CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION I - CRITIQUE OF PRESBYTERY

When Greville Ewing resigned from the Church of Scotland he entered what was, north of the border, the strange uncharted land of Independency, and before long he found he could, with feeling, echo the words of Paul in Macedonia:— "Our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears." (2 Cor. 7:5). On the one hand, he had to defend himself against the criticism of his former colleagues, and justify his separation from Presbyterianism. On the other hand, he was faced with mounting disorder in the new churches, and the need to establish a workable pattern of a scriptural church with fervour, yet without fanaticism.

We examine first the development of his attitude towards the church of his fathers, the Established Church of Scotland.

As we have seen, Ewing occupied, from first to last, an anomalous position in that communion, as second minister of Lady Glenorchy's. As a minister, he was of the Church of Scotland, but never in the constitution of its courts. He was always subject to its jurisdiction,
but had no part in its administration. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Ewing rarely felt that he was an integral part of the Establishment.

We have no hint that he was unhappy in his pastoral charge, but it must have been distasteful to him to realise that he was identified with the oppressive decisions of the Moderate dominated Assembly, and helpless to alter them. Rowland Hill put his finger on weakness in the Chapel’s status when he wrote:

"Had the worthy foundress not given her chapel over in marriage to the Kirk, she might have continued to have received her former friends, for whom she was originally designed . . . . How strange the government of that Chapel whose managers can steel themselves against the known will of the builder, and so grossly pervert it from its original design as a place of worship open for all who love and preach the glad tidings of Salvation."

(Remarks, Hill, p. 164)

Ewing was therefore in the situation of ministering in a charge which had been established as an open Gospel sanctuary, and to which had latterly been added the impedimenta of statutory ecclesiastical machinery. There was a jarring inconsistency in this arrangement with which he was unable finally to come to terms. The outcome of the Missionary debate in 1796 caused him grave/
grave misgivings. According to his own statement his attachment to the Church of Scotland was considerably weakened by the prejudice displayed by the General Assembly against the spread of the Gospel either at home or abroad. He began to question the authority of church courts either to restrict a minister's preaching commission, or to prohibit congregations from ordering schemes for their own edification. (F. & D. Ewing, p. 8). His resignation in 1798 was not a gesture of protest against the Church of Scotland. It was rather an endeavour to the Gospel. It was a positive affirmation of evangelical freedom, rather than a negative criticism of a denominational system,

"I did not come forward with a manifesto of defiance ... I had no quarrel with the Presbytery, and the Presbytery had no quarrel with me. . . ."

(Animad. Ewing, p. 11)

His resignation, however, was not generally interpreted in this light. His friends were hurt and puzzled by his action. Many in the Established Church, who had been favourably disposed to the missionary cause, now regarded him as a renegade. Even his father was sure he had ruined himself. The Seceders had no sympathy with the motives which had prompted him. Their dour protest/
protest was concerned with patronage, and Covenants and Burgess Oaths. Ewing made no mention of these things, and instead, advocated the questionable practice of lay-preaching, and congregational exhortation. Consequently, criticism came from all quarters. He was suspected of secret sedition, of undermining the security of the Church of Scotland, and of organising a revolutionary sect.

Ewing could hardly have expected such a volume of opposition, culminating as it did in the Pastoral Admonition. His friend, Robert Balfour of Glasgow High Kirk, was one of the committee appointed by the Assembly to draw it up. Even he yielded to the popular clamour, though -

"He appeared in great distress about it. He says that he smoothed as many rough corners as possible ..."

(Haldane, Life, p. 257)

The occasion called forth a flood of patriotic oratory from the fathers and brethren, and "after reasoning at great length" (Glasgow Courier 30/5/99) the Assembly agreed to the Declaratory Act without a dissentient voice. For want of space the Courier reported only one lengthy speech as being typical of the tone of the debate.
The Rev. Dr. Walker of Collington spoke of the dangers of the hour, and of the need to make it plain that the Church of Scotland countenanced neither political nor ecclesiastical irregularity. He concluded:

"The Presbyterian establishment of religion, though I admire it, has its weak side. It leans to Independency, and therefore on that side it ought to be the more carefully guarded . . . . At the beginning of the grand rebellion, in Charles I's time, the great body of the English nation were Presbyterians. But living in troubled and licentious times they became Independents. The Usurper and his junta of Independents came to carry all before them . . . . A strange mixture of anarchy and despotism then took place. On the restoration a nation of Independents were found to be so ungovernable that it became necessary to re-establish the Hierarchy. But I have always been persuaded that if they had retained the genuine principles of Presbytery, which are by no means inimical to monarchy, Episcopacy had never again been restored in England. And I will say that it must be our fault if it becomes so in Scotland. This striking historical event in the fate of Presbytery should certainly put all genuine Presbyterians upon their guard against Independency."

(Glasgow Courier 30/5/99)

It appeared to Ewing as if every man's hand was against him. The hostile campaign was carried on in print after the Assembly was over, and the Rev. John Robertson of Cambuslang appeared as the spokesman in a lengthy pamphlet/
pamphlet published in 1799 entitled "Lay Preaching Indefensible on Scripture Principles." He accused Ewing as -

"a gentleman who . . . . OFFICIALLY acted under a solemn engagement to maintain the discipline of the Church of Scotland and attempted to undermine . . . . the constitution of that Church . . . . The sentiments of that professed Presbyterian . . . . will be found to terminate . . . in a system entirely different . . . ."

(Lay Preaching Indefensible etc., quoted in Animad. Ewing, p. 4)

For the first time Greville Ewing was in the position to reply in his own defence. He had been denied the opportunity of speaking in the courts of the Church because of his status as the minister of a chapel of ease. The strictures upon the itinerants had been too generalised to warrant a personal rejoinder. Now at last came a direct challenge that Ewing could accept. He published his apologia in a 93 page pamphlet entitled, "Animadversions, etc." early in 1800. His reply was threefold. First, there was a factual, word by word, phrase by phrase, refutation of the charges of treachery:

"When I hear of plots and conspiracies against the Church and State, of engines to sap the foundation of the one, and attempts to undermine the constitution of the other; and when these diabolical works of darkness are imputed to me, either/"
either directly or consequentially, not by the irreligious, but by men who profess to be the disciples of Christ, and of some of whom I have been accustomed to hope better things; then indeed it is only in the history of my blessed Saviour, that I can find at once a parallel to my injury, and an effectual relief from my excruciating pain."

(Animad. p. 14)

Second, he advanced, in a lengthy quotation, running to twenty-five pages, extracts from the posthumously published lectures of Dr. Campbell, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, Professor of Divinity there. In these passages, Campbell outlined the principles that are commonly held by Congregational churches, and declared them to be in accord with Scripture and with the practice of the New Testament Churches. There was, in apostolic times, no hint of establishment and no suggestion of a concordat with the State. A believer owed obedience to government, but this was perfectly distinct from his membership of the church. Authority in things of the faith was vested in the congregation, and discipline was administered in the presence of the fellowship, and according to its will. Christ's commission to preach the Gospel was not made dependent upon regulation or formal ordination, but upon character, conduct and doctrine/
doctrine. Nor was it limited to the first apostles, though originally delivered to them. No Christian who had the ability to share in the work was excluded by any injunction of the Lord. The separation of the church into 'kleros' and 'laos' was a later development that arose out of the centralisation of authority, and has no warrant in the Word of God. The most significant passage occurs in Deut. 9:29, when Moses calls the whole people of Israel both 'laos' and 'kleros' - God's "people" and God's "inheritance." But ignoring this scriptural solidarity, the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages drove a wedge between priesthood and people, till the laity lost every vestige of responsible participation in the structure and order of the church. As the status of the ordinary believer was depressed, so the importance of the clergy was enlarged, with special powers, elaborate vestments and impressive titles - reverend, venerable, most holy, most blessed - as well as with bowing, kissing, genuflecting, etc., etc.

"If we were to settle a sort of spiritual barometer for determining the precise quantity at which piety and virtue, at any given time, arrived in the church, I could not assign a better than the use of these epithets and ceremonies, holding it as an invariable canon, that/"
that in proportion as the external signs multiplied, the substance of internal religion decreased."

(Lectures, Campbell, quoted in Animad. Ewing, p. 69)

With this unimpeachable confirmation Ewing justified his actions. Instead of being a destructive and unwarranted novelty, as Robertson had alleged, his view of church order was scriptural, and no more revolutionary than the principles of Presbytery, Episcopacy or Popery. Indeed, the argument used against Congregational churches was that they were too conservative in their reluctance to modify their traditional system.

"All the silly declamation, therefore, about the lowest of the people becoming priests of the high places . . . promoting infidelity, and forcing Christianity herself at last to retire; is mere running away with the question . . . ."

(Animad. Ewing, p. 89)

The third argument of Ewing's book dealt with the charge that the 'new sect' was a seed-bed of subversion because of its disavowal of establishment in religion. The facts of the case supplied an adequate answer. There was not a Congregational church in the whole of Scotland, whether Glasite, Independent or Baptist/
Baptist, which had knowingly retained in membership any one with anti-government views. The new Tabernacle churches were no exception. The doctrine of absolute submission to the ruling power "for conscience sake" (Ro. 13:5) was a more certain surety for civil obedience than any amount of Loyal Addresses to the Throne approved and transmitted by Assemblies. Such outward symbols of political allegiance were unnecessary for the scriptural church.

To reinforce his case, Ewing shrewdly chose a very different authority than Dr. Campbell. He quoted from a sermon ("Loyalty enforced by Arguments which are founded upon just views of Civil Government, as an ordinance of God, and essential to the happiness of mankind, to which is added, a Vindication of some Dissenting Congregations, who have been charged with Disloyalty by the late General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; by William Braidwood.") by the minister of an Edinburgh Baptist congregation, who could only be described as an unauthorised lay preacher, by Robertson's standards.

His view was that in any system of religious establishment/
establishment there were bound to exist two dangerous possibilities. A church connected with the State might be drawn into conflict with the State. And further, a church enjoying special privileges from the State might be tempted to use the power entrusted to her to persecute those who disagreed with her or who refused to conform to her authority. This had certainly been the case in the past, and the history of Presbyterianism had been one of frequent strife. It may at one time have been necessary to take the sword in defence of religious liberty, not only against the rival religious establishments of Papacy and Episcopacy, but against the oppression of the state itself. But these unhappy days ought to be forgotten. The State itself had set an example in the Act of Toleration. The church had little reason therefore, to hark back to the dark and bloody days of an earlier age, and inflame her members with talk of defending the heritage "for which their forefathers bled and died." Such backward-looking party spirit betrayed the closed mind. The emotionally loaded catchwords - "precious Covenants", "purchased in blood", "Presbyterian liberty" etc., etc. - were/
were to be found in the mouths of many whose resemblance to John Knox was limited to their loquaciousness.

"With an uncommon degree of earnestness and zeal, they have entreated the people to adhere to a fighting Church; not recollecting that this is one of the most prominent and distinguishing features of "Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth!" A FIGHTING PROTESTANT CHURCH AT THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY!!! Christianity shudders at the thought . . ."

("Loyalty Enforced, etc.", Braidwood, quoted Ewing, Animad. p. 78)

In this instance, the state was wiser than the Kirk. Toleration to dissenting religious groups would never have been granted if there had been the slightest threat to national security. Jealousy for her own supremacy was the motive behind the intolerant actions of the Established Church, rather than any sound religious principle. Where the concern is primarily to perpetuate ecclesiastical privilege, there can be little genuine New Testament Christianity. Civil loyalty founded upon such a premise cannot be other than unstable. Whereas the obedience that is based on scriptural submission to the "powers that be" is unequivocal and unchanging.

This book is possibly the most intimate and personal that came from his pen. The earlier works, with/
with the exception of the anonymous "Account of a Conflagration", are more restrained, because of his continuance in the Church of Scotland. The later works in this vein are colder, the satire more studied, and are written with more deliberate intent. Here there is a spontaneous warmth and urgency that reveals the inner workings of his mind and heart, and provide an important clue to the pattern of his actions. He deals spiritedly with Robertson's sly insinuations; he establishes the Congregational form of church order as valid and scriptural; he underlines the fallacy of religious establishment; but all these are secondary to his one comprehensive objection to the Church of Scotland. It was not on matters of theory, but on the undeniable ground of practice, that Ewing separated himself. He had example enough in men like Newton, Simeon and Hill, to remain within the Establishment. For all the obvious weaknesses, they felt they could usefully serve God within it. But for him the moment came when he felt that continuance in such corruption would/
would be a betrayal of faith. (1) The theory of Presbyterianism was a reasonable proposition. The practice of the Church of Scotland was an intolerable bondage. His protest, therefore, was originally a moral one, rather than constitutional, and this idea is the major theme of his "Animadversions." The churches of the "new sect" were born out of Biblical faithfulness, earnest prayer, and evangelical zeal, but there were other factors involved, of a different kind, which mightily encouraged them:

"I have not information sufficient to determine how far the way may have been prepared, by the existence of different Sects in the same Church, and sometimes in the same Collegiate charge; by the discordant principles of the wild and moderate parties in the Church of Scotland; by their frequent squabbles and their occasional harmony; by the increasing violence of the professedly moderate, and the increasing tameness of their misnamed opponents; by ministers acting under the law of patronage, while they affect to disapprove of it; by the incessant occasion of triumph which this inconsistency affords to their merciless moderate/

(1) "You believe the Church of Scotland to be a church of Christ. With equal frankness, I must say, I believe it is not . . . . A society should be judged of, not by its minority, but by its majority, by the great body of the members, and the great body of the governors . . . . the majority of its ministers and elders, show, by their measures, that they are not the friends of Christ - that they despise its avowed creed - do violence to the best parts of its constitution - and from time to time, with awful uniformity, make laws and give decisions, in express opposition to the authority of Christ."

(Letter by Ewing c.1801, p. 267, Mem. Matheson.)
moderate brethren; by the avowed maxim of many modern ecclesiastical leaders, "better have Seceders out of the church than in the church", with the various measures to which it gives rise; by the regulations relative to Chapels of Ease; by wresting from ministers the command of their pulpits; by the late Pastoral Admonition; by the unanimity of that Admonition; and by the Resolutions respecting Vagrant Teachers and Sunday Schools."

(Animad., Ewing, p. 26)

In this outburst of moral indignation Ewing exposes the sorry state of the Established Church of his day. It comes with all the more force since it is not the verdict of an onlooker, but the testimony of one who could speak from experience. As a child he had known the contradictions of a divided collegiate charge. Both as member and as minister he had experienced the restrictions governing a Chapel of Ease. He had witnessed, in Edinburgh, the worldliness and cynicism of the moderates, the time-serving of so many of his colleagues, and the scramble after the flesh-pots of patronage. Now that he was free from it all he could speak with scornful accuracy. His contention was with Presbyterianism as it existed. He knew what he was talking about. His outspoken book was bound to carry weight because of its sincerity and fearlessness.

It/
It was also bound to provoke resentment because of its uncompromising truth. Robert Haldane thus commented, 20.3.00.

"I think your Animadversions excellent, and in a proper spirit. He will not answer you .... You have fairly and ably answered (him) .... all here seem highly pleased with it."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 37)

Haldane, however, was wrong in this forecast. The book not only drew an answer from Robertson, but sparked off a controversy on Church order. The Presbyterians sprang to the defence of their system, and their claims were met by the counter-claims of the Independents. Ewing's rejoinder to Robertson, later in 1800, was very brief, extending to a mere five pages, under the title, "Remarks on Mr. Robertson's Reply to Mr. Ewing, etc.". In this he reiterates his assertion that the office of lay preacher no more undermines Presbyterianism than it does Independency. The principle upon which the office is based is essentially scriptural. In Ewing's opinion it is more adaptable to the latter type of church order, and when he came to realise this, he left the Church of Scotland. In any case, there were ministers still remaining in that Church who in their preaching/
preaching and writing flagrantly contradicted the Standards of the Church and the Westminster Confession, yet there had been none among their brethren that-

"moved the wing, or opened the mouth or peeped, against them."

(Remarks, Ewing, p. 5)

Robertson had suggested that it would be sufficient if Ewing were willing to return to the Church of Scotland and make his bows to the Moderator of the General Assembly as a token of his repentance and humiliation. Talk in these terms was to make of the whole matter-

"... a mere farce ... a man might deny the divinity of the Son of God if he would make his bows to the Moderator of the General Assembly."

(Remarks, Ewing, p. 5)

It makes acquiescence in the external appearances of human authority the rule of conduct, rather than obedience to the inward promptings of Divine truth. Ewing knew that the tide of opposition to the 'new sect' was increasing, and that the Kirk was determined to destroy it-

"It is well known to be the fashion of the day ... to pour forth, on all occasions, the most virulent charges against Dissenters in general, and especially against the 'new sect', which, being little known, it seems easy to crush in its infancy. This has been lately done with wondrous consent and studied solemnity; and there is good reason to believe that the open hostility is nothing in comparison of/
of the secret intrigues. I should be stupid, indeed, if I were not aware of schemes which are hatching, to invade those religious privileges, which have so long been the blessing, and the glory of these lands."

(Ibid. p. 7)

This is clearly a reference to the representations that had been made to the Prime Minister, William Pitt, to suppress lay preaching in the interests of national security. William Wilberforce used all his influence to persuade Pitt to abandon the legislation he was contemplating, for if it had been passed, it would have been, in the words of Wilberforce -

"the most fatal blow, both to Church and State, which had been struck since the Restoration."

(Life, Haldane, p. 278)

Haldane's timely "Address to the Public", as well as these pamphlets and sermon of Ewing's did much to clarify the position of the new Congregational churches, and persuade the Government that their restrictive Bill was unnecessary.

Although the "secret intrigues" came to nothing in the political field, the debate was hotly contested in the ecclesiastical one. Chapter 32 of the Westminster Confession dealing with Synodical Assemblies was appealed to/
to. Sermons in defence of Presbytery were preached and published, notably Muir of Paisley's "Synod of Jerusalem, or, Courts of Review in the Christian Church Considered."

Ewing's "Animadversions", although they had given some account, of his reasons for leaving the National Church, were nevertheless not an explicit declaration of the process of secession, nor an adequate theological justification for it. This was done early in 1804 by his brother-in-law, William Innes, of the Tabernacle Church in Dundee, who published "Reasons for Separating from the Church of Scotland, in a Series of Letters, Chiefly Addressed to his Christian Friends in that Establishment." William Orme said of this work that it -

"takes up the substance of the argument against the Scots establishment, both as to its constitution and its corruptions. In the closeness of its reasonings and the suavity of its manner, it is an excellent specimen of theological controversy."


Its tone is courteous, yet convinced, and the total effect of its publication was enhanced by the appearance, a few months later, of Ewing's "Lecture on the Fifteenth Chapter of/
of Acts." Together they provide an examination of the scriptural claims of Presbytery, without heat or rancour.

It can be seen from this Lecture why Ewing's preaching was so attractive. He had the considerable gift of illuminating the texts from which he preached with original insight, so that many could echo the comment of one hearer -

"I seldom hear Mr. Ewing without getting something new; and he shows so plainly how it is found in the text and context, that I wonder how I never saw it so before."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 231)

His exposition of this chapter not only analyses the claim of church courts to possess scriptural authority, but also relates to the needs of the young churches, and counsels the individual believer in essential Christianity. The style is dignified and compact, and the whole is accompanied by copious references, and quotations in Latin and Greek from patristic sources.

The lecture begins with a reference to one of the most marked characteristics of the early church - its unity - and Ewing notes how difficult it is to maintain such a spirit among men, for any purpose whatsoever, even in things of religion. That unity was the product of love and not of magisterial authority. Unity enforced by/
by the latter method is destructive of true brotherhood -

"There is something unspeakably awful in presuming to dictate terms of salvation. Surely it is the prerogative of God alone to save and to condemn . . . . Nothing can be more tremendous than the thought of attempting to enforce opinions of our own, by the terrors of the Lord; yet this is the sin of all those, who would add to the laws of the kingdom of Christ."

(Lecture, Ewing, p. 10)

The truth must be contended for, though such contention is unpleasant. Some may be prepared to purchase peace at the expense of truth, and others are so indifferent to the truth that they are bored with its discussion. Christianity will never be defended by those whose hearts are set on the things of the world. The Christian, therefore, must be prepared to take his stand, not out of obstinacy, but out of faithfulness to the Word of God. He may encounter much hurtful and underhand opposition -

"In the conflict of opposite principles, it is better openly to argue the merits of the question, than, by indirect and concealed means, to injure the character or the interests, of those of another persuasion. The malignant adversary is often, to appearance, the most placid and silent;"

(Ibid. p. 13)
Bing had learned the meaning of these words in the school of his own experience, nor was the lesson finished. They were written in 1804. He had yet to plumb the depths of dissension in his dispute with Haldane.

The visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem to seek a decision from the Apostles and Elders on the question of bringing the Gentiles under obedience to the Mosaic Law, has been claimed as a scriptural warrant for graded authority in the church, either through a system of individual bishops, or through representative ecclesiastical courts. Ewing denies such a general deduction, on the grounds that the occasion was unique, in several ways. The appeal was to Jerusalem, to the original Pentecostal church, from whence all the other churches derived their order and ordinances. The question under discussion was definitive for all time - the basis of union in Christ between Jew and Gentile. The judgement was sought from Elders upon whom the gifts of the Holy Spirit had fully come - (a condition not verifiable in their successors in that office) - and from inspired Apostles whose special ministry died with them. Consequently this appeal was unique in that it was to -

"inspired/
"inspired authority; and that is now to be found, neither at Jerusalem, nor anywhere else, in a human assembly, but solely in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament."

(Ibid., p. 22)

Although the subject under inquiry was first laid before the Apostles and Elders, it was subsequently discussed in the presence of the "brethren", or the "church". The argument that this was a representative assembly of congregations because of the size of the Christian community in Jerusalem is one of expediency, and does not appear until a later date in the history of the church. Scripture knows nothing of it. Although this gathering of the Jerusalem church may well have been a large one, it is not necessary to suppose that it was attended by all the Christians in the city. It is sufficient to say that it was open to all believers to attend and take their proper part in the deliberations. The basis of this union therefore was entirely free, and it was the responsibility of every believer to see that all things were done decently and in order. Prayer and persuasion were the means adopted to reach a decision. The Scriptures provide a conciliatory procedure for disagreement. Should this prove unsuccessful, the/
the answer does not lie in enforcing regulation, but in recognising the right of separation.

In giving their inspired verdict on this important question, the Apostles and Elders consulted the Brethren fully, before issuing their collective decision. It ill becomes Elders of a later age to exclude the Brethren from the same privilege—

"if it be pleaded that the Brethren at Jerusalem, being generally endowed with the Holy Spirit, were better fitted than ordinary Christians now . . . . it may be answered that if the people have not the gifts of the Holy Spirit, neither have their pastors . . . . The language here is remarkably calculated to contradict the opinion, that the church in this passage, means a representative assembly of office-bearers; for in no part of Scripture is the word church more expressly used for denoting the believing people, in distinction from their office-bearers. Ask those who hold this opinion of whom their church courts consist, they must reply, of bishops, or ministers and elders. Then certainly they are not formed on the model of the council, or synod, or church meeting at Jerusalem, for that consisted of the Apostles, and Elders, with the whole church."

(Ibid. p. 79)

The use of the apostolic phrase, "It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost, and to us," by latter-day ecclesiastical courts, is an arrogant pretension. Only a similar manifestation of the approbation of the Spirit/
Spirit, as was evidenced to Peter in his dealings with Cornelius, could ever justify such a claim by any council at a subsequent time.

The Lecture ends with a call to rejoice in the liberty of Christ's church. This involves not only the privilege of participation in the ordering of her affairs, but the inescapable responsibility of holy living. Such a way of life will be fraught with difficulty, and troubled occasionally by unrest within the church herself. But as Christians, members will be called upon to "work out their own salvation", uniting together for the good of the whole church. None can presume to dictate in things of the faith. He sums up the convictions of the young churches in these triumphant words -

"Blessed be God, the Scriptures give not the smallest shadow of pretext for rearing the fabric of human authority over the conscience. The Christian knows the law by which he delights to be governed, and, if he choose to enjoy his privileges, that law cannot be applied, except in his own presence, and with his own consent. No crafty scheme can be devised in secret for the regulation either of our principles, or our conduct. No unexpected mandate can be issued by surprise. No man, no assembly of men, has any claim whatever to the obedience of our faith. Here, the Word of God is our only standard, and the love of Christ our only tie. By this standard, and in this temper, prove all things . . . ."

(Ibid. p. 87)
The Lecture was well received in Congregational circles. Haldane ordered 400 copies (F. & D. Ewing, p. 90). It was described as "one of the ablest specimens of scriptural exposition, and critical analysis, to be found in the language". (L.C.I. ii, p. 781). But it failed to elicit any rejoinder from the Presbyterian ranks, comparable either in literary ability, biblical scholarship or controversial courtesy. Only one came forward with a reply. It was entitled "A Vindication of the Presbyterian Form of Church Government, as professed in the Church of Scotland: in Reply to the Animadversions of Messrs. Innes, Ewing, etc.; by John Brown." The author had been a probationer in the Secession Church before entering the Church of Scotland - a case of the proselyte emerging as champion of the cause to which he had been converted. Such are not noted for their restraint. In this lengthy work he set out to deal with every argument that had ever been advanced in favour of Independency. Wherever he found a contradiction between the primitive and the later form, he advanced it as proof that both were therefore wrong. But his most extraordinary reasoning occurred when/
when he insisted that Presbyterianism must be judged upon its classic form. In itself this is a just emphasis. But he refused to consider Independency in a similar light. His argument was drawn from the weaknesses and failures of Congregationalism, and quoted instances, garbled by gossip, from the churches at Perth, Edinburgh and Elgin, as well as directly criticising Innes for cupidity and Ewing for 'spiritual despotism'.

James Maldane, Little of Perth, Carson of Ireland and Ewing all published replies to this work. Ewing's appeared under the lengthy but expressive title, "An Exposure of some things contained in Mr. Brown's Vindication of Presbyterian Church Government, which seem calculated not so much to affect the argument, as to excite popular prejudice, and personal irritation." Plainly reflected in these words is Ewing's disappointment at the turn the debate had taken. Both he and Innes had endeavoured to discuss the subject of church government impartially, hoping that out of such a comparison of differing orders would come better understanding between the denominations, and perhaps a new and richer insight into truth. Brown's book revealed/
revealed little sympathy for this point of view. Its aim was straightforward - to establish the supremacy of Presbytery, and to demolish every rival claim. Thus Ewing's answer, when it came later in 1805, was in a different vein from his Lecture on Acts XV. It was calculated to refute Brown in his own language, and by his own arguments. In this, at least, it was successful.

The pamphlet runs to 34 pages and, considered on its literary merit and polemical power, is the most brilliant of his controversial essays. His maturity of style, sardonic wit, and incisive logic are evident throughout. But if the writing is more polished, the tone is harder and less graced with humility. There is a sneering spirit exhibited here that is absent from the earlier "Animadversions". It may be justified as temporary annoyance with his opponent. But it is more likely an indication of the growing resentment in his character, the result of the slow accumulation of suspicion and misunderstanding. The events of 1808-09 reveal the extent to which these factors ultimately dominated his mind.

It certainly must have been galling, after so many/
many years, for Ewing to have to deny once again that he and Innes were persuaded to leave the Church of Scotland by offers of an increased salary in the Tabernacles. The criticism was all the more intolerable, since it came from one who had left the economic insecurity of the Secession Church for the security of the Establishment. Ewing reminded his readers that he never had any guarantee of stipend from Haldane, and that he was entirely dependent for remuneration upon the love-offering of the congregation. He offered Brown an opportunity of inspecting the Tabernacle books should he desire further proof. Love of worldly advantage was decidedly improper ground for a Presbyterian to attack an Independent. In any case it was insulting to the ministry as a whole -

"Surely Mr. Brown would not wish to insinuate, that when a proposition is made to a minister, of changing his station, he should get credit for thinking of nothing but the security of his stipend."

(An Exposure, etc., Ewing, p. 7)

Brown, in his book, had quoted pp. 33-37 from Ewing's lecture on Acts XV, and inferred from it that Ewing advocated 'spiritual despotism', as a necessary part of Congregational order. This charge evokes from
Ewing the finest passage in his book. He declared that when he expounded the scriptures he set denominational loyalties aside, and yielded himself to the authority of the Word. There is a subtle danger of seeking to make the Word sub-servient to a system, and using it only to buttress a preconceived notion of theological truth. It is always the system which must be open to modification as new light breaks forth from the Word -

"If I wish to be thoroughly acquainted with the beauties of a palace, I may feel I need to examine it again and again. At an early period, I made a rough sketch, but the resemblance was extremely imperfect, the proportions were ill-taken, and many beauties overlooked. Better informed admirers were satisfied that I saw, and could relish the excellencies of the building; while they told me I had much pleasure in reserve, from continued observation. I have found it to be so. The palace is by no means altered, since I first beheld it; but I have seen it in various states of the weather; in different lights; at different distances; from different quarters. Thro' the gracious condescension of the Prince I have been allowed to draw near, and, in common with many others, to measure, though still very imperfectly, the breadth, and length, and depth, and height of it. I do not despise the first rough sketch. Blessed be the Master who taught me to draw it. I confess, however, that I seldom compare it with the original, without feeling that it needs some touches of correction or improvement. I see excellent drawings made by others, which I greatly admire, and acknowledge to be superior to my own. These afford me many an important lesson, but still they are not my standard; it is the object itself that is the model to us all. And when any delineation of it/
it; whether by others or myself, is found to vary from the original, there can be no dispute, whether the pattern or the copy requires alteration. In plain terms, to convince me of error, it is necessary to show, that I have written something inconsistent with the Word of God. To say, I am not a thorough-pacedIndependent, is nothing to the purpose. The system of Independency may be, on the whole, most agreeable to my present persuasion; but I would rather read the Bible by the light of heaven alone than through the coloured spectacles of any human system whatsoever."

(Ibid. p. 10)

There are bound to be different, even contradictory, views held by men who favour the same system. It has never been denied that such differences exist among the new churches. But this is equally true of Presbyterianism. Only when Scripture has been clearly seen to be contradicted, is there ground for censure.

The main point that Ewing made, however, was to reply, in kind, to Brown's individualistic criticism - "Since the appeal has been made to practice; to practice let us go. Mr. Brown cannot deny us a liberty he has taken himself . . . ."

(Ibid. p. 19)

Presbyterians rejoiced in the effectiveness of their graded courts, as safeguarding the church against error, and upholding the dignity and reverence of true religion. Ewing/
Ewing cited two cases to show the extent to which these ideals were actually practised. Both of them had gone through the due processes of the Kirk, and had been settled by the decision of the General Assembly.

The first concerned a woman who left her husband after two years of marriage, and lived adulterously in the parish of Calder with another man, by whom she had four children. The first three had been baptised, but the parish minister refused baptism to the fourth, on the ground that her conduct had become a matter of public scandal, and also because her husband had complained to the Kirk Session, still claiming her as his legal wife. The father of the children boldly appealed to the Presbytery of Glasgow, and the case ultimately came before the General Assembly of 1803. Its decision was that the father had the status of husband, that nothing in his conduct was sufficient to deprive him of his Christian privilege of baptism for his child, and that the minister and session of Calder parish be instructed to proceed with the sacrament. The implications of such a sentence involve many issues of Christian morality. Does perseverance in adultery eventually justify it? Can an adulterer 'in flagrante' take the vows?
vows of Christian sponsorship in baptism? Upon this principle, how many husbands may a woman have? But the most important question involved is the claim the General Assembly makes for obedience to its decree.

"Had Mr. Brown been a member of the Assembly, very likely he would have voted against this decision. But had he been the minister of the parish in question, he must nevertheless have obeyed it."

(Ibid. p. 21)

The second case concerned the election of Mr. Leslie to the Chair of Mathematics at Edinburgh University. He was the candidate of the Evangelical party for the post, and his eventual appointment marked one of their rare triumphs over the Moderates. But it was not accomplished without clamour. The process by which it was done was worthy of examination.

"Since Presbytery is recommended on account, not only of its enlightened and candid decisions, but of its solemnity and order; since independency, on the other hand, is branded as democracy of the lowest kind, as all turbulence and all confusion; since independents are charged with virulence, and with a love of wit and ridicule, inconsistent with the seriousness due to the administration of the government of Christian churches; I beg leave to lay before the public a short account of the circumstances attending this cause, and of the manner in which it was conducted in that court, which, as the highest glory of a presbyterian church, is called THE VENERABLE ASSEMBLY."

(Ibid. p. 23)
The course of the appointment had been characterised by intrigue. Since Ewing's father was himself a teacher of mathematics, he would doubtless hear of the development of it on his visits to Edinburgh. The final settlement on the floor of the Assembly was marked from the beginning by unseemly demonstrations. There were rowdy scenes at the outset, which necessitated an hour's adjournment, so that the city guard could be called in. The ensuing debate was marked by rambling, confused speeches; stale jokes; outbursts of laughter; violent personal abuse; charges and counter-charges; points of order; shouted interruptions; party cheering; and finally, towards midnight on the second day, the proceedings were closed with prayer. The victory was celebrated by "the stricter party"(1) with a dinner which was enlivened by many appropriate toasts, and the evening was spent in the utmost conviviality.

Such behaviour was not uncommon in the General Assembly. Rather it was characteristic, and anything more unlike the procedure of the early church was difficult to imagine. Ewing admitted that he had on occasion known blessing in the deliberations of a Kirk Session/

(1) Ewing refused to use the term "Evangelical" in this connection.
Session, but declared he had never observed edifying example in any superior court, Presbytery, Synod or General Assembly. He went even further:

"If we were to suppose the church of Scotland, attacked by an adversary possessed at once of the most consummate wisdom, and unbounded power, I can conceive no scheme which would more effectually answer his purpose, and more universally diminish her influence over the serious part of the people, than to induce the General Assembly to hold its meetings in every parish of the kingdom in succession."

