member of the Presbytery Committee on Sabbath Observance. At times he took matters into his own hands, such as the occasion when a new shop in the Finnieston area remained open on a Sunday. Learning of this, he visited the shopkeeper and pointed out why the shop should be closed on the Sabbath. Surprisingly enough, the shopkeeper heeded the admonition and never opened on the Sabbath again.⁴

Bonar himself refused to be responsible for someone

¹ Finnieston Free Church Mission Report for 1883-1884, p. 3. An average of thirty persons per year would be taken into the membership of the Finnieston Church in this manner.

² Andrew Bonar, "BMS Letter to James Bonar" (from Glasgow: February 3, 1879).


⁴ M. Bonar, "SMS December 30, 1892," pp. 20ff.
else working on the Sabbath, and he often walked great distances to preach on a Sunday evening in order to avoid using any form of transportation. The story was told of some boys in his church who wondered whether their aged minister would not be willing to ride in a cab if a great distance were involved. Accordingly, they followed the eighty-year old Bonar one Sunday night when he walked three extra miles to avoid using a ferry across the Clyde, and an additional two miles to a church where he conducted the service, and then walked all the way home again!  

If Bonar was concerned about Sabbath Observance, he was an even more staunch proponent of Temperance. In the eighteenth century hard drinking had been a habit in the most respectable of circles, and drunkenness was scarcely regarded as a sin. Though there were sometimes glaring abuses, there was little sense of a subtle and growing evil till the nineteenth century was well on its way. The problem of intemperance was then particularly aggravated by the new industrial conditions. Bonar had early received the ideal of total abstinence from his home, and maintained it throughout his ministry. He had served on Presbytery and General Assembly Temperance Committees, and had spoken and written against what he regarded to be a great danger to society.  

them to leave.¹

The "Finnieston Gospel Temperance Society" was founded under Bonar's influence in 1877 for "the promotion of Total Abstinence - the reformation of the intemperate, and the removal of the causes which lead to intemperance."² The means adopted for the accomplishment of these purposes were weekly Gospel Temperance Meetings in the Mission Hall, which would be attended by an average of 250 persons. The meetings would include singing, testimonies, and an address on Temperance or a Biblical exposition. Tea was served at the conclusion of the meetings, and an opportunity was given to sign the pledge against the use of alcoholic beverages. During the first seven years of the meetings this pledge was signed by nearly three thousand persons.³ In his closing address as Moderator of the General Assembly in 1878, Bonar briefly referred to the question of Temperance in the following words:

Total abstinence is not bondage, but rather an introduction to a special enjoyment of freedom wherein you are not dependent in the discharge of duty on helps that many regard as indispensable. Apart, however, from that question, the subject of intemperance is of immense importance. The evils to which it has reference are enormous, and do not seem to be decreasing. The enemy has come in as a flood; our fathers would have called for a special day of fasting and prayer on account of this sore evil in the land. Those engaged in mission work, and acquainted with territorial churches, know well how far this evil reaches, and that nothing but the Spirit of the Lord accompanying the gospel preached can avail to meet it, even when we have used all

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lawful methods to restrain and arrest its progress in our towns and villages.¹

In spite of these interests, however, it must be said that Bonar's social concern was limited. He never really freed himself from the spirit of individualism and from the *laissez-faire* economic ideas of his day. Further, his pre-millennial views led him to regard any attempt at social amelioration as of little consequence, for Christ might return to earth at any moment to establish His kingdom. Bonar held the belief, as did many other evangelicals, that this world is of no ultimate importance. It is a place of probation through which men pass on their way to eternity, and the primary necessity is thus to prepare for the future life. Social evils were regarded as the inevitable products of inflexible economic and theological laws. This is not to assume that he was blind to his duty as a Christian to society. However, this duty was conceived mainly in terms of personal witnessing, the multiplication of churches, the support of mission agencies, and contributions towards conventional philanthropies.

One must be cautious, however, in criticizing Bonar for his limited attempts at social amelioration. He was neither an advocate nor an opponent of social reform. He simply believed that his responsibility as a minister concerned the welfare of men's souls, rather than their bodies. He was convinced that the fate of the soul was of infinitely more consequence than that of the body, and acted

In 1881, D.L. Moody invited Bonar to visit America and serve as the main speaker at the Northfield Conference, held during the month of August. Bonar accepted the invitation, regarding it as "an opening for preaching the Word such as I will never have again."\(^1\) The seventy-one year old minister and his eldest daughter, Isabella, set sail for America in the beginning of July.\(^2\) They landed in Canada, and spent more than two weeks in travelling through Quebec, Montreal, Detroit, and Chicago. He met many friends and spoke to several gatherings. During August, Bonar was the guest of Moody in his home at Northfield, Massachusetts, and the two men became almost inseparable.\(^3\) Bonar astonished many at the conference by his vigor - preaching three times daily to audiences of over one thousand persons, studying the Bible, praying, talking with inquirers, and walking over three miles a day, sometimes in excessive heat. His visit to Northfield was commemorated in the naming of "Bonar Hall" and "Bonar Glen."\(^4\) In the middle of September he arrived back home to resume his Glasgow activities.\(^5\)

On the following December 21, Bonar's congregation celebrated the Semi-Jubilee of the Finnieston Free Church, and of his ministry among them.\(^6\) The usual speeches were

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2. Bonar, James Scott, pp. 86ff.
3. Cf. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Visit to America in 1881."
5. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to Horatio Bonar" (from Glasgow: September 20, 1881).
6. Cf. To the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, D.D., on the Celebration of the Finnieston Free Church Semi-Jubilee, December 21, 1881; also, Finnieston Free Church Semi-Jubilee Programme. These are in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. A.R. Bonar.
made, praising his services to the Church at large, and especially his faithful ministry in his own parish, which had grown from the "'little one' of 1856" to the "'thousand' of 1881."\(^1\) His Diary for that night characteristically reflects his own personal judgement on his work:

We kept this evening in our congregation as an evening of thanksgiving and prayer for twenty-five years of work and blessing in our congregation and district. I tried to tell the story of the past twenty-five years and was followed by several of the office-bearers. There was much that was fitted to draw forth wonder and praise; but little did some of them know, when speaking in praise of the minister, how he saw in himself and in his work a shallowness and meagreness in every grace that filled him with sorrow before God.\(^2\)

In the autumn of 1881, D.L. Moody accepted the invitation of many to return to Great Britain. Bonar's part in inducing Moody to make this visit is reflected in the statement: "Perhaps the perfect confidence and brotherly affection which were strengthened by this pleasant intercourse and exchange of thought and feeling [at Northfield] helped Mr Moody . . . to pay another visit to our country."\(^3\)

In many respects, Moody's Campaign of 1881-1882 was like his former visit in 1874-1875. Several of the previous experiences were repeated in the cities visited on this occasion, and it almost seemed that he was able to continue the work just where he had left it six years before. From the beginning, Moody received the warmest support from ministers of all denominations. As on the previous occasion,

\(^{1}\) "FMS Kirk Session Minute Book," II, Entry for December 21, 1881.
\(^{2}\) Bonar, Diary, p. 342.
\(^{3}\) Bonar, James Scott, p. 91.
the campaign began in the north of England, this time in Newcastle-on-Tyne, where he conducted meetings during the latter part of October and the first two weeks of November. He then moved further north and visited Edinburgh for six weeks.

Moody then travelled westward to conduct meetings for five months in Glasgow and the immediate vicinity. Bonar again gave Moody the heartiest support, and recorded in his Diary: "Beyond question now another wave of blessing has come. Mr. Moody's meetings are more than ever before full and overflowing. I hear of several of our people touched and hopefully changed." During the latter part of March and the first part of April, Moody conducted a series of nightly meetings in the Finnieston Church. As the Glasgow campaign was brought to a close in June, 1882, Bonar evaluated its significance:

This week Mr. Moody closes his five months' work among us. It has been a time to be remembered in very many ways. And, on looking back, I think it was the Lord who inclined me to go last season to America, and thus help to engage him to come to us. Also, I thank the Lord for my being used in some ways to help him in knowledge of the word and truth. It seems to me plain that the Lord shows His sovereignty by making that man a vessel through which the converting power of God may be poured out on various classes of men. The drunkards have had their 'day of visitation,' and many others of the working men especially. \( \Delta \circ \xi \Theta \varepsilon \omega \). I can now see in the great blessing among us a great answer to the times of prayer which I was enabled to keep on board the ship both in going and coming from America. Jer. XXXIII 3 has been fulfilled to me. He has shown me great things

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1. Moody, op. cit., p. 263.
2. Bonar, Diary, p. 343.
which I knew not. One marked effect upon ministers here has been the state of expectation in which they now are looking for real results of their work.

Bonar was often asked to be the speaker at various conferences throughout the land, particularly those at Mildmay and Perth. He also became interested in the Keswick Conventions, though he did not particularly identify himself with the Keswick school or adopt their favorite phrases. He once said of the movement: "The meetings of the Convention for deepening the spiritual life, though sometimes a little misleading, have been very helpful." However, though he was at first extremely cautious of the movement, he later became a member of the committee and served as a Keswick speaker on several occasions.

Bonar's summer holidays were occasionally spent in touring some part of the Continent. In the notes which he took of such journeys he reveals his intimate acquaintance with the history and the culture of the various places visited. He was especially fond of "Luther Land," as he called it, and evinced a great delight in visiting the various places associated with the life of the great German Reformer.

As Bonar grew older, however, he spent every summer with

1. Bonar, Diary, pp. 343f.
6. Andrew Bonar, "SMS August, 1873."
his children, either by the sea or in the country. While he visited many parts of Scotland, he seemed especially fond of the Isle of Mull and the surrounding area. The members of the Finnieston Session and Deacon's Court latterly came to insist upon their minister taking a two month vacation instead of one, in the hope that he would enjoy a "complete rest."¹ During his vacations he spent time in such activities as walking, gardening, reading Latin and English classics, and studying etymology and topography.²

Even during his holidays, however, Bonar would not allow himself to remain idle. He felt he had an ever-present obligation to labor for his Lord. He spent much of his time writing sermons, lectures, and tracts, and preparing for the work of the coming year. He would preach almost every Sunday in a nearby church. If there were no church services, he and his family would conduct their own, and invite the local people to worship with them. During the week he often liked to pay pastoral visits to the local people, whom he regarded almost as an adopted congregation. He never ceased from his Master's work, and he never was more happy than when he felt he was successfully running the race which had been set before him.

¹ "FMS Deacon's Court Minute Book," II, Entry for April 3, 1871; "FMS Kirk Session Minute Book," I, Entry for April 3, 1871.
² Cf. Marjory Bonar, "SMS The Diary of our Life in Mull - July & August, 1884."
F. Ending the Pilgrimage (1888-1892)

In a letter written to his son, dated May 31, 1888, Andrew Bonar remarked that he had now reached the seventy-ninth year of his "Pilgrimage," and the fiftieth year of his ordained ministry. This significant point in his long and profitable career was marked more formally on November 29 of that year, when his ministerial jubilee was publicly celebrated. A meeting was held in the Queen's Rooms, Glasgow, and the large gathering included not only the members of the Finnieston Church, but friends and admirers from all parts of the land, and even from abroad. Several speeches were made lauding Bonar's accomplishments, and tributes were paid to his greatness. Among the many gifts he received was a check for £4,000 from his "congregation and friends." It is interesting to note the mixed emotions Bonar had regarding the meeting. On the one hand he prayed: "May the Lord save me from the danger that lurks under praise and laudation of friends," while on the other hand he was able to enjoy thoroughly the entire proceedings. He writes:

Last night's Jubilee passed over very pleasantly in one way, but was to me at the same time very solemn and humbling. I see in the retrospect so much that was altogether imperfect, and so much that was left undone. But it was a great gathering, and most hearty on the part of all the friends who came.

There were also many of Bonar's friends who were not

2. Bonar, Diary, p. 370.
present that night - some had died, and others had been forced to remain inactive because of ill-health and old age. This state of affairs led him to reflect: "When I look round it is like a battle-field; many old friends gone; and then I see brethren like men wounded in the fight, such as Manson, Moody-Stuart, Macdonald, both my own brothers, laid aside from their former work." During the following few years Bonar suffered the loss of several other of his friends: A.N. Somerville (1889), James Manson (1890), G.R. Davidson (1890), C.H. Spurgeon (1892), and Andrew Inglis (1892). He was especially grieved by the loss of his three brothers: William (1888), Horatius (1889), and John (1891).  

In spite of these losses, however, the aged Bonar was surprisingly able to maintain many of his interests. He was a familiar figure at various religious gatherings. An example of this was the leading part he took in the proceedings of the Advent Conference in October, 1888. For five days the Free Church General Assembly Hall in Edinburgh was filled with persons who were interested in the discussions and speeches relating to the premillennial advent of Christ. In addition to his moral leadership among those present, Bonar delivered two addresses on subjects of his own choosing.  

The first was: "Hints for Interpreting the Prophecies of the Second Coming, gathered from the fulfilment of those

1. Ibid., pp. 368ff.
In his Biblical presentation he announced that "The principle of interpretation ... laid down for us is, that of literality." Acting upon this principle he made three points: "(1) Prophecies relating to the Hebrews and their land had been fulfilled; (2) Prophecies of the First Coming of Christ had been fulfilled; (3) Therefore, the prophecies that set forth the Second Coming of Christ shall also be fulfilled." In his second address he spoke about "The Importance of the Doctrine of the Second Advent as a Motive and Help to Holiness."2

When D.L. Moody visited Scotland from November, 1891, till March, 1892, Bonar was again able to participate in his campaign, though to a lesser extent than before.3 From his Diary, and from a journal which he kept, we learn that he attended many of the services, dealt with persons in the Inquiry Room, and spoke at some of the overflow meetings.4

This same interest in revival was manifested among his own parishoners as well. Another journal of Bonar's has been preserved in which he took sermon notes of the various guest speakers at Finnieston during the last years of his life. In addition to the usual visiting ministers at Communion seasons, he records the names of different evangelists, such as Major Whittle, who regularly visited the church to conduct revival services.5 It was Bonar's

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1. Ibid., pp. 33ff.
2. Ibid., pp. 136ff.
5. Cf. "SMS Record of Communion Seasons, 1887-1892."
conviction that the Church must either evangelize or it will fossilize, and he took extensive measures to prevent the latter from occurring in Finnieston.

Bonar's own indomitable spirit, accompanied by his excellent health, enabled him to continue his active ministry until the time of his death. When he was over eighty years of age, he said: "I must be growing old, for the Bible tells me so; but I do not feel it one bit." However, his strength gradually began to fail, and he slowly came to realize that his career was nearing its conclusion. The entries in his Diary reflect his feeling, particularly the pathetic one for September 11, 1890:

I see distinctly that my Lord is teaching me to 'glory in my infirmities,' and to be willing to be set aside. My voice fails; some of my people, specially the younger part, going elsewhere; my class melts away. Some very mortifying cases of ingratitude on the part of some; my influence with brethren manifestly declines—all this is saying, 'He must increase, but I must decrease'; and thus I am prepared by Him whose 'way is perfect,' for finishing my ministry, and removing to the service within the veil. But I have some cases of peculiar blessing to set over against these discouragements. . . . I know 'He doeth all things well.'

By the year 1891, the strain of preaching several sermons every week, and the work connected with the pastoral and administrative responsibilities of a large urban congregation, were proving to be too heavy a load for the aged Bonar. Accordingly, it was suggested by some that a colleague be sought to assist in the work. He was at first

2. Bonar, Diary, p. 383.
opposed to this suggestion. However, he finally consented, and the Presbytery granted permission for the congregation to select a colleague and successor.

At a congregational meeting in June, 1891, David M. M'Intyre, of College Park Presbyterian Church, London, was chosen as Bonar's Colleague and Successor. The induction service was held in the following September. Bonar was satisfied with the choice, and was gladdened to learn that M'Intyre "had been led into the fulness of the Gospel" by his preaching. The two men were in wide agreement with each other, and worked together harmoniously and effectively. As M'Intyre gradually took over more and more of the responsibilities of the Finnieston Church, Bonar was comforted by knowing that he could safely entrust his congregation to the hands of another. He writes: "O what a comfort to me that, if I be soon called away, my successor will be a man of God, most earnest to do faithfully the whole work of the ministry, and holding fast the old truth, the everlasting Gospel."

As Bonar's life drew nearer its end, his thoughts

3. Cf. "SMS Call to David Martin MacIntyre from the Finnieston Free Church, Glasgow."
4. "FMS Deacon's Court, Minute Book," IV, Entry for June 12, 1891.
6. Cf. D.M. M'Intyre, "BMS Letter, to James Bonar" (from Glasgow: January 17, 1893). Here M'Intyre speaks of his pleasure in working with Andrew Bonar, whom he refers to as "the kindest man I have ever known."
turned ever more frequently to death, and he imagined what it would be like. He once said:

When I think of dying, I think of it something in this way. I fancy myself going home from a meeting some night, and I feel not very well. I get worse, then I become unconscious, and then I know nothing more until I am in the presence of a Throne. There are seats around the Throne, and I am pointed to one which is vacant. I am told that it is for me. Then I see a Hand, and when I look at it I see it is a pierced Hand, and it holds a crown over my head! But, oh! the weight of glory is so great I cannot bear it, and so I lift it off, and cast it at the foot of the Throne, saying, 'Thou art worthy; for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy Blood.'

On December 25, 1892, Bonar preached a Christmas sermon, and later took part in the usual Sunday activities of the Finnieston Church. He spent much of Monday and Tuesday, days of fog and intense cold, in visiting his congregation. On Tuesday evening he attended a Bible lecture at the Christian Institute, and closed the meeting with prayer. He visited again on Wednesday afternoon, and conducted the prayer meeting that evening. He went to bed that night feeling well, but awoke the following morning with a chill, and was ill all day. On Friday, December 30, he showed no signs of improvement, but gradually became worse. He spoke of several things to be attended to on the coming Sunday, and remembered that a collection for the Jewish mission was to be taken that day. His family gathered for worship around his bed, and sang the Twenty-third Psalm and prayed. He folded his hands and said: "O Lord, Thou art our Rock and our Defence . . . Thou wilt be our Sun and Shield." Then

followed a confession of sin and prayer for acceptance "through the merits of the Great Intercessor," with a committal of his family to God's care for the coming night. At half-past ten he closed his eyes and fell asleep.

Bonar's funeral was held on the following Wednesday, January 4, 1893. The Finnieston Church was crowded beyond capacity with ministers and other friends of various denominations. Glasgow was deeply moved by the passing of one who, for many years had proclaimed so persuasively and with such authority those things which are eternal. The service spoke of solemn thankfulness for the saintly life and for the great work accomplished. Then between lines of reverently waiting men, women, and children, the long funeral procession moved slowly through the streets to Sighthill Cemetery. There his body was laid, where he had laid his wife and infant son many years before. His loss was keenly felt by his many friends and family, by his congregation and by the Church at large. Many tributes were paid to him, including an anonymous poem which is quoted here:

This servant waited long his absent Lord, Hoping to tarry till He come again 'Without the sin,' His ransomed home to bring. And, as a faithful steward, well he used His Master's talents, till the five made ten. Like Peter's shadow, as he passed, his touch Brought healing; weary hearts were cheered, Blind souls received sight, and dead souls lived. At length the voice, once round and clear, grew low And shrill. Whitened the glossy, raven locks. Only the eagle eye kept bright and keen, Piercing the darkness for the coming King.

At last the Saviour whispered in his ear,
'Well done, beloved! my faithful friend, well done!
As thou hast walked with Me through bustling streets,
And solitudes, still trusting Me unseen,
Come higher up and see Me face to face;
As thou hast shared my Cross, so wear my Crown;
The glory that the Father giveth Me,
Give I to thee, for all that's mine is thine,
Throughout the ages of Eternity!'"

Thus ended the long and beneficial life of devotion to
God and of service to His Church. Some of those who mourned
the loss of Andrew Bonar desired to erect a memorial to him.
Accordingly, a marble plaque was placed in the narthex of the
Finnieston Church, which may be seen today. It reads:
"Andrew Alexander Bonar, 1810-1892. For thirty six years the
pastor and friend of this congregation. 'He walked with God:
and was not; for God took him.'"2 Yet, those who seek for
Bonar's memorial will find it not only at Finnieston, but in
the hearts of those hundreds of men and women across the earth
who owe to his influence, either directly or indirectly, much
that is best, dearest, and most worthwhile in their lives.

1. In Memory of the Rev. Dr. Andrew A. Bonar. This anony-
   mous poem has been preserved among the papers of Andrew
   Bonar, Fetcham, Surrey.
PART III.

ACTIVITIES OF ANDREW A. BONAR
Chapter V.
PREACHING AND PASTORAL MINISTRY
CHAPTER V

PREACHING AND PASTORAL MINISTRY

I am a minister of the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, and I come with a message from God to you.
- Andrew Bonar, Young Men Invited to Wrestle with the Angel of the Covenant, p. 1.

A. Background

It has been truly said: "In no country has the pulpit of the Reformed Church taken a firmer hold of the people than in Scotland. All along it has been one of the factors of her history, one of the leading sources both of civil and spiritual influence."¹ In fact, as G.D. Henderson states: "The importance of the pulpit in Scotland can scarcely be over-estimated."² At times, as in the preaching of all branches of the Church, the Scottish pulpit has been characterized by a narrowness of view, a provincialism of thought, a rudeness of temper, and a formality of method. More often, however, it has been an aggressive, militant pulpit, which has in its own way supported a distinctively educative and an edifying type of preaching.³

Andrew Bonar began his ministry during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. At this time, the Evangelical Revival was beginning to make its impact felt upon the Scottish Church in general, and upon the Scottish pulpit in particular. As the influence of the Moderates waned, the influence of the Evangelicals increased. These groups evidenced the two main existing types of preaching in Scotland. The Moderates, on the one hand, emphasized ethical teaching to such an extent that they were apt to disregard theological matters. The Evangelicals, on the other hand, while not neglecting the realm of Christian Ethics, nevertheless laid especial stress upon doctrinal teaching, and upon a heartfelt acceptance of this.

By the time that Bonar ended his ministry, towards the end of the nineteenth century, new forces had appreciably altered the situation. Developments in the fields of theology, ecclesiastical affairs, science, economics, and politics had all influenced the character of Scottish preaching. His sermons, however, remained substantially the same in method, purpose, and content throughout his entire ministry.

Bonar enjoyed an exceptionally long and varied ministry: from the Jedburgh Abbey\(^1\) to St. George's, Edinburgh; from the parish of Collace to Finnieston, Glasgow. During his entire career as a Free Church minister, nearly fifty years, he preached at least three sermons weekly, in addition to other addresses and lectures. Often, he would preach in

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1. It will be remembered that in Bonar's time the parish church of Jedburgh consisted of the western half of the nave of the Abbey, "fitted up for modern worship."
places other than his own church, and the extent of his peregrinations in preaching is almost incredible. In a single year, he would preach in thirty or forty different places. He found opportunities to preach wherever he went, even during his holidays. When one of his elders remonstrated with him for preaching too often during his holidays, he replied:

Tis joy, not duty,
To speak His beauty.¹

At Collace, Bonar's wife refers to his having preached nine times in one week. He himself writes, in refusing an invitation to preach in Perth:

I see you thought you would bait your hook well to catch me by offering a triple service. I go to Glasgow to Alexander Somerville on Monday, and to James Hamilton, London, immediately after, so you see I have some elements of the wandering Jew in my constitution.²

During his Glasgow ministry, he preached even more frequently. Until a year before his death, he regularly addressed at least ten gatherings in his church every week. In carrying out this busy schedule, he was aided by a strong constitution and by good health. In 1888, he writes that for the first time in his life he has been prevented by ill health from preaching.³ Only twice, during his entire life, was he absent from his pulpit because of illness.⁴ In July, 1890, he closes a letter to his son, James, with these words: "Why am I spared so long in health is a question I often ask.

2. Loc. cit.
One thing I know – it must be that I may preach and commend Christ and Him crucified wherever and whenever it is in my power."¹ For him, preaching was his meat and drink. He often said that he was more tired at the end of a Sunday when he had preached only once, than when he had spoken several times.²

In discussing Bonar's ministry, it will be possible for us to formulate an adequate opinion of his preaching endeavors. At the beginning of this study it was thought that only two volumes of Bonar's sermons, plus a few scattered homilies, had been preserved. However, since then, the present author has been able to gather together 221 of Bonar's sermons and addresses. These sermons cover the greater part of his ministry, dating from 1845 till 1892.³ Though some of these are merely in the form of notes, the majority of them are complete sermons. Of the 221 sermons, 107 have been published,⁴ while 114 are in manuscript form.

In regard to the manuscript sermons, though a few are in Bonar's handwriting, the majority of them have been preserved in his daughter Marjory's handwriting. In regard

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2. William Garden Blaikie, "John Cairns and Andrew Bonar," United Presbyterian Magazine (December, 1895), XII, 531.
3. Bonar's earliest extant sermon is "The Love of the Father," Free Church Pulpit (1845), Sermon VII, I, 75ff. The last sermon he ever preached was "Omnipotence Bound!," The Sunday School Times, No. 49 (December 5, 1925), LXVII, 781ff. The date of many of his sermons is known; others can be dated by reference to them in Bonar's Diary, or by internal evidence. For example, in his sermon, "The Widow of Sarepta," "SMS Forty Seven Sermons," pp. 24ff., he refers to his Palestine trip "forty years ago," which would make 1879 as the date of the sermon.
4. Several of Bonar's sermons were published more than once.
to the published sermons, some of these were taken down by hearers, and others were copied from his manuscript notes after his death; most of them, however, were edited by Bonar himself. In 1878, following his election as Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly, a volume of sixteen of his sermons was published under the title, *Gospel Truths*. In 1936, many years after his death, his daughters edited a volume of seven of his sermons, entitled *Sheaves After Harvest*. The remainder of his sermons, with the exception of those published in *Reminiscences*, have appeared individually in pamphlets, periodicals, reports, and collections of sermons.¹

Upon several occasions, Bonar stated his convictions regarding the significance of preaching. The vast responsibility of the preacher's office rested weightily upon him. He wrote: "The Lord teaches me this - to preach as if I were never to preach again!"² He was certain of his call to the ministry, and he always considered that calling as the highest position to which God might summon a man. He said: "My preaching must be the doing of His will. I am just a channel of His blessing - a staff in His hand to do His work."³ Towards the beginning of his ministry, he wrote: "I ought to preach and speak always, as *not alone.* I should have the feeling that the Father is with me, to *draw souls* while I

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¹. Cf. the Bibliography.
². Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to John Milne" (from Collace: November 11, 1852).
³. Bonar, "SMS Letter, to Horatius Bonar" (from Glasgow: October 24, 1856).
Towards the end of his ministry, his view of preaching had not changed: "Have been led to ask that the Lord might make my sermons like 'quivers full of arrows, dipt in love,' while the Heavenly Archer Himself carries them to the mark; and sometimes, like a tree of life, from which I am enabled to shake down the fruit and the leaves of healing upon all beneath its shadow." In his Memoir of M'Cheyne, he expresses his conception of preaching:

Is not the true idea of preaching that of one, like Ahimæaz, coming with all-important tidings, and intent on making these tidings known? Occupied with the facts he has to tell, he has no heart to speculate on mere abstractions; nay, he is apt to forget what language he employs, excepting so far as the very grandeur of the tidings gives a glow of eloquence to his words. The glorious fact, 'By this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins,' is the burden of every sermon. The crier is sent to the opening of the gate by his Lord, to herald forth this one infinitely important truth through the whole creation under heaven.

Andrew Bonar was a pastor as well as a preacher, and he regarded the two offices as of equal importance. He often spoke of the benefits which the preacher receives from pastoral work faithfully done: the insight into people's minds, the awareness of problems which perplex them and temptations which test them, and the opportunity to learn with intimacy from life. He writes:

There is a blessing resting on visiting. What else is fitted to make us know the state of our flocks? Were it not for their good but only for our own, is not this department of work most important? It is only thus we can know our people's spiritual state, and I would go on in this work weekly, if not daily, even if not a

1. Bonar, Diary, p. 92.
2. Ibid., p. 349.
soul got good from it but myself. I see the sad wounds of my flock - I see their slow growth in grace - I discover how few really are awakened, how few are in earnest, how very few are saved. It is humbling and painful beyond most things.

... Holiness of heart and life is what I find I need more than anything, a heart daily filled and burning with fresh views of divine love. This is what I seldom have in visiting, and yet I see that if I had that, it would make visiting like the gardener going among his plants and watering them as he saw need, while the Sabbath sermons would be the heavy showers.

Bonar had a lofty conception of the pastoral office. He believed the relationship between pastor and people to be a sacred bond. A pastor should never take this relationship lightly, nor assume it without due regard for the will of God. When a pastor enters into such a relationship, it should be in the hope of a mutual helpfulness and with an overwhelming concern for the spiritual welfare of those entrusted to his care. In addressing the Free Church General Assembly in 1878, he stressed the importance of the pastoral ministry, saying:

It has almost become a fashion in these days to speak deprecatingly of pastoral visitation, as if it were of small account, except as it relates to the sick and frail of our flocks. Now, there must be some mistake here. If, indeed, by visiting were meant merely pleasant and easy converse on general topics when the pastor calls, undoubtedly this sort of visiting might be relegated to a very subordinate place. But if we understand by visitation what it really means as a scriptural ordinance, and what our fathers knew it to be, it is solemn work of no ordinary significance, and yet withal most pleasant and happy. For it is really face to face preaching - it is setting before the individual that same Christ whom we commend in the pulpit to all at large.

Let us now turn our attention to a consideration of certain more specific aspects of Bonar's preaching and pastoral ministry.
Andrew Bonar firmly believed that God has spoken to man in the Bible. The preacher's task, therefore, is to interpret and to expound what God has said. Shortly before his death, he wrote: "I am not, and never was, a great or popular preacher. I have been only an earnest expounder of God's word, longing to save sinners and edify the saved."1 The expository nature of his preaching is evidenced even in the titles, often merely a Scripture phrase, which he assigned to his sermons: "It pleased the Father,"2 "A Little Wine,"3 "Kept by the Power of God,"4 "A Very Present Help,"5 "When they had sung an hymn," and "To whom shall we go?"6

While an expository type of preaching was widely used in Bonar's day, probably no preacher practiced it more consistently than he did. It was said of him: "As a pulpit expositor, he stood head and shoulders above his peers in a land where special emphasis is placed upon pulpit exposition.7 Though he would have been surprised at this estimate of his work, nevertheless, he did regard his preaching as a presentation of Biblical truth:

I never aspired to be an intellectual preacher. Nor did I try to be eloquent - it was not in my

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5. Andrew Bonar, "SMS A Very Present Help."
7. Sutherland, op.cit., p. 5.
power. I sought to be a Bible expositor, to stand at the well and roll off the stone, and water the flocks and send them away, always looking to the Chief Shepherd, and the day when He shall appear and tell His approval of work done for Him."

Although Bonar occasionally would preach a sermon without a specific text, such times were rare exceptions to his usual practice. A friend of his once said: "I don't know where Dr. Bonar gets all his texts." To this, he lifted his Bible and quietly held it out to him. Since Bonar believed that preaching consisted in the proclamation and the application of the Word of God, it is quite natural that he should attempt to base his sermons on a passage of Scripture. In the selection of his texts, he often evidenced a great concern that he should be guided by God: "I see that I should get my texts directly from the Lord, and never preach without having got something that shows me His counsel in this matter." 

In the use of these texts, Bonar was aided by his knowledge of the original languages. Though a modern reader might disagree with his analysis of a text, nevertheless, it must be admitted that his presentation evidences a careful and a critical exegesis. Another factor which aided Bonar in his exposition was his great familiarity with the Scriptures. One of his hearers said: "Bible scenes were

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1. Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 32.
4. Bonar, Diary, p. 130.
portrayed as by an eye-witness, and Bible personages lived before us." When he preached upon such characters as Abel and Enoch, it was said that he spoke of them "as familiarly as if he had lived in antediluvian times." When he spoke about "the work of the Tabernacle . . . one actually thought that he must have worn the priestly garments." Also, in the words of a listener, Bonar "was not only the friend of the Old Testament saints, but he showed us the beauties of the New Testament, until we thought that he must have been with Paul sitting at the feet of Gamaliel, or with Nathaniel under his fig-tree, or, at least, that he held converse with the last of the apostles." 

Bonar believed that in preaching upon the Bible, a minister should be careful to present the whole Word of God, and not to dwell upon certain aspects of it only. For him, this meant that he would try to preach upon every book of the Bible. His success in accomplishing this task is evidenced by the wide variety of his sermon-texts, from almost every book of the Bible. In an attempt to portray graphically the wide range of his sermon-texts, the following table has been prepared.

2. Ibid., p. 34.
4. Each bar (-) represents one sermon. In compiling this Table, account is taken, not only of the 221 extant sermons, but also of the sermon-texts referred to throughout Bonar's Diary. When no reference can be found to a sermon by Bonar upon any particular Biblical book, that book is omitted from the Table. Though the Table, for obvious reasons, cannot portray exactly the books most preached upon by Bonar, nevertheless, it is believed that the tabulated results convey a generally accurate impression of the same.
Distribution of the Texts Employed in Andrew Bonar's Sermons

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It is interesting to notice, somewhat in contrast to most modern preaching, Bonar's liking for Old Testament passages. Of the 377 texts tabulated above, 145 are from the Old Testament. He regarded all books of the Bible as being equally inspired. Yet, he did express a preference for certain parts of Scripture. Those books of the Bible which seemed to him especially to serve the inner life, were most often used as a basis for his sermons. Thus, his favorite book was the Gospel of John. He was also greatly interested in Revelation. Though he often preached upon the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts (books dealing with personalities and historical events), he made surprisingly little use of Paul's writings (books dealing with ideas and doctrines). His favorite Old Testament book was the Psalms, though he also demonstrated a preference for Isaiah.

In attempting to preach upon the whole Bible, however, Bonar found that he was sometimes forced to preach upon difficult texts. For example, in preaching upon Matthew 27:52, "And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose," he evidences a certain difficulty in explaining its meaning. Nevertheless, he finally succeeds in showing it to be a literal fulfillment of Daniel 12:2, "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake," and he considers it to be an additional proof of the resurrection of Christ. In commenting upon II Timothy 4:13, "The cloak which I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, but especially the

parchments," Bonar also found a wealth of meaning which the modern preacher probably would not find.¹ He said that the text contains five lessons for us. First, it teaches "God's sympathy with the privations of His people," for God is concerned with the details of our lives, as well as with the details of Paul's life. Second, it teaches that "God's love to souls is independent of external circumstances." God loves us, even as He loved Paul, who was too poor to buy another cloak. Third, it gives us "an example of patience." God was teaching Paul to be patient amid the troubles and the afflictions of life, which are only for a season. Fourth, it reveals "the secret of peace and joy." Peace and joy are not dependent upon external circumstances, but upon trust in Christ. Fifth, the text teaches "a lesson as to the use of means." Though Paul was an inspired apostle, yet, he needed the books and the parchments.

Another text which Bonar evidently found difficult to preach upon was I Timothy 5:23, "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thy frequent infirmities."² In his introduction, he admits the difficulty of interpreting the verse. Yet, he believes that there is "something very precious below the surface." First, it teaches us to be concerned with the details of life, such as the health of our bodies. Second, it teaches us to be careful with our bodies, and use medicine when necessary. Third, it teaches us not to expect God to perform a miracle

². Ibid., pp. 215ff.
when we are ill, though He might do so. Fourth, it cautions us to be temperate: "a little wine." Here, Bonar states his belief that the text also gives "good and solid reasons for altogether abstaining from wine." He says that Timothy obviously had been a total abstainer, drinking only water, and he recommends this practice to his hearers. To strengthen this point, Bonar quotes statistics to show the amount of alcohol consumed in Great Britain, and he laments the baneful influence it can have upon society. This fourth lesson is obviously the main point of the sermon, as one might expect from a total abstainer like Bonar. In a concluding section, he makes two observations: We should try to please God in everything we do, whether eating or drinking; We should realize that God is interested in even the smallest concerns of our lives.

In his sermons, Bonar did not always employ the same method of exposition. As a matter of fact, there was a wide variety in his expositions. At times, he would trace a Biblical concept. Thus, for example, in his sermon on "The Cherubim,"¹ he notes the several places throughout the Bible where the Cherubim are mentioned, and then he tries to show how they were regarded by the various writers. At other times, he cites a Biblical incident, such as the Birth of Christ,² or the Lord's Supper,³ and reflects upon its meaning for men in Christ's day, and its significance for people at the present time.

While Bonar often used one verse of Scripture as the basis for a sermon, at other times he used two or more texts, taken from different parts of Scripture. Again, he might use several consecutive verses, or even an entire chapter, as the basis for a sermon. Occasionally, he would preach a series of sermons, based upon a Biblical theme or a Biblical book.

Bonar's keen interest in persons often led him to preach upon Biblical characters. He preached most of all, of course, upon the life of Christ. Other figures, as well, served as the basis for many sermons. Included among these were: Ittai the Gittite, Zelophehad's daughters, the Widow of Sarepta, Simeon, Melchizedec, Jethro, Epaphras, Onesiphorus, and Nicodemus. In preaching upon these persons, Bonar's usual procedure was to point out some distinctive trait about each, after which he would enjoin his hearers to cultivate and to demonstrate such a trait in their own lives. In dealing with a major Scripture character (such as Paul or David), Bonar usually would select some incident in his life, or some aspect of his personality, and discuss it as imaginatively and as accurately as possible. Examples of this are his sermons: "Paul's Thorn," "Paul's Fifteen Days

Visit to Peter,"¹ and "God's Parable."²

Bonar sometimes would preach a sermon upon a number of Bible characters, grouped together in accordance with some unifying theme. He once preached a sermon upon "Unexpected People Used,"³ in which he cited three instances in the Old Testament of certain people being used by God when one might have expected others to have been used. Thus, Phineas, and not Joshua, was used to lead an army (Numbers 31:6); David, and not the king's son, Jonathan, was used to slay Goliath (I Samuel 14:1ff.); Micaiah, and not Elijah, was used to prophecy for the Lord (I Kings 22:7ff.). A similar sermon was preached upon "Unexpected Absences,"⁴ in which Bonar referred to certain persons who had been absent on those occasions when one might have expected them to be present.

