DETERMINING FACTORS IN THE CONTRIBUTION OF NORMAN MACLEOD TO THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

By

ALEXA GRACE CAMERON

B. S. A., University of British Columbia

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
in
The Biblical Seminary in New York

New York, N. Y.
March, 1957

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

DETERMINING FACTORS IN THE CONTRIBUTION OF NORMAN MACLEOD TO THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

INTRODUCTION

A. The Subject

1. The Subject Stated and Explained.

With the world crying for leadership--good leadership, with the Church crying for Christian leadership--a positive, vital, broad Christian leadership, so essential in a day when the world is pleading for peace, for freedom, and when the Church is awakening to a greater sense of world Christian unity--the basic question is, "What are the characteristics of a good leader?", and more particularly in the case of the Church, "...of a good Christian leader?"

Norman Macleod, the "Minister of all Scotland"[1], the "Salt of the Kirk"[2], one of "the two greatest preachers of his age"[3], a leader in his Church during troublous times, is a fitting subject for examination--for the problem of this study is to find among the

. . . . . .

1. T. Ratcliffe Barnett: The Makers of the Kirk. T. N. Foulis, London, 1915, pp. 289, 302.
2. N. Brysson Morrison: "They Need No Candle. IX. Norman Macleod: Salt of the Kirk". In J. W. Stevenson, ed.: Life and Work: The Record of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh, New Series No. 129, September, 1956, p. 243.
3. Ibid., p. 244.

many contributing factors, those determining factors which made possible Norman Macleod's contributions to the Church of his day. Though his leadership as he contributed to the Church of Scotland will be of primary consideration, his wider influence on the Church at large will also be considered.

2. The Subject Justified.

The relevance of this study is evident when one considers the studies which have been conducted recently and those which are being conducted at the present time[1] in an effort to determine the essential qualifications of a Christian minister in order that these may be developed in the minister-to-be, the seminary student.

The choice of Norman Macleod as the person whose leadership is to be examined is justified not only on the basis of past testimony[2], but also by the evidence of the Church of Scotland's

. . . . . .

1. Recent studies: (a) Keith R. Bridston, ed.: Theological Training in the Modern World. World Student Christian Federation, 1955? (b) Douglas Webster, ed.: Truly Called: Studies of the Training of Men for the Ministry Overseas. The Highway Press, London, 1955? Studies being conducted at the present time: (a) Study of theological education being conducted at Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York in collaboration with the Russell Sage Foundation. Information from article: Samuel W. Blizzard: Parish Minister Bench Marks for Theological Education. Mimeographed, 1956, p. 1. (b) A Committee of the American Association of Theological Schools was formed at the biennial meeting in June 1956 to develop means of determining some of the qualifications of a promising ministerial candidate. Information from reports of the Twentieth Biennial Meeting of The American Association of Theological Schools, Berkley, California, June 1956.
2. T. Ratcliffe Barnett: loc. cit. C. Stewart Black: The Scottish Church. William Maclellan, Glasgow, 1952, p. 233. William Ewart Gladstone: Macleod and Macaulay. Belford Brothers, Toronto, 1876, pp. 6,7.

continuing awareness of its debt to Norman Macleod as expressed by their publication of an account of his life in the September, 1956 issue of "Life and Work: The Record of the Church of Scotland."[1]

3. The Subject Delimited.

There are many facets of Norman Macleod's ministry which deserve study, for he was attractive and powerful as preacher, pastor, churchman, citizen, and author[2], but only those aspects of these functions which directly contributed to his influence as a Christian leader will be discussed. Furthermore his leadership in the local Church will be discussed primarily from the standpoint of its influence on his leadership in the Church of Scotland as a whole.

B. The Sources for the Study

The primary sources for this study will be biographies and the more important of Macleod's own works. The secondary sources will be histories of the Scottish Church--particularly those parts which deal with the nineteenth century.

C. The Method of Procedure

Factors both internal and external will be considered, i.e. the character of the man and the state of the Church. The study will

. . . . . .

1. N. Brysson Morrison, op. cit.
2. Robert Flint: Norman Macleod, in St. Giles' Lectures--Third Series, Scottish Divines 1505-1872, (Lecture XII). Macniven and Wallace, Edinburgh, 1883, p. 435.

proceed from an account of Macleod's background to a summary of his ministry and a more particular look at his specific contributions and then to an analysis of how he was able to make such significant contributions.

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF NORMAN MACLEOD

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF NORMAN MACLEOD

A. Introduction

With his ancestry in the Highlands, his early training in both Lowlands and Highlands, his higher education in Glasgow and Edinburgh with his year at Weimar in Germany, and with the growing unrest in his Church, the youth of Norman Macleod proved to be an exciting and formative time. This chapter will begin with an account of his early life--including the influence of his parents, his environment and early training. Following this his academic training and its influences will be discussed. Finally the important developments in the Church at this time will be outlined in order to complete the backdrop and set the stage for the account of Norman Macleod's ministry which follows in the second chapter.

B. His Early Life

1. Parentage.

Since early influences as a whole had a great effect on Norman Macleod, and his early associations with his parents' homes -- Morven and Mull--had a lasting influence on the most conspicuous features of his character[1] some consideration will now be given to his parentage.

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: Memoir of Norman Macleod, D. D. Vol. I. Scribner, Armstrong and Co., New York, 1877, p. 1.

Morven, in Argyllshire, was the parish to which Norman Macleod, the grandfather of the subject of this study, was ordained in 1774. It was a simple, loving household in which the family grew up. The eldest son, Norman, absorbed much of the Highland culture. The country was inhabited by intensely Highland people, many of whom "had been out with 'bonny Prince Charlie'."[1] This Norman grew to be a remarkable man--shrewd, tactful, humourous, kindly, a recognized authority in Celtic matters.[2] "His Christian philanthropy and zeal were untainted by intolerance or sectarianism. Like his father before him and his son after him, he attached little importance to doctrinal differences or ecclesiastical peculiarities, in comparison with love to Christ, faith in God, and charity towards men."[3]

Across the Sound of Mull from Morven lies the island of Mull--here it was that Norman Macleod's maternal grandfather, Maxwell, lived. He had been educated as a lawyer and when appointed "Chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll, he settled in Mull, to take charge of the large ducal estates in that island."[4] His daughter, Agnes, had a free and active life as a girl. Part of her early years were spent with an aunt and uncle. "She not only grew up a deeply affectionate girl,

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 6.
2. Robert Flint: op.cit., p. 427.
3. Ibid., p. 428.
4. Donald Macleod: op. cit., pp. 1,8.

but she also learned to feel and think for herself."[1] All the influences of her childhood tended to form the character--the pure Christian life--which became a living gospel to her children and grandchildren.[2]

The profound influence the parents exerted on their son's character will be seen in the following sections.