(Ibid. p. 31)

Was the Church of Scotland then, in fact, anti-Christian? Ewing did not hesitate to answer in the affirmative. She was not, indeed, the "scarlet woman" of the Revelation, "the mother of harlots and abominations", but -

"To prove her one of the daughters of that lady, it is needless to assert that she is as ugly as her mother (I am sure I never thought so); it is sufficient to point out the family likeness."

(Ibid. p. 32)

Any religious freedom that the Independents had was not due to the toleration of the national church, but to the wisdom of an enlightened civil government. It was not to be wondered at that Independents refused to hold communion with such an oppressive institution, though they gladly welcomed Christian brethren from that church to/
to the Lord's Table, fully recognising that the Lord's
be
people were to be found even in a corrupt fellowship.

But Ewing himself must have sensed the distasteful
nature of his task. He draws suddenly to a close, and
in the concluding paragraph he says of his book:

"It is irksome, and trifling, and I am glad to
have done with it."

(Ibid. p. 34)

So he turned away from his critique of Presbyterianism.
Little had been accomplished in the course of the debate,
and he had been provoked to write things that would surely
widen the breach rather than heal it. He had tried,
but the bitterness of the age had triumphed. Hence¬
forward he turned to the task of construction. He saw
clearly the need for a definitive pattern of church
organisation that would meet the need of those who groped
in the thickets of new-found Independency. There could
be no return to the bondage whence they had come.
There must be instead a sure sanctuary established for
their future shelter, at once scriptural and sensible,
primitive and practical. This clear resolve was the
one positive outcome of his otherwise sterile encounter
with Brown:

"The subject of church government is highly important;
it is difficult even in theory, and much more
difficult in practice. On no subject is it more
necessary to pursue our enquiries with modesty,
with patience, and with temper."

(Ibid. p. 34)
SECTION II - CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH ORDER

A major influence in shaping Ewing's views on the nature of the church was his upbringing in Lady Glenorchy's chapel. On his step-mother's insistence, the family transferred from the parish church of Old Greyfriars, quitting the formal traditions of established Presbyterianism for the more intense spirituality of a chapel-of-ease founded during the excitement of the Whitefield revivals. Not only was the boy nurtured in the atmosphere of evangelical seriousness, but he was also protected from the rigid religious party-spirit of the time. From his youth he learned to look to wider horizons than the limited confines of his own denomination. Thomas Somerville, writing from a Moderate standpoint, declared that Whitefield's influence contributed substantially to -

"the extirpation of these narrow prejudices so prevalent in Scotland, and the introduction and more rapid progress of a Catholic spirit."

(Life and Times, Somerville, p. 66)

The formation of the Relief Church by Thomas Gillespie was a further step in this direction. As a theological student Gillespie had been dissatisfied with the views of both the Established Church and the Secession as he had heard them propounded by the various professors in their/
their respective Divinity Halls. Accordingly he went to England and completed his theological studies in the Nonconformist seminary at Northampton, under Dr. Doddridge. On returning to Scotland he revealed in his ministry the underlying influence of these moderating ideals of toleration learned in the South -

"He was evidently a very moderate Presbyterian, and wished church courts rather to be consultative meetings where a considerable latitude of opinion was allowed, than legislative and authoritative judicatures. It is remarkable that his descendants kept very steadfast to his example, and that the authority of the Relief Synod has ever been mild and lenient, even to a fault."

(Hist. of Secess. Struthers, p. 249)

Parallel to these liberalising developments within Presbyterianism, the 18th century saw the emergence of several streams of native Scottish Independency - the Glasites, the Old Scots Independents, the Bereans, etc. These little churches challenged the principle of established religion, and asserted the essentially spiritual nature of Christianity. This they did by their abhorrence of National Covenants, their insistence upon a believers' church and purity of communion, and by their determination to reproduce the fellowship of the apostolic church by imitating every practice/
practice to be found in the New Testament churches.

"The order and constitution of the Church thus came to be considered as of supreme importance, to be regarded as the end of Christian fellowship and not as the means of Christian edification and Christian effort."

(History, Escott, p. 42.)

Within the ministry, government and fellowship of Lady Glenorchy's these various trends were undoubtedly present. The church had been founded as a centre of Gospel preaching, and Dr. Jones, with his background of Welsh and English Dissent, was faithful to that original purpose. Although belonging to the Church of Scotland, its membership was "decidedly voluntary in its character" (Life, Ewing, p. 32), and they had vested in them the power to choose their own minister, as well as possessing a measure of independence in holding their own deeds. The prayerful fervour of the fellowship was in marked contrast to the prevailing worldliness that abounded in so many congregations in the Church of Scotland at that time. On the occasion of his ordination to the collegiate charge Dr. Jones reminded Ewing of the purpose of their co-operative ministry in Lady Glenorchy's -

"Remember that our great object is to make sound believers and real saints, and that our united efforts in this city, must be exerted to win souls to Christ, not to make a faction for ourselves."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 25)
The direction of Ewing's future theological thought was manifest from the outset of his ministry. His introductory sermon following his ordination was preached on the theme of "ambassadors for Christ". Within a year he was emphasising the evils of promiscuous admission to the Lord's Table. In a sermon on that subject preached towards the end of 1794 he drew attention to the way in which Christianity was taken for granted, and had become a conventional observance rather than a dynamic of saving faith. There could be no growth in spiritual life within a congregation without the disciplines of holiness, nor could there be true fellowship between the seriously converted and the wilfully unconverted, the believers and the blasphemers, the followers of Christ and the forsakers of his law. The church's primary task was to purify herself, that she might be fit for the Master's use. Ewing suggested that a threefold programme was necessary: first, fearless Gospel preaching from the pulpit, backed up by patient personal work in soul-winning; second, dedicated service from the office-bearers; and third, a quality of congregational and private life clearly different from the accepted social behaviour of the non-religious world.
The formation of the London Missionary Society in 1795, with its ecumenical basis and Gospel objective was an added inspiration to Ewing to bypass the prejudices of denominationalism for the larger vision of Christ's world-wide kingdom. The newly founded "Evangelical Magazine" disseminated news to a larger public than had been previously possible, and Ewing was associated with it in its early days. A sermon by Thomas Haweis reflects the idealism of the young missionary movement, and is an example of the kind of ideas that were shaping Ewing's own thinking at that time. The work was entitled "A PLEA FOR PEACE AND UNION AMONG THE LIVING MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST", and was intended to strengthen unity in essentials among the variously denominated co-operators in the work of the L.M.S. He pointed out that their external differences were relatively unimportant compared to the sure common ground they share. All must be agreed that the church is a spiritual institution, and that its essence is inward, of the heart, rather than external and physical. With regard to the administration of the Church, Haweis admitted that differences were inevitable, but/
but denied that they were unbridgeable. Disagreement over church order could be resolved by the exercise of scriptural charity and a mutual love for Christ. Men who shared such an experience were drawn together into New Testament unity in spite of their ecclesiastical divergence. Commenting on the effect of the sermon, the reviewer said:

"The High Church party will execrate him, and the stiff educational Dissenters as strongly contract their brows; but the liberal on all sides will thank him for endeavouring, as he calls it, to thin the partitions between them, and lowering the barrier, that they may at least cordially shake hands over it, allow every man the same candid right of judgement which they claim for themselves in love, and in the spirit of meekness."

(Evang. Mag. ii, p. 127)

To this latter progressive group Ewing belonged, sharing gladly in every experiment in concerted evangelistic endeavour. But he was not solely concerned with practical action. He was busy thinking out the basis for his position. He had little sympathy for the rigid system of graded courts and national establishment of Scottish Presbyterianism. On the other hand, however, he was early to see the fallacy of slavish imitation of scripture precedent in attempting to construct an alternative/
alternative form of church order. He withdrew from Presbyterianism, but he also recoiled from the theory of an infallible biblical blueprint of a primitive church. In the Missionary Magazine of October, 1798, he reviewed "A BRIEF INQUIRY into the Nature, Order, Offices and Worship, of the Christian Church, as delineated in the Scriptures of Truth - BY A SOCIETY OF PRIVATE CHRISTIANS IN EDINBURGH."

In this article several important facts emerged. The most important was its disavowal of the extreme Glasite and Sandemanian position.

"A grievous blunder, in our apprehension, and which seems to be admitted throughout as a principle, is, (not merely that our churches must be exactly copied from what may be called the apostolic model, or the general result of their precept and practice), but that whatever circumstance can be found to have attended one or two of the churches then, ought to belong to all churches now . . . . That the primitive churches generally had, because, from their multitude, they needed, a plurality of elders, may be true; that all numerous churches yet should have a similar plurality, may be true also. But must this be the case absolutely in every church?"

(Miss. Mag., vol. iii, p. 466)

Besides the issue of universal plurality, Ewing refuted from scripture the argument that all elders were called to the preaching office, and dismissed the claim that every/
every church ought to find in her own membership a sufficient supply of preachers. But the main weakness in a generally "crude performance" was the omission from the plan of any reference to the ministry of the evangelist, the missionary purpose of the church -

"The inquirers seem more anxious about the internal arrangement of a church, than about the means of gathering in THE CHURCH - UNIVERSAL. We do not wish to use severity of language, against persons who appear well-meaning men. But how can we speak otherwise, when in their inquiry . . . . they endeavour to exclude the office of evangelist? . . . . To talk of that office as confined to apostolic times, is to forget that there is room and need for planting churches now, as well as there was then . . . . We think it the deep sin of all the churches, that they have so much overlooked the office of evangelist."

(Ibid. p. 465)

The time for theorising on these matters quickly came to an end. New churches were forming, and required to be constituted on a sound scriptural and functional basis. In the dawn of their existence few things were necessary, and such was the pristine zeal and love of the members that the joy of devotion was the rule of their fellowship, rather than the rigour of discipline. Ewing was consulted about the constitution of the Edinburgh Tabernacle church, of which he was a founder member/
member, but before long he was faced with the practical problem of organising almost single-handed a church in Glasgow.

At this crucial stage he met Rowland Hill, and this acquaintance not only confirmed him in his evangelical conviction, but also strengthened him in his flexible, commonsense, but essentially scriptural approach to the question of church order. Appended to the published Journal of Hill's Tour are "REMARKS on the present state of THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, and the DIFFERENT S Cecisions therefrom, together with REFLECTIONS on some PARTY DISTINCTIONS IN ENGLAND; showing the origins of these disputes, and the causes of their separation. Designed to promote BROTHERLY LOVE and FORBEARANCE AMONG CHRISTIANS OF ALL DENOMINATIONS. ALSO some REMARKS on the propriety of what is called LAY and ITINERANT PREACHING." This work caused some stir, and gave offence, not only to the Establishment, but to the various branches of the Secession. In his introductory remarks addressed to James Haldane, Hill urged him to strike hard at the entrenched prejudice and pharasiacal self-righteousness that hinders the spread of the Gospel.

"Go/
"Go on, my dear sir, be the maul of bigotry, and of every sectarian spirit among all denominations; declare vengeance against the unscriptural innovations of narrow-minded bigots, who, finding the Word of God uncompliant to designs like theirs, have combined together to support their dogmas, according to certain rules of their own creating. . . . In the name of God, my beloved brother, with the sword of the Spirit in your hand and the life of God in your heart, pursue those hideous monsters even unto death."

(Journal, Hill, p. 69)

In his crusade against bigotry, Hill found "those hideous monsters" lurking in many corners of the Scottish scene. In flushing them out he had little respect for cherished traditions or ecclesiastical dignity. Over the gulf of the years comes a healthy gust of kindly laughter. Commenting on the war-like loyalty of the Cameronians to the Covenants, Hill says -

"Notwithstanding their wild and extravagant notions, Government mildly judges that they should not be, according to their own law, extirpated, or that the flames of persecution should be rekindled, any more than that Edinburgh should be burnt to the ground to destroy the bugs!"

(Ibid., p. 90)

But the Cameronians are only an extreme sect of Presbyterianism, and the same emphasis on the power of the sword to maintain a form of religion is characteristic of/
of every part. Such slavish adherence to ancient politico-ecclesiastical history hampers progressive Christian development. Hill admits that connection is a necessary part of Church order both for strength and fostering brotherly love and agrees that Presbyterianism is a useful form of it. Its degeneracy was evident, however, in the Scotland of 1799. Ministers were forced to take part in the ordination of unsuitable men; unwelcome presentees were intruded into pulpits, supervised by soldiers; parish communions perverted the real meaning of the sacrament. All this stemmed from the malfunctioning of an essentially simple system, and from the excessive power of the General Assembly, "The 'caput mortuum' of the whole diseased body." (Ibid. p. 91).

The tyranny of a remote and centralised authority was not the only kind that threatened the church. The Independents too, had their own brand. "Some people are priest-ridden, and some priests are people ridden", was Hill's dry aside (P. 122, fn.) He distinguished between the terms "Independent" and "Congregational". The former describes a type of church order, which, if strictly/
strictly adhered to, breeds a selfish spirit of isolation. Such churches have nothing to do with any other groups, though even of the same denomination, and arrogate to themselves absolute power. They refuse to allow their members to enjoy Christian fellowship or to share in communion with any other than themselves. In Hill's view this is "the very quintessence of Anti-burgherism, sublimated and double-refined." (Ibid. p. 132). The logical conclusion of such a conception is to unchurch every other Christian society that does not conform to a certain pattern. The term "Congregational" is an insufficient description of a distinct type of church order. That the people should have their proper part in the conduct of the church's life and worship is plainly proven from scripture. But to press this argument too far is to unbalance the responsibility of oversight and degrade the office of pastor.

"In this (system) youngsters and old ladies all act for themselves. They neither have, nor can they have, rulers, overseers or elders, for each has a positive right to rule, to oversee and to control the conduct of his own minister. As to elders, the novice ranks with them, the moment he is admitted ... the minister is without a vote for himself, and without any possibility of redress."

(Ibid. p. 134)
In a footnote Hill is devoutly thankful that he is subject to the reverend fathers in God of the Episcopal Church, rather than to the reverend mothers in God of Congregationalism! He enjoins caution in the introduction of ideas of popular autonomy in the church, especially where there is no reserve of tradition to draw upon, as in the formation of a new cause.

"To give a set of raw disciples, the mere offspring of the day, perhaps the hasty product of a few animated sermons, an idea that they have a right to choose and make their own ministers, is very injudicious."

(Ibid. p. 155)

Hill had positive proposals to make as well as criticisms. He suggested a "Union Church", its communion open to all who loved the Lord Jesus, and its doors freely open also to all who would enter. The aim would be to draw the people to Christ with winsomeness and simplicity -

"better keep a cook-shop to satisfy the craving appetite, than a confectioner's shop to regale the depraved appetite of the dainty. Good brown bread preaching is best after all."

(Hill, Charlesworth, p. 55)

There was nothing to be ashamed of in gathering in a congregation of common folk. Some would sneer, for -

"among/"
"among the more exalted divines of the day, nothing is so disgraceful as popularity. The surest evidence of their sort of good preaching is, when next to nobody will come to hear it."

(Journal, Hill, p. 165, fn.)

The organisation of the church ought to be on congregational lines. The people would have ample opportunity to declare themselves on vital issues, but the conduct of the normal affairs of the church would be the delegated responsibility of minister and elders. The elders would be spiritual men, able to assist the minister in his pastoral duties, and would meet weekly with him for prayer and consultation. These Union churches would be in a necessary connection, meeting regularly together for united action, inspirational fellowship and general communions. They would be held together in their connection by a special itinerant ministry of dedicated men, who, because of their apostolic zeal and love of unity, would circulate ceaselessly with their kindling message of redeeming love.

Hill's remarks on worship in the Union Church are interesting and often amusing. He thought that the plain form of Scottish worship could hardly be improved, but he took a Sassenach's exception to singing the/

Hill concluded his plan with a reminder that organisation in itself is insufficient. Everything comes back in the end to the quality of the ministers, and their faithfulness to the Gospel. If the churches heed them, they will undoubtedly prosper, and their order, of whatever type, will naturally conform to the general New Testament pattern, but -

"when they begin to become cold and formal, self-interested and full of themselves, they will decline as others have done."

(Ibid., 181)

Thus Hill belonged to no party. Only grudgingly recognised by the Church of England, prohibited by Act of Assembly from Scottish pulpits, expressly precluded from the chapels of Lady Huntingdon's Connection, he occupied the debatable ground between Church and Dissent, and carried on a continual battle with sectarianism in Surrey Chapel, and anywhere else in Britain where he could gather an audience. Such was the man who influenced Bwing at a critical stage in the development of his thought on the nature of church order/
order. Ewing had heard Hill hold thousands spell-bound in the open air on the slopes of Calton Hill. He had enjoyed personal fellowship with the genial evangelist. Hill had rallied to Ewing's defence in the face of the censure of the Pastoral Admonition. And Hill had helped him to launch the Glasgow Tabernacle plan, by his preaching and by his prayers, at no small cost in physical suffering. It is little wonder that Hill influenced Ewing in a variety of ways, and particularly in his refusal to don a denominational strait-jacket.

What was true of Hill was also true of Ewing -

"A Dissenter within the Church, a Churchman among Dissenters . . . . His very catholicism sometimes put on an aggressive form; for of nothing was he so intolerant as of sectarianism."

(Cabinet Annual Register, 1833, p. 76).

Ewing was not slavish in his endorsement of Hill's views, but in evidence of his sympathy with them it is interesting to note that there are points of similarity between the remarks on church order in Hill's Journal, and Ewing's definitive work on that subject, subsequently published in 1807 under the title "Attempt at a Statement, etc."
The practical development of Ewing's Congregationalism can be observed in his later writing. His "Lecture on Acts XV", published in 1804, reveals that he favoured a limited, though effective, participation of the general membership in the conduct of Church affairs. It is not necessary that every item of business should have to pass through the church meeting, before the office-bearers can take action. There is no basis in Scripture for such a procedure.

"... the office-bearers are to feed the flock; that is, to govern them by instruction and persuasion, according to the will of God. In doing this, they are entitled, nay bound, to carry into effect the rules of Scripture, and to require obedience from the church to those rules when laid before them. A different conduct deprives the church of the benefit of government, must give continual encouragement to dissension, and is likely to make discipline degenerate into an engine of faction. Nothing is less likely to serve the cause of truth, or even the cause of Christian liberty, than making everything that ought to be done, wait for discussion in full assembly. If the church contains the collective wisdom, it contains also the collective ignorance of the brethren ... . Where everything must undergo discussion, some may be in danger of thinking they have laws to make, instead of laws to obey. A few of the most active spirit, and readiest elocution, will become the real movers and managers in every business; ... (they are) inclined to contention and tedious consultation about matters of the most trivial importance; and ever on the watch to satisfy a/"
a restless disposition, by seizing an opportunity to interfere . . . .

When anything must be brought before the church for consideration, the brethren must certainly signify their judgement concerning it. But, in this case, great care must be taken that all things be done decently and in order; and it seems to be the duty of those who have oversight, to maintain order."

(Acts XV, Ewing, pp. 35-6)

How plainly Ewing puts his finger on the weakness of Congregational government! Only a few years' experience of it in the Tabernacle, coupled with his observations of what was happening in the new churches, convinced him of the need for a polity that permitted of delegated authority without interfering with individual liberty. Forbearance is essential in such an arrangement, but in the event of a serious breakdown of relationships, it is permissible for the believer to turn away from the fellowship and, for conscience sake, hold fast to the truth of which he is convinced.

While Ewing was engaged in working out a practical pattern of church order in Glasgow, other ideas were gaining ground. In 1802 Robert Haldane began to study the writings of Glas and Sandeman. With typical wholeheartedness he adopted the views contained in/
in them as his own, and set about spreading them by every means in his power. Ewing had earlier realised that these views tended to destroy fellowship, rather than to build it up, and led to confusion rather than to edification. The mark of a true church was no longer evangelistic activity, but obedience to the minutiae of New Testament ecclesiastical organisation. Sandemanianism was essentially disruptive, for it required Christians to despise forbearance, and separate for the most trivial reasons, under the guise of scriptural purity.

"When any . . . . are conscious that they walk in any respect contrary to that rule by which the first churches of the saints were regulated; they are convicted by the testimony of their own consciences, that they are unscriptural . . . . no Disciple can remain in (them) without sin."

(Letter . . . . on Christian Songs, Sandeman, p. 4)

Besides this excessive emphasis on individual judgement, there was an explicit rejection not only of the normal ministerial office, but of the need for special preparation or theological training. It was unnecessary in a Spirit-filled church.

"I insist that men, however uncultivated in their minds, however rude has been their education, when enlightened, taught and instructed by the Spirit of God, have both power and right . . . . to declare the good tidings of salvation."

(Ibid. p. 4)
The intention was to replace the familiar form of worship conducted by the pastor, by another practice in which a number of elders would "set an example to the flock of short and simple addresses, as may be a model to all the brethren." (Ibid. p. 28)

These ideas were developed and debated in a variety of pamphlets, and through the pages of the Missionary Magazine. James Haldane in large measure supported his brother's change of outlook, in his "Views of the Social Worship of the First Churches", published in 1805, but they were written "in a spirit with which even the adversaries of his system could scarcely be offended." (London Christ. Instr. Orme, ii, 781)

His brother, Robert, however, was unable to pursue the discussion with similar composure. Desire to defeat the opposition overcame his obligations of brotherhood. Using William Ballantine of Elgin as a "ghost-writer", he published in 1807 "A Treatise on the Elder's Office; showing the Qualifications of Elders, and how the First Churches obtained them; also, their Appointment, Duties and Maintenance; the Necessity of a Presbytery in every Church, and Exhortation, and the Observance of every Church Ordinance on the Lord's Day, in order, amongst other ends, to the obtaining of Elders."
The plan outlined in this book undermined the entire system of worship that had been commonly adopted by the Congregational churches. Kinniburgh, in his "Historical Survey" described it as "a withering blast from the north, which was attended with direful consequences." (Haldane, Life, p. 355).

It was at this stage of the controversy that Ewing intervened, by publishing in 1807 "AN ATTEMPT TOWARDS A STATEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF SCRIPTURE ON SOME DISPUTED POINTS RESPECTING THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, WORSHIP, AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST." The work, as he says, was written hastily, and without consultation with his friends on the advisability of publication. Manifest throughout is his alarm at the plight of the churches, plunged into such perplexing disputation, and his disgust with Robert Haldane for his dictatorial policy and his devious methods of disaffection. The book runs to more than 200 pages, and is a comprehensive and lively account of his convictions on Congregationalism.

His basic principle is stated at the outset. The opening sentence of his preface defined his position:

"The/
"The Word of God is the only authority which we are bound to obey, in our Christian fellowship. But our heavenly Father has not thought it proper to give a minute detail of the formation and practice of his primitive churches."

It is therefore important to distinguish what is obligatory and what is voluntary in Christian practice, for it cannot be expected that there will be uniformity of procedure among a variety of fellowships. The unity Christ intended for his disciples cannot be on the basis of organisation, otherwise He would have left unmistakable teaching on this subject. Christians must therefore learn forbearance, and recognise sincerely-held differences of opinion. When churches forget this they -

"establish a tyranny of opinion, which binds the conscience, where Christ hath left it free; which intimidates every objector, or excludes him from communion; and denounces all other churches as ignorant, superstitious, prejudiced and corrupt."

(Attempt, Ewing, p. 4)

After tracing the emergence of the apostolic churches and describing the manifestation of spiritual gifts among them, Ewing proceeds to draw an important distinction between such N.T. churches, and those of subsequent ages. In those early times God providentially bestowed special gifts of the Holy Spirit on His people for/
for the planting and nurturing of churches in the face of otherwise unsurmountable difficulties. In later times and under less stringent conditions, these gifts were withdrawn, and normal instruction replaced supernatural endowment -

"the education, then, of pious men for the work of the ministry, under the tuition of pastors and teachers seems to be the chief allowance which ought to be made for the difference of circumstances between the primitive and later churches, occasioned by the cessation of spiritual gifts."

(Ibid, p. 42)

Although "gifts" in the supernatural N.T. sense are no longer present in the churches, natural gifts of ability undoubtedly are, and these should be cultivated by the best possible methods of training. School and college are therefore as necessary in education for the ministry, as they are in other fields of human activity.

In discussing the ministry Ewing uses the term "eldership" as a general term describing the office-bearers, and differentiates between two specific types - "bishops" and "deacons". The former is the supreme church-officer, described variously by the Fathers as "president, pastor, governor, superintendent and priest."

(Ibid. p.86). Not only did Ewing believe that they had/
had power in the local church, by virtue of their office, but he also declared that they possessed a status beyond the congregation, enabling them, for instance, to authorise special ordination.

"We see nothing in scripture to prevent us from being happy to attend a meeting of the eldership, or company of elders, belonging to the churches, for example, of Edinburgh, and Glasgow, and a dozen places more, for the purpose of ordaining either a bishop or a missionary."

(Ibid. p. 97)

Ewing then turns to a discussion of plurality of ministers, and at once denies that this is either obligatory or even advantageous. It may be necessary in certain circumstances, but the arguments against the general adoption of such a practice by the churches are considerable and cogent. For instance, how is the optimum number to be determined? And in any case a congregation is more likely to reach agreement over choosing one minister, than several, and will be less likely to split into factions. The question of adequate maintenance of the ministry is an important factor. A full-time status is desirable, if a minister's most effective work is to be realised. It is the responsibility of the church to support the minister, and a useful text-book for their study would be Adam Smith's "Wealth of/
of Nations". Only if the members of a church are prepared to support a ministerial plurality on a suitable economic level of subsistence are they entitled to consider such a step. There is no word in scripture suggesting that the minister should be maintained in depressed circumstances. Rather the reverse is true.

Plurality is a waste of manpower, and tends to concentrate the attention of the ministers upon questions of seniority, instead of the salvation of souls. In the plan outlined in Ballantyne's "Treatise" there is no suggestion of plurality implying a composite team. Whomsoever the church desires, is to be ordained to the ministry.

"It is absolutely part of the plan, that the learned and the unlearned; the eloquent and the slow of speech; some receiving support, some not; every conceivable diversity of temper, character and circumstance shall be mingled."

(Ibid. p. 111)

Such a diverse company would be called to rule and guide the church. But who would rule and guide the ministers? Their tendency would rather be to enlarge their own power -

"till/
"till the elders become a consistory; and
the conclave become an inquisition - for
everybody - except themselves."

(Ibid. p. 107).

When a church increases in numbers the wiser step is
to separate, and start a new church. The result is
generally an enlargement of both fellowships, and a
continuing bond of love between them. Ewing was in
the strong position of being able to speak from experience
of this process, since the church in Albion Street,
under the ministry of Ralph Wardlaw, had been formed in
this way, and cordial relations were maintained between
the two churches. The two pastors worked together in
harness for nearly forty years.

In summing up his argument Ewing is convinced
that the general rule should be "one church - one bishop".
He cannot however resist one final tilt at the one whom
he felt to be the author of all the unrest and discord
which this question had provoked:

"The hostility of some to the appointment of
one bishop in a church seems to be entirely
directed against the bishop's office. They
have no objection, on general principles, to
the exercise of superior power by an individual,
in a church of Christ. A person, without office,
may have an effective, though nameless influence,
not only in one, but in fifty churches; yet
all is well."

(Ibid. p. 117)

Ewing/
Ewing next turns to a discussion of the work of the ministry. In the first place all-round ability is a requisite, and it is generally the case that a true preacher will be an able overseer. It is a false conception of the ministry to suppose that able men are necessary for larger churches, while inferior men may be suited to small country charges. A uniform level of scriptural qualification is essential -

"A man who is not fit for a bishop everywhere, is fit nowhere; and a man who is fit anywhere, is fit everywhere."

(Ibid. p. 123).

In the event of a shortage of ministers, it is better for the churches to depend upon supply, than to rush unsuitable men into that office.

The familiar responsibilities of the ministry are enumerated. Pastoral care of the congregation is essential, but this does not mean that the minister must be forever going his rounds from house to house. Such a practice often tends to triviality, and over-familiarity, which is the root cause of so much quarrelling in the church.

"The flock will derive more benefits from the fruits of his secret devotions and studies, than/"
than from an incessant frequency of visiting."

(Ibid. p. 149)

Much argument had taken place on the question whether dispensing the Lord's Supper was solely the responsibility of the minister. Ewing maintains that it is, on the grounds that it gives the pastor a powerful opportunity to preach the Gospel. Presiding regularly at such a solemn occasion enables him systematically to instruct the church in the essentials of the faith. It also deepens the bond of spiritual love between pastor and people. He does not reject outright the possibility of a layman celebrating the Sacrament, but emphatically condemns any attempt to reduce the practice to a general principle. It is plainly stated in Scripture to be part of the bishop's function. Only by inference can another point of view be established. Yet the advocates of lay celebration treat it as though it were decreed in the ten commandments! (P. 135)

"We certainly have no desire to prevent our fellow-Christians from enjoying all the edification and comfort of the Lord's Supper . . . . But to observe it, on principles subversive of the pastoral office . . . . appears to us to be extremely dangerous."

(Ibid. p. 142)
In defining "a church of Christ" Ewing insists that the "two or three" definition is inadequate, in that it lacks necessary permanence. The further qualification is that it should be a fixed society with permanent officers -

"at least the officer whose duty it is to conduct the public worship, in order that it may, with propriety, observe public ordinances."

(Ibid. p. 158)

Congregational churches in particular must beware that their polity does not degenerate into sheer individualism, and must be on their guard lest in their passion for independence "they violate the unity of the churches". (p. 164). The primitive churches were in active fellowship, interchanging membership and ministry, and sharing in the mutual administration of discipline. The exclusive attitude adopted by many of the new churches, in comparison with this free and trustful inter-communion, is "sour and repulsive". (p. 167).

That exhortation is a useful Christian exercise, is a reasonable proposition. But it is unscriptural to elevate it to the importance of an ordinance. Its practice is fraught with obvious problems, and when it interferes/
interferes with the proper ministry of the Word, and is made the test of apostolic purity, then it must be resisted. Other questions of mere procedure have been given undue significance. Is it right to sit or to stand to sing?

"We sometimes see individuals in the warmth of their zeal, bearing a practical testimony against the heresy of a sitting congregation, by standing in the midst of them, during the praises of God."

(Ibid. p. 183)

As far as Ewing is concerned to make such an issue a test of orthodoxy is ridiculous. He is prepared to "sit with the sitters, and stand with the standers". But he is concerned about the ultimate result of these tendencies. It would cause him no surprise to hear it advocated that the Lord's Supper should be eaten by a congregation lying on sofas! Such trifling discussions are unworthy of Christians who were bidden to worship in spirit and in truth.

The administration of discipline had been the occasion of much discussion, and Ballantyne's recommended practice was that it should be carried out in public worship on the Lord's Day, as a visible demonstration of the Gospel. Ewing is quite opposed to this, and maintains/
maintains that the proper exhibition of the Gospel is by preaching. Discipline, on the other hand, is recommended in the N.T. to be carried out as far as possible confidentially. Only in the last resort should the dispute be brought before the church. Any other procedure savours of censoriousness, and is psychologically suspect -

"We have heard it remarked by a person of great experience in such matters, that the most severe creditors are generally people on the brink of bankruptcy themselves. We should be sorry to see reason given for a similar remark, by the indulgence of severity of spirit among the disciples of Christ."

(Ibid. p. 194)

This is not to suggest that discipline should be dispensed with, but it must not be made a public spectacle to be gossiped about. Should there be any demand from the civil power to investigate the conduct of their affairs, on the grounds of conspiracy and sedition, the doors would be freely open. The young churches have nothing to hide from the scrutiny of the law, but delicacy is necessary in dealing with the private problems of Christian folk.

In a final section on characteristic habits among members of a church, Ewing has some interesting things/
things to say. It is plain that he had practical experience in dealing with all classes of society. He frankly stresses the need for cleanliness. He deals with the question of wearing fine clothes and jewellery. There is perhaps an unusual respect of persons in the deferential remark -

"Expensive is a relative term . . . . It is not the high price, but the fondness of wearing what is of high price; neither is it gold and pearls, but the fondness of wearing them, that Peter condemns . . . ."

(Ibid. p. 199)

His typical native reserve reveals itself in his dislike of popular words and expressions current among a certain type of religious folk - "brother", "sister", etc. By gross over-use they become meaningless.

Ewing's final paragraphs carry an appeal to the churches to consider well the consequences of their actions, and to avoid the error of blind bigotry. The arguments of the other side appear impressive because they are stated with such confident dogmatism, and his own replies sometimes appear hesitant. This is because he only took his stand where scripture appeared irrefutable. He kept an open mind where the arguments were inferential and conjectural. The churches had reached a crossroads -

"We/
"We may have been directed right through many turns and windings, but if on that account, we become partial to them, and follow them, who take them most frequently, and with least deliberation, it will be a miracle if we do not go wrong at least. In short, there must be a limit somewhere, however difficult it may be, completely to trace it. The order of a church is not one of those subjects on which we cannot expect adequate information till we get to heaven . . . . It is on earth that we must understand it, otherwise our knowledge will be too late."