One of the best examples of Bonar's sermons upon Biblical characters is "The Three Ananiases." Following an introduction, in which he discusses the etymology of "Ananias," Bonar goes on to discuss, in turn, each of the three men, all having the same name. The first Ananias was "the enemy of the Cross." He was a priest, though only outwardly religious, like many in the churches today whose religion is a mere formalism. The second Ananias was "the apparent believer." He joined the church in a tide of revival, and professed to give all to God, while secretly keeping a portion for

². Andrew Bonar, "SMS God's Parable." This sermon is based upon the incident in David's life in which he is confronted by Nathan, who tells him the parable of the rich man and the ewe-lamb.
⁴. Ibid., pp. 154ff.
himself. There are also those in the churches today, who similarly profess allegiance to Christ, though this is no more than a mere imitation of the actions of others. The third Ananias was "the true disciple." Though relatively unknown, he followed Christ's call, and went forth in Christian fellowship and service, as we should do today. Bonar concluded:

The first Ananias looked neither into himself to see the hell there, nor on Jesus, to see the door to heaven, or heaven itself, there. The second gave only a glance at both, and saw neither fully. But the third looked till he saw himself lost, and wrath his portion; and then upward, till he read, 'I have found a ransom' in the hand of the Father who pointed him to Jesus!

Bonar deeply loved the Bible, and it could not be otherwise than that his sermons should be based upon it and saturated with it. Having considered this fact, let us now discuss the preparation and the delivery of these sermons.

C. Homiletical Preparation and Delivery

Phillips Brooks once said that there are generally two causes of failure in preparing sermons: too much method and no method at all.\(^1\) Though we do not know a great deal about Bonar's method of sermon preparation, it appears that he avoided these two extremes. In a broad sense, his entire life was a preparation for preaching. In this section, however, we are concerned with his more specific homiletical preparation. This preparation was twofold: intellectual and spiritual.

In regard to his intellectual preparation, his large library provided him with an adequate supply of sermonic material. As his sermons demonstrate, he read widely in the fields of Ancient and of English Literature, and in the field of Scottish History, particularly during the times of the Covenanters.\(^2\) His preparation, however, was not limited to books. The people he met, the things he did, and the places he visited, all served as a preparation for his preaching.\(^3\)

The Bible, of course, and commentaries upon the Bible, served as the basis for Bonar's intellectual preparation. He read the Bible not only for devotional and exegetical

2. Bonar kept a number of curiosities in his study, including a piece of Samuel Rutherford's pulpit, and a panel of Lady Kenmure's pew in Anwoth Church.
3. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to Horatius Bonar" (from Glasgow: October 8, 1869).
purposes, but also for homiletical purposes, in an attempt to make his sermons Biblical throughout. His English Bible always lay on his desk, while on a nearby table there lay the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament. So thoroughly acquainted was Bonar with the original texts, that he once said: "I could repeat in the Hebrew or Greek every text from which I preached, so that I was always sure that I was not merely taking the words from the English, but had got them from the pure source."¹

Bonar spent every weekday morning in his study, from eight o'clock till twelve, in the preparation of his sermons.² He would usually write out, in rather full form, the substance of his discourse. This, he would later reduce to the form of notes for use in the pulpit. He followed this practice throughout his ministry, so that towards the end of his career he was able to say: "I never entered the pulpit unprepared."³

No less important a part of Bonar's sermon composition was his spiritual preparation. He believed that before a minister can preach, he must first spend time in prayer and meditation before God, regarding both the hearers and the message, for "it is much prayer that makes preaching truly effective."⁴ He writes in his Diary: "I made it a rule not to fix thought upon a subject till I had prayed somewhat fully for particular help, as to the subject, doctrine, illustration, and application."⁵ At another time, he writes:

1. Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 32.
2. Cf. Bonar's Diary for variations in this schedule.
5. Bonar, Diary, p. 158.
"After being in much perplexity for a text, got it given to me like a real message, when I simply asked the Lord to choose for me."¹ When he experienced a difficulty in selecting a text from which to preach, he sometimes felt that this perplexity came as a rebuke from God for having "spent far too little time in prayer before deciding what to preach."²

Behind his concern for spiritual preparation, was his deep love for, and devotion to Christ, accompanied by his conviction: "Holiness is the great secret of a full way of preaching."³

In his sermon delivery, Bonar early followed the practice of preaching without notes. In 1837, he wrote to his friend A.N. Somerville, stating that he had adopted this method.⁴ After following this procedure for a while, he felt "free," and believed his "manner more animated."⁵ However, by 1843, if not before, he had adopted the practice of preaching from brief notes. His usual procedure was to reduce the substance of his message to a few major points, which he would write down, partly in longhand and partly in shorthand, on a small piece of paper.⁶ This procedure he continued to follow throughout his Free Church ministry. Though sometimes he preached without any notes, the only time he was known to

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1. Ibid., p. 310.
4. Andrew Bonar, "PMS Letter, to A.N. Somerville" (from Edinburgh: [1837]).
5. Bonar, Diary, p. 67.
6. Shortly after the Disruption in 1843, while preaching in the tent at Kinrossie, a puff of wind carried away Bonar's notes, and he was forced to continue without them. Bonar, Reminiscences, p. 26.
have read a discourse was on the occasion of his opening address as Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly in 1878.¹

During his Glasgow ministry, his usual practice was to lay his sermon notes upon the pulpit Bible and refer to them only occasionally.² These notes were sometimes on separate pieces of paper, though usually they were written upon both sides of a single sheet of paper. In Appendix IV, we have an example of his sermon notes. These notes, written in longhand, extend to four pages. The introduction is quite fully written out, occupying about one-fourth of the space. Throughout the body of the sermon, Hebrew and Greek quotations frequently appear. Key words, and words requiring emphasis, are underlined. Numerous Scripture references are given, though they are not written out in full. Illustrations are suggested by a word or two, and a poem used in the conclusion is written out in full. Though Bonar almost always used such notes in preaching, they apparently did not lessen his power as a preacher.

A factor which contributed to the effectiveness of Bonar's delivery was his impressive pulpit appearance.³ He was blessed with a healthy, strong, erect body, and he possessed a commanding appearance in the pulpit. His white, flowing hair, and his black robe, undoubtedly contributed to

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1. Ibid., p. 26 f.n.
3. Related as above.
the impressiveness of his appearance. He was always scrupulous about his dress, believing that a minister's garments should come to the sanctuary "unspotted from the world." His movements in the pulpit were deliberate, and his gestures were forceful and strong. He looked at his hearers in "a piercing," though "kindly" manner. He was both solemn and loving. A fellow-minister in Glasgow says that Bonar had "a fine, you might call it a picturesque presence; ... his hair white, long and flowing; his somewhat ruddy face, eager, flashing impetuous; his eye luminous, kindling with the glow of an inward fire, filling it and looking out from it." 1

Another factor which contributed to Bonar's effectiveness in sermon delivery was his rich voice. The tone of his voice was refined, winning, and impressive. His colleague, D.M. M'Intyre, stated that Bonar's voice was "high-pitched" and "musical." 2 It was said that his preaching was "a veritable dropping of the honeycomb for effusive sweetness. His delivery had a slight 'sing-song' tone, and his brogue was as Scotchy as Chalmers." 3 It was stated further that his "habit of cantillating ... suited him entirely ... somehow the way he intoned or 'twanged' his words made them more impressive, and one had time to catch his thought, and it was a key to unlock the truth." 4

1. Alex. Rattray, minister of Parkhead Parish Church, Glasgow, quoted in Ferguson, op. cit., p. 192.
2. David M. M'Intyre, Dr. Andrew A. Bonar as a Preacher (Glasgow: Pickering & Inglis, n.d.), p. 5.
4. John Leathley, minister of Wesleyan Church, Leith, quoted in Ferguson, op. cit., pp. 78, 149.
There are some indications that, in later years, his voice lost much of its strength. Bonar himself recognized this,¹ and his daughter refers to "the peculiarities of his voice, and his habit of letting it suddenly drop just when the hearer's attention was fixed." A member of his congregation remonstrated with him about this, and told him how provoking it was to his hearers to lose some of his best utterances. His retort to this was: "How do you know they are the best if you don't hear them?"² Yet, even as late as 1888, it was said of him, by a group of ministers and missionaries who had formerly been associated with the Finnieston Church: "When you consider that we are accused, not only of stealing our late pastor's thoughts, but it is said even his voice (we don't improve it) ... I might almost apply the words of the old version of the 19th Psalm, 'There is no speech nor language under heaven where his voice is not heard.'³ At this time, the wish was expressed that "some one would endow a chair to teach preachers to preach with Dr. Bonar's voice."⁴ Such statements lead us to believe that though his voice may have lost some of its earlier tone quality and volume, it nevertheless retained its force and its ability to move men. The statements of his hearers remind us of the truth of Arthur Allan's words: "The power, passion, and pathos of the living voice, touch the heart in a way that the printed pages can

¹. Bonar, Diary, p. 361.
². Bonar, Reminiscences, p. 49.
⁴. Ibid., p. 27.
Bonar's sermon delivery was further enhanced by the gladness with which he spoke. This was the quality which marked the preaching of Robert M'Cheyne and William Burns. W.G. Blaikie looked upon this gladness, or "winsomeness," as one of the most distinctive features of M'Cheyne's preaching. D.M. M'Intyre, Bonar's colleague, says that this quality was prominent in Bonar's preaching as well. He possessed a genial, kindly, cheerful spirit, and this evidenced itself in his preaching. It was this quality which led his hearers to remark about "the smiling face he had in church," his "happy spirit in the pulpit," and "the joy he had in preaching." His desire that his hearers should share this same gladness is evidenced in many of his sermons, and appears in such statements as the following: "Love and joy are the two prominent fruits of the Spirit. If you can cherish this glad spirit you will be a useful witness. . . . Try never to have a frown on your brow."

Still another factor which contributed to the

2. Blaikie, The Preachers of Scotland from the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century, pp. 294f.
5. Related in correspondence from J.C. Reid, Glasgow, January 9, 1954. Mr. Reid was associated with Finnieston Church during Bonar's ministry there.
effectiveness of Bonar's delivery might be mentioned: his intense earnestness. His hearers all testify to the sense of conviction with which he preached. He was conscious of having a definite message to deliver, and he believed that that which he uttered had an eternal significance for his hearers. This gave his sermons a vital force which distinguished them from the moral essays which might have been delivered from the pulpit of a moderate minister.

One other factor contributing to the effectiveness of Bonar's delivery, closely related to his earnestness, was the unction with which he spoke. His preaching had an uncommon element in it. Blaikie called this an "indescribable thing,"¹ though it was not to be identified with unctuousness, rhetoric, or turgidity. It was like "a metre which sustains and exalts thought, a cadence whose measure is loaded with meaning and feeling." He spoke with an unconscious and a natural expression of an "overruling feeling of reverence,"² as Oman puts it.

Bonar had a strong sense of the presence of God, a great love for the Person of Christ, and a deep compassion for the souls of his hearers. These qualities, combined with the saintliness of his life, gave his delivery a power which is as difficult to define as it is difficult to find.³

It was this quality which led a listener to comment upon one of his sermons, that it "was a very characteristic one - sound in doctrine, evangelical in tone, and full of that indescribable unction which gives to discourses their spiritual power." In Bonar's own words, written of another, his "living utterance threw more feeling into particular phrases than those phrases conveyed in themselves." A final word might be said about the length of Bonar's sermons. Like most other nineteenth century preachers, his sermons usually occupied the major part of the worship service, leaving, therefore, relatively little emphasis upon the remaining portions of the service. Judging from his extant sermons, they ranged from 2700 to 6200 words, and the delivery time ranged from thirty minutes to an hour. The average length of all his sermons taken together was about 4000 words. Though his earlier sermons lasted nearly an hour, there was a tendency, as he grew older, to shorten the length of his sermons. He expresses his views regarding the length of sermons, in a humorous letter to his friend John Milne, who had held a rather lengthy service in a country village:

I am going to open up a correspondence with you on the subject of length. It is not to be a mathematical, but a doctrinal discussion. I heard

3. On the whole, his later sermons (most of his extant sermons are from his later career) were shorter than those generally preached by his contemporaries.
lately an amazing story of your having kept a certain company on their feet by a two-hours' prayer! A somewhat more certain fact, however, is, that you kept the poor people of Kettens till eleven at night! It is the theory of length that I wish to discuss. I do honestly and conscientiously think that there is more of gift in it than of grace. And I have of late purposed to be shorter than I generally am, on the consideration that half-an-hour's discourse, spoken in faith and preceded by many hours of prayer, will be as likely to be blessed as an hour. Quantity seems to me very unimportant. It soothes our conscience to have said so much to our people, it makes us think, 'Surely, now, they are to blame for not being converted, and not I.' Whereas, dear brother, it may be that 'Follow me,' spoken in self-denying faith, would be better far than 'continuing our speech till midnight.'

1. Bonar, Diary, pp. 157f. This letter was written in 1853.
D. Homiletical Style and Structure

Andrew Bonar was not a master of style, nor was he an accomplished orator. He once said: "You know I am no speaker - only a talker." Nevertheless, there were certain elements in his style which made it effective in conveying his message. To a consideration of some of these elements we will now direct our attention.

Bonar spoke from his heart. There was a certain naturalness about his homiletical style. It was an incarnation of his thought. James Hamilton, a minister friend, said of Bonar's preaching that it was "provokingly natural." Though inclined to verbiage, he had an effective manner of embodying his ideas in language which his hearers could readily understand, and which moved them to action. He spoke in a conversational manner, using the personal form of address whenever possible. It was this quality in preaching to which Beecher referred, when he said: "The man who preaches from the heart to the heart can hardly help preaching so that there shall be a naturalness in his style, and that will be the best style for him." 

Closely related to this element in Bonar's style was his simplicity of speech. He did not aim at arousing the admiration of his hearers, but at making his message under-

2. Bonar, Diary, p. 120 f.n.
stood. Men were sinners, in need of a Saviour from their sins, and his object was to tell them of the Saviour. Hence the plainness of language, the use of short sentences, and even the employment of homely illustration in his sermons. He had a simple message, and he presented it as simply as he could. It was his conviction that a sermon should be so simple as to be readily understood by the common people in the audience. He believed that the message of salvation ought to be made plain enough for even the most unlettered of men to understand. 1 In following this course, Bonar was observing the practice of some of the Reformers. In such a way Luther had appealed to the peasants of Germany, and Latimer to the folk of England. By the avoidance of involved sentences and arguments, no intellectual cross-currents came in to disturb the even flow of his discourses. Perhaps this practice would have received the approbation of Milton, who once affirmed that "in matters of religion, he is learnedest who is simplest."

Mention might be made of another feature of Bonar's style: the poetic quality. W. Robertson Nicoll said that Bonar's sermons "often shimmered with poetry." 2 Though he was not gifted like his brother, Horatius, to write poetic hymns, his sermons are, nevertheless, rich in poetic images. They often resemble the letters of Samuel Rutherford, which

1. Related in correspondence from Isabel M. Bonar Dodds, London, May 5, 1954. Mrs. Dodds is a grand-niece of Andrew Bonar.
he so carefully read and edited. It was said of him: "Dr. Andrew Bonar is a poet, only his poetry runs itself out in romance. He is the sweet romancer of the Church."¹ This poetic quality in his sermons is especially noticeable in his descriptions. For example, in referring to the Sea of Galilee, he mentions the "Cool breezes [which] refreshed the loungers on shore, and filled the sails of the pleasure-boat as it glided among the innumerable fishes that dimpled the surface of the blue waters." In speaking of the angel which smote the host of Sennacherib, he said that the angel "needed only to flash his sword, and the heart of every sleeper was still for ever."² Though such descriptions might not be suitable for present-day preaching, they evidently impressed Bonar's listeners. Such passages as these, led to the judgment: "His addresses, like his sermons, as ever and again they were lit up by quaint expositions and flashes of poetic thought, made his hearers feel that they were listening to a man of genius, as well as to a man of God."³

Another element in Bonar's style is the imaginative quality of his sermons. Beecher spoke of this as "the most important of all the elements that go to make a preacher."⁴ Though this quality is especially prevalent in his sermons

¹. Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 25.
to children, it appears throughout his other sermons as well. As a matter of fact, so vivid was the imaginative quality in some of his sermons, that his friends jestingly referred to them as "Bonar's Fables." At his ministerial jubilee in 1888, it was said of him: "He speaks in parables, and tells the stories of Joseph of Arimathea, and John the Baptist, and Nicodemus, in a way that makes one wonder where he got all his information." Yet, he never allowed this imagination to distort the truth. In his sermon, "Jesus Pierced," his imaginative description of the feelings of the soldier who pierced Jesus' side, is extremely interesting. Further, in his sermon, "Angel Workers," Bonar describes the visit of several angels, associated with Biblical History, and imagines what they might have to say to the Finnieston

2. James Bonar, "SMS 'The Bullers of Buchan,' The Gael" (September 10, 1877), VII, 41ff. *The Gael* was a private paper, written by the various members of Andrew Bonar's family, during their vacation periods in Mull. In this article, Bonar's son says of his father:
   He has such a wonderful knack of finding out things that I sometimes wonder if the things to be found out do like the Coon which is reported to have said to that Yankee sportsman whose aim was so deadly 'I'll come down, don't fire.' . . . But perhaps I ought not to say this, lest I should be maliciously classed among those who speak of some of the Doctor's sayings, and even writings, as 'Bonar's Fables.'
Church in his day. The sermon is arranged in the form of notes, which he supposedly took while attending the gathering of the angels. This was considered to be one of the most effective sermons he ever delivered.

Another element in Bonar's style was his use of illustrations. Though he occasionally employed illustrations to prove a point, or to render a subject more impressive, he used them chiefly for purposes of explanation. Other preachers might try to please their listeners or to prove the validity of an argument, but Bonar was primarily concerned to proclaim and to explain those truths which he believed were necessary for salvation. An example of this use of illustration to explain a truth, is found in his sermon on "Winning Christ":

The meaning of winning Christ is, gaining out of Christ the riches that are in Him, the wealth that is stored up in Him. It is an interesting fact, that in Wales and in Scotland, in the mining districts, 'winning' the coal, or the mineral, is a common expression, by which they mean, sinking a shaft deep down to get out the ore in richer abundance. Let us take that idea. Paul, on the day when he first discovered Christ, found himself to be the possessor of a large estate. He was standing, so to speak, at the opening of his mine, and he saw some of the precious ore. He could not take his eye off what he did see; but, the more he looked, the more he discovered, and there was no end to what he might bring up out of this mine; and so, it was his lifetime's wish 'that I may win Christ.'

The reader of Bonar's sermons is impressed by the great number of illustrations which appear throughout. A single sermon might have several illustrations. An example

of this is his sermon on "The Hope of the Lord's Return." In the introduction to this sermon, the following illustrations are included: a story about a member of Bonar's congregation, an incident which occurred during a pastoral call, a reference to the biography of William Hewitson, Edward Irving's previous lectures in Edinburgh, a statement once made by Thomas Chalmers, a mention of the practice of observing the Lord's Supper at Finnieston, and four references to Scripture. These illustrations, centering around his theme, are all included in the introduction to the sermon!

In reading Bonar's sermons, one is impressed with the wide variety of sources from which he drew his illustrations. History, biography, geography, science, literature, commerce, nature, all provided him with stories, phrases, similes, and metaphors, which he used throughout his sermons. He also illustrated his sermons with incidents drawn from his own experience and observation.

Most of all, Bonar illustrated his sermons with Scripture. The Bible was his Golconda. His chief reading throughout his life was the King James' Version of the Bible, and those books which drew their inspiration from the Bible. Thus, in illustrating his sermons, not only did he cite characters and events of the Bible, but even words and phrases. The expressions he used and the concepts he employed were Biblical. The style and the texture of the King James' Version were woven into the very fibre of his own

1. Bonar, Sheaves After Harvest, pp. 41ff.
mental and spiritual constitution, and had a far-reaching influence upon all that he thought and said. This fact is basic to any appreciation of his style.

Bonar's sermons, whether they were meant to evangelize or to edify his hearers, evidence the didactic character of his ministry. In order to make certain that what he taught was retained by his audience, he gave great attention to sermon structure. He usually caused the framework to stand out boldly, thus making it easy for the audience to see the plan of the sermon. As he said: "Hearers must have pegs on which to fasten what they hear, otherwise the sermon is apt to be like water, flowing over and soon disappearing."¹

In constructing his sermons, Bonar used the deductive approach. Since he believed the Bible to be the fountainhead of wisdom, he based his sermons upon the deductions he had made in his study of the Scriptures. His sermons, then, were to make explicit that which he had found to be implicit in the Bible.

His most usual method of organizing his sermons consisted in following what he regarded as the "natural plan" of a Scripture passage. In its most simple form, this method is demonstrated in a Christmas message, "Omnipotence Bound!"² This was the last sermon Bonar delivered before his death. Like many other of his sermons, this one, based upon Luke 2: 1-7, has three points: (1) The Time, vv. 1-2; (2) The Place, vv. 3-5; (3) The Circumstances, vv. 6-7.

¹. Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 46.
Following this same method, he also produced a more complex structure, in his sermon, "Strangers and Pilgrims." In this five-point sermon, which was preached on January 2, 1887, Bonar makes use of alliteration, as he often did:

**Title:** "Strangers and Pilgrims."

**Text:** Hebrews 11:13-16.

**Introduction:** God teaches us by the example of those who trusted in Him in other days. In Hebrews 11 we have examples of such men, who were witnesses to God.

I. "What the witnesses saw." The promises afar off.

II. "What they said." They confessed they were strangers and pilgrims.

III. "What they sought for." A better country.

IV. "What they slighted." Their own country.

V. "What they shall obtain." The rewards of God.

**Conclusion:** These men lived and died in faith. We, too, should live a life of faith, as strangers and pilgrims, trusting in God.

Sometimes, Bonar based his sermon upon one verse of the Bible. In such a case, however, he almost always uses additional Scripture as supplementary matter. The following four-point sermon is an example of this:

**Title:** "Ask in Faith, Nothing Wavering."

**Text:** James 1:5.

**Introduction:** We are called upon to pray to God. In writing this verse, James seems to have had Solomon's prayer in mind, when God said to him, "Ask what I shall give thee." II Kings 3:5.

I. "The welcome given to petitioners." God will give to us as he gave to Solomon, if we but look to Him.

II. "The liberality granted." God gives liberally, and will "not upbraid." "It is great things we expect from a liberal God."

III. "The warrant for going to Him who gives thus liberally." We are allowed to

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come before Him in faith.

IV. "A caution." In praying, we must not waver.

Conclusion: "Christ is the source and the channel of all blessing. All must come from Christ alone."

At other times, Bonar takes a central idea, and uses several verses from various parts of Scripture to expound that idea. An example of this type of structure is his four-point sermon on Stewardship: "The Great Teacher Teaching to Give." In this sermon, he explains how four sayings of Christ may instruct us in Christian giving:


II. "He stated the Manner." "... It is more blessed to give than to receive." (Acts 20:35).

III. "He stated the Measure, and Rule." "... Freely ye have received, freely give." (Matthew 10:8).

IV. "He stated some of the Benefits resulting." "Give and it shall be given you . . ." (Luke 6:38).

Occasionally, a sermon of Bonar's might have several points. Thus, his sermon on "The Covenants," based upon Jeremiah 31:31, has seven points: (1) God's covenant with Adam; (2) God's covenant with Noah; (3) God's covenant with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; (4) God's covenant on Mount Sinai; (5) God's covenant with David; (6) God's covenant referred to in Isaiah 42:6; 49:8; (7) Christ's covenant in the Upper Room. Again, in his sermon, "Faith's Seven-branched

Candlestick,"\(^1\) based upon II Peter 1:5-7, after speaking of faith as the staff of the candlestick, he discusses its seven branches: Virtue, Knowledge, Temperance, Patience, Godliness, Brotherly-kindness, Charity.\(^2\) In his sermon on "The Hope of the Lord's Return,"\(^3\) after affirming the truth of the Second Advent of Christ, Bonar goes to an extreme, in citing eighteen "features of the Christian life affected by this truth." As a rule, however, his sermons have only three, four, or, at the most, five points.

Thus far, reference has been made only to those sermons characterized by a deductive approach. Though most of Bonar's sermons are of this type, he occasionally employs the inductive approach in preparing a sermon. In an inductive sermon, he attempts to start where his hearers are, and then proceeds to answer a question or to solve a problem in the light of Biblical truth. His sermon on "What Gives Assurance"\(^4\) is an example of his inductive approach to a subject. After recognizing the desirability of possessing the assurance of our salvation, he then moves on to consider the ways in which men seek assurance, concluding that assurance can be found only by trusting Christ.

Bonar deviates from his usual practice again in his

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2. Cf. Andrew Bonar, "SMS The Seven Vials." This sermon, based upon Revelation 16:1-21, has for its seven points the seven "vials of the wrath of God upon the earth."
sermon on "Perfection." In this discourse, he employs what
Blackwood calls "The Hegelian Method." First, he presents
the thesis: "God's people are 'perfect.'" They are perfect
in the "Knowledge of God's revealed will as to the way of
salvation," in "peace of conscience," and in "walk of life."
This is followed by the antithesis: "God's people are
'imperfect.'" They are imperfect in "knowledge of God
Himself," in "likeness to Christ," and in "possession of
blessedness." Finally, he presents the synthesis, showing
how Christ can perfect our imperfections, and make us truly
perfect.

Brief reference might be made here to Bonar's use of
sermon introductions and conclusions. Blackwood makes mention
of the fact that in the nineteenth century the preacher was
little concerned to gain the attention of his hearers by the
introduction, since he could fairly well take for granted
that his hearers would listen patiently while he began. It
is thus understandable why Bonar's introductions were not
especially designed to startle or to attract people.
However, perhaps the main objection to his introductions
is their length. On the average, his introduction
constituted fifteen per cent. of the sermon. Nevertheless,
his introductions were often interesting and quite varied.
Though they were usually textual or contextual in approach,

2. Andrew Watterson Blackwood, The Preparation of Sermons
3. Ibid., p. 178.
205ff., 225ff., 233ff.; "SMS Forty Seven Sermons,
pp. 5ff., 20ff., 49ff., 88ff., 100ff.
several were topical, and occasionally he began a sermon with an illustration, or a dramatic description. He used the introduction as a means of acquainting his audience with his text, and of laying the basis for his expository remarks.

The conclusions to most of Bonar's sermons took the form of a direct appeal to his listeners. At times, he addressed his hearers as a group, and at other times he spoke to them one by one. Such appeals usually were either of an evangelistic nature, or else they were a summons to his listeners to dedicate themselves more completely to Christ. Occasionally, he altered his usual procedure, and concluded with a poem, an illustration, or merely a final sentence. In every conclusion, however, he evidenced a personal interest in his hearers, a positive attitude, and what Jowett called the "wooing" note.

This last-mentioned feature of Bonar's sermons leads us to consider what were some of the most outstanding characteristics of his preaching.

E. Homiletical Characteristics

As one reads the sermons of Andrew Bonar, there are certain characteristics which become increasingly evident. One of these is the doctrinal content of his discourses. This is not to say, however, that his sermons resembled theological discourses. Though there occasionally was a certain modest show of learning in his sermons, they were basically simple and practical in nature. He observed the maxim of the pioneers of Protestant preaching that "doctrines must be preached practically and duties doctrinally." In doing so, he tried to present the Christian message in all its fullness, and to proclaim the whole Word of God. He did not play merely upon one string of the harp of divine truth. Nevertheless, there is in his preaching one recurrent theme that is more prominent than others: the theme of Jesus Christ.

Wherever Bonar took his text in the Bible, like Spurgeon, it was his principle always "to make across country as fast as possible to Jesus Christ." Even when he preached upon an Old Testament text, he saw Christ prefigured there.1

In fact, wherever in the Bible he looked, there he found Christ, and he ever pled for a verdict on the question: "What think ye of Christ?" With Luther, he could say: "We preach always Him," and with Bernard of Clairvaux, he would agree: "No sermon or colloquy grips unless the name of Jesus be heard there."

The first words Bonar ever uttered from a Christian pulpit were: "I know whom I have believed," and the last words were: "the very Son of God." Though we cannot illustrate in detail the Christocentric character of his sermons, the titles of a few of these plainly reveal this fact: "How Faith Receives Christ," "Winning Christ," "Love the Lord Jesus," "Coming to Christ," "Jesus Christ is in You," "The Love of Christ," "Jesus Pierced," and "Jesus Christ Teaching." On one occasion, he compared preaching a sermon on Christ, to the duty of the priests in the Old Testament of setting forth the loaves on the table each Sabbath:

We must not put other food before the Lord's people. Ministers dare not change it. What mean those who set before God's people a supply of eloquence, intellect, argument, or of history, or speculation on the truth? Even if the table have on it an array of duties, row upon row of graces and virtues, yet if Christ, the life, and the food of life, be not there, the 'everlasting covenant' is broken.

1. Bonar, Diary, p. 345.
6. Bonar, Jesus Pierced, pp. 1ff.
7. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Jesus Christ Teaching."
Bonar once prayed in the Finnieston Church: "Lord, never let anyone occupy this pulpit who does not preach Christ and Him crucified." ¹ In his Diary, also, he often referred to this primary desire to proclaim Christ.² His success in realizing this desire is evidenced by the testimonies of his hearers. One said: "The Person and work of the Lord Jesus Christ occupied him at all times. . . . The atoning sacrifice of the Son of God formed the central point of all his preaching."³ At his ministerial jubilee in 1888, a number of his listeners stated: "This preaching of Christ . . . remains in our hearts and memories as the chief burden of your message. . . . we desire to thank God for the fulness with which the person and work of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST are set forth by you from week to week."⁴

As a part of this same Christocentric emphasis, Bonar strongly asserted throughout his sermons the doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ. In almost every one of his sermons this recurring eschatological refrain is present.⁵ The enthusiastic spirit in which he sometimes spoke of the Premillennial Coming of Christ has been recorded by one of his listeners:

As he stands before us now we think we see the twinkle in his eye. But steam is getting up. See the clasped hands, twisting like two crabs in

2. Bonar, Diary, pp. 43, 93, 341.
a wrestling grip! At last the voice. Listen to it as it sweeps the gamut - now a childlike treble, and now a sonorous bass. We have heard nothing like it since Robertson of Irvine in Glasgow twenty years ago read the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. . . . Of what does the aged divine unburden himself? The wonderful literality of fulfilment of prophecy concerning the Jews and the First Advent, and how this bears on the prophecies about the Second Advent. When he sits down we are almost ready to become a premillenarian. 1

Bonar also spoke often of the inner life, and of its development. "The personal holiness of the believer" was an oft-recurring theme throughout his sermons, and it occasionally occupied an entire discourse. 2 He loved to recount the spiritual experience of other Christians, 3 and to point his hearers towards the ideal of a holy life. He said: "We must give most earnest and continual attention to our personal holiness and growth." 4 Towards this end, he recommended to his audience the practice of private prayer and the reading of the Bible:

We must leave other things untouched, that we may give ourselves to prayer for a time. Do that often and bring down a blessing. Leave off other reading. Leave off other employments. Give up some of your work, and pray down the Spirit. 5

The cultivation of this inner life, however, was not

4. Ibid., p. 68.
to be an end in itself. It was of value also in increasing the believer's knowledge of God and of His truth, for: "There is not a better way of learning the whole truth than this of coming into the presence of the Lord, and dwelling for a season under His eye, inviting the blessed Potter to mould the softened clay."\(^1\) Another reason for personal holiness was that believers should better be fitted to witness to others, for "to attract men to Christ, we must exhibit a Christlike walk."\(^2\)

In speaking of the importance of the inner life, of the necessity of faith in Christ, or of anything else, Bonar preached only what he himself experienced and believed. His sermons were experiential. He "practiced what he preached."\(^3\)

It was his conviction: "If we are ever to preach with compassion for the perishing, we must ourselves be moved by those same views of sin and righteousness which moved the human soul of Jesus."\(^3\) This quality in his own preaching was recognized by others, who said of him: "In listening to him, one could not but be impressed with the conviction, not only that he spoke because he believed, but that he spoke at first hand - not only the things that he had heard, but the things that he had seen and felt."\(^4\)

Finally, Bonar's sermons were characterized

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2. Ibid., p. 67.
throughout by an evangelistic purpose. Newman once chose as the title for a sermon the phrase: "The salvation of the hearer the motive of the preacher." To the same effect, Richard Baxter declared his purpose to preach always "as a dying man to dying men." This, too, was Bonar's conviction. He said: "It is part of every minister's office to cry, 'Flee from the wrath to come.'"¹ This was the primary purpose of all his sermons: to win men to Christ. Often, of course, they were meant to edify his hearers: to instruct, to comfort, to strengthen, and to guide. Yet, even in such pastoral discourses, the evangelistic note is sounded. It was said that he "rarely, if ever, closed [a sermon] without urging on his hearers the immediate acceptance of the Saviour."² In a sermon on stewardship, for example, Bonar is not content to close without a strong, evangelistic appeal:

Perhaps, unsaved man, you may belong to ... those who refuse to give a mite to religious objects, and who cry out about neglecting the poor at home. ... Well, here is the truth as to you; you give nothing to Christ because you know Him not. You set no value on perishing souls, because your own soul is unsaved. You have never seen your state of sin and death, and how near to the brink of perdition you stand at this hour. You have never understood the free love of God, nor seen His glory. ... One thing ... let us not fail to tell you: a man enthralled to earth, to self, to sin, to Satan, may be delivered from them all, if he make haste. For the Holy Spirit sets free a soul by revealing Christ that died and rose again.³

In proclaiming a hortatory, evangelistic message,

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Bonar made little distinction between the sheep and the goats, between the saved and the unsaved. Though occasionally he addressed his hearers as "Dear Christians" or as "Believers in Christ," he more often referred to them as "Lost sinners" or as "Unsaved ones." In almost every sermon, he sounded the evangelistic note. He deemed no sermon complete which did not contain an explicit statement of the way to be saved, or an invitation for the sinner to come to Christ. It was his conviction that if the unconverted need an evangelistic sermon to awaken them out of their sins, the converted also need such a sermon to awaken them out of their complacency, and to challenge them to do more for their Lord.1

Bonar was not reluctant to refer to the consequences of man's response to Christ. Though he could speak of the unbounded joys of the millennium and of heaven, he could speak with equal force of the dreaded horrors of hell, which awaited the non-believer.2 When he intended to impress upon men the necessity of believing in Christ, he did not hesitate to describe "the scars entrenched by the Divine thunderbolts on the withered forms of the lost, on their scathed and shrivelled souls."3

They see hell now. There it is, stretching out on every side. They will never forget the

2. Bonar balanced his sometimes harsh denunciations with the offer of a free and an immediate salvation. This salvation was to be received simply upon the acceptance of Christ in faith, by the repentant sinner.
gates that shut upon them as they entered, precluding every hope of escape. O dreadful darkness! tormenting devils! unfeeling company! Now and then, it may be, some of the lost cry one to the other, 'How long'; and one to the other utters the terrible response, 'For ever and for ever!'.

Bonar warned unbelievers of the urgency of deciding for Christ, saying: "There are not less than 80,000 of our fellowmen dying every day; 80,000 have died to-day, 80,000 more shall die to-morrow, and you may be one of that number whom the scythe of death shall cut down as grass."2 "Fellow-sinner, unsaved soul, you may have changed worlds before to-morrow, make up your mind now to accept this Saviour, this Christ."3 Therefore, they had but one hope, and this he offered to them: "We have no way but one of escaping from the wrath to come . . . by being washed in the blood of the lamb. Are you washed? Have you accepted the Lamb of God, who is the Saviour of all sinners?"4

It is interesting to observe that, in Bonar's sermons to children, this same evangelistic purpose is evident throughout. He loved to speak to children, both in his own church and elsewhere.5 In fact, he was called a "favourite preacher of the young."6 Yet, though his sermons to children may have had more illustrative material, their purpose throughout was the same as those which were directed

2. Ibid., p. 63.
3. Ibid., p. 41.
to adults. 1 In a typical sermon, he tells a parable of a man with a gun (representing faith), who fears a nearby lion (representing Satan), which roars every time the man reaches for his gun. Yet, the gun keeps the lion from devouring the man. Finally, however, another animal (representing Christ) approaches and chases the lion away.

In a similar manner, says Bonar, Christ can come into our lives, and can free us of Satan's presence. 2 In his sermon on "The Conversion of Children," Bonar presents a defence of the various endeavors in the churches to evangelize children. He states his own conviction:

Children ought to be dealt with, in regard to the duty of accepting Christ, as closely and seriously as older people. The difference, no doubt, is considerable in the method we take with the young and with the older. In the former case, we have no metaphysical difficulty to deal with. We find, however, the same need in both cases . . . we need to look the old man and the child alike in the face, and say, 'You are meant. Will you accept the Saviour who has saved so many by taking on Him their sins and bearing their punishment?'

Lest it be thought, from the above, that Bonar was a stern figure, interested only in setting forth the decrees of God, let us turn to a discussion of his pastoral ministry, where he more clearly reveals his deep love and his compassionate interest in the welfare of men.

F. Pastoralia

Stephen Paget, in speaking to students of medicine, reminded them that they dealt with life itself, and that, with such priceless material, an error might be irreparable. He says: "Medicine works in lives... The doctor must interfere with that one substance which is above all else in nature... man, infinitely complex, infinitely precious. We touch heaven when we lay our hands on the human body." This, too, was Andrew Bonar's conviction. He knew that he was working with lives. He must, therefore, be careful, for a mistake might prove fatal to someone. He touched heaven when he laid his hands on the human spirit. Accordingly, as a pastor, he did all that was within his power to promote the spiritual welfare of the people entrusted to his care. He prayed regularly for each one of the members of his congregation, and he labored for their spiritual betterment. He was acutely aware of his responsibility for their spiritual growth and guidance.

2. Both at Collace and at Finnieston, Bonar followed a systematic plan of praying regularly for his people. He did this in two ways: (1) At times, he laid the roll of communicant members before him, and then prayed for each person in turn; (2) At other times, he went into the empty church on a week-day, and moved from one pew to the other. As he sat in each pew, he read the names of the persons who regularly sat there, and then prayed for each one. Related in conversation with D.S. Dunnett, Glasgow, July 2, 1954; and with Rev. J.W. Stevenson, Editor of Life and Work, Edinburgh, October 15, 1954.
As he once wrote to his people: "I never forget that God gave me a charge over your souls."\(^1\)

Phillips Brooks once said: "The preacher who is not a pastor, grows remote. The pastor, who is not a preacher, grows petty."\(^2\) Andrew Bonar, also, realized the interrelatedness of the pastoral and the preaching offices. He writes:

> Whatever be said in the pulpit men will not much regard, though they may feel it at the time, if the minister does not say the same in private, with equal earnestness, in speaking with his people face to face. . . . We must not only speak faithfully to our people in our sermons, but live faithfully for them too.\(^3\)

He realized the necessity of dealing with his people individually, of making their problems his problems, of being interested in every family connected with the church, and of quietly gaining their confidence. Only then would he be able most adequately to help them.