2. Campbeltown.

In 1808, after being educated for the ministry, Norman Macleod, (i.e. the father of the subject of this study), was ordained to the pastoral charge of the large parish of Campbeltown. In 1811 he married Agnes Maxwell and on June 3, 1812 their first child--Norman--was born.[3]

Campbeltown was a harbour where there were hundreds of fishing boats, larger vessels, and in addition there were seven large Revenue cruisers which had their headquarters there. It was fairly isolated from the rest of the world but had a variety of interesting people--naval people and elderly maiden ladies being among them. It was here in his very free boyhood that Norman Macleod gained his sympathy for the sea and sailors. He and his companions, fond of adventure, acquainted themselves with all the characters of the

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 9.
2. Ibid., p. 11.
3. Ibid., p. 13.

place, learning all their peculiarities and stories. With his companions he went on Saturday expeditions which were turned by him into fanciful and heroic enterprises. He loved to have someone to influence and to share with him his ceaseless flow of ideas and imaginations. He had from childhood many of the characteristics which distinguished him through life. He was affectionate, bright, humourous and talkative, and showed extreme lovingness and ceaseless merriment.[1]

His first education in a formal sense was received at the Burgh school, the public school, that all the children of the town attended. Though not receiving a thorough classical grounding, which he afterward lamented, he "gained an insight into character which served not only to give him sympathy with all ranks of life, but afforded a fund of amusing memories which never lost their freshness."[2]

3. Morven.

When about twelve years of age Norman was sent by his father to board with Samuel Cameron, the parish schoolmaster in Morven. His father was anxious that his son should know Gaelic and if possible be a Highland minister. He was there to be made into a "'true Highlander.'"[3] His grandfather had recently died at an extreme age but Norman's previous visits had left him with many memories of his grandfather

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., 13-20.
2. Ibid., p. 19.
3. Ibid., p. 22.

which he never lost.[1]

Samuel Cameron was schoolmaster and catechist of the parish, and Norman's life in his home imbued him with the culture which was in the very peasantry of the Highlands. Here there was "an innate high breeding, and a store of tradition and poetry, of song and anecdote, which gave a peculiar flavour to their common life...."[2] This time spent at Morven, during the week with Samuel Cameron and on the week-ends at the Manse, provided an education both formal and informal. On the week-ends there was much adventure both fishing and hiking on the seashore and in the hills. All in all "Norman had here an insight into the best side of the Highland character, and into many Highland customs now long passed away."[3]

4. Campsie.

In 1825 Norman's father was transferred to Campsie in Stirlingshire, where he remained till 1835. Campsie was an industrial, lowland city--a great change from Campbeltown. Here Norman was sent for one year to the parish school where the teacher was a licentiate of the Church--a clever, gifted young man. There was nothing too outstanding to be mentioned for this year except that here the home to which he was to return for holidays during his University career was established.[4]

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op.cit., p. 21.
2. Ibid., p. 23.
3. Ibid., p. 24.
4. Ibid., p. 27, 28.

Thus his early life spent largely in Campbeltown but also in Mull and Morven, under the direction of wise and loving parents, was the time when the foundations of his character were laid. The associations of this time never left him and the memory of those hours of sunshine and love contributed to making him "the loving, genial man he always was."[1]

C. His University Education

1. Glasgow.

In 1827 Norman went to the University of Glasgow for his Arts studies. He did not shine academically, (except in logic which he enjoyed), since, rather than spend his time on studies proper for his classes, he studied instead general literature and science. He chose as his companions some who were considerably older than himself but all of whom were very gifted in literature and whose attainment inspired him with a passion for books--especially for poetry. His life at the University was one of his favourite topics of conversation in later life.[2]

His moral life remained pure and his religious convictions, though not as strong as they were to become, were maintained. He was strengthened not only by his previous training at home, but also by frequent week-end visits to his home. His parents were concerned

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p.25.
2. Ibid., pp. 28, 29.

about his continuous merriment and mimicry feeling he carried things a bit too far. They were anxious lest he not be sedate enough for the ministry, "but they might have well have asked him to cease to be, and, had they told the secret truth, they would scarcely have wished him different from what he was."[1]

2. Edinburgh.

a. First Years.

In 1831, on completion of his four years at the University of Glasgow, Norman Macleod went to Edinburgh to commence his theological studies. Here Thomas Chalmers, with his noble enthusiasm and kindly interest, had an outstanding influence on him. Chalmers, impressed by the character of the youth recommended him as tutor to a wealthy English proprietor who was seeking a tutor for his son. Thus in 1833 Norman went to Moreby in York to the home of Mr. Preston and then returned shortly with the young Mr. Preston to Edinburgh, where he continued his theological studies and superintended his pupil's studies as well. During his second year he studied geology and music in addition to his regular studies.[2]

b. Brother's Death.

In December, 1833, his younger brother James died after a short but severe illness. Since the two, who were three years apart

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., pp. 30, 31.
2. Ibid., pp. 31-33.

in age, had been very close to one another, this sudden death had an especially great effect upon Norman. It was during this time that his religious convictions underwent profound change and deepening. This time, to Norman, was the beginning of his earnest Christian life. This was not his first religious decision and was not "such a crisis as is usually called conversion"[1], but it was a major turning point, and to Norman was "'the beginning of days'".[2] Through his brother's life and death he had learned something of the "reality of eternity and of the grandeur of the life in Christ...."[3]

3. Weimar.

Weimar, the capital of the small Duchy of Saxe-Weimar, was chosen by Norman Macleod and young Preston as their headquarters during their residence on the Continent. It was at that time a desirable place for those who wished to study German life, language and literature. Among its great citizens had been Goethe, then only recently departed, Herder, Schiller, and Wieland. The presence of these men had added immeasurably to the culture of the town. Besides this literary heritage, the theatre, the opera and the music were good. The Grand Duke had his Palace here. Among the many social functions held by the Duke and Duchess was a dinner and a reception for foreigners every Sunday evening. The most remarkable man at Weimar was a Dr. Weissenborn, friend of all English travellers, who promoted their happiness and directed their studies.[4]

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., pp. 34.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp.45-47.

It was in May, 1834 that Macleod and his pupil arrived in Weimar.[1] It was a great change in environment from the Manse, the Divinity Hall at Edinburgh, and the general strictness of Scottish life; but it provided an excellent school and Norman entered his new life here with great zest.[2] Extracts from his Journal and his letters will help to give some of the impressions of this time. Against a background of his participation in gay parties and absorption in the cultural life of the town the serious tone of much of his thought is significant.

In Weimar, with its rampant worldliness and rationalism he was "credibly informed by competent judges that ninety-nine out of a hundred are infidels."[3] In his Journal for July 27th, a Sunday, he wrote:

> I have read my Bible my only good book... In truth, the Continent is a horrid place for the total want of means - no good books, no sermons, no church; I mean for me.
>
> I would renew my confidence and trust in Him who has said, "Ask and ye shall receive; I will never leave you, I will never forsake you." The past is still the same.[4]

In a letter to a friend he wrote of the tour he and young Preston took in which they saw the "glorious" galleries of Munich, Dresden, and Vienna.[5] In a letter to his mother in October he wrote that he and his pupil were studying Greek and Latin hard every day.

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 35.
2. Ibid., p. 47.
3. Ibid., p. 50.
4. Ibid., p. 53.
5. Ibid., p. 54.

He was thinking of taking drawing and singing lessons, since he had a taste for both. As well, he wrote to his mother, "... my idea is that it is a man's duty as well as pleasure to enlarge every innocent field of enjoyment which God has put in his way."[1]

In a letter to another friend hegave the advice,

> ...read your Bible, and if you want the joy, the meditative joy, which finds religious meanings in the forms of nature read Coleridge, or his brother Wordsworth. But the former I love, I adore. Buy his works should you have no more in the world to spend.[2]

He had developed a love for these two poets during his days at the University of Glasgow.