(Ibid. p. 219)

Only the decision of the churches themselves could now resolve the issue. Ewing had done all he could, to lead the way. He had organised a strong Congregational church out of its beginnings in an evangelistic mission, giving power, and purpose and permanency. He had thrown the full weight of his considerable literary talent into propagating the ideas of commonsense Independency. He had done this for nearly a decade, at the expense of other work, dear to his heart. He had boldly confronted Haldane and reproved him for improper influence, exposing the real nature of his benevolence. In private conversations, in church meetings, from the pulpit, the great debate continued. The Congregational Union, in its faith and order, originated with those churches which ultimately cast their vote for Ewing's plan.
CHAPTER SIX

SECTION I - FINAL CONTROVERSY WITH ROBERT HALDANE

When William Ballantyne published, in 1807, his "Treatise on the Elder's Office", Ewing realised that it was a moment of crisis for the eighty-five new Congregational churches. His reply "An Attempt, etc." was not just another pamphlet in the general debate on church order. It was a deliberate public attack, in all but name, on Robert Haldane, whom he now reckoned to be replacing the normal pastoral ministry with a system of uneducated plurality which, in Ewing's opinion, was sure to end in the withering of the young churches as lively Gospel fellowships. Ballantyne's book was well known to contain Haldane's views and many believed him to be the real author. (1) Certainly, it had been assiduously commended and circulated by him. The fruit of such levelling teaching was clearly apparent in the church in Elgin where Ballantyne was pastor. The attendances at the Tabernacle there had steeply fallen away, so that were not more than sixty of a congregation on a Sunday in the building with seats for 1,500, which had originally been erected at Haldane's expense. "It was a desert of empty pews, enough to chill the spirits of an archangel ... " (Gen. Ac. Sec. X, p. 11)

Ballantyne's/

(1) (F. & D., Ewing, p.97, but denied by Haldane, "Answer" p.92)
Ballantine's preaching had lost its pointed edge, and he became engrossed with edifying Christians on the subject of church order and discipline. Nor was this unrest confined to the north. From every quarter came stirrings of unease, and stories of bitter division. Ewing now regarded Haldane, with his restless imperious spirit, and his financial influence, as the prime sower of discord and the author of confusion. At all costs the churches had to be alerted, not merely to the dangers of new doctrine, but also the disruptive designs of their one-time benefactor, before it was too late.

A little time before Ewing's book was published, the men chanced to meet in Glasgow. A long argument ensued, in the course of which Ewing was blunt enough to say that he was convinced that Haldane was doing as much against the success of the Gospel as ever he had done for it. (1) Although neither realised it, this was the last intimate discussion the two former partners ever had. They met again socially on a few occasions, but not privately and never alone. The floodtide of their quarrel swept them forever apart. A year later

Ewing/

(1) F. & D. p. 98)
Ewing passed Haldane in the street without a word. (1) The breach was complete.

When Haldane eventually read this book, the substance of which Ewing had communicated to him in Glasgow, he could not fail to miss the pointed references. He said of it -

"The personality of his book is well-known; and although names are not mentioned, his aim throughout the whole is sufficiently understood. The mode of reproof and correction which he has adopted, is neither the most honourable nor conciliatory."

(Letters, Haldane, p. 8)

Ewing criticised Haldane's seminary on the grounds that the churches had little control over the education of the men who would ultimately be their pastors. If that had been all, it would have been a serious disadvantage, but when these very men were being instructed to destroy the accepted pattern of the pastoral ministry, and even to despise special preparation for it, Ewing declared -

"what a monstrous scheme of ignorance and confusion is this! Is it not high time to change our course . . . .?"

(Attempt, Ewing, p. 57)

In his view the motive behind such a policy was obvious. It sprang from a secret inferiority in the presence of those/

(1) "Ans.", Haldane, p. 86.
those who were better educated. Inverted intellectual snobbery impels men to bring all down to their level. Such wreckers -

"are far gone in the progress of barbarism who are willing to countenance contempt of information."

(Ibid. p. 60)

In this fashion, throughout the book, Ewing fixes the responsibility for the troubles in the churches squarely on Haldane. From him stems the almost pathological emphasis on public discipline, and the jumble of confusion over the multiplying eldership. He accuses him of manipulating the impressionable minds of the students for his own ends, and of proposing changes, from mere whim.

"If we see a man, in conversation or in writing taking every opportunity of censuring that which exists, and of extolling that which is yet to be tried, we have reason to suspect, that the darling object of that man is alteration, and that his darling object has deprived him of candour . . . . (and that he) is making changes . . . . as a mere matter of experiment, if not amusement!"

(Ibid. p. 213).

Such plain speaking amounted to a vote of no confidence, if not to an actual declaration of war. Although/
Although not explicitly named, the public was in no doubt as to the Ewing's target. Robert Haldane was too proud a man to bear such reproaches in silence. It might have been more prudent for Ewing to have avoided giving such offence, and taken longer to consider his reply. This he acknowledged, but claimed that he was forced, reluctantly, to reply at once, for he and his friends felt that -

"the situation of the churches is, at present, extremely delicate and critical . . . . We hope and pray that some check may be given to the restless spirit of alteration which has long been working among us privately, and has at last been publicly displayed in a system, which threatens to lead to continual anarchy and subdivision, till ignorance should triumph over all means of instruction, and the fellowship of saints be completely annihilated."

(Ibid. p. 209).

Meanwhile the blight of disintegration which, until now, had been confined to the country districts, descended upon the Tabernacle in Edinburgh, so recently the scene of such holy Gospel accord. James Haldane, after a long period of indecision, finally rejected infant baptism, and was himself baptised. He hoped that such a step would be accepted by the church, but in this he was disappointed. The congregation was torn/
torn apart. Some 200 remained with their pastor, but the rest dispersed, some returning to the Church of Scotland, others joining the College Street Congregational Church, where John Aikman was pastor. (Life, Haldane, p. 358). A considerable group, however, decided to remain together in fellowship as a church, and gathered for worship in Bernard's Rooms. Ralph Wardlaw helped with pulpit supply at the outset, (F. & D., Ewing, p. 104), and Ewing followed a fortnight later. Although his return to Edinburgh to preach involved him in further controversy, the visit to Bernard's Room's was not without happy associations. It was here that he had taught the boys and girls of Lady Maxwell's School as the young minister of Lady Glenorchy's (Mem. Matheson, p. 341).

His stay in the capital lasted nearly a fortnight, and during that time the relationship between him and Haldane deteriorated even further, for Ewing formally withdrew from the S.P.G.H. In his brief letter of resignation he curtly stated that he had long been dissatisfied with the conduct of the Society's affairs, and that lately he had received further evidence of their "partiality, and oppression of the Lord's people." (F. & D., Ewing, p. 103). This was a reference to the case/
case of Neil MacGill, an itinerant trained in Haldane's seminary and sent out by the Society. He had gathered a small congregation in Easdale, and they were eager to buy a suitable building in which to worship. MacGill travelled to Edinburgh to enlist the help of Haldane, but he soon learned that he need expect no assistance from that quarter. Mr. Haldane had changed his mind about financing a church building. (F. & D., Ewing, p. 101). There was a bigger disappointment yet to come. Not long after MacGill returned empty-handed he received a letter from the S.P.G.H. in the following terms -

"Dear Sir,

In addition to what you received in Edinburgh, we send you enclosed £1. In future, however, if the people do not support you, it is necessary that you provide for yourself in some line of honest industry, either by teaching or otherwise. This is requisite for your comfort and independence, and is the proper manner of proceeding, while a church is not able to support those who labour among them, I am, etc. John Ritchie."

(F. & D., Ewing, p. 108)

The sum referred to, paid in Edinburgh, amounted also to £1. Thus a humble preacher received what amounted to/
to his notice and along with it an insulting instruction to seek honest work. This was but one instance among many of the consequences of the sudden withdrawal of Haldane's support. It was a blow to the poorer churches, for they were left to face debts they never would have incurred but for the original open-handed encouragement of their patron. It was even more grievous for the itinerants and pastors, who found themselves cut off in remote areas, often with families, and with no local opportunities for suitable alternative employment. Some of them were told that they might be placed in England, (F. & D. Ewing, p. 101), but the promises were vague, and the need immediate. Ewing laid the blame for all this at Haldane's door. Although the Society was nominally controlled by a committee and financed by general subscription, it was well known that increasingly the power and the purse were Haldane's. His behaviour, in Ewing's eyes was without compassion, and without honesty.

"This measure, which many of the members of the Society would never have sanctioned, originated, I believe, with the very gentleman, who, at a former period, had required some of those preachers to subscribe a solemn declaration, that they should abandon all worldly business, and devote their lives wholly to the work of preaching the Gospel."

(F. & D., Ewing, p. 101)
News of Ewing's resignation, and the blunt terms of it, reached Haldane immediately. Nevertheless, noblesse oblige, both he and his brother called on Ewing in a social way. Ewing was in no mood to respond with a conventional return visit, but he says that he was prevailed upon to do so by the advice of friends, (F. & D., p. 103), who doubtless felt that the situation in Edinburgh was sufficiently unhappy without an open personal breach. So Ewing dined with the two brothers separately, but both occasions were strictly formal, and there was no reference to the quarrel that was seething beneath the surface. It did not take long to boil over. Although Haldane says he was anxious for a private discussion with Ewing (F. & D., p. 104), he made no direct approach till the day before Ewing's departure for Glasgow. He says, lamely, that "he hoped to meet him on the street" (F. & D., p. 105), and fix a meeting. Ewing suspected that the delay was deliberate. He therefore replied that he was agreeable to an interview but stipulated that it must be in the presence of friends. He claimed that their long argument privately in Glasgow fulfilled the first condition of treating a grievance between/
between Christians as set out in Matt. XVIII, and that the second stage should consequently be observed - that of consulting before witnesses. Haldane completed this stiff exchange of notes by insisting on a preliminary private meeting, whereupon Ewing returned to Glasgow without further intimation. In a strict sense Haldane was within his rights in this incident. New issues had arisen since their Glasgow meeting - the actual publication of Ewing's book, the disruption in the Edinburgh Tabernacle, and Ewing's accusations against the S.P.G.H. Haldane was reasonably entitled on the basis of Christian forbearance to expect an opportunity of remonstrating privately with Ewing, but this was persistently denied to him. Early in June he tried again, in Glasgow, when he called at Ewing's home in Carlton Place. In her husband's absence Mrs. Ewing entertained him socially, and -

"all the while his behaviour was like that of an acquaintance and friend of the family."

(Ibid. p. 121)

But when Ewing came in he showed a different face. On going downstairs he repeated his request "to talk over some things." Ewing replied that he was, and always had/
had been, willing to do this, and that Haldane was aware of the conditions under which the discussion could take place. Then came the thunderbolt from Haldane. Quite out of the blue he declared -

"I consider you to have completely departed from the system on which we set out, (and) I think you have no right to retain the house."

(Ibid. p. 122)

Although Ewing was shocked by this claim, he remained outwardly calm. Ignoring the substance of it, he simply asked that it should be put in writing. Haldane refused abruptly to do so, whereupon Ewing declared that he would treat the matter as though it had never occurred, and "immediately turned away". (F. & D., p. 86).

He was well aware, however, that the matter would not be so easily solved, and at once he jotted down his recollection of the conversation, knowing well that Haldane's account of it would soon be in circulation.

It cannot be thought that Haldane's demand was/

(1) Haldane's account of this incident, "he hastily turned round, and with a loud voice called to his servants to shut the door. Here we find Mr. Ewing proceeding to the utmost extremity of violence . . . . and indulging in a degree of rudeness which, among worldly men, would not be tolerated for a moment." (Answer, Haldane, p. 86)
was made on the spur of the moment because he was irritated with Ewing's persistence in holding himself incommunicado. In the preface to his published letters he subsequently admits (p.8) that his intention was to raise the matter with Ewing when he was in Edinburgh preaching at Bernard's Rooms. But what had originally been a threatening possibility quickly became a peremptory demand as he came to realise the extent of Ewing's cold defiance. There is ground for suspecting, as Ewing did, that the moment chosen to claim the Tabernacle was calculated to cause the maximum financial distress to the pastor, and the greatest possible inconvenience to the people. The seat-rents had just been paid a few days before, at the Whitsun term. This sum was well over £200, and represented Ewing's salary for the ensuing year. For him to have given up the Tabernacle at that time, therefore, would have meant an immediately penniless future, and the necessary labour of refunding a large number of individuals with small sums. Besides, the members themselves would be greatly handicapped by being deprived of their church sitting without the opportunity of securing suitable alternative accommodation for a full year.

Faced/
Faced with this prospect, Ewing took the understandable step of obtaining legal advice. He hastened to Edinburgh with a copy of the Tack and sought the opinion of Counsel(1) whether it was a valid agreement, whether his ministry had violated its terms, and what his course should be if an attempt were made to dispossess him. He was encouraged by the verdict. The Tack was good; his differences of opinion with Haldane constituted no ground for setting it aside; and he was well within his rights legally to contest any such action.

While he was in Edinburgh on this business, the first of a series of letters from Haldane reached him. This preliminary one was markedly different in tone from that lately employed on the doorstep at Carlton Place. It was brief, piously phrased and full of generalities. No mention was made of the Tabernacle. The one positive point was a reiteration of the request for a private interview, with a vague promise of discussion before witnesses "if necessary". (Letters, p. 11). However genuine Haldane may have been in his desire for conciliation and mutual repentance, Ewing refused to accept/

(1) The best available. Matt. Ross, Esq., was unanimously chosen Dean of the Faculty of Advocates later in that year. (Scots Mag. vol. 70, p. 877).
accept this letter at its face value.

"It is a masterly performance! But it resembles the form of a Will, before the blanks are filled up. It might fitly hold a place in such a book as "The Complete Letter-writer", to be copied and appropriated by any Christian, in any case whatever, in which, from a fellow Christian, he has received offence. I had not looked at this studied want of precision five minutes, when I said, this letter is written, not for me, but for the perusal of strangers; and from that moment, I have never ceased to expect all the degrees of circulation which it has successively obtained."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 142)

For the following five months the letters continued. Haldane wrote from London on July 29th, August 12th and 27th; and from Edinburgh on October 10th, November 7th, and the final one on the 15th. Early in December Haldane put them into circulation in manuscript form in Glasgow among members of the churches there, and in January, 1809, they were printed in a pamphlet of 89 pages entitled "Letters to Mr. Ewing, Respecting the Tabernacle at Glasgow, etc." The actual letters occupy 47 pages. The remainder is taken up by introductory remarks and a conclusion. Ewing had not been wrong in supposing that Haldane had a wider readership in view as he penned his letters. Ewing drafted a reply to/
to the letter of the 29th July, but when he found that he was receiving another every fortnight "of the same description, and about as long as a newspaper", (Ibid, p. 144) he waited to see when they would finish, and what the outcome would be. Although Haldane continued to write he had little to add to his argument. His case against Ewing's continued occupancy of the Tabernacle he fully stated in his letter of the 29th July. He conceded at once that he had no ground in law for his claim, and deprecated Ewing's action in taking legal advice. This step had annoyed him for he warned Ewing against over-estimating his security within the law:

"... if I should enforce what the bond authorises me at any time to do, it might occasion to you some trouble."

(Letters, p. 16)

The agreement between them had been ill-considered. It was a breach of responsibility on Haldane's part to transfer his property to the absolute control of another. Not only was it an abuse of stewardship, it was a violation of Christian principle. It was sinful to make a stamped bond, bearing a penalty for failure, the authority for a ministry of the Word and Sacraments. It was sinful to take collections from the/
the "promiscuous multitude" at the doors of the Tabernacle for the maintenance of the ministry. It was sinful to give any man such power over the church, that the members were dependent on him for the occupancy of their place of worship. Haldane acknowledged his own guilt in promoting the scheme, but pleaded his inexperience in the Christian life when he originally entered upon it. Besides this argument Haldane introduced several subsidiary points. Although he did not explicitly say so, he insinuated that Ewing's reason for leaving the Church of Scotland was the attraction of the bond. He argued further that it would be a healthy course for the Tabernacle Church to provide for itself, instead of exerting an improper influence over other churches by virtue of the financial support the members were able to give. Finally he plainly stated the motive underlying all his other arguments, and actions. If Haldane's policies were to be set aside, or if the churches did not follow the pattern of his theological development, then they could not count on the continuance of his financial support.

"You/
"You will never decry the plan of leaving the class to an individual, exhorting the churches to maintain a system of education for themselves, and at the same time teach them to continue to be obliged to that individual for the very house in which they assemble . . . . . While you discard his services in educating preachers and take it upon yourselves, you will do it in reality not in appearance . . . . And when you break your former connection with him in all other respects you will do it in regard to the house also."

(Letters, p. 17)

In an effort to settle the matter as discreetly as possible a move was made during the month of August to buy the Tabernacle. Negotiations were necessarily delicate, for the matter was not as yet competent business for the church, since the dispute was a personal one between the two parties involved in the bond. Nor was Ewing persuaded that such an accommodation ought to be made to Haldane's demand. However, he yielded to the advice of his friends, and an approach was made in his name to buy the building on behalf of the church. This would have provided an honourable alternative to Haldane, who would then have been spared the guilt of breaking his own agreement; it would have obviated any public squabbling over the final financial settlement; and above all, it would have ensured peace at a time when it/
it was most desirable. In his letter of 17th August, the treasurer of the Tabernacle church, William Harley, offered to buy the property, and suggested that Haldane should deduct what he thought was the value of the lease, both in the light of current economic hardship in Glasgow, and the possible slump in church income should Ewing "be removed".

This proposal Haldane flatly rejected in letters to Harley and Ewing, and his baffling inconsistency is revealed in the contradictory nature of these replies. To Ewing he says haughtily -

"I have a right to expect from you the restoration of the house, and no bargaining between us in regard to it can possibly take place until it be fully restored. After that will be the time for considering what further should be done.

Mr. Harley is mistaken, if he thinks that pecuniary reimbursement is in any shape my object."

(Letters, p. 32)

To Harley, however, the tone is different. The businessman takes over from the religious bully -

"I should have mentioned, as you desired, the price for which I am willing to sell the house. And if you resolve to purchase it, further discussion respecting the bond, will thus be prevented, which is certainly very desirable. I would therefore now say that I am ready to sell the house, for what it has cost me, allowing the price, if you choose, to be paid by instalments, in a reasonable way, as might afterwards be settled."

(F. & D., Ewing, p. 210)
It is significant to observe that when Haldane came to publish, there was no mention of this second letter. He preferred his public image to be one of disinterested integrity contending purely for principle. But privately he did not neglect the practical assurance of his property.

Although Haldane's offer to Harley was germane to the controversy, Haldane was strictly within his rights in withholding it from his published pamphlet, as this was entitled "Letters to Mr. Ewing, etc.". He was not entitled, however, to suppress the matter contained in his last letter, dated 15th November. In the printed version the opening paragraphs have been excised, and the excision simply marked with asterisks. No explanation was given, yet Ewing revealed just how vital they were. Having refused out of hand to negotiate a compromise agreement for the sale of the Tabernacle, and, in turn, having had his own peremptory demand for its unconditional surrender rejected, Haldane thereupon informed Ewing that the building was in a dangerous condition, and that a new gable would have to be put up to ensure a reasonable degree of safety. Nothing could have caused Ewing greater alarm than this disclosure.

From/
From the day of its opening he had been haunted by a fear of the building's insecurity, and he immediately petitioned the Dean of Guild Court to have the Tabernacle thoroughly inspected. Haldane's warning about the wall was groundless - a fact of which he was well aware, since three years previously he had had the fabric examined. He and Harley had kept the matter secret from Ewing lest it should upset him. But Ewing's alarm was not confined to architectural matters. He was horrified at the lengths to which Haldane was prepared to go to justify his own ends:

"... he is determined to stick at nothing, which will lead or drive me out of that house. If I will retain possession of it, I am to be frightened to the utmost."

(F. & D., Ewing, p. 217)

A more serious defect was discovered during the course of the structural examination. Several of the pillars supporting the gallery were found to have no solid foundation, and to be resting on a joist of wood which had decayed for want of ventilation. To avoid further risk of accident the gallery was closed and the necessary repairs completed. If any was wanting, this incident supplied Ewing with ample evidence to illustrate/
illustrate "the rottenness of the whole scheme." (1) Haldane's final step in his attempt to discredit and defeat Ewing was the publication of his carefully composed and suitably edited letters. He did not miss the opportunity of addressing himself to the congregation in the Tabernacle. Perhaps the most unpleasant part of this unnecessary and petulant book occurs in the closing pages when he tries to stir up trouble between pastor and people, interfering with one of the most intimate relationships in the Christian life. His efforts to alienate Ewing's congregation had not been fruitless, and he was eager to provoke further disaffection in the name of the Gospel -

"I am happy to know that there are some in the church at Glasgow who have already turned their attention to the above . . . . We should remember that in proportion as the truth is pressed upon us, it becomes more sinful and dangerous to resist it . . . . When properly attended to, it cannot fail to be perceived, that there is now no consistency in remaining on the ground which may continue to occupy . . . . I trust they will press forward."

(Letters, Haldane, p. 84)

Although/

(1) This phrase Haldane alleged had been originally used by Ewing with regard to the plan for the seminary and Tabernacle. At first Ewing denied having uttered it. But as the bitterness increased he came to accept it.
Although this publication provoked further unrest among the churches, it gave Ewing a measure of satisfaction to see the case against him appear at last in print. The whispering campaign had gone on too long. Even his friends felt he had misunderstood Haldane's intentions, and popular rumour had it that he was deliberately misrepresenting the purposes of a great and good man. At last he had been given the opportunity of replying publicly. He was not the man to neglect such a chance. The public would hear in detail the reasons why he had turned away from his former friend and refused all relationship with him. He felt he was scripturally bound to do so. Haldane had plainly revealed himself to be "a TRUCE-BREAKER, a false accuser, implacable, unmerciful." His own personal sufferings were incidental. Whomsoever Haldane had wronged, Ewing held himself duty bound to deal with him, because the church in Edinburgh to which he belonged, had failed to discipline his behaviour. Let an impartial readership, then, judge the issue.

With such a determination Ewing published, early in 1809, "FACTS AND DOCUMENTS respecting the CONNECTIONS which/
which have subsisted between ROBERT HALDANE ESQ. and
GREVILLE EWING, laid before the public, in consequence
of Letters which the Former has addressed to the Latter,
respecting the TABERNACLE AT GLASGOW."

The book runs to more than 260 pages, and is
minutely indexed for cross-reference and comparison.
But more important than its length or composition,
however, is its comprehensiveness. Haldane had
anticipated a "full discussion", being entered upon
as a result of his "Letters". Ewing did not disappoint
him. He went right back to the very beginnings of
their acquaintanceship, and commented on every aspect
of it. Had he been able to do this in a balanced and
judicial way, it would have been a more successful
contribution to the debate. Unfortunately, the first
pages reveal a hostile bias and a fixed resolve to portray
Haldane consistently in the worst possible light.
Ewing says much that is obviously true and necessary
throughout his book, but the whole is marred by his
animosity, and the total effect is bitter and distasteful.
Ewing himself seemed unconscious of it. At the
conclusion he says -

"I/
"I have the fearless testimony of conscience, that, to the best of my knowledge and recollection, I have told the truth. . . . I am not aware that I have made any malicious or unnecessary exposure. . . ."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 255)

Yet at the very outset Ewing says of Haldane, in the second paragraph of his book,

"Unfavourable reports both of his temper and principles had reached me. . . ."

(Ibid. p. 5)

On the second page he insinuates that Haldane craftily surprised him into agreeing to go to India. On the third page he rejoices in the final failure of the scheme on the grounds of Haldane's bad character.

"Much reason have I to bless God, that we were not permitted to go to India. What I have suffered from my connections with Mr. Haldane, will, in some measure, appear from what is yet to be stated. How dreadful would my sufferings have been aggravated, had they come upon me in a distant foreign country!"

(Ibid. p. 7)

The depths of Ewing's dislike for his one-time partner can to some extent be gauged from the distortion and innuendo contained in these introductory remarks. Allowance must therefore be made for a similar spirit pervading the whole, when a final assessment of the argument of the book is made.
The whole range of their relationships is dealt with, beginning with the mission to India, and including the seminary, the Tabernacles, Ewing's reasons for leaving the Church of Scotland, his differences with Haldane on education, church government, the S.P.G.H., his opinions on the bond, his answers to every point raised in Haldane's letters, the Tabernacle Accounts, and finally, a brief summing-up of his own position with regard to the future.

Through the tangled pattern of events several points recur. The first of these concerns what is an inevitable outcome of any new movement - the necessity for change and adaptation as a result of growing experience. The men were sadly out of harmony in this regard from the outset. For Ewing, the transition from Presbyterianism to Independency was a sufficiently radical one, and he carried over from the one into the other a characteristic caution and love of order. Subsequent changes in his theological position were governed, not only by scripture, but by reason and decorum. Deliberation was the keynote of his thought. Haldane, on the other hand, had no such basic theological convictions. His entry into the religious life was more/
more impulsive, and his subsequent development was little influenced by preconceived principles. He followed every inclination with enthusiasm, and was ready to disown yesterday's convictions, for what he considered today's more mature enlightenment. He took it too much for granted that others were as adaptable as himself in this respect. Hence both men, in their mutual misunderstanding, levelled accusations of inconsistency at each other. Haldane accused Ewing of abandoning the original spirit of their common enterprise, and the latter counter-charged the former with a love of capricious experiment for its own sake. Throughout Ewing's book this tragic incomprehension is abundantly illustrated. They never really talked the same language.

"Our principle was that the Holy Scriptures are the only rule of faith and practice. Mr. Haldane says, that he has adhered to this principle, in all the changes which he has adopted . . . . I also say, that I have adhered to this principle, in all the changes, which I have adopted . . . . He says, that I am in error; I say that he is in error."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 124)

Another major theme in the book is Ewing's insistence on Haldane's duplicity. There is sufficient evidence
in this case to justify the charge. While maintaining the seminary ostensibly for the education of ministers, he promoted a plan of church government which discarded them. While continuing in fellowship with a church in Edinburgh, he departed radically from its order when he was absent from it in Newcastle. His contradictory replies in connection with the Tabernacle have already been noted. A letter from William Orme of Perth appended to the book at the last minute furnishes further proof -

"As soon as our sentiments and practice did not correspond with his, all countenance was immediately refused, and our very existence as a church of Christ denied .... His conduct to us leads me much to question his sincerity .... It is passing strange, that he should assert, that he has not distressed the churches, when he is determined to turn the church into the streets ...."

(Letter from Orme, F. & D. p. 261)

Ewing was perfectly willing to allow Haldane the right to change his opinions, for he claimed a similar right for himself. Although he might never be persuaded to agree with him, he recognised the authority of conscientious conviction. But equivocation and sharp practice were an affront to his native sense of rectitude. He/
He preferred to call such behaviour by its other uglier name - hypocrisy. Haldane had pleaded, for instance, that the bond was a worldly instrument, and therefore sinful. Other-worldly standards ought to have been used to settle the Tabernacle dispute. Such a specious argument Ewing could not countenance.

"If he engage in any transaction whatever, the propriety and legality of which will not bear to be judged of according to the nature and laws of that kingdom which is not of this world; in that transaction he is not acting like a subject of the kingdom of heaven. The distinction which he wishes to establish, appears to me to be equally unfounded and dangerous. It is precisely that of a man, who is reported to have said, that he prayed as a bishop, and swore as the colonel of a regiment of dragoons."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 158)

Throughout the book it is clear that their relationship was a prolonged conflict of stubborn personalities. Each was determined to discipline the other. Ewing considered that Haldane was accorded undue deference out of respect for his fortune and his family connections, and that it was good for his soul to be spoken to firmly, without fear or favour. Ewing seemed to consider himself to be Haldane's self-appointed spiritual director -

"In/"
"In making these observations, I am entitled to credit for acting from love to the character of Christianity, and to the soul of Mr. Haldane. . . . I have ever thought and often told Mr. Haldane, that his greatest danger arose, from not having his faults faithfully laid before him. He is by no means the first, whom I have thought it necessary to treat in a similar manner."

(Ibid, p. 124)

Haldane, for his part, grew impatient of his own bond only when he discovered the measure of freedom from his control it allowed to Ewing. He never seemed able to escape from his aristocratic background, or to learn the gracious art of treating men of inferior social rank as equals and brothers in Christ. He learned well enough to simulate such an attitude, but when confronted with vital issues, he invariably had to be the master, and his way always had to be best. He was accustomed to being deferred to, and when confronted by an unyielding will in one whom he felt he had created, his anger knew no bounds. What he had created, he could also destroy. Ewing perceived this:

"Had I sailed with wind and tide and called for plurality of elders, and public discipline, with all the other improvements, as they are thought, which have successively appeared, there would never have been a word about the sinfulness of the deed."

(Ibid, p. 138)
The most marked feature of Ewing's book, however, is an almost obsessive emphasis on safeguarding his freedom. It occurs in various connections, sometimes with moving dignity, at other times with posturing irrelevance, but there is no doubt that this concept was the underlying and driving force throughout these years. It explains his uneasiness in the Church of Scotland, and his early withdrawal from that communion; his willingness to undertake the difficult challenge in opening the Glasgow Tabernacle; his abandonment of the seminary; and his protracted opposition to Haldane's views on church government. As he understood it, the bond he signed with Haldane, did not put him in Haldane's power, nor did it place the Tabernacle church in Ewing's power. He viewed it simply as an instrument which gave him freedom to preach the Gospel without fear of hindrance. Any other interpretation he vehemently denied -

"It was equitable and necessary, that I should be placed in a condition entirely independent of the will of the proprietor. Not to mention conscience, it never was in my nature to become, in religious matters, the dependent of any man . . . . It may well be imagined, that my independence was particularly precious to me, at a time, when I had virtually withdrawn my subscription from all human standards . . . . I certainly would not accept of any man's invitation to occupy his house for worship . . . . if I must forfeit, in doing it, the independence of my own mind."

(Ibid. p. 25)
No price was too high for Ewing to pay to preserve his freedom. His book, as he was well aware, verged on the actionable, but he was determined to vindicate himself, whatever the ultimate cost. In spite of all, Ewing salvaged from the ruins that which was most precious to him. He remained undefeated.

"I desire to be thankful that I know no reason why I should be afraid of him, or of any man . . . ."

(Ibid. p. 251)

Having declared his mind so fully on the matter, Ewing had no desire for any further connection with Haldane. He had retained possession of the Tabernacle for a year both out of regard for the church that worshipped there, and as a defiant gesture of his moral right, despite Haldane's threats and reproaches. But having made public his case, and confident of vindication, he vacated the building and resigned as pastor of the church. On the occasion of his 42nd birthday he was faced once again with a lonely road, and an uncertain future. It was the price he paid for his freedom.

In describing this episode, Haldane's biographer does less than justice to Ewing. His book he describes as a collection of -

"complaints/
"complaints, for the most part in themselves unimportant . . . . which (are) impossible to read . . . . without something like a feeling of melancholy mirth at the jaundiced medium through which a grieved or troubled spirit viewed Mr. Haldane's motives."

(Haldane, Life, p. 362)

He is particularly at pains to show that Ewing's charge that Haldane distressed the churches was without foundation, and advances respectable testimony to that effect from William Dymock, W.S., of Edinburgh, who handled Haldane's business affairs. This raises a perplexing problem. Ewing maintained to the end of his days that Haldane was guilty in this regard. He refused any form of public reconciliation insisting that Haldane should first make a symbolic monetary payment of one shilling to him in token of his repentance for unlawfully demanding the return of the Tabernacle. We have also mentioned the evidence of William Orme with regard to the Perth church. To what extent then are these "jaundiced complaints"? Escott (p. 91), for instance, declares that Haldane demanded "immediate payment" of the large outstanding debts many of the new churches owed to him. But the record which finally settles the issue must surely be the account of the matter/
matter given by the churches themselves. In a survey
carried out in 1848, Congregational Churches state that
they suffered financial difficulty as a result of the
withdrawal of Haldane's support. There is, of course,
no record of those which succumbed. Nor was the distress
confined to debt. Eighteen other churches declare
that their fellowship was seriously disrupted by
division over Ballantine's book. It is significant
that the majority of these churches were in the East
of Scotland, particularly in Fife and the Lothians, well
within easy reach of Edinburgh. The churches in the
west did not come so directly under the later Haldanite
influence, and several of them record a history of
uninterrupted harmony. This picture of the early
distress suffered by the young churches can hardly be
dismissed as fanciful, and corroborates the otherwise
extreme judgement of Ewing:

"I take this opportunity of remarking, that I
believe my only unpardonable sin, in this
whole controversy, has been that I have refused
'to conceal or to spare either the popev or
the Pope of independents.' That both have
been found in our churches, with as real
tyranny, as ever was experienced at Rome in
the darkest age, is a fact which many can attest
from dear-bought experience."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 249)
SECTION II - NILE STREET MEETING HOUSE

The open rupture between Ewing and Haldane in the years 1808-9 over the occupancy of the Tabernacle was the climax of a disastrous controversy. It had been pursued, not only among the churches, as we have seen, but also in the pages of the Missionary Magazine. To such an extent had contending views of church order and discipline dominated that periodical that its primary purpose had been in danger of being forgotten. In 1806, the preface announced that the editors were determined to guard against "opening a floodgate for controversy". In spite of this policy of censorship, however, the shadows of the dispute continued to be cast over the contents of the magazine. Articles appeared dealing with problems of Christian behaviour, rather than with missionary and evangelistic endeavour. A glance at some of the titles is sufficient to illustrate this moralistic trend: "On the Use of the Tongue", 1807; "The Need for Charity", "Differences Among Christians", "The Evil of Party Spirit" in 1808; and "Arrogance", "Religious Bigotry", "Envy", "The Evil of Violating Truth" in the early months of 1809. Ewing knew himself to be the target for many of these homilies. The strain of enduring/
enduring such a year of siege assailed both by the circulated recriminations of Haldane, and by the strife of gossipping tongues must have been severe in the extreme. He felt that his friends were being alienated and his public position in Glasgow was being destroyed:

"I have been exceedingly harassed and impeded, in the prosecution of my studies, and in writings which were once acknowledged to be important, as well as in the discharge of my pastoral duties ... I feel I am, at present, in a critical situation."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 251)

Having at last published his "Facts and Documents", vindicating himself in the legal, moral and religious tenancy of the Tabernacle, he announced his design to resign the pastorate and to quit the place, in a letter to the Church Meeting of Friday, 28th April, 1809. He explained that since he had been responsible over the years for encouraging the members to contribute freely to other schemes of Christian benevolence, he could not expect the church to undertake the additional financial burden of providing themselves with an alternative place of worship, as well as maintaining himself as their pastor. Once again his formidable independence revealed itself:

"I/
"I cannot retain a pastoral charge, at the expense of things that are true, things that are honest, and things that are just. . . . . I must therefore leave this house, as singly as I entered it. After Whitsunday I intend to preach in the Trades Hall, but if I am to have the happiness of Christian fellowship it must be in consequence of the individual choice of those, who shall hereafter be connected with me."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 347)

This decision, though accompanied by many uncertainties, must nevertheless have brought a sense of relief and freedom after such a prolonged period of restraint and unpleasantness. He was aware that the disagreement had been marked by "too much heat on both sides". (F.& D.; p. 194) It had not been consistent with Gospel meekness, and had spoiled good years that might have borne a far richer harvest of converted souls. Perhaps he drew comfort from a recent letter addressed to the editors of the Missionary Magazine in the January number. It was concerned with the policy of the paper, but was also apposite to his own situation and need:

"I hope you will not be offended with me for saying that you should now turn over a new leaf . . . . Keep a strict watch upon your correspondents. Have they not sometimes been printing for strife and debate? Disputation has filled your pages, and many have been grieved and offended . . . . I am/
am happy to see some signs of returning reason. You seem now to discourage vain wrangling . . . Go on, sir, take courage, you will be supported. Friends will arise on every side. . . ."