In attempting to meet the needs of his people, Bonar demonstrated that he had the "shepherd's heart." He was temperamentally suited for the pastoral ministry: sympathetic, friendly, and understanding. Many of his tracts and pamphlets,\(^4\) and two of his books - *The Brook Besor* and *The

\(^1\) Bonar, "SMS Letter, to the People of Collace" (from Alexandria: May 14, 1839).


\(^3\) Bonar, *McCheyne*, p. 74.

Visitor's Book of Texts - were written specifically for pastoral purposes. Yet, when he felt that the spiritual welfare of his people was being in any way neglected because of his literary endeavors, however noble they might be, he was quite ready to sacrifice the latter in preference to the former. Though he loved books, he loved his people more. He once remarked: "I think I have got more good from visiting my people than from any book of practical theology I ever read."¹

Bonar's efforts as a pastor were almost proverbial. Both in Collace and in Glasgow he was known for his faithfulness and his kindness to his people. In Collace, he would ride upon his horse, many miles every day, to see his parishioners, even when the weather was inclement.² In Glasgow, he spent every afternoon during the week, and many evenings, in walking about his parish, visiting his people with unflagging regularity.

No task was too great, no need was too small, to merit Bonar's attention. Whenever any member was ill, or faced by sorrow or trouble, he soon learned of it and came to offer his assistance. Nor were his efforts limited to his own church members only - anyone in need became the object of his concern. He would climb long flights of stairs to take medicine to the sick, or he would secure lodging, food, or a job for some destitute person. Sometimes he was called upon to settle a family problem, such as the one referred to in

¹ Bonar, Reminiscences, p. 74.
² Ibid., p. 25.
his Diary: "The Lord does not use me, like His servant Dr. Chalmers, for great things, but my way of serving the Lord is walking three or four miles to quiet a family dispute!" If even a little child were sick, he would be sure to call upon that child, usually bringing some gift with him. He used to say: "Love is the **motive** for working, joy is the **strength** for working." He was a man who, as Robert Louis Stevenson expressed it, paid board and lodgings to humanity.

The amazing factor in regard to Bonar's **pastoral** ministry was that he was able to maintain his busy schedule of visitation even during his old age. Though there must have been a diminution of his effectiveness, yet, he continued to call upon his members regularly until the very week of his death. His fellow ministers referred to this last fact at his death, saying: "Neither his growing years nor his manifold labours as a public speaker hindered him from attending to the last to the work of a Pastor." Near the time of his death, it was said of him:

> He is a rebuke to the busiest of us in his constantly being about his Master's business. He has never been known to miss an engagement, to be behind time, or to lose his temper. His four score years are never pleaded as an **excuse** when anything has to be done.

Bonar's ministerial visitations among his people were never merely social attentions. He regarded them as

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opportunities for evangelism and for instruction in Christian
document and Christian living. His visitations would
usually last for half an hour, though they might extend to an
hour. While his parishioners ordinarily would not know of
his coming in advance, the event was regarded as a special
occasion. Upon entering the house, Bonar would inquire
about the health and the general welfare of the various
members of the family. He would always express an especial
interest in the children, and often he would have some gift
for them. Before he had been there very long, however, he
would direct the conversation to matters directly pertaining
to religion: discussing a sermon from the preceding Sunday,
making certain of the regular observance of family Bible
reading and prayer, inquiring after the spiritual condition
of each person, or catechizing the young. When he felt that
his purpose had been accomplished, he would read a passage
from the Bible, lead the family in prayer (while all who
were present would kneel), and then depart.¹

When a member of Bonar's congregation was sick, or
in sorrow, he would call upon that person with great
regularity - sometimes every day. Throughout his entire
ministry, he had a reputation for his faithful labors among
the sick. While serving at St. George's, Edinburgh, he

¹ Related in conversations with D.S. Dunnett and J.
M'Lachlan, Glasgow, July 2 and 16, 1954. Related also
in correspondence with Oliver Neeley, Kirn, Argyll,
January 2, 1954; and with Margaret Murdie, Perth,
September 12, 1954. Mr. Neeley was associated with
Finnieston Church during Bonar's ministry there, and
Mrs. Murdie, a member of the church in Collace,
remembers Bonar's visits to his former parish.
visited a man so ill with typhus fever that no other minister would go near him. During the smallpox epidemic in Glasgow, he visited certain patients every week. Though he himself was strong and healthy, nevertheless, he could sympathize tenderly with the sick and the suffering. His sympathy with those in sorrow was especially great after the death of his own wife in 1864.

Bonar's visits to the sick were always quite brief—sometimes only a few minutes in length. It was his conviction that: "What we say to the Sick should be brief: and when we pray with the Sick we should be short in our prayers." In *The Visitor's Book of Texts*, Bonar's philosophy of calling upon the sick is set forth. It is, basically, a strong reliance upon the Bible, conjoined with an implicit faith in the power of prayer, and in the working of the Holy Spirit.

In all of Bonar's calling, his primary concern was for the spiritual welfare of his people. If he believed someone to be a Christian, Bonar was anxious that his faith should be strengthened and that his knowledge of Christianity should be increased. If Bonar believed someone to be unconverted, he tried to make clear to him the necessity of trusting in Christ, and of taking his place in the Christian Church. If Bonar did not know the spiritual state of someone,

he would often make a remark that was intended to discover this. For example, in meeting a young woman named Christina, he said: "I see you have Christ in your name; I hope you also have him in your heart." Again, when he visited a certain home for the first time, he asked how many there were in the family. The wife replied that there were eight members - herself, her husband, and their six children. "Well," remarked Bonar, "remember that there were just eight saved in the Ark. Make sure that yours are all in."!

Though such tactics would not be employed today, they were effectively used during Bonar's time in winning many for Christ and His Church.

This desire to win men for Christ was the integrating factor of Bonar's pastoral ministry: every baptismal service was to him the promise of a new birth; every marriage service was to him an opportunity of telling others of the love of Christ; and every funeral service was to him an occasion for reminding those present of the return of Christ, and of the necessity of being ready to meet Him. The various Bible Classes he taught, and the many activities and organizations of the church, for which he was responsible, were all conducted for the purpose of making Christ known. Because of his success in accomplishing this purpose, a Glasgow minister called Bonar a "model pastor,"2 and Principal Fairbairn paid him this tribute: "I tell my students if they want to be successful in their calling, go to Finnieston and

enter into the spirit of its minister."¹ A number of ministers who had formerly been associated with the Finnieston Church, in later years said to Bonar:

We owe . . . a debt of gratitude for the example you have given in the Christian pastorate. To some of us the pastor of Finnieston is a living ideal to reprove slothfulness and to quicken zeal. We remember his wise and sympathetic dealing with all; his kindness to us as students; his tenderness to the sick, the dying, the aged, the sorrowful; his unwearied efforts on behalf of the erring and godless, and fearless opposition to every form of iniquity; his loving interest in the children; his eagerness, by classes and personal dealing, to win young men and young women to the Saviour; his happy methods of guiding the anxious into Gospel light; his ability, so unobtrusive, to gather round him, in church and mission efforts, the various gifts of his people; his prudence in harmonising Christians of diverse opinions and dispositions and in smoothing down the friction of earnest activities; his willingness to help his brethren in the ministry, and to do the work of an evangelist everywhere; and, above all, his abiding zeal for the salvation of old and young, as fervent through long years of laborious service as that manifested, only too briefly sometimes, by intense youthful devotion, or in times of special blessing. These characteristics of your pastorate have been of vast use to us; and we feel convinced, if some fitting memorials of your pastoral work were written, they would present an ideal of Christian service of lasting benefit to the ministry of every church.²

No adequate appreciation of Bonar's preaching and pastoral ministry can be gained apart from the realization that he himself added force to all that he said and did. His work both as a preacher and as a pastor was fortified

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¹. Munsie, op. cit., p. 5.
². Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 20.
by his devoted Christian character and life. Phillips Brooks once defined preaching as: "Truth through Personality," and said that, "first among the elements of power which make success I must put the supreme importance of character, of personal uprightness and purity impressing themselves upon the men who witness them."¹ John Broadus pointed to this same truth when he wrote: "The prime requisite to efficiency in preaching is earnest piety."² These statements have particular relevance in the case of Andrew Bonar, whose saintly life was wedded to his great work, and both were supremely devoted to his Lord.

There is much in Bonar's ministry that could be criticized. For one thing, he might be regarded as impractical, dealing more with the past than with the present life of God in the world. Also, there was a certain tendency in his sermons to discursiveness, which led him to deal with matter that was extraneous to the subject under discussion. Then, too, his sermons were extremely individualistic, evidencing little, if any, concern for the social implications of the Gospel. His ideas were not particularly original or profound, and he moved chiefly among the accepted commonplaces of evangelical religion.

Bonar was, nevertheless, a great minister. He had a definite purpose, a definite method, and a definite message. His ministry embodied many of the highest ideals

¹. Brooks, op.cit., pp. 8, 49.
of the Scottish Church: faithfulness to his calling, fearlessness in presenting his message, devotedness in caring for his people, and loyalty in serving his God. He was a man with many talents, and he used them all for God. Because of this, it was said at the time of his death: "He was first of all a minister of Jesus Christ; one more unwearied, more diligent, more constant, more faithful, it would be hard indeed to find." ¹

¹ Dr. Andrew A. Bonar, "The British Weekly" (January 5, 1893), XIII, 171.
Chapter VI.
LITERARY ENDEAVORS
I have often felt things in study so plainly given me, not at all like the products of my own skill, that this is the way in which I account for them. The Lord sends them because of people praying for me . . . God may use everything I write.

- Andrew Bonar, *Diary*, pp. 128, 222.

A. Background

A significant part of Andrew Bonar's ministry were his literary endeavors. Since he was so thoroughly occupied with the various activities of his church, one might imagine that he was unable to contribute anything to the field of Christian literature. However, the surprising thing is that, with his many distractions, he found time to use his pen in the writing of several volumes. During his life, he wrote over a dozen books, edited several others, and composed an innumerable number of articles, pamphlets, sermons, and tracts. After his death, five volumes of his writings were edited and published.¹

Bonar's most prolific period as an author came during his ministry at the Free Church in Collace, when he was able to have more leisure time. During his early years

¹. A list of Andrew Bonar's major published works has been placed after the preface to this thesis. The Bibliography records all of his published and unpublished writings.
in Glasgow a few works were written. However, the death of his wife in 1864, and the Union Controversy of 1863-1873, seemed to prevent him from writing anything of significance for more than ten years. When the controversy was over, he again took up his pen and composed several works before his death.

Largely because of these writings, many in his day regarded Bonar as a scholar.\(^1\) Certainly he did have a scholarly inclination, as he demonstrated during his days at High School, University, and Divinity Hall. Yet, he seldom attempted any sustained discussion of momentous themes. His first concern was an intensely practical one: the redemption of the world and the edification of the Church. He regarded as unworthy of his time and effort anything that was not related to these ends. However, he did realize the importance of learning, provided that it was conjoined with godliness:

Wherever godliness is healthy and progressive, we almost invariably find learning in the Church of Christ attantant on it: while on the other hand, neglect of study is attended sooner or later by decay of vital godliness. . . . The energy called forth by the knowledge of God in the soul leads on to the study of whatever is likely to be useful in the defence or propagation of the truth; whereas, . . . when decay is at work and lifelessness prevailing, sloth and ease creep in, and theological learning is slighted as uninteresting and dry.\(^2\)

The spirit in which Bonar conducted his studies is

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summed up in the words of a motto that appeared on the wall of his office: "Dimidium studii qui rite precatur habet" - "He who truly prays has completed the half of his study." Each day, when he had finished his devotions, he reserved certain hours for study. After he had prepared his sermons, addresses, and the other work connected with his church, he would then allow himself the opportunity to write for publication or to engage in the study of such subjects as were of especial interest to him. It is perhaps unfortunate that, because of his intense preoccupation with the many activities of his own church, he was prevented from writing more extensively. He could probably have contributed much more to Christian literature, particularly in the field of devotional and expository writing, if only he had been convinced of its importance and applied his talents accordingly.

It is interesting to notice Bonar's attitude to his studies. Though he enjoyed writing and reading, he nevertheless felt guilty about this enjoyment. He said: "Of all things of a more worldly kind my books are the greatest temptation... O my books, how they keep me from the Book." He felt that his books tended to "encroach upon [his] direct communion with God." He once wrote: "I fear that I have studied more than directly sought my people's conversion this year." Occasionally, however, he

2. Bonar, Diary, p. 140.
would speak favorably of his books, recognizing that they, as well as his congregation, were "all part of God's calling." ¹

Bonar's capabilities as a scholar were recognized in 1862, when it was suggested that he be nominated for a Hebrew Professorship. ² However, he regarded this suggestion as absurd, and he said in a letter to a friend:

Neither my conscience nor my heart would allow me to take it... 'I dwell among mine own people,' and there are many who have both head and heart for such a work, who ought to be employed in their proper sphere. My Hebrew is, like Thomas Boston's, merely a help to my ministry. ³

Again, in 1871, he was asked by those who managed the Cunningham Lectureship to deliver a series of lectures in 1872. He said of this opportunity:

I have been quite amazed at their proposal, and have refused decidedly, for they completely mistake the amount of my learning and my ability for such a work. May the Master use me in my true sphere and give me the grace of prayer in far higher measure. ⁴

Although Bonar devoted most of his time to the work of his parish, he was still able to spend several hours each week in reading many volumes from his large library. He had a reading knowledge of Dutch, German, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. He maintained an interest in the various writers of

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¹ Bonar, Diary, pp. 152, 172.
² It is not known in which university this proposed Professorship was to be. The offer of a nomination might have come from abroad. The only Free Church Divinity Hall Professor in the field of Old Testament Language and Literature to be appointed at this time was A.B. Davidson, at New College, Edinburgh, in 1863.
³ Bonar, Diary, pp. 219f.
⁴ Ibid., p. 287.
antiquity, and preferred to read them in their original languages. He enjoyed Scottish History, particularly during the Reformation and Covenanting periods. His favorite writers were Baxter, Bunyan, Cowper, Milton, and Rutherford. Through the Finnieston Free Church Literary Association\(^1\) he stimulated the literary interests of his people.

Bonar was an avid reader of anything which enhanced his understanding of the Scriptures. When the Revised Version of the Bible was published in 1881, he welcomed it as an advance in Biblical scholarship. He defended it against some of his more conservative friends who felt it was "blasphemous" to try to improve upon the King James' Version. He liked to tell of one such friend who, while criticizing the new version, was nevertheless so ignorant of the Bible that he spent several hours in hunting through the book of Job to find the quotation: "Make hay while the sun shines."\(^2\)

On the flyleaf of several of Bonar's books, he has written his opinion of their worth. He spoke of Baxter's \textit{The Saint's Everlasting Rest} as "One of my favourite books," and of Bunyan's \textit{Pilgrim's Progress} as "A book filled with much wisdom." Calvin's \textit{Institutes} were "Very helpful," and Rutherford's \textit{Letters} were "A source of strength." In a

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\item Cf. the Finnieston Free Church Literary Association programme calendars for 1861ff. These may be found among Bonar's papers in Fetcham, Surrey.
\item Andrew Bonar, "SMS 'Modern Thought,' \textit{The Gael} (March 19, 1881), XI, 4.
\end{enumerate}
letter to his son, he spoke of J.S. Mill as "a man who never seems to know that he has sin about him, and who makes a god of his own." On the flyleaf of the first volume of Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Bonar wrote:

To Sinners wonderfully civil
Gibbon declares to us no Devil
Ah, trust him not, for if we look
Upon his portrait in his book
The boldest infidel will swear
He seeth the true devil there.

The most important of Bonar's works, arranged according to the nature of their contents, will be discussed in the succeeding pages of this chapter. Before this is done, however, brief mention might be made of his correspondence.

Bonar never studied letter-writing as an art, nor was it his forte, as it was that of Cowper and Carlyle, to whom a letter often served as a mould into which their best thought was cast. Still, he did have a certain gift in correspondence. His letters were generally brief, but in almost every one there is some thought of lasting value. He corresponded with many of his parishioners, particularly with older folk or with those who were troubled with some problem. A baptism, marriage, funeral, or election to some church office, served as the occasion for many of his

1. Andrew Bonar, "BMS Letter, to James Bonar" (from Glasgow: October 24, 1874).
2. Cf. the PMS letters of Andrew Bonar, addressed to the various members of his congregation.
letters. His letters to some of the members of his family often contained Greek, Hebrew, and Latin quotations, as well as guidance and help. It is not uncommon to find in his letters various moral directions, or traces of his sly humor. Though most of his letters are no longer extant, the ones remaining afford us with a quite accurate picture of his correspondence.

1. Cf. the PMS letters of Andrew Bonar, addressed from Glasgow to Mr. Laing (June 9, 1876); Mrs. Levy (August 21, 1876); and Robert Patterson (May 31, 1888).

2. Cf., particularly, the BMS letters of Andrew Bonar, addressed from Glasgow to his son James Bonar (May 30, 1865; August 7, 1869; June 17, 1872; and March 11, 1874.

3. Cf. the many BMS and PMS letters of Andrew Bonar to his family and friends.
B. Missionary Writings

The missionary obligation of the Church engaged the interest of Andrew Bonar throughout his life. As a young man, he had more than once seriously considered the possibility of service in a foreign land. He often delivered sermons and addresses,1 wrote articles, pamphlets and tracts,2 and devoted much of his time and energy to the cause of home and foreign missions. While he had an interest in the various aspects of the Church's mission, he was especially concerned with the conversion of the Jews. In his Moderator's Address to the General Assembly in 1878, he reminded his fellow Christians that "the heathen are going down to hell by the thousands every day," and that "the summons to come to their rescue is beyond measure urgent." He thus appealed for "More labourers! More gifts to this cause!"3

The first book to come from Bonar's pen was the Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews, written in

collaboration with his friend, Robert M'Cheyne. When they returned from their mission, the General Assembly Committee for the Conversion of the Jews requested the members of the party to record the story of their travels. It was decided that Bonar and M'Cheyne should be entrusted with the task.\(^1\)

However, because of their many engagements to speak about the journey to Palestine, and because of their preoccupation with the work of their parishes, it was difficult to find time to write the \textit{Narrative}.\(^2\) Nevertheless, R.S. Candlish encouraged them to write while the impressions of their trip were still vivid to them.\(^3\) Accordingly, they set to work, and completed the \textit{Narrative} by the beginning of 1842.\(^4\) It was first published in May of that year, in two volumes, though later editions appeared in the form of a single volume of 555 pages. It included sketches by M'Cheyne, maps, an appendix, and subject and Scripture indices compiled by Bonar. There were at least five editions in English, as well as a Dutch and a French translation.

It has not previously been known whether the \textit{Narrative} was basically the work of Bonar or of M'Cheyne, or whether they shared equally in the undertaking. However, the present author has been able to secure the possession of

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\item The other two members of the mission, Drs. Keith and Black, have elsewhere recorded their impressions of the journey.
\item Andrew Bonar, "NCMS Letter, to Robert M'Cheyne" (from Dunsinnane: June 26, 1840).
\item Andrew Bonar, "NCMS Letter, to Robert M'Cheyne" (from Edinburgh: October 27, 1840).
\item Bonar, \textit{Diary}, p. 96.
\end{enumerate}
the manuscript copy of the volume, exactly as it was sent to
the publishers, in the handwriting of Bonar and M'Cheyne.¹
The manuscript notes number 830 pages, and bear the traces
of careful revision. Both men took copious notes of their
trip, and these have been systematically arranged to form
the Narrative. The notes are so interwoven that certain
sections must be attributed to both men, rather than to
either one. Nevertheless, it may be said that the volume
is largely the work of Bonar, with many passages added, and
several corrections and alterations made, by M'Cheyne.² The
sections written by M'Cheyne are generally more picturesque
in language, while those of Bonar tend to be more strictly
concerned with a presentation of factual material. Yet,
the writings of the two men have been blended together in
such a way that the average reader of the Narrative could
not determine what was written by M'Cheyne and what was the
work of Bonar.

The Narrative tells of the departure from Dover on
April 12, 1839, of the four members of the mission to the
Jews. From that time, everywhere they went they conducted
investigations into the number of Jews in the various areas,
and the possibilities for establishing Jewish Missions there.
After visiting France, Italy, Greece, and Egypt, the party

¹. Cf. Andrew Bonar and Robert M'Cheyne, "PMS The Church
of Scotland's Care for Israel. Being 'A Narrative
of Enquiries into the present condition of the Jews
in Palestine and Other Countries' made by a
Deputation of Ministers of the Church of Scotland in
the year 1839."
². In criticizing the Narrative, references will be made
only to those sections written by Bonar.
arrived in Palestine. In his descriptions of the Holy Land, Bonar goes into great detail, believing that "anything that may invest that land with interest, will almost necessarily lead the reader to care for the peculiar people who once possessed it." Whatever might prove of interest to the Church at home is mentioned - people, scenery, customs, historical background. Personal experiences are often recorded, and are usually accompanied by a moral lesson. When the party reached Syria, it was decided that, due to the illness of Alexander Black, he and Alexander Keith should return home through the Danube area, while the two younger men should remain longer in Northern Palestine. Towards the end of the summer, Bonar and M'Cheyne left Palestine, and travelled through Turkey, Austria, Russia, and northern Germany. They finally arrived home in Scotland in November, 1839.

Although this story of their journeys is of little interest today, it does reveal something of Bonar's conception of the necessity of missions. This necessity, for him, has a theological basis. God is a missionary God, Who sent His Son as a Missionary to the world. Jesus Christ is a Universal Lord, Who commands His followers to proclaim

2. One of the most oft-told stories relating to Bonar's visit to Palestine concerned the incident when he dropped his Bible into Jacob's Well. Years later, the remains of the Bible were recovered by a Samaritan who descended into the well on a rope. These remains were sent back to Scotland where they were often exhibited to Sabbath School children. The remains of the Bible are now deposited with the New College Library, Edinburgh.
His Name abroad, that men might be redeemed from perdition, and prepared for His coming again.

The necessity for mission has also a Biblical basis. Passages are cited throughout the Narrative to illustrate the missionary character of the Bible, which, from beginning to end, is a book that presents the seeking of God for the souls of men. The Old Testament portrays the missionary heart of God. He selected Israel to be His chosen people, chosen not for privilege or selfish aggrandisement, but that they might be a missionary nation, a light to the Gentiles, the herald of the universal love of God. Israel's conception of God gradually increased until they realized that there was only one true God, the Creator of the earth, and the Lord of the Nations. The New Testament portrays even more clearly the missionary nature of the Church. Christ had a world outlook and a universal message for all men. The book of Acts and the various Epistles show the awakening of the early Church to its missionary vocation; and the book of Revelation looks towards the consummation of the mission.

The volume also reveals Bonar's analysis of the problems which confront the Christian mission. Outside the Protestant Church, there is the opposition from Roman Catholicism, with its influence upon certain governments; there is also the antagonistic attitude of the authorities of such non-Christian religions as Mohammedanism and Judaism. Within the Protestant Church, Bonar points out the problems arising from denominational differences,
shortages of personnel and finances, and cultural barriers between the missionaries and the people among whom they labor. However, the major problem, he says, is the lack of commitment in the Church itself, and thus the great need is for each individual Christian to be totally dedicated to his Lord.

Finally, Bonar believes that the ultimate purpose of missions is the evangelization of the world. This must be the foremost motive in the mind of a missionary. On his journey, Bonar witnessed the selling of men as slaves, and the ignorance, poverty, and disease of the masses in the East. Yet, that which most profoundly impressed him was not the material state of the people, but their spiritual welfare. Thus, in any missionary programme, evangelism must take the foremost place.

When the Narrative was first published, it aroused throughout Scotland a great interest in the conversion of the Jews. The volume is written in a non-technical, conversational style. It contains an abundance of Scripture quotations, literary allusions, and other illustrative material.

There is much that can be criticized regarding Bonar's ideas of foreign missions: his misunderstanding of the place of such things as medicine and education in a mission programme, and his lack of appreciation of the non-Christian religions and foreign cultures. Nevertheless, the Narrative is significant in that it served to bring to the attention of the Scottish Church the need for missions to the Jews. It
contributed many suggestions for missionary policy and procedure which were later acted upon by the Church,¹ and it helped to lay "the foundations of, and [give] directions to, one scheme in which the Church has always cherished a peculiar interest - the Jewish Mission."²

In a lecture on "Scripture Geography," Bonar stated that one of the most effective methods of gaining support for missions to the Jews was to acquaint people with the historical geography of the Holy Land.³ His book, Palestine for the Young, is a demonstration of this conviction. The title is somewhat of a misnomer, for, the vocabulary employed, the ideas conveyed, and the underlying propositions contained would seem to make the book more fitted for adult readers than for "the Young." He finished the writing of this book in 1864, though the death of his wife in October of that year prevented him from having it published until September, 1865.⁴ In its 368 pages there are many illustrations, charts, maps, two appendices, and an index.

The introductory chapter deals with "The Land at Large," and this is followed by chapters on Palestine's mountains and hills, rocks and caves, plains and valleys,

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3. Cf. Andrew Bonar, Lecture on Scripture Geography. This may be found among Bonar's papers in Fetcham, Surrey.
and rivers and lakes. The main portion of the book is then devoted to a study of the tribes of Israel: the territory occupied by each tribe, the important geographical features, the Biblical events and the post-Biblical history connected with each area. The attempt is made, from beginning to end, to interest the reader in the Jewish people, and in their conversion.

The volume is carefully written throughout, and evidences the author's firm grasp of his subject matter. Archaeology, history, and geography are skilfully woven together. Fortunately, Bonar does not succumb to the temptation to make sudden decisions and authoritative statements regarding the authentic locations of sacred places, as many writers on Palestine have done. Further, though he likes to point out what he considers to be the apparent fulfillment of Biblical prophecies, he is not dogmatic in doing so. In interpreting one particular prophecy, he says: "In this and other references to the restoration of the Jews, the author is expressing his own individual convictions. Great diversity of opinion exists in regard to the interpretation of particular prophecies."2

Though Bonar's missionary writings are now largely antiquated, they are still of value for a study of the

1. Cf. Bonar's personal copy of *Palestine for the Young*, in which he has carefully noted the corrections and alterations which he desired for the second edition. This copy is in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. A.R. Bonar, Fetcham, Surrey.
Jewish people in Biblical times. Though his ideas on missionary aims, methods, and emphases were somewhat limited, he was nevertheless successful in interesting many of the people of his day in missions, and persuading many of the necessity for Jewish missions. In the history of Scottish missions to the Jews, the name of Andrew Bonar deserves a prominent place.
Andrew Bonar was intensely interested in individual persons: he preached for the salvation of individuals, he took a personal interest in each member of his church, and he centered his religious thinking in a Person. It is not surprising, then, to learn that he wrote several biographies. Individual lives of spiritual excellence inspired him to record them as a legacy to the world. In writing these biographies, he apparently imagined them to have a dual purpose: to serve as a memorial to the dead and as an example to the living.

Bonar wrote some brief biographies, such as *Emelia Geddie: A Child of the Covenant*, the *Story of Andrew Lindsay*, and the *Memorials of Rev. J. Allan*. He also edited the 454 page biography of the American evangelist, Asahel Nettleton, *Nettleton and His Labours*, published in 1854. In the introduction to that edition, Bonar states: "Occasional remarks have been introduced by the present editor, and a

1. Cf. Bonar, *Diary*, pp. 196, 213. Cf. also *Memoir of the Life and Brief Ministry of the Rev. David Sandeman Missionary to China* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1861), pp. 149ff. These are the only two places in which Bonar refers to J. Allan, who died at an early age, as a licentiate in the Free Church of Scotland. The *Memorials of Rev. J. Allan* is the only known writing of Bonar's which the present author has been unable to locate. In spite of extensive research, no reference can be found anywhere to the *Memorials*, aside from the references mentioned above. The writing is probably in the form of a brief pamphlet or tract.
few other changes made that seemed likely to adapt it more to this country [Scotland]. A considerable number of extracts, also, from Dr. Nettleton's Remains have been inserted, and a few extracts from other sources, bearing on revivals, given."¹ Bonar also edited The Scots Worthies in 1880.² In this volume he added to the original edition eighteen biographical sketches, explanatory notes, a subject index, an appendix of sermons, and other supplementary matter. For an understanding of his biographical writings, however, one must turn to his lives of Robert M'Cheyne, David Sandeman, and James Scott.

The first and best biography by Bonar, and the book that has added more to his literary reputation than any other of his writings, is his Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne. It has been translated into several languages, including Gaelic, Dutch, German, and French, and has often been published abroad. It is difficult to state precisely how many editions and reprints of the work have appeared, though in the course of the preparation of this thesis, editions have been discovered which were published in the following years: 1844 (2 vols.), 1852, 1854, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1863, 1868, 1875, 1886, 1887, 1892, 1894, 1900, 1910, 1913, 1920, 1937,

¹ Andrew Bonar, in the Preface to Bennet Tyler, Nettleton and His Labours (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1854), pp. viif.
1947, 1951, and 1953. Though Bonar could have made a great deal of money from the publication of the Memoir, he received only a very moderate sum, and the copyright was originally secured by the remaining members of M'Cheyne's family.

After M'Cheyne's death in March, 1843, several of his friends felt that the story of his life should be written. Andrew Bonar, M'Cheyne's closest friend, was regarded as the most qualified person to write the memoir. The Disruption of the Church of Scotland in May, 1843, detained him from writing about his friend until the following September. The work was completed in December of the same year.

The volume numbers 648 pages, though only 166 of these are occupied with the biography itself. The remainder of the book contains M'Cheyne's letters, sermons, and miscellaneous writings.

Although Bonar did not become acquainted with M'Cheyne until they both were at the Divinity Hall in Edinburgh, he evidences a great familiarity with M'Cheyne's early life. M'Cheyne's conversion was of especial interest to Bonar, who sympathetically traces the events which led up to it, the intellectual and spiritual problems accompanying it, and the results which followed from it. From the time that M'Cheyne entered the Divinity Hall in Edinburgh, Bonar is able to furnish personal reminiscences of him. These

2. Bonar, M'Cheyne, p. 29.
3. Cf. Bonar's three SMS letters to Robert M'Cheyne's mother, thanking her for the information she furnished regarding her son's early life.
are supplemented by excerpts from M'Cheyne's Diary and other writings. On July 1, 1835, M'Cheyne was licensed, and went as the assistant to John Bonar, Andrew Bonar's cousin, who was the minister of Larbert and Dunipace. In 1836, M'Cheyne was called to serve as the minister of St. Peter's, Dundee. Though Bonar was also a candidate for this church, the Memoir does not mention this fact. The story of M'Cheyne's trip to Palestine, of the revival which awaited his return, and of his later ministry is related in detail.

For Bonar, life was largely a preparation for death; and death itself, viewed from the Christian perspective, was only the gateway to eternal life. It is not surprising, then, when he devotes several pages at the end of the Memoir to the last days and the death of M'Cheyne. The death scene in the biography is one of the most important parts of the entire work. M'Cheyne is portrayed as being fearless and even joyful at the prospect of death. Hymns were sung at his bedside, and he offered prayers for the people of his parish. Loved ones gathered, and were encouraged by his exclamations and his Biblical quotations, which were treasured in exact detail. Thus, his death was a glorious culmination of his life, and served a didactic purpose in the Memoir.

Considered as a whole, the Memoir is ably written. Bonar greatly admired M'Cheyne, and was himself much like

1. Ibid., pp. 32ff.
2. Ibid., pp. 53ff.
his friend in temperament, character and outlook. While this fact made it easy for him to record the events of M'Cheyne's life sympathetically, it also made it almost impossible for Bonar to criticize his friend objectively. Nevertheless, the Memoir is a good example of the religious biographies of the Victorian period: ethical in tone, deductive in method, and didactic in purpose.

Although a few editions of M'Cheyne's biography were published separately from his writings, for the most part the two appeared as a unit: Memoir and Remains.¹ The most complete edition was the one published in the year of Bonar's death. He has carefully edited and arranged many of M'Cheyne's letters, sermons, miscellaneous papers, and the "Songs of Zion." In addition, he has included seventeen short biographical sketches of the various members of the group that was formed during their student days. Several appendices are also added.

¹ Andrew Bonar is sometimes credited with another volume, Additional Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne (Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Sons, 1857). Though Bonar might possibly be the editor of this collection of sermons and letters, the present author does not believe that he is. Nowhere does Bonar refer to the work. The volume, published anonymously, contains this sentence in the preface: "The very favourable reception which the Christian public has given to the 'Memoir and Remains' of the author, by the Rev. Andrew Bonar, has induced the editor of this volume, with the sanction and approbation of a clerical friend of great eminence and piety, intimately acquainted with the author and his writings, and by whom the greater part of the work has been revised, to publish these remains." Though the reference to "a clerical friend of great eminence and piety" might very well have been Bonar, it seems quite certain that he would never have written such a sentence.
The reception which the Memoir had was extraordinary. It "commanded a sale almost unprecedented in the annals of religious biography." Throughout his life, Bonar often received reports of the beneficial influence it had as an instrument of conversion and blessing to countless persons. Great men and small have testified to the profound influence it has had upon their lives. In a preface to the 1913 edition, Alexander Whyte stated: "I am constantly hearing of the great good that book has been the means of doing." It has been estimated that in America the Memoir has been read by more people than any other Scottish religious writing of the period, and in the last eight years three new editions have been published abroad.

The glowing tributes which have been paid to the Memoir are countless. When Alexander Smellie wrote a biography of M'Cheyne in 1913, he confessed: "Once for all, Dr. Andrew Bonar has limned the features of his friend; and he who comes after Dr. Bonar, can only be, like the Arab physician, 'a picker-up of learning's crumbs.'" Bonar's Memoir has been called "unquestionably one of the most interesting and stimulating biographical narratives of the present age." W. Robertson Nicoll called it "that

1. "The 'Memoir of M'Cheyne'," The Jewish Herald (January 1, 1845), p. 11.
4. Related in a conversation with John A. Mackay, Edinburgh, February 6, 1954; President of Princeton Theological Seminary, U.S.A.
5. Smellie, Robert Murray M'Cheyne, p. xi.
wonderful little classic," and Bishop Moule referred to it as "that converting and sanctifying biography." After the Bible and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, it has been the most popular religious book in multitudes of pious Scottish homes. It has been truly said: "Dr. Bonar by his biography of his friend enshrined him in the abiding memory of the Christian world, and perhaps gave him a vaster influence than he would have attained by many years of service."¹

In June, 1860, Andrew Bonar was given the papers of the late David Sandeman, and was requested to write a biography of him. Bonar felt that this placed him "in a position of very great responsibility," and he set aside time in his busy schedule to prepare the biography. His attitude to the Memoir is reflected in a Diary entry:

> It is remarkable to myself how often the Lord has forced me to take up work which I dislike or shrink from. This has been specially so with all I have written. I have been led into it, and sometimes driven into it, by others.²

The Memoir was published in December, 1861. It portrays the career of David Sandeman, who was born at Perth in 1826. After attending the Perth Academy, he went to Glasgow in 1842 "to learn business." At the Disruption in 1843, he became a member of the Free Church. His conversion occurred in 1844. Following this, he entered the University of Edinburgh, and later attended the Free Church Divinity Hall there. For a short while after the completion of his studies, he served as a licentiate at Hillhead. He was

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² Bonar, Diary, pp. 209f.
ordained in 1856, and sailed to China where he served as a missionary in Amoy. After a brief, though eventful career, he died of cholera in 1858.

Much that has been said of the Memoir of M'Cheyne is also true of this biography: there is evidenced a particular interest in his conversion and death, a tendency to view things sub specie aeternitatis, and a strong didactic element throughout. Sandeman and M'Cheyne were both close friends of Bonar, they both died at an early age, and they all were men of kindred spirit.

There are also certain things which are particularly true of the biography of Sandeman. For one thing, the volume is probably too lengthy: 313 pages. Bonar had been given the materials for a biography from the family and friends of Sandeman, and evidently he felt he was under obligation to utilize as much of the material as possible. As a result, there are altogether too many quotations from Sandeman's writings. The impression is given that the material has not been duly digested, and the work seems more like a compilation of Sandeman's writings than a critical study of his life.

In writing the life of a relatively unimportant figure like Sandeman, however, Bonar had a purpose in including so much incidental material. He believed that the lives of others may help us to live our own. He seemed to feel that although certain trivial happenings in the life of an individual may be of no absolute value, yet, if they may serve to represent the life and thoughts
of the reader, and if they may strike home to men's hearts and minds, then they should be included. Here the criterion is not the uniqueness or the greatness of an event, but its applicability to the lives of others.

Further, there is a certain disproportionate arrangement of the materials. While Bonar devotes only eleven pages to the first eighteen years of Sandeman's life, he devotes thirty-eight pages to his nineteenth year.¹ While he dismisses in a single sentence Sandeman's theology — "His doctrinal views were those of the Westminster Confession of Faith"² — he includes thirty-four pages of quotations from Sandeman's letters and Diary to illustrate the dealing of the Holy Spirit with him during his student days, as it was manifested "first, in his wholesome looking inward, that he may know sin; and next, in his healthful looking outward at Christ, combined with never-ceasing prayerfulness."³ Although this disproportionate arrangement of materials is due partly to the fact that the information available for a biography was restricted to certain parts of Sandeman's life, it is due also to Bonar's particular interest in one aspect of Sandeman's career rather than in another.

Finally, it should be mentioned that whereas the moralistic element is present in all of Bonar's biographical writings, it is especially prevalent in his life of Sandeman. At times, he goes into such great detail in

1. The year after his conversion, 1844.
3. Ibid., pp. 104ff.
order to teach a lesson that the illustration used appears
to be more important than the truth which is to be conveyed. Yet, one ought not to be surprised by Bonar's attempts to
inculcate righteousness in his readers, for his first desire
was ever the salvation of souls, and his literary endeavors
were regarded by him as a means towards that end. Thus,
in concluding the volume, Bonar reflects upon the premature
death of such Christians as David Sandeman:

An important lesson is taught us by such cases as these. They say to us, Reckon not upon an after time for using what the Lord
gives; make immediate use of all; attend much to ordinary, daily living. It may be this is all the opportunity of serving the Lord that is to be afforded you.