As he had written in his Journal in July, so he wrote his mother in November - feeling still the lack of books. Her reply was, "you complain of want of books, and a sad want it is; but you can meditate and pray, and set no wrong example." [3] She also reminded him of his brother James' love - hoping that the remembrance of it would keep him sober in pursuit, and steady in principle. She hoped that Norman did not find her advice tiresome or that she was preaching too much.[4]

In another reply to his mother, also written in December, 1834, he said he had seriously considered all his mother had said about his "acquiring tastes and habits uncongenial to [his] future

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 57.
2. Ibid., p. 59.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. p. 60.

profession."[1] However, he felt that his participation in the social life of Weimar was of definite advantage to him in that it was helping him to acquire knowledge of human character and "of the way to manage men."[2]

In summary of his experiences at Weimar his biographer states that his life there doubtless had its dangers --

> But although he often swung freely with the current, yet his grasp of central truth, and his own hearty Christian convictions, so held him at anchor that, through the grace of God, he rode safely through many temptations, and was able to exercise an influence for good over the group of young men from England or Scotland who were residing that year at Weimar.[3]

And finally,

> When he and Preston returned to Moreby, Norman had become in many ways a new man. His views were widened, his opinions matured, his human sympathies vastly enriched, and while all that was of the essence of his early faith had become doubly precious, he had gained increased catholicity of sentiment, along with knowledge of the world.[4]

4. Conclusion of Studies.

The summer of 1835 was spent in Moreby, and in the fall Norman Macleod resumed his theological studies, this time in Glasgow. He studied hard, read extensively and obtained "rapid mastery...over various branches of theological learning in which he had before shown only a passing interest."[5] From this time,

> ...he cultivated accurate methods, read extensively on whatever

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 60.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 47.
4. Ibid., p. 49.
5. Ibid., p. 63.

> subjects he was professionally occupied with, worked daily at his Greek Testament, and kept himself well informed as to the results of Modern criticism. He had the rare faculty of rapidly getting the gist of a book, and without toiling over every page, he seemed always to grasp the salient points, and in a marvellously short time carried away all that was worth knowing.[1]

He made a trip to Edinburgh, in May 1836, to listen to the debates of the General Assembly. Since his father had been elected Moderator that year, the meetings were of special interest to him.[2]

During Norman's last session, (1836-37), at Glasgow College he tutored four young men, University of Glasgow students. Three of these were boarding in the Macleod home and Norman had complete charge of them. The Manse was now that of St. Columba's in Glasgow, since Norman's father had moved here, (with the rest of the family), from Campsie, in 1835. On these four, and othershe instructed the following year, he made a lasting impression. With several he developed a close and life-long friendship - most notably with John C. Shairp, and John Mackintosh.[3]

His first public appearance was during this time. In January, 1837, a banquet was held in Glasgow in honour of the conservative leader, Peel, who had been elected Rector of the University. Norman gave a brilliant, and long-remembered reply to the toast to the students of the University.[4]

In May 1837, he received license. So ended his student days.

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., pp. 63, 64.
2. Ibid., p. 64.
3. Ibid., pp. 86-97.
4. Ibid., pp. 92-94.

In March, 1838 he was ordained, in Loudoun, a minister of the Church of Scotland.[1]

The Church at this time was going through the struggle which came to its climax in the Disruption in 1843. Norman Macleod's interest and place in this will be discussed fully in the next chapter. However, in order that the issues involved may be sharpened, there follows a discussion of the state of the Church just prior to the commencement of his ministry.

D. The Church at This Time

1. Parties.

a. Evangelicals.

Of the two groups into which the ministry of the Church of Scotland was divided at the start of the nineteenth century this was the conservative one. The difference between the two groups lay not so much in doctrine-they were more or less in accord on essentials-as it did in practice. The Evangelicals practiced a strict church discipline and denounced frivolities.[2]

b. Moderates.

This group, earlier called 'moralists', "...claimed that they stood for moderation in doctrine, discipline, and church government..."[3] Their religion, however, was also moderate, for they seem

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., pp. 97, 104, 124.
2. C. Stewart Black. The Scottish Church. Wm. Maclellan, Glasgow, 1952, p. 219.
3. Ibid., p. 220.

to have believed that all a man was required to do was lead a fairly decent life avoiding sin as much as possible.[1] This policy, though probably still affecting some, was not characteristic of the Moderates as 1843 approached, for they"...were just as rigid in enforcing the doctrines of the confession as their opponents...."[2] During the struggle which preceded the Disruption, often called the "Ten Years' Conflict,"[3] the Moderate party contended for the maintaining of Patronage, (discussed in the next section), and for "...obedience to the Civil Law against the independence of the Church courts...."[4]

2. Patronage.

a. Introduction.

Although it was stated in the First Book of Discipline in 1560 that, "It appertaineth to the people and in every several congregation to elect their minister,"[5], from 1567 to the time under discussion patrons had presented the ministers to the church. It was in 1567 that "...Popery was abolished and the Reformed religion [was] recognised and established,"[6] in Scotland. The statutes of that time in regard to patronage were modified or changed throughout the succeeding years - but basically it remained the same - that the patron chose the minister and presented him to the congregation.[7]

. . . . . .

1. Ibid.
2. J.R. Fleming: A History of the Church of Scotland, 1843-1874. T.&T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1927, p. 7.
3. Ibid., p. 6.
4. Ibid., p. 7.
5. Fleming, op. cit., p. 269.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., pp. 268-270.

b. General Assembly 1834.

(1) Veto Act.

This act, passed by the General Assembly in 1834, "... ordered presbyteries to refuse to accept any presentee who was not approved of by a majority of the male members of the congregation to which he had been given as minister...."[1] Although this act was designed to make things easier it proved to be a most unfortunate step, for -

> ...The Assembly had no authority to make any such enactment. It was entirely irregular, and, in many legal disputes to which it gave rise, the Court of Session was compelled to give its findings in favour of the patrons and their nominee.[2]

(2) Chapels Act.

This was passed by the same Assembly. A great many new churches had been founded and supported by congregations to meet the need of rapidly expanding city populations. These were known as Chapels of Ease and had no official standing in the Established Church. Thus their ministers had no official place, either in presbyteries or in the General Assembly.[3]

> By the Chapels Act, those congregations were made fully equal with all the others in the Church of Scotland. They became quoad sacra parishes, and their ministers and elders were admitted to membership of the Church courts. As a result, the previous overwhelming moderate majority in the General Assembly was greatly reduced, most of the new members being inclined... to side with the Evangelicals.[4]

. . . . . .

1. Black: op. cit., p. 224.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 224, 225.

3. Stand Taken by Each Party.

The Moderate party held that in the difference which had arisen between the Church and the State, (i.e. concerning patronage), that the Courts of Law should determine the ultimate decision.[1] The Evangelicals, or Non-Intrusionists, as they were often called, although they fully recognized the absolute jurisdiction of the Law Courts in civil matters and in the temporalities given by the State to the Church, "...claimed for the latter as an historic heritage the power to regulate her own spiritual affairs and to perform all spiritual acts under the Headship of Christ alone."[2]

The issues were sharpened by a number of legal disputes and became clearer, until finally the split came in the Disruption of 1843.