(Miss. Mag. XIV 12)

In this hope he was not disappointed. One of the most impressive testimonies to Ewing's character, both as a man and as a pastor, appears in the instant and unanimous concern revealed by the Tabernacle congregation on hearing of his resignation. The sudden announcement of his departure was not the signal for schism. No contending factions emerged for and against him. On all sides there was a sense of personal loss and immediate resolve that the separation should not be allowed to continue. To accomplish this an emergency prayer meeting was called for the very next evening (Saturday), and it was decided to convene a special church meeting to deal with the situation. Such was the sense of urgency that this took place within three days, on the following Tuesday. At least 500 members crowded in, and without dissent, it was agreed to send to Ewing a letter from the church members expressing their regret, acquitting him of all culpability, and assuring him of their love.

Coming/
Coming at such a vulnerable moment in his ministry this affectionate message brought joy and peace to his heart. He was "much gratified" (Mem. Matheson, p. 351). Nor was this kindly spirit confined to the membership of the Tabernacle. The Albion Street Chapel opened hospitable doors to the homeless congregation, and Ralph Wardlaw offered to help. This offer was all the more heartening, since Haldane had attempted to stir up trouble between the two pastors by hinting that bad relationships were the reason for the formation of a second congregation several years earlier by Tabernacle members under the pastorate of Wardlaw (Letters, Haldane, p. 24).

At a further church meeting held in the Chapel on 15th May, it was agreed to invite Ewing to become the minister once again. It was also decided to undertake the responsibility for renting the Trades Hall as a place of worship as long as it was necessary. Three days later the church met to hear Ewing's reply. Although he confessed himself favourably inclined to accept their call, he deferred committing himself till he had had an opportunity of expressing himself clearly to them on his views of the nature of the church and the ministry. This/
This preliminary consultation was agreed upon, and after stating his convictions to the church meeting of 23rd May, he was almost unanimously confirmed in office. (1) Thus within a period of less than four weeks Ewing found himself free from an unequal yoke that had chafed him for years, and established in the pastoral office by the united will of the church. His ministry at the Tabernacle had begun as a private evangelistic experiment. It now culminated in a covenant relationship freely negotiated between pastor and people, and although this was never formally symbolised by an act of induction, it was powerfully demonstrated by the swift action of the congregation, and by their loyalty in adhering to his ministry throughout the long period of years he was spared to work among them.

The first objective of the dispossessed church was the provision of a suitable place of worship, and ground was secured in Nile Street, then undeveloped. Before building began, and even before a subscription list had been opened, Ewing proposed that a trust deed should be drawn up and adopted, declaring the doctrine and constitution of the fellowship. The church now existed to maintain -

"the/

(1) There was one dissentient, who gave no reason for
"the sole authority of the Holy Scriptures, in matters of faith and duty; the doctrines of salvation by free grace, through the merits of the Saviour; the Congregational form of church-government; the practice of weekly communion, and infant baptism; and the exercise of the pastoral office, by one (or more, as circumstances may require) wholly devoted, if possible, to the work of the Gospel."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 366)

In a short time the Nile Street Meeting-house was built at a cost of nearly five thousand pounds, and opened for worship on 6th May, 1810. The fund received contributions from interested donors far beyond the membership of the congregation, and it was particularly pleasing to Ewing to see a substantial sum gathered among his old friends in Lady Glenorchy's. He himself offered to accept a fifty per cent cut in his salary till the debt on the building was fully paid off. It must be remembered, however, that even at £100 per annum he was "passing rich" in comparison to the majority of his Congregational brethren. At the outset of the Union a sum of £50 yearly seemed unattainable opulence, and many of the pastors were receiving £30 and less. Besides, independently of his salary, his wife would be comfortably provided for from her father's estate. Nevertheless the gesture was an inspiration to the congregation to greater generosity.

Thus/
Thus, at last, Ewing entered into a settled period of peace. Secure in the esteem of his congregation, certain of the freedom of his pulpit by the will of the church, and sharing in the work he loved - teaching the students in the new Independent seminary - the later years of his life unfolded in pastoral fruitfulness, congregational harmony, and universal esteem. How prophetically he had described the future course of his ministry in the early pages of the Missionary Magazine! As a comparatively young and inexperienced man of 30, long before the outbreak of the controversy, he had written -

"Perhaps in no situation do men experience more severe trials from one another, than in the relation of church fellowship; and on no account is the cause of Christianity more blasphemed, than on that of the behaviour of different churches, and of members of the same church, towards one another .... The contentions of associated Christians arise from their wickedness as individuals, not from their connections as subjects of grace. These contentions are trials of patience, lessons of humility and self-denials; and, however much to be avoided and deplored, will certainly work together, with all other things, for good to them that love God .... The consequence will no doubt be, occasional fermentation. But the process is salutary. It will purify and refine, and then will cease. When waters have newly burst forth from the mountain, the contending torrents boil and foam for a while, but soon they unite. Each falls to the common level, and contributes to the placid lake below."

(Miss. Mag. vol. i, p. 57)
Such mature foresight is astonishing. He was therefore in large measure prepared for the turbulent years that lay ahead, confident that after his struggle through the floods, the Good Shepherd would make him to walk in green pastures, and lie down beside the still waters.
CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTION I - EDUCATION FOR MINISTRY

Eighteen months after Haldane's criticism of Ewing's ability as a tutor, he retracted his unfavourable opinions in a letter dated 16th October, 1804:

"I am sensible I did you wrong, in telling you, that the classes you sent out had not full justice done them. I think it is now my duty to acknowledge this."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 80)

Although this apology was not without a hidden motive (1) it was nevertheless an admission, however grudging and belated, of Ewing's teaching ability. We turn now to trace his particular contribution in this field to the development of Scottish Congregationalism.

Greville Ewing was familiar from his birth with schools and schoolmasters. Not only was his father a teacher of mathematics, but his stepmother, whom his father married on 23rd April, 1775, (Ewing aged 8), was Isobel Gray, "widow of the deceas'd Mr. John Hare, schoolmr, at Leswade." (Edin. Par. Register). His boyhood days were spent in the circumstances of a typical/

(1) Haldane's change of views with regard to the works of Glas and Sandeman.
typical Scottish domestic school of the time, in which the teacher conducted the classes in his own home, and regularly gave board and lodging also to such of his students as were from a distance. The years in which he grew to manhood marked the high water mark of cultural development in Edinburgh, and the university he attended stood high in popular esteem in England and on the Continent. The faculties were expanding to meet the demands of increasing matriculation. The University buildings, however, were inadequate and dilapidated - "more fit for almshouses", according to Principal Robertson(1) and during Ewing's attendance at classes the foundation stone of the redevelopment scheme as laid in 1789. The path that had led him to study for the ministry had not been an easy one. He had to contend with physical weakness, the rigours and delays of an 18th century apprenticeship, and most formidable of all, 18th century paternal disapproval. Of necessity, therefore, he was a serious scholar. The scanty knowledge we have of him at this period corroborates this studious bent.

"He . . . . was distinguished by superior scholarship/"

scholarship; even in Hebrew (which was not then much studied) he was no mean proficient .... (he) .... daily read .... the Scriptures in the original tongue .... I rather think he was a good debater .... He had great facility in composition, and his style was remarkable easy, perspicuous, and appropriate."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 19)

Thus his fellow-student, Robert Lorimer, reminisced at an interval of fifty years. It is known, however, that in one year, at least, he gained the first prize in the logic class. (Mem., p. 19). During vacations he was employed for several years as tutor to the children of John Lockhart of Cambusnethan (Mem. p. 6) and gained first-hand experience of teaching method. Thus all these early influences united in laying the foundation of his views on education, and particularly with regard to the special problem of preparing men for the ministry.

The importance he attached to this aspect of the ministry can be seen from the fact that in the very first number of the Missionary Magazine he contributed an essay entitled "The Means by which the Gospel was Originally Propagated in the World." This was done, he says, in five distinct ways - by speech, association, order, example and writing. In dealing with the first of these modes he distinguishes between preaching, reading,
and exhortation, and teaching, of which he says:

"The teaching connected with the Gospel, is as necessary to our spiritual improvement, as the proclamation of it is to our spiritual life."

(Miss. Mag. vol. i, p. 13)

His widespread correspondence as editor informed him of the progress of the new seminaries that had been established in England, not only by Dissenters, but by evangelical clergymen of the Church of England. Towards the close of the century there was a general expansion of effort to prepare men for the ministry of the Gospel, who, because they were nonconformists, were prohibited from attending the ancient universities. Ewing was familiar with the institution at Trevecca, supported by the Countess of Huntingdon, of which his own senior minister, Thomas Jones, was a former student. He was in a position to hear news of similar enterprises from all quarters.

In 1789 a London banker, George Welch, conceived a scheme for educating preachers, by committing them to the charge of able ministers, of whom David Bogue was one. Thus with a little class of three began the Gosport Seminary which was to have such important consequences for evangelism, particularly in relation to the L.M.S. (Fn. F. & F. L.M.S. p. 177). John Eyre, though educated for/
for the ministry at Trevecca, and for several years a popular preacher in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, eventually took Orders in the Church of England. On obtaining the living at Homerton he established a school in 1785, and eleven years later was instrumental in the formation of the Hackney Village Itineracy. He gave up his house in order to provide suitable accommodation for the new seminary. (F. & F.L.M.S. p. 31). Edward Williams, educated for the Church of England, withdrew from that communion in 1770 at the age of 20, in protest at what he considered impurity and indiscipline, and completed his education under Dr. Davies at Abergavenny, being ordained to the pastorate of the Independent Church at Ross in Herefordshire in 1776. He was later called to Oswestry, and in 1781 he agreed to act as tutor to several students supported by Lady Glenorchy. The Abergavenny institution was later transferred to his care. In 1792 he had the unusual distinction (for a Welsh Dissenter) of having conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the Senatus of Edinburgh University. In 1795 he was called to be the principal tutor of the Heckmondwike academy in Yorkshire, which had been founded forty years earlier, but which had fallen/
fallen into decay. (Fn. F. & F. L.M.S. p. 439). Late in 1795 Charles Simeon proposed the question —

"Is it practical and expedient to form an institution for educating young men professedly with a view to their becoming missionaries under the sanction of the Established Church?"

(Simeon, Memoir, Carus, p. 105)

Doubly interesting from Ewing's point of view was this increased educational activity, for those who were foremost in its promotion were also concerned with missions to the heathen and itinerant evangelism at home.

The Scottish tours of Rowland Hill had a varied effect upon the religious life of the nation, both in provoking hostility and in arousing enthusiasm. His influence upon Ewing, through his personal relationships and through his writing, was a lively one. His ideas about education for the ministry were simple and functional. He says for instance to Theophilus Jones:

"If you were to continue the same bawling Welshman you are now, in your present situation, I might observe, go on; never mind breaking grammar if the Lord enables you to break hearts, and bring souls to Christ; but if you could acquire a little more culture, without losing any of your zeal and holy simplicity of heart, your usefulness might be more extended. I would not give you a single sixpence to have your tongue dressed at any of our modern academies; they are in general sad soul-starvation places. Only take the hint, and work on, and blunder on, as hard and as fast as you can."

(Life, Hill, Charlesworth, p. 41)
Hill had no objection to University and Academy theological training as such, but warned of the danger of thinking that such a process can, of itself, produce good ministers. Two obvious evils arise from this practice of "making up" men for the ministry. The first is, that such students can have a theoretical belief in the doctrines of grace, without any experiential evidence of them, and thus become "pseudo-spiritual". The second is, that even a genuinely converted man can lose the spontaneity of his faith while undergoing the formal processes of education -

"It greatly cramps and fetters even good and spiritual men in their usefulness in the ministry - the warmth and animation of extempore speaking (is) annihilated . . . ."

(Remarks, Hill, p. 161)

Hill had ideas of his own about effective preaching and he publicly put them into practice. The vast crowds that thronged to hear him is proof enough of his judgement. In summing up, on one occasion, his opinions on the kind of preacher most likely to commend the Gospel to the people, he said:

"They don't want a dictionary preacher, for they cannot understand him; nor a dashing preacher, for they will despise him; nor a bad-tempered preacher/
preacher, for he will divide them; but a man with a good loud voice, a disposition to be taught, with brains in his head, and grace in his heart."

(Hill, Life, Charlesworth, p. 41)

These then were the ideas, that in Sheridan's descriptive phrase concerning him, "came red-hot from the heart", (1) as he came north on his evangelistic tour "thrashing the mountains" (2) with the sound of the Gospel. Ewing was impressed by the evangelical urgency and commonsense of Hill's opinions. All along the route taken by the itinerants in 1797, and elsewhere in Scotland, independent Gospel fellowships were springing up and these were in need of pastors to continue and confirm the work. Haldane had resolved on a plan to establish a seminary, and both he and Ewing were initially agreed that to supply these young churches with an adequate Gospel ministry was the first priority. In the emergency of the time, a course of fifteen months tuition was agreed upon. Haldane subsequently claimed that Ewing regarded this duration as a reasonable standard, with the possibility of an extension to two years, (Letters, Haldane, p. 35), but, for Ewing, such a brief course could only/

(1) Hill, Charlesworth, p. 55
(2) Ibid. p. 24.
only be regarded as a temporary expedient -

"Mr. Haldane encouraged me from the beginning to entertain this hope; and I considered his lengthening the duration of the course of the first and second classes as a step towards the accomplishment of it . . . . for I never was disposed to maintain, that a man's fitness for preaching must depend on the sufficiency of fifteen months for his education."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 195)

Evidence of the truth of this statement is to be found in Ewing's "Animadversions", published in 1800, while he was still in charge of the class at the Tabernacle. One of the charges he answered was that lay preaching would, in the long run, undermine the status of the ministry, and tended to establish a system where academic training would be discounted, and the authority of Christianity thereby dissipated into mere individualism.

Ewing gave a full account of his views of the nature and purpose of theological training, and it is clear that his mind was occupied with long-term plans, even though, at the time, he was involved in a make-shift attempt to prepare men hurriedly to cope with the current demand for pastors. He admitted that a new kind of church was in the process of growth, but its novelty was no ground for condemnation:

"This/
"This is a 'new sect!' So croaked the Papists at the time of the Reformation . . . ."

(Animadversions, Ewing, p. 23)

He denied that the "new sect" held the view that every Christian might preach. So far from this being the case, he maintained that only those Christians might preach who were fit for such a holy calling. Their form of church order was designed to discover and authorise such fitness, and to encourage its development. This was no new thing, but had been the regular method adopted by Congregational churches from the beginning. The fact that the "new sect" had established, at the outset, a theological seminary, was proof that they did not despise learning as necessary for the ministry. The function of the seminary, however, was not so much to fit men for the ministry, as to provide a means of improvement in those who had already been found to be suitable for that office.

"They are not guilty of the absurd folly of letting any man among them study for the ministry who pleases, if only he be free from public scandal; or of the absurd tyranny of making every student study for years, before it be tried by the church whether he ought never to have studied at all."

(Ibid. p. 31)
In further defence against the accusation that the "new sect" were patrons of ignorance, Ewing proceeded to a general discussion of theological education. The means at the disposal of the "new sect" were not comparable to the universities and colleges of the Church of Scotland, but because they were inferior, they were not necessarily contemptible. English universities were better endowed, and had greater cultural opportunities. But in spite of this, many distinguished scholars and men of letters had been produced in the north. Similarly, students from obscure dissenting academies had "shamed whole graduated hosts in the public seats of literature". (Ibid. p. 32). Where opportunities are small, the disadvantage is often offset by additional diligence. Furthermore, the training of the "new sect" had but a single aim - the upbuilding of the preacher of the Word - and was therefore without the distractions and diversions which are characteristic of a more generalised university education. The argument which emphasised the exclusive nature of university qualification was not convincing. Text-books on the subjects taught in all faculties were everywhere available to all. Public lectures had been long established, and provided opportunities for extramural/
mural students to familiarise themselves with the discipline of the classroom. The whole range of theology was to be found on the library shelves, translated into English where this was necessary.

"What is the meaning then, of all this senseless outcry about a contempt of learning, and an encouragement of gross ignorance, while the sources of information are just as free to those who are called 'lay preachers', as to those who call themselves the regular clergy of the church? After all that can be said upon the subject, the proficiency of individuals will be judged of, neither by their opportunities, their personal pretensions, nor even the testimony of their brethren, but by the actual proofs which they give to the public of their respective ability."

(Ibid. p. 33)

Ewing now turned to consider the place that the study of language ought to have in the theological curriculum. He acknowledged that Latin is generally useful, but maintained that a man may be a learned minister of the Word without it, and suggested that a thorough knowledge of English is more desirable. Hebrew and Greek he admitted as essential, but called for honest thinking on the matter.

"Will Mr. Robertson assert that one half of the clergy of the Church of Scotland are really acquainted with their Hebrew Bibles? Did he never hear of men getting just as much Hebrew as might enable them to pass trials, and/
and then never looking more at it? - Of some candidates getting their Hebrew Psalm written out for them in Roman characters, that they might be able to read it? - And of some whole Presbyteries prudently dispensing with Hebrew trials altogether, lest the trial should prove too trying for all parties?"

(Ibid. p. 34)

In spite of all the academic instruction in Greek and Hebrew, the majority of ministers used commentaries on the English text in their weekly preaching, and these volumes were equally available to laymen as to clergy. Nor were they, in the long run, necessary for profitable biblical exposition.

"I am not ashamed to confess that I have often been much more edified by the remarks which had occurred to a plain man upon a serious perusal of his English Bible; than by the lecture of a clergyman who had collected for retail the jarring opinions of a mass of Commentators."

(Ibid. p. 35)

Ewing made it plain that he had no desire to despise learning, but warned of its possible abuses, as a source of pride, or as a means of taking advantage of those not similarly qualified. Educational snobbery and ostentation is unmannerly and ungenerous. The Bible translated into the English tongue is a healthy corrective to this tendency. Knowledge of the original tongues/
tongues can actually be a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel, because the temptation is always present to wrangle over minutiae of translation, and miss the opportunity to declare the great issues of salvation. In summing up his argument in this part of his book Ewing reveals a powerful, vivid and incisive command of style, as he exposes the triviality of the pedant preacher.

"But if, like the magic lantern of the juggler, the preacher's knowledge of languages be used in a way that can only confound the simple and ignorant; if in the warfare of controversy, his critical faculties be prostituted to the purposes of a mere pop-gun manufactory of explosion and smoke, his exertions, however laborious, are contemptible indeed! Nor is this all. If the English reader be given to understand that the plainest passages of his Bible may be explained into opposite meanings; that great may really be little . . . . what must he think of all this? What confidence can he any longer have, either in the history or the doctrines of Scripture? It is true his translation says "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved", but a little Greek might perhaps encourage him to alter, if not even to reverse, the proposition. In this state of mind his only alternative will be, either to pin his faith to the sleeve of a priest and acquiesce in ignorance as the mother of devotion; or to withdraw his confidence from the Bible altogether."

(Ibid. p. 43)

It was not therefore the earnest labours of the lay preachers set apart and called by the people of God, who degraded the pastoral office in the eyes of the people.
It was rather the arrogant attitude of those who set themselves up, on the strength of their so-called superior education and jealously guarded formality of ordination, as judges of their humbler brethren. But the "new sect" would not be discouraged.

"We are far from disregarding the advantages of learning . . . . We hope to be supplied with pastors and teachers, and we shall neglect no means in our power, for making them workmen that need not to be ashamed."

(Ibid. p. 44)

In this way Greville Ewing, in answer to the challenge of those who claimed that he and his friends were sapping the foundations of an educated ministry, served notice on the ancient seats of ecclesiastical learning, that the "new sect" would compete eagerly with them to equip their men in the best possible way, scholastically and spiritually, for leadership in the churches. These were the hopes that occupied his mind as he addressed himself to the immediate problem of equipping the first "task force" of emergency pastors with sufficient basic training to consolidate the young Independent churches in the first difficult years of their existence. He was practical enough to come to terms with reality, and co-operate with Haldane in his seminary plan. But he was visionary enough never to be satisfied with it.

The/
The men who composed the first class had been hand-picked by Haldane in consultation with Ewing. They were drawn from all branches of Presbyterianism - the Established Church, the Relief, the Burghers and Anti-Burghers - and were chosen for the fervency of their faith, their aptitude for study, and their zeal to be preachers wherever they might find opportunity. In the words of one of these early students, Rev. John Munro of Knockando -

"Our Presbyterian principles were shaken, and ultimately became totally untenable . . . . Before the termination of our prescribed course of study we found ourselves decided and intelligent Congregationalists."

(Mem. Matheson, pp. 196-7.)

In little more than three years nearly sixty young men passed through his hands. He laboured to provide in that short time the training that, in his opinion, ought to have been extended over a much lengthier period. Reflecting on the eventual outcome of these crammed courses, he wrote in 1807 -

"When many churches were forming in this country, it seemed so desirable speedily to procure a number of labourers, that we were tempted to act, as if we wished to ascertain by experiment, how little preparation would answer the exigency. Of the preachers so prepared no complaint ought to be made. All things considered, they have done astonishingly well . . . ."

(Attempt Towards a Statement, Ewing, p. 56)
Such a qualified verdict does less than justice to his own work, or to the calibre of the first classes of students. From their ranks came the men who persevered through the first tumultuous decade of the 19th century, and pioneered the foundation of the Congregational Union. David Davidson, one of the second class, has left his impressions of Ewing as a teacher. Not only was he intellectually well-equipped for the task, but he had the gift of teaching, coupled with a personal concern for his students. He was generally a patient man, but -

"Obstinate indolence was the only thing that aroused his indignant displeasure . . . ."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 271).

He says that Ewing most resembled Dr. Gregory(1) of Edinburgh University in his ability to arouse the eager interest of the students, and to communicate his material successfully to them. Both men shared a dogged passion for truth. They were often awkward and uncompromising. But they tried always to be honest.

After/

(1) "In the chair of Medicine was Dr. James Gregory, one of the most able of lecturers, acute, bluff, and caustic, constantly in professional disputes, when his opinions were generally right, and engaged in feuds when his ways were always wrong - maintaining his cause by his ferocious pamphlets, which he hurled forth in huge quartos . . . ."

After the termination of the second class, in the spring of 1802, Ewing did not cease to concern himself with the problem of preparing men for the ministry in the new churches. As a result of his experiences as tutor in Haldane's seminary, Ewing's convictions began to crystallise at a much earlier time than those of his colleagues. He was the first to recognise the necessity for academic development along new lines. There was a continuing need, and one which was even likely to increase, for suitable pastors in the new churches. He was convinced that these men should be trained to the highest possible level. Because they were non-conformists, there was no need for them to be regarded as intellectual nonentities. Now that the immediate emergency was passing, there could be no excuse for curtailed theological preparation. To deny a comprehensive education to the future ministers would be the worst possible service to the new churches, and would ultimately bring them into disrepute. It was obvious to him that every resource should be employed to equip the students to exercise an intelligent, as well as an evangelical, ministry. He was already aware of the dangers implicit in any system of patronage, however benevolent/
benevolent and spiritually sincere. It could never be in accord with Gospel principles of "speaking the truth in love", that one individual should, by reason of his financial control, have an improper influence over students or staff. Ewing was therefore the first to see clearly that such a scheme would require to have the active and constant support of the churches. Thus, quite simply and naturally, we find emerging one of the earliest conceptions of a scheme of co-operation among the Scottish Congregational churches, and one which paved the way for the eventual formation of the Union.

As a result of this preliminary thinking, Ewing composed, towards the end of 1803, a document entitled "A Memorial Concerning A Theological Academy". It is written in his usual crisp style, and his opening sentence is immediately to the point:

"Nothing more directly tends to the progress and prosperity of the Gospel, than the multiplication of able preachers."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 83)

He hastens to acknowledge the effectiveness of the existing private scheme for theological training, but rather than rest content with this provision, Ewing urges that the churches should strive to emulate such an/
an example, and organise an academy of their own, in order to implement the supply of trained men into the ministry. There is ample room for such an extension of the work, and there are several obvious advantages that are likely to accompany the new scheme —

"Churches will naturally feel a lively interest in that which they support, and to the benefit of which they are entitled to recommend members. And persons, desirous of devoting their lives to the ministry of the Gospel, will feel greater confidence, in expressing their desire to the brethren with whom they are in fellowship, and in depending on their well-known friendship for countenance and protection through the course of their studies; than in venturing on an application to a stranger, which must, in many instances, be made from a great distance, and under the unavoidable risk, even after being received, of not finally giving satisfaction."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 84)

The instruction of the students ought to be the responsibility of at least two tutors. The classical teacher would deal with elocution, English grammar, mathematics, geography, Greek and Hebrew. Such an appointment would need to be a full-time one, in order that adequate tuition be available to the students, and Ewing suggests that the salary ought to be such as should command the services of the most able. The task of the theological tutor, however, would be reasonably consistent with/
with part-time service. His department would be concerned with giving -

"some general account of the sciences; teaching the principles of reasoning, of composition, of eloquence, and of Biblical criticism; reading with them the scriptures in the original languages; lecturing on the authenticity and inspiration of the scriptures, and on the leading doctrines and duties of Christianity; directing the private reading of the students; and exercising them in the composition and delivery of discourses."

(Ibid. p. 84)

Admission to the academy would be granted only to those applicants who were accredited members of the supporting churches. The educational standard required for entering the classical course would be such as could be obtained in a country school, and entrance to the theological course would be dependent upon completion of the classical course, or its equivalent. As a general rule no students over the age of thirty would be admitted, and the length of the course would not be less than three years, though individually, the period of tuition might well be determined by progress made.

The maintenance of the students ought not to be the responsibility of the proposed academy. The men ought to be self-supporting and even prepared to pay towards/
towards the cost of their education. In suitable cases churches might make a contribution towards the support of individual students, and smaller churches might find that larger churches were prepared to help them in bringing forward suitable candidates. Such a scheme would encourage that independence so valued among the young churches, and would be a major factor in reducing general expenses.

The finances of the institution would be in the hands of the churches, who would undertake its maintenance by periodic collections. An estimated budget would be about £300 per annum. Trustees would be appointed by the contributing churches to administer its affairs, and—

"... these should consist of the men of best education among the brethren. Out of them a permanent committee of managers (most of whom should reside on the spot) should be appointed; and their proceedings should be laid, at fixed terms, before a general meeting of the trustees, and perhaps published for the satisfaction of the churches concerned."

(Ibid. p. 86)

This memorandum was intended as a confidential and exploratory review of the possibilities involved, and Ewing hoped that it would be circulated among the churches for their consideration and comment. As a matter of courtesy Ewing sent it first to Haldane. The response/
response was discouraging. He could not have sent his plan to a harsher critic. In the conclusion of a letter dated 24.1.04 Haldane curtly acknowledged receipt of the document, and summarily dismissed it as -

"... unnecessary in present circumstances, and in some respects hurtful. At any rate I should think the Memorial would need to be very carefully revised, and that some things had better be omitted."

(Ibid. p. 86).

Three weeks later, in a further letter, dated 16.2.04, Haldane enlarged upon his original general criticism with unconcealed hostility. His opening sentence is a little gem of epistolary rudeness:

"My Dear Sir, I have been too long in answering your letter enclosing the Memorial. Indeed, I feel considerable reluctance to begin it no . . . ."

(Ibid. p. 86)

Thus Haldane apologised for delay in answering his correspondence!

Haldane assured Ewing that he had consulted his brother, as well as Aikman and Innes, and they all agreed with his verdict.

Having thus dismissed the proposal in general terms/
terms, Haldane proceeded to extract from the Memorial every word and phrase that could possibly be interpreted as an aspersion upon himself or his institution. It was the reaction of a man blind to any other opinion than his own, impatient of criticism, and ready to assign the basest of motives to those who dared to disagree with him.

This intemperate reply must have reinforced Ewing's conviction that there was nothing to be hoped for from Haldane in the way of sympathetic co-operation in the project. His reply was courteous, yet he made it clear that, with or without Haldane's approval, there were those who were prepared to take the matter seriously.

"You may depend upon it, that when the Memorial is returned, it shall be carefully reconsidered, and while we all find it our duty to do all the good we can, each in his own way, I hope, with you, that we shall let no alienation of affection arise from difference of opinion."

(Ibid. p. 90).

In spite of his determination, Ewing realised that for the moment he had no other alternative than to shelve his plan. Haldane was still regarded by the majority as the benevolent Barnabas, and even to appear to question his influence was to seem carping and ungracious in the eyes of the churches. They had still to/
to learn the full cost of their dependence, and they were not prepared to listen to one who, however politely, hinted that their benefactor was like Pharaoh, "the staff of this broken reed . . . . wherein if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it." (Is. 36:6.) Nevertheless, when the piercing was most painful, nigh unto death, and when there seemed none to bind up the wounds, Ewing was ready to come forward with the plan that had been so lightly regarded years before.

But even in the intervening years Ewing never lost touch with the students. His disappointment over the rejection of his proposals for an independent academy was softened in the summer of 1804 by a letter from Thomas Wilson, secretary of Hoxton Academy, proposing to send to his care for further study at Glasgow University two or three of their ablest students, that they might be suitably prepared to act subsequently as tutors.

"We wish to prepare their way, by recommending them to your favourable regard and attention . . . . Indeed our Society would have been unwilling, they should have gone at all, but from the hope that you would, as a father, watch over their spiritual as well as temporal concerns . . . . While they diligently pursue their studies, it appears to me peculiarly desirable that they should have opportunity for attending prayer-meetings, preaching in rooms, etc., among the poor . . . ."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 289)

Ewing/
Ewing agreed to act in this way, and for many years this link with Hoxton kept him in touch with affairs in England, as well as enlarging his experience in dealing with young men.

Meanwhile, Haldane found other men willing to take over the responsibility of tutoring in his seminary. The classes were transferred to Edinburgh, where they were more under the eye of their patron. In 1808, Haldane withdrew his financial support, and the scheme was thereupon wound up after being in existence for ten years.

Thus ended a comprehensive and impressive effort in theological education, which was the source of lasting good in Scotland and abroad. Conceived by one man, and financed from his own resources to the extent of £20,000, the institution sent out into the home ministry and the foreign mission field over three hundred men, many of whom earned distinction for themselves and the academy. They were given an opportunity of training they would never otherwise have received. During the course of their study they were maintained by the generosity of Haldane. It was a notable experiment, and one of the most important developments to emerge from the evangelical ferment in Scotland at the close of the 18th century.
How then is Ewing's attitude towards it to be explained? His early withdrawal from it, and his proposals for an alternative scheme a few months later were not calculated to encourage support for, or inspire confidence in, Haldane's academy. There appeared little justification for his obstructionist attitude. Ewing had been paid a handsome salary for his services as a tutor. Certainly there had been personal tensions, almost unavoidable between men of such determined temperaments, but were these sufficient reason for setting himself so adamantly in opposition to a plan which he had originally approved? Were they sufficient to warrant a step which might have endangered the future of the institution through rumour of internal dissension? It could be argued that Ewing was a victim of his own resentment, harboured secretly against Haldane; that he was incapable of working with a man to whom he had taken a deep dislike; that because he did not always get his own way, he was therefore prepared spitefully to abandon the project, and even actively attempt its dissolution.

Ewing, however, has his own defence in face of such grave charges. It was not simply the obvious things/
things - the fact that Haldane interfered in Ewing's work, or that he was unreliable and arrogant in his financial dealings, or that he forced upon his students unnecessary hardships. All these difficulties, though annoying, were relatively trivial, and could be dealt with faithfully in a proper spirit of Christian remonstrance. Ewing had more serious accusations to bring against Haldane, which, if proved to be true, reveal the wealthy sponsor of the academy as an unscrupulous figure, and vindicate Ewing in the extreme obstinacy of his protest.

The gravamen of the indictment is, that Haldane, under the guise of benefactor and friend, sought to use the organisation of his seminary to undermine the early faith and fellowship of the new Congregational churches, and to mould them into his own model of what he latterly came to believe a church should be.

"I come now to state what I conceive to be one of the greatest injuries which the churches in our connection, have received from Mr. Haldane; I mean his clandestine endeavours to win over the students, who, from all parts of the country, were committed to his care, to views of church government subversive to the churches to which both he and they belonged."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 93.)

Ironically/
Ironically, it was Ewing himself who, unwittingly, first directed Haldane's thoughts to these new ideas of church government. One of his responsibilities as tutor was the assembling of a suitable library for the use of the students, and he decided to place on the shelves the works of Glas and Sandeman. He thought that these books should be made available, since it was better that the students should study them under proper supervision than circulate them secretly. Ewing himself was emphatic in his own opinion:

"I never approved of many things contained in those books; particularly I disapproved of the way in which the work of the Holy Spirit, Christian experience, and church government, were treated of; I detested the spirit in which they were written...."