The third biography by Andrew Bonar is his James
Scott, A Labourer for God, written in 1885. The arrangement
of this biography is slightly different from the preceding
lives. The first chapter traces the history of revivals in Scotland, concluding with a discussion of the visit of Moody in 1874. The succeeding chapters tell the story of Scott's life. Five appendices are included at the end of the book, containing material relevant to the work of revival.

James Scott was born in 1845 at the village of Scotland-Well. While he was still a boy his father died, leaving his mother to care for him and his four brothers and sisters. After a meagre education, he went to Glasgow at the age of fifteen years to learn a trade. In 1865 he was converted during a meeting in the Stockwell Free Church,

2. Ibid., pp. 312f.
and, soon after, he became interested in serving the Church. Accordingly, he entered the University of Glasgow, and upon graduation he served as a lay worker among the needy people of Glasgow. When Moody came to Scotland in 1874, Scott took an active part in the campaign, and later directed the philanthropic work which was inaugurated by Moody in Glasgow. Although he became ill in 1875, and again in 1879, he was able to continue his work. In 1880 he was invited by Moody to visit America, and when the American evangelist visited Scotland in 1882, Scott was one of his most able helpers. However, in 1884, Scott's brief career was ended by his sudden death.

Whereas Bonar was adequately supplied with the materials for writing the biographies of M'Cheyne and Sandeman, his knowledge of Scott, apart from their acquaintance with one another, was based largely upon the various anecdotes connected with his life. Such anecdotes, though useful in suggesting Scott's character, and in conveying moral lessons, are inadequate for a portrayal of his life.

Also, the book is not as well organized as Bonar's other biographies: significant dates are sometimes omitted, and the reader at times is uncertain of the sequence of events in Scott's life. Further, one is surprised to see Bonar's references to himself in the volume. In previous works, he had been reluctant to mention his own name. Now, however, the seventy-five year old Bonar appears more willing to speak of himself, and even devotes several pages
to an account of his trip to America in 1881, though this trip does not seem to belong to a presentation of Scott's life.

In any critical estimate of Bonar's biographical writings, it must be remembered that he chose for his subjects the lives of devout Christians. Each of the three men - M'Cheyne, Sandeman, and Scott - had a reputation for saintliness, and each one died while he was in his thirties.¹ In referring to the lives of such men, Bonar once said: "It is worthy of notice how often the Lord has done much work by a few years of holy labour. . . . Theirs was a short life, filled up with usefulness, and crowned with glory. O to be as they."²

Bonar indulged in hagiography because he believed the study of the lives of saintly individuals was of use in helping men to imitate virtue and to avoid vice. In his preface to Sandeman's life, he referred to the beneficial influence of such individuals, saying: "The example set forth here is that of one whose rare single-mindedness, affection to his Lord, watchfulness of spirit, and most cheerful self-sacrifice in the Master's service, shew what gifts our king can give to His own; and may stir us up to serve that same Lord, as men should do."

In regard to Bonar's records of such saintly lives, however, a word of caution should be given. At times, the

¹. Actually, M'Cheyne was 29 years and 10 months of age when he died.
². Bonar, M'Cheyne, pp. 25f.
plain truth may be sacrificed in favor of a moral lesson. He tells nothing of the men which would make their lives appear less perfect, else the didactic force of the biographies might be lessened. Also, the unblemished ideal which is exemplified by the subjects of these biographies tends to make their lives uninteresting and monotonously uniform. Further, in the worthy desire to memorialize the dead, he almost neglects the personality of the hero.

In the case of all three biographies, Bonar had been entrusted with the task of presenting the life of one of his contemporaries. Family and friends of the departed had furnished him with the materials for a biography - papers, diaries, letters - and he apparently felt that such generosity bound him to a rule of loyalty. As he states in his preface to the life of Sandeman: "They prepared the stones for the building, and my chief work has been putting the stones in their place."

Bonar used the deductive method of approach throughout. It seems as if he has said to himself in writing these biographies: "Here is a great Christian. I must find out why." The volumes thus appear to be written according to preconceived principles and are devoid of any real critical judgment. Yet, in spite of such apparent shortcomings, these simple, graphic biographies had an influence for good in their time, and one of them, Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, has continued to the present day to represent to many a high ideal of piety, devotion, and service.
D. Expository Writings

Andrew Bonar was an able Greek and Hebrew scholar during his days at the University and Divinity Hall. Throughout his later life, he maintained his proficiency in these languages. He used the Hebrew and the Greek Testaments in his sermon preparation and in his private devotions. Also, his Diary, letters, and interleaved Bible contain numerous examples of his linguistic facility. Small wonder, then, that he should attempt to write a Biblical commentary.¹

The two main works of exposition by Bonar are both on books of the Old Testament: Leviticus and the Psalms. He also wrote a large number of minor works in the form of articles and pamphlets. Though most of these are too insignificant to allow comment upon them, mention might be made of his "Readings in I Chronicles."² This consists of an exposition of the first eight chapters of I Chronicles, which appeared in the form of an anonymous series of articles in the Quarterly Journal of Prophecy between 1857

1. In the preparation of this section, several commentaries have been used as aids in understanding Bonar's Biblical Exegesis. These are listed in the Bibliography.

2. Almost all the articles published in The Quarterly Journal of Prophecy are anonymous. Though the present author has studied the various volumes of this journal, and compared many of the articles with Bonar's expository notes in his Interleaved Bible, it has not been possible to ascertain his authorship of any of the articles, except those written on I Chronicles. Cf. Reminiscences, p. 142 f.n.
and 1861.

With a few minor exceptions, the first eight chapters of I Chronicles are occupied entirely with a number of genealogical lists. To many modern readers, I Chronicles may appear to be dry and uninspiring. This is particularly true in regard to the section commented upon by Bonar. However, to him, the book was pregnant with meaning, and was invested with the authority of God:

No part of the Bible is more truly inspired than I Chronicles; for unless the Spirit had himself dictated it to the writer, no such portion could have been written, and no such portion would have been written. But for the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, no one could have given these names as they are found recorded here.¹

Although Bonar frequently deals with matters of grammar and syntax, he fails to mention any of the critical problems regarding the date, authorship, and sources of I Chronicles. His method in each "reading" is to introduce the theme of the passage with a story, or an illustration, and then proceed to discuss the significance of the various names included in the passage. His love for etymology led him to discuss the meaning not only of the names in the text,² but also any textual variations of the names. Though he occasionally refers to Jewish history, he is primarily concerned to elucidate the meaning and the

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2. Bonar used the text edited by John Heinrich Michaelis, Biblia Hebraica. He wrote on the flyleaf of his copy of this volume: "The correctest edition of the Hebrew Bible." This copy is in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. A.R. Bonar, Fetcham, Surrey.
spiritual significance to be derived from the various Hebrew names, either individually or collectively.

Some commentators have remarked that we ought to take warning from such men as Methuselah and Mahalalel, for they spent their long lives so ineffectively that nothing is recorded except that they begat sons and daughters, and then died. Yet, Bonar says it is not that a mere name suggests so little, but rather that it means so much. Each name connotes a man; it implies the existence of a distinct personality, with a particular and a unique history, and yet, a person with whom we are linked in close sympathy and countless ties of human nature and everyday experience. He said:

One who visits the churchyard where repose the ashes of his fathers or of renowned men known to him, feels in that spot as no stranger can ever feel. While the stranger looks on the tombs about him as merely so many marks of death's footsteps, the other is intensely interested; for he finds in these stones . . . suggestions of the past that seem to introduce him to the company of the departed, whose forms he almost discerns while standing at their tombs. Something of this feeling arises in us while engaged in the survey of these names, each of which gives a hint of what was either done or felt in his day.¹

In 1838, an elder in Robert M'Cheyne's church in Dundee, Edward Caird, had been teaching a Bible Class on the books of Genesis and Exodus. When he came to Leviticus he found that he could not understand the book. He related his difficulty to Bonar who urged him to go on, and promised

to send notes to him each week. When Bonar and M'Cheyne travelled to Palestine in 1839, they took these notes with them as "suitable meditation for us while busy with Jewish minds." During the years that followed, Bonar became increasingly interested in Leviticus, and expanded his notes on that book. In the latter part of 1845, these notes were submitted for publication. The *Commentary on the Book of Leviticus* was first published in 1846, and between that time and 1875 at least four more editions of the volume appeared. This commentary is his *magnum opus*, numbering 528 pages. It contains a preface, introduction, a chapter on each of the twenty-seven chapters of Leviticus, a large-size diagram of the Tabernacle and its Courts, and indices of Scripture references and principal subjects.

Bonar's Biblical interpretation was pre-critical. The findings of Higher Criticism in his day did not alter his acceptance of the traditional view of the authorship, date, and sources of Leviticus. He believed that the entire book was written by Moses, under the inspiration of the Spirit of God, in the year 1490 B.C. However, to say that his presentation is pre-critical is not to say that it lacks a scholarly approach. On the contrary, he was

4. Andrew Bonar built a model of the Tabernacle and its Courts, which he often used to illustrate his lectures on the Old Testament.
extremely careful in his preparation and presentation. He had certain principles of interpretation and certain standards of scholarship to which he remained true. He quotes from the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and makes frequent reference to such authorities as Josephus, Augustine, Chrysostom, Luther, Calvin, Gesenius, Keil, Hengstenberg, and Horsley. Throughout the book, he demonstrates an intimate knowledge not only of his own subject, but of related fields of study as well.

The book of Leviticus, for the most part, is concerned with the details of the ancient Hebrew ritual within a law which, in the apostle's words, "has been done away in Christ." To many, it seems remote from the concern of modern men and of little value for Christians. Barring an occasional sentence that lights up the landscape like a flash of lightning at night, there are few "favorite texts" or comforting and inspiring passages to be found. However, to Bonar, every detail of the ancient ritual had some inner, mysterious, allegorical meaning, which became ultimately clear and was realized in Christ.

There is no book, in the whole compass of that inspired Volume which the Holy Ghost has given us, that contains more of the very words of God than Leviticus. It is God that is the direct speaker in almost every page; His gracious words are recorded in the form wherein they were uttered. 1

Bonar looked to the book of Hebrews for his principles of interpretation: "The Epistle to the Hebrews

lays down the principle upon which we are to interpret Leviticus. The specimens there given of types applied furnish a model for our guidance in other cases."¹ The other writers of the New Testament, as well, furnished him with his method of interpretation:

The one great principle of interpretation which we keep before us is apostolic method and practice. . . . We find the sacred writers adduce the likeness that exists between the thing that was typified and the type itself, and there they rest satisfied. So we lay down this as our great rule, - there must be obvious resemblance. And next, we search into these types, in the belief that Christ is the centre-truth of Revelation.²

While he regarded the book of Leviticus as a unity, Bonar treated each of its twenty-seven chapters separately. For example, he discusses chapter three under the title: "The Peace Offerings." At the beginning of the chapter, he quotes a New Testament verse which he believes sums up its teaching: "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."³ He then proceeds to quote the first verse of the chapter, and offers his comments upon it. He continues in a like manner with each verse, or group of verses, till he has finished the chapter. Whenever possible, reference is made to New Testament passages, and underlying all that he writes is his strongly Christocentric theology. His method of presentation is "Expository and Practical": after making an exegesis of the text, he points out its meaning, and then

1. Ibid., p. 4.
2. Ibid., p. 8.
applies its truth to men's needs.

Bonar says of Leviticus:

The rites here detailed were typical; and every type was designed and intended by God to bear resemblance to some spiritual truth. The likeness between type and antitype is never accidental. The very excellency of these rites consists in their being chosen by God for the end of shadowing forth 'good things to come.'

As an illustration of his exposition, resulting from this view of Leviticus, let us briefly consider his characteristic comments upon verses two and five, of the first chapter. He regarded these verses as typifying the sufferings of Christ, and, as all roads lead to Rome, so every verse leads to Christ.

Verse 2. "Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them. If any man of you bring an offering unto the Lord, ye shall bring your offerings of the cattle, even of the herd and of the flock." When God said "Speak to the children of Israel," instead of addressing them Himself, He was teaching "the people their need of a Mediator." God specified animals "of the herd and of the flock" because such were easily obtained by the Israelites. "He did not wish to make them go in pursuit of beasts for offering, for salvation is brought to our hand by God." Also, such animals were known to feed along rivers and streams, and thus were typical of "the Redeemer leaving the joy and blessedness of His Father's presence, where He had been ever

2. Ibid., pp. 11ff.
'by the streams that make glad the city of God.'"

Verse 5. "And he shall kill the bullock before the Lord; and the priests, Aaron's sons, shall bring the blood, and sprinkle the blood round about upon the altar that is by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation." Anyone might kill the animal, just as there may be "many executioners of God's wrath: earth and hell were used in executing the Father's purpose toward the Prince of Life." Yet, only the priests may engage in the act that signified pardon, for there is "only one appointed way for dispensing mercy," and that is Jesus Christ. As the blood, representing life, was brought forward, so Christ appeared before God in behalf of mankind. As the blood was sprinkled "upon the altar," so Christ "poured out His soul unto death" for us. As the blood was also sprinkled "round about" the altar, in order that it might be visible from all sides, so Christ died for the whole world, and now says: "Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth."

At times, Bonar betrays the fact that he is a preacher, and the commentary takes on a homiletical character. Thus, in his exposition of Leviticus 24:1-4, which describes the functions of the priests in regard to the tending of the burning lamps in the tabernacle, he compares the priests, whose function it is to keep the lamps properly burning, to Christ, who enables His followers to receive and to give forth light. Bonar then points out the parallels existing

1. Ibid., pp. 426ff.
between burning candles and witnessing Christians, and shows how Christians should shine: (1) "Not by natural gifts, but by grace;" (2) Clearly; (3) Constantly; (4) Calmly; (5) "In the face of the world;" (6) "So as to shew the golden table and the golden altar," or the death and resurrection of Christ; (7) "As if you alone were responsible for the enlightening of the dark world."

The question might be raised: "Why was Bonar so interested in discovering these possible hidden meanings in Leviticus?" The answer lies partly in the fact that he regarded all parts of Scripture as equally inspired, and thus Leviticus, as well as any other book in the Bible, contained Divine Truth. Also, Leviticus graphically presents the fundamental conditions of true religion. Though the Levitical code is no longer in force, the spiritual truth represented there still abides. Further, and most important, Leviticus is a revelation of Christ. The law typified what Christ was to accomplish. The book is like a treasury of divinely-chosen illustrations as to the way of a sinner's salvation through the priestly work of the Son of God. Finally, Leviticus embodies, in type and figure, prophecies of things yet to come, pertaining to the Messiah's Kingdom. Though this type of exposition may seem strange to modern readers, it was regarded in Bonar's day as a legitimate and acceptable method.¹ His commentary on

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¹ In a conversation with the present writer, in Edinburgh, October 14, 1954, Professor William Manson of New College, stated that though Bonar was guilty of exaggeration, his basic principle of interpreting Leviticus in the light of Hebrews was correct.
Leviticus was referred to as "an instance of the higher style of exposition in which not merely the bare meaning of the letter, but the spirit of the truth conveyed in it, is given in language of glowing unction." 1

Bonar's second commentary was Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms, published in 1859. The substance of this 457 page volume originally appeared as a series of articles entitled "Readings in Psalms" in the Quarterly Journal of Prophecy between 1849 and 1855. Much that was true of his Commentary on the Book of Leviticus is also true of this work: he diligently seeks to point out the figurative meaning of every passage; he quotes from many sources, though he draws his own conclusions; his approach is scholarly, though pre-critical.

His reverence for the book of Psalms, and his acceptance of the traditional views regarding it, is evidenced throughout the volume. An example of this is his opinion of the titles which have been prefixed to most of the Psalms as they appear in their present form. Most modern scholars 2 regard these titles as probably the work of later editors, while admitting that such titles often can give some information as to the source from which the Psalms were derived. However, Bonar regards these titles, though perhaps not as divinely inspired as the Psalms, nevertheless,

as dating back to the period when the Psalms were written. Thus, if a title attributes the authorship of a Psalm to David, Bonar accepts the Davidic authorship without question. If certain parts of a Psalm appear to be inconsistent with the title, or if the connection between a Psalm and its title is obscure, this does not alter Bonar's view.¹

In commenting upon a Psalm, Bonar first quotes it in its entirety. He places in footnotes most of his critical remarks and the various opinions of other commentators. After offering his own comments on a Psalm, he always summarizes in a phrase or a sentence its main theme. Although his treatment of the different Psalms varies in certain respects, his exposition of the Thirteenth Psalm may be referred to as being typical of his method.²

First, Bonar comments upon the tone of the Psalm: "the Righteous One's pathetic remonstrance," and he quotes a poem to illustrate this mood. Then, he discusses the historical background of the Psalm. He conjectures that the words were first uttered by David as he wandered in Judea, thinking of the long-deferred promise of the Throne of Israel. When he saw no signs of a decline in Saul's power, and little evidence of his own prosperity, he became "the instrument of the Holy Ghost in writing for all aftertimes words which might utter the feelings of melancholy weariness."

¹. Bonar, Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms, p. 115.
². Ibid., pp. 43ff.
Next, Bonar states how well this Psalm portrays the experience of the Son of David, and quotes His words in the Gospels in evidence of this. He refers to the history and poetry of the Passion to emphasize the appropriateness of the Psalm for an understanding of the feelings of Christ. He asks the question: "Could He not most fitly take up ver. 4, as He carried his cross along the 'Via Dolorosa'?"

Finally, Bonar points out the significance of the Psalm for the Christian Church, for "not our Head only, every member of his body also, has found cause oftentimes to utter such complaints and fears." Bonar concludes by pointing out how wonderful it is "for the Church to join with her Head in the prospects of ver. 5," which promises "a day of glory." He summarizes the Psalm, by calling it "The Righteous One's, Lord, how long?"

Bonar often preached on the Psalms. Yet, in comparing his treatment of these Psalms in the commentary with his sermons on the same Psalms, one notices a marked difference in his organization of thought and in his use of language.¹ However, at times the commentary tends to be homiletical; the spirit of the preacher breaks forth, and the comments are arranged as if Bonar were preaching a sermon. The exegetical remarks are included, the

¹ Cf. Bonar's treatment of Psalms forty-six and eighty-eight (in his commentary on the Psalms, pp. 149f., 261ff.), and two sermons of his on the same psalms: "SMS A Very Present Help," and Communion Sermon. Nothing appears in the sermons that also appears in the commentary. The sermons are based on the findings revealed in the commentary, though they are quite different from it in every other respect.
authorities are given, and textual questions are discussed, yet, the outline is reminiscent of a sermon. For example, in commenting upon Psalm 103,¹ the second verse of the Psalm: "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits," serves as the central thought in his exposition, which is arranged under the following heads:

1. The Gifts received (ver. 1-5)
2. The Receivers of the Gifts (ver. 6-7)
3. The Giver (ver. 8-18)
4. The Kingdom of the Giver (ver. 19)
5. The Closing burst of Praise to the Giver (ver. 20-22)

Throughout his life, the Psalms were a ready source of comfort and encouragement to Bonar.² In his Diary, also, he frequently refers to the Psalms. The reader of his comments upon the Psalms sometimes gains the impression that Bonar himself has experienced the feelings of the Psalmist. Thus, in his comments upon such a Psalm as the fifty-first, there are similarities to his own conversion experience, as he speaks of David's "deep groans for pardoning mercy," his "confession of sin" and reliance upon "God alone," his prayer for "thorough and constant holiness," and his "joy of full salvation."³

Before concluding this section, it might be profitable to set forth Bonar's principles of interpretation. Though these are nowhere explicitly formulated, nevertheless, they are implicit throughout his writings, and they

¹ Bonar, Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms, pp. 304ff.
³ Bonar, Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms, pp. 159ff.
determined the character of his comments upon Scripture. The first of these is his linguistic principle. He had a thorough linguistic background, and demonstrated a concern for discovering the exact meaning of words, and a facility for dealing with matters of grammar and syntax.

Bonar's second principle of interpretation is the historical. With singular facility he is often able to realize the circumstances and surroundings of the writers and receivers of the books he expounds. However, at other times, he seems more concerned to discover the meaning of a particular Biblical book for today, rather than to find out what the writer meant to say in his own day. He thought that though the Biblical writers were men of their times, they were also men above their times. He believed that God was revealing through them His redemptive purpose and His saving truth.¹

Bonar's third principle is the empirical: he believed the Bible could properly be interpreted only by one who had experienced the salvation of God, and who was endeavoring to live a life in harmony with His will. Perhaps the chief virtue of Bonar's commentaries is that they manifest his strong Christian spirit: they are suffused with his joy of salvation, and with the native and profound piety of his own soul. There is nothing of the academic

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¹ Andrew Bonar once said: "God's narratives, like Christ's miracles, all contain a kernel as well as a shell - spiritual truth beneath the literal truths." "The Egyptian at Ziklag," The Christian Treasury (1865), p. 385.
temper or the personal aloofness, which often rob Biblical exposition of any real spiritual helpfulness. He sought to feed men with the same nourishment as he himself had received from his Lord. What the Bible was for him, he succeeded in making it for others: a light for the daily path, a shelter from the storm, and an unfailing source of comfort and assurance. However, it ought to be pointed out that this principle has its limitations, for though the insight of a saint may often be of more value in Biblical study than the skill of a grammarian, yet, aside from the power to comprehend certain basic spiritual truths, it ought not to be assumed that piety can claim any infallible authority for the interpretation of the Bible.

The fourth principle underlying Bonar's exposition is the theological one. His theological ideas dominated his exegetical findings. For example, his conception of the inspiration of the Bible was identified with verbal inspiration. The result was a Biblical supernaturalism, accompanied by too literal an interpretation of Scripture. Also, he believed that Christ was everywhere the centre of the Biblical message. However, while homiletically we may with Augustine tolerate any comment modo pia sit, it is exegetically unsound to read developed Christian dogmas between the lines of Jewish narratives, laws, and poetry. For Bonar to read a highly developed doctrine of Christology into passages written a millennium before Christ's birth, is to adopt a questionable method which had been rejected earlier by the insight and wisdom of the School of Antioch. Because
of Bonar's obsession by a few great ideas and doctrines, he often expounds the Bible in a way that may almost be foreseen and predicted. To work through his commentaries is to be conscious of intermittent weariness, a feeling of satiety from too much of the same thing, and an impatience that comes of hearing the same ideas often repeated.

Finally, a practical principle lay behind all of Bonar's expository writings. His attempt is not to present a scholarly treatise, but to convey a truth. This is his aim, and, in a large degree, his achievement. His aspiration after lucidity moved him to abjure philosophical discussion; nor did he have a mind for it. He avoids discussions which would only puzzle the average readers. He declines to embark upon purely speculative ventures which might divert one's thoughts from the true spiritual intention of a passage, or lead the mind away from profitable meditation and personal application. He never allows the scholar in him to oust the preacher entrusted with the cure of souls, and one occasionally notices some traces of the pulpit on his pages. When he discussed a verse or a passage which had been the text of a sermon, it was apparently difficult for him to resist the temptation to fall into the rhythm of popular discourse, or to reproduce the illustrations which were better fitted for spoken utterance than for scientific commentary.

Bonar's expository writings, most of which are concerned with Old Testament passages, though neglected today, received a wide circulation in his generation.
They were read by members of other churches as well as his own. D.T. Young, the distinguished Methodist preacher, said of Bonar's commentaries, they "have helped me with unfailing helpfulness."¹ C.H. Spurgeon, the great Baptist preacher, writes to Bonar: "I often consult your 'Leviticus,' and never in vain"; and of his other book, on the Psalms, Spurgeon says: "Your valuable volume on the Psalms has long been in my library, and had a high place in my esteem."² A writer in America said of Bonar's expositions: "His commentaries on the Psalms and Leviticus are typical examples of Scottish exposition at its best, full of unction, insight, and pithy conciseness of statement."³ Though this estimate may be exaggerated, it must be said that his commentaries are good, typical examples of the expository writings of Scottish evangelicalism in the earlier part of the nineteenth century.

1. Young, op. cit., p. 185.
E. Devotional Writings

Adam Philip speaks of the "Devotional Literature of Scotland" as that literature "which was intended either to awaken or to express, or to sustain the devotional life; which, in other words, was the fruit of that life, or its expression, or its food." Andrew Bonar, like many other Scots folk since the Reformation, regarded the Bible as the supreme Book of Devotion, and he thus tended to neglect certain human aids to devotion. On the other hand, many of his own writings may be classed as "devotional," for they were certainly intended to "sustain the devotional life."

In this section, however, reference will be made only to those writings which are of a specific devotional character.

Although Bonar's minor writings of a devotional nature need not be mentioned here, reference should be made to his editions of Samuel Rutherford's works. If Bonar's religious life was modelled on that of another, it was on the life of such a person as Rutherford. During the time of the Disruption Controversy in 1843, he spoke of himself as "a nineteenth century Rutherford." Throughout his writings, he refers more often to Rutherford than to any other Scottish author. It is not surprising, then, that in 1848 he should prepare an edition of Rutherford's

2. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to Horatius Bonar" (from Collace: June 6, 1843).
Letters. Prefixed to the letters is a thirty-page biography of the seventeenth century saint. There follow 365 of Rutherford's letters, some never before published, chronologically arranged, with interesting biographical notices of his correspondents. At the end of the volume there appear two useful indices of persons, places, and subjects, a glossary, and four appendices relating to a study of Rutherford.

In 1876 Bonar published *Fourteen Communion Sermons of Samuel Rutherford*. He has rejected as spurious two of the sermons which appeared in the original edition of this volume, and has added two others instead. This edition also contains a preface, and notes on the sermons. In 1885, he published *Quaint Sermons of Samuel Rutherford Hitherto Unpublished*. He has transcribed these from a manuscript volume of sermon notes taken by an anonymous hearer of Rutherford. This book, like the preceding one, contains a preface, and notes on the twelve miscellaneous sermons.

The other devotional writings of Andrew Bonar are posthumous publications, edited by his daughter, Marjory Bonar. In 1895 she edited a collection of his sermons, addresses, letters, literary fragments, and a number of stories relating to his life, entitled *Reminiscences of Andrew A. Bonar, D.D.*. The success of this book led her to edit two more volumes of her father's writings. In 1907, *Heavenly Springs*, "Portions for the Sabbaths of a Year," was published. Its 211 pages contain extracts from Bonar's *Diary*, letters, and sermons, arranged without comment
in fifty-three devotional readings, one for each Sunday of the year. In 1900 a similar collection of extracts was published under the title, *Wayside Wells*.

However, the most significant of Bonar's devotional writings was his *Diary*, edited by his daughter and published in 1893. He kept a Diary faithfully from 1828 till his death in 1892. During these sixty-four years there is a continuous unbroken record of his thoughts and activities.¹ In its published form, a nine page introduction is prefixed to the 400 page *Diary*, and many of his letters are interspersed throughout.² The editor is reluctant to add anything to what her father has written, or even to correct any inconsistencies or discrepancies that appear.³ Only occasionally does she insert an explanatory note of any kind.

The original manuscript Diary is in the form of

1. The only interruption in the *Diary* is from April till October, 1839, when Bonar was on the Mission of Inquiry to the Jews. However, his activities during this period are recorded in the *Narrative* of that mission.

2. Cf. the two *BMS* letters of Marjory Bonar to James Bonar from Glasgow on October 5 and 7, 1893. The publishers, Hodder & Stoughton, wanted Marjory Bonar to write a biography of her father. She, however, felt unequal to the task, and preferred to edit her father's writings instead.

3. Marjory Bonar, "*BMS Letter, to James Bonar*" (from Glasgow: September 29, 1893). In this letter, Marjory Bonar states that she does not wish to alter anything that her father has written. In her transcription of his Diary, she evidences a great faithfulness in recording his words. Though she sometimes adds a word, or a phrase, for the purpose of clarification, very seldom does she correct what has been written. Cf. "*SMS Diary,*" entries for May 14, 1836; January 4, 1837; April 23, 1840; September 14, 1848; August 6, 1856; May 29, 1869; January 6, 1883.
two relatively small volumes. These were written in Byrom's Shorthand, a method which was used by Bonar's father and eldest brother, and which he always used himself and taught to his children. This method, though nowhere practiced today, was the basis for more modern methods which have greater facility of execution.¹ Though there is no one today who possesses a reading knowledge of Byrom's Shorthand,² through the use of various handbooks of that system,³ and a comparison of it with other forms of shorthand, the present author has been able to place the manuscript volume side by side with the published Diary, and discover wherein they differ. On the whole, it appears that Bonar's daughter has prepared an accurate and an authoritative edition of her father's Diary.

Perhaps the most obvious difference between the manuscript and the published volumes is that approximately one-fifth of the entries have been deleted from the latter. This omission is due to two factors. For one thing, the

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¹ Much of John Wesley's work was written in the same characters. Part of Wesley's Journal, Volume III of the Georgian Diary, and all the later diaries were written according to this form of shorthand.

² In spite of extensive inquiries at several libraries and business colleges, and various conversations with shorthand experts, it has been impossible to locate anyone possessing a reading knowledge of Byrom's Shorthand.

³ Cf. John Byrom, The Universal English Short-hand; or, the Way of Writing English in the most easy, concise, regular, and beautiful manner, applicable to any other language, but particularly adjusted to our own (Manchester: Joseph Harrop, 1767); William Gawtress, A Practical Introduction to the Science of Short Hand, upon the general principles of the late ingenious Dr. Byrom (Leeds: T. Inchbold, 1819); T. Molineux, An Introduction to Mr. Byrom's Universal English Shorthand (London: Sael & Co., 1802).
publishers wanted an abbreviation of the Diary so that more of Bonar's letters could be included. Also, the editor felt that certain entries in the Diary were unsuitable for publication. While her principle of selection appears rather arbitrary at times, Marjory Bonar tries to omit that which she believes to lack general interest. Thus, she deletes many references to the members of Bonar's family, and to his various parishioners. She often deletes her father's references to his participation in the Mildmay and Perth Conferences, his frequent visits to other churches, and his summer vacations at home and abroad. Though she occasionally deletes an entry, or part of an entry, in an attempt to be discreet, she is usually very scrupulous to present exactly what is

1. Marjory Bonar, "BMS Letter, to James Bonar" (from Glasgow: April 18, 1893).
2. I.e., references to such things as the children's education, minor illnesses, and many other domestic affairs.
3. I.e. Bonar often recorded his efforts to help parishioners with their problems. These are omitted in the published Diary. Occasionally, however, Marjory Bonar refers to such parishioners, though omitting their names. Cf. "S&G Diary," entries for February 27, 1857; September 20, 1861.
4. Throughout his Glasgow ministry, Bonar often refers in his Diary to his participation in such gatherings. Marjory Bonar only occasionally includes these references. The Bibliography lists several of the addresses delivered by Bonar at these conferences.
5. Throughout Bonar's career there are a great many references to his visits to preach at other churches. Most of these references, however, contain little more than his impression of the sermon's effectiveness.
6. Marjory Bonar omits her father's references to his trip to the Continent in 1873, the details of his visit to America in 1881, and his annual visits to Mull in later years.
7. Thus, she omits the names of John Rogers and John Wilson ("Christopher North"), when Andrew Bonar refers to them in an uncomplimentary way.
recorded in the Diary, even when this might portray her father disadvantageously.¹

Bonar never intended that his Diary should be published. Because of this, it is self-revealing in an unusual degree. This is not to say that everything in the Diary is necessarily true, for it is influenced by his prejudices and his preferences. Yet, as one reads the Diary, one soon learns to make allowances for his likes and dislikes, and to check what he says by comparison with other sources.

On the flyleaf of his Diary, Bonar wrote: "It keeps the threads of the past disentangled & been [sic] useful to me on some memorable occasions, when I was called on to speak about times past & brethren gone." Throughout its pages he records, day by day, the events of his life. The national affairs of religion, as well as the activities of his own parish, occupy his attention. He notes such events as the Apocrypha Controversy, the Row Heresy, the Reform Bill of 1832, the accession of Queen Victoria, the American Civil War, the declaration of Papal Infallibility, and the Franco-Prussian War. Yet, though these were of world-wide significance, they receive no more than a brief reference from him. Only too often, he is reticent when we wish that he had been garrulous.

Although the Diary was originally meant to mark the memorabilia of Bonar's life, it became, almost exclusively,

¹. Cf. the entries for August 19, 1835; April 6, 1865; and September 11, 1890.
an instrument for meticulously recording and testing his prayers, and for noting the progress or decline of his spiritual understanding and experience. Since he took a deep interest in religious experiences, his own, and those of others, it is not surprising that he should keep a Diary in which he tried to set forth his spiritual reflections on life. Such a Diary, indeed, was regarded almost as part of his spiritual discipline.

To most modern readers, Bonar's Diary makes rather melancholy reading. His efforts to unravel "the subtle filaments" of which motives are woven, his anxious inquiries, his over-scrupulous self-questioning, and his lament over petty faults, seem strange today. His self-analysis tends to have too many refinements, subtleties, and an excess of self-consciousness. He seems to have taken a great delight in probing into his inner life. His self-examination and introspection sometimes appear as an end in themselves, rather than as a means to an end, and his self-scrutiny might seem morbid and depressing to some. It is difficult to assess the effect which the keeping of such a Diary had on him. Though it may have encouraged introspection, he must not be judged by this evidence alone. For, though the Diary suggests that his entire outlook was clouded by melancholy reflections, according to the testimony of contemporaries¹ he himself was of a most cheerful

¹. Philip, *The Devotional Literature of Scotland*, p. 60. This was also related in a conversation with J.M. M'Lachlan, Glasgow, July 2, 1954.
disposition.

It should also be pointed out that the Diary displays a profound simplicity, and a sensitive humility. It very clearly manifests Bonar's deep, pervading love for, and preoccupation with, the person of Jesus Christ. There is much that is searching and arresting, and a great deal that is tender and human. In his solitary self-communings he has placed on record - unconsciously for the most part - the history of his struggles to find favor with God.

Bonar's Diary was widely acclaimed in its day. W. Robertson Nicoll said that it was perhaps the most impressive writing of its kind to appear in Scotland for fifty years.¹ A.W. Fergusson called it "a classic of the spiritual life,"² and D.T. Young said of it: "One of my most prized experimental helps. I have read and re-read it I know not how often. It is one of the books I annually read through, and in addition frequently consult."³ Its popularity was due partly to the temper of the times, partly to Bonar's reputation as a saint, and partly to the Scottish love of metaphysic and analysis. Yet, it seems that, most of all, its popularity was due to the fact that it so adequately portrays the history of a man's yearnings for his Lord. When Cardinal Bellarmine was asked to allow an artist to paint his likeness, he said: "Whom do you wish to paint? The old man is not worth depicting, and the new man is not finished yet." Bonar's Diary affords us a picture of the new man in the making, of the power of God in a human life, and for this reason it deserves attention today.

2. A.W. Fergusson, op. cit., p. 46.
3. Young, op. cit., p. 185.
F. Practical Writings

In a sense, all of Bonar's writings were practical. Uppermost in his mind was the desire that they should prove helpful to people. Yet, certain of these are more specifically written for some practical purpose than others: to uplift, comfort, encourage, and strengthen. Though several of these might be mentioned here,¹ in this section our attention will be directed to two of Bonar's practical works: The Visitor's Book of Texts, and The Brook Besor.

The Visitor's Book of Texts; or the Word brought nigh to the sick and sorrowful was first published in 1856. Several other editions, and a translation into Samoan by a missionary friend, appeared during succeeding years. In this 211 page volume, Bonar attempts to provide a selection of Biblical passages, with brief comments upon them, and occasional quotations from other sources,² as a guide for those who visit the "sick and sorrowful." He hoped that the book would "furnish ready materials to some," and would "lead on others to passages of a like kind which are not given."³

After a brief introduction, the book is divided into

2. Among the most frequently quoted works are: Rutherford, Letters; Adams, Private Thoughts; Baxter, Christian Economics; Boston, Crook in the Lot; Clark, Promises; Pitcairn, Perfect Peace; Sibbes, Bruised Reed; Zachary Boyd, Last Battle of the Soul.
three parts. Part I, "The Word Brought Nigh to the Sick," is meant to be used as a guide in visiting Christians who are ill, troubled, tempted, in pain, or at the point of death. It also contains suggestions for dealing with sick persons whose spiritual state is unknown, or who are ignorant, self-righteous, anxious, backslidden, hardened, or indifferent.

Part II, "The Word Brought Nigh to Seven Classes Who May Be Found in the Sick Chamber," is meant to be used as a guide in visiting Christians and non-Christians who may be recovering from sickness, the aged who are sick, young men and women who are sick, children who are sick, those who are caring for the sick, and the friends of the sick. Though some of the passages quoted under each of the foregoing categories seem irrelevant, many of them are very well chosen, and indicate Bonar's intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures.

Part III, "The Word Brought Nigh to the Sorrowful," is meant to be used as a guide in helping those who are mourning their loss of friends, or who are worried about the state of those who have died. He has a special chapter for use in dealing with widows and orphans, and another for use in dealing with those who seem unable to accept the consolation of Christ. Other chapters are designed to help those who are sorrowful because of anxieties, cares, worldly circumstances, or because of persecution and want of sympathy.

Each of the three parts is divided into several chapters. At the beginning of each chapter is an intro-
duction, in which Bonar gives general advice related to the use of the chapter in dealing with people. Thus, in his introduction to the chapter designed for use with aged sick persons, he suggests that the aged should be reminded of God's forgiveness and gracious dealings with them. When an aged person is known to be a Christian, he should be encouraged to use the Bible, and to praise and serve God in whatever way he can. Finally, he should be reminded that he is soon to meet God, and should be encouraged to hold fast his confidence to the end.¹

In each chapter, Bonar lists several passages of Scripture that might be used appropriately in dealing with a particular kind of person. After each passage, he offers suggestions as to how it might be applied to help someone in need. For example, the following is meant to be used with "young men . . . who are sick":

Titus ii 6. 'Young men likewise exhort to be sober-minded.'