B. Summary

From boyhood to young manhood, from seashore adventures through Continental sophistication to a strife-stricken Church, the early life and times of Norman Macleod have been traced. In this chapter the events and influence of childhood days were discussed first. Following this came the account of his academic training. This time was not only solemnized by death, but during it also, his life was broadened and his sympathies deepened by his experiences on the Continent. The chapter was concluded by a brief summary of the state of the Church at this time. The parties and the issues which came to a focus in the Disruption of 1843 were the main considerations.

. . . . . .

1. Fleming: op. cit., p. 21.
2. Ibid.

So end the first and formative years of the subject of this study. These were the years in which the foundation of the broad and sympathetic nature and the staunch character was laid. His growing knowledge of men and his growing ability to influence for good the thought and action of others are important factors which in part indicate the lines along which his ministry was to develop. The measure in which this is true will be seen in the account of his ministry which will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE MINISTRY OF NORMAN MACLEOD

CHAPTER II

THE MINISTRY OF NORMAN MACLEOD

A. Introduction

As was indicated in the first chapter there was growing conflict in the Church of Scotland - the storm clouds were gathering faster and the atmosphere was growing tense as Norman Macleod launched out into the profession for which he had been preparing. He had been at work for just five years when the 'Ten Years' Conflict'[1] reached its climax in the Disruption in May 1843. Since this event had a vital part in determining the role that Norman Macleod was to play in the Church of Scotland, his stand prior to and during the Disruption will be discussed in this chapter. Following this his parish ministry will be considered. The chapter will be concluded by a consideration of the work which he did beyond the bounds of his parishes - his work which influenced the progress and outreach of the Church of Scotland at large.

B. His Stand in the Disruption

1. His Place in Preceding Events.

a. His Relation to the Controversy.

Norman Macleod took a keen interest in the contentions of the Church, but from the beginning both from his temperament and from family tradition, sided with the Moderate party.[2] He seemed to discern

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 182.
2. Ibid., p. 97.

from the first in the position taken by the 'Evangelicals' "...the presence of sacerdotal pretensions which he his whole life long stoutly withstood."[1] On the other hand, he was much too ardent and enthusiastic to be a moderate of the accepted type and so never belonged to the party.[2]

Although he kept up with what was going on he hated controversy and stayed out of the struggle himself as long as was possible. However, when it became clear to him that he must take a stand he made a careful and thorough examination of the history and literature of the controversy and "...thought out for himself the conclusions which determined his line of action."[3] He then joined 'The Forty' shortly after their formation in April, 1843. This group "...attempted to take a middle course between extremes."[4] They were not satisfied with the action the 'Evangelicals' had taken in passing and enforcing the Veto Act, nor were they content with the existing law as were the extreme 'Moderates,' who did not desire any change.[5]

At this time deputations were being sent all over the country by the 'Evangelicals' to stir up the people to secede. When the deputation came to his parish Norman Macleod challenged his parishioners to examine carefully what was involved. He gave a long address on the subject which secured the loyalty of practically every parishioner.[6] He

. . . . . .

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 184.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., pp. 184, 185.
6. Ibid., p. 185.

followed this up by writing 'A Crack aboot the Kirk for Kintra Folk,'[1] a pamphlet suited for the common people; (a "crack" is the Scotch term for a "brisk talk"*). It was written in the form of a dialogue. In it many angles and facets of the controversy were discussed in "pithy Scotch."[2] "Its wit and clearness of statement at once attracted attention, and it passed rapidly through several editions."[3]

b. The Controversy as it Then Stood.

It would seem wise at this point to clarify the factors that were involved in the conflict and since the "Crack aboot the Kirk"[4] gives a good summary its main arguments are here presented.

(1) Facts About the Establishment.

The Church of Scotland was established by law, that is, an agreement was made between the State and the Church. The State for its part agreed to provide protection and security, and it also made provision for the Church's support. The Church for its part agreed to teach the people according to definite creeds that were accepted in the agreement. The Civil Courts were the official interpreters of the agreement made between the State and the Church. Any changes made in the constitution had to be agreed to by both parties. They were bound to this by law as long as their agreement lasted.

(2) Facts About Patronage.

As a means of support for the churches both Church and State agreed that patrons would support the various churches - providing

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 340.
* H.W. Fowler, F.G. Fowler: The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English. 3rd. ed. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1949.
2. Ibid., p. 185.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 340-362.

the church building, the manse, the glebe, (land surrounding the manse), and the stipend. As well they were to present a duly qualified minister to the congregation. If the people objected to the minister presented by the patron the presbytery could examine the minister's qualifications and the people's objections and if the latter were sound could reject the minister.

(3) Developments in the 'Ten Years' Conflict.'

Due in part to the desire of many in the Church of Scotland to show that their Church had as much freedom of action as the "Voluntaries" (i.e. those church bodies which were not State-supported), who were gaining much popular support at the time, and also due to the fact that there was some dissatisfaction that the people did not have more of a voice in the choosing of their ministers, the Church, by itself, passed the Veto Act. (This, -as before indicated,- enabled male heads of families to reject a minister presented to them without any reason being given for their action.) Thus because both parties, (i.e. the Church and the State), had not agreed to the passing of this act it was illegal.

When this act was enforced by the Church several instances arose when either the presentee, (i.e. the minister presented to the congregation), or the patron, or both, took the case to the Civil Courts. In every case the Church was proved wrong and the patron and/or the presentee right - basically because of the illegality of the Veto Act.

A similar situation arose in regard to admitting ministers and elders of Chapels into full standing. The Church again, in order to exert its own authority and freedom, (and also to ease the difficult situation caused by the lack of status of these ministers and elders), passed

the Chapels Act which gave the ministers and elders of Chapels equal standing with those of regular parishes. Again this was an illegal act because not passed in consultation with the other party - the State.

The 'Evangelicals,' who had been instrumental in having these acts passed, would not have these or any of their moves retracted - though repeatedly proved illegal. They did not want to be governed by the Civil Courts or by the State, they wanted spiritual independence under the Headship of Christ alone, and yet wanted to maintain the benefits provided by the State in the agreement between Church and State.

Those who opposed them maintained that the "Bargain" made with the State imposed certain limitations on their actions - they were not free to do as they pleased, but yet that they were not in any way limited in their loyalty to Scripture, their preaching of the Gospel or their acknowledgment of Christ as Head of the Church.

The result was that all those who felt that they did not have spiritual independence in the Establishment (i.e. the established Church) as it stood, felt that the only course open to them was to leave the Establishment and form a new church since they could not change the situation, (i.e. from limitation to complete freedom), and still maintain the agreement with the State. Those who planned to remain in the Church felt that the wrongs, (which there undoubtedly were), could be better corrected by their remaining within the Establishment and that the Establishment itself was worth preserving.

This summary not only helps to clarify the issues but also aids in giving a clearer indication of what Norman Macleod's own convictions were on the matter.

c. His Action in the Presbytery.