(Ibid. p. 82)

At first, Haldane complained about Ewing's decision to countenance these works in the library, saying that he was "putting improper books in the hands of the students." (Ibid. p. 82). The fact was, that though he was interfering with Ewing's library policy, he had not himself read the books concerned! A very different situation developed when he eventually did. His uninformed prejudice became unqualified approval.

Ewing/
Ewing asserts that the belated apology he received from Haldane was due to this reversal of views. His enthusiasm prompted him to further action. At a united meeting of the two Edinburgh churches, and without any previous consultation with the pastors (James Haldane and Aikman), took the liberty of propounding Sandemanian principles. This declaration caused such uneasiness that Haldane later apologised for his presumption. Outwardly, the affair was smoothed over, and the churches reassured. (F. & D. p. 94). But the matter was far from finished. Haldane was not the man to be turned from a conviction of duty by mere popular disapproval. He had other means of disseminating his ideas.

His methods, when they were ultimately discovered, shocked Ewing -

"Without the knowledge and consent of any of the churches, without the knowledge and consent of the ostensible teachers of the class, he privately recommended to students, schemes completely subversive of the order and government to which they belonged, and that while he was himself complying, in outward practice, with one of these very churches. These schemes were drawn out in writing, not to be read in the class, but to be put into the hands of every student who happened to call at Mr. Haldane's house. The students were often sent for on purpose to read his papers, and hear him enlarge on them in conversation. Many preachers and pastors of churches in the country/
country were sent for to town, under colour of improving their education. The period of improvement sometimes did not exceed six weeks; and if it be fair to judge of what was taught them, by what, in fact, they learned, the improvement consisted much more in those new views, which were privately recommended, than in anything else. The truth is, that Mr. Haldane's scheme of recommending to churches to choose any of their own number, whom they thought fittest for their pastors, was so inconsistent with the institution of a class for the ministry at all, that many were at a loss to account for his continuing to support one, till it was perceived, that the students were no longer trained with a view of becoming pastors of the churches, if invited to take that office upon them, but encouraged to devote themselves to the new modelling of churches, and to teach that the pastoral office might, with greater propriety, be committed to others. As an engine of power, the continuance of the classes was perfectly intelligible. The success of Mr. Haldane among the students, who had been accustomed to look up to him as a great and good man, and who depended upon him for their education and support, was by no means surprising; especially when all the weight of his talents, information, and favour was thrown into the scale. Each was privately catechised as to his consent, or his scruples, and as to his opinions of the sentiments of his fellow-students; and the more intractable were often got rid of, before the usual term of study was completed."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 95)

Corroboration of these tactics is to be found in the personal testimony of one of the students of the 1805 class who was dealt with precisely in this way.
William Orme, after his term of instruction at the seminary in Edinburgh, was sent to Perth with personal instructions from Haldane to "converse in private with the members on the subjects which we have been discussing, and endeavour to bring them forward." (A Reply .... to Haldane, Orme, p. 6). The whole story of struggle and division in that church, and Haldane's part in it, is given, and it is typical of the convulsions of controversy that every where ensued as these Sandemian ideas of ecclesiastical anarchy were advanced by Haldane's influence. Orme gives an account of the way it was done.

"We were frequently invited in a private, friendly manner, to drink tea and sup with Mr. Haldane, who used us with a degree of familiarity, and paid us attentions, which I am assured he never did to any former class. We were not aware at first of the design of these meetings; but we soon found that the sole object was to effect a change in our views respecting the order of a church, before we went out again .... He was completely master of the subjects which he discussed with us .... We had no experience of the things which were proposed. We were assured that we had all mistaken the true way of spreading the Gospel - Large houses and popular preachers will never do. - Some other plan must be tried. - There are as great things going on now as there were in the days of Luther, if we had just courage to persevere. By the plan proposed every village was to have a church. Almost every male member was to be a preacher. .... We/
We were both cajoled and intimidated; flattered by fair promises; or frightened by being assured that if we opposed the new scheme we were influenced by improper motives and enemies of reformation . . . . 
(His) paper was put into our hands individually, and before we left his house we were obliged to say whether we approved of it or not. If we disapproved, a controversy was immediately commenced."

(Ibid. pp. 3-5)

The result of this policy of secret indoctrination gradually began to make itself felt throughout Scotland. On returning to the congregations from which they had come, the students refused to take communion with their former fellow-members, whom they now deemed disorderly. When called to the pastorate of a church, they would actively propagate their new views, to the general disruption of the previously peaceful fellowship. Their influence was especially oppressive in the remoter country districts, where the people were simpler and less able to defend themselves articulately against the intrusion of these strange new ideas. According to Ewing, this divisiveness could almost without exception, be traced to the destructive work of the products of Haldane's academy. (F. & D. p. 95)

Because of the financial interests that Haldane/
Haldane still held among the churches, Ewing was powerless to speak in any other than general terms. Any specific instances might well have resulted in the victimisation of the individual or church involved. As a teacher, Ewing must have been disgusted by what he could only consider as an abuse of intellectual responsibility. The academy had not been used for the improvement of the students. Instead, the students had been used to disseminate the secret convictions of one who stood concealed. As a convinced Congregationalist, he must have been horrified at the deceit that had been practised upon the unsuspecting churches:

"Our confidence has been completely abused, and a pretext has been kept up of aiding and serving us, till advantage has been gained by a stolen march."

(Ibid. p. 96)

As a devout Christian, he must have been grieved by the blight of debate that was wasting the church, and weakening the Lord's people.

In the light of these facts, Ewing's behaviour becomes immediately intelligible. He recognised in Haldane, even at that early period, not a trusted colleague who had the common good of the young churches at heart, but an opinionated dictator, determined to make/
make his own changeable opinions regulative upon all. There could be no reasonable compromise with such a man, nor any hope that the churches would long survive, in any effective way, the withering influence of his student creatures. The only hope of survival lay in an exposure of the scandal, and a new beginning with such as survived the trial, on a surer foundation than dependency on capricious patronage. What was needed was the united concern of like-minded churches, determined to see to the training of men for their own ministry, men who would eventually undertake the pastoral office with evangelical zeal, intellectual depths and simple dignity.

Ewing's first call to the churches was contained in his "Attempt at a Statement, etc." published in 1807. Boldly he declared that since Rome had been condemned for fostering ignorance among the common people, an even greater guilt lay upon those who sought to foster ignorance among the pastors. (p. 48). Education was essential if Christianity was to be preserved from corruption. A preparatory literary course would ensure that ministers possessed the ability to reason with "clearness, precision and energy." (p. 46).
A working knowledge of the original tongues would prevent "the absurdity (of a man being) an interpreter of a book which he cannot read without an interpreter." Nor was elocution to be despised. Much nonsense had been talked about the virtue of "plain speaking".

"In general, plain men (men who have not had the advantage of a liberal education) do not speak in a plain manner. They are apt to use wrong words, and too many words; they bring out their thoughts with little arrangement or connection; and they often rather speak about their thoughts, than tell distinctly what they are. Shall we be content to hear teachers speak the things of God in such a manner as this? Shall we deny . . . that learning to think and speak with accuracy, method and clearness is a duty?"

(Attempt, Ewing, p. 51)

The churches had the opportunity of finding future ministers among their young people, and this source of candidates should never be despised. Youth is the time for learning, and it is also the time when hearts are responsive to God's call. Parents should pray for their children to be chosen for the Lord's work. But men of maturer years need not be disqualified. The system should be flexible enough to provide suitable preparation for all types, provided they were prepared to study hard.

"Our practice, hitherto, has, no doubt, favoured the opinion, that, a slight preparation for the ministry is sufficient. But/
But there is nothing in the plan of Congregational churches, which requires a continuance of the practice. There is a learned, as well as an unlearned, Independency. Many churches of the Independent denomination, in different countries, have as well-educated bishops, as any churches whatever."

(Ibid. p. 164)

In 1808, Ewing published a revision of his plan of four years earlier under the title of "A Memorial On Education For The Ministry Of the Gospel."

He frankly stated the nature of the danger confronting the churches. Delay in arresting the present trend would result in the decay of Gospel preaching, and the declension of the churches into exclusive cliques.

He acknowledged his own share in allowing such a drift:

"The writer of the Memorial . . . . never despised learning, (but) he is conscious that for a time he gave too much countenance to that neglect of it, which has produced the effects he could not have imagined . . . . He is anxious, however, to retract his own errors, on so important a subject; and to submit to the consideration of his Christian brethren a plan, which he conceives . . . . would be for the good of the churches . . . . and for the Gospel. . . ."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 337)

The circulation of this document aroused interest, and provoked discussion among the churches. Congregationalists/
Congregationalists in the Perth and Dundee districts were the first to take practical action, and as a result of conferences in these towns in the early part of 1810, a call to further positive steps towards establishing an independent seminary was contained in a pamphlet entitled "An Address to the Independent Churches, in the Neighbourhood of Perth and Dundee". It is interesting to note that one of the signatories was William Orme, once Haldane's protege in Perth.

On Ewing's suggestion, a circular letter was sent to all the pastors of Congregational churches inviting them to confer together on 13th March, 1811, in the Nile Street meeting-house. The letter was signed "in the best of bonds" (Academy Minutes, p.3), by Greville Ewing, Ralph Wardlaw and George Robertson (of Paisley).

After service, at which Wardlaw preached, the pastors adjourned to a hall in Ingram Street for general discussion. The roll-call of those present provides a picture of the distribution and strength of the churches at that time. It is also a record of honour, perpetuating the founders of the Academy. Pastors were present from Edinburgh, Musselburgh, Dalkeith, Kirkcaldy, Linlithgow, Falkirk, Grangemouth, Stirling, Callander, Dumfries, Ayr/
Ayr, Arran, Fasdale, Oban, Auldkirk, Greenock, Helensburgh, Cambuslang, Hamilton, Larkhall, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, Nairn, Knockando, Glasgow and Paisley. Letters of apology and interest were read from churches in Leith, Leven, Blairgowrie, Acharn, Aberfeldy, Broughty Ferry, Lochee, Montrose, Arbroath, Lethem, Kirriemuir, Elgin, Avoch, Forres, Banff, Thurso, Wick, Gatehouse of Fleet, Kintyre, St. Andrews, Garlieston and Belfast.

Ewing opened the discussion by suggesting that the following points should be decided upon. (1) the general desirability of such a seminary? This was agreed to unanimously. (2) Who should be responsible for teaching the students? Ewing and Wardlaw were unanimously invited to undertake the task. "Both signified their willingness to accept the charge, and in the strength and guidance of the grace of God, to fulfil it to the best of their ability." (Ibid. 6). (3) The Plan of education to be followed? A tentative scheme was read, and then re-read item by item, discussed and amended, and finally remitted to a committee, who were requested to revise the plan in the light of the discussion, and present it the following day at the second session of the conference.
This they accordingly did, and the plan was approved, Mr. Orme of Perth successfully moving an amendment ensuring that students finishing the course would be maintained by the institution for one year if necessary to avoid possible hardship. (Ibid. p. 12). Greville Ewing then led the gathered company in prayer on behalf of the success of the new venture. A copy of the approved plan will be found in Appendix I.

The next few months were busy with preparations for the opening of the seminary. The tutors and committee met regularly to consider applications from prospective students, and to hammer out the practical details of administration. The maximum subsistence allowance was fixed at £36 per annum, but the grants were scaled down according to the ability of each man to contribute towards his own keep. The first applicant was John McLaren, pastor of the church at Killin. William Newlands, a member of Ewing's own congregation, and James Chalmers of Wardlaw's church in Albion Street followed. John Hill of Kirkliston church was recommended by his minister. Robert McLachlan of Nile Street, and James Fraser and Alexander Ewing of Albion Street were considered at the meeting on 7th October, and subsequently the name of/
of James Laird of Nile Street was added to the list. Ewing's old friend of his Missionary Magazine days, Dr. Charles Stuart, contributed a number of books to found the library as a token of his interest, though he had long since become a Baptist.

The term began on the 31st October, 1811, when Ewing -

"addressed the students, giving them suitable exhortations as to their studies, and the manner in which they should be prosecuted; the great importance of the object which they had in view, the temper of mind which it was their duty, and which they would find it was their happiness, to cultivate; and the consistent and exemplary conduct which they ought to maintain."

(Ibid. p. 29)

The first years of the Academy's life were difficult ones, both in class and committee. The high hopes entertained of the students were not fully realised. Eight men began the course. At the end of the first year, one had withdrawn through bad health and a second had died. During the second year one student was dismissed for failing to make sufficient progress in his studies, and the following year another joined the Church of Scotland with a view to the ministry in the Established/
Established Church. (1) Of the three students who were the first to finish in 1815 one was —

"dissatisfied with the sphere in which the Committee had appointed him to labour, and with the provision they had made for his support; and manifesting in his letters, and his conversations on these subjects, a temper, which appeared to them to be unbecoming. After various attempts to show him the unreasonableness of his misconduct, which issued in his declining the authority of the Committee, and the communion of the churches with which they are connected; they were reduced to the necessity of leaving him . . . . praying that the Lord would convince him of his error. . . ."


Thus of the eight men who comprised the original class, and to whom Ewing had spoken with such a hopeful heart, five fell by the wayside for one reason or another. But there was always someone else ready to fill the vacant place.

The financial burden; (2) however, was the darkest threat to the young academy. As a result of the general interest shown at the inception of the scheme, the income for/

(1) The committee "hope their young brother has taken this step from conviction and conscience..." An. Rep.(4), p. 5

(2) "Many are disposed to think that any plan which promises to diminish expense, is of course an improvement." (Attempt, Ewing, p. 60). Such were satisfied with Haldane's seminary.
The following year, however, it had dropped to £232. (Ann.
Rep. (3) p. 12), and the Committee felt that they could
not reasonably continue beyond the duration of the
first course, unless there was a marked increase in
financial support from the churches, and from individual

It could with justice be said that Greville
Ewing saved the Academy at this stage. In 1815, while
Wellington was winning his famous victory, Ewing set
out on a six-week itinerary on behalf of the seminary.
Not only did he plead its cause with all his eloquence
among the congregational churches in the north, but
he returned with practical proof of their support -
over £160 in collections, which, together with the
contribution of over £50 from his own church and
numerous annual subscriptions, brought the income up to
into a credit of £185, which never entirely disappeared
in the ensuing years. Ewing had won the Academy's
financial Waterloo. From that time it was a going concern.

Thus over the years Ewing conceived the idea
of an Independent theological college, serving the needs of/
of the congregational churches and the mission field, fought for its consideration, drafted its constitution, instructed its students and balanced its books. Its existence today is his finest memorial.
SECTION II - FORMATION OF CONGREGATIONAL UNION

As far back as 1798 Robert Haldane was thinking in terms of a connected system of Congregational churches in Scotland. Inspired by the success of the Edinburgh Circus, he began to plan similar evangelistic centres in Glasgow and Dundee, linking up with the Independent chapels already established in Perth and Caithness.

To these would be united -

"any others which afterwards should be erected upon similar plans, through the country, if they conformed to the same strict and scriptural discipline. . . . as far as congregational principles admit."

(Address, Haldane, p. 82)

That Greville Ewing shared this view is evident from the appeal he made to the arbitration of his colleagues during his negotiations with Haldane over the formation of the church in Jamaica Street in 1800. By this time, however, Haldane had apparently abandoned the idea, and there is no evidence that the Tabernacle pastors ever met for joint consultation. Nevertheless, the number of the churches multiplied, and were recognised to have a common pattern. They became associated first of all in the eyes of a hostile Establishment, who lumped them/
them all together, and branded them "the new sect" (Pastoral Admon.). Rowland Hill on the other hand realised the opportunity that presented itself to the young churches of federating themselves into a Union of primitive apostolic fellowships, congregational in the administration of their internal affairs, but connected for purposes of evangelism.

A practical experiment in co-operation among several of the Scottish churches began in 1803. It arose out of their enthusiasm for foreign missions. Although Ewing gave all his support to the recently formed Missionary Societies, he nevertheless felt that they had come into existence as a result of the churches' default. In his view, it was the task of the churches first of all to send the Gospel to heathen lands. In 1797 he declared:

"the very existence of societies for propagating the Gospel is an evidence of the deficiency of constituted churches. Had they not all been wanting in zeal, or in abilities, or in both, such self-created institutions would not have taken place . . . . Let those churches beware of preferring cumbersome and lifeless forms of procedure to duties of real importance, which have been much neglected."

(Sermon on Defence of Missions, Mem. Matheson, p. 34).

Three/
Three years later, in his "Animadversions" he was equally emphatic:

"I will yield to no man living in concern for the cause of Missions . . . . I am sensible, however, that a Church of Christ, is, strictly speaking, the proper, the legitimate Missionary Society."

(Animad. Ewing, p. 18)

In 1803 two Edinburgh churches proposed to act in the spirit of this conviction. The churches in College Street and Leith Walk addressed a general letter to "all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus", and set out a plan of united missionary endeavour. This overture was favourably replied to by the churches in Kirkcaldy and Cambuslang, and a prolonged correspondence was carried on among them, couched in the fervent language of the New Testament epistles. John Paterson, one of Ewing's students, and first pastor of the Cambuslang Church, and Archibald M'Lae, pastor at Kirkcaldy, volunteered to go to India. They spent the winter of 1804 attending classes at University. Owing to the expense likely to be incurred in arranging a passage to India for M'Lae's wife and family, he withdrew, and his place was taken by Ebenezer Henderson, a student at Haldane's Academy. In 1805 they sailed for Copenhagen on the first stage of their journey East. Here they were/
were delayed for some time, and occupied themselves in preaching in the neighbourhood. Little did the churches realise that their agents were pioneering what was to become a fruitful field -

"they became (as is now well known to the public) extensive evangelists in the northern countries of Europe; and after years of labour, and no small privation and suffering, they were honoured to be, also, eminently successful in the circulation of the sacred Scriptures . . . ."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 323).

M'Lae was sent to the United States, and Francis Dick to Quebec, both in 1806. In two years £1,116 was gathered, and ten churches are named in the accounts as contributing. Ewing's name appears as forwarding donations amounting to £55, and a similar amount collected at the Glasgow Tabernacle. The concluding paragraph expresses the spirit in which this experiment in united action was undertaken by the participating churches.

"We should be willing to unite our endeavours with any who appear to love the Lord Jesus, so far as we are agreed; but we think that as we could not attempt to plant, or to sanction churches, formed upon any other plan, than that recorded in the New Testament, it is better, in the work of spreading the Gospel, to proceed by ourselves."

(Ac. of For. Miss. by Ch. in Ed. p. 35)

This/
This hopeful enterprise did not long continue. It was swept away in the trail of the "withering blast from the north." As a basis of unity, obedience to the "apostolic ordinances delivered to the churches" was a mirage. Rather it provoked dissension, encouraged isolationism, and made separation on the most minute of doctrinal points a matter of Christian duty. Its logical conclusion was the unyielding exclusiveness of Sandeman:

"If any therefore plead their love of the brethren, in vindication of joining them in their neglect and disobedience of Christ's institutions; if they urge that they cannot withdraw from those with whom they have been long connected in Christian fellowship, although their fellowship continue not to be regulated by the word of God; such persons betray ignorance of the essential nature of Christian love, and a mind directly opposite to true charity. Such may say - a confederacy; and may strengthen each other's hands in their iniquity, calling their confederacy Christian Union; and may talk loudly of charity and forbearance; but they are not sanctifying the Lord God in their hearts . . . . and perverting the meaning of the scriptural expressions charity and forbearance."

(Christian Songs, Sandeman, p. 12)

By 1808, many of the churches were divided internally over disputed points of religious observance, and regarded each other with suspicion. Their preoccupation with these questions was interrupted by a more pressing emergency - the withdrawal by Robert Haldane of his financial/
financial support, not only from the Academy, but from the individual churches. They were now faced with the crisis of continuing on the strength of their own resources. Some were unable to do so, and dwindled into extinction, but in spite of these losses -

"Mr. Haldane's withdrawal was about the best thing that could have happened to the denomination at large, as by closing up an artificial source of strength, it threw the churches upon their internal resources, and taught them to look for success more steadfastly to the activity of their efforts, the purity of their character, and the blessing of their Divine Head."

(Memoir of Watson, Alexander, p. 102)

The Congregational Union was therefore conceived in a spirit of desperate emergency, rather than of judicious deliberation, and was born out of weakness rather than strength. Neither Haldane's ambitious scheme of Tabernacle organisation, nor Hill's visionary concept of primitive Union, nor the earnest but ephemeral collaboration of the churches in missionary endeavour, was sufficient to weld the scattered company of Independent congregations into a bond of fellowship. But the urge to survive taught them the lesson of interdependence, and in their common necessity they learned the secret of continuing brotherhood. The need to maintain the supply of/
of pastors and evangelists was a first priority, and Greville Ewing was ready as we have seen with his proposals for an Independent Academy supported by the churches. In regard to the formation of the Union, the original circular letter early in 1811 bore his signature, along with those of Ralph Wardlaw and George Robertson of Paisley, and concluded with the key phrase, "Yours, in the best of bonds." From the beginning, the basis of co-operation was to be love and service, without the restraint of any other standard or authority - "the best of bonds".

While the practical details of this scheme went forward in the west, the churches in the east were not unconcerned to enlarge the scope of their collaboration. They were confronted by three problems: - the plight of the churches with heavy loans outstanding on their buildings; the plight of those pastors and their families who had been dependent upon Haldane for part of their support; and the "painful burden" that was borne by the larger churches as a result of the many pathetic pleas for assistance that were addressed to them. (3rd Ann. Rep. Cong. U. p. 18). The first suggestion that a Union be formed to deal with these hardships was made by/
by a layman, William Tait of Musselburgh, but it was his minister, the Rev. John Watson, who undertook the necessary preliminary organisation. He was elected joint secretary at the first meeting in Thistle Street Church in Edinburgh in early November, 1812.

It is interesting to notice that many of the influences affecting Greville Ewing were experienced to some extent by Watson, and the two men had much in common. Although born in the north he had a similar early acquaintance with English Dissent, and was converted as a result of the preaching of Dr. Bennett when he arrived in Aberdeen to open the George Street Chapel, in 1798. Students from the English Dissenting Academies attended the lectures of Dr. Campbell at the University and helped in mission work in the town. He was apprenticed to a baker, and eventually established himself in a prosperous confectioner's business. In spite of this he felt drawn to the ministry, and after recovering from a severe illness he travelled to Edinburgh, and was enrolled in Haldane's Academy, in 1803. He found himself in the midst of the church order controversy, and took a strong stand against the Sandemanian party. In one of his class papers he wrote -

"How/
"How little the spirit of Christ appears in this very dangerous author.... Most of Sandeman's warm admirers have not only received his errors, but imbibed his most unchristian spirit."

(Mem. Watson, Alexander, p. 52)

Whether Haldane cherished a special grievance against this impertinent student, or whether Watson simply suffered in common with others similarly placed, his church at Musselburgh was vexed by a peremptory demand by Haldane in 1811 for the repayment of £300 within a matter of a few months. Ruin seemed to stare them in the face. Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander, his son-in-law, says that there was a contemporary document to this effect in Watson's handwriting, signed by three witnesses, one of them being Greville Ewing. Perhaps on Ewing's advice, Watson visited London to solicit help from Congregational churches there, and returned with sufficient to clear the debt. He also brought back a plan for aiding widows and orphans of ministers which he circulated enthusiastically among the churches. The scheme came to nothing at that time, but it is significant that such a proposal actually preceded that of a Union. Watson did not forget this idea, which was eventually adopted by the Union in 1820. He was present at the inauguration of/
of the Academy scheme, and was one of the small committee appointed to revise the plan in accordance with the general discussion.

It is a token of the esteem in which Ewing was held, that although he was able to take little part in the original practical organisation of the Congregational Union, he was the chairman of the First Annual Meeting held in Thistle Street Chapel on Thursday, 6th May, 1813. For the rest of his life he was always deeply concerned about it, and was responsible for the arrangement whereby the minutes should be printed and the meetings held alternately in Glasgow and Edinburgh. (1st Ann. Rep. Cong. U. p. 17). The Nile Street church contributed in the first year £28 out of a total of £156, in the second year £34 out of £307, in the third £53 out of £305, in the fourth £46 out of £274, and in the fifth £48 out of £321. In 1821 the Nile Street Church gave £202, and Ewing collected £357 in Norfolk and Suffolk, a total of £559 out of £1,468. Not only do these figures give an indication of the proportion of the Union's expenses borne by Ewing's congregation, they also show the rapid extension of the work. From a budget of aid to fifteen churches of £156, in 1813, the Union enlarged/
enlarged its activities in less than ten years to assisting 53 churches and pastors to the extent of £1,070, as well as contributing £100 to the Academy, for the support of Gaelic students, and financing spring and summer itineracies and tract distribution in the Highlands and Shetlands to the amount of £146.

It is abundantly clear that the Union was originally a Mutual Aid Society. So much was this the case that at the Second Annual Meeting attention was drawn to the fact that -

"the only objection . . . . brought against the Institution was, that it confined its attention to the state of the churches as to temporal matters merely, (and it was recommended) to all the churches connected with it, to send an annual account of their state as to spiritual concerns, together with the intelligence of any doors of usefulness, which the providence of God might open around them."


The emphasis was laid on Independence and self-help, and the earlier Reports abound with references to penny-a-week schemes, proposals to donate a day's wages, and accounts of smaller churches with memberships of less than a score, regularly giving a shilling a week out of wages of ten or twelve shillings. Every church, however poor, was invited to contribute to the fund, so that/
that none might feel dependent on the rich, but that all should be helpers. One third part of the money contributed in the first year came from churches who themselves needed assistance.

The support the Union gave was not intended simply to maintain the smaller churches in a congenial fellowship, but that they might be enabled to support their pastor while he devoted his whole time to Gospel itineracies in the neighbourhood, and that the church might be a centre of evangelistic enterprise. Ewing made this point in a closing speech at the Second Annual Meeting in Nile Street:

"Much good had been done, Mr. Ewing remarked, by the occasional excursions of brethren through the country, to preach the everlasting Gospel; but more benefit might be expected to result from the kind of itineracies encouraged by the Congregational Union. The effects of the former were transient, of the latter abiding; the former, like the electric shock, produced a strong impression for a moment; but the latter, like the constant circulation of the blood in the human body, were perpetually diffusing life and vigour throughout the whole system."

(Ibid. p. 20).

Although the success of the Union depended upon the exertions of all, the office-bearers had a special responsibility. This important truth was stated in the 2nd Annual Report and regularly repeated. The following/
following statement is as true and necessary today as it was on the day it was published:

"The Committee . . . . would in particular, remind the deacons of the churches, how much the prosperity of the Institution depends upon them. The pastor, in many cases, feels a delicacy in saying much about it, as well as about his own affairs; and if the deacons take no lively and active part in this work, the church with which they are connected, will most likely be very cool and inactive."

(Ibid. p. 16)

The subsequent development of the Congregational Union to the present time is ably traced by Dr. Escott in his "History", and many changes are today apparent in its structure and function, that were never envisaged by its founders. But insofar as it retains its concern for brotherhood in evangelism, its freedom from doctrinal rigidity, and its emphasis on an educated ministry, both pastoral and lay, it remains upon the foundations laid -

"in large measure by the influence, counsel and prayers of that great lover and servant of missions - Greville Ewing."

(Hist. of Cong. Escott, p. 95)
CHAPTER EIGHT
SECTIOm I - THE LATER WRITINGS

The publication of his "Facts and Documents" in 1809 marked a watershed in Greville Ewing's literary activity. In compiling his case against Haldane he had been compelled to review the whole course of his life and ministry, and such a process of self-examination for any honest man is salutary and often painful. In a published sermon on this subject in 1806 James Haldane had warned:

"We ought to beware of forming a judgement of ourselves by partial and detached views of our conduct. To this we are extremely prone. Ever ready to depart from universal regard to the ways of God, we are disposed to rest on some one action, or set of actions, as an evidence that all is well with us, and thus to flatter ourselves that we are in truth the servants of JEHOVAH. But self-examination must embrace the whole of the divine law, and the whole of our character . . . ."

(The Doctrine and Duty of Self-Examination, Haldane, p. 11)

The cathartic effect of this experience can be judged by the radical change that took place in Ewing's subsequent style of writing and subject matter, after 1809. Prior to that time the bulk of his published work had been controversial, and in the decade 1797-1807 his satirical ability, which originally had been spontaneously/
spontaneously aroused by the injustice of the personal attacks made upon him, had been deliberately sharpened into a hurtful weapon, constantly in use. Ewing himself recognised that he was open to criticism in this regard:

"I freely confess, that I think the most acrimonious pamphlet I ever wrote, was my Animadversions on the work of Mr. Robertson of Cambuslang. Besides my disapprobation of the work itself, I wrote under the influence of great alarm . . . ."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 193)

No such immediacy of provocation justified much of his later sarcasm. Ewing yielded to the temptation that besets the sharp-tongued, and often spoiled the total effect of a well-reasoned case by the severity of his satire. His argument often convinces, but the sneer repels. A modern reader might well sympathise with Haldane's verdict on these earlier works, when he declares that Ewing should repent of the "levity, asperity and personality" (F. & D. Ewing, p. 192), with which they have been written. A typical example of this last tendency, that of making individuals the target of his scorn, occurs in his "Remarks on Mr. Dick's Sermon", published in 1801. In the course of illustrating from Scripture/
Scripture that ordination is distinct from the church's "setting apart" for some specific mission, he draws a parallel between the action of the apostolic church in Acts XIII, and the imaginary case of a body of leading Edinburgh ministers of the day. He lists them by name, carefully recording their degrees of divinity. He speaks solemnly of their decision to "set apart" for a special mission to the heathen Hugh Blair and W. Moodie, and adds in a parenthesis -

"a business in which they had already been tried, and which they were well known to have greatly at heart."

(Remarks on Dick's Sermon, Ewing, p. 7)

The full force of this shaft appears when it is realised that those two, in particular, were extremists within the Moderate party, and utterly opposed to foreign missions or any other form of evangelistic activity. It was Moodie's signature that appeared as Moderator at the foot of the Pastoral Admonition in 1799. Such jibes are unnecessary, and only serve to increase personal bitterness between men of differing points of view. They are not worthy of a Christian apologetic.

This barbed element, however, disappeared completely from his later work. He had no lack of opportunity/
opportunity to continue. Haldane replied to Ewing's "Facts and Documents" by the immediate publication in 1809 of his "Remarks", running to 150 pages. This, however, was only a preliminary step. He followed it up in 1810 with his voluminous "Answer to Ewing", in which he enlarged on his grievances to the extent of more than 400 pages and which he published at the token price of one shilling. There had been a time (in his exchanges with Robertson of Cambuslang) when he had not suffered any charge to be levelled against him without reply, but in this instance he allowed Haldane to have the last word. At last he saw the folly of wasting time in self-justification. God's truth would prevail.

"The success, which can attend measures like these, I desire not to obtain. In such a contest, indeed, victory must, at all events, be too dear-bought. I would not repeat the task, which I am thankful I have now nearly finished, for twice the value of the Glasgow Tabernacle, or of all the advantages which the possession of it could ensure . . . . In whatever way I shall act, my conduct may become the subject of animadversion; and those perhaps, who most loudly condemn, who have conspired to bring me into the difficulties, of which they take advantage 'But with me it is a very small thing, that I should be judged of them, or of man's judgement.'"

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 255)

And so, like a man released, he turned forever from the/
the controversies that had bound him in such bitterness. From that time forward the master of polemic became the patient scribe of God's everlasting mercy.

He was particularly provoked during the Apocryphal Controversy in 1826. He urged the Glasgow Bible Society to support the inclusion of the Apocrypha if such was the only way the Scriptures would be allowed to circulate in Catholic countries. The Rev. Patrick McFarlane, minister of St. Enoch's, Glasgow, attacked this speech in an angry pamphlet. (1) "Downright profaneness" (p.5), "the crooked path of unchristian policy" (p.8), "the impiety and immorality of Mr. Ewing's proposal (and) the pernicious and unscriptural nature of his principle" (p.11) - such was the abusive tone. Ewing answered never a word.

As Ewing himself declared the strain of living and writing in such an atmosphere of dissension and debate restricted the scope of his work, and hindered the completion of what he considered more important literary work (Fn. F. & D. Ewing, p. 251). This is a reference to his "Essay Addressed to the Jews" which the/

(1) "Strictures on Rev. Greville Ewing's Speech", by P.M'F.
the London Missionary Society had commissioned him to write as early as 1805. Their attention had originally been drawn to this field of evangelism in an unexpected way. News of the Society's foundation aroused interest in religious circles beyond the shores of Britain, and by 1797 messages of prayerful and practical support were arriving from the Netherlands, Switzerland and Germany. From this latter country Baron Von Shirnding sent a report of a plan of itinerant home missionary work which he had adopted as a preliminary to overseas activity, and suggested that a few men trained in the scheme might be sent over to England to be placed at the disposal of the Society. That he was also concerned with evangelising the Jews he makes plain in his letter:

"I have delayed my letter so long, because I waited for the printing of a German translation of a Word to the Jews, of which I have already distributed a great number to that nation in these parts."

(Reports of the London Miss. Soc. p. 72)

One of the men who came from Berlin was a Mr. Frey, a converted Jew. The original plan was to send him to South Africa, but such was his enthusiasm to preach the Gospel to his own race, that the Directors decided to send him for further training to Gosport, with that specific end in view. They saw that -

"none/
"none can so well enter into the feelings, the principles, and the strong prejudices of a Jew, as one who has himself been educated in that religion, and has also been converted to the faith of the gospel... who has himself been melted into contrition by looking unto him whom their fathers pierced."