1. A sick-bed is fitted to sober the soul in one way. But, 2. It is the Spirit, making use of your sickness, who must do this effectually. 3. Sober-minded views of yourself and the world differ greatly from your imagination. You are a sinner. The world passeth away, and is a vain show. 4. Sober-minded views of God and the life to come are such as will make you reckon all things but loss and dung in comparison with your having eternal fellowship with the Lord, and an everlasting inheritance.²

Throughout the volume, Bonar evidences his firm conviction that the Bible contains the answer to all of man's

1. Ibid., pp. 106f.
2. Ibid., pp. 119f.
needs. He also places a strong emphasis upon the power of prayer. Though certain defects in this work might be pointed out - his overemphasis upon the severity and the judgment of God, his naive discussion of certain evils, and his summary treatment of them - nevertheless, the book bears witness to his sympathetic understanding of the problems of people, and to his passionate concern for the conversion of souls. The volume is not without value, even for our day, and it might very well serve as a guide for those who desire to relate the eternal Truth of God's Word to the contemporary problems of men.

In 1879, Bonar published *The Brook Besor: words for those who must tarry at home*. It is a book of practical encouragement and comfort, intended for the ill and the aged, and for "all who must tarry at home." The volume is based upon I Samuel 30, which tells the story of one of David's battles, and of the treatment he gave to those of his soldiers who were unable to fight, and who were forced to remain behind at the Brook Besor.

Chapter I, "David's Six Hundred Men,"¹ sets the stage for the story, and recounts how the six hundred men, in response to his call, had gathered around David for security and guidance. By means of references to other parts of Scripture, particularly in the New Testament, and through the use of various illustrations from other sources, Bonar

draws an analogy between David and his men, and Christ and His Church.

Chapter II, "The Two Hundred Who Tarried by the Stuff," relates how two hundred of David's men, "which were so faint that they could not go over the Brook Besor," tarried behind during the fighting, and watched over the army's provisions. These men were better qualified for watching than for fighting. They were as devoted to David as the men who accompanied him to the battle, yet, they were forced to remain behind at the Brook Besor. So it is today, God has chosen that some should "tarry behind," while others are permitted to serve Him actively.

Chapter III, "The Service of the Two Hundred, and its Experience," offers several comforting thoughts for those who are forced to remain inactive. For example: "Calm submission and contented obedience" can be of "real service" to God, for, says Bonar, at such times "He wishes you to lie still and let Him care for you." Also, even though one is inactive, one can still render service to God by reading His Word, and by praying.

Chapter IV, "The Rewards," recounts the episode of the return home from battle of David and his four hundred warriors, laden with the spoils of victory. Though the two hundred who had lingered at the Brook Besor did not participate in the actual battle, nevertheless, they shared equally in its rewards. So also will Christ reward those who, in this life, were forced to "tarry at home." They will be rewarded according to their love for Christ, even
though they have been detained from active service in His cause.

Chapter V, "The Praises of the Lord," departs from the Biblical narrative. Here, Bonar reminds his readers of their privilege and their responsibility to praise God, not only because He is pleased by it, but also because praise tends "to build up the soul in sanctification." In Chapter VI, "The Lord's Message, 'Fear Not,'" Bonar cites sixty quotations from the Old and the New Testaments, which carry God's word to His people: "Fear not!"

Throughout the entire book, Bonar adopts an intimate conversational style. He uses the direct form of address—questioning and commanding his readers. He makes many references to various parts of Scripture, and often uses illustrative anecdotes from other sources. Yet, there is a certain sameness about all that he says, and one gains the impression that the book might well be abbreviated without impairing its message.

Perhaps the greatest tribute that can be paid to these practical works is that they met a great need and found a place in many people's lives. They strengthened the weak and encouraged the strong. They brought hope to the disconsolate and courage to the fearful. They afforded peace to the dying and inspiration to the living.

It is not given to every minister to be enabled to extend the effectiveness of his message through the medium of the printed word. Others, who possess the necessary abilities, are reluctant to give expression to them. In
Andrew Bonar we have a man who was able to express his feelings and to state his convictions in his writings. None of his works was written in an attempt at literary excellence. No thought of literary fame ever beguiled him from the straight and narrow path which he followed. He was not a member of that company of: tiptoe mortals triumphing to write Upon a perishable page.

Yet, Bonar's writings do manifest, in varying degrees, his scholarly abilities. Though he never enjoyed an extended period in which he could devote his time to literary endeavors, his works, as a rule, do not bear the marks of hurried preparation.¹ His style was clear and simple, well-calculated to be readily understood by all classes of his contemporaries. Even today, his writings may be read with profit, though much of the language used is now obsolete, and many of his ideas would now be differently expressed.

If poets are to be judged by their writings alone - an idea which Tennyson held so firmly that he said if he had the sole copy of an autobiography of Horace he would burn it - this is not the case with Bonar, whose writings are valued primarily not as literature, but as "documents" which reveal the thoughts and the ideals which inspired him. Each of his writings is, in one way or another, related to his deepest religious convictions.

¹ Cf. Andrew Bonar's copy of Palestine for the Young, and especially his manuscript of the Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews, which is so covered with corrections that in places it is almost illegible.
Because Bonar's writings were an integral part of his life, they evidence his profound and abiding faith in his Lord, his Christocentric theology, and his concern for the redemption of men's souls. His writings possess a devotional tone and an evangelistic emphasis which may appear to give them all a certain sameness. Yet, in spite of this defect, his writings evidence his desire to devote all his talents, literary or otherwise, to the glory of God and the abiding welfare of his fellow men. He regarded all else as subservient to the purpose of making known the truth of God in Christ as he conceived it, and of helping others to follow this truth in their lives as he tried, by God's help, to follow it in his own.
Chapter VII.
THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT
CHAPTER VII

THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT

All the doctrines of grace are beams from the glorious person of Christ. There we may see them in their centre.

- Andrew Bonar, Nettleton and His Labours, p. xiii.

A. Background

In order to appreciate Andrew Bonar's doctrinal position, it is necessary, first, to survey briefly the theological climate in which he lived, and some of the movements of thought which influenced his theology.

During the eighteenth century, there appeared most of the philosophical ideas which were to shape the comprehensive theological reconstruction of the nineteenth. In eighteenth century Britain, as elsewhere, the spirit of rationalism was prevalent. It was thought that speculative reason could obtain ultimate truth.¹

In spite of opposition from various thinkers, rationalism had a great influence upon theological thought throughout the eighteenth century, issuing mainly in what may be described as a positive and as a reactionary strain.

Under the positive strain, theologians were affected by the principles and the spirit of rationalism to such an extent

that theology became static. Otto Pfleiderer describes this as "rational supernaturalism." The God of revelation was described in Deistical terms, and all vivid religious feeling was repudiated as mystical "enthusiasm."¹

One result of this rationalistic influence upon theological thought was the development of Christian Apologetics. Apologetical writings appeared in connection with the theological disputes of the century, the most important of which was the Deistic controversy.² Following this controversy, speculation was gradually abandoned in favor of a more historical attitude.³ It was becoming evident that new principles and methods were needed for the advance of theological thought, though as yet they were developing only under the surface, and theology was little influenced by them.

The influence of rationalism upon theological thought appeared also in a reactionary strain - taking the form of a revolt against the rule of reason.⁴ Certain religious leaders rejected the specious support which rationalism had seemed to offer to theology, and they turned instead to the

foundation of faith. In Germany, the recoil of a vital faith from rigid orthodoxy had been stimulated by the Pietistic Movement, which grew up not so much against the Deists and their successors, as against the orthodox rationalism of Lutheran scholasticism. In Britain, this appeal to inner experience and faith was emphasized by John Wesley, for whom Bonar had a great admiration. Opposing Deism, skepticism, and religious indifference, Wesley asserted that Christian faith must be founded primarily, not upon an appeal to the mind, but upon an appeal to the heart and the will. He succeeded in stimulating the cause of Evangelical Christianity, and the revival begun under him helped to restore the emotions to their place in religion.

This spirit of Evangelicalism in religion, while it had relatively little direct influence upon the theology of the eighteenth century, yet did have a considerable indirect influence upon the theological thought of the succeeding century. The strength of this influence was increased by a kindred mode of thought: Romanticism. Romanticism, said H.R. Mackintosh, was "an impassioned return to natural

2. Andrew Bonar, Last Years of John Wesley (Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, March, 1881), pp. 1ff. This pamphlet is anonymous, as are all the pamphlets published by the Monthly Visitor Tract Society. However, in investigating the financial records of that society, it was discovered by the present author that sums of money were given to Andrew Bonar in payment for certain pamphlets which he had written. From these records, the authorship of the various pamphlets can be determined.
instincts, to life, to freedom, to individual predilection, to the spontaneity of the creative fancy." In Germany there appeared the works of Herder and Goethe, in England the poetry of Wordsworth, and in Scotland the writings of Scott. Romanticism was represented in the theology of Schleiermacher, and in Rousseau's plea for a "return to nature." It appeared also in the mediaevalism of Newman, the Oxford Movement, and in the awakened interest in bygone literature and history.

Although Wesleyan influence upon Scotland was of relatively minor significance, nevertheless, Evangelicalism in Scotland was increasing towards the end of the eighteenth century. The evangelical spirit had been manifest in earlier days, in such men as Samuel Rutherford, William Guthrie, Thomas Boston, and many others. However, from the beginning of the eighteenth century in Scotland there had been a decline in this spirit. For the greater part of the century the prevailing thought and the dominant influence within the Church of Scotland had been that of the Moderate party, led by such men as Hugh Blair, Alexander Carlyle, and William Robertson. Members of this party regarded the zeal of their fathers, and of some of their contemporaries of the Evangelical party, as inconsistent with the standards of an enlightened age.

Though opinions varied within the two parties, it might be said that generally the Moderates placed a greater emphasis upon culture and order, while the Evangelicals tended to be more individualistic and emotional in their religion.¹

Towards the end of the eighteenth, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there occurred an Evangelical revival in Scotland. This was evidenced not only in the influence of the Evangelicals in the church courts, but in the parishes throughout the land as well. Under the leadership of such men as Andrew Thomson and, later, Thomas Chalmers, the cause of Evangelicalism in Scotland prospered.²

As the nineteenth century progressed, forces were accumulating which were to revolutionize British theology. Though there was a certain isolation of British thought from Continental influence during the first part of the century, there was, nevertheless, a great amount of theological activity. During the decade following 1820, which gave to England the religious philosophy of Coleridge and the early Oriel School, there appeared in Scottish religious thought the ideas of such figures as Thomas Carlyle. Further, Thomas Erskine, John McLeod Campbell, and Edward Irving were believed to be assailing the old theology of the land.³ Theological advance in Scotland, however, was

¹ Henderson, Heritage, pp. 37ff.
² Cunningham, op. cit., II, 429ff.
³ John Tulloch, Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1885), pp. 126ff.
arrested during the period of politico-ecclesiastical agitation both before and after the Disruption of 1843, by the emergence of vital issues in Church and State.

As the century progressed, particularly after 1860, there were many developments which greatly influenced the traditional theology. The influence of German thought and idealist philosophy was extending to British thinking. The growth of historical and comparative methods made possible the steady advance of Biblical criticism. The achievements of science, particularly the conception of evolution, were altering man's view of himself and of the world. By the end of the century there had taken place in Scotland, as elsewhere, a thorough reconstruction of theological thought.

Andrew Bonar was little influenced in any direct manner by the developments which occurred in the thought of his day. For the most part, he held to the traditional views. There was but little change in his theological thought from the time he was a young minister till the end of his career, many years later. He belongs to that succession of Evangelical Christians who, throughout Scottish History, have proclaimed the religion of the heart and will, and have taught the necessity of a life dedicated to God.

Bonar's theology was, basically, Calvinistic. He was reared and educated in the teachings of Calvinism,

1. Bonar, Nettleton and His Labours, p. ix. Here, though Bonar affirms his Calvinism, he warns against those who have dogmatized "the Calvinistic doctrine," and "have so preached and prelected on them, so argued and defended them, that, in their hands, these truths have become little better than theses."
particularly as they are set forth in the Westminster Standards. When he became an ordained minister, evangelical Calvinism was generally the religion of the land. He endeavored to hold to this system throughout his life, and towards the end of his ministry he declared: "I believe the whole of the Confession of Faith."¹ It was said of him: "Calvinism and the evangelical creed were never so fairly ... recommended as by this man who stood by every doctrine."²

He endeavored to base his beliefs upon the Bible, which he believed to contain all the truths that form the contents of theology. He regarded the Bible as bringing to man the revelation of God. In practice, this meant that he identified the Bible with Revelation and the Word of God. Doctrine, therefore, was drawn deductively from statements in the Bible, and often he would employ separate utterances of Scripture as proof-texts for his theology. He declared:

We must attach importance to every doctrine and fact that is found in the Word of God. All has been selected for us by our Prophet, the Eternal Word, who utters the mind of the Godhead.³

It ought to be mentioned, also, that Bonar's own experience, particularly his conversion, and his devotion to the person of Christ, contributed much towards his theological thought. This experience was conjoined with

¹. Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 32.
³. Bonar, Nettleton and His Labours, p. v.
his adherence to the Westminster Standards, and his
acceptance of the Bible as the Word of God. He proclaimed
what he himself had received and now believed. His
experience provided the atmosphere in which his religious
thought was formulated and in which it developed. The
realization of this fact is necessary for an understanding
of the particular emphases in his theology, and for an
appreciation of its practical nature.

In studying Bonar's theological thought, reference
will be made to his various writings and sermons, many of
which have already been mentioned. In addition, use will
be made of three of his books which are of a specifically
theological nature. The first, Redemption Drawing Nigh,
A defense of the premillennial advent, was published in
1847. It is an extended attempt to set forth his
eschatological views regarding the premillennial advent of
Christ. The second, The Gospel Pointing to the Person of
Christ, was first published in 1852. It is an unsystematic
presentation of certain aspects of his Christological
thought. The third, The Old Gospel Way: or, the Marrow of
what old divines have said upon the Gospel, was first
published in 1853. Primarily, "It is made up of extracts
from a variety of old Divines."^1

During the course of this chapter, it will not be
necessary to discuss every aspect of his theology. Such

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1. Andrew Bonar, The Old Gospel Way: or, the Marrow of
what old divines have said upon the Gospel (Edinburgh:
James Taylor, [1859]), p. iii.
an attempt would be of little value, for his theological thought was not greatly different from that of most of the Scottish evangelicals of his day. Yet, there were certain points of his theology which were somewhat distinctive, and it is to these that our attention will be directed. Bonar once said: "I believe the whole of the Confession of Faith . . . but I believe more than is in it, for 'Jordan may overflow his banks.'" In his theology, there were four places where "Jordan overflowed his banks"; that is, there were four points which he especially emphasized: the person of Christ, the work of Christ, the believer's life in Christ, and the Second Coming of Christ. To these doctrines, we will now direct our attention.

1. Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 32.
B. The Person of Christ

Alexander Whyte, in describing his Saturday walks and talks with Marcus Dods, stated: "Whatever we started off with in our conversation, we soon made across country, somehow, to Jesus of Nazareth."¹ Andrew Bonar was also a man who "made across country" to Jesus. For him, Jesus Christ is the centre of everything,² "the lever by which God moves a world of souls."³ This fact is clearly demonstrated by his profoundly Christocentric theology. He spoke of Christ as the One "from whom all doctrine shoots forth as rays from a centre,"⁴ "the centre and core of all doctrines of grace."⁵ In his book, The Gospel Pointing to the Person of Christ, the title of the first chapter is: "The Person of Christ is the Essence of the Good Tidings."⁶ In his book, The Old Gospel Way, the first chapter - "What the Gospel is"⁷ - clearly sets forth his belief that the core of the Gospel is the person of Christ. He once said:

2. Walker, op. cit., p. 44. Walker reminds us, in regard to the Scottish evangelicals who exercised such a great influence upon Bonar, that "Christ is everywhere in these old teachers. The Person of Christ circles like a life-pulse through every doctrine and aspect of doctrine."
5. Bonar, Nettleton and His Labours, p. xiv.
"The heart of religion is to know Christ, to know Him better, and to know Him still better."¹

The fact that the person of Christ should occupy such a central position in his theological thought is not surprising, for Christ was also the centre of his experience. As H.R. Mackintosh has pointed out: "The place a man gives to Christ is naturally determined by the personal ascendancy Christ has gained over him and the obligations under which he feels Christ has laid him as a sinner."² In Bonar's case, Christ is the source of his salvation and the strength of his life. Thus, every doctrine is to be interpreted in the light of his understanding of Christ. He once advised his hearers: "Let us always take Christ's person with us, whatever subject in connection with Him we are about to explore."³

Sidney Cave writes: "In the nineteenth century no problem in theology has been so laboriously explored as that of Christ's person."⁴ The rationalism of the preceding period had attempted to dispense with Christology, since first it had virtually dispensed with faith in Christ as Saviour. It had been content to regard Christ as an example. Any detailed discussion of the person of Christ in relation to the doctrines of the Church met with little

¹ Bonar, Heavenly Springs, p. 62. Though, in this quotation, Bonar capitalizes the pronoun "Him," in other places he sometimes refers to Christ with a small "h."


³ Bonar, Gospel Truths, p. 35.

sympathy. The saving factor was faith in His ideal, and not in Jesus as a person. Thus, the principle of Christianity and the person of Jesus were sharply distinguished.\(^1\) The philosophical movement of Kant, Fichte, and Hegel fostered a certain Christological apathy.

It was in view of this situation that Schleiermacher, placing the figure of Jesus at the centre of His own religion, proclaimed the advent of Christ as a redeeming interposition of the Divine.\(^2\) He declared that Jesus was the Redeemer without Whom there would be no redemption, and he said that Jesus Christ, historic as well as divine, was the centre of Christianity. These conclusions had a revolutionary effect upon Christological thought in the nineteenth century. Throughout that period, several other schools of thought, as well, treated Christology in different ways.\(^3\) However, there is but little evidence of their having any direct influence upon Bonar's Christology. Instead, he looked for guidance to the Ancient Fathers, the Reformers, the Puritans, and, especially, the seventeenth and eighteenth century Scottish divines.\(^4\)

He believed that the person of Christ, and His greatness, cannot adequately be understood apart from the fact of His pre-existence. Further, he reasoned that since

\(^{1}\) Mackintosh, *The Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, pp. 247ff.
\(^{3}\) Mackintosh, *The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*, pp. 250ff.
God the Father is eternal, Christ the Redeemer must also be eternal, for the work of redemption is not less than the work of creation.¹ He did not think of the pre-existence of Christ, as Ritschl did, "only for God, since for us, as pre-existent, Christ is hidden."² Instead, he believed that Christ is the Saviour of the world for today, and for all time as well. Though Christ was not known as the Saviour before the Incarnation, yet, it was His power that made men righteous, even then.³ Bonar said that the idea of a personal Messiah Who was to redeem the people of God not only pervades the Old Testament, but is everywhere in the New Testament declared to be the promise which is fulfilled in the coming of Christ.

In insisting upon the eternal nature of the person of Christ, Bonar has much the same emphasis as Athanasius had in his principle of the "Eternal Sonship." Bonar was concerned to show that, in the person of Christ, God Himself has entered into human history. In his book, The Gospel Pointing to the Person of Christ, he included a chapter entitled, "The Gospel, from the Fall to the Days of the Apostles, was Found in the Person of the Saviour."⁴ He disagreed with the Socinians, who believed that before the

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3. Andrew Bonar, "SMS The Glory of Christ."
time of Christ there was no promise of eternal life, and that the condition of salvation was not simply faith in Christ. He said that "the anxious inquiries of all saints were directed toward this person," and that "in revealing salvation to men, in early ages, the Lord arranged His discoveries in such a way as necessarily led them to give the Person of the Redeemer a prominent place in all their thoughts."

Bonar expressed this truth in terms of Federal theology, saying that God entered into a covenant relationship with mankind - a covenant of grace. He explained that though this covenant assumed different forms at different times, nevertheless, its purpose throughout was to reveal God's saving grace to man. From the Scriptures - from the New Testament, and from the Old Testament as interpreted by the New - we learn that God's plan of salvation has always been the same: the same promise of deliverance is made, the same conditions are required, and, most important, the same Redeemer is offered to all.

In interpreting the meaning of Christ's person, Bonar followed the traditional distinction of the two natures of Christ. His Christology was, basically, Chalcedonian. He insisted upon the eternal parallelism of the two natures

1. Ibid., pp. 14ff.
2. Bonar, "SMS Forty Seven Sermons," pp. 54ff. Bonar says that God's covenant with man took seven different forms: with Adam; with Noah; with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; on Mount Sinai; with David; as referred to in Isaiah (42:6 and 49:8); and Christ's covenant in the Upper Room.
of Christ. These two natures are joined together in Christ's person. God and man are there yoked together. Bonar said that, on the one hand, Christ is truly man, having a complete, human nature. As such, He has a true, material body, and a rational soul, capable of thinking and feeling as other men. On the other hand, Christ's relationship to the Father is unique and inimitable. He is God, possessing the same attributes as the Father. Yet, Christ has not a twofold personality, but is one person.

In that person everything that is wondrous meets. There you have the Creator and the creature in one, the finite and the infinite, the visible and the invisible. There you have humanity married to Divinity. A most wondrous mystery, the person of Christ, God-man!

Although Bonar stated this doctrine, he did not attempt to explain the manner in which Christ combines divinity and humanity in one person. Instead, he spoke of the twofold advantage of this doctrine: by His humanity, Christ removes our fears, for He thus shows His great love for sinners; by His divinity, Christ gives us assurance, for it is God Himself Who speaks and acts for our sakes.

Bonar's treatment of this doctrine is consistent with the main line of his theology: he presents his ideas ethically and experimentally, rather than as an abstract, logical system.

While he spoke of the two natures of Jesus Christ,

2. Bonar, Gospel Truths, p. 35.
he especially emphasized the divine nature. He believed the evaluation of Christ's person to be primarily a religious, rather than a historical problem. He spoke more often of the Ever-present Christ than of the Historic Jesus. His emphasis was thus in the tradition of the school of Alexandria, rather than in that of Antioch.

He often stated his disagreement with Arian and Socinian ideas, and he was careful to point out their errors. An example of this is found in his teaching regarding the two natures of Christ. He declared:

What could Messiah do for sinners if (like the Christ of Socinians) He were only a superior, though extraordinary man - and what could a Messiah do for such sinners as we are if He were (like the Christ of Arians) only at the top of the angelic scale? We needed a Messiah who could 'save to the uttermost,' and none other than the SON OF GOD could stretch the cords of salvation thus far.¹

In his emphasis upon the person of Christ, Bonar did not overlook the whole God Who is revealed in Him. He was not guilty of a kind of "unitarianism of the Son," or as Richard Niebuhr calls it, "Christianity," which tends to forget that at the encounter with Christ men meet the Godhead. Kaftan says that Christology is either the doctrine of Christ's Godhead, or it is nothing at all.² Testifying to the same truth, Bonar writes: "It is in Jesus Christ the Son that we know God the Father."³

¹ Bonar, The Gospel Pointing to the Person of Christ, p. 22.
³ Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to John Milne" (from Collace: January 22, 1852).
Further, Barth says that Christology is "the touchstone of all knowledge of God in the Christian sense";¹ and Brunner reminds us that "The love of God is known only in the Mediator."² Bonar, as well, affirmed that it is only because of the person of Christ that we can really know God at all. He believed that Christ gives to men the perfect revelation of the Father: His words are the voice of God; His acts are the will of God.³ Bonar affirmed: "A God not seen through Christ is no God at all."⁴

Christ, the Alpha and Omega, is God Alpha and Omega. Christ known is God known. Christ is THE WORD; that person of the Trinity who gives expression to the thoughts and feelings of Godhead, and utters them to the creature.⁵

It is unnecessary to describe the views held by Bonar regarding the attributes of God, for in this he differed little from the other evangelicals of his day. He did say, however, that the true knowledge of God was summed up in what Christ revealed to us regarding the fatherly love of God.⁶ It is as a loving Father that He seeks to draw us to Himself.⁷ This is not to say that Bonar refrained from any reference to the righteousness and the judgment of God.⁸

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3. Bonar, The Visitor's Book of Texts, p. 123. Bonar says: "Jesus reveals Him; see God in seeing Jesus; know his thoughts by knowing Jesus."
Yet, as his sermons show, he was more concerned that men should regard God with an attitude of trustful devotion, rather than with an attitude of obedient fearfulness.¹

He sought ever to root faith in the grateful recognition of God's goodness to us in Providence and in grace.

As Bonar believed that the person of Christ shows to us the fatherly nature of God, he said that it is also the person of Christ who reveals the true nature of man. "Right views of the Saviour's person lead to right views of sin." Man is sinful, and suffers from "the enormous depravity of nature."² Anthropology will never reveal this. Only the person of Christ, who is sinless, can create in us an awareness of the guilt which is ours.³

Although Bonar traced the origin of sin to the Genesis account of the Fall, he said it is not until we realize that the very Son of God had to rescue us from it, that we comprehend the awfulness of man's sin. In rescuing mankind from sin, the person of Christ was active even at the Fall:

When man fell, that moment Christ actually entered on his mediatorial work: he stepped in and was accepted in his interposition, and thus wrath was prevented [from] going forth with full execution of that which man had brought upon himself. Thenceforward this world with all its concerns was, as it were, devoted to the Son of God.⁴

1. Andrew Bonar, "God is Merciful" (Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d.), pp. 1ff.
Christ had finally to give His life to atone for man's sin. In the light of this, therefore, sin "must indeed be branded as hateful beyond conception, if, ere it be forgiven, the Lawgiver himself must die." "It is in Christ, the Son of God . . . that we see the abyss of evil in our sin, and that we become aware that sin is so clamorous for wrath as to be silenced only by the interposed Person of the Son of God." 1

Brunner has pointed out that "the work and the person of the Redeemer are an indissoluble unity." 2 In Bonar's thought, this unity is apparent - he endeavored to relate Christ's person to all that Christ said and did. 3 He believed that the person of Christ is not only our example, but that He is also our Saviour. In regard to the relation between the person and the work of Christ, H.R. Mackintosh has said that Christ's "work is but His person in movement." 4 This, too, was Bonar's conviction. As he stated in the preface to The Gospel Pointing to the Person of Christ: "The object of this book is to draw more attention to the great subject of connecting at all times the Person of Christ with His work." "That Person is the mine; His work is one of the

3. Though Andrew Bonar's theology was similar to that of his two brothers - Horatius and John - he differed from them in the emphasis he placed upon the person of Christ, and in the way in which he united Christ's person with His work. Also, Andrew Bonar was not as dogmatic and rigid in regard to theology as were his brothers.
treasures which come to the surface when the mine is wrought.\textsuperscript{1}

To a consideration of Bonar's views concerning the work of Christ, the next section of this chapter is devoted.

\textsuperscript{1} Bonar, \textit{The Gospel Pointing to the Person of Christ}, pp. iii, 22.
C. The Work of Christ

In his doctrine of the Atonement, Andrew Bonar was concerned to show how the person of Christ can enable men to enter into filial relations with God. Neither God, in His holiness, nor man, in his sinfulness, could be satisfied with a mere idea, principle, or process — a person was needed to effect Atonement.2 "All real knowledge of God's salvation is to be attained by becoming acquainted with Him who is the Saviour sent of God."3 "Fixing his whole soul on Immanuel himself, the believer finds therein such abundant proof of God's ability to clear away the guilt of the guilty as gives his soul deep, deep rest."4

Bonar interpreted the meaning of the work of Christ in terms of sacrifice. Though he also referred to other Scriptural representations of the Atonement — a provision originating in God's love,5 a ransom paid to free mankind from the bondage of sin,6 an act of obedience to the law which sinners had violated,7 a pardon to save us from the penalty of sin8 — the central element in his doctrine of

1. Though Bonar realized the larger significance of the work of Christ, he usually identified the work of Christ with the Atonement.
5. Bonar, A Year of Blessing, pp. 27ff.
the Atonement is the offering which Christ, as the representative of man, presents to the Father in behalf of man. This sacrifice is not, as in Ritschl's system, one of obedience, but one of penalty.

He set forth this sacrificial conception of the Atonement most fully in his *Commentary on the Book of Leviticus*. Here, he suggested that all the Levitical sacrifices "bear on the same great subject, viz., Atonement and its effects."¹ The sacrificial system was appointed by God, and enables the sinner to be reconciled to God. According to its provisions, briefly, the sinner² is to approach the altar, bringing his sacrificial offering before the Lord.³ Bonar evidences an acute interest in learning and in discussing the significance of every detail relating to the sacrificial offering, believing that Christ is therein prefigured.⁴

The sacrificial system provides, next, that the sinner should lay his hand upon the head of the sacrificial victim, signifying thereby that he thenceforward "identifies himself with the offering." "This action of the offerer gives a view of faith," for the "offerer puts his hand on

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¹ Bonar, *Leviticus*, p. 11.
² Ibid., pp. 13f. Bonar takes notice of the fact: "The Lord allows all that are willing, to come to the atoning provision." All that is necessary is "a conscience willing to be bathed in atonement."
³ Ibid., p. 13. Bonar points out that the sinner is to come: "Before the Lord ... because the Lord meant thus to insert a Divine safeguard against the Socinian idea that sacrifice chiefly has reference to the offerer, not to God."
⁴ Ibid., pp. 10ff.
the same person on whom Jehovah leant his wrath."¹

The sinner, then, is to slay the sacrificial victim. According to the Old Testament system, each sinner offered up a sacrifice. According to the New Testament system, however, the sinner identifies himself by faith with Christ — God's Sacrifice. As "every man might make his own sacrifice," so "every man must take Christ for himself personally."²

In slaying the victim, the sinner releases its blood, which is its life. In thus surrendering its life to God, he also surrenders his own life.³ As Bonar points out elsewhere:

It could not but be plain why blood should be the means of atonement, since the blood is the out-poured life, and the out-poured life is the life of Him who is the Son of God. The blood poured out in every sacrifice spoke of some one giving his life; but the nature of the effect of this blood-shedding could be understood only when the person, in his worth and dignity became known.⁴

Since Christ was sacrificed, says Bonar, "I am warranted... to expect everlasting life, because the blood of the Lamb answers every charge against me."⁵

Following this step in the sacrificial ceremony, the priest brings forward the blood. God and the sinner are thus made one. Man is reconciled to God.⁶ There is

1. Ibid., pp. 14ff.
2. Ibid., pp. 15f.
Atonement.

The priest 'brings forward the blood' . . . It is the life! So that when the blood is thus brought forward, the life of the sacrifice is brought before God! It is as if the living soul of the sinner were carried, in its utter helplessness and in all its filthiness, and laid down before the Holy One.¹

Further, Bonar believed that while the Levitical sacrifices prefigured the Atonement, yet, sacrifice is misinterpreted when its meaning is limited to the death of the victim.² "Every groan and tear of the God-man had deep significance."³ To isolate one element in the ritual is to misconceive its purpose, which, as J.H. Whale points out, "is not the destruction of life but the representative surrender of life."⁴ Christ's sacrifice, then, is not only the Atonement, but also the Incarnation. "He saves us by His sacrificial life as well as His death."⁵

Thus, Bonar believed that the Levitical system prefigures what the person of Christ was later to accomplish. In the New Testament, the old terms of sacrifice are retained, but now they have a radically new interpretation: Christ Himself is the Sacrifice for the sin of the world.

It is important to notice that Bonar usually spoke of the One Who made forgiveness possible, rather than of the method of Atonement. He said that it is because Christ is

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1. Bonar, Leviticus, p. 16.
2. Ibid., pp. 29ff.
5. Andrew Bonar, "SMS The Word of Life."
the Saviour that the cross is necessary, rather than that it is the cross which makes Christ the Saviour.

Bonar, however, was not content merely to present the objective truth about Christ's atoning work; he also raised the question regarding its subjective appropriation:

How can men today benefit from the sacrificial death of Christ? He answered this question in terms of union with Christ.¹

It never is the belief of bare propositions that saves the soul; for these have to do only with the understanding. Propositions, however weighty, must guide us onward to the Person who is the essence of the testimony.²

When a sinner comes to the person of Christ, realizing what He has accomplished, and looks to Him alone for forgiveness and redemption, and with heart-felt faith accepts Him as Saviour, the sinner is thereupon joined to Christ in a spiritual union. Bonar, thus, had a personal, rather than a legalistic conception of salvation. In this context, the distinction between Christology and Soteriology is almost non-existent. To be one with Christ is to be redeemed, and to be redeemed is to be one with Christ. He declared:

Union to Christ's person is a fact in the case of every believer, and ought therefore to be a constant subject of meditation to every believer. Now this union, realised leads to a realising of the Person.³

¹ Bonar, The Gospel Pointing to the Person of Christ, pp. 3r.
² Bonar, Gospel Truths, pp. 166ff.
He believed that the sacrificial death of Christ, ordained of God, and appropriated by faith, extends to the elect of God. He thought, however, that the Westminster Catechism was too narrow when it said: "God ... elected some to everlasting life." Instead, "it ought to have been many, a great multitude which no man could number." Nevertheless, to all that Calvin said regarding God's absolute sovereignty, Bonar gave a willing assent. He affirmed: "Election seems to me a most blessed truth." In the thought of God's sovereignty, he found a solution to all of life's enigmas. He bore every suffering and endured every trial in the belief that they were part of God's will for him, and that by exhibiting such faith he was contributing in some small measure to the glory of God.

Yet, Bonar felt that the doctrine of election did not adequately express the truth concerning the extent of Christ's offer of salvation. The shadow of particular reprobation had practically vanished from his thought, and he endeavored to tell men of the universal effects of God's free gift of His Son. God loves the whole world, not merely the elect, and He acts in behalf of all men. God's love is shown most clearly in the coming of Jesus Christ,

1. Bonar, Nettleton and His Labours, pp. xf.
2. Bonar, Reminiscences, p. 53. Bonar warned against any speculation as to who the elect might be, saying: "The Shepherd can number His sheep, but the sheep can't. Christ's favourite expression, when speaking of His saved ones, is 'many.'"
3. Quoted in Wilson and M'Intyre, op.cit., p. 27.
5. Bonar, Diary, p. 364.
Who beckons men to appropriate the benefits of this love by trusting in Him.

This is not to say, however, that Bonar favored the ideas of Arminianism or Amyraldism. Instead, he emphasized the free offer to all men of the salvation that is in the person of Christ "who bids them ALL come . . . to HIMSELF." 1 When he met with disappointment in his preaching, he believed this was partly due to his "failure to dwell enough upon a free Gospel." 2 Once, he disagreed with his friend, William Burns, for not sufficiently emphasizing "the freeness of the Gospel." 3 Bonar said: "I preach more about the free offer of salvation than is contained in the Confession, although it is not in any way denied; and I preach more about the duty and the privilege of spreading the Gospel to every creature, and to Jew and Gentile, than is contained in the Confession, although it is not in any way denied." 4

In his day there were certain forces at work against the traditional Calvinism of the Church. The views of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, and of John McLeod Campbell had made the question of the universality of Christ's offer of salvation a live issue. Campbell believed that the Atonement was for all men, and he thereby placed himself in apparent contradiction to the Westminster Confession of Faith,

with its doctrine of election. Bonar, while not agreeing with everything McLeod Campbell taught, nevertheless, held a similar view concerning the extent of the Atonement. In this respect, Bonar also resembled John Brown, of the Secession Church, to whom he acknowledged an indebtedness.

However, in regard to Bonar's conception of the universal nature of Christ's salvation, he was more strongly influenced by such men as William Guthrie, and by the theology of The Marrow of Modern Divinity, to which he often referred in favorable terms. This book, which has an interesting history, was a popular treatment of Federal

2. Fleming, op. cit., I, 46f. Brown's view of the extent of the Atonement, as defined by the United Secession Synod in 1845, is remarkably like the view held by Bonar, namely, "that the death of Christ, viewed in connection with Covenant engagements, secures the salvation of the elect only, but that a foundation has been laid in the Death for a full, sincere, and consistent offer of the Gospel to all mankind."
4. Cf. Bonar, Diary, p. 38. Cf. also Bonar, The Old Gospel Way, pp. 21ff. It will be remembered that Bonar's great-great-grandfather, John Bonar of Torphichen, was one of the twelve evangelical "Marrow-Men" who opposed the decision of the General Assembly in 1721 which condemned the teaching of the Marrow.
5. E.F. [Edward Fisher], The Marrow of Modern Divinity, ed. by C.G. M'Crie (Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1902), pp. 1ff. This book was first published in London in 1645. It passed through several editions, including one by James Hog of Carnock in 1718, and from the very first it had a reputation for Antinomianism. It is largely a catena of quotations from the writings of Reformed and Puritan divines, including such men as Calvin, Beza, Luther, Goodwin, Hall, Hooker, Lightfoot, Reynolds, Perkins, and Sibbes. (Most of these men are quoted with approval by Bonar in his The Old Gospel Way.) It is composed of a religious dialogue in which
Theology. Among other things, it dealt with the question regarding the extent of the Atonement. Older theologians had held that the benefits of the Gospel applied only to the elect, while the "Marrow Theology" taught that all sinners might come to Christ. God had made a deed of gift and grant to "mankind-sinners" of His Son, Jesus Christ.  

Bonar often employed the terminology of the Marrow, and, while he held to the doctrine of election, he especially emphasized the universal offer of salvation in Christ. In his book, The Old Gospel Way, he devotes an entire chapter to the subject: "The Gospel makes the offer of salvation to every sinner without exception." In his sermons, the theme of the universal offer of salvation, rather than of election, is most prominent. If one were to ask Bonar how he was able to maintain these two ideas side by side, he would reply that such difficulties and apparent inconsistencies "flow down at the

Evangelista, a minister of the Gospel, instructs both Antinomista and Nomista. On the title-page it is stated that the volume discusses "the covenant of works and the covenant of grace; with their use and end, both in the time of the Old Testament and in the time of the New." It was the author's purpose "to elucidate and establish the perfect freedom of the gospel salvation; to throw wide open the gates of righteousness; to lead the sinner straight to the Saviour; to introduce him as guilty, impotent, and undone; and persuade him to grasp, without a moment's hesitation, the outstretched hand of God's mercy."