As moderator of the Presbytery, which was to elect commissioners to sit in the forthcoming General Assembly, he found himself placed in a position of great responsibility due to immediately preceding events and probable future events. The Stewarton case which had come about as a result of the Chapels Act had just given legal proof of the non-eligibility of the ministers of Chapels to sit in Presbyteries. Since it was Macleod's conviction that this decision should be upheld, and also the decision of those with whom he was associated, he decided not to admit the votes of those who had no legal rights in the Presbytery. His position was further strengthened by the fact that it was reliably reported that,

> ...it was the intention of the party which was about to secede, not to retire merely as a section of the Church, but, by gaining a majority in the Assembly, to declare the connection between Church and State at an end, and, moreover, to excommunicate those who remained in the Church as by law established...[1]

He was convinced that the Establishment, (i.e. the relation of the Church to the State established by law,) was worth preserving at all costs. To make this possible he felt that only legally qualified commissioners should be sent by the Presbytery to the Assembly. He saw that there was no other possible way of accomplishing this than by separating from those in the Presbytery who were Chapel ministers if they would not voluntarily withdraw from their seats in the Presbytery when the matter was put before them. When the time came Norman Macleod and those who adhered to him in the Presbytery were forced to separate and so "...the first split in the Church took place."[2] It came as the first open expression of the feeling that was present in the Church and which led fairly quickly after this to the complete split - the Disruption.

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., pp. 186, 187.
2. Ibid., p. 187.

2. His Position in the General Assembly, May 1843.

Morrison, in his recent article on Norman Macleod in the Church of Scotland's magazine, "Life and Work," (referred to in the introduction to this thesis), states that, "If grand men 'went out' at the Disruption, it is good to remember that as grand men 'stayed in.' And those who remained had a harder task than those who left..."[1]

In a letter to his sister written from Edinburgh on the morning of May 18, 1843 - the opening day of the General Assembly - Norman Macleod records that it was a beautiful day "...in the physical world, but thundery and ominous in the moral one..."[2] The result of that historic Assembly was that the majority of the members,[3] after the opening prayer and reading of the protest by the retiring Moderator, David Welsh,[4] left St. Andrew's Church and made their way to Tanfield Hall.[5] The deed of demission was signed here and afterwards by 474 ministers out of a total of 1,203.[6] By this deed connections with the Establishment were severed[7] and the Free Church of Scotland was formed.[8] It need hardly be mentioned that Norman Macleod was among those who remained in the Church of Scotland.

Those of the Assembly who remained did so for a number of different reasons,[9] but all were faced with the same task of building up the Church again. Well over four hundred vacant charges had to be filled and the whole foreign mission program had to be reorganized[10] since all but one

. . . . . .

1. N. Brysson Morrison: op. cit., p. 243.
2. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 197.
3. Black: op. cit., p. 229.
4. J.H. Merle D'Aubigné: Germany, England, and Scotland; or, Recollections of a Swiss Minister. Robert Carter, New York, 1848, p. 331.
5. Fleming: op. cit., pp. 22, 23.
6. Ibid., p. 23.
7. W.M. Hetherington: History of the Church of Scotland. Robert Carter and Brothers, New York, 1851, p. 465.
8. Fleming: loc. cit.
9. Ibid., pp. 30, 31
10. Donald Macleod: op.cit., p. 188.

of the missionaries had seceded from the Church of Scotland.[1] Norman Macleod made two speeches at this Assembly. The first of which, especially, made a deep impression.[2] It was given with courage and enthusiasm which inspired confidence in many almost despairing hearts.[3] An extract from a condensed report of this speech which gives one an idea of the impact it had is as follows:

> Difficult as the task is which those who have left us have assigned to us, I, for one, cheerfully, but yet with chastened and determined feelings, accept of it. I do so, God knoweth, not for my own ease and comfort. If I consulted them, or any selfish feeling, I would take the popular and easy method of solving all difficulties, by leaving the Establishment; but I am not free to do so. I glory in declaring that this is not a Free Presbyterian Church. We are not free to legislate beyond the bounds of the constitution; we are not free to gratify our own feelings at the good of the country. Neither are we free from the weaknesses and infirmities of humanity --its fears, despondencies, and anxieties. No! we are bound, but bound by honour, conscience, and law--by the cords of love and affection--to maintain our beloved Established Church, and through it, to benefit our dear fatherland. And I am not afraid. By the grace of God we shall succeed. We shall endeavour to extinguish the fire which has been kindled, and every fire but the light of the glorious Gospel, which we shall, I hope, fan into a brighter flame. And the beautiful spectacle which was presented to us on Sabbath evening in the dense crowd assembled here to ask the blessing of God on our beloved Church, enabled me to distinguish amid the flames the old motto flashing out, 'Nec tamen consumebatur.' We shall try to bring out ship safe to harbour, and if we haul down the one flag 'Retract! No, never!' we shall hoist another, 'Despair! No, never!' And if I live to come to this Assembly an old man, I am confident that a grateful posterity will vindicate our present position, in endeavouring, through good report and bad report, to preserve this great national institution as a blessing to them and to their children's children.[4]

It was a deep sense of duty that helped him face with his brethren the difficult task that lay ahead of them. He did not hesitate but took his place from that day forward as a 'restorer of the breach.'[5]

. . . . . .

1. Black: op.cit., pp. 231, 232.
2. Donald Macleod: op.cit., p. 189.
3. Ibid., pp. 189, 190.
4. Ibid., pp. 190, 191.
5. Ibid., p. 188.

Thus were established the conditions in which Norman Macleod was to labour for the rest of his years. And thus was established his position as a constructive force in the badly depleted ranks of his Church.

C. His Parish Ministry.

Norman Macleod's parish ministry was divided into three distinct periods. As indicated previously his first parish was that of Loudoun, where he remained from March 1838 to December 1843; his second was Dalkeith, from December 1843 to July 1851; and his final parish was that of the Barony in Glasgow, where he ministered from July 1851 until his death in June 1872. Although his larger ministry took place during this time it was fairly distinct from his parish work and so will be treated separately. An attempt will be made in these two sections to give an outline of his activities and their significance, as a basis for discussing in the third chapter the significant factors involved in making possible his influence as a Christian leader.

1. His Ministry in Loudoun.

The parish consisted of two main centres - Newmilns and Darvel.[1] The people in the country-side were farmers, Covenanters, for the most part, while those in the villages were weavers of political and speculative mind who read much. There was keen interest in public affairs.[2] He began his ministry there by house to house visitation and kept a careful record of the circumstances of each family and his impressions of the character

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 115.
2. Ibid.

of each individual.[1] He established a Sabbath school. As well as the regular morning service he instituted special evening services for people in their working clothes.[2] Later he gave a series of lectures on geology by which means he was able to contact those who otherwise would have had nothing to do with the Church.[3] By his firm stand on church discipline he incurred strong sympathy and strong opposition.[4]

At this time (both here and in Dalkeith), he was able to devote more time than ever afterward to reading and study.[5] His mornings were devoted to study, his afternoons and evenings largely to visitation.[6] Although his efforts seemed many times unprofitable he was gratified at the end of his ministry here to find how much good God had actually been able to accomplish through him.[7]

2. His Ministry in Dalkeith.

In 1843, with the many vacancies caused by the Disruption, many calls from both city and country parishes came to him.[8] However, at the time he preferred a country parish, one of his reasons being that he felt both body, (he had not been well for a time), and spirit, (he felt he should have more experience in the ministry), would suffer in the tremendous pressure of a city parish.[9] Accordingly he accepted the country parish of Dalkeith

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 116.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 117.
4. Ibid., p. 116.
5. Ibid., pp. 121, 274.
6. Ibid., pp. 121, 122.
7. Ibid., pp. 209, 210.
8. Ibid., pp. 205, 206.
9. Ibid., p. 206.

in September 1843, and took up his duties there in December of the same year.[1]

The town of Dalkeith, the most important part of his new parish, had a population of 5,000.[2] As well as having prosperous people, the town had many poor people. Working men did not possess the same keen interest in books or public affairs as those in his previous parish had done. Their outlook on the whole was solid, dull, and prosaic.[3]

Norman Macleod's most important labours here were in connection with his work with the poor. He organized his congregation in Dalkeith in helping their poor and ignorant neighbours. Three mission stations were started.[4]

He entered personally into the problems of the people he worked among, making compacts of abstinence with drunkards[5] and providing clothes for those who could not afford them.[6] He was much concerned that those who possessed much both in wealth and education should come into living contact with those who did not - for the great benefit of both.[7] He felt that it was the responsibility of the Church to make this possible.[8]

. . . . . .