(Ibid. p. 215)

By 1806 the MISSION TO THE JEWS occupied a prominent position in the Society's Annual Reprt. After three years under Dr. Bogue, Frey opened a chapel in the Jewish quarter in London which at first attracted crowds who came to hear a Hebrew Christian reading the Scriptures in the ancient tongue of Israel. The Directors were hopeful of the success of their new venture, and prepared for its extension. In anticipation of the many Jewish enquirers whom they expected to consider seriously the claims of Christ to be the Messiah, they felt it necessary to prepare a suitable scholarly handbook for follow-up purposes -

"It is their design... that a series of essays should be circulated among them, tending to establish the authority and excellency of the Christian dispensation as the consummation and perfection of the Jewish; (and) they have unanimously requested the performance of this great service from the Rev. Greville Ewing, of Glasgow, and have the pleasure to announce that he has kindly consented to undertake it."

(Ibid. p. 238)
Ewing was well-known to them as the first secretary of the Edinburgh Missionary Society, three years before, in 1803, had delivered one of the Annual Sermons to the Society at the May Meetings in Tottenham Court Road Chapel. (Mem. Matheson, p. 286). Ewing carried out this commission amid the most vexatious years of his ministry, and its accomplishment was much hindered. His daughter says that "no composition of (his) was ever attended by a greater variety of causes for depression and anxiety" (Mem. Matheson, p. 361). The delay is reflected in the anxious tone of the L.M.S. Report for 1808.

"The Directors are concerned that they have it not in their power to announce the publication of the intended series of Essays, addressed to the Jewish people."

(Reports of London Miss. Soc. p. 293). Meanwhile the affairs of the Jewish Mission itself were not prospering. Numbers attending the chapel had dwindled, and the majority were non-Jews. A little school which Frey had started for poor Jewish children had met with initial success, but had been condemned by the Rabbi, who opened a school in opposition. Then the work received its severest setback:

"Mr./
"Mr. Frey, who has been for a considerable time dissatisfied with the measures pursued by the Directors, strongly recommended to them some plans which they could not with propriety adopt; in consequence of which he has thought proper to relinquish his connexion with this Society . . . ."

(Ibid. p. 319)

At the same time, the publication of the first part of Ewing's Essay was announced, and the second volume appeared more than a year later, in the autumn of 1810. In the Report of 1811 it is admitted that the Mission to the Jews had been discontinued. Little apparent fruit was visible, but the Society had done what it could, and one positive gain was -

"the satisfaction of having produced . . . . an admirable means of introducing the Jewish people to a clear and compendious acquaintance with the Christian dispensation, whenever their attention shall be seriously awakened to that momentous subject."

(Ibid. p. 392).

The book had some subsequent circulation among Jewish communities, but the immediate results were disappointing. Ewing did not hear of any Jewish reader perusing it. He was also aware of its chief defect. It did not lack in knowledge of the Scriptures, for in this Ewing excelled, nor was there any infelicity in relating the Old and New Testaments to each other. But Ewing admitted his -

"total/
"total ignorance of the temper and conversation of modern Jews."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 362)

His book was more of an exercise in exegesis than an evangelical encounter with Israel. He deals in a systematic way with the whole range of biblical theology - the authority and scope of the Law and the Prophets, the character of God, the Creation, the Fall, Redemption, the Covenants, the Messiah and the worship and inheritance of the Christian dispensation. But his concluding appeal is typical of the cold and didactic style of the whole -

"Our object has avowedly been, to bring (the Jews) to the belief of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; to persuade them to trust in him for the salvation of their souls . . . . Children of Israel, we have felt a heavy burden on our minds, while endeavouring to address you. Humanly speaking, you are far from being hopeful subjects of a gospel ministry. Much indeed, you have to unlearn, if ever you receive the truth as it is in Jesus. But we would take shame to ourselves for being of little faith. With God all things are possible . . . ."

(Essay to Jews, Ewing, ii159)

His "magnum opus", however, to which he devoted nearly thirty years of his life was his Greek Lexicon, which appeared in three editions, in 1801, 1812 and 1827. The decision to undertake such a work arose out of his original/
original experience as tutor to the students in Haldane's seminary. We have seen how Haldane accused Ewing of elaborating the simple curriculum that he alleged had been originally decided upon as adequate to equip the future itinerants with a brief and basic training in English. Nothing could furnish stronger proof of Ewing's contrary intention, than the fact that he lost no time in compiling and printing at his own expense a Greek Grammar and Lexicon which he issued free of charge to each of his students. (F. & D., p.28).

It is clear that from the first, even in the midst of the excitement and urgency of religious revival, he was convinced that a working knowledge of the Greek Testament was of vital importance to the Gospel preacher.

The production of the work was necessarily hurried. The model used for the first part was "Grammatica Graeca", which had been left unfinished by its author, Dr. Moore. Ewing completed this section and added a dictionary of New Testament Greek words, which, though abbreviated, was sufficient for a working knowledge of the language. There was one immediate advantage provided by Ewing's Lexicon. It was one of the very few that then existed which referred directly from Greek to English.
English. The majority of text-books on the subject were written in Latin. Thus an effective door was opened to men lacking classical education to equip themselves, without long preliminary instruction, to study the New Testament in its original form.

The stimulus to produce a second edition in 1812 was threefold. There was the natural dissatisfaction of the scholar with a hasty and possibly improvised work. There was the new enthusiasm generated by his release from the warfare of words. And above all there were the needs of the new Academy, and the young men all over Scotland in the Congregational churches who would be preparing themselves in their private study not only for the work of the ministry, but for the deepening of their own faith:

"A body of well-educated youth must be of vast advantage to Christian churches, whether they be called to bear office or not. . . ."

(Attempt, Ewing, p. 59)

In the preface to the Second Edition Ewing explained his purpose. He had enlarged the scope of the work to include the Septuagint. The Grammar had been revised, and three new sections added, and -

"The/
"the whole of the Lexicon composed anew. An immense number of words, which occur only in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, are added. The words of the Apocrypha are admitted, because the apocryphal writers were contemporary with the Septuagint translators, and wrote in similar style. Important words are illustrated at considerable length; the illustrations being frequently supported by quotations from Scripture, from the Greek fathers, and from the classics."

(Greek Grammar, Ewing, pref.)

The third and final edition appeared in 1827, and extended to 1150 pages in double columns. Its completion was a heavy task. Two years earlier he had written to his daughter:

"I would write oftener, but this heavy Lexicon! I am only in Zeta."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 454)

And again:

"My Lexicon still presses heavily upon me, and they say, I have grown lean upon it; but my health is quite good . . . . I am within about eight days work of the end of Eta."

(Ibid. p. 500)

At last, however, he completed Omega, and the labour of half a lifetime was at an end. From the preface it is plain that the motive that had originally inspired him to undertake the enormous burden of work involved, was still unchanged. His interest was to further the cause/
cause of the Gospel, by providing a comprehensive key to the Scriptures that would enable earnest men everywhere to grasp and proclaim the truth with better understanding and surer authority. The work was favourably received both by virtue of its accurate scholarship, and its many flashes of original insight.

"Mr. Ewing has evidently not contented himself with copying the dicta of other lexicographers, but has examined and thought for himself; and has signally impressed his work, with the characters of conscientious research and mental independence."

(Eclectic Review, quoted in Mem. Matheson, p. 508)

In order fully to define his views on baptism, (touched upon in his paragraphs on the verb "to baptise"), Ewing published in 1823 his "Essay on Baptism; an Inquiry into the Meaning, etc., of the Administration of that Ordinance." This question had in past years divided the Congregational churches. It had split the Edinburgh Tabernacle, and Ewing had publicly supported the action of those paedo-Baptists who seceded to Bernard's Rooms. Both the Haldanes had been immersed, and some time later his own brother-in-law William Innes followed suit. Under these circumstances it is all the more remarkable to notice the temperate tone/
tone adopted by Ewing in his argument. He makes it plain that in his view the Baptist position is an erroneous one,

"but the general articles of the faith of my opponents, the constitution and government of their churches, and the excellence of their Christian character, are, for the most part . . . . . so distinguished, that if, through the blessing of God, we could but come to an agreement on this ordinance of Baptism, there would remain nothing to prevent our most cordial union . . . . . Few things would cause me greater distress, than to give them any just ground of offence, or to cherish in myself, or in others, any unkind disposition towards them."

(Essay on Baptism, Ewing, pref.)

Such a restrained and charitable approach to a troubled question is far removed from the tense and sometimes truculent pamphleteering of twenty years before.

The object of the Essay was twofold. First, he queried the confident assertion of the Baptists that immersion was plainly the New Testament mode of administering the sacrament. In a lengthy etymological analysis of the Greek verb "BAPTIZO" in all its usages in Scripture and the Classics, he enlarged on his original conclusion:

"But whatever mode of washing 'Baptizo' may signify, when used to denote what men did to themselves, we are naturally led . . . . to understand by it a mode different from that of immersion, when it is used to denote that which/"
that which is done, to the subjects of it, by another . . . . the ordinance of baptism is the pouring out of water, from the hand of the baptizer, on the face of the baptised."

(Lexicon, Ewing, p. 286)

His other concern was to justify the practice of baptising the children of Christian parents. He argued from the New Testament that this had been done by the apostles from the beginning, and ought therefore to be continued by the churches. Infant baptism was therefore a primitive ordinance, and -

"in this respect, as well as in its meaning as an emblem of purification and separation to the service of God, it answers to the ancient ordinance of circumcision."

(Ibid., p. 287).

In writing the Essay he confesses to thinking a great deal of his own experience as a father, and of his grandchildren (Mem., Matheson, p. 484). He believed that the proper observance of Infant Baptism was the foundation of family happiness and healthy Christian society.

Besides the touching "Memoir" of his wife, published after her accidental death, in 1828, the remainder of Ewing's work consists of a number of printed sermons on a variety of themes. These fall into three groups:

(a) Those concerned with the life of the church. e.g. "The Encouragement Due from Christians to Preachers of the Gospel." (1815).

Discourses/
In these sermons Ewing shares the wealth of his pastoral experience. Scholar he had proved himself to be, and preacher and propagandist, but pre-eminently he was a good pastor. He was not by nature effusive, but he had other, more lasting qualities of patience, wisdom and sincerity. And having suffered, he was able to comfort those who passed that way. Such a ministry, spanning forty years among his people, made its mark. In the following passage, from a sermon delivered to an Annual Meeting of the Academy, Ewing describes the dimensions of the pastor's calling, and its permanent effects.

". . . . the people whom we visit get thoroughly acquainted with us; (and) we also get thoroughly acquainted with them. We see where there is true Christianity, and where there is none. We have access to the conscience on many occasions . . . . We may gain the ear, and the affections of children. We may cheer the aged. We may pour consolation, into the hearts of the afflicted and the desponding. We may give salutary advice to the industrious, amidst the difficulties and temptations of worldly business. We may attend to the sick and dying. We may enforce the conscientious discharge of every relative duty. Such is the influence which a preacher may acquire, from this kind of intercourse, that we often see a wonderful similarity/
similarity between him and his Christian friends; and that not only while he lives, but also after he is dead. They have, insensibly, adopted his sentiments on a great variety of subjects. They retain his very language and manner. They resemble him in prayer, in conversation, in excellencies, and perhaps in defects."

(Encouragement Due, etc." Mem. Matheson, 1413.)

(b) Those arising out of current affairs, social and political. e.g.
"Sermon on the Death of Princess Charlotte." (1817)
"The Testimony of God Against Massacre and Rapine." (1820) - written during unrest of that year, and occasioned by the pathetic gesture of Perley Wilson the Strathaven weaver, who shouldered an ancient musket to march on Glasgow, hoping for a democratic uprising. He was subsequently executed on Glasgow Green. Ewing took part in the appeal for his reprieve, and wrote to Lord Sidmoum (Life, Ewing, p. 455).
"The Duty of Abstaining from Debt." (1821).

In this aspect of his preaching Ewing demonstrated his ability to make the Bible surprisingly relevant to the contemporary situation. His insights were backed up by increasingly authoritative scholarship, and by a shrewd knowledge of men and affairs. The influence of his wife can be seen in his grasp of business and economics revealed in his sermon on "Debt", for -

"her knowledge of business, which not only exempted me from all carefulness about my little temporal concerns, (but) would have qualified her to manage the affairs of any establishment, however eminent and wealthy."

(Mem. of Barbara, Ewing, p. 64)

In/
In his political sympathies he was well to the right. It had never been his custom to preach politics, but in his sermon on "The Testimony of God", he declared himself opposed to the spirit of radical reform that was mounting in Glasgow. (1) He urged the unemployed to bear their poverty in quietness in the faith that their employers would do all they could to restore a measure of prosperity to the working classes as soon as possible. (p. 20) He knew that such advice would be unwelcome to many -

"I am perfectly aware, that the sentiments expressed in this discourse, may be ascribed by some to time serving, and the fear of man . . . . Perhaps another imputed motive may be self-interest . . . ."

(Testimony, etc.", Ewing, p. 22)

(c) Funeral Sermons marking the death of old comrades, e.g. William McGavin (1832) and John Aikman (1834).

These discourses were Ewing's last published works, and they reflect not only his sorrow at the passing of old/

(1) "Unemployment, particularly in the textile trade, was spreading, and the mobs were becoming desperate. Paisley, Dundee and Glasgow became veritable hotbeds of sedition; Lord Cockburn says that he never knew the people to hate the Government so fiercely as they did in 1819."

old fellow-workers in the Gospel, but the loneliness and pain of his own sudden bereavement some years before. They were written also in the gathering shadows of his blindness. But even the poignancy of his grief is swallowed up in the glory of his faith. There is nothing here of defeat, or regret or fear. Neither age, nor infirmity, nor loss was able to separate him from his trust in Christ -

"Nothing then remains between the Christian at his decease, than the perfection of eternal happiness, but the transition of death. He has nothing to do but to die . . . . It might well attract us, though in previous health; to those who are ready, it is a favour to be so visited, however suddenly; and oh, what a welcome relief, after the numberless overpowering conflicts of previous sickness!"

(Sermon on Aikman, Ewing, p. 24)

The strong impression that remains after a study of Ewing's published work, is that of a man disciplined and purified by the ordeal through which he passed. The experiences of his earlier years would have broken men of lesser resolve, but his determination was coupled with a hasty temper, a somewhat arrogant impatience with contrary viewpoints, and a satirical spirit that verged on the sneering. Yet beneath the hand of God his/
his nature changed. In some respects there is a similarity in the manner of Ewing's transformation and that of "the man Moses (who) was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth." (Nu. 12:3). Both men learned in the disappointments of the wilderness that the secret of leadership lay in surrender to God and not in self-justification. In his later years, on the evidence of his writing, some might have concluded that the fire had gone out. Rather it was banked and under control, maintaining a steadfast warmth of pastoral concern, and glow of scholarly preaching. The blaze of controversy that flared up in the early years cleared away much that encumbered the ground, but it soon died away. That which remains is the fruit of the patient years, a pattern of churchmanship, educated, charitable and essentially free.
SECTION II - THE LATER YEARS

His final public breach with Haldane proved to be the agonising climacteric of Ewing's career. Up till that time the tension had been steadily mounting beneath the surface. He was repelled by not only Haldane's theological views, but by the man himself and his methods. At the same time he was shackled to him by the terms of the bond, and by the knowledge that the church was dependent on him for the use of the Tabernacle. For years he had been living under strain, and his ministry had suffered. Ewing was not a sentimentalist, and was rather inclined to court reserve than easy popularity, yet he had that quality of leadership so aptly described by Lord Montgomery -

"(Leadership) is really wrapped up in winning the hearts of men. The second thing you have to remember is that justice is vital."

(Speech to naval cadets, 15/8/61)

By his fortitude Ewing earned the respect of his people, and they in their turn proved the realism of their faith by the firmness of their resolve to provide a freehold place of worship for themselves. In this they both vindicated their independence, and honoured their pastor. The link that had been so painfully broken by the strife of/
of 1808-9, was welded together again in the new beginning of the Nile Street chapel. The resultant forging made the link stronger than ever. The later years of Ewing's ministry were as full of joy and peace as the earlier years had been of alarm and contention. He knew the faithfulness of the Psalmist's promise:

"He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."

(Ps. 126:6)

To these peaceful years of harvest his daughter devotes half the pages of her biography. She describes his many-sided ministry in Glasgow - his committee work for an abundance of good causes, his concern for the sick, his continued open-air preaching on Glasgow Green, his contacts with all levels of social life in the slums and mansions of the expanding city. He remained faithful to the cause of itinerant preaching, and went regularly on tour throughout Scotland in the summer months. The last of these extended journeys took place in 1830, but he was always ready to respond to the challenge of the highways and byways. There is a moving description of an incident during the Union Meeting in Dundee in 1837. It was a fast-day, and the/
the townpeople were on holiday from work. A proposal was made —

"that the occasion should be signalised by as many sermons in the open air, as there were spots eligible for the purpose. To the surprise of all present... (he)... immediately offered his services, (and) went forth, accordingly to the High Street..."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 561)

He was then 71 years of age, and blind, yet "he was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision." His famous sermon in "Defence of Itinerant and Field Preaching" was reprinted by the Union in 1832 in an endeavour to stimulate such evangelistic activity among the churches. He himself never forgot the constraint of Christ, and wrote after his experience in Dundee:

"O that Christians at large, and especially ministers of the Gospel, had more of that longing for the souls of the people, which the apostle calls travelling in birth for them again, until Christ be formed in them."

(Ibid. p. 561)

Throughout these years he often acted as a travelling ambassador among the English Unions on behalf of Scottish Congregationalism. In 1820 he made a tour of Norfolk and Suffolk. In 1824 he visited London and district on behalf of the Scottish churches, and two/
two years later, Chester, on deputation for the L.M.S. His daughter, Jessy, married a Congregational minister in Durham, in 1821, and as a result of several visits there became well-known in Dissenting circles in the north-east. It was at this time that the University of Princeton conferred on him the degree of D.D. He had long before declared himself against the use of religious titles, and on his resignation from the Church of Scotland he abandoned the designation of Reverend, preferring to be described simply as Mr. Ewing, "minister of the Gospel." Consequently he requested that the honorary title should not be used. Perhaps he was remembering the words of Newton in a letter to Campbell, in reference to a similar award from the same institution.

"... I have been informed that a College in America, I think in New Jersey, has given me the honorary degree of Doctor. So far as this mark of their favour indicates a regard to the Gospel truths which I profess, I am much pleased with it. But as to the title itself, I renounce it heartily; nor would I willingly be known by it, if all the universities in Europe conferred it on me. My youthful years were spent in Africa, and I ought to take my degrees (if I take any) from there. Shall such a compound of misery and mischief as I then was, be called DOCTOR? Surely not."

(Letters to Campbell, Newton, no. IV, p.6)
For nearly thirty years he served as tutor to the students in the Theological Academy, and although the minutes of that Institution speak of honoraria paid to his colleague Dr. Wardlaw, there is no indication that Ewing ever took payment for his services. In 1838 William Dorward of Montrose gave -

"£1,000 towards the support of (Congregational Union) itineracy preachers in the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland; and the like sum . . . . towards the support of the Glasgow Theological Academy under their charge and presently supervised by Rev. Greville Ewing and Dr. Ralph Wardlaw."

(Academy Minutes, 30/11/1838)

With this acquisition to their funds the committee immediately appointed as full-time tutor the Rev. John Morrell Mackenzie. This brilliant young Englishman had studied at Glasgow University, and had been called by the Nile Street congregation from an assistantship at Poole to be colleague and successor to Ewing in 1837 when it became apparent that as a result of his blindness and increasing weakness he was no longer able to continue singlehanded. This change of policy is recorded in the following motion:

"That/
"That while we entreat and expect that Mr. Ewing and Dr. Wardlaw will continue to give their services to the Academy, it appears necessary in the present circumstances of the Institution to elect a Tutor to be wholly devoted to the instruction and superintendence of the students... at an annual salary of £200 a year..."

(Ibid, 7/5/1839)

At the Public Meeting the following evening Ewing spoke, but his name does not thereafter appear in the minutes of subsequent meetings. It was a providential appointment. Three months later he suffered a paralytic seizure of his right arm and side. Almost as though he had sensed its approach, he had resigned the pastorate when Mackenzie took up his new appointment. He could no longer bear the burden alone, and could not face the necessarily protracted negotiations involved in securing another colleague and successor in such an important charge. In May, 1839, thirty years to the day after the renewal of his call by the Tabernacle church, he penned a second letter of resignation. Only sympathy for the burden of his infirmity prevailed upon his congregation to accept it. In a letter to him they said:

"The ties which bind us as a church to you as our pastor are ties of no ordinary nature. The church owes its existence to your zeal and devotion to the cause of Christ, at an early period of your life... We would..."
would sincerely wish that none of those ties which bind us to you, should be broken by your ceasing to be our pastor . . . . and that we should still have the happiness of enjoying your services occasionally, when the state of your health will permit . . . ."  

(Mem. Matheson, p. 566)

Contained in the letter was the practical token of their esteem - a pension of not less than £100 per annum for the rest of his life.

His blindness was probably aggravated by his intense study, particularly in connection with the compilation of his Greek Lexicon, yet he remained a scholar to the close of his life. Such was his devotion to the Scriptures in the original tongues, and such was his ability as a teacher, that, finding his supply of readers insufficient to keep pace with the energy of his mind, he actually taught one of his servants to read Hebrew and Greek, and thereafter dispensed with all other help.

For the rest of his life Ewing refused any formal reconciliation with Robert Haldane. Repeated overtures were made to him through their mutual friend, Aikman, but Ewing remained adamant. Haldane proposed to bury the past by an acknowledgement of faults on both sides/
sides, but Ewing continued to insist on an admission from Haldane that he had acted improperly in demanding the Tabernacle. Haldane's last appeal to Ewing is contained in a letter to him from Switzerland, written in 1821. It is a strangely moving sequel to a sad and tangled tale. Haldane speaks of a vivid dream in which he had experienced all the "tenderness of affection" of those earlier exciting days when as young men they had planned the Mission to India together. He goes on:

"Life is too short for such a prolonged contention. A great portion of yours and mine has passed since the unseemly strife began. Peace be with you! I would not, however, desire to place so important a matter merely on the foundation of feeling, but it appears to me, considering the complication of circumstances which were, and perhaps still are, viewed by us in different lights, and the long period that has elapsed since we met, that while to each of us there are strong grounds of searching of heart, all real or supposed offences may now be mutually set aside, and give place to peace and cordial good-will. May He who, I trust I may say, has loved us both, and washed us in his blood, subdue all our iniquities and cast our sins behind Him in the depths of the sea. Being at such a distance, it is uncertain if we shall ever meet on earth. May we enjoy a blessed eternity in His presence!"

(Haldane, Life, p. 371)

It is one of the clearest indications of Ewing's unbending character, that he refused to accept the offered hand/
hand. He replied with courtesy, yet adhered inflexibly to his condition of retraction. As though conscious of this over-mastering pride, he nevertheless ends his letter with the pathetic plea - "Aid us with your prayers." (Ibid.). So he went down to the grave, and for all his steadfastness and sacrifice for the Gospel's sake, still he must bear the guilt of disobeying one of its fundamental precepts. He could not bring himself to forgive.

A study of Ewing's life would be incomplete without reference to the women who were his partners. How large a part the female sex played in the shaping of his character, the moulding of his ministry, and the improvement of his social status! His step-mother, a convert of Whitefield, planted in his heart the seeds of evangelical religion. Lady Glenorchy's impulsive catholicity was an obvious influence on the lad growing up in the fellowship of her chapel. From Lady Maxwell he learned compassion for the poor as he helped in the work of her school. And besides all these, there were the tender ties of the heart, that bound him in his married life. He found his wives within the circle of his work. His young bride in his tragically brief
first marriage was a minister's daughter, and sister of his college friend, William Innes, through whom he was first introduced to the Haldanes. His second wife, Janet Jamieson, who bore his only child, belonged to a well-connected family in Lady Glenorchy's. This union was interrupted by death after only fifteen months, and again Ewing found himself a widower. It was his third marriage, late in 1802, that had the longest and most formative effect upon him.

Barbara Maxwell was born at Pollok House on 20th December, 1773. Her family was one of the most ancient and distinguished in Scotland, and was noted for the sympathy and support given to the cause of Scottish independence, and, at/later time to the Covenanters. When she was twelve, her father, the Laird of Pollok, died, and the estates passed to her brother, Sir John Maxwell. Her mother remarried Sir John Shaw Stewart of Ardgowan, whose estates were in Renfrewshire on the shores of the Firth of Clyde. She was educated in London and Edinburgh, and even in girlhood her "strength of intellect, and fervour", (Maxwell Family Book, p. 215), were obvious. While in Edinburgh she stayed with her aunt, D'Arcy, Lady Maxwell, and during the/
the last years of the century her imagination was
cought by the evangelical zeal of the itinerant preachers.
writing at a later date she says -

"You can hardly then form an idea of the
pleasure conveyed to me by a pamphlet . . . .
put into my hands, giving the journal of the
first itineraries (sic) of Messrs. Haldane,
Aikman and Rait; and I accepted an invitation
to go to Edinburgh in 1798, chiefly from the
wish to meet with them, though I did not know
any person who knew them . . . . I went as
often as I could in the evening of Sabbath
to the Circus, and longed for the evening,
I liked the style of preaching so much."


On her return home she found she could no longer endure
the formal worship of the Established Church. She was
critical of the indiscriminate administration of the
sacrament, and the difference of Moderate ministers to
the urgency of the Gospel. In particular she objected
to what she felt was the cowardice of the clergy in
failing to deal faithfully with the religious and moral
indiscipline of the wealthier classes. When she was
reproached by ministers of her acquaintance for encouraging
dissent by deserting the parish church, where the Gospel
in her opinion, was never preached, she was deeply
offended. They accused her of a lack of true
spirituality, and of presumption. As a consequence
she withdrew entirely from the Church of Scotland, and
set about gathering together an Independent Church in the neighbouring village of Auldkirk. At first she appealed for itinerant supply from the Congregational Church in Paisley (Report of Churches 1848, sec. 13, p. 4)

"I was more than ever grieved for the want of the Gospel, both on my own account, and on account of the people of the parish, who were dreadfully ignorant. When I visited them in sickness, or poverty, and spoke to them as sinners needing salvation, they assured me they were not sinners; but some of them excused me for speaking so to them, as they knew in Pollokshaws there were very bad characters. This led me to adopt the plan of writing to Mr. Ewing, (whom I did not then know), for preachers to come down. My mother also got a Sabbath School and a serious teacher . . . ."

(Mem. Barb. Ewing, p. 24)

Thus Ewing met his future wife. In the days to come she proved much more to him than a solace to his grief, or a fond mother to his infant child, or an efficient mistress of his house. She had known her own share of suffering for the Gospel's sake. It was no easy thing, in those days for a mere woman to defy the authority of the church of her fathers. She was able to stand with him through the difficult days of stress that followed so hard upon their marriage. To her alone was he able to lay aside his reserve and unburden the anxiety of his heart. She made it possible for him in the midst of/
of his busy ministry to find peace amid the secluded gardens, and spacious rooms of Pollok House, and on longer holidays to relax amid the lovely scenery of the Firth of Clyde. She shared enthusiastically in his church and evangelistic work, tireless in her visiting, persistent in her tract distribution. She accompanied him on his itineracies often walking 20 miles in a day. She was full of good conversation, and a ready mixer in company, compensating perhaps for his apparent lack of warmth. She was deeply interested in the affairs of the Union and took a leading part in organising sales of work in aid of itineracies in the Highlands. The Glasgow City Mission, the L.M.S., and the Bible Societies were all her active concerns. And finally, through her, he gained an admission to those circles of society from which he had previously been excluded. Not least of the difficulties in his relationship with Haldane had been the social gulf which separated the gentleman from the artisan turned minister. By his marriage he was linked to a house as ancient and as honourable as that of the Lairds of Gleneagles. Ewing's family lie buried with the citizens of Edinburgh in the decent ground of St. Cuthbert's. His dust mingles with the dead generations of Maxwells of Pollok in the family vault in Eastwood Cemetery.
For more than twenty-five years Greville and Barbara shared this full life of Christian service, then, unexpectedly, came disaster. Their carriage overturned on the steep road down to New Lanark, and Mrs. Ewing was fatally injured. She suffered great pain for several days, but never complained. A few minutes before her death her concern was for a recent sale of work, that the final accounts should be made up. She urged her husband never to give up preaching while he had the strength, and took a simple farewell of him:

"We have been very happy together; We have lived in love and harmony; and it is pleasant, that, at parting there is nothing to settle between us... I have been a happy wife; but my greatest happiness has been sitting under your ministry."

(Ibid. p. 137)

Ewing's Memoir of his wife was a pious labour of love. Years ago he had congratulated the editors of the Evangelical Magazine on the effectiveness of their edifying death-bed narratives, and had regularly included similar articles in the Missionary Magazine during the terms of his editorship. He published an account of the death of his first wife for private circulation in 1795. This later work was an immediate success/
success and was probably the most widely read of Ewing's books. It quickly ran through two editions, was extensively quoted in magazines and tracts, and was published in the United States, fully and in abridged editions. The Memoir brought consolation to unknown thousands. But its author never was the same man again. Lonely, he lingered on, striving to be faithful, yet withdrawing increasingly from the current questions of the time. Although the storm over establishment, which was to culminate in the Disruption in 1843, was causing a mounting groundswell of debate, he held back from public participation in the campaign. Although his views on a National Church were as convinced as ever, he left the crusading to younger men. An interesting sidelight is contained in a letter to his daughter, late in 1829:

"Dr. Chalmers has been preaching here, in his old parish-church, in defence of establishments. I had a very pleasant interview with him, at Pollock, on Monday. He called next morning, at Corkerhill, and I walked to Glasgow with him."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 538)

Thus he entered the long tranquil twilight of his life. His last words were:

"My Father is kind - kind to me; - then trust in God."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 600)
CONCLUSION

Throughout the varied ministry of Greville Ewing, a constant common factor is discernible which makes it significant for Scottish Congregationalism. In many respects he occupied marginal ground; he was a man forever on the frontier. In an age of transition, he stood at the cross-roads of historical, social and religious change.

A child of the 18th century, nurtured in the Age of Reason, he nevertheless ministered for the greater part of his life in the midst of the industrial expansion of 19th century Glasgow. The uneasy years of the French Revolution and the threatened Napoleonic invasion separated the centuries. Fear and suspicion and war-weariness created a watershed that separated the old from the new. The struggle after a quarter of a century exhausted many of those who faced it at the first. Few who remained had strength enough to take up the challenge of reconstruction in the years of peace alongside the new generation. The old world was gone; a new world was struggling to be born. Greville Ewing bridged these years.

His/
His ministry alone provides a continuous link, in Scottish Congregationalism, between its origins in the eighteenth century, and its co-ordination in the nineteenth. His colleague, William Innes, who followed him in resigning from the ministry of the Church of Scotland, became a Baptist. James Garie of Perth died before he was forty. The Haldanes passed from the denominational scene. George Cowie, of Montrose, did not exercise a continuous pastoral ministry, and retired in 1824. John Aikman, though associated with the movement from its commencement as a layman, was not ordained till 1802. Through all these changes Ewing maintained an unbroken continuity of Congregational witness.

Speaking ecumenically, he stands in the evangelical succession between John Erskine and Thomas Chalmers, linking the best traditions of Covenanting zeal and holiness with the spiritual independence and social concern that led to the Disruption. No other figure, even within contemporary Presbyterianism, occupied a comparable position.

There is much evidence to show the extent to/
to which he provided a link between his own denomination and the influences of English Independence. From his reading and his friendships he brought to bear upon the uncouth enthusiasm of the Haldanite revival the discipline of a Congregational polity that had been hammered out on the anvil of two and a half centuries of Dissent. Along with John Campbell he channelled into the movement the spirit of evangelical catholicity that had inspired the London Missionary Society. This was most necessary as indigenous Independence tended to exclusiveness of communion, indifference to evangelism and hostility towards an educated ministry. These narrow ways Ewing ceaselessly fought, and was encouraged so to do by his Dissenting friends south of the Border. The outcome of this struggle was the defeat of the narrow element in Scottish Congregationalism, and the emergence of the Congregational Union.

Within the social pattern of his age Ewing occupied an ambiguous position. 18th century evangelicalism was often dependent upon the support of the wealthy and aristocratic. Work begun under the patronage/
patronage of Lady Glenorchy, Lady Maxwell, the Countess of Leven and others, was continued on an even larger scale by Robert Haldane. This concept of Gospel benevolence, originating in the upper classes of Scottish society, was the immediate cause of the evangelistic activity out of which the Congregational churches were born. Indeed, the first missionary tour was carried out by two wealthy men, James Haldane and John Aikman, together with a student from Bogue's academy. Robert Haldane, as we have seen, financed the Tabernacle and the Academy, and helped to build many smaller churches. Neither James Haldane nor John Aikman, both laymen ordained to the ministry, ever took a penny for their services from their respective churches. Greville Ewing, however, belonged to a different social background. Although his father maintained a large family in comfortable respectability, he was unable to bring up his sons as gentlemen. Greville was put to a trade, and when he went up to University he had to help to maintain himself in the fashion of the poorer students of the time by working as a tutor during the long vacation. He was always conscious of his social inferiority in his relationship with Haldane. Nowhere
is this more apparent than in his ambivalent attitude towards money matters. On the one hand, he took all that Haldane offered - indeed, he asked for more; yet on the other hand he remained haughty, quick to be offended, and obsessed with his own incorruptibility. Haldane must have found him a difficult man to deal with. He was, moreover, ambitious for social advancement. Consequently his third marriage, to Barbara Maxwell of Pollok, was the fulfilment of his ambition. He frankly states that:

"that union . . . . proved the great solace of my life, and one of the most important advantages to my ministry . . . ."