1. Ibid., pp. xixff.
4. Bonar, Redemption Drawing Nigh, p. 102. Bonar says: "Are there not difficulties in all the Divine Arrangements? Has not Calvinism its unsolved, though not contradictory problems? By all this our God humbles us, and keeps us humble."
presence of the Person of the Lord."¹ He said that if someone were to ask him, "How am I to cross that mountain?" . . . pointing to the doctrine of electing love," he would answer:

The Person of the Lord Jesus stands in front of that glorious mountain whose top touches heaven; and you have to do with His Person ere you set foot upon that mountain. . . . All your difficulties about election are thus set aside for the time - set aside until you have found Christ Himself, 'who will show you plainly of the Father' in due time. All your difficulties about election are in this manner transferred to Christ Himself, who it is (and not we) that must reconcile the universal call with His special love to His elect. Well, be content to leave the difficulty with Jesus; and meanwhile deal with a personal Saviour, not with words, and doctrines, and propositions. . . . Go to the Person of the Christ.²

In this section, mention has been made of the work of Christ in reconciling sinful men to God. For Bonar, this was not the end of the Christian experience, but only the beginning. We direct our attention, therefore, to his thought regarding the believer's life in Christ.

2. Ibid., pp. 42ff.
D. The Believer's Life in Christ

Andrew Bonar's doctrine of the believer's life in Christ is nowhere fully stated, though it is evident throughout his sermons and writings. At times, he described the Christian life as it relates to God, in terms of filial trust and assurance, expressing itself in worship and obedience, and demonstrating the Christian virtues. At other times, he described the Christian life as it relates to other men, a life of brotherly service. Again, he described the Christian life as it relates to the forces of evil, a life of struggle against sin, and of victory over it. Though all of these aspects of the Christian life are mentioned, it is in regard to the first that he has the most to say.

In discussing the believer's life in Christ, Bonar was acutely aware of the importance of the Holy Spirit. References to the Holy Spirit are lavishly scattered throughout his writings, though, for the most part, he is concerned with the work of the Holy Spirit rather than with His person. Yet, the Spirit is never conceived of as an impersonal force. He is a distinct person within the Godhead, for whom Bonar expressed "a great affection." Though he sometimes seems to identify the Holy Spirit with

the Spirit of Christ, at other times the two are quite distinguishable. The separateness of the person of the Holy Spirit is especially noticeable in his Diary, where we find such statements as the following:

Felt this evening for a little as if speaking directly to the Holy Spirit in the name of Christ, and asking Him to work among us. Somehow for the time I seemed nearer the Spirit than the Father and the Son, and yet I felt it was all through Jesus I had this audience.

Bonar believed that the Christian must co-operate with the working of the Holy Spirit, while recognizing, at the same time, that the possibility of such co-operation is His gift. He inspires the faith by which we accept Christ, and He provides the power by which we grow up in the Christian life. In the tradition of Augustine and Calvin, Bonar considered the believer to be totally dependent upon the work of the Holy Spirit for any action that leads him towards God. It is by waiting upon the Spirit that a true revival of religion can come, and it is by living in the power of the Spirit that a man's spiritual life can grow richer and deeper. He is the operating activity of God in the soul, uniting the believer with Christ.

It ought not to be assumed, however, that Bonar was a mystic. Though he emphasized the inner experience of the believer, and spoke much of prayer, he also had a sense of

1. Ibid., p. 203.
6. For a discussion of the place of prayer in Bonar's own life, cf. Chapter VIII.
history, and was greatly concerned about the practical effects of the Gospel upon men. Further, he was deeply impressed with the authority of the Bible. He opposed the idea that reason was all-sufficient. In doing so, he did not appeal to the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers, as the Quakers did, but to the written, inerrant, infallible Scriptures. In German pietism, the Bible was chiefly employed as a devotional book.¹ For Bonar, the Bible was the devotional book, but it was also significant as a divine revelation of Christ, authenticating the evangelical faith over against the claims of rationalism, deism, and skepticism. The Bible, as the very Word of God, provides the believer with a knowledge of Christ, and with an objective standard for faith and life.² Hence, when its authority seemed threatened by such men as Robertson Smith, Marcus Dods, and A.B. Bruce, the mild-mannered Bonar took his place in the front ranks against them.

In describing the nature of the believer's life, he referred to it as a life of union with Christ, and of looking to His person:

Union to Christ's Person is a fact in the case of every believer . . . this union realised leads to a realising of the Person . . . it mellows and matures the character of saints to be much occupied with their Lord's Person . . . it quickens their sense of obligation and keeps alive love and gratitude,

¹. M'Giffert, op.cit., p. 172.
². Bonar, Gospel Truths, p. 39. Bonar's sermons often contain such statements as the following: "Study the Bible; the sixty-six holy books given us by the Holy Ghost. Study every page and line of God's letter to the sons of men."
to be thus ever in contact with a personal Saviour.¹

It was his firm conviction, verified by his own experience, that:

Christ is the only foundation of holiness and the cause of good works in those who are united to Him. So that, where union to Christ is, there is personal holiness infallibly.²

The subject of the believer's sanctification, and the "deeply sanctifying effects of the Gospel of Christ," is a recurring theme throughout Bonar's thought.³ In his book, The Gospel Pointing to the Person of Christ, he set forth his ideas on the subject in a chapter entitled, "How Looking to the Person tends to advance Holiness in the Soul." He said that by "looking to the Person, the believer's holiness, or growth in grace, is advanced in three different ways: (1) By communion with Christ; (2) By realizing the eternal significance of every aspect of His holy life; (3) By imitating Christ.⁴

In saying this, however, Bonar did not overlook the fact that the believer is engaged in a lifelong struggle with sin. He did not, like the Remonstrants, Pietists, and Methodists, either identify justification with sanctification, or make sanctification a part of justification. He realized, with Calvin, that though the Christian desires to aspire after God, he is yet drawn down to the earth by

3. Ibid., pp. 162ff.
On almost every page of his Diary there is testimony to the fact of this inner conflict within his soul.

Nevertheless, he believed in, and taught the reality of "the personal holiness of believers." Though he was always rather cautious of the teachings of the Keswick Movement, and of other similar groups which emphasized personal holiness, towards the end of his life he evidenced a greater interest in them. Even then, however, he felt that they were too, subjectivistic in character, and were most beneficial only inasmuch as they served to direct men to a fuller realization of Christ.

As a consequence of looking to the person of Christ for salvation, and for help in the Christian life, Bonar, like Wesley, and after the manner of the "Marrow Theology," said that the believer could be assured of his faith, for "in proportion as we see the Person, our soul's peace spreads and deepens." He told his hearers: "Keep looking to Christ; and the effects cannot fail to follow." Thus, assurance of

1. Bonar, *Netleton and His Labours*, p. xi. Bonar never said that a man may lose his salvation. He firmly believed in the doctrine of the "Perseverance of the Saints"; it is the human side of that spiritual process which, when viewed from the divine side, is known as sanctification.
2. Bonar, *Gospel Truths*, pp. 67ff. This is not to be identified with Wesley's doctrine of Perfection.
5. Bonar, *The Old Gospel Way*, pp. 51ff. Bonar points out that doubt is alien to the nature of faith. When a man doubts, therefore, it is because he is trusting his own feelings, rather than his Christ-given faith.
salvation was not thought of as a constituent element of faith, but as its normal consequence.\(^1\) The person of Christ makes our salvation and our sanctification sure.\(^2\) "Present certainty, immediate certainty . . . is to be found in the person of Jesus! He gives not barely a hopeful faith; He imparts full assurance."\(^3\)

In referring to what he called "Rowism," Bonar felt that the point in dispute was "chiefly as to how a person may get assurance," which he maintained was "not by a long experience and by our feelings, but may be got at once, and can be got certainly only by directly looking out of ourselves to the fulness of Christ."\(^4\) Though assurance has an experiential element about it, there is also an objective reality:

Assurance is got by what we discern in Christ Himself; not by what we discover about ourselves. It is got by what we believe about Christ; not by what we know about our own act of faith. . . . In a word . . . Assuurance is found by my discovering that Christ, God-man, is the very Saviour for my needs and wants, my sins and corruption; while all the time I may never be once troubled about the question, Am I sure that I believe, and that my act of faith possesses the right quality?\(^5\)

Bonar's doctrine of the believer's life in Christ was usually stated in terms of the individualistic expression

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2. Andrew Bonar, "Jehovah-Shalom"; or, "The Way to Get Peace of Conscience, and to Keep it" (Glasgow: Cheap Publication Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, 1845), pp. 1ff.
of such a life. He also spoke of that life in terms of its social expression - the Church - though, even then, the Church was referred to in individualistic terms. Yet, as Barth points out:

Real service of God, the true Christian life on the one hand, and on the other the life of the one holy church, these two are distinguishable in thought, but not in reality. Where there was no Christian life there would be no church. But also where there was no church, there would be no Christian life.

Much that Bonar said about the Church concerned Church-State relations. He believed that Christ is the Lord of the Church and of the State. The Church, however, must maintain its spiritual independence from the State. Each is autonomous within its own sphere - the Church in spiritual matters and the State in temporal matters - though it is the duty of the civil magistrate to acknowledge and support the Christian faith in an Established Church. Both are to unite in serving Christ, Who is the Sovereign of the earth. It was his firm belief in these ideas that influenced him to leave the Church of Scotland in 1843, and to oppose the suggested union with the United Presbyterian Church in later years.

He firmly upheld the Presbyterian form of Church government, as over against other systems, though he

3. Andrew Bonar, "BMS Letter, to James Bonar" (from Glasgow: May 15, 1876).
declared:

The form of church government is not in any way the essence of the truth. . . . It is not the jewel, but it is the precious case that encloses the more precious jewel. . . . Unattractive Presbyterianism is a rough case in the view of many; but it certainly answers the blessed end of preventing men from resting on the form. . . . Its very plainness leads the inquirer to go deeper in, and find the glorious view of God manifest in flesh.

The main element in Bonar's thought relating to the Church concerned its nature - it is the Body of Christ.2 It gives social expression to that experience of communion with Christ which is characteristic of the individual believer's life. All Christians are members of this body, and all are related as individual members to Christ Who is their Head.

Being the Body of Christ, the Christian Church is an organism and not merely a society. It came to birth as a fellowship, made up of people who were born into the community because of a common experience of renewal. As a living organism, the Christian Church owes its very being to its response to Jesus Christ Who is its Head.3 This response involves an instrumental view of the Church's reality. The Church exists to serve Christ, to be the organ of His will in history, the chief agent for the coming of Christ's kingdom among men. The Church is to bear witness to Christ.

2. Though Bonar also speaks of the Church as the Bride of Christ, more often, it is the Body of Christ. This is apparent in his Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms.
His love, grace, lordship, His present reign at the right hand of God, and His return in glory.¹

Bonar's view of the Sacraments was not much unlike the view held by other Calvinistic evangelicals of his day. He did, however, have a high view of the Sacraments, and thus differed from many of the nonconformist evangelicals in England. In respect of the Sacraments, he resembled more the evangelicals in the Established Church of Scotland, than those in the United Presbyterian Church. The Sacraments, affirmed Bonar, are meant to "fix us intently on Christ and his benefits - the Sun of Righteousness and his healing rays." The Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper "are both equally holy; both exhibit the same Saviour; in both the same Spirit breathes; both lead us to the same God of love."²

In regard to Baptism, Bonar said it is "the sign and seal of union to Christ in his death and resurrection."³ Christ is present in the act, accomplishing something for the baptized person, in the presence of the Church.⁴ Baptism, like the Lord's Supper, is primarily an act of the Church as a whole, and is to be performed in the presence of an assembly of believers.⁵ It is a seal by which Christ reveals and guarantees His presence in the Church.⁶ Baptism is to be administered to infants as well as to adults,⁷ for

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1. Ibid., pp. 37, 45, 210.
3. Ibid., p. 4.
4. Ibid., p. 8.
5. Ibid., p. 20.
6. Ibid., p. 10.
the children of believers have a "connection with Christ's family." Bonar stated that the Lord's Supper, as well as Baptism, "cannot fail to fix our eye on the Person" of Christ.

The Lord's Supper . . . speaks of the death, and of the New Covenant ratified by that death, and so of pardon and holiness, and all other connected benefits. But who can overlook the Benefactor amid his benefits? Are we not led directly, at that holy ordinance, to His Person, inasmuch as union to Him is the truth most remarkably exhibited therein? Union to Him who gives us His blood to ratify the New Covenant, and who gives us Himself as the food of our souls, is surely the very essence of the Lord's Supper.

Bonar believed that the grace communicated through the Lord's Supper is not material, but psychic. It is real power which the believer receives through the elements — not because of the elements themselves, but because the person of Christ is spiritually present at the Lord's Supper, and because the nature of the sacrament:

2. Ibid., p. 18.
is one of moral renewal. While he contributed nothing new to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, he emphasized the following points: it is a memorial of a departed Christ; it is a parable of a present Christ; and it is a prophecy of a coming Christ.¹

This last point suggests a doctrine which is prominent throughout all of Bonar's writings, and which pervaded his thought: the doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ.

E. The Second Coming of Christ

In view of the contemporary renewal of interest in eschatology, it is important to notice the futuristic emphasis throughout Andrew Bonar's thought. We are living in the time between the Ascension and the Return of Christ. He believed, therefore, that theology is basically eschatological in temper and outlook. He referred to the Crown of Christ as often as to the Cross of Christ. According to his understanding, Christ's Second Coming will be premillennial. So firmly did he hold to this belief, that he became "prominent as a defender of premillenarianism."¹

Although Bonar declared his adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith, he admitted: "I preach more about the coming of the Lord than is found there, although it is not denied."² He regretted the fact that the Second Coming of Christ did not receive more attention in his day, as he felt this truth is not only a vital part of the Gospel, but is also a source of joy and strength in the Christian life.³ In a letter to his friend, A.N. Somerville, he wrote: "As to the Millennium I have this to say, that the thought of Christ's glorious coming to make us holy as he is holy has often given wings to many a dull hour."⁴

¹ Dr. Andrew A. Bonar, "The British Weekly," p. 171.
² Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 32.
³ Bonar, Redemption Drawing Nigh, pp. 33f.
⁴ Andrew Bonar, "PMS Letter, to A.N. Somerville" (from Edinburgh: [1837]).
The expectation of the Second Coming of Christ gave Bonar a feeling of joy and a sense of hopefulness.\(^1\)

As his Diary reveals, sorrow and bereavement made him think of the time when "death shall have become resurrection," and the loss of a loved one only increased his interest in the Return of the Lord. He very seldom spoke of his own death; though, as his Diary reveals, it was often in his thoughts. Death is not a tragic end of existence, but the beginning of a new and a better life.\(^2\) He said: "One who belongs to Christ can think of dying as a meeting, on the other side, with One who is no stranger to us."\(^3\)

Bonar regarded the Second Coming of Christ as being imminent, and he often expressed the hope that he would be alive when Christ returns.\(^4\) His Diary reveals a lifelong expectation of the event, and contains many such characteristic phrases as: "The speedy coming of Christ ... Christ's coming is nearer and nearer ... it must now be a very little while, and then He comes ... that day is ever coming nearer and nearer ... the time is so near when the Lord shall come."\(^5\) As his life drew to a close, however, he said to his people: "I may not live to see Him return, but I expect some of you listening will."\(^6\)

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4. Related in correspondence from Mrs. E. Ferguson, Edinburgh, on February 3, 1954. Her husband was an intimate acquaintance of Andrew Bonar. Related also in conversation with D.S. Dunnett, on July 23, 1954.
his study, in large letters, he placed two texts: "Surely I come quickly," and "Even so, come, Lord Jesus." 1

In holding the premillennial view, Bonar was regarded as being peculiar. Even the evangelicals of that day regarded him, and other premillenarians, as "speckled birds." 2

How, then, did he come to hold these views? The original impetus came from the meteoric message of Edward Irving, of whom he wrote in 1829: "Am persuaded now that his views of the coming of Christ are truth." 3 Also, Bonar believed that these views were set forth in Scripture, "like a vein from Genesis to Revelation," and that "inattention to this great subject spreads a mist over many portions of the word." 4 In particular, he says:

What led me to decision was the calm reading of Matthew 24. The chapter decided me on this subject. I could not see a foot-breadth of room for the Millennium before Christ comes in the clouds. It is wave upon wave of tribulation till the Son of Man appears. 5

This reference to "tribulation" is typical of Bonar's feeling that the world is evil. He often made such statements as:

This day is a day of trouble and rebuke and blasphemy; and the prospect has nothing in it that is cheering. Satan has great wrath; his hosts have great strength; the love of many in our King's camp is waxing cold; new alarms are

3. Bonar, Diary, p. 5. There is no evidence of any subsequent influence of Irving's ideas on Bonar's thought.
5. Bonar, Sheaves After Harvest, p. 44.
ever startling us; and events give forebodings of new suffering and woe to the earth. 1

He maintained a pessimistic and a somewhat melancholy view of the world. From his perspective he saw wickedness, atheism, and ungodliness rampant throughout all the earth. This state of affairs seemed to him to verify his conviction that these are certainly the last days before the judgment of God will come upon the world, and Christ will return to inaugurate the millennium.

The idea of the premillennial advent of Christ, or as it is called, Chiliasm, 2 was not something new in the history of thought. It originated in Jewish hopes of a Messianic kingdom. 3 Various scholars have pointed out that traces of it are to be found in the New Testament. 4 During the first two centuries of the Christian era it was the popular form of the Christian hope. 5 As theologians began to speak in more spiritual terms, however, it lost favor - first in the East and later in the West. 6 Since the age of Augustine, premillennialism has usually been considered as a doctrinal eccentricity. From time to time, it has appeared among such groups as the Anabaptists during the Reformation, the Fifth Monarchy Men of Cromwell's day,

2. "Chiliasm" is from the Greek, Chilioi, meaning "a thousand."
4. Particularly in Revelation 20. Andrew Bonar interpreted this chapter quite literally.
5. It was not only the popular form, but it was held also by such men as Cerinthus, Irenaeus, Montanus, and Tertullian.
6. Such a thinker as Origen opposed it.
and the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. In a more mild form, it was advocated by some of the divines of the Westminster Assembly; by Bengel, Toplady, and Charles Wesley; by such German theologians as Rothe and Delitzsch; and by such English thinkers as Trench, Ellicott, and Alford. In Scotland, however, premillennialism had not been preached for more than a century. In the teaching of such men as Bonar, therefore, it made a fresh appeal to many people.

In presenting his views, Bonar remained undogmatic. Though his sermons and writings furnish abundant evidence of his hope of the Lord's speedy Return, he decried any speculation as to its precise nature or its exact time. When he learned of a disagreement between two of his parishioners concerning the date of the Return of Christ, he advised: "You may expect a friend to arrive at two o'clock, and your sister may expect the same friend to arrive at six o'clock, but you both expect him, and it will make no difference when he arrives." He admitted the right of

2. Bonar, Redemption Drawing Nigh, pp. 17ff. Bonar stated that "the habitual thought of Christ's Second Coming formed an element of lofty character in almost all the men who have obtained a good report in other days." To substantiate this claim, he quotes from the writings of such men as Columba, John Knox, Henry Balnaves, Robert Rollock, John Welsh, John Livingstone, Samuel Rutherford, Andrew Gray, John Durham, and several others, showing their interest in the Advent of Christ. He says that though they did not all agree as to the nature or the time of the Advent, "the event itself, the coming of the King in his glory, was habitually in their minds.
another to disagree with his own views, "provided only he loves the Lord's appearing."¹ He stated: "While we consider it every way important to state and to defend the proofs of the Premillennial Advent, we consider it, at the same time, still more important that the Advent itself should be an object of desire."²

John Baillie relates the story of an aged man who was about to die. He asked his Christian doctor if he had any conviction as to what awaited him after death. As the doctor was about to speak, there was heard a scratching at the door; and his answer was given him. "Do you hear that?" he asked his patient. "That is my dog. I left him downstairs, but he grew impatient and has come up and hears my voice. He has no notion what is inside that door, but he knows I am here. Now is it not the same with you? You do not know what lies beyond the Door, but you know your Master is there."³ Similarly, Bonar said:

"We do not say that the details of the Second Advent must deeply affect us; what we say is . . . that He who is to come must be so expected and longed for as to affect us powerfully. . . . Much as we value the coming Kingdom⁴ and all that ushers it in, we value the King himself infinitely more."⁵

This quotation serves to illustrate the Christocentric

1. Bonar, Redemption Drawing Nigh, p. 44.
2. Ibid., p. 350.
4. Whenever Bonar spoke of the kingdom, it was in reference to the kingdom to be established by Christ upon the earth during the millennium.
character of Bonar's eschatology. As a modern writer expresses it: "Christian Eschatology . . . is essentially Christology."\(^1\) When Frederick Cawley speaks of eschatology as "veiled Christology,"\(^2\) he is emphasizing the same truth that Bonar stressed, when he said: "The coming of the Lord shall fully unveil His Person, in whom all the Gospel is stored up."\(^3\) The person of Christ, then, gives substance to the Christian's hopes for the future.\(^4\) As He came in grace, so He will come in glory.

Concerning the intermediate state, between death and the Return of Christ, Bonar says:

> Being with Christ is the essence of the bliss of that intermediate state. . . . The spirit of the departed one is received by Jesus. . . . In His presence it rests, the sum of all its employments and its enjoyments being the sight and fellowship of the Lord Jesus. Nothing more is told us; for it would appear to be the design of the Lord to keep our eye on the Person of the beloved Son.\(^5\)

He believed that, at death, the spirits of all redeemed persons go immediately to be with Christ. There, they enjoy His presence until the time shall come for Him to return to earth. The souls of the unredeemed, on the

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other hand, at death are cast into hell to await the final judgment. They suffer the wrath of God, but not to the fullest extent. He described the intermediate state by saying:

There are the two classes: the ungodly and the godly. A man who has committed a crime is arrested and put in prison. Although judgment has not been passed upon him, he is securely locked up, and deprived of all his liberties. The terrible thought, that he must appear before the Judge and hear His final sentence, is always before him. The state of the godly on the other hand, may be illustrated thus. A rich friend invites you to dine with him. On the appointed day you go to his house, and are shown into the drawing-room where the guests are received by the host. The time until all the invited guests have arrived is passed in meeting friends, and in the presence and society of the host. When all have assembled, a bell sounds, and the whole company pass into the dining-hall where the feast is spread. So it will be at the great Supper of the Lamb. 1

Bonar believed that the Second Coming of Christ will be preceded by signs and wonders: wars, famine, pestilence, earthquakes, persecutions, the increase of wickedness, and the widespread preaching of the Gospel to Gentile and Jew. 2 These happenings are constituent elements of the "last days," which are near at hand. 3

Such times, however, will be brought to an abrupt end by the appearance of the person of Christ in bodily form. As Christ arose from the dead, so now He will raise His followers. 4 He will suddenly appear from amid

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4. Bonar, Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms, pp. 141, 156.
the clouds to establish His rule on earth for a thousand years. At the beginning of this period, Satan will be overthrown and imprisoned. All the departed saints will be raised from the dead,¹ and those Christians who are living at the time will rise to meet Him in the air and be rewarded according to their works.²

During the millennium, Christ will rule the earth as Judge and King with His saints. The earth will be set afire and purified. The Jews, being restored to their own land, will repent and be converted.³ The unsaved dead will remain in hell. Contrary to what one might expect from Bonar, with his high conception of Christology,⁴ he suggests that Christ reigns upon an earth that has not been altogether redeemed.⁵ The unconverted who are living at the First Resurrection will continue their existence - "there shall be some ungodly existing all along, during these thousand years." These will "retire from the

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1. Bonar, Redemption Drawing Nigh, p. 324. Bonar disagreed on this point with certain premillenarians who said that only the martyrs will be raised at the First Resurrection.
2. Ibid., pp. 313ff.
3. Ibid., p. 333.
4. It seems that Andrew Bonar's conception of the premillennial advent of Christ was not such an integral part of his theology as were his other ideas.
5. Bonar, Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms, pp. 147ff. Also, Bonar, Redemption Drawing Nigh, p. 334. Bonar points out, however, that he spoke of "a kingdom of Christ upon earth," and not "an earthly or a carnal kingdom." He said: "To believe that earth will be the locality and the theatre, implies nothing unspiritual. It would be Gnosticism to suppose that earth and matter are themselves corrupt."
presence of the Lord" to "the ends of the earth." Thus, in this theocratic kingdom of universal righteousness, sin, though greatly diminished, remains upon the earth.

At the end of the thousand years, Satan is "let loose." Along with his "innumerable hosts" and with the unconverted who are living upon the earth, he makes war on Christ and His saints in a vain attempt to regain power. However, "there is no long conflict, no slaying of witnesses." Though Satan and his hosts "display their banners suddenly on the breadth of the earth," Christ "points his Father to these advancing hosts, acting still as Mediator as well as King . . . and fire from God destroys them!" Following this, Satan is carried "to the lake of fire and brimstone for ever."2

"No sooner is this done, than the Great White Throne is set." All must appear before God at this Second Resurrection - the ungodly are raised from the dead and set on the left hand of God, and the saints in their glorified bodies are placed on the right hand of God.3 This Second Resurrection is expressed in forensic terms. The unrighteous, clothed in their new bodies, are consigned to eternal punishment in hell, "in the lake of fire, where the eternal sting of death remains."4 The righteous, having

1. Ibid., p. 328. Bonar is careful to explain that, while his doctrine of eschatology sets forth the main features of the End, he still omits most details, and leaves many questions unanswered.
2. Ibid., pp. 326ff.
3. Ibid., p. 158.
witnessed "the glory of the Lord in all these scenes," then enter heaven where they live forever with their Lord. Though Bonar does not speculate as to the nature of heaven, he says that its essence is "to be with Christ." "They go on for ever from strength to strength," developing their spiritual capacities, and growing up "to the fulness of the stature of Christ."  

1. Bonar, Redemption Drawing Nigh, pp. 329ff. Bonar did not feel that these ideas of reward and punishment in any way detracted from the greatness of the person of Christ. Concerning the damned, Christ had already warned men of the danger of rejecting Him; their punishment verifies what He said. Concerning the redeemed, they will rejoice in Christ's ability to save them from punishment, and in their great privilege to spend eternity with Him. While it is Christ Who saves men from hell, Bonar says it is the Father's wrath that demands their punishment. Cf. Bonar, Gospel Truths, pp. 181ff.  


F. Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has revealed several things concerning Andrew Bonar's theological thought. Reared in an evangelical atmosphere, and trained in the Calvinist tradition, he held to the faith he had early received. During the formative years of his ministry, evangelical Calvinism was generally and popularly the religion in Scotland. Throughout his career, he apparently did not modify or alter a single item of doctrine. Though Scottish theological isolation during his early career might account for part of this, yet, even after 1860, when theological ferment was taking place and many thinkers were being forced to revise their ideas, he maintained his position. His innate conservatism, throughout, permeated his thinking.

To say this, however, is not to infer that Bonar's thought was other than his own. Whatever the initial sources of his theology, he cannot be charged with merely reproducing the thought of others. He acknowledged his indebtedness to Calvin, and to various Scottish divines, but rarely did he quote them as supporting authorities for his statements. Though influenced by others, he appropriated the ideas in a way that made them his own.

His theology, however, was not simply another endeavor to systematize doctrine. On the contrary, though there was unity to his thought, it was not systematic at
Nowhere does he attempt to set forth his beliefs in an orderly fashion. Repetition was thus inevitable, for every doctrine had to be considered in the light which shines forth from the central radiancy of Christ.

This lack of systematization in Bonar's thought was largely due to the fact that he was an evangelist with a practical aim, rather than a thinker with speculative interests. Christianity was more a life to be lived, than a system to be observed. Even further, it was not so much a life to be lived, as it was a Person to be loved. His theology was, therefore, relatively simple and direct. While he insisted upon a clearly defined dogmatic basis of belief, his writings and sermons reveal his attempt to utilize his theology towards the end that sinners might be redeemed and Christians might be edified. Though the substance of his teaching did not deviate appreciably from that of other Scottish evangelicals in his day, his power lay in bringing doctrinal truth home in a poignant manner to the hearts and consciences of men.

This practical aim is closely related to the fact that his theology was experiential in nature. He stressed the psychological, as against the metaphysical, aspect of religion. He said: "Doctrine must be turned into experience." Dogmas are simply crystallized experience,

1. The arrangement of Bonar's theology in this chapter is purely for the purpose of investigating, understanding, and explaining the main elements in his thought. Bonar formulated no such explicit system.
and for them to be effective they must again be liquified and the original experience regained. Though he wanted his theology to have a certain objective validity, there is, nevertheless, a subjective tendency throughout all his doctrinal views.

Bonar had what Bertrand Russell calls "knowledge by acquaintance," not only "knowledge by description," and it was this "knowledge by acquaintance" which he endeavored to evoke in others. Like F.D. Maurice and Thomas Erskine, he was a realist in matters of religion. Abstract theological questions had little interest for him. He believed that theology to be vital must be forged in the furnace of affliction. He would have agreed with Kierkegaard, who demanded that we think not in a manner aloof from the world, but "existentially," with our entire being; not as spectators of the ultimate issues of life and death, but as courageous participants in the struggle, as those who are committed to a decision.

However, he avoided the "subjectivism" and the "psychologism" that was typical of Schleiermacher's thought, 

2. Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology, pp. 224ff. Cf. John A. Mackay, A Preface to Christian Theology (London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1942), pp. 27ff. This note has been sounded recently by John Mackay in his contrast of two perspectives: the Balcony and the Road. He refers to the Balcony as being the symbol of "the perfect spectator, for whom life and the universe are permanent objects of study and contemplation." In speaking of the Road, he refers to "the place where life is tensely lived, where thought has its birth in conflict and concern."
for Bonar took the revelation of God most seriously. He tried to be loyal altogether to the revelation of Scripture, so as to take from it not only his premises but also the deductions from them. The one supreme doctrinal authority was the Bible - what was there, was bound to be believed. Anything asserted without its authority was vain speculation. While Scripture sometimes presented more than one aspect of a divine truth, it never contradicted itself. Thus, it was the duty of the theologian to understand the Bible, and to declare the whole counsel of God.

In Bonar's endeavor to declare the whole counsel of God, he emphasized certain main ideas, which he found prominently displayed in the Scriptures. He thought of man as being on a low level, and God on a much higher and exalted level. Between them stretches the gulf of sin. However, the person of Christ provides the bridge across that gulf. At either end of the bridge is a support: on one end is the work of Christ in redeeming the world, and on the other end is the Second Coming of Christ in glory and power. Across this bridge, any true believer may pass in safety - strengthened by the Holy Spirit, and guided by the Word of God.

Towards the end of his life, Bonar stated: "I am utterly amazed at the hollow dishonesty of men in our day who put their names to the Confession of Faith on their ordination day . . . and then tell their people and their friends, 'Oh, we believe part of it, and we just believe
However, though he declared his allegiance to the whole of the Confession of Faith, certain of his ideas were at variance with those which were current in Calvinistic circles. While he stated his loyalty to the dogmas of the Church, yet, in certain respects, he tended to subvert them. He sometimes spoke with disapproval of the prevalent religion taught by many ministers and received by their flocks. He had a high regard for Calvin, yet, he was not prepared to accept all his judgements, or those of his later interpreters, as final and authoritative.

It is interesting to notice that when the Moderate party was predominant in the Scottish Church during the eighteenth century, the Calvinistic creed was accepted by most Christians almost without question. Even when Chalmers began teaching in the Edinburgh Divinity Hall, he used as a text for his classes a work entitled, Lectures on Divinity, written by Hill, a prominent Moderate. Yet, Bonar, who opposed any attempt at creed revision, was indirectly responsible for a more liberal understanding of the standards of the Church. In his ministry, as in the

1. Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 32.
2. Interestingly enough, Bonar offered no opposition to the Declaratory Act of 1892, by which the Free Church endeavored to adjust itself to its historic theology in the light of the intellectual and religious developments of the time.
3. Simpson, op. cit., I, 408f. Simpson's comments on D.L. Moody's influence upon Scottish theological thought during this period might be applied, in a more limited sense, to Bonar's influence. Simpson writes: "Moody's preaching of a 'free Gospel' to all sinners did more to relieve Scotland generally . . . of the old hyper-
teaching of the "Marrow Theology" of the preceding century, certain aspects of confessional thought underwent a process of mellowing, which practically amounted to a silent revision of the creed. The spirit which pervaded his thought might be said to have been one of the factors which eventually led to a less strict interpretation of the Confession of Faith.

His theology, thus, can be called a modified Calvinism. For one thing, his Calvinism was modified by his strong emphasis upon the doctrine of the person of Christ; this became his integrating principle. Also, his Calvinism was modified by his preaching of the universal and free offer of God's salvation. Further, he differed from traditional Calvinism in the stress he placed upon the doctrine of assurance in the believer's life. Finally, his premillennialism differed markedly from the Calvinistic eschatological interpretation.

What, then, is Bonar's place in Scottish Theology?

Calvinistic doctrine of election and of what theologians call 'a limited atonement' and to bring home the sense of the love and grace of God towards all men, than did even the teaching of John Macleod Campbell." Moody "refreshed in Scotland the religious essentials of the Gospel." Upon many men, Bonar exerted a similar though less significant influence.

1. T.F. Torrance makes the interesting observation that Andrew Bonar's Calvinism, while it was a modification of the Calvinism of the eighteenth and even of the nineteenth centuries, was in reality a return to the theology of Calvin. Professor Torrance states that the doctrines which Bonar emphasized - with the exception of the premillennial advent of Christ - were also emphasized by Calvin himself. Related in conversation with T.F. Torrance, Christian Dogmatics Professor, New College, Edinburgh, January 20, 1955.
His theological writings made no noticeable impact upon the thought of his time, and his name is almost never mentioned by any writer dealing with the development of theology in Scotland. Only indirectly has he had any influence upon succeeding generations of Christian thinkers. Yet, he made a real contribution to the theological atmosphere of his day. A type of evangelical piety developed under his ministry that influenced a great number of persons, particularly in the Scottish Church.

Further, it might be said that he occupied a mediating position in his day. He was a connecting link between: (a) Edward Irving's excesses, Thomas Erskine's views of universal pardon, and other so-called "radical ideas" of that time, and (b) those who maintained a rigid hyper-Calvinist position. In his thought, Bonar attempted to combine the virtues of both sides.

One writer has called him "an evangelical, holding a moderate Calvinistic theory," and William Manson has referred to him as an "Evangelical Catholic." It might

1. Though many men since Bonar's day have held ideas that were much similar to his, there is no direct evidence of any indebtedness to him.
2. William G.T. Shedd, A History of Christian Doctrine (New York: Charles Scribner, 1864), II, 397. Shedd says that Bonar held his premillenarian views "in union with an intelligent and earnest orthodoxy." In this, he differed from such groups as the Millerites and the Adventists who advocated premillennialism: "in connection with an uneducated and somewhat fanatical pietism."
also be pointed out that Bonar's theology was of the Johannine, rather than of the Pauline, type. Proceeding from what was basically a Calvinistic and an Evangelical position, with a firm resolve to remain faithful to the Bible, he incorporated into his thought those ideas which he believed were consistent with the Scriptures, and which he felt would aid his presentation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and further his own understanding and growth in Christian faith and life.
PART IV.

CONCLUSION
Chapter VIII.
CHARACTER
C H A P T E R  V I I I

C H A R A C T E R

We are to represent our Lord in the world, to reproduce Him to the eyes of men... Behold the whole life of sanctification, 'Follow me.'
- Andrew Bonar, Wayside Wells, pp. 50, 182.

A. Introduction

It has been said that "it is easier to record the facts of a man's life, than to appreciate the traits of his character."¹ Yet, in the case of Andrew Bonar an attempt must be made² to point out certain of the most prominent traits of his character, for:

Dr. Bonar's life-work cannot be represented by enumerating his many labours or his services to particular causes. In his case emphatically the man was more than the work³... The greatest book Dr. Bonar wrote was the book of a life devoted with singleness of aim to the glory of God and the good of men.⁴

Thus, his life, work, and thought cannot fully be appreciated unless they are considered in the light of his character.

² Though one is hampered by the inadequacy of data with regard to Bonar's personality, nevertheless, a basis for an understanding is provided by his writings, the statements of contemporaries, and the recollections of those still living who formerly knew him.
³ "CSMS Record of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow," IX, 25.
⁴ Sutherland, op. cit., p. 5.
What he was, is so closely related to what he did, that some knowledge of the former is essential to an adequate understanding of the latter.

At the same time, it must be remembered that not every aspect of Bonar's character was commendable. In certain respects, he was narrow-minded. He suffered from what Arnold called "Hebraism," and at times he appeared to have a very limited horizon. By nature, he was introspective. There was in him a melancholy strain, and in his *Diary* he occasionally evidences an almost morbid interest in his own failings. He was sometimes naive and unrealistic in his attempts to solve men's problems; he scarcely understood the needs and desires of average people.

Nevertheless, such negative aspects of Bonar's personality are to be seen in the full light of his great character, for he

Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued.

Thomas Carlyle once said that he who is to teach religion must himself have religion. Andrew Bonar was a man who successfully embodied the ideals which he taught. As a result, he has often been referred to as a saint. If the Scottish Church practised canonization, "Saint Andrew" would certainly be included among the foremost. Whenever

1. Unfortunately, there is a lack of definite evidence concerning the negative aspects of Bonar's character. His contemporaries have recorded only the more commendable features of his personality. As a result, any discussion of his character must be limited.
he is referred to by a writer, or remembered by a friend, the word which is most often used to describe him is - Saint. W. Robertson Nicoll, J.R. Fleming, J.H. Jowett, Adam Philip, Alexander Whyte, P. Carnegie Simpson, Alexander Smellie, and others all concur in this judgment.

There are those today who resemble Bonar in the message they proclaim, the doctrines they hold, and even the words they use, but they are not called "saints." Now, it is true that Bonar's saintliness was conditioned by the norms of sanctity current in his day. The age, as well as the character of a man, largely determines, not indeed his sanctity, but at least the "style" of his sanctity. Yet, even in Bonar's own day, he was regarded as a saint among men. His two brothers, Horatius and John, while exercising ministries that were similar to his, were not so known as saints.