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 211.
3. Ibid., p. 212.
4. Ibid., pp. 212, 213.
5. Ibid., pp. 213
6. Ibid., pp. 229-231.
7. Ibid., pp. 214, 215; pp. 280, 281; pp. 303, 304.
8. Ibid., pp. 303.

3. His Ministry in the Barony Parish, Glasgow.

In the spring of 1851 a call came to him from the Barony parish in Glasgow,[1] and in July, 1851 he was inducted minister of this parish.[2] On August 11th of the same year he was married to Catherine Ann Mackintosh, sister of his great friend, John Mackintosh,[3] who had very recently died.[4]

a. General Features.

The minister of the Barony ministered not only to the congregation which worshipped in the Barony Church but to the parish which included 87,000 people and which was rapidly increasing. The Barony Church was the Parish Church and although there were in addition many other churches - dissenting congregations and Church of Scotland chapels, these were not only inadequate to meet the needs of the population but were not evenly distributed, with the result that many densely populated areas did not have either church or school; (schools were maintained by the church then).[5]

This situation in the Barony parish offered a wonderful opportunity for the development of Norman Macleod's convictions as to the responsibilities of a Christian congregation in fulfilling its function in caring for the needs of those around them.[6]

He maintained that every man has been enriched by God with some gift or talent which if discovered, educated, and properly directed, is

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 313.
2. Ibid., II, p. 1.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., I, p. 313.
5. Ibid., II, p. 3.
6. Ibid., p. 4.

capable of enriching others.[1] He felt it was the task of the Church to demand discovery of these gifts and to be so organized that it could suggest at least, if not assign, "...fitting work to each member, and a fitting member for each work."[2] In his article on, 'What is a Christian Congregation?", from which the preceding is quoted he goes on to say:

> "...The most willing church member gazes over a great city, and asks in despair, 'What am I to do here?' And what would the bravest soldiers accomplish in the day of battle, if they asked the same question in vain? What would a thousand of our best workmen do in a large factory, if they entered it with willing hands, yet having no place or work assigned to them?"[3]

He was convinced furthermore, that it was the responsibility of the Church to minister to the whole man, -not just to meet his spiritual needs but to provide for his social, intellectual and economic needs as well.[4] These then were the views on which his general plan of work in the Barony was based.[5]

In order to carry out these plans, after personally visiting the different families under his immediate charge, it is recorded by his biographer that,

> ...he commenced to organize his agencies, with the determination to make the congregation the centre from which he was to work in the parish. He first formed a large kirk-session of elders and deacons, and at once gave the Court, [the session in its judicial capacity], over which he presided officially, direct control over all the agencies he intended to employ. However numerous might be the 'workers,' male and female, who took an active part in missionary labour, all of them were under the direction and superintendence of the kirk-session. Even the names of those whose children were to

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 6.
2. Ibid., pp. 6, 7.
3. Ibid., p. 7.
4. Ibid., p. 7, 8.
5. Ibid., p. 8.

> be baptized, were regularly submitted to this body. In this manner he not only called forth the talents and energy of individuals, but so organized their work, under the constitutional government of the Church, that it went on smoothly and efficiently, even when he was himself obliged to be absent for a considerable period...[1]

One of the most important features of his plan of operation was the division of the congregation into twelve districts, according to residence, and the establishment of a yearly meeting in each district. One or more elders with an appropriate number of deacons were appointed to each of these districts. All the families connected with the congregation living within a district were expected to attend the annual meeting. At this the minister and the elders and deacons of the district were able to meet people in an informal and friendly way, greetings were exchanged, the congregational work was explained, and pastoral advice was given on practical matters. Further advantages were that the communicants not only got to know their office-bearers better, but also became better acquainted with one another. As well this method of working became particularly useful when Norman Macleod's increasing public duties made regular visiting of separate households impossible.[2]

In order to promote unity in the whole congregation and to maintain congregational life, the kirk-session issued Reports of their proceedings at short intervals, and in addition, "...a social festival of the congregation was occasionally held, at which these reports were read, and kindly and instructive addresses delivered."[3]

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., pp. 8, 9.
2. Ibid., pp. 9, 10.
3. Ibid., p. 13.

b. Work of the Congregation.

The specific work of the congregation, which, as has been mentioned, was superintended by the kirk-session, will be discussed under two headings, viz. parochial, and extra-parochial.

(1) Parochial.

As well as missionary operations which dealt directly with the people's spiritual needs, the parochial work of the congregation included efforts for the educational and social improvement of the people.

The educational requirements of this large parish were great, and, as has been mentioned, there was need for more schools. The kirk-session of the Barony Church supported several day-schools. However, for the areas where school accommodation was still needed, support had to be gained. Such was the support that Norman Macleod, by much hard toil on his own part, was able to obtain from wealthy citizens, that in his first ten years in the Barony accommodation for two thousand more students was provided. A committee of the kirk-session managed the schools, making monthly visits and reports on their condition.[2] In addition Norman Macleod attempted, on certain days each month, to visit the day and evening schools (to be mentioned next), and "...examine, encourage, and advise the pupils."[3]

As Norman Macleod came into closer contact with the working classes, he saw their need for education. As a result the Church established another educational agency. Evening classes were started for

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 10.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

adults in which men and women patiently toiled at different levels - from the alphabet upwards. The classes were well attended. Although similar schools had been attempted before, they failed because there was not sufficient care given to the appointment of teachers. The success of these schools was attributed to the fact that they were under certificated Government teachers.[1]

The Sabbath-schools - there were from seven to twelve at different times, with as many as fourteen hundred pupils --"...were organized into a single society under the care of the session. With these schools the minister kept himself always well acquainted, and as frequently as possible gave expository lectures to the teachers, on the lessons...."[2] In addition, for several winters, he also taught on Sunday, a class of about one hundred children of the members of his congregation.[3]

Social improvements instituted by Norman Macleod included the founding of the first Congregational Penny Savings' Bank in Glasgow, and the establishment of a Refreshment-room in one of the busiest centres of labour.[4] Here working men could get inexpensive, well-cooked food and, "...enjoy a comfortable reading-room at their meal-hours, instead of being obliged to have recourse to the public house."[5] These endeavours were so successful that they led to "...the establishment of similar institutions on a larger scale throughout the city."[6] Later in

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., pp. 10, 11.
2. Ibid., p. 11
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

his ministry, Norman Macleod also organized "...various methods of affording amusement and social recreation to the people connected with his missions."[1]

"The direct missionary and Church extension work of the parish,"[2] is recorded by Norman Macleod's biographer as --

> ...continually enlarging, and at the same time changing ground. When he first came to the parish four chapels were without ministers or congregations. These chapels had been retained by the Free Church for several years, and it now fell to him and to his session to assist in procuring ministers for them, and to foster the congregations that were being formed. In other places, where a new population was rising, churches had to be built. In this way, as a sequel to the work of reorganizing chapels, six new churches were erected in his parish during his ministry, and in respect to most of these he had to bear a large share of the burden of collecting funds, While this work of church extension was going forward, his mission staff for overtaking destitute localities increased in ten years from one lay missionary employed in 1852, to five missionaries (lay and clerical), with three Bible-women and a colporteur, all of whom were superintended by him and his session.[3]

Other parochial agencies of lesser importance were "... the Young Men's Association, Clothing Society, &c."[4]

(2) Extra-parochial.