(Mem. of Barb. Ewing, p. 64)

But his marriage not only gave him the social status he had long desired, it introduced him to an influential circle whose interest and support proved to be of great importance in the early days of the Union's existence. Although the doors of country houses and town mansions were opened to him, he never lost his link with the working classes. Rather he understood them in a way Haldane never did, nor could, and avoided the error of underestimating their intelligence. Moreover/
Moreover, he knew how they lived, and appreciated their problems. His open-air ministry made him speak plainly. He preached for a verdict from the intellect as well as from the heart, in the best traditions of Scottish evangelicalism. Thus his ministry in the Tabernacle linked the stream of religious benevolence among the upper classes with the fervour and independence of the working classes of the time.

In his view of the ministry Ewing also occupied an intermediate position. He rejected the outward symbols of the pastoral office, and questioned the claim that Presbyterial ordination was essential to a regular and valid ministry. (1) He pointed out that such a claim could not be maintained in face of the facts of the Reformation, when laymen were called to the pastoral office by the will of the people, without clerical ordination.

(1) "Si Dieu avoit attaché la validité du ministère à l'ordination, il seroit absolement nécessaire, que la vocation se fit par l'ordination des pasteurs; mais il est faux que Dieu ait attaché, à l'ordination, la validité du ministère."

(Theologie Chrétienne, Pictet, Liv. 14, ch. 22. quoted in "Dick's Sermon, Ewing, p. 21)
ordination. True Gospel preaching, he maintained, alone authenticates the ministry. All the other authorisation is subordinate, a matter of convenience, and not of necessity.

"Without real Christianity, and a degree of ability for the service, no man whatever, let his opinion of himself be ever so good, let him profess adherence to any Church he pleases, let him even consult that Church, and obtain her highest sanction, can have the most distant title to preach the Gospel."

(Animad. Ewing, p. 9)

He did not, however, take up the extreme Sandemanian position adopted by Ballantine and the Haldanes. He never lost sight of the importance of the ministry in his enthusiasm for lay participation in church order. In his view, the ministry was neither the privilege of the wealthy - as it was in the case of James Haldane and Aikman - nor the general responsibility of an untrained eldership, as Sandeman proposed, but a special office divinely appointed, and part of the 'esse' of the church. For the proper conduct of this office, holiness of life, aptitude in preaching and pastoral work, and suitable educational preparation were essential, and it was the duty of the church adequately to support such a ministry. His view was in the highest sense, professional and pragmatic, rather/
rather than charismatic, and his argument was based on the proposition that theological instruction on an evangelical base had superseded the endowment of supernatural gifts in the life of the church.

Thus, in diverse ways, Greville Ewing was a man who "stood in the gap" (Ezek. 22:30). He fulfilled the function of a "pontifex", a bridge-builder, linking and harmonising contrasting points of view. This very position meant that his ministry was marked by constant tension as opposing ideas pulled against each other. Although he had the inward resources to meet the demands of such a situation, he had to face the inevitable loneliness of the man who will not conform to any "side".

Three major issues dominate the ecclesiastical scene today, which are illumined by Ewing's Life and Labours. First, the spread of materialism. In Ewing's day this was paralleled by the inroad of nationalist democracy which was by the majority regarded with revulsion. Many feared that Christianity itself was in peril and required to be defended by national covenants and the loyalty of an Established Church. Ewing was quick to see that this invasion of atheistic notions could never be defeated by such methods. He perceived clearly that the/
the struggle was an ideological one, and that only by a
demonstration of the power of the Gospel through the holy
living of a purified church, could the arguments of atheism
be refuted. Of little use was it to buttress the
authority of church courts, or to guard the ordination
of the ministry before the tremors of the times.
Fidelity to the Gospel was the one sure shield. And so
today, the church dare not rest on her traditions, nor
need she expect reverence as a right. She cannot survive
on the pietistic pronouncements of her Councils, nor will
her authority be enhanced by secular policies. Only
by a continuing declaration and demonstration of Gospel
truth by her members as the body of Christ, in the midst
of society, can she successfully encounter the forces
ranged against her. The Congregational form of
organisation envisaged by Ewing, with its threefold
emphasis on purity of membership, independence of action,
and informal connexion with other similar groups, has
peculiar advantages of flexibility and initiative, and
is suited - and admirably so - for work in the semi-
paganised society of the present time.

He also emphasised (in an age when the idea
of the freedom of the people was everywhere gaining ground)
the/
the popular element in ecclesiastical organisation. 
The Presbyterianism of the time consisted of the rulers and the ruled. The authority of the Kirk Session derived ultimately from the remote infallibility of the General Assembly, and the people were excluded from its legislative processes. Ewing avoided the excesses of reactionary individualism in his conception of church order - the pitfall which ensnared Haldane - and worked out, in the Glasgow Tabernacle, a system of co-operative oversight involving an appropriate and responsible contribution from the people, the office-bearers and the pastor. The Church of Scotland has, to some extent, recognised the validity of this argument, and the emergence of the Congregational Board, and similar schemes of member-participation have been features of recent Presbyterian development. On the other hand, the Congregational churches have accelerated during the present century towards centralised administration. A full account of this transition is given in Escott's recent history, but it is important to notice that the trend only began to show itself in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As late as 1845 a leading Congregationalist could say of the Union:

"It/
"It is in point of fact, simply a society belonging to the Congregational churches of Scotland, and for their behoof - a society with a definite object, but an unlimited constituency - a society of which no church is a member because it is a church, but of which men and churches become members by paying a certain sum of money - a society in which no church votes as a church, but where each individual votes for himself. In such a society we are united for an extraneous object, and simply as men who have money in our pockets, and are willing to contribute it unitedly for an object which in common we love and are anxious to promote."

(Mem. of Watson, Alexander, p. 110)

A glance at the current Year Book of the Congregational Union of Scotland suffices to show how far the Congregational Union has departed from this original intention. Much has been accomplished, of positive good, but not all has been gain. While the role of the Union has slowly changed and its delegated authority has grown, so standards of membership among the vast majority of the churches have been relaxed. This interaction of factors, it seems to us, poses certain important questions for Scottish Congregationalism. Does a decline in spiritual vigour weaken the independence and initiative of the local church? Is the emergence of centralised administrative machinery a substitute for the/
the natural activity of associated Christians - evangelistic
endeavour? In delegating responsibility to the Union
have the churches sought to evade the moral logic of the
New Testament? In answering these questions today the
churches would do well to heed Ewing's warning, contained
in a Communion sermon before he left the Church of
Scotland:

"It is notorious, that multitudes associate
themselves with the people of Christ, and
claim all the privileges which belong
exclusively to the Christian, while they
have neither part nor lot in the matter of
salvation . . . . Under the notion of
being charitable, and of encouraging the
well-disposed, we are rash in giving the
right hand of fellowship to every one who
will give himself the trouble to ask for it.
Hence it is, in a great measure that our
societies consist of a motley mixture of
ignorant and enlightened; carnal and
spiritual; lovers of Jesus and workers
of iniquity."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 51)

Throughout his ministry this was his constant theme.
Conviction of sin, faith in Christ, and holiness of life
were essential in every believer. The church was composed
only of those who shared this experience, and who were
prepared to spread the news of salvation by every means
in their power. On such a basis, the church would
manifest harmony in its internal order and unity of
purpose/
purpose among the various congregations in every place. This then was the sure foundation laid by the architect of Scottish Congregationalism in the midst of religious ignorance and hostile atheism. Only by a return to such a foundation can the Congregational churches of today make a distinctive and relevant contribution to vital religion in this second age of Rationalism.

Secondly, Ewing's life throws searching light upon the ecumenical ideals of our time. He was never narrowly Congregationalist. Indeed he was among the first ministers in the Church of Scotland to respond to the publicly ecumenical lead that came from England. He rejoiced in his brotherhood with Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, and Independents, but the basis of the bond was not a compromise over Church order. It was a united enthusiasm for the Gospel under the banner of a common Lord. Ewing, while recognising the need for denominations by reason of human differences, always insisted that denominations, for all that, ought primarily to be instruments of evangelism. The extent to which they helped or hindered their work was the measure of their scriptural truth and purity. His fierce criticism of the Church of Scotland was not provoked by the theory of/
of classical Presbyterianism but by the practice of
Presbyterians, especially those of the Moderate party.
Nor did he exempt his own denomination from the charge
of sectarianism. He refers to -
"the whole host of barbarous words ending in
-alian, -arian, -endent, and -inian."
(Remarks on Dick's Sermon, Ewing, p.13)
He stood firm for the individual Christian's right to
follow his conscience and the Word of God.

It was out of such a conviction that the "Tell
Scotland" Movement came into being shortly after the
Second World War, and here the link with Ewing's ministry
is unmistakeable. The fundamental propositions underlying
the Movement are threefold. The proper agent of mission
is the church herself, and not some specialised
group; the mission is continuous, and not sporadic;
and the place of the layman is decisive. In formulating
these axioms, the founders, representing eight denominations,
did but echo the spirit of the Congregational pioneers
who "told Scotland" a century and a half ago. We
have seen in an earlier chapter how firmly Ewing believed
that the church existed for evangelism, not only at home,
but through the whole world. The support given by the
Union/
Union to the church, in the early days was to enable them to increase their effectiveness as centres of mission. The result of this total missionary strategy was the realisation among the laity of the need for their active participation in Sunday School teaching, lay preaching, visitation evangelism and personal counselling. The sense of inadequacy aroused by a challenge of such magnitude led the people naturally to prayer, and fellowship in intercession, in small groups and large, was a marked feature in the early Congregational churches. As a result, men witnessed more confidently. One of the most important rediscoveries, "Tell Scotland", has been the emergence and effectiveness of Bible Study and Prayer groups. In Ewing's day there was much opposition to lay activity of this kind, and like opposition is not unknown today. Ewing countered with unanswerable logic:

"It has of late been often made a question, 'Who have a right to preach the Gospel?' and this question has been pretty fully discussed. I beg leave to state another question. 'Who have a right to forbid the preaching of it?"

(Remarks on Dick, Ewing, p. 23)

His advocacy of the ministry of the laity, however,
did not lead him into anti-clericalism, as it did Robert Haldane. He held a high view of the pastoral office, and felt that there was no necessity "for making deacons a kind of pastor" (Fn. "Attempt" Ewing, p. 150). Certain aspects of the church's life pertained to the office of pastor, or "bishop", and the most important of these was the administering of the Lord's Supper. Although in modern Scottish Congregationalism a layman may occasionally conduct the Communion service, he generally does so by virtue of his office, say, as President of the Union Assembly, or at the express invitation of the congregation.

Greville Ewing also pioneered, as we have seen, in the field of religious journalism. He early realised the need for an organ of mass communication that could marshal and instruct Christian opinion. Hence the appearance of the Missionary Magazine, which was also an experiment in ecumenical enterprise. A concomitant of the modern "Tell Scotland" Movement has been a concern for the problem of Christian literacy. One practical outcome of that concern has been the appearance of "Rally" magazine, an independent monthly, produced by an inter-denominational editorial board. The purpose/
purpose of the periodical is to evangelise through the printed word, in a constituency unaccustomed, unwilling, or unfitted, to read more specialised Christian literature. The experiment in printed evangelism is now six years old, and in succession to the Gospel constraint that inspired the Missionary Magazine.

Within the context of "Tell Scotland" there have been new trends in education for the ministry, and in this field also, Ewing made a useful contribution. Out of necessity he procured candidates for the ministry from social groups which, prior to his time, had contributed few men to the Presbyterian theological colleges. An artisan himself, it was mostly men of that class who enrolled originally in Haldane's seminary. These able men would have been precluded from studying for the ministry through lack of economic means. From the beginning the Union Academy undertook this responsibility as well. The early classes had a large proportion of older men, drawn from industry, business and agriculture, but the standard of academic training, though initially elementary, was never slight. Ewing insisted on a maximum of effort, and a high level of final qualification, from students under his care.
defence of these classes of older students it has been written:

"Let it not provoke thy scorn, most learned doctor, thus to behold bearded men toiling painfully at these tasks through which thou, whilst a downy urchin, wert duly flogged. To the eye that looks only on the outward appearance, this may indeed seem hopeless work; and yet here is a seed-sowing from which the world shall have good fruit."

(Life of Watson, Alexander, p.54)

The Scottish Congregational College has never despised this seed-sowing among men seeking to enter the ministry later in life. An interesting development in the Church of Scotland, is the experiment in the theological training for the laity, supervised by Dr. Wm. Barclay and others. The Rev. D.P. Thomson has urged, too, that more attention should be given to potential recruitment for the ministry from the ranks of older professional and business men. All these ideas are in alignment with the thought of Greville Ewing who opened the doors of the ministry to working men, without compromising spiritual vitality or intellectual honesty.

Many of the objections to evangelism encountered by Ewing have been repeated in the present situation by critics of the "Tell Scotland" movement, and his confident answers/
answers are still valid. His earlier writings supply a comprehensive apologetic for a continuing Gospel ministry and a planned evangelistic technique. How familiar these criticisms sound today! Yet Ewing knew them well. "There is no need to go out, the church doors are always open on a Sunday. Let the people come . . . " "I am the parish minister. I decide what is best to be done in this parish . . . ." "These popular preachers just draw away other men's congregations . . . ." "Sensationalism . . . ." "It won't last. . . ." "It's not decent for lay people to be vocal in prayer . . . ." "These people are fundamentalists . . . ." "All this talk about conversion . . . ." Ewing refused to be deterred by such opposition. He persevered in his conviction that the church's primary task was to proclaim the Good News, and to seek to win the world for Christ by every means available, co-operating with all who were prepared to share the same obedience. Such a spirit is necessary today to sustain the "Tell Scotland" movement, and bring to fulfilment the vision of those who conceived it.

It is not without significance that the "Tell Scotland" mission conducted by Dr. Billy Graham in Glasgow in 1955 aroused much interest, and, in the opinion/
opinion of the present writer, created a climate favourable to a more general evangelistic outreach. The content of the message preached in the Kelvin Hall leaned toward the moderate Calvinism of Ewing and his companions. It came with added biblical authority and astringency in contrast to the shallow sentimentalism of much latter-day Gospel preaching.

In a final assessment of Greville Ewing's ministry, therefore, it is clear that he has a message for the whole church, as well as for his own denomination, in the present time. But primarily, he was the architect of Scottish Congregationalism, and in the exercise of his long ministry he worked out the basic plan. His aim was to reach out, never to restrict. The authority of the Word of God, and the plight of men without Christ were his sole co-ordinates. He had no thought of erecting an infallible denominational system. It did not exist. His passion was for the souls of men and for a society whose sole aim would be to seek for them. There could be no finer description of his heart's desire for Scottish Congregationalism than that which was penned during the Jubilee celebrations, fifty years after he had labour to lay the foundations.

"The/
"The vocation of the Congregational Churches is to exhibit Christianity in its natural development, in the church and toward the world. It is not for them to compete with other religious bodies in the number of their adherents or the magnitude of their schemes. . . . It is their's to exhibit churches of a primitive form, a primitive character, and primitive power . . . . Their work is not done until a free spiritual Christianity have embraced and transformed our native land."


Their work is not yet done.

FINIS.
APPENDIX A

THE BISHOP'S LAND

On the north side of the High Street a hundred yards or so below the North Bridge there existed previous to 1813 an unusually large and handsome old land or building named the Bishop's Land. It rested upon an arcade or piazza, as it is called, and the entry in the first floor bore the ordinary legend:

"Blessit be ze Lord for all his giftes." together with the date 1578 and a shield impaled with two coats of arms. Along the front of this floor was a balcony composed of brass, a thing unique in the ancient city. The house had been the Edinburgh residence of Archbishop John Spottiswood. Most unfortunately the whole line of building towards the street was burned down in the year 1813.

In the latter part of last century the Bishop's Land was regarded as a very handsome residence, and it was occupied accordingly by persons of consideration. The dictum of an old citizen to me many years ago was: "nobody without living-servants lived in the Bishop's Land." Sir Stuart Thriepland of Wingask occupied the first floor. His estate, forfeited by his father in 1716, was purchased back by him, with money obtained through/
through his wife in 1784; and the title which was always given him by courtesy was restored as a reality to his descendants by George IV. He had himself been engaged in the affair of 1745-6 and had accompanied "the prince" in some part of his wandering. In the hands of this 'fine old Scottish gentleman', for such he was, his house in the Bishop's Land was elegantly furnished there being in particular some well-painted portraits of royal personages - not of the reigning house . . . . There were five windows to the street, three of them lighting the drawing room. A diningroom, Sir Stuart's bedroom, his sister Janet's (who kept house for him) room, were in the rear, some lighted from the adjacent close - and these still exist, having been spared by the fire. The kitchen and servants' rooms were below.

In the next floor above lived the Hamiltons of Pencaitland; in the next again the Aytouns of Inchdairnie . . . . In the uppermost floor of all lived a reputable tailor and his family . . . ."

(Tradition of Edinburgh, Chambers, 269-70).
APPENDIX B


"The AUTHOR at his house in Bishop's Land Close, the first below Carrubber's Close, Edinburgh, teaches Arithmetic and Bookkeeping, the Elements of Geometry, Conic Sections, Algebra, Plain and Spherical Trigonometry, Surveying of Land, Fortification, Gunnery, Geography, Astronomy, Navigation, and Dialing.

As many, who have not time for learning Mathematics choose to understand Geography, he begins one class of this kind about the 1st of February, and another about the 1st of June, every year.

Mathematics are studied either by gentlemen of birth and fortune, as a necessary part of a genteel education, or by those in the middle rank in life, in order to qualify them for the employments or professions which they intend to follow . . . .

The following Synopsis is composed with the design of answering both these ends. As a school-book, it will lessen the labour of teaching, and shorten the time of/
of learning. As a memorandum, the young practitioner will find here many useful rules, delivered in such clear and easy terms, that he cannot mistake their meaning; and even the most learned will find some assistance to his memory." (Preface)

(b) "Practical Astronomy containing a Description of the Solar System together with Astronomical Tables" - 1797.

(c) "Institutes of Natural Philosophy" - 1802.
The influence of WILLIELMA, Lady Glenorchy, on the religious life of Scotland can be compared to that of SELINA, Countess of Huntingdon, the great Patroness of evangelical religion in England in the 18th Century. Although the scope of her influence was not as widespread, it was nevertheless effective, and throughout her short life - she died aged 44 - she devoted her time and her considerable fortune to founding chapels south of the Tweed as well as in Scotland, encouraging and supporting preachers in their training, as well as in their itinerant and settled ministries.

The daughter of a Kirkcudbrightshire laird who died before she was born, she became the stepchild, in 1753, of Lord Tinwald, Lord Justice Clerk, and at the age of 20 married John, Viscount Glenorchy. She was beautiful, gifted and gay, and during the early years of her marriage travelled widely throughout Europe and England, and during her visits to Scotland alternated between family apartments in Holyrood House and the castle at Taymouth. Lord Glenorchy also owned estates at Great Signal in England. While in residence there she/
she formed a deep friendship with the daughter of Sir Rowland Hill, who was a near neighbour, and as a result came under the extreme religious influence of the younger members of that family. In 1765, during a serious illness at Taymouth, she decided to devote herself to a religious way of life, and found in Miss Hill her spiritual adviser. But it was with another Scots lady of noble birth that the deepest and most lasting ties were formed. In 1768 she was introduced to D'Arcy Brisbane, Lady Maxwell, and from that time until her death an intimate bond existed between the two women, so different in character, yet linked in a common purpose to spend themselves and their substance for Christ's sake.

On January, 27th, 1770, she wrote:

"Blessed be God who in Lady Maxwell raised up for me a friend in this time of need ... she is indeed one among a thousand. Of all I have ever known she is the most upright Christian . . . ."

(Diary, ed. Jones)

Lady Maxwell had in that year founded a school for poor children, and Lady Glenorchy was not be outdone in good works. She conceived the idea of promoting Christian unity and effectiveness in Gospel preaching, and determined to/
to open a chapel where ministers of every denomination who were faithful to Gospel truth might have the opportunity to preach. With this object in view she hired St. Mary's Chapel in Niddry's Wynd, originally an R.C. chapel, but at that time a Trades Hall. She made arrangements for services to be conducted on Sundays outside the normal hours of worship and at different times throughout the week. She invited Presbyterians, Episcopalians and preachers from the Methodist societies. This ambitious innovation did not meet with unqualified approval.

"I had two hours' conversation this forenoon with a minister about the chapel. He disapproved much of attempting to reconcile sects and parties, by bringing them to preach alternately in one place; he said it would give great offence and used many arguments to dissuade me from my plan; and concluded by saying that he could not preach in it if the Episcopal forms were ever allowed there. Upon which I told him, that since both Establishments refused me assistance he must not be surprised if I asked the Methodists next."

(Feb., 2nd, 1770. Diary)

Her first enthusiasm for the Methodists, however, cooled rapidly. It had probably sprung originally from her admiration for Lady Maxwell, who had met John Wesley on his seventh visit to Scotland in 1764 and had become a devoted/
devoted supporter of his cause. She joined the society, and remained a member for the rest of her long life. This allegiance did not prevent her remaining a member of the Church of Scotland, and communicating at St. Cuthbert's church.

The chapel was opened on Wednesday, 7th March, 1770, and for some weeks all went well. The services were crowded, and the interdenominational scheme for pulpit supply seemed to be working well. On Friday, 20th April, Lady Glenorchy records in her diary:

"I met with Mr. Wesley and had much conversation with him. He appears to be a faithful zealous minister of Jesus, and to have a single eye to the glory of God. I believe him to be sound in all essential doctrines."

(Diary)

But closer personal contact with the great evangelist served to sow doubts in her mind as to his orthodoxy. Three weeks later we find that her opinion of him was somewhat more critical. As a result of his persistent repudiation of Calvinistic doctrine, a certain note of asperity can be detected in her journal entry.

"We/
"We are agreed on all doctrines ... except those of God's decrees, predestination, and the saints' perseverance, which Mr. Wesley does not hold ... nevertheless I hope Mr. Wesley is a child of God. He has been an instrument in his hands of saving souls; as such I will honour him and countenance his preachers. I have heard him preach thrice; and should have been better pleased had he preached more of Christ and less of himself. I did not find his words come with power to my own soul."

(May 12, 1770, Diary)

Gradually the doctrinal debate dominated the atmosphere of the chapel. It continued throughout the winter and into the summer of 1771, but it became increasingly obvious that the original scheme was breaking down. Lady Glenorchy finally exercised her power of control over the plan and expelled the Methodists from the pulpit. She records the occasion with autocratic finality, so unlike the quiet and constructive attitude of her friend, Lady Maxwell:

June 28th, 1771. "Before I left Edinburgh I dismissed Mr. Wesley's preachers from my chapel, as from some writings of Mr. Wesley which fell into my hands, and from the sentiments of some of his preachers officiating there, I found they held doctrines which appeared to me to be erroneous . . . ."

(Diary)

Throughout/
Throughout her diaries - which were never intended for publication - she reveals these traits that are summed up in the following assessment of her character:

"... changeable, imperious, petulant, with a tincture of patrician pride, and not a little egoism, she made for things that divide. While claiming to be a friend of toleration, she was essentially narrow-minded. Orthodoxy was her religion."

(Old Edinburgh Club, vol. 8. p. 161.)

With the departure of the Methodists it became obvious that the scheme had failed and Lady Glenorchy decided to close the chapel. She had learned her lesson. From this time she never wavered from her allegiance to the Establishment, and ever afterward deferred to the authority of the church courts. At the same time she was equally convinced of her right of patronage and presentation.

Hard on the heels of her disappointment over the chapel plan came a far sorer blow. On November 24th, 1771, Lord Glenorchy died quite suddenly, and so she was left at the age of thirty in a condition similar to that of Lady Maxwell - a childless widow. The contents of her husband's will came as a surprise to her. Although/
Although during his lifetime he had shown little interest in religion he acknowledged the worth of his wife's convictions by bequeathing to her his entire estate for the express purpose of spreading religion, preaching the Gospel, and establishing schools for the instruction of the children of the poor. Since she was childless, her husband's title passed to a distant branch of the family, thus leaving her free to dedicate the rest of her life to administering her fortune in the name of religion, and her main object, which had been her intention from the beginning, was to build a church in Edinburgh that would be a centre of evangelical preaching. This design she communicated to the Moderator of Edinburgh Presbytery as the building neared completion. The terms of her letter to him reveal her enthusiasm and self-confidence. She foresaw nothing but success. The building was soundly constructed and commodious, seating over two thousand people. (It no longer stands. It lay to the east of the North Bridge, and was demolished to make way for the railway in 1846. Lady Glenorchy's remains were interred in a vault under the church, hewed out of the solid rock, upon her own instruction. Hugh Miller/
Miller gives a vivid eye-witness account of the opening of the vault and the exhumation:

"The light flashed on the gilded studs of a solitary coffin that for nearly sixty years had rested in the darkness. A line of coronets on the sides had borrowed from the close damp of the place a tinge of deep green; but the coal black cloth seemed untarnished and the gilding of the plates and nails atop were in some places scarcely less fresh than when it had first passed from the burnisher of the workman. The years of more than half a century had however accomplished their work of decay. The coffin in the first attempt of the labourers to remove it from its place parted longitudinally atop; and as it was carried past us . . . . we could see a human skeleton - tall for that of a female - enveloped in the brown dust in which there mingled the remains of the cerements that had attired the body for the tomb . . . . "

(Edinburgh and Its Neighbourhood, 1864, p.166)

As usual she pours out her heart in her diary on the occasion of the chapel's opening. She records with proud possessiveness:

May 8th, 1774. "This day through the blessing of God my chapel was opened . . . . crowded audiences . . . . and I returned again to my own chapel in the afternoon. I had much freedom in devoting myself, and all that I am and have unto God, and had sweet joy and peace in believing . . . . "

(Diary)

The opening services were conducted by Dr. John Erskine of Greyfriars, the avowed opponent of Methodism. For the/
the first few months all seemed to go well, but soon
Lady Glenorchy found herself confronted with mounting
dissatisfaction, not now connected so much with points
of disputed doctrine, but rather arising out of different
ideas of church order and polity. The arrangement
whereby the pulpit was supplied occasionally by local
ministers who were sympathetic to her scheme, and by
dissenting clergymen from England, was a useful, but
temporary expedient. Lady Glenorchy was impatient to
see a church established where the means of grace would
be available to all who sincerely desired to communicate,
and for this reason she was anxious that the Presbytery
should authorise a regular pastor for that office.
Her immediate choice was the Rev. Mr. Grove,

"... a gentleman of some landed property
(in England), of good address and talents and
of pleasant manners. He was one of the six
young men who, in 1768, were expelled from the
University of Oxford for praying extempore in
a private house; but was by his severe judges
acknowledged by his severe judges to be the
least exceptionable of them in every respect;
and though with great humility and earnestness
he petitioned for restoration, and the Vice-
Chancellor admitted his case was very hard, his
application notwithstanding was refused. This
harsh treatment made Mr. Grove a decided dissenter
in his own country, and gave him a distaste to
national religious establishments in general;
and as he found Lady Glenorchy determined not
to separate her chapel from the Church of Scotland,
he determined to return to England."

(Life of Lady Glenorchy, Jones, p. 350)
When Lady Glenorchy applied to the Presbytery to licence Grove she was met with firm refusal:

"... we cannot give countenance to any persons being admitted minister, until we have satisfying evidence of his having been regularly licensed and ordained, of his loyalty to the government, and of his conformity to our standards ..."

(Ibid. p. 351)

Naturally this occasioned in Lady Glenorchy some disappointment, and throughout the congregation considerable gossip and faction, to such an extent that it -

"... hurt her so much that she seriously meditated a plan of selling her estate and leaving Scotland altogether ..."

(Ibid. p. 352)

However, she determined to try again, and invited the Rev. Robert Balfour, of the parish of Lecropt, near Stirling, and once again approached the Presbytery for their sanction. On the face of it, it seemed a most reasonable application, and the Presbytery duly allowed it, but there was dissenting minority of influential opposition from the Moderate party. The grounds of their objection was three-fold. They maintained (1) that there should be a call from the congregation, (2) that/
that there should be legal security of stipend, and (3) that the collections should be put under the administration of the managers of the Charity Workhouse; and on these bases appealed to the Synod against the majority decision of Presbytery. This they did because they were dissatisfied with the reply Lady Glenorchy made upon these objections being made plain to her by a committee specially appointed to wait on her:

"... having built the chapel wholly at my own expense ... I think myself entitled to name the minister thereof, especially as no person is under any obligation to join with him in his ministrations, but such as shall voluntarily choose to do so ... I have taken no notice of my agreement with Mr. Balfour respecting his benefice, because this is a matter which properly belongs to us ... I have only to add, with respect to the collections, that all who attend the chapel know that trustees are appointed for the distribution of them ..."

(Ibid. 352)

So powerful and vocal was the opposition group that the Presbytery of Dunblane to which Balfour belonged deferred to its argument and refused to accept his resignation. He had no other consequent course than to relinquish all thoughts of Lady Glenorchy's nomination to the chapel. In spite of this withdrawal, they persisted
in their synodical appeal, and mustered their forces to reverse the reasonable judgement of the Presbytery of Edinburgh. On the motion of Dr. "Jupiter" Carlyle of Inveresk the Synod -

"... discharged all the ministers and probationers within their bounds from officiating in the said chapel; and further discharged the ministers of this church to employ any minister of the said chapel to officiate for them . . . ."

(Ibid. p.373)

This extraordinary decision had a profoundly discouraging effect on Lady Glenorchy. She had been thwarted of her purpose repeatedly, and was so disgusted at the treatment her ambitious scheme of religious benevolence had received, that she determined to sever her connection with Scotland completely, and settle in the more appreciative and congenial atmosphere of English evangelicalism. Throughout that winter she was busily engaged in promoting the work of the Gospel. She had been most kindly received in Exeter, and travelled extensively throughout the South-west of England. She founded a chapel at Exmouth - in spite of the opposition of the press-gang - but we find that in the midst/
midst of all her activity her heart is still in Scotland. As the time drew near for the hearing of her appeal at the bar of the General Assembly, she prays in her journal that in spite of the odds -

"... the Lord would be pleased to over-rule the counsels of the Assembly respecting my chapel ... ."

(Diary, 5th May, 1777)

Nor did her prayer go unanswered. When it came to the supreme court she too was not without influence in high places. In this issue 'noblesse oblige' came to her aid. Aristocracy triumphed over moderatism; for once Carlyle found himself on the losing side; and the temporary interdict of the Synod was set aside. Lady Glenorchy was at last free to proceed with the appointment of a pastor to her chapel, secure in the assurance that the Presbytery would endorse any reasonable choice.

Now that the way was clear for her to nominate a minister, her first choice fell upon the Rev. Francis Sheriff, a young chaplain in one of the Scots regiments in Holland. His ministry was tragically brief, and he died of consumption on 13th June, 1778.

Confronted/
Confronted with a further vacancy, she recalled the young man who had preached for her in the new chapel at Exmouth, Thomas Snell Jones. Born in Gloucester in 1754, Jones had been educated at Lady Huntingdon's Academy at Trevecca. He was that time 24 years of age and had been for two years assisting an aged clergyman in Plymouth. In order to satisfy the standards of the Establishment in Scotland he was ordained by the Scots Presbytery of London in 1779, and thereafter travelled north to take up his duties. He was inducted and remained in the pastorate till his death in 1837—a ministry of 58 years. His position with regard to the Presbytery was an unusual one. Although minister of a large and influential Church of Scotland congregation, he had no place in the courts of the Assembly, but to him this was an entirely satisfactory arrangement. Although his predecessor, Mr. Sheriff, was rebuffed when he attempted to attend the Presbytery sederunt, Jones determined to appear in order to make his own position plain. In the minutes of Presbytery 28th July, 1780, he is recorded as saying:

"... though he did not enjoy the emoluments of the Establishment, it would always give him the highest satisfaction to be in communion with ministers and members of this church."

(MINUTES OF THE PRESBYTERIAL REGISTER M.)
APPENDIX D

LIST OF RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS PUBLISHED IN BRITAIN 1620-1800.


(1) "Christian's Gazette", 1713.

(2) "The Advocate; or, A Vindication of the Christian Religion, and the Church of England in Particular, Against the Vile and Blasphemous Writers of the Age", weekly, 1720-21.

(3) "The Churchman; or, the Loyalist's Weekly Journal", 1720-21.

(4) "The Christian Priest". 1720.


(6) "The Miscellany; Giving An Account of the Religion, Morality and Learning Of the Present Times", continued as the "Weekly Miscellany", 1732-41.

(7) "The Christian History; Or, A General Account Of the Progress Of the Gospel in England, Wales, Scotland and America, So Far as The Rev. Mr. Whitefield, His Fellow-Labourers And Assistants Are Concerned." 1740-?


(9) "Occasional Papers Upon The Subject of Religion, And The Church Establishment", 1735-36.

(10) "The Gospel Magazine; Or, Spiritual Library, Designed To Promote Religion, Devotion and Piety From Evangelical Principles", 1766-73.


(14) "Evangelical Magazine; Or, Christian Library", Newcastle, 1778-78.
(15) "New Spiritual Magazine; Or, Evangelical Treasury Of Experimental Religion", 1783-84.
(17) "Periodical Accounts Of the United Brethren Mission", 1790 et. seq.
(18) "Christian's Magazine; Or, Gospel Repository", 1790-92.
(19) "Christian Miscellany; Or, Religious and Moral Magazine", 1792.
(20) "Protestant Dissenters Magazine", 1793-99.

RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS PUBLISHED IN SCOTLAND.
(22) "The Christian Monthly History; Or, An Account Of The Revival And Progress of Religion Abroad and At Home", printed at Edinburgh, fine paper 6d., coarse, 4d., edited by the Rev. James Robe of Kilsyth, who said it was "evident that a very extensive correspondence must be established", and he appealed to ministers and others to "send information as free of charge as possible to me or the printer . . . ." Six numbers were issued, rather irregularly. It was resumed in 1745 and ran to ten numbers. (Couper, vol. ii, 86-88)
(23) "An Exhortation To The Inhabitants Of the South Parish of Glasgow And The Hearers In The College Kirk", 1750, by Rev. John Gillies, eight pages, and ran for a year, weekly.