Having said this, the question still remains: What is a saint? The word has been misused, and it eludes precise definition, even among scholars. Yet, in the person of Andrew Bonar we find a man who believed in, acted upon, and trusted with total conviction those things that many Christians believe in only vaguely. From the time of his conversion, till his death, he lived sub specie aeternitatis. He viewed the life of man in the light of God. There was with him a vivid realization of the unseen, and he regarded the events of life almost with awe, as sent of God. Not a journey was undertaken, nor a plan formulated, without his seeking divine guidance. When he wrote a book, he took it
and "laid it before the Lord." He tried to consecrate every endeavor to God. Jowett said that Bonar approached everything "from above," and not "from beneath." William Manson refers to the same truth by saying that "Bonar had a profound engagement with the things of God." He did not suppose that this world is an illusion or a dream, but he was utterly convinced that it is meaningless apart from God Who is its Creator, and Christ Who is its Redeemer. Bonar lived at an elevation, with an intensity, and with a perseverance that were not, and that he knew were not, due to himself. He was a man "in Christ." Like Rutherford before him, he was in love with Christ, and was filled with Christ. He believed that "anything about the Master is fuel to a disciple's love." To say this, however, is still to leave unanswered certain questions regarding Bonar's character as a saint. What kind of a saint was he? What was there in his character that led men to call him a saint? Though this question cannot be answered fully, an attempt will be made to isolate certain prominent traits in his character. This is not to imply that a number of individual traits make up a character. Character is a unity, not a mere aggregate. Nevertheless, some understanding of Bonar's character may be gained from a brief discussion of five of the most salient features of his personality.

B. Practice of Prayer

J.H. Jowett said that "Andrew Bonar was a strong minister of 'the grace of the Lord Jesus,' and in the wrestling communion of prayer he became mighty with God and man." His practice of prayer was certainly one of the most outstanding aspects of his character. This was often conjoined with Bible reading, and occasionally with fasting, but it was always prayer that he regarded as "the main business of the ministry."

Bonar believed that the real secret of his "soul's prosperity lay in the daily enlargement of his heart in fellowship with his God." He said that prayer is "but a letter to the Lord Jesus, reminding Him of His words and of our needs." The Earl of Kintore once characterized him as "the man of prayer," and when D.L. Moody asked him to tell a group of young ministers the secret of his life, he answered: "I can only say to my young brethren that for forty years there has not been a day that I have not had access to the Mercy-seat."

In addressing the Free Church General Assembly in

5. Bonar, Diary, p. 132.
1878, Bonar said:

Prayer . . . will take us down to yet unpierced strata of divine truth, and send us out to our people with treasures which will enrich and surprise them. It will save us the wretched hours we now waste in the search for texts and topics; it will drown our self-consciousness; it will gather our dispersed energies; it will every Sabbath make our preaching a grand and delightful putting forth of power. And if we learn the deep secret of such prayer, our people will learn it too; many will be built up, many will be turned to righteousness, and we shall be found, where Christ wishes us to be found at His coming, on our knees.

Bonar exemplified the apostolic injunction to "pray without ceasing." Prayer was to him one of the most regular habits of his life. Throughout his ministry, he had "at least two hours in pure prayer every day. Meditation and reading besides." Often, he would spend additional hours in prayer. Such sentences in his Diary as the following are not infrequent: "I seek for myself to spend this week much as if it were a season set apart for seven days, the main work being prayer." Often, he "prayed briefly, many times a day, and not by very long prayers at one time." He endeavored to remain in a spirit of prayer throughout each day and utilize his idle moments for the purpose of prayer. He said: "I see that unless I keep up short prayer every day throughout the whole day, at intervals, I lose the spirit of prayer."

3. Ibid., pp. 98, 151, 172f., 189f., 191, 199, 368.
4. Ibid., p. 128.
5. Andrew Bonar, "SMS Letter, to John Milne" (from Collace: December 15, 1851).
7. Ibid., p. 212.
Also, Bonar had a deep sense of blameworthiness in the neglect of prayer. "Nothing shames me more," he said, "than the sin of praying so little." As a mature Christian, he confessed: "It is still prayer, prayer, that I lack... It is in this that I need to be more faithful."

What is more, Bonar recognized a close relationship between his spiritual effectiveness and the attention he had given to prayer. When he felt that his ministry in Collace was not as fruitful as it might have been, he blamed himself, saying: "I work more than I pray." "More and more," he stated, "I learn that continual watchfulness unto prayer is essential to right preaching, right visiting, right conversation, right reading of the Word." In short, "much prayer is the only means to success as a minister of Christ."

Further, though relatively little is known about the contents of Bonar's prayers, there is every indication that he spent much of the time in adoring Christ, in confessing his sins, and in giving thanks. The most prominent element in his prayers, however, appears to have been intercession.

3. Bonar, Diary, p. 86.
4. Ibid., p. 291.
5. Bonar, "SMS Letter, to John Milne" (from Collace: May 24, 1852).
6. Cf. a conversation with Principal Emeritus Hugh Watt, New College, Edinburgh, January 14, 1955; in which Principal Watt related that several members of Bonar's congregation also emphasized this element in their prayers. These members, when they later became associated with Principal Watt's church, continued to manifest in their prayers a spirit that was similar to that of Bonar.
He felt that it was as serious a matter for him to cease to intercede for others as for them to fail to pray. In his prayers, the entire world was his concern. He once cried: "Lord ... help me to be a blessing to the whole earth." Yet, he was also very specific, and prayed about the most mundane details of daily life. Nothing was too unimportant to warrant the attention of his prayers.

Bonar considered prayer to be a constitutive factor of the Christian life. Prayer is not, as for Schleiermacher, an attitude of passive resignation; nor, as for Ritschl, an egocentric orientation which makes God the servant of man's desires. Rather, it is the most effective means by which the Christian can combat Satan and further the will of God. As he said: "There seems to be no way in which I can more effectively advance the cause of Christ than by much prayer." The importance he attached to prayer is evidenced in a letter he wrote to his friend John Milne: "Oh, brother, pray; in spite of Satan, pray; spend hours in prayer, rather neglect friends than not pray, rather fast, and lose breakfast, dinner, tea and supper - and sleep too - than not pray."

2. Bonar, Diary, p. 144.
5. Bonar, Diary, p. 129.
C. Feeling of Unworthiness

Another prominent trait in Bonar's character was his feeling of unworthiness. He was conspicuous as a pattern of humility. His life, with not a little to make him feel exalted, was singularly humble. Even as a youth this characteristic was evident. Through the years, the rigor of his daily devotions, used by the Holy Spirit, helped to preserve this humble disposition. He once stated: "It takes all our days to learn these two things - to be meek and to be lowly." A text upon which he often meditated contained the words of John the Baptist about Jesus: "He must increase, but I must decrease." "You cannot take a surer way of becoming humble," advised Bonar, "than by looking to Christ."

There were many ways in which Bonar's feeling of unworthiness evinced itself - three of these, in particular, may be mentioned. First, by his frank confessions of secret pride. It is instructive to hear him, whose life was so exemplary, condemning himself in such words as these: "Made to feel to-day . . . the sin of desiring to be great and to have a name among men. . . . I have long had this sin to strive against." What deep ploughing into the sub-soil of the heart does such a revelation as the following indicate:

I see how envy leads God to heap more blessing upon the envied one, and to withhold from the envier. Now, this has been my fault in regard to brethren who have been blessed. I have sought to find reasons why they should not... Lord, this day may I lay this aside forever.

Some persons who profess a holiness which Bonar never assumed, would scarcely think of condemning themselves for such things as these, even if they were spiritually acute enough to discern them. However, to his sensitive soul they were blemishes which had to be brought to the Lord for cleansing.

Bonar's feeling of unworthiness was shown again by his willingness to be obscure and unnoticed. He once prayed: "Enable me to live under the smile of Thy love, willing not to be noticed upon earth, if so I may glorify Thee more." Even as a young man, while still at the University, he confessed: "My besetting sin is to draw the love and attention of others toward me, not God's glory." In later years, he stated: "Anything that strikes at our self-importance is of use, and the more we get quit of it, the higher we shall ascend, and the more blessing we shall have." In fact, "Being willing to be put out of sight is a means of sanctification."

Finally, Bonar's feeling of unworthiness was shown by his own estimate of himself - "the most unworthy of God's

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1. Ibid., p. 204.
3. Diary, p. 8.
5. From a sermon by Bonar on Isaiah 55:1; Quoted in Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 50.
It is interesting to read his report of his inner feelings on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his church in Glasgow. He tried to tell the story of that quarter of a century, and was followed by others who spoke of his success. "There was," he says, "much that was fitted to draw forth wonder and praise, but little did some of them know, when speaking in praise of the minister, how he saw in himself and in his work a shallowness and meagerness in every grace that filled him with sorrow before God."2

When Bonar received an honor, he refused to acknowledge that it was due to any merit of his own. Even when elected as Moderator of the General Assembly in 1878, he believed that this was due simply to the Assembly's desire to pay homage to his forebears.3

In explaining what it is that humbles a minister, Bonar told the story of a Grecian artist who had painted a picture of a boy carrying a basket of grapes. So exquisitely were the grapes painted that when the picture was displayed in the Forum, the birds pecked the grapes, thinking they were real. The friends of the painter congratulated him, but he did not seem at all satisfied. When they asked him why, he replied: "I should have painted the boy so true to life that the birds would not have dared to come near!" "Now," said

2. Bonar, Diary, p. 342.
Bonar, "it is our failures that keep us humble, and many a painful omission and failure I could call up." ¹

¹ Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 33.
D. Spirit of Love

Closely related to Bonar's feeling of unworthiness, was his spirit of love. This was manifest, first of all, in his love for Christ. While other men might worship Christ, or serve Him, Bonar was in love with Christ. Though he was not a recluse, but a minister busily engaged in the affairs of a congregation, he devoted an extraordinary amount of time to his "communion with the Lord."

Dependent upon this love between Christ and him, was Bonar's love for men. He tried to demonstrate his love for Christ by his loving efforts in behalf of men. He once said: "If we would learn holy love to others, let us learn it from Christ's holy love to us."¹ Neither indifference nor opposition could deter him from his labors. The great motive of his ministry was his utter love for Christ - a love of heart and mind and soul and strength. He once remarked: "Love is the motive for working."² So strong was this love that he refused to retire from his active ministry. Death alone ended his labors.

Those who were acquainted with Bonar sensed this love, and knew that in him they had one upon whom they could rely.³ In their interests, he gave freely of himself and of

¹ Bonar, Wayside Wells, p. 185.
² Bonar, Reminiscences, p. 78.
³ Related in conversation with S.R. Dunnett, Glasgow, July 16, 1954; with Mr. and Mrs. A.R. Bonar, Fetcham, Surrey, January 4, 1954; and with Mr. and Mrs. H.W. Brown, Bournemouth, January 6, 1954.
Even a stranger could go to him and find help. James Hood Wilson\(^1\) records in his journal how, as a student, he visited Bonar's church in Collace and was warmly received and invited to the manse. Wilson writes: "The interest he showed in me, a stranger, was remarkable."\(^2\) Both in Collace and in Glasgow, this was the experience of untold numbers of persons, young and old, who found in Bonar a friend. It might be said that he loved all men — but himself.

Throughout his many writings, there is scarcely a harsh word about anyone. When Bonar engaged in controversy, though he opposed the ideas of certain men, he continued to regard them with kindness, and never showed any feelings of animosity.\(^3\) In his writings and speeches relating to the questions of the proposed union with the United Presbyterian Church, and of Biblical Criticism, he made it clear that while he strongly denounced certain ideas, he had no quarrel with the men who maintained these ideas. If ever a dispute arose in his church, he refused to be drawn into conflict. When things went wrong, he said nothing to others, but brought the matter before God in prayer. He was not

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1. Later, the minister of the Barclay Church, Edinburgh.
3. Cf. a conversation with Principal W.P. Miller, of the Free Church College, Edinburgh, January 28, 1955. Principal Miller relates a statement once made by Mrs. William Oatts, Andrew Bonar's daughter. She said her father felt much more strongly about Robertson Smith, and the controversy connected with that name, than is revealed in his writings or speeches. The same is true in regard to Robert Rainy, and the negotiations for a union with the United Presbyterian Church. However, in neither case did Bonar express these feelings publicly.
easily aggrieved, for he kept before him the ideal of his Lord.

A criticism that was made of certain evangelical ministers of Bonar's day was that they tended to be narrow, fanatical, and deficient in consideration and appreciation for others. However, this could not be said of him. While it is true that he had a somewhat limited view of the world, yet, he had a great love and concern for the whole Christian Church. Persons with widely divergent backgrounds entered into the fellowship of the Finnieston Church, and found in its minister a sympathetic and a loving friend.¹

In addition, while he was a staunch Presbyterian and a loyal Free Churchman, Bonar's sympathies went out far beyond his own church. He had friends in many denominations, recognizing "that our agreements were greater than our differences."² He was known in conference gatherings throughout the land, and became "greatly beloved among Christians of all denominations." At his jubilee in 1888, several ministers commented upon his "love to all who love the Lord, under whatever name they worship, and to the whole world in earnest prayer and missionary sympathy."³ When he died, W. Robertson Nicoll said that "his death was a bereavement not to a party or even to a church, but to the devout and earnest among all classes of Christians."⁴ In summarizing

3. Ibid., p. 20.
his ministry, the Presbytery of Glasgow called it a "labour of love."\textsuperscript{1}

\textsuperscript{1} "CSMS Record of the Presbytery of Glasgow," V, 395.
E. Attitude of Firmness

To state that Bonar was humble and loving is not to overlook another trait of his character—his attitude of firmness. It was said that by his life he demonstrated "how 'the meekness and gentleness of Christ' may be combined with unswerving fidelity to truth and principle."¹ This firmness appears even in his personal habits: his orderly arrangement of everything in his home; his insistence that the manse garden always be kept in a very neat condition; and the strict schedule which he set for himself and faithfully observed.²

As Bonar demonstrated in the Dods-Bruce Case, the Robertson Smith Case, the Union Controversy of 1863-1873, and in regard to the issues of Temperance and Sabbath Observance, he could be tenacious and firm even to obstinacy. Concession to error was to him like indulgence in vice. In this respect he resembled the Covenanters and the Reformers who, after the Scriptural saints, were his chief heroes.

He was not afraid to associate his name with the Keswick movement when it was criticized.³ Though some

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2. Related in conversation with S.R. Dunnett, Glasgow, July 16, 1954; and with Mr. and Mrs. A.R. Bonar, Fetcham, Surrey, January 4, 1954.
3. Cf. Barabas, op.cit., p. 100, who quotes the statement of a minister who was interested in the Keswick movement during its early years: "We went to Keswick more or less with the feeling that we were losing our reputation in doing so."
suspected him of being unsound in doctrine,\textsuperscript{1} he stoutly maintained his premillenarian views. His tenacity in holding to his convictions as a Free Church minister was noted by others, and he himself said in 1888: "I have been true to the principles of the Free Church till this hour."\textsuperscript{2}

Those who were but casually acquainted with Bonar were sometimes surprised by the determined force of will that lay beneath his gentle kindliness. When he had once entered upon a course of action, he pursued it with resolution. He was independent in word and action, and what others might think or say of him was of relatively minor consequence. Though his determination could be almost provoking, even his opponents were often forced to admit the value of his arguments and the sincerity of his purpose. When he was a young man, his friend, Patrick Miller of Newcastle, gave to him the nickname of "Old Obstinate," and this remained with him throughout his life.\textsuperscript{3}

Bonar was capable of manifesting great decision and unswerving steadfastness, for he was "strengthened with might by the Spirit in the inner man." Although he was humble about himself and his accomplishments, he was steadfast about his message and his Lord. He did not spend time in balancing probabilities, discussing opinions, and erecting interrogation marks. Instead, he firmly proclaimed an unabashed, triumphant affirmation - "Thus saith the Lord!"

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} W.M. Macgregor, "In Search of a Personal Creed," \emph{The Scots Observer} (May 14, 1927), p. 12.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, pp. 8, 32.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Bonar, \emph{Reminiscences}, p. 133.
\end{itemize}
He was able to do this because he believed that he was communicating God's Word, and not his own. His ministry remains as a testimony to the veracity of P.T. Forsyth's statement: "The world chiefly needs . . . an authoritative Gospel in a humble personality."¹

Bonar was able to be authoritative in proclaiming his message, and in dealing with people, because he himself had already experienced the truth of the power of which he spoke. The Gospel he preached was a real, living reality for him. He was building, not upon rumor or hearsay, but upon the proved facts of his own experience. This is not to say that he kept talking about his own soul, bringing his secret experiences into the light. On the contrary, he carefully refrained from this. The note of autobiography was seldom heard in his sermons. Yet, the reader of his works, even today, cannot fail to notice the firmness with which he spoke from the depths of his own experience.

An important aspect of Bonar's saintly character would be neglected if mention was not made of his rich sense of humor. W.M. Macgregor said of him that "sunshine was a great part of his secret." Though his Diary does not reveal this, he did have a certain joyfulness, a quaint and playful manner, and a particular cheerfulness. Alexander Smellie has thus referred to him as "that sunniest of saintly men." 

For Bonar, many of life's perplexities were solved. He had decided what things are of ultimate value, and he knew that other things did not have to be taken so seriously. He believed that the All-Great is the All-Loving, too, and he was certain that all things rest in the hands of God. Because of this, he evidenced a joyful spirit, which "had for its natural companion the sense of humor."

Bonar's joviality was especially evident when he was in the company of his family or close friends. In such a group, he would often relax and become playful and even

1. W.M. Macgregor, "Dr. Andrew A. Bonar," The Christian Leader, No. 628 (January 11, 1894), XIII, 27.
2. Mrs. H.W. Brown related in correspondence, February 23, 1955, that "Andrew Bonar had much more of a sense of humor than his two brothers Horatius and James!"
childlike. Without making fun of people, he would joke with them about some aspect of their personality, or about something they had said or done. During holiday times he would laugh and play with his children, and write humorous stories, and comic poetry.

In letters to his friends, as well, he liked to chide them playfully about the manner of their dress, the length of their sermons, or even some point in their theology. It is a refreshing thing to find in a man like Bonar a willingness to see the lighter side of things, and not always to be concerned with serious issues. His letters contain many brief poems, such as the following, which was written during a visit to Mull:

I am A.A.B.  
As you at once see;  
Sojourning in Mull,  
And trying to cull  
Sermons from stones,  
And Culdee bones!

His humor, however, was not limited only to his friends. Once, when an excitable gentleman was telling Bonar of a vision of angels he had seen while lying in bed one night, Bonar interrupted him to suggest that perhaps the

2. For examples of such humorous stories, cf. Andrew Bonar, "SMS The People of Loch Ranza, The Gael" (September 14, 1878); "SMS A Suggestion for the Author of 'Bonar's Fables,' The Gael" (August 10, 1874); "SMS Two Stories About Dogs, The Gael" (September 14, 1875); "SMS Unknown Benefactors, The Gael" (August 27, 1871).
vision was due to the activities of a cat in the house.¹

This humor also appeared, on occasions, in the pulpit. Members of Bonar's congregation remember his "happy spirit," his "glad face," and the "twinkle in his eye" while he was preaching.² In a sermon, he once referred to Eutychus, saying it was not fair of some preachers "to make Eutychus a warning to sleepy hearers. He's a warning to beadles to ventilate the church properly!"³

Bonar would sometimes interrupt his public reading of the Scriptures to make some comment. On one Sunday morning the Finnieston congregation was rather small. When the people turned out for the afternoon service, he read the tenth chapter of the book of Acts. As he came to the words - "Now therefore we are all here present before God" - he stopped and said: "I think that is more than some of us could have said this morning!" On another occasion he remarked: "A great many were late this morning, not like Mary Magdalene, early at the sepulchre."⁴

Even while appearing before the General Assembly in 1878, Bonar did not think it out of order to inject an element of humor into his address. As Moderator of that Assembly, he manifested a geniality that surprised many who were there. A battle had been raging between different

¹. Ibid., p. 87.
³. Ibid., p. 144.
⁴. Andrew, op.cit., p. 25.
parties. In his closing address he introduced a humorous analogy between his young opponents and the "Sons of the Prophets" in the Old Testament "who were rather prone to question the positive conclusions of older men," and who would not believe Elijah, but who later learned "that after all he had been in the right."¹

Bonar's sense of humor, like his other traits, contributed towards the strength of his saintly character. W. Robertson Nicoll once stated: "His winning, quaint, and beautiful personality was his chief distinction."² Bonar spoke and acted like a man living in a house with a window open to the Infinite. Alexander Whyte used to say of him that, of all the ministers he knew, "there was no one who lived so consistently 'on the heights' as Andrew Bonar."³ His life was the practical consequence of belief in the Incarnation, and he felt that one of the objects of the Incarnation was to introduce the power to lead a saintly life. He was called to be "an example of the believers."⁴ His saintly life was wedded to his great work, and both were supremely devoted to his Lord. He spoke from personal experience when he said: "Walking with God is life-habit."⁵

¹ Free Church of Scotland, Proceedings and Debates (1878), p. 337.
² Nicoll, op.cit., p. 57.
³ Related in correspondence from Graham Park, a retired minister of the Church of Scotland, formerly of Edinburgh and Glasgow, now of Aberdeen, January 3, 1954.
⁴ I Timothy 4:12.
⁵ Bonar, Heavenly Springs, p. 86.
Chapter IX.
CONCLUSION
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Test everything in your life by this rule, not what pleases others, nor what pleases yourself, but what pleases God.

A. Summary of Bonar's Ministry

Throughout this thesis, appreciations and criticisms have been expressed, explicitly and implicitly. It has seemed wise to offer such evaluations in the context of the discussion, rather than reserve them all for this concluding chapter. It now remains to give a summary and a general estimate of Bonar's life.

As a student at the Divinity Hall in Edinburgh, as a probationer in Jedburgh and Edinburgh, and as an ordained minister in Collace and Glasgow, Bonar lived a life that was singularly devoted to Christ. He formulated no grand plans for his life, but was content to follow where he believed his Master led. His personal relationship with God in Christ was thus the very basis of his life, the strength of his work, and the guiding principle of his thought.

Bonar was firmly convinced that "the way to rise high in Christ's kingdom is to serve much." He demonstrated this axiom in his own long life, with unremitting zeal, believing
that "lengthened life should be lengthened work." During his ministry of nearly sixty years he successfully performed the work of a pastor, preacher, writer, teacher, theologian, and churchman. Because of his devoted and strenuous efforts in these various capacities, he was referred to by many as the "Man of Iron." Notice has been made of the fact that Bonar occasionally took part in affairs that involved the whole Church - the Disruption, the Union Controversy, and the cases regarding Robertson Smith, Dods, and Bruce. Such action was the result of his steadfastness to certain principles and convictions.

For the most part, however, it can be said that the local parish was Bonar's unit of activity. He wrote his books to meet the specific needs of his people, and he formulated his theology while attempting to relate eternal truths to the contemporary problems of the parish. When his name was suggested for a teaching position, he declined the opportunity, preferring instead to confine his teaching to the members of his congregation. "He was first and foremost a minister of Jesus Christ." While he exercised a profound influence upon the moral outlook of the Church as a whole, he also had a great influence upon the lives of the people living in the areas which he served.

Bonar excelled in the role of a pastor, doing all

3. Sutherland, op.cit., p. 5.
that was within his power to promote the spiritual welfare of the people entrusted to his care. He realized the necessity of dealing with them individually, of making their problems his problems, of being interested in every family connected with the church, and of gaining their confidence. It was thus, he said, that "a true pastor must labour - always visiting his people, always praying for them, and always ministering to their souls."¹

As a preacher, too, Bonar exercised a singularly effective ministry. James S. Stewart says: "Bonar's expositions have much to teach us today."² His sermons demonstrate the differences between his day and ours. Then, the preacher was expressing the faith of the gathered congregation. His people had a knowledge of Scripture and an interest in the church which seems to be lacking today.

Further, Bonar's sermons have a relevance for our day. There is still a need for his type of urgent and winsome preaching: Biblical in character, doctrinal in content, and evangelistic in purpose. He brought to the pulpit the reverence for Scripture of the Reformation period, the honor for the headship of Christ of the Covenanter struggle, the freeness of the Gospel offer of the "Marrow Theology," the imagery of Samuel Rutherford, and the joy of the Erskines in the fullness of Christ. Though there is

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much in Bonar's sermons that is now antiquated, the ideals he upheld and the principles he proclaimed might well merit the attention of modern preaching.

Bonar's ministry was greatly extended by means of his literary endeavors. While they manifest his scholarly abilities as a writer, they were not composed in an attempt at literary excellence. He wrote because he desired to meet some need, or to contribute to the spiritual welfare of the Church. Though his books appear to possess a certain sameness, due to their devotional tone and their evangelistic emphasis, they also demonstrate the variety of his interests and the devotedness of his efforts.

Bonar's theological thought, which was an integral part of his life and work, was basically a conservative evangelical type of Calvinism. Though he incorporated into his thought ideas from various sources, he appropriated these in a manner that made them his own. He presented his ideas ethically and experimentally, rather than in a logical system. While his thought had something of the Old Testament, Hebraic religious consciousness, the predominant theme was Jesus Christ. For him, as for Forsyth, "what nature is to science, that is Christ to positive faith."1 He saw in the person of Christ at once the centre of the revelation of God's purpose, the source of the believer's salvation, the strength of the believer's life, and the goal of God's purpose itself.

Bonar's theology was also influenced by the fact that

he was more concerned with action than with speculation. Christianity was more a life to be lived than a creed to be observed; even further, it was not so much a life to be lived, as it was a Person to be loved. His theology was, therefore, relatively simple and direct. He was possessed by a few great ideas, clearly perceived and obstinately held. He was resourceful in the varied treatment of his governing ideas, unashamedly reiterative of them, and amazingly fertile in applying them. Though he often expounded his ideas in a way that may almost be predicted, yet, he never failed to give earnest and concentrated thought to the matter in question. As he himself said:

I attempt nothing new in theology; I leave that to others. I am a minister of Jesus Christ, seeking to interpret for my people what other devoted and true men have said about Him . . . For me, Christ is the foundation of theology and the reason for theology.¹

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¹ Bonar, "SMS Letter, to John Milne" (from Collace: [1852]).
B. Characteristics of Bonar's Ministry

In studying Andrew Bonar's life, work, and thought, among the most prominent characteristics observed is the evangelical nature of his entire ministry. He was "from first to last an ardent evangelical." This can be seen in regard to his own experience. Even before his conversion, he was seeking the blessings of the Evangel. In his later life, he regularly sought and experienced periodical revivings in his own heart. He was always glad to speak with someone about things pertaining to evangelical Christianity. He followed with keen interest all evidences of revival, and he participated in the revivals of 1839-1840, 1859-1860, and in the Moody-Sankey campaigns. When he was chosen as Moderator of the General Assembly in 1878, his friend A.N. Somerville regarded the nomination "as a tribute to Evangelism." Bonar firmly believed that the true Church of Christ in all ages has been evangelical, that its great leaders have been evangelically minded, and that when the Church is weak and ineffective it is usually because of a lapse from its primary mission of evangelism.

This concern for evangelism manifested itself in Bonar's pastoral duties, which he carried out with a passionate desire to save the souls of men. In addressing

2. George Smith, op.cit., p. 304.
him at his ministerial jubilee, a group of ministers whom he had guided earlier in their careers, said: "Throughout your . . . ministry . . . you have been unremittingly and emphatically a seeker of souls, alike in your Bible classes and by personal dealing with individuals." This same characteristic was evident throughout his preaching. The primary purpose of all his sermons was to win men to Christ. His writings, as well, regardless of their nature, were permeated with this passionate desire to evangelize. It was said "that in his estimation the saving of souls is, after all, nobler work than the achievement of mere literary distinction and renown." Then, too, his theology - with its emphasis upon the person and work of Christ, His speedy return, the free offer of the Gospel, and the necessity of faith in Christ - bore witness to Bonar's interest in evangelism. He stressed the psychological, as against the metaphysical, aspect of religion. At the time of his death, it was stated:

He himself indicated the key-note of his life when he caused the verse 'He that winneth souls is wise' to be carved in Hebrew letters above the doorway of his new Church. The passion for soul-winning was the secret of his manifold labours, and no man has had more to do with creating and guiding the spirit of Evangelistic zeal which has accomplished so much in this city during the last thirty years. Wherever Evangelistic movements were going forward his presence was looked for and prized.

Another characteristic, closely related to the

1. Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 16.
foregoing, is the somewhat limited nature of Bonar's ministry. Though he was effective as an evangelist, he failed to take sufficient account of the world at large. This was due not to neglect or timidity, but to his lack of a broad, statesmanlike quality of mind. He tended to undervalue those activities of mankind which did not seem to have a direct bearing upon the state of the soul. His evangelical theory of life loomed so large that, of necessity, it shut out much that gives grace and dignity to life. Carried away by the urgency of his task, he did not always see life steadily and whole. When we make allowance for the evils of his day, and remember how he endeavored to stand for righteousness, we must still feel that his ethical ideal might have been more rich and varied. He pressed to an extreme the opposition between the Church and the world.

Another characteristic of Bonar's ministry is his individualism. While he had a great concern for others, he was also much concerned with his own feelings and thoughts. He tended to be introspective. Further, he regarded the churches he served as groups of individuals, rather than as corporate bodies. Even in relation to the Church as a whole, his thought was rather individualistic. He was not concerned with ecclesiastical polity, and his election as Moderator of the General Assembly in 1878 was in no way the result of his seeking it.

Bonar's concern for individuals appears in almost every aspect of his ministry. He was interested in the
individual members of his church. He preached for the salvation of individuals. He generally chose his sermon texts from the Gospels and the Acts, and the narrative portions of the Old Testament (which may be said to deal more with people), rather than from the Epistles (which may be said to deal more with ideas). This interest in individuals appears also in his literary endeavors – he evidenced a liking for writing biographies, and many of his shorter writings are based upon the life, or an incident in the life of someone. His religious thought, also, was centered in a Person, and all doctrines were discussed in relation to that Person. Though this individualistic emphasis at times proved to be a weakness, it also accounts for much of the strength of his ministry.

Mention ought also to be made of the eminently Biblical character of Bonar’s ministry. It was said that his entire life was moulded upon the Word of God. As a pastor, he brought to his people comfort, guidance, and strength from the Bible. As a preacher, his sermons were expositions of Scripture, in Scriptural language, with Scriptural illustrations. As a teacher, all his classes were known as "Bible Classes." As a writer, no subject was dearer to him than the Book of books, and its influence is prominent throughout all his works. As a theologian, he attempted to base his thought upon the Bible. From first to last, the Bible was his treasury, his authority, and his

1. Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, p. 34.
guide. His mind was so habituated to it that it shaped his thoughts, influenced his words, and directed his actions.

A final characteristic worthy of note is the spiritual nature of Bonar's ministry. Some might prefer the term "otherworldly," and such a term is deserved by Bonar. His writings and sermons furnish abundant evidence of this characteristic, as does his religious thought, with its strong eschatological emphasis. The unseen, eternal world was ever in his thoughts. He believed that the true evaluation of life must rest against the background of its impermanence. He knew that the Christian's citizenship is in heaven. Here we have no abiding city. We seek a better country, that is, a heavenly. The Church upon earth is but a foretaste of what is to come. The Holy Spirit, by which Christians now live, is the earnest of the heavenly inheritance; "He gives us the beginning of what we are to possess in full."¹

For Bonar, life had a seriousness and a significance which seems lacking today. He saw everything in the light of eternity. His utter reliance upon divine aid seemed to vitalize all his efforts. It was said that he built his life upon "complete dependence on obedience to the voice of God."² The presence of Christ seemed so near, the unseen world so vivid, that there was, aside from his desire to win souls, no reluctance to quit life. He wrote: "To win souls, and to know God more, and then to be in the kingdom, is all my desire."³

¹ Bonar, Gospel Truths, p. 112.
³ Bonar, Diary, p. 291.
C. Estimate of Bonar's Ministry

It is, in many ways, a difficult task to estimate the significance of the ministry of a man like Andrew Bonar. On the one hand, there is the great danger of overemphasizing his importance. Through a constant and extended association with his writings, and a continual concern with the facts of his life, he may be viewed in a disproportionate way. On the other hand, there is the lesser danger of not adequately recognizing his significance. Thus, it was said that he "was not valued at anything like his worth." For, though many volumes have been written about his more important contemporaries, he is scarcely mentioned. The solution to this difficulty, however, is not merely to withhold judgment, but to see him from the proper perspective, with an appreciation for his actual accomplishments.

It must be remembered that Andrew Bonar, in his life, work, and thought was a nineteenth century representative of a spirit that has greatly influenced Scotland. Throughout the course of Protestant Scottish Church History there have been two trends of thought and action. Though motives have been mingled, the one may be characterized as moderate, reasoning, and tending to approach problems more from the point of view of the community. The other may be characterized as evangelical, zealous, and tending to approach

problems more from the point of view of the individual.
To this latter element in the Church, represented by such
men as Knox, Melville, Henderson, Rutherford, and Boston,
the spiritual lineage of Bonar may be traced.

In Bonar's time, the leading representative of this
spirit was, no doubt, Thomas Chalmers. John Brown once
said of Chalmers that he was "a solar man, drawing after
him his own firmament of planets."¹ One of these "planets"
was Andrew Bonar, who expressed "the piety, the Evangelicalism,
the personal devotion of [the Scottish] Church to her Lord."²
He was "an evangelical of the evangelicals."³ While his
ministry was uniquely his own, he typified certain features
of Evangelicalism - his evangelistic preaching; his
energetic pastoral efforts; his practical writings; his
Christocentric thought; his puritan-like conception
of worship; his pre-occupation with sacred things; and his
saintly life.

What is more, Bonar was a member of a smaller group
within the Evangelical party,⁴ a group which J.R. Fleming
has called a "School of Saints," and which included, in

⁴. Principal Hugh Watt, New College, Edinburgh, January 14, 1955, related in conversation that Bonar was the out-
standing representative in Glasgow during the latter part
of the nineteenth century of a type of "pietistic
Evangelicalism." This type almost presupposed another
type of Evangelicalism which was more concerned with the
relation of the Church to the world. A representative
of this latter type was William Ross of Cowcaddens, a
addition to Andrew Bonar - William Burns, Horatius Bonar, Robert M'Cheyne, David Sandeman, John Milne, John Baxter, Alexander Moody Stuart, and others. Fleming says that this group, which "recalled the days of Samuel Rutherford and James Guthrie," and which "brought many in the land to their knees," "undoubtedly gave fresh vitality and meaning to the solemn creed on which the people had long been nurtured." ¹ Alexander Whyte, also, speaks of this group as "that school of scholars, and preachers, and pastors ... that were united together, and made such an impression on Scotland." ² At Bonar's death, the Free Presbytery of Glasgow recognized that he was an outstanding representative "of a remarkable group of friends, refined, scholarly, and intensely earnest, who although they did not develop into leaders of the Church in her Ecclesiastical Courts were perhaps more directly in contact with the religious heart of the people than even the famous leaders of that time." ³

Andrew Bonar's significance is to be realized, however, not only in the position which he occupied as an evangelical, but also by the influence which he exercised upon others. This influence appears in a variety of ways. ⁴ His

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1. Fleming, op. cit., I, 8.
2. Quoted in Memories of Horatius Bonar, p. 78.
4. Such influence is difficult to measure. It appears in such things as: the number of obituaries published at his death, the number of persons who still are interested in visiting his church in Glasgow, and the large response to the present author's appeal in several British newspapers for information regarding Bonar. It appears also in the fact that many people admired him to the extent of naming their children after him. Cf. M. Bonar, "SMS
activities as a preacher and a pastor impressed many of his contemporaries, and remain to this day as a pattern and an ideal of Christian service. His writings, as well, were widely circulated in Great Britain and elsewhere, and influenced "many in many lands."

Though most of them are now almost forgotten, some of his devotional writings, particularly his Diary and the Memoir of M'Cheyne, are still read today. Since the Memoir was first published in 1844, until the present day, not a decade has passed without at least one new edition appearing from the press. While his type of theology had but little influence upon the thought of his time, it was accepted and maintained by a great number of Christians, and is still held by many even today.

It sometimes happens that men who have exercised an influence for good in public affairs have failed to exercise a similar influence upon the members of their own family. Such was not the case with Andrew Bonar. There is every

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December 30, 1892," pp. 4f. Perhaps the most famous of such persons was Andrew Bonar Law (1858-1923), the great British statesman. Finally, Bonar's influence appears in such brief references as the following: (1) Butler, op.cit., p. 221, speaks of Andrew and Horatius Bonar as "eminent forces in the spiritual life of Scotland in the nineteenth century." (2) Handley C.G. Moule, Charles Simeon (London: Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1948), p. 115, speaks of England's debt to Scotland for the "words and work" of Andrew Bonar.

evidence that his wife and children regarded him with great
love, admiration, and respect. His daughter Mary, a nurse,
was active in church activities. His daughter Marjory, who
edited certain of his writings, was a devoted Bible teacher.
His daughter Isabella was an energetic laborer in the Y.W.C.A.,
and later married William Oatts, who was associated with
Y.M.C.A. work in Glasgow. Another daughter, Jane, married
D.M. M'Intyre, his successor at Finnieston, and later the
Principal of the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow. His
son James was a lecturer in Political Economy, and later became
Senior Examiner of the Civil Service Commission.¹ He was
considered to be an authority on Adam Smith.² His writings,
in which he exhibited the same scholarly spirit as his father,
include Malthus and His Work, Ricardo's Letters to Malthus,
Philosophy and Political Economy, Elements of Political
Economy, and Moral Sense. Though the subject matter is
different, there is manifest an interest similar to that of
his father in the welfare of others, a similar acquaintance
with the Bible, and a similar humble, reverent spirit.³
Andrew Bonar's grandchildren, and his great-grandson, as well,
somehow retain a spirit, an attitude, and an outlook that is
much akin to his own.