The work of the congregation in this sphere was chiefly concerned with raising money for the missionary work of the Church of Scotland. By continually making available information on home and foreign missions, and thereby creating intelligent interest, and by organization, Norman Macleod was able to encourage his congregation to produce great results. Although his congregation was not rich there was hardly another congregation in the Church which contributed as much for missions as did the Barony. And although the total amount was large it was

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 12.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

chiefly made up of very small contributions.[1]

It was in this way that he carried out his convictions of the "...Christian congregation as a society united for work."[2] And it was only by this careful organization, and by the development of the potential power of the Church members, that the labour accomplished during Norman Macleod's ministry in the Barony was possible.[3]

c. Specific Features.

Norman Macleod's work as minister has in part been described - this, together with the study required for the preparation of sermons, (he always had two, and frequently three services to conduct every Sunday), might well have been enough for the energies of any man. However, he also edited a magazine, wrote and published a number of books, and took an active part in the public and missionary business of the Church during this time.[4] These wider activities will be discussed in the following section which deals with his larger ministry.

His preaching was a vital and powerful part of his total ministry and his influence as a preacher was evidenced in part by the fact that every Sunday he preached to crowds that filled every seat and passage of the Barony Church.[5] Further evidence of his ability in preaching is given by Robert Flint in his lecture on Norman Macleod delivered in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, in 1883, in which he had the following

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., pp.12, 13.
2. Ibid., p. 13.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 3.

to say:

> Norman Macleod was wonderfully gifted as a preacher. His robust presence, his countenance so expressive of power of mind and of varied wealth of nature, and his rich, unaffected, flexible voice, were great external advantages. Then, thought, imagination, and feeling, were blended in all he uttered in a way the most attractive and utterly unattainable by art or effort. The sermons of Dr. Macleod owed their excellence to the number of good qualities by which they were characterised, rather than to the degree in which they possessed any one quality. The thought in them was fresh and vigorous; the chords of feeling were effectively touched; Christ was their great theme; the Gospel was constantly presented with a direct view to the satisfaction of the great wants of the soul as regards remission of sin and sanctification; the openness of view and largeness of heart of the speaker were unmistakeably revealed; his earnestness was contagious. They had the great merit of drawing attention comparatively little to themselves and much to their subjects. Their language naturally and forcibly conveyed what it was intended to express, so that hearers thought only of that; it had nothing of the ornate, rhetorical character which makes them think of itself. There was no elaborate scene-painting or picture-drawing in Dr. Macleod's discourses. No preacher in Scotland could have produced more effect in that way, but he did not consider that real spiritual good could be thus produced, and accordingly he exercised great restraint in the use of his imagination in preaching. It was not otherwise as regards the power of moving feeling. He shunned appealing to feeling alone, or excessively. The gleams of imagination and touches of pathos in his sermons were never in a wrong place, or in any placefor their own sakes. His general position and character as a preacher cannot be more accurately or admirably described than in these words of homage to his memory written, on the occasion of his death, by Dean Stanley in the 'Times': 'Other preachers we have heard, both in England and France--more learned, more eloquent, more perfect, more penetrating to particular audiences; but no preacher has arisen, within our experience, with an equal power of riveting the general attention of the varied congregations of modern times; none who so combined the self-control of the prepared discourse with the directness of extemporaneous effort; none with whom the sermon approached so nearly to its original and proper ideal of a conversation--a serious conversation in which the fleeting thought, the unconscious objection, of the listeners seemed to be readily caught up in a passing parenthesis, a qualifying word, of the speaker; so that, in short, the speaker seemed to throw himself with the whole force of his soul on the minds of the hearers, led captive against their will by something more than eloquence.'[1]

. . . . . .

1. Robert Flint: op.cit., pp. 448-450.

In 1857 he instituted evening services for the poor. He had experimented with this type of thing in his early days in Loudoun and had found it to be successful. In the Barony parish it proved to be an overwhelming success. Only those in their working clothes were admitted and there were elders stationed at the door to inspect all who entered to make sure they met the requirements. Any suggestion of finery excluded a person from the service.[1] His sermons were thoroughly adapted to the needs and character of his audience - his teachings were objective rather than abstract,[2] and yet the sermons were as cultured and refined as those given to any other congregation.[3] It is stated that, "...results of these services were remarkable. Many hundreds were reclaimed from lawless habits, some of the more ignorant were educated, and a large number became communicants..."[4] This work interested Norman Macleod more than any other of his numerous undertakings, and the many testimonies of gratitude (as well as those results already indicated), expressed the life-changing effects his concern for the poor produced.[5]

One of the most significant features of his personal life during this time was a period of critical illness. In 1857 he was attacked by an illness which gave him much pain and which gave his doctors much anxiety. However, a trip to Switzerland helped in large measure to restore his health. Shortly after his recovery his wife was stricken with typhoid fever and nearly died. During these experiences he was forced

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op.cit., pp. 57-59.
2. Ibid., p. 61.
3. Robert Flint: op.cit., p. 451.
4. Donald Macleod: op.cit., pp. 60, 61.
5. Ibid., pp. 61, 75, 76; 397, 398.

to rely even more completely on God and the deeper and more profound faith produced equipped him for the even wider sphere of influence in the life of the Church that he was about to enter.[1]

As has been indicated, the organization of his parish enabled him to maintain an effective local ministry and at the same time to exercise a great influence in the affairs of the Church at large. In addition his ties with his congregation became so close that he could maintain them, though absent, and could give his people the care that they needed.[2]

The first phase of his wider ministry - his influence at the time of the Disruption, has been discussed. The other phases, for which his local parishes, first in Dalkeith and then in the Barony, became the bases of operations, will now be considered.

D. His Larger Ministry

As has been previously indicated, Norman Macleod's larger ministry began early in his ministerial career. His stand in the Disruption brought him into prominence which increased as he took an increasingly active part in the ministry of the Church at large.

1. His Early Tasks as a Representative of His Church.

In 1843, when Norman Macleod spoke during the General Assembly,[3] he said they would try to extinguish the fire that had been kindled and fan the light of the Gospel into a brighter flame. He was soon called

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., pp. 65, 66.
2. William Ewart Gladstone: Macleod and Macaulay. Belford Brothers, Toronto, 1876, p. 6.
3. Cf. ante, p. 30.

upon to do this for his Church as he was sent first as part of a deputation to North America, and then as the Church of Scotland's representative to the Evangelical Alliance.

a. Visit to Churches in North America.