(24)
(24) "The Religious Magazine; Or, Christian's Storehouse", 1760. Monthly. The prospectus stated that the general contents would include a "plain system of divinity", church history, Christian biography, practical pieces and selected poetry; priced 6d. Three numbers only. (Is this the short-lived magazine John Campbell refers to?)

(25) "The North British Intelligence; Or, Constitutional Miscellany", it was "intended to support civil and religious liberty"... it had a distinctly religious bias... the British Museum authorities have inscribed their copy with the words, "conducted by Dr. Dick and A. Belshis". The former was probably Dr. Robert Dick of Trinity College Church." (Couper, vol.ii,p.142)
Although, humanly speaking, William Carey was the pioneer of modern missions, there were other influences at work in the situation that went far beyond the individual gifts of any single person. As a result of the religious revival in Scotland in the early 1740's, a group of ministers in the West entered into a "Concert of Prayer, to Promote More Abundant Application to a Duty that is Perpetually Binding - Prayer that our God's Kingdom may Come, Joined with Praises." These united intercessions were to be offered weekly on Saturday evenings.

(1) A further echo of the "Cambuslang Wark" lies in the fact that Claudius Buchanan, the great Indian missionary and scholar, who quietly landed in Calcutta in 1796 as a chaplain of the East India Company, the very year that Haldane's ambitious project was being frustrated, was the son of "one Alexander Buchanan, parish schoolmaster at Cambuslang who married the daughter of Claudius Somers who was an elder of the kirk. The new life which they found in the excitement of the revival showed itself in the son."

(Conversion of India, by Smith, G., p.106)

This is surely an example of God's unpredictable preferment. Newton was prophetically right when he wrote to John Campbell in Edinburgh: "It is easy to form missions, but the Lord alone can form true missionaries."

(Letter to J.C., no.xx, p.53)
evenings and Sunday mornings, and in a special way on the first Tuesday of every quarter. In 1746 a memorial was sent to Boston inviting all Christians in North America to join in the Concert for the next seven years. "It was on this that Jonathan Edwards wrote his 'Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth.' This work . . . . republished at Olney came into the hands of Carey and powerfully influenced the Northamptonshire Association of Baptist ministers."

("Life of Carey", Smith, p.39)
My Lord,

My residence for a part of the summer in the neighbourhood of Airthrey and Stirling has brought to my knowledge some particulars relating to this very mad missionary business, of which I think it is not unnecessary to inform your Lordship - Mr. Haldane and his associates, Bogue and Ewing and Innes, have made many public and solemn declarations that, if they were allowed to go to Hindostan they would not meddle with politics. These declarations have not been sufficient to prevail with the E. India Co. to allow them to go out. They have just now printed a memorial to the directors which is yet in the hands of very few. I was allowed the use of it, only for an hour, and it appears to unfold such unpeaceable designs as make me think it proper to inform you of its nature. In general they seem determined to storm the fortress which has refused to capitulate. They seem to be sensible that they will be charged with threatening and irritating the directors but deny any such intention - yet, they write in such a manner as will fully support the charge. - They state, that if the directors shall consent to their going out, their government will resemble/
resemble the government of God - But if they will not consent, they tell the directors, in all the bitterness of disappointment, what the world will say of them - what religious men - literary men - men of liberality - and what their customers will say of them - they inform the directors that the business is not to be given up - that all the friends of religion in the British Empire are on their side - That the contest is to be carried on between them and the directors - that the friends of their cause are millions "and that millions are not to be despised". If they refuse, the business will be solicited (sic) in a more extensive degree and less under the control of the directors. That their refusal will furnish a "handle to the enemies of the constitution."

Some idea which I must neither explain, nor conceal from you, may be conveyed by the above, and many other similar expressions which I do not so exactly recollect.

Mr. Bogus, a dissenting minister at Gosport, who is the origin and soul of all this Bedlamite work - and of whom I formerly wrote you - is to be in this neighbourhood today, with Mr. Haldane, and the country is filled with reports of great doings at Airthrey (sic) - daily sermons - Sunday Schools erected in different places - a mission to be sent out through all parts of the kingdom
to cure those who are poisoned with false doctrine, etc.

When I was lately in Glasgow I heard of an inquiry about one of our town clerks - it will probably come to nothing, but I can assure you there is great evil somewhere - I mentioned it to your uncle two years ago, and though I have no experience of it, every impartial person in Glasgow knows that the subordination of domestic servants is ruined, and it is generally believed to be the consequence of the countenance they find in the town court. I believed the evil would be remedied if the procurator Fiscal could be restrained from interfering in domestic causes between master and servant, but whether this can be done I know not. If your Lordship should honour me with any commands I will remain here till 1st Sept, and I will be sufficient to address to me at Stirling.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM PORTEOUS

Path foot, near Stirling.

11th July. 1797."
APPENDIX G.

The terms of the tack given by Haldane to Ewing are of the utmost importance. The following points emerge -

(1) It is contracted and agreed . . . between R.H. . . . heritable proprietor of the subject after mentioned . . . and the Rev. Mr. G.E. minister of the Gospel.

(2) The said R.H. . . . lets to G.E., but excluding his heirs and assignees, both voluntary and legal, and likewise sub-tenants . . . the Circus . . . fitted up by the said R.H. for a chapel or a place of worship.

(3) . . . to be occupied and possessed by the said G.E. as a place of public worship, and for no other use and purpose whatsoever . . .

(4) . . . so long as the said G.E. shall continue statedly and personally to officiate as minister, by preaching the Gospel and dispensing divine ordinances in the said place of public worship.

(5) . . . with power to him to uplift the seat-rents . . . and the collections or offerings bestowed at the said chapel, from time to time during his ministry there, and to apply the same for the maintenance and support of himself and his family to the extent of £200 per annum and no more.

(6) . . . providing always that no rent whatsoever shall be exacted . . . for common seats which are to be opened . . . to all persons . . . at all times when divine worship is performed . . .

(7) . . . which Tack . . . the said R.H. hereby obliges himself, his heirs and successors, to warrant, to be good and effectual to the said G.E. during the period above written . . .

(8) . . . G.E. hereby binds himself and engages when health enables him to officiate . . . as minister . . . to preach the Gospel and to dispense divine ordinances therein from time to time as before mentioned and to levy . . . by himself, or by others . . . the seat-rents yearly, and also the offerings given in the said chapel or at the doors thereof from time to time . . .

(9)/
(9) . . . after retaining in the first place the said sum of £200 yearly for the maintenance of himself and family; secondly the ground rents . . . Mr. G.E. is to pay every year and to report the discharges thereof to the said R.H.; thirdly, the ordinary expenses of the house such as cleaning and lighting the same, beadle and door-keepers' salaries, or other perquisites; fourthly, the necessary repairs to the said house; then to account for, and pay over the residue and remainder . . . to the said R.H., Mr. J.H., his brother, Mr. William Innes, and Mr. G.E. himself, and the survivors . . . to be by them . . . applied to the training and educating young men to the ministry of the Gospel in Scotland.

(10) . . . providing always, that if . . . the seat-rents, etc. . . . shall not amount to the sum of £200 yearly for the support of the said G.E. besides the ground rents, the ordinary expenses and repairs, then the said R.H. and his aforesaid, shall be holden and obliged to satisfy and pay the said feu-duties and ground-rents and repairs of the building, and to relieve the said G.E. of the same . . .

(11) . . . Both parties oblige themselves, their heirs and executors to implement and fulfil to each other their respective parts of the premises, and the party failing to pay to the party observing, or willing to do so, the sum of £50 penalty, besides performance and consent . . .

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 21)
"... he did not introduce himself to public notice as the founder or leader of a party, but as a humble servant of Christ... Instead of lifting up the standard of a party he pointed at Him who was lifted up to draw all men unto Him... He never contemplated making men Independents, but as being made Christians... and the union and communion of believers in a Christian church, under the supreme headship of Christ, on the principles of subjection to truth, and brotherly love - the order of a church, with its office-bearers, in the observance of Christian ordinances - the government of a church by Christ Himself in their midst... the spiritual nature of all that pertains to the Kingdom of Christ... the entire separation of a church from the world as essential to its purity, peace and prosperity... the common interest of all the members of a church in the administration of its affairs... freedom from every description of compulsory power... and independency of all foreign jurisdiction... and the obligation resting on all the members of a church to serve Him with enlightened and willing minds so as to promote the prosperity of the church, and the conversion of a lost world and the glory of Christ; these were the leading principles of Independency, or rather, Bibleism, which he was so successful in propagating in the west.

But these principles... were not taught in systematical form... he... found them... in a great variety of connections, in the sacred volume, and so he taught them... Being ready in thinking, as well as in utterance, when the great powers of his mind were aroused, he could almost instantaneously, arrange, clothe, and deliver a discourse, gaining the admiration of his hearers.

Instead of being puffed up by the running tide of well-earned popularity, I never saw in any other preacher so much... true humility. I had considerable opportunities of observing this... being frequently brought by him into the pulpit to read the scriptures...

On one occasion he said to me - "read this chapter, it is the best that the people will get. The Word of God is good and perfect. Oh, what sad work do we make of our preaching!" At another time... he said - "I never go to preach without much feeling. It is solemn work...."

(Mem. Matheson, p. 230 ff.)
PLAN OF EDUCATION FOR THE MINISTRY

"The object of the Institution shall be, to afford proper means of communicating, to brethren of approved character and talents a suitable measure of knowledge in the following branches of education, in order to enable them, with the greater advantage, to fulfill the desire of devoting themselves to the ministry of the Word: viz. the ENGLISH, LATIN, GREEK and HEBREW languages; that they may be able to study the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, in the tongues in which they were originally written, and, in interpreting these Scriptures to others, to speak with propriety in their own: LOGIC, or the principles and rules of legitimate reasoning, of which the knowledge is eminently advantageous, both for the defence of truth, and the refutation of error: NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, the interesting study of the glory of God in the works of creation; MATHEMATICS, as subservient to this and other branches of useful science, and as itself excellently adapted for sharpening the powers of the mind, and promoting habits of close and accurate thinking; GENERAL HISTORY, including Geography and chronology, to be studied with special reference to the History, Geography and Chronology of the Bible; and THEOLOGY, embracing the study of DIVINE TRUTH as revealed in the Scriptures, along with a COMPARATIVE VIEW OF PHILOSOPHICAL AND CHRISTIAN MORALITY.

The care of the education of the students shall be committed to Messrs. Ewing and Wardlaw, Glasgow; who shall instruct them in Theology; direct their general reading; and their exercises in composition and delivery of discourses; and shall superintend their progress in classical learning; the elements of which they shall receive, either from the tutors themselves, or, under their direction, from private teachers; while the more advanced parts shall be obtained, along with other branches of education, by attending the ordinary classes in Glasgow College.

The course shall be one of four years: it being, at the same time understood, that such as display superior talents, or have enjoyed superior previous advantages, may be sent out sooner: and that, in the case of necessity, a fifth year may be prescribed, for the rudiments of education, as a necessary introduction to the course.
A library of theological and classical works shall be formed, at the expense of the funds, and by donations of books from individuals friendly to the Institution: whilst, for the advantages of general reading, the Students shall have access to the most eligible public library in Glasgow.

In order to enable suitable characters to avail themselves of these means of education, all those Students whose circumstances may render it necessary, shall have their class fees paid out of the funds, and shall receive a reasonable allowance for their temporal support; the amount of which shall be regulated by the Committee of Management.

Persons proposed for receiving education, must be recommended by their pastors, with the consent of their respective churches, as known to possess good natural talents and decided piety, along with those qualities of Christian temper, which the Scriptures require in those who devote themselves to the ministry of the word.

In order to discover these qualifications, it shall be recommended to the pastors of the churches, to make trial of the talents of such as apply for education, by teaching them the principles of English grammar, or by employing them in any other useful exercises, which are fitted to try and to develop the powers of the mind.

The number of the Students received, shall be regulated by the state of the funds, and the qualifications of the applicants; among whom the Committee of Management shall have power to make the necessary selection, when a greater number apply than can be admitted.

It shall be in the power of the tutors, with the concurrence of the Committee of Management, to dismiss from the Seminary, after a trial of three months, such Students as do not, in that time, give evidence of their possessing talents, of which the further cultivation is likely to fit them for real usefulness.

Provision shall be made, from the funds of the Institution, for Students who have completed their education, and/
and, having left the Academy, have commenced their labours in preaching the Gospel, under the direction of the Committee of Management, for one year at least, if within that time they have not obtained a fixed station; and for a longer period, if the Committee judge it proper; it being left to their discretion to decide in this, according to circumstances.

This plan is similar to the one contained in Ewing's memorandum of 1804. The material differences are: that he suggested a full-time well-paid classical tutor; that he recommended that the maintenance of the students should not be the responsibility of the Institution; and made no provision for supporting those who had completed the course. In some measure, however, he foresaw the ultimate collaboration between himself and Wardlaw:

"If two ministers be resident in the place where the Academy is fixed, it will be a great improvement on the plan, that both should be united in the labours of the theological department. Distinct provinces may be easily assigned them. Their joint endeavours will enhance the value of the course of instruction; while, by relieving occasionally each other, they may be better able to attend to other avocations, without suffering the business of the institution to meet with interruption."

(F. & D. Ewing, p. 85)

In the event the two men did share the whole work, not simply of the theological department, for nearly thirty years.
1. **EARLIER PUBLICATIONS** (Before 1790)

"The History of Edinburgh"
ARNOT, Hugo, Advocate 1779.

"A Call to Separation from the Church of Scotland"
BLACK, Thomas, Physician, of Perth 1746.

"The Evil and Danger of Schism"
BOSTON, Rev. Thomas, second ed. 1753.

"Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A. Late Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Countess of Huntingdon: in which Every Circumstance Worthy of Notice, both in His Private and Public Character, is Recorded. Faithfully selected from His Original Papers, Journals and Letters."

"The Testimony of the King of Martyrs Concerning His Kingdom, John XVIII, 36, 37, Explained and Illustrated in Scripture Light."
GLAS, John. 1729.

"Obedient Believers the Friends of Christ: a Sermon"
KERR, Rev. Mr. John, Minister of the Gospel at Carmunnock. 1775.

"The Synod of Jerusalem Considered: a Sermon Preached at the Opening of the Synod of Glasgow & Ayr".
MUIR, George. 1771.

"Remarks on Certain Questions" (No title page)
SANDEMAN, Robert.

"On the Sign of the Prophet Jonah with Preliminary Observations on the Three Unclean Spirits".
SANDEMAN, Robert 1805.

"Copy of a Letter in Answer to a Question Enquiring the Meaning of a Certain Expression in a Book Entitled "Christian Songs".
SANDEMAN, Robert 1772.

"An Essay on the Song of Solomon"
SANDEMAN, Robert. 1802.

"Ecclesiastical Characteristics; or, the Arcana of Church Policy"
WITHERSPOON, John D.D. 1755.
2. CONTEMPORARY PUBLICATIONS. (1790 - 1834).

"Sketches of the Edinburgh Clergy of the Established Church of Scotland."
ANDERSON, John 1832.

"Purity of Christian Communion Recommended as an Antidote Against the Perils of the Latter Days, In Three Discourses, Delivered to a Church of Christ in Richmond Court, Edinburgh. To which is Added an Appendix on the Weekly Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and on the Nature and Tendency of Human Standards of Religion."
ANON 1796.

"A Warning to Britons Against French Perfidy and Cruelty; or, A Short Account of the Treacherous and Inhuman Conduct of the French Officers and Soldiers Towards the Peasants of Suabia, During the Invasion of Germany in 1796. Selected and Translated from a Well-Authenticated German Publication. With an address to the People of Great Britain by the Translator."
AUFREIRE, Anthony, Esq. 1798.

"Sermons on Important Subjects, to which is Prefixed an Account of the Life and Character of the Author."
BLACK, Rev. David. 1808.

"History of Dissenters, from the Revolution in 1688, to the Year 1808".
BOGUE, David, and BENNETT, James. 4 vol. 1809.

"Loyalty Enforced by Arguments which are Founded Upon Just Views of Civil Government, As An Ordinance of God."
BRAIDWOOD, William 1799.

"A Vindication of the Presbyterian Form of Church Government as Professed in the Standards of the Church of Scotland; in Reply to the Animadversions of the Ancient and Modern Independents, In a Series of Letters."
BROWN, Rev. John 1805.
BUCHANAN, Rev. Claudius, LL.D., from India. 1809.

"Letters and Conversational Remarks, by the Late Rev. John Newton, Rector of St. Mary's Woolnoth, Lombard Street, London: During the Last Eighteen Years of His Life."
CAMPBELL, John, ed. 1809.

"Letters on Ecclesiastical History; to which is Added, an Essay on Christian Temperance and Self-Denial; with some Account of the Life and Writings of the Author."

"Periodical Accounts Relative to a Society Formed among the Particular Baptists for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen."
CAREY, William, ed. FULLER, Andrew 1794.

"The Declaration and Confession of Robert Watt, Written, Subscribed and Delivered by Himself the Evening Before His Execution for High Treason at Edinburgh October 15th, 1794, Attested by the Rev. Dr. Baird, Principal of Edinburgh University, and the Reverend T.S. Jones, One of the Ministers of Lady Glenorchie's Chapel."
1794.

"Animadversions on Some Passages of a Pamphlet Entitled Lay-Preaching Indefensible on Scripture Principles, by Mr. John Robertson, Assistant Minister, Cambuslang."
EWING, Greville, Minister of the Gospel, Tabernacle, Glasgow. 1800.

"Remarks on Mr. Robertson's Reply to Mr. Ewing's Animadversions on Some Passages of his Pamphlet Entitled Lay-Preaching Indefensible on Scripture Principles."
EWING, Greville. 1800.

"Remarks on Mr. Dick's Sermon, Concerning the Qualifications and Call of Missionaries, Preached Before the Edinburgh Missionary Society, on Tuesday March 31st, 1801." EWING, Greville. 1801.
EWING, Greville, Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow.
1804.

"An Exposure of Some Things Contained in Mr. Brown's Vindication of Presbyterian Church Government, which seem calculated not so much to Affect the Argument, as to Excite Popular Prejudice, and Personal Irritation."
EWING, Greville.
1805.

EWING, Greville. Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow.
1807.

"Facts and Documents Respecting the Connections which have Subsisted between Robert Haldane, Esq. and Greville Ewing, Laid before the Public, in Consequence of Letters which the Former had Addressed to the Latter, respecting the Tabernacle at Glasgow."
EWING, Greville.
1809.

"Essays Addressed to Jews", on the Authority, the Scope, and the Consummation, of the Law and the Prophets."
EWING, Greville, Minister of the Gospel in Glasgow.
Written at the Request of the Directors of the Missionary Society in London. 2 vol.
1809.

"A Sermon Preached in Nile Street Meeting-House on the Day of the Funeral of Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte Augusta."
EWING, Greville, Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow.
1817.

"The Testimony of God Against Massacre and Rapine; a Sermon Preached in Nile Street Meeting-House."
EWING, Greville.
1820.

"The Duty of Abstaining From Debt; a Sermon Preached in Nile Street Meeting-House, Glasgow."
EWING, Greville.
1821.
2. "A Greek and English Lexicon; Originally a Scripture Lexicon; and now Adapted to Greek Classics; with a Greek Grammar Prefixed."
EWING, Greville. 3rd ed. 1827.

"A Memoir of Barbara Ewing; by her Husband."
EWING, Greville. 2nd ed. 1829.

"Funeral Sermon, on William McAlpin, Esq."
EWING, Greville. 1832.

"A Sermon Preached in North College Street Meeting-House, Edinburgh, on 16th February, 1834, on the Occasion of the Death of Mr. John Aikman, the Senior Pastor of the Church Assembling in that House."
EWING, Greville 1834.

"Strictures on Sandemanianism".
FULLER, Andrew no date.

"An Abridgement of the Acts of the General Assemblies of The Church of Scotland from the Year 1688 to 1820, inclusive, to which is subjoined an Appendix containing an Abridged View of the Civil Law Relating to the Church."
GILLAN, Rev. Robert 1821.

"Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Isles in Autumn 1797, Undertaken with a View to Promote the Knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."
HALDANE, James Alex. AIKMAN, John, RATE, Joseph 1798.

"A View of Social Worship".
HALDANE, J.A. 1805.

"Observations on Mr. Brown's Vindication of the Presbyterian Form of Church Government, As Professed in the Standards of the Church of Scotland. With an Appendix containing Strictures on his Remarks on "A View of Social Worship."
HALDANE, James Alex. 1806.
6.

2. "The Doctrine and Duty of Self-Examination; being the substance of Two Discourses, Preached to the Church, Leith Walk."
HALDANE, James Alex. 1806.

"The Foundation of the Observance of the Lord's Day, and of the Lord's Supper, Vindicated from the Objections Published in the Religious Monitor, for February Last."
HALDANE, James Alex. 1807.

"Address to the Public, Concerning Political Opinions and Plans Lately Adopted to Promote Religion in Scotland, Etc., Etc."
HALDANE, Robert. 1800.

"Remarks on a Late Publication by Mr. Greville Ewing Entitled, Facts and Documents, Etc."
HALDANE, Robert. 1809.

"Letters to Mr. Ewing, Respecting the Tabernacle at Glasgow, Etc."
HALDANE, Robert. 1809.

"An Answer to Mr. Greville Ewing's Pamphlet, Entitled Facts and Documents, Etc."
HALDANE, Robert. 1810.

"Extract of a Journal of a Second Tour from England Through the Highlands of Scotland and the North-Western Parts of England, with Observations and Remarks."
HILL, Rowland. 1800.

"Journal of a Tour Through the North of England and Parts of Scotland. With Remarks on the Present State of the Established Church of Scotland, and the Different Seccessions Therefrom, Together with Reflections on Some Party Distinctions in England; Showing the Origin of these Disputes, and the Causes of their Separation. Designed to Promote Brotherly Love and Forebearance Among Christians of All Denominations. Also some remarks on the Propriety of what is called Lay and Itinerant Preaching."
HILL, Rowland, A.M. 1799.
2. "A Series of Letters, Occasioned by the late Pastoral Admonition of the Church of Scotland, as also, Their Attempts to Suppress the Establishment of Sabbath Schools, Addressed to the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home."
   HILL, Rowland, A.M. 1799.

"Sketches of Human Nature; or, Hints Chiefly, Relating to the Duties and Difficulties that Occur in the Intercourse of Christians With One Another, and With the World".
   INNES, William 1807.

"A Summary of the Leading Doctrines of the Word of God."
   INNES, William, 1805.

"Reasons for Separating From the Church of Scotland in a Series of Letters Addressed to a Friend in the Establishment."
   INNES, William. 1804.

"Remarks on the Reverend Rowland Hill's Journal Etc. In a Letter to the Author; Including Reflections on Itinerant and Lay-Preachings."

"The Life of the Right Honourable Willielma, Viscountess Glenorchy, Containing Extracts from Her Diary and Correspondence."
   JONES, Thomas Snell, D.D. 1822.

"Remarks on Mr. Brown's Vindication of the Presbyterian Form of Church Government, Etc., Containing Reflections on the Present State of the Church of Scotland."
   LITTLE, Robert 1806.

"An Essay on the Government and Order of a Christian Church, as Exhibited in the Holy Scriptures, in which is contained I.... An Examination of the Arguments in Favour of Presbytery. II .... An Illustration of the Order of Congregational Churches, With an Appendix."
   MELROSE, Adam. 1799.
2. "Strictures on Rev. Greville Ewing's Speech at the Meeting of the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society."
   M'PARLAN, Patrick, Minister of St. Enoch's Glasgow. 1826.

   "Remarks on Texts of Scripture."
   M'GAVIN, James. 1827.

   "A Reply to the Remarks of Robert Haldane, Esq. on the Appendix to Mr. Greville Ewing's Late Publication, entitled Facts and Documents, Etc."
   ORMNE William. 1809.

   "Democratic Principles Illustrated by Example."
   PORCUPINE, Peter. 1798.

   "A Cobbler's Remarks on a Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Isles."
   ANONYMOUS (but catalogued as the work of PORTHOUS, Rev. William. no date, but 1798

   "The Work of Faith Illustrated in the Life and Death of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, Chiefly Extracted From His Own Papers."
   RYLAND, John, ed. 1818.

   "Reply to Mr. Ewing's Animadversions on a Pamphlet Entitled, Lay Preaching Indefensible on Scripture Principles, In a Letter to the Author."
   ROBERTSON, John 1800.

   "Lay Preaching Indefensible on Scripture Principles; Being Remarks on the Sacred History of the Apostles."
   ROBERTSON, Rev. John, Minister of Cambuslang. 1800.

   "Proofs of a Conspiracy Against All the Religious and Governments of Europe, Carried on in the Secret Meetings of Free-Masons, Illuminati; and Reading Societies; Collected from Good Authorities."
   ROBISON, John, LL.D. 1797
2. "The Duties of a Christian Pastor, by Mr. David Russell, Minister of the Gospel, Dundee. And the Duties of Church Members to such as are over them in the Lord, by Mr. John Watson, Minister of the Gospel, Musselburgh. Being the Substance of Two Addresses Delivered at the Ordination of Mr. Robert Aikenhead, in the Congregational Church, Kirkcaldy, Wednesday, Dec. 11th, 1811". RUSSELL, David, and WATSON, John 1812.


"My Own Life and Times 1741 - 1814". SOMERVILLE, Thomas D.D.


Minutes of Glasgow Presbytery 1792-3: Register House, Edinburgh.  


"Account of Foreign Missions Undertaken and Supported by Churches in Edinburgh and Other Places." ANONYMOUS. 1806.

Congregational Union Academy Minutes 1811-1839 (holograph)

"Second to Eighth Annual Reports of the Committee of Management of the Theological Academy at Glasgow, under the Care of Messrs. Ewing and Wardlaw. 1813 - 19." WARDLAW, Ralph, Secretary.

"First to Sixth Annual Reports of the Committee of the Congregational Union; to which are annexed, Minutes of the First Annual Meeting, Held at Edinburgh, May 6th, 1813". WATSON, John, Secretary.

The Ninth to Sixteenth Annual Reports of the Committee of the Congregational Union of Scotland. 1821-28." WATSON, Rev. John, Secretary.

"Reports of the (London) Missionary Society, from its Formation, in the year 1795, to 1814, Inclusive."

4. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

Edinburgh "Advertiser", "Evening Courant", "Mercury" 1796 - 1799

Edinburgh Parish Register.


Glasgow "Courier" 1799

London "Christian Instructor". Vol II

"Missionary Magazine" 1796 - 1810.

"The Scots Magazine and General Intelligence." 1794 - 95.


"A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals 1620-1800" CRANE, R.S., and KAYE, F.B. 1927

"The Scottish Periodical Press 1750 - 1789" CRAIG, Mary Elizabeth 1931
5. **BIOGRAPHIES, MEMOIRS, DIARIES, ETC.**

"Memoir of the Rev. John Watson".  
ALEXANDER W. LINDSAY,  
1845.

"Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century From the MSS of John Ramsay, Esq. of Ochteryne."  
ALLARDYCE, Alexander, ed.  
1888.

"Lives of Men of Letters and Science, Who Flourished in the Time of George III."  
BROUGHAM, Henry.  
2 vol.  
1845.

"The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk 1722-1805."  
BURTON, John Hill, ed.  
1910.

"Memoirs of the Life of Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A., Late Senior Fellow of King's College, and Minister of Trinity Church, Cambridge. With a Selection from his Writings and Correspondence."  
CARUS, Rev. William, M.A. ed.

"Rowland Hill, His Life, Anecdotes and Pulpit Sayings."  
CHARLESWORTH, Vernon J.  
1876.

"Memorials of His Time."  
COCKBURN, Henry, New ed.  
1909.

"Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok".  
FRASER, William  
2 vol.  
1863.

"Scottish Diaries and Memoirs 1746 - 1843"  
FYFE, J.G., M.A.  
1942.

"Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century."  
GRAHAM, Henry Grey.  
1908.

HALDANE, Alexander Esq. of the inner temple, barrister-at-law.  
1852.

"Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, B.D.LL.D."  
HANNA, Rev. William LL.D.  
Vol. 1.
5. "A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings with Biographical Sketches and Illustrative Anecdotes."
   KAY, John 2 vol. new ed. 1877

   "Fathers of Independence in Scotland; or, Biographical Sketches of Early Congregational Ministers. 1798 - 1851.
   KINNIBURGH, Robert 1851

   "The Life of D'Arcy, Lady Maxwell of Pollok; Late of Edinburgh; Compiled from her Voluminous Diary and Correspondence, and from Other Authentic Documents."
   LANCASTER, Rev. John 1821

   "John Newton, a Biography."
   MARTIN, Bernard. p. 1950

   "A Memoir of Greville Ewing, Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow, By His Daughter."
   MATHESON, J. 1847.

   MORISON, John, D.D.. 1845.

   "The Life, Times and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell."
   PHILIP, Rev. Robert 1841.

   "Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation."

   "The Life of William Carey, D.D. Shoemaker and Missionary, Professor of Sanscrit, Bengali and Marathi in the College of Fort William, Calcutta."
   SMITH, George, LL.D., C.I.E. 2nd ed. 1887

   "Dictionary of National Biography."
   STEPHEN, Leslie and LEE, Sidney 1906.

   "The Correspondence of William Wilberforce, Edited by his Sons."
   WILBERFORCE, Robert Isaac, and Samuel. 1840.

   "The Life of William Wilberforce."
   WILBERFORCE, Robert Isaac, and Samuel. 5 vol. 1838.
6. **CHURCH HISTORY AND THEOLOGY.**

"A Church History of Scotland."
BURLEIGH, J.H.S. 1960.

"History of Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh."
BRYCE, William Moir 1912.

"John Wesley and George Whitefield in Scotland; or, The Influence of the Oxford Methodists on Scottish Religion."
BUTLER, D. 1898.

"Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland 1707-1929."
CAMPBELL, Andrew James. 1930.

"Eighteenth Century Nonconformity."
COLLIGAN, J. Hay, M.A. 1915.

"Records of the Scottish Church History Society."
COUPER and M'KINLAY, ed. vol III. 1929.

"The Church History of Scotland, From the Commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Time."

DALE, Robert William 1884.

"Congregational Church Polity."
DALE, Robert William 1885.

"A History of Scottish Congregationalism."
ESCOTT, Harry 1959.

"Church Ministry and Sacraments."
FORSYTH, Peter Taylor 1919.

"General Account of Congregationalism in Scotland from 1798 to 1848 and Particular Accounts Referring to Separate Counties."
(typescript)
MSS pp. 300 in Congregational College Library (Kinniburgh?)

"The Industrial Revolution in Scotland."
HAMILTON, Henry, M.A. S. Litt., 1932.


"Church and Reform in Scotland, A History from 1797-1843" Mathieson, William Law. 1916.


"The Two Parties in the Church of Scotland Exhibited as Missionary and Anti-Missionary; their Contendings in These Opposite Characters in the Past and Their Statistics Now." Miller, Hugh. 1841.


"The History of Protestant Missions in India from their Commencement in 1706 to 1861." Sherring, Rev. M.A. revised by Storrow, Rev. Edward. 1884.
SIEVWRIGHT, William. 1885

"The Conversion of India From Pantaenus To The Present Time A.D. 193 - 1893."
SMITH, George, C.I.E., LL.D. 1893

"Historical Sketch of the Origin of the Secession Church."
STRUTHERS, Gavin 1848.

"The History of the Rise, Progress and Principles of the Relief Church, Embracing Notices of the Other Religious Denominations in Scotland."
STRUTHERS, Gavin. 1843.

"Congregational History."
WADDINGTON, John, D.D. Vol. 4. 1869

"A History of the Baptists in Scotland From Pre-Reformation Times."
YUILLE, Rev. George, ed. 1926
7. **HISTORICAL.**

"The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club."
Vols VIII "John Wesley in Edinburgh" W. Forbes Gray
Vols IX "Edinburgh Engravers" John C. Guy
Vols XII "Notes on the Names of the Closes and Wynds of Old Watson.
Vols. LIX Edinburgh."

"Historical Sketches of the Parish of Cambusnethan."
BROWN, Peter 1859

"Traditions of Edinburgh"
CHAMBERS, R. 1823

"A Century of Scottish History, From the Days before the '45 To Those Within Living Memory."
CHAIK, Sir Henry 1911

"The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century."
GRAHAM, Henry Gray, 2 vol. 1899

"Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh: its History, its People, and its Places."
GRANT, James 1883

"The History of the Working Classes in Scotland."
JOHNSTON, Thomas 1922

"Scotland's Shifting Population 1770-1850"
MACDONALD, D.F. M.A. D. Phil. 1937

"The History of Civilisation in Scotland."
BACCINTOSH, John LL.D. 4 vol. 1896

"The Awakening of Scotland, A History from 1747 to 1797"
MATHIESON, William Law 1910

"Edinburgh and Its Neighbourhood, Geological and Historical, With the Geological of the Bass Rock."
MILLER, Hugh 1864.
RENWICK, Robert and LINDSAY, Sir John
3 vol. 1921

"The Royal Mile, Edinburgh Castle to the
Place of Holyrood House."
SKINNER, Robert T. 1947

"The History of the High School of Edinburgh."
STEVEN, William D.D. 1849

"Notes on the Names of the Closes and Wynds of
Old Edinburgh."
WATSON, Charles B. Boog 1923.
19.

8. THESSES IN NEW COLLEGE LIBRARY, EDINBURGH.

"John Glaes (1695 - 1773)"
HORNBY J.T., M.A. 1936

HYSSOP Ralph Douglas 1947

"The Impact of the French Revolution on Scottish Religious Life & Thought with Special Reference to Thomas Chalmers, Robert Haldane and Neil Douglas."
KIRKLAND, William Matthews. 1951.

TERPSTRA, Chester. 1959.

"The Origins of Congregationalism in Scotland."