Bonar's influence upon the churches he served is

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¹ Related in conversation with Mr. and Mrs. H.W. Brown,
Bournemouth, January 6, 1954.
² G. Findlay Shirras, James Bonar, 1852-1941 (London:
Humphrey Milford, 1942), pp. 1ff.
³ It is interesting to notice that whereas Andrew Bonar
had but little concern for social and economic
issues, such became the subject for a lifetime of
study by his son.
indicated by such statements as the following, made to him by members of his Collace congregation:

When you came amongst us, Collace, as regards spiritual life, was comparatively a desert; when you left, it was like a 'watered garden - a field which the Lord had blessed.' And after the lapse of more than thirty years, the effects of your faithful ministry remain to this day, both in living souls and in the social and religious habits of the people. 1

Members of his Finnieston congregation, as well, testified to his influence upon their church. 2 Of his Glasgow ministry, W. Robertson Nicoll said: "His existence came to be in the great city of the west, like the witness of a Church spire pointing to God." 3

Bonar also exercised a strong influence in the extension of missions to the Jews - by his trip to Palestine, and the book telling of that trip, by his labors in connection with the Jewish Committee of the Free Church, and by his personal efforts. This influence was so great that it was said: "In Scotland, Dr. Bonar's name stands as the representative for interest in Israel." 4

One of the greatest influences Bonar had was upon young men - hundreds of students from the nearby Free Church Divinity Hall in Glasgow who took part in the activities at Finnieston, and the many students of his own church who claimed him as their "spiritual father." 5 These men went out to serve as

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2. Ibid., pp. 10ff.
5. One of the best known of these men was Donald Fraser, Moderator of the General Assembly, and a pioneer African missionary. A chapel in the Church of Scotland Office Building, 121 George Street, Edinburgh,
ministers and missionaries, at home and abroad, "in India, Africa, China, and through the Colonies."\(^1\)

In all his activities, Bonar's influence was undergirded by the strength of his character. This is a great need of the Church in any generation - the need for men and women to demonstrate by their lives the reality of the truth they proclaim. No church is so rich in noble lives that it can afford to neglect its inheritance in the saints. In Bonar, the Scottish Church has a saint to be remembered.

Bonar's value for today lies largely in the ideal he set of a saintly, dedicated, able, and indefatigable minister of Jesus Christ. While he was a child of his own romantic period, and shared many of the limitations of his time, he also had the Word of the Lord for that day. He was able to proclaim the everlasting Gospel for his generation, so as to reach its mind, touch its heart, and move its will.

Every generation needs to be reminded of such men as Bonar, whose lives are consumed by the Gospel of Christ and dedicated to the extension of His Kingdom. Patrick Carnegie Simpson once wrote: "The greatness of a man is to be estimated by two things: first, by the extent of his influence upon mankind; and secondly, - for no one is great

\(^1\) Cf. Agnes R. Fraser, Donald Fraser (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1934), P. 10.

\(^1\) Ministerial Jubilee of Andrew Bonar, pp. 18f.
who is not also good - by the dignity of his character." 1

By this standard, we have in Andrew Bonar a man well worth remembering.

He had eyes lifted up to heaven, the best of books in his hand, the law of truth written upon his lips, the world was behind his back; he stood as if he pleaded with men, and a crown of gold did hang over his head.

APPENDICES

I. Genealogical Table of the Bonar Family
   (By courtesy of Dr. A. B. Macnicol, Edinburgh. Andrew Bonar's direct lineage is marked in red.)

II. First Page from Andrew Bonar's Diary
   (This page, actual size, shows the first entries made by Bonar in 1828, using Byrom's Shorthand. Surrey Manuscript)

III. First Page from Andrew Bonar's Interleaved Bible
     (Actual size. Finnieston Manuscript)

IV. Sermon Manuscript of Andrew Bonar
     (These four pages, actual size, show the type of notes frequently used by Bonar in preaching. Surrey Manuscript)

V. First Page from the Manuscript Copy, by Andrew Bonar and Robert M'Cheyne, of the Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews
     (Actual size. Palmer Manuscript)

VI. Letter by Andrew Bonar, to Robert M'Cheyne's Mother
     (Two-thirds actual size. Surrey Manuscript)
Genealogical Table of the Bonar Family

(By courtesy of Dr. A. B. Macnicol, Edinburgh. Andrew Bonar's direct lineage is marked in red.)

xxxii
First Page from Andrew Bonar's Diary
(This page, actual size, shows the first entries made by Bonar in 1828, using Byron's Shorthand.)
THE FIRST BOOK OF MOSES,
CALLED

GENESIS.

CHAP. I.

1 And the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.

2 And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

3 And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.

4 And God saw the light, that it was good: and God divided the light from the darkness.

5 And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.

6 And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.

7 And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so.

8 And God called the firmament Heaven. And the evening and the morning were the second day.

9 And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so.

10 And God called the dry land Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that it was good.

11 And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself, to seed every tree of the field after his kind, and all herb yielding seed after his kind, whose seed is in itself, to seed every herb of the field after his kind.

12 And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself, to seed every tree of the field after his kind, and all herb yielding seed after his kind, whose seed is in itself, to seed every herb of the field after his kind.

13 And the evening and the morning were the third day.

14 And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven, to divide the day from the night: and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years;

15 And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.

16 And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he called the name of the lesser light Evening, and the name of the greater light Morning, and the evening and the morning were the fourth day.

17 And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth,

18 And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that it was good.

19 And the evening and the morning were the fourth day.

20 And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the firmament of heaven.

21 And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that it was good.

22 And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth.

23 And the evening and the morning were the fifth day.

24 And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so.

25 And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that it was good.

26 And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

27 So God created man in his own image: in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.

28 And God blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

29 And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat.

30 And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life: I have given every green herb for meat; even as the herb

A3
Sermon Manuscript of Andrew Bonar

(These four pages, actual size, show the type of notes frequently used by Bonar in preaching.)

XXXV
APPENDIX IV.

I find in the Evangelists of Matt. 14, 21. a very striking parallel example for such a task. The children of a larger family have been gathered about the Master and have been uncontrolled with a certain ill-tempered grace. A moment after, the Master breaks the bread and the fish, and calls the disciples to distribute it to the multitude. The children, having been thus provided with food, begin to eat. The disciples are thus left alone to distribute the food. The Master's action is simple and kind, but it is also a profound lesson to the disciples. They are left alone to distribute the food, and they must do it with care and attention. The children are thus left alone to enjoy their food, and they must do it with care and attention. The disciples are thus left alone to distribute the food, and they must do it with care and attention.

In the meantime, the disciples have been collecting the remains of the food, and they have been putting them into a basket. The Master has been watching them, and he has been saying to them, "You have done well. You have collected the remains of the food, and you have put them into a basket." The disciples have been saying to the Master, "Yes, Lord, we have collected the remains of the food, and we have put them into a basket." The Master has been saying to the disciples, "You have done well. You have collected the remains of the food, and you have put them into a basket."

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The disciples have been saying to the Master, "Yes, Lord, we have collected the remain
APPENDIX IV.

Persians are the result of sex. Better, no sex. Another way—i.e., in biological plate-making, can open many weddings. Delhi and all.  Other, the Rams are the very thing. He was to hand, no finger, no feet, no tongue & voice. The holy voice. Around as the thing.


The Lord: Where is the king? He asked them. He gave them all. He asked them. The Lord: 5th 11th 15th 28th (2 Days of 1874). Do you see? But carried off, away. Attention & mighty feeling. But "Where?" en Chao, out to Mary Yee, now King. When it is 12th from, it is through look. Our, this is the kind of communication. Etc.

"Such as should be seen", is an inadequate translation, by Mr. Wilkins. Y & Qi, "Such as seen in a state of wonder." what else?  He sees who has seen.

And the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st. "Where?" 7th Nov., 24th. The 25th is subscribed to the 19th, who 26th is 27th, the 27th 28th. The 27th end of. 7th 11th. At this there—

IV. Daily

The look went on. Not cancer. Day by day. Done—begot waiting. After such time! Yes, you not getting much? Wasn't satisfied till—

We spoke of "Coincidence in prayer" in the cassette. "When is Mr. Andrews."

But then each other's idea. "Daily in the People" in the. Heavy tables. Worship, learning from O. T. Etc., especially for a time. Where are the great-footed ones, to just all knowing! Breaking in," said. "Hells, don't like the wind."

I shall find a place. "When the world is cold" and learning the most proofs play—

"Ahh, how they love", "Come, thanks for each pleasure etc."
A.P. Pendix IV D

APPENDIX IV. D

It may have been in 23rd May 1845. It was -- whatever. I remember my father had a very
old amount of gold telling me how to have -- something once took and then in
words, 'I've seen B.' May he not expect war -- as 'A day approaches.'

Yes, it is he knew but that makes. Dr. Lambenden he to introduce just the, the
same spirit the delight to -- I want to play it - reading--

Young people, the same older you. You were away to your own. Like the other
by Father telling you -- but to that we have better's time to tell.

'And Christ that view -- Today of you -- Daily points to the ark's open door. Dear
calling not daily is seeking in eating. This you may hear. But when -- saying, take this,
'None -- hidden -- haste.' So not quickly. Do not into high hope, ye. Be following
of those who had faith, patience are interesting to foregoing.

Come, let's now enjoy where we have obtained the peace,
where A. each thing a great rise,
To joys celestial, Now.

'I asked the Lord where their victory came,
my lords under foremost
As quickly then conquer to the Lord,
Reid thought to this death.'

(Quotations VICT 166, 9)

Ps. 126. 6.

30

Glasgow Sept 1845
Dunbar 27th 1836.
Since this is the only attempt to study Andrew Bonar, it seemed well to include in the Bibliography all of his widely scattered writings which have been discovered and used in the preparation of the present thesis. The manuscript materials are arranged according to their location, though most of the Palmer Manuscripts have now been deposited with the New College Library, Edinburgh. With the exception of the Memoir of M'Cheyne, no significant changes appear in later editions of Bonar's published writings. The editions actually used in the preparation of this thesis are given below; the fact that there are other editions of a particular work is likewise indicated. It seemed well, also, to annotate briefly the works of Bonar.

To facilitate reference, secondary works are listed separately. This is a selected Bibliography: it consists, not of all the works consulted, but of those to which direct reference has been made, or those considered to be of special importance in understanding the subject under investigation.

I. WORKS BY ANDREW BONAR

A. Manuscript Materials

1. Bournemouth, England (Mr. & Mrs. H. W. Brown) "BMS"

"Autobiographical Notes." [A brief record of some of the main events of Bonar's life, written shortly before his death.]

"The Hunted Hare." [Notes of an evangelistic article, in story form, stressing the necessity for faith in Christ.]

A Collection of 136 letters, written by Andrew Bonar throughout his Glasgow ministry to the various members of his family. [These letters, while concerned primarily with family affairs, afford insight into Bonar's character and reveal many of his opinions on the events of the day.]

2. Finnieston Church, Glasgow "FMS"

"Interleaved Bible," 3 vols. [These three volumes contain the notes which Bonar carefully took in his study of the Bible, from 1828 till the time of his death. Though the notes on any one..."
section are brief, they cover the entire Bible.

3. New College Library, Edinburgh "NCMS"

"Essays of the Exegetical Society," 4 vols., Edinburgh: Divinity Hall, 1831-1835. [These volumes contain, in the handwriting of the various members, the essays delivered during the course of the meetings of the society. They have been arranged, with a table of contents and a Scriptural index, by Bonar. Thirty-five of his essays are included; references to them will be found in the footnotes, particularly in Chapter II.]

"Minutes of the Exegetical Society," 2 vols., Edinburgh: Divinity Hall, 1831-1835. [During the entire period of the society's existence, Bonar served as the Secretary, and kept careful minutes of the proceedings.]

A collection of eight letters, written by Andrew Bonar on his trip to Palestine in 1839. [These letters, particularly the one addressed to R.S. Candlish, contain the impressions gained by Bonar on his trip to Palestine.]

A collection of five letters, written by Andrew Bonar to Robert M'Cheyne. [These letters, written during Bonar's early Collace ministry, are included in a collection of M'Cheyne's papers.]

4. Robert E. Palmer "PMS"

"The Church of Scotland's Care for Israel. Being 'A Narrative of Enquiries into the present condition of the Jews in Palestine and Other Countries' made by a Deputation of Ministers of the Church of Scotland in the year 1839." [This is the manuscript copy of the Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews by Andrew Bonar and Robert M'Cheyne. It contains their notes, as arranged for publication.]

A collection of twenty-three letters, written by Andrew Bonar throughout his life. [These letters were written mainly to various members of Bonar's congregations in Collace and Glasgow, though eight of them were written to his friend A.N. Somerville. They have been furnished to the present author by descendents of those who received them.]
5. Fetcham, Surrey (Mr. & Mrs. A.R. Bonar) "SMS"

"Added Daily." [Notes of a sermon on Acts 2:47, delivered in Glasgow and Dundee in the year 1886.]

"August, 1873." [This journal reveals Andrew Bonar's reflections as he toured Holland and Germany, "specially Luther's Land," during August, 1873.]

"Cases of Blessing." [A record of the evidences of revival in Finnieston Church, from 1888 till the time of Bonar's death. This brief journal also contains some notes relating to Bonar's participation in Moody's campaign in Scotland, which lasted from November, 1891, till March, 1892.]

"Collection of Poems by Rev. A.A. Bonar, D.D." [These verses were written by Bonar, primarily during his vacation periods, and collected by his family into one volume of eighteen poems.]

"Communicants of the Free Protesting Church of Scotland in the Parish of Collace and its Neighborhood." [Bonar's private record of calls made, and other happenings connected with his pastoral ministry, from 1843 till 1856.]

"Convocation - 1842." [Bonar took notes, in Byrom's short-hand, of the proceedings of this gathering of ministers in Edinburgh, from November 17 - 24, 1842. These notes contain a general outline of the meetings, with brief comments by Bonar.]

"Diary," 2 vols. [These two volumes of Bonar's Diary, kept continuously from 1828 till his death in 1892, were written by him in Byrom's short-hand. Approximately one-fifth of the entries in these volumes were omitted from the published Diary.]

"An Eight Days Visit to Scenes of Revival in Ulster." [This journal of Bonar's visit to Ireland, August 1 - 8, 1859, contains his description of the things he saw and the people he met during that time. While it is concerned mainly with individual cases of conversion, it also includes Bonar's general observations regarding the religious awakening.]

"Fifty Two Sermons." [This volume contains the notes of fifty-two of Bonar's sermons, preached between 1890 and 1892. They have been taken down, largely in Byrom's short-hand, by his daughter, Marjory Bonar.]
Forty Seven Sermons. [This contains forty-seven of Bonar's sermons, preached between 1873 and 1887. They have been neatly copied by his daughter, Marjory Bonar, and arranged with an index. This valuable volume contributes as much to an understanding of Bonar's homiletics as does any other single source.]

The Glory of Christ. [Notes of a sermon on John 17:1-5, delivered at Finnieston.]

God's Parable. [Notes of a sermon on II Samuel 12:1-12, Nathan speaking to David, delivered in Finnieston.]

Jesus Christ Teaching. [Notes of a sermon on Matthew 5 - 7, delivered in Finnieston.]

London, 1875. [Notes taken by Bonar during his visit to London in July, 1875, to take part in the revival work under Moody. Bonar mentions speaking to groups of converts, and to overflow crowds; and he refers to conversations with Moody.]

Memorials of Mrs. Andrew A. Bonar for the use of the Family. [This volume was written by Bonar in 1865, as he recalled some of the events in the life of his recently departed wife. Included are several letters written by Mrs. Bonar, and portions of her Diary.]

Modern Thought, The Gael (March 19, 1881), XI, 3ff. ["The Gael" was a private paper, written by the various members of Bonar's family during their vacation periods in Mull. This article contains Bonar's views regarding the Revised Version of the Bible of 1881.]

Moody's Visit to Glasgow, 1874. [This journal contains notices of some of Bonar's activities in connection with Moody's visit to Glasgow in February - May, 1874.]

The New Jerusalem. [Notes of a sermon on Revelation 21:1-27, delivered at Finnieston.]

Notes of an Address Delivered in 1874. [Delivered in the Finnieston Church.]

Notes of the General Assembly of 1871. [At this Assembly, Bonar delivered a sermon on Psalm 118:22-24; he also spoke against the proposed union with the United Presbyterian Church. In these notes Bonar records some of the main events of the Assembly.]
"Notes of a Journey - 1873." [Bonar records his impressions during a journey taken in August, 1873, to the Netherlands and Germany.]

"Notes on Jubilee Services in St. Peter's, Dundee," 1886. [Bonar spoke at these Jubilee Services which were held in commemoration of the opening of the church in 1836, and the ordination of Robert M'Cheyne as minister of the congregation.]

"Notes of a Sermon on Isaiah 64:6." [A sermon delivered at a Finnieston prayer meeting.]


"Notes of a Sermon on Acts 19:1-7." [A sermon, delivered sometime at Finnieston.]

"Notes of a Sermon on II Peter 2:4." [A sermon delivered at a Finnieston Sunday morning service.]

"Notes taken during the General Assembly of 1878." [This was the year in which Bonar served as Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly. The notes give certain brief impressions of the Assembly, and a list of Bonar's preaching engagements for the following year.]

"Outlines of Ancient Geography." [These notes on ancient geography and historical events were made by Bonar in 1825 in connection with his studies.]

"The People of Loch Ranza, The Gael!" (September 14, 1875), II, 1ff. [This article was written by Bonar for the amusement of his children during one of their vacations in Mull.]

"Record of Communion Seasons, 1887 - 1892." [In this book, Bonar recorded the names of the visiting ministers and something about the sermons they preached at Finnieston, particularly during the Communion seasons.]

"Register of Baptisms, Free Church of Collace," 1843 - 1856. [Bonar kept this personal record during his Free Church ministry in Collace.]

"Revival Notes," 1859 - 1860. [Bonar visited the scenes of revival in 1859 - 1860 and recorded his impressions. Among the places mentioned are Dundee, Aberdeen, Eyemouth, Strathmore, Collace, Woodside, Coupar Angus, Kelso, and Perth.]
"Revival Scenes." [In the pages of these notes, Bonar has recorded the various evidences of revival in Scotland during the years 1862-1872.]

"Roll of Communicants, Free Church of Collace," 1843-1856. [This was a record of Bonar's, in which he noted the names of the members, their births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths.]

"The Seven Vials." [Notes of a sermon on Revelation 16:1-21, delivered at Finnieston.]

"Some Account of Elizabeth Morrison." [This biography, in manuscript form, was later embodied in a 57-page pamphlet by Bonar, entitled, Joy in Christ; The Story of a Young Believer. In the latter part of the manuscript volume, there is a short account of the spiritual pilgrimage of another member of Bonar's flock - James Keay.]

"A Suggestion for the Author of 'Bonar's Fables; The Gael" (August 10, 1874), III, 11ff. [In this article, Bonar makes fun of his own habit in preaching of using his imagination to supplement what is actually known of a Scripture character.]


"The Three Enemies of God." [Notes of a sermon on Revelation 12:1-17, delivered at Finnieston.]

"To the Members and Adherents of the Free Church, Collace, in regard to the Sustentation or Pastoral Fund." [A plea by Bonar for financial assistance, to his flock in the newly formed Free Church of Collace.]

"Translation of Persius. Satire I. To Cornelius: Juvenal Satire XIV; Odes of Horace. Book III." [These translations were made in conjunction with Bonar's studies at the High School in Edinburgh.]

"Two Remarkable Sights to be Seen in the Island of Lismore, The Gael" (September 24, 1887), XVII, 1ff. [In this article, Bonar evidences his interest in past Scottish History.]

"Two Stories About Dogs, The Gael" (September 14, 1875), VI, 9ff. [A fable.]

"Unknown Benefactors, The Gael" (August 27, 1871), IV, 19f. [A fable.]
"A Very Present Help." [Notes of a sermon on Psalm 46:1, delivered in Finnieston.]

"Visit to America in 1881." [A journal of Bonar's visit to America, giving his itinerary, and some of his impressions of the journey.]

"Visit to Ferryden in 1859." [A journal of Bonar's visit to the fishing village of Ferryden during the revival there, December 16 - 20, 1859.]

"The Word of Life." [Notes of a sermon on I John 1-10, delivered in Finnieston.]

A Collection of three letters, written by Andrew Bonar to his parishioners in Collace, during his visit to Palestine in 1839. [The letters, written during May, June, and September, 1839, are of value in illuminating Bonar himself, rather than for the information they give of the scenes he saw and the people he met.]

A Collection of thirty-eight letters, written by Andrew Bonar during his Collace and Glasgow ministries to his friends. [These valuable letters, which were written to Robert M'Cheyne, M'Cheyne's mother, Horatius Bonar, John Bonar, William Bonar (Andrew Bonar's brothers), and John Milne, reveal much about Bonar's thought and attitudes.]

6. University of Edinburgh Library "UEMS"

"Minutes of the Classical Society," Edinburgh University, 1828 - 1830. [Bonar was Secretary of the society during this period, and carefully recorded its proceedings.]

B. Major Works


A Commentary on the Book of Leviticus, London: James Nisbet & Co., 1846. [A devotional and critical commentary. Other editions appeared in 1847, 1861, and 1875. It was translated into the Rarotonga language, and published in 1856. Bonar's sacrificial conception of the Atonement is here set forth. This volume is his magnum opus.]

Diary and Letters, transcribed and ed. by Marjory Bonar, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893. [This posthumous volume contains the greater part of Bonar's Diary, and includes several of his letters. It is edited, with a preface, by his daughter, Marjory Bonar. A popular edition was published in 1910. This valuable volume is basic for an understanding of Bonar's life.]

Emelia Geddie: A Child of the Covenant, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., 1853. ["An example alike to Old and Young." A religious biography of Covenanting times.]

The Gospel Pointing to the Person of Christ, Edinburgh: Andrew Stevenson, 1888. [A theological treatise, relating various doctrines to the central theme of the person of Jesus Christ. First published in 1852, other editions appeared in 1860, 1861, 1868, and 1913. This volume contributes much towards an understanding of Bonar's theology.]

Gospel Truths, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., 1878. [A volume of sixteen of Bonar's sermons, preached at various times.]


James Scott, a Labourer for God, London: Morgan & Scott, 1885. [A biography of an evangelical worker in Glasgow, with especial attention given to Scott's participation in the Moody-Sankey campaigns in Scotland.]

Memoir of the Life and Brief Ministry of the Rev. David Sandeman, Missionary to China, London: James Nisbet & Co., 1867. [A lengthy biography of one who was a Free Church minister, and later a missionary in China.]
Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1892. [This biography, along with certain remains, was first published in 1844. Since that time a great many editions have been published both in Great Britain and abroad. It has been translated into Gaelic, Dutch, German, and French. In the course of the preparation of this thesis, editions have been discovered which were published in 1844, 1852, 1854, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1863, 1868, 1875, 1886, 1887, 1892, 1894, 1900, 1910, 1913, 1920, 1937, 1947, 1951, and 1953.]

Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839, written in collaboration with R.M. M'Cheyne, Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Co., 1878. [This volume, the majority of which was written by Bonar, contains a detailed narrative of the deputation sent out by the Church of Scotland in 1839 to investigate the prospects of a mission to the Jews in Palestine and Europe. First published in 1842, other editions appeared in 1843, and 1852. A French translation appeared in 1844, and a Dutch translation appeared in 1851.]

The Old Gospel Way: or, the Marrow of what old divines have said upon the Gospel, Edinburgh: James Taylor, [1859.] [The preface is signed, A.A.B. First published in 1853, other editions appeared in 1860, 1861, and 1878.]

Palestine for the Young, London: R.T.S., 1865. [This volume describes in detail the geography of the Holy Land, and discusses the various Biblical events and personages related to the different places. Another edition appeared in 1866.]

Redemption Drawing Nigh. A defence of the premillennial advent, London: James Nisbet & Co., 1847. [This is an attempt to set forth the theological and practical significance of the doctrine of the premillennial advent of Christ.]

Reminiscences of Andrew A. Bonar, ed. by Marjory Bonar, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1895. [This volume contains several of Bonar's letters, sermons, and addresses, along with certain recollections of him by his daughter, Marjory Bonar.]

Sheaves After Harvest. A Group of Addresses by Dr. A.A. Bonar, ed. by his daughters, London: Pickering & Inglis, [1936.] [These sermons and addresses, posthumously published, were delivered by Bonar between 1870 and 1889.]
C. Works Edited and Prefaced

The Case stated. Statement by Ministers and Other Office-Bearers of the Free Church in Regard to the Decisions of Last General Assembly in the Cases of Drs. Dods and Bruce, Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1890. [Bonar was the Convener of the committee which prepared this statement. The statement is prefaced by an introduction written by him.]

Fourteen Communion Sermons of Samuel Rutherford, ed. with a preface and notes by Andrew Bonar, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., 1876. [Bonar carefully edited twelve of Rutherford's sermons, with a preface.]

Letters of Samuel Rutherford, With a Sketch of His Life and Biographical Notices of His Correspondents, ed. by Andrew Bonar, London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1891. [This is an excellent edition of Rutherford's letters. The brief biography of Rutherford, and the sketches of his correspondents, are well written. First published in 1848, other editions appeared in 1863 (2 vols.), 1894, 1899, 1900, 1905, and 1906.]


Macdonald, John, May I Go to the Ball?, with a preface by Andrew Bonar, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co.: n.d. [Andrew Bonar expressed here his disapproval of dancing.]

Quaint Sermons of Samuel Rutherford Hitherto Unpublished, ed. with a preface by Andrew Bonar, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1885. [This edition was prepared by Andrew Bonar from a manuscript volume of miscellaneous sermons.]


Tyler, Bennet, Nettleton and His Labours, ed. by Andrew Bonar, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1854. [Bonar "remodelled in some parts" and wrote an introduction to Tyler's biography.]

D. Tracts, Pamphlets, and Individual Sermons

All my Class for Jesus, Edinburgh: James Taylor & Co., [1891]. [A challenge to Sabbath School teachers; written in verse form.]

The Altar Fire, Montrose: George Walker, 1860. [This expository sermon on Leviticus 6:9-13, appears also in The Christian Treasury (1860), pp. 433ff.]


"Are there Few That Be Saved?," Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, September, 1868. [An exposition of Luke 13:23-24. Reprinted in November, 1886. Bonar was a member of the Board of Directors of the Scottish Monthly Visitor Tract Society from 1872 till 1892. This pamphlet is anonymous, as are all the pamphlets published by the Monthly Visitor Tract Society. However, in investigating the financial records of that society, it was discovered by the present author that sums of money were given to Andrew Bonar in payment for certain pamphlets which he had written. From these records, the authorship of the various pamphlets can be determined.]

"At Mid-day, O King!", Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [A gospel tract.]

Baptism Briefly Opened Up and Applied, London: James Nisbet & Co., 1844. [This pamphlet contains Bonar's explanation of the sacrament of baptism. It was reprinted many times.]

Baptism Explained, Stirling: Drummond's Tract Depot, [1913]. [Revised and abridged from Baptism briefly opened up and applied.]

"Behold Me! Behold Me!", Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, November, 1891. [An evangelistic pamphlet. This appears, in a slightly modified form, under the title, "Behold Me!", as a tract published by Charles Glass & Co. of Glasgow, n.d.]


Certainty: or, Can a Man Know that he is Saved?,

Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [A gospel tract.]

Circular Against Revision of the Constitution of the Free
Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, n.p., May 11, 1871.
[This pamphlet, against a revision of the Constitution
of the Free Church, was written by Bonar and certain
other ministers, such as A. Moody Stuart and
Alexander Cumming.]

Colonel Gardner, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, October, 1875.
[A brief biographical sketch of this Scottish soldier
of the eighteenth century.]

Coming to Christ, "Stirling Series, No. 4095," Stirling:
Drummond's Tract Depot, n.d. ["Suitable for
inquiring," this evangelistic sermon appears also in
The Christian Treasury (1873), pp. 229ff.; and in
Gospel Truths, pp. 197ff.]

Communion Sermon, Glasgow: n.p., 1892. [An expository
sermon on Psalm 88:1-5, preached in the Finnieston
Church in January, 1892.]

Consolation in Christ, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, March,
1858. [An evangelistic pamphlet. Reprinted in
April, 1874.]

["For Parents, Sabbath School Teachers, and all
interested in the Salvation of the Young."]

Convinced of Misery, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d.
[This discussion of the necessity of faith in a
believer's life also appears in The Christian
Treasury (1871), pp. 106ff.; and in The Children's
Record (October, 1871), pp. 146ff.]

Crossing the Bridge, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., [1880].
[This evangelistic tract, written on the occasion of
the opening of the Tay Bridge, was reprinted in

[This expository sermon on Psalm 75:8, also appears
in The Christian Treasury (1869), pp. 421ff.; and in
Gospel Truths, pp. 181ff.]

Danger Signals, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [A
gospel tract.]
Death or Life This Year, Stirling: Drummond's Tract Depot, [1883]. [Author's name on page 14. A gospel tract, reprinted in 1902.]

"Do Ye Not Remember?", Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, July, 1884. [An evangelistic pamphlet.]

Dr. Adoniram Judson, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, November, 1884. [A brief sketch of the life of this great missionary.]

"Dreams Gone, Desolations Come," Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, March, 1870. [This sermon appears also in Gospel Truths, pp. 205ff.]

Duncan Matheson, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, August, 1871. [An account of a Scottish home missionary.]

The Duty and Privilege of Making Personal Effort for Others. [This speech by Bonar was delivered in the Free Presbytery of Glasgow on November 29, 1870. It was extracted from the records and circulated among the ministers of that presbytery.]


Ecclesiastical Obedience, A Respectful Answer to Dr. Candlish's Appeal, written in collaboration with A. Moody Stuart, Edinburgh: John Maclaren, 1871. [This pamphlet was also issued in the same year, by the same publisher, under the title, Ecclesiastical Order. It clearly reveals Bonar's feelings about the proposed union of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church. Also, Bonar here expresses his views regarding the relationship of Church and State.]

Finnieston District Mission, Glasgow: n.p., 1877. [A summary of the work of the Finnieston Church in 1877.]


From Strength to Strength: four addresses to young believers, London: James Nisbet & Co., 1882. [These sermons were delivered during Moody's meetings in Glasgow in 1882.]


George Whitefield, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, September, 1873. [A biographical sketch of Whitefield.]


God's Ways, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, September, 1863.  [This account of one woman's conversion appears also in The Christian Treasury (1863), pp. 51ff.]

The Great Giver teaching to give, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d.  [This sermon also appears in Gospel Truths, pp. 133ff.]


Henry Wight, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, November, 1877.  [A brief sketch of Wight, who labored in Edinburgh as a home missionary during the early part of the nineteenth century.]


The Hiding Place, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d.  [A gospel tract.]

Holiness: what God offers and makes possible to attain,  
Stirling: Drummond's Tract Depot, [1903].  [This pamphlet, which was first printed during Bonar's lifetime, presents his opinion that holy life should be the goal of every believer.]

The Holy Spirit Convincing, Stirling: Drummond's Tract Depot, [1883].  [This address, originally delivered at a Perth Convention in 1883, appears also in Sheaves After Harvest, pp. 62ff.]

The Holy Spirit, Specially as the Seal, the Earnest, and the Intercessor in us, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d.  [This sermon, on the work of the Holy Spirit, appears also in The Christian Treasury (1874), pp. 493ff.; and in Gospel Truths, pp. 109ff.]

How Am I to Believe?, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, December, 1877.  [An evangelistic pamphlet.]

How Faith Receives Christ and rests in Him: an illustration,  
Stirling: Drummond's Tract Depot, [1885].  [This address, originally delivered at a Perth Conference in 1885, appears also in Sheaves After Harvest, pp. 80ff.]


"If We Sit Still," Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, November, 1882. [An evangelistic pamphlet.]

"I'll not submit to it," Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [A gospel tract.]


Isaac Watts, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, August, 1876. [A brief sketch of the great hymn writer.]

"Jehovah-Shalom": or, "The Way to Get Peace of Conscience, and to Keep it," Glasgow: Cheap Publication Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, 1845. [Monthly Series of Tracts, No. VI. A gospel tract.]

Jesus Pierced. A New Year's Address to the Young, Montrose: George Walker, 1861. [This expository sermon, on John 19:32-37, was reprinted in The Christian Treasury (1878), pp. 401ff.]

John Campbell of Kingsland, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, October, 1883. [A brief sketch of the life of this Scottish missionary.]

Joy in Christ: the Story of a Young Believer, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., 1870. [Written "for young women and advanced female classes." This was reprinted in 1878.]

The Key of Death, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [A gospel tract.]

Last Years of John Wesley, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, March, 1887. [An account of some of Wesley's last efforts.]
Lecture on Scripture Geography. [A lecture delivered by Bonar on some of the main features of the geography of Palestine. This printed lecture was found among his private papers in Fetcham, Surrey, though there is no evidence of where or when it might have been published.]

Little Oaths, Dundee: William Middleton, 1845. [A gospel tract.]


The Lord's Supper Explained, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co. n.d. [Andrew Bonar's statement of his doctrinal position on the Lord's Supper. This appears also in The Christian Treasury (1874), pp. 460ff., 471ff.]

"Love the Lord Jesus," Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [This address, originally delivered at a Perth Conference, appears also in Gospel Truths, pp. 121ff., and in The Christian Treasury (1878), pp. 157ff.]


The Monk of Inchcolm (Thomas Forret), Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., 1869. [A gospel tract.]

The Mount of God, Glasgow: Cheap Publication Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, 1846. [Monthly Series of Tracts, No. XIX. A gospel tract.]


The Near Way to the City, London: James Nisbet & Co., 1881. [A tract on Temperance.]

No One Helps Christ to Pardon, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [A gospel tract.]

The Obedience of One, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [This exposition of Romans 5:19 also appears in The Christian Treasury (1871), p. 55.]
The Old Swiss Pedlar, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, November, 1880. [An evangelistic pamphlet.]

The One Pearl, Stirling: Drummond's Tract Depot, n.d. [An exposition of Matthew 13:45-46.]

Open-Air Preaching in Jerusalem: 445 Years Before the Birth of Christ, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, December, 1878. [An exposition of Nehemiah 3. This was also issued as a tract by Charles Glass & Co., of Glasgow, n.d.]


Prayer and Providence, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, November, 1855. [An evangelistic pamphlet.]

A Protest for Reverence, Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1880. [Issued by Bonar during the Robertson Smith controversy, it is an attempt to set forth his views on the subject of the higher criticism of the Bible.]

The Ransom for Many Free to All, an Address to Sabbath School Children, Dundee: George Montgomery, n.d. [A sermon.]


Remember Eli, Dundee: George Montgomery, n.d. ["A solemn call upon parents to remember the account which they must give for their children's souls." This appears also in The Christian Treasury (1867), pp. 531ff.]

Robert Murray M'Cheyne, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, August, 1856. [A biographical sketch of M'Cheyne. This was reprinted as the "Monthly Visitor" pamphlet for November, 1874.]

Rowland Hill, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, May, 1875. [A biographical sketch of Hill.]

A Ruinous Refuge, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [A gospel tract.]

St. Patrick, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, December, 1879. [A brief sketch of the life of this famous saint.]


"Sir, I am Lost," Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, February, 1864. [An evangelistic pamphlet. This was reprinted as the "Monthly Visitor" pamphlet for June, 1885.]

"Some Good Thing": or the Prince who died in Tirzah, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., [1868]. [A devotional tract for believers.]


Story of Andrew Lindsay, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., [1853]. [Written "for general circulation in Sabbath Schools," it is a brief religious biography. This was reprinted in 1870.]


"There is Room," Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [A gospel tract.]

Thirty Years of Spiritual Life in the Island of Arran, Glasgow: J.N. Mackinlay, 1889. [An account of mission work and religious revivals in Arran during the early part of the nineteenth century.]

Thomas Toye of Belfast, Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, February, 1874. [A biographical sketch of Toye, an Irish minister.]


The Unseen Teacher, Dundee: George Montgomery, n.d. [A gospel tract.]

Victory over Sin, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. ["A little book for believers." This sermon, on the meaning of union with Christ, appears also in The Christian Treasury (1867), pp. 109ff.; and in Gospel Truths, pp. 167ff.]

The Weary at Rest, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [A gospel tract.]

We Can't of Ourselves, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [A gospel tract.]


What Gives Assurance, Montrose: George Walker, 1861. [This sermon appears also in Gospel Truths, pp. 47ff.; and in Reminiscences, pp. 333ff. A summary of this appears also in The Christian Treasury (1860), pp. 289ff. The sermon was preached originally at the time of the religious awakening in Ferryden, in 1859.]

"What Thing is This?", Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, December, 1882. [An evangelistic pamphlet.]


"What wilt thou say when He shall punish thee?", Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d. [A gospel tract.]


"Will You Go?", Edinburgh: Monthly Visitor, January, 1882. [An evangelistic plea, based upon a story from the American Civil War.]


lix
A Year of Blessing, Glasgow: Charles Glass & Co., n.d.  
[A summary of some of the results of the revival campaign under Moody and Sankey in 1873-1875.]

Young Men Invited to Wrestle with the Angel of the Covenant, Perth: Perth Young Men's Publishing Tract Association, n.d.  [A sermon for young men.]

E. Articles in Periodicals, Newspapers, and Books

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"A 'Children's Day' in Galilee," The Children's Record (November, 1864), pp. 162f. [An evangelistic article.]

"Children's Mission Work at Home," The Children's Record (March, 1867), pp. 34f. [A plea for the evangelization of children.]


"The City of Refuge," The Christian Treasury (1873), pp. 157ff. [An exposition of Joshua 20:2, 3. This same article was reprinted in The Christian Treasury (1874), pp. 325ff.]

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"You Have Come too Late!", The Children's Record (January, 1870), pp. 2f. [An evangelistic plea, based upon Proverbs 1:24.]

"Young People's Little Trials," The Children's Record (February, 1884), pp. 18f. [An exposition of Hebrews 4:15.]

II. SECONDARY WORKS

A. Manuscript Materials

1. Synod of Perth and Stirling, Auchterarder "AMS"
   "Record of the Synod of Perth and Stirling," 1838 - 1843.

2. Bournemouth, England (Mr. & Mrs. H.W. Brown) "BMS"
   A collection of miscellaneous materials - sermons, letters, and other papers - belonging to Andrew Bonar's forebears and other relatives.
A Collection of twenty-six letters, written by L.M. M'Intyre, and members of Bonar's immediate family, shortly after his death.

3. Church of Scotland Library, Edinburgh (Tolbooth) "CSMS"


"Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh," Vol. XX, 1833 - 1837.


4. Collace Church, Collace: "CMS"

"Parish of Collace, Register of Church Discipline," 2 vols., 1713ff.

5. Finnieston Church, Glasgow "FMS"

"Finnieston Free Church Deacon's Court Minute Book," 4 vols., 1857ff.


6. Robert E. Palmer "PMS"

A Collection of seven letters written by parishioners and friends to Andrew Bonar. [While most of these letters, written between 1839 and 1892, are of little importance, one from R.S. Candlish contains information regarding the formation of the Mission to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839.]
7. **Presbytery of Perth, Perth** "PPMS"


8. **Register House, Edinburgh** "RHi:S"

A Collection of six boxes of unclassified materials, relating to Andrew Bonar's ancestors.

9. **St. George's Church, Edinburgh** "SGHS"

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11. University of Edinburgh Library "UEMS"

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lxxxiv


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