The deputation which was sent to British North America in June, 1845, by the General Assembly, included Norman Macleod and two others. Their purpose was to preach to the many Scottish congregations which had adhered to the Church of Scotland in the recent Disruption, but who were without ministers as a result.[1] As well as giving encouragement and inspiration the deputies were "...to explain, when called upon, the views which had determined the policy of those who had remained by the Church of their fathers..."[2] In so doing they determined to say nothing against the Free Church, and while firmly vindicating their own Church they would do nothing which might hinder the usefulness of any other.[3]

During their five months abroad they travelled many hundreds of miles and received an overwhelming welcome. Places visited on the East Coast included Pictou, Nova Scotia, and surrounding towns, and Charlotte Town, Prince Edward's Island. They then travelled inland, (via Boston), and visited a number of settlements out from Montreal, some near Toronto, and then Toronto, itself.[4] Norman Macleod was greatly impressed with the poverty and earnestness of the people and with the

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op.cit., I, p. 234.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 239-252.

continuing intensely Highland way of life which he encountered again and again. Their visit to North America did much good, for the effects of their presence were deep and lasting.[1]

b. Evangelical Alliance.

Since Norman Macleod felt that the intolerant atmosphere which pervaded Scotland as a result of the Disruption was far worse than the questions which divided the two Churches,[2] he was delighted to hear of the proposed formation of the Evangelical Alliance, a project which "... not only harmonized with his own deepest feelings, but promised to have a specially beneficial effect in healing the divisions of Scotland."[3] Accordingly, as a representative of his Church,[4] he threw himself wholeheartedly into the movement.[5] He was present at the preliminary meetings in Birmingham and London in the spring of 1846,[6] and was at the conference in London in August, 1846,[7] when the Evangelical Alliance was officially launched with nine hundred twenty-one delegates who represented fifty denominations and who came from all parts of the world.[8] He presided over one of the sessions.[9]

In August 1847, Norman Macleod and a minister from London were sent by the Evangelical Alliance on a tour of Prussian Poland and Silesia for the purpose of obtaining reliable information about a new

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 252.
2. Ibid., pp. 253, 254.
3. Ibid., pp. 254, 255.
4. Ibid., p. 260.
5. Ibid., p. 255.
6. Ibid., pp. 257, 258.
7. Ibid., p. 260.
8. J. R. Fleming: op. cit., p. 75.
9. Ibid.

movement in favour of a reformed Church in those countries, which was awakening considerable interest at the time.[1] They obtained much valuable information and made recommendations on the basis of what they saw.[2] His interest and activity in the Evangelical Alliance continued until 1863 when he was convinced that a narrowness of spirit had grown up in it and that he must leave it.[3]

2. His Publications.

T. R. Barnett in his biography of Norman Macleod in, "The Makers of the Kirk" states that "...his pen was always as busy as his tongue."[4] Macleod's first important writing was his "Crack aboot the Kirk," already referred to. This first 'Crack' was quickly followed by two others, described as "...hardly so racy in style, though perhaps quite as powerful in argument."[5] His next literary task of note was editing the "Edinburgh Christian Magazine."[6] When he was in Dalkeith he became very concerned about the condition of the Church as a whole and felt the necessity for the Church to have an organ through which she might address her members on questions relating to Christian life and work. It was resolved that a magazine should be started and Norman Macleod became its editor. It was decided that it should contain articles for Sabbath reading, and be sold at the lowest possible price.[7] It was published monthly in Edinburgh, and contained "Short sermons, papers on social and scientific

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 267.
2. Ibid., pp. 270, 272.
3. Ibid., II, p. 139.
4. T. R. Barnett: op. cit., p. 301.
5. Donald Macleod: op. cit., I, p. 186.
6. Ibid., p. 302.
7. Ibid., pp. 301, 302.

subjects, biographies, missionary intelligence, articles upon parochial and church organization, and notices of books...."[1] A circulation of five thousand copies was all that it attained to, but nevertheless it did much to bring about a renewed religious life which was broad, tolerant, and earnest.[2] A series of articles on family education that Norman Macleod wrote for the magazine during its first year (1849-50), was later expanded into a volume called "The Home School."[3] Similarly a series on drunkeness contributed during 1850-51 was reprinted under the title, "A Plea for Temperance."[4]

An important biography which he wrote and which was first published in 1854 was 'The Earnest Student.' It was "...a memoir of his brother-in-law, John Mackintosh...."[5] J.R. Fleming in his book, "A History of the Church in Scotland, 1843-1874," describes it as a "beautiful and graceful piece of work...."[6] In 1857 he published 'Deborah,' a book for Christian servants.[7]

At the end of 1859, after much urging, he accepted the editorship of a new magazine.[8] His former magazine, the "Edinburgh Christian Magazine," although it was effective, had never paid, and had been given up earlier that year.[9] This new magazine to be published monthly was to be called "Good Words" and was projected, not by him, but by the publishers

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 302.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 303.
5. Ibid., II, p. 13.
6. J.R. Fleming: op. cit., pp. 164, 165.
7. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 62.
8. Ibid., p. 97.
9. Ibid., p. 136.

--Strahan and Isbister.[1] Its articles were to be somewhat similar to those of the "Edinburgh Christian Magazine,"[2] but they were to be written with a wider audience in mind. Macleod had long been convinced of the great need of a magazine which would have a spirit and aim which were distinctively Christian but which would include as great a variety of articles as those "...which gave deserved popularity to publications professedly secular...."[3] He felt that even the best religious magazines were by their narrowness and literary weakness causing the gulf which separated the so-called religious and the secular press.[4] He was able to secure articles for the magazine from able writers who belonged to different schools of theology and different departments of literature.[5] At times the magazine was vigorously attacked for its broad policy by the narrower section of "Evangelicals."[6] However, he maintained his ideas,[7] and "...made this magazine, partly by his own writings and still more by his catholic and wise editorship, one of the greatest successes in periodical literature."[8] By 1863 its circulation had reached one hundred and ten thousand monthly.[9]

Besides numerous minor articles, he contributed to the pages of "Good Words" many series which he afterwards published in book form.

All his writing was done with the specific purpose of "...leading

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 97.
2. Ibid., p. 136.
3. Ibid., p. 97.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 142.
6. Ibid., pp. 135-152.
7. Alexander Strahan: Norman Macleod, D.D. J.B. Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia, 1872, p. 19.
8. "Norman Macleod". In Charles Dudley Warner, ed.: Library of the World's Best Literature. Special Edition. Vol. XXIV. The International Society, New York, 1896, p. 9496.
9. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 136.
10. Ibid., p. 95.

souls to know and love God...!"[1] His most notable works were: 'The Reminiscences of a Highland Parish,' 'The Old Lieutenant and his Son,' 'The Starling,' and 'Wee Davie.'[2] In the biographical and critical note which precedes selections from his writings in Warner's "Library of the World's Best Literature" the following is stated about his works:

> ...Probably 'The Reminiscences of a Highland Parish' will long be read for their broad and fine sense of human life in all its ordinary aspects. This book, without any particular pretensions to style, is full of such kindly insight, such swift humor, and such broad sympathy, that it is unquestionably the most characteristic literary work of its author. Probably, among his few efforts in fiction, the story known as 'The Old Lieutenant and his Son' (unless it be 'The Starling') still [1896] remains the most popular. Curiously enough, although his sermons stirred all Scotland, there are few of them which in perusal at this late date have any specially moving quality, apart from their earnestness and native spiritual beauty. There is however one which stands out above the others, and is to this day familiar to thousands: the splendid sermon on 'War and Judgment,' which at a crucial moment in the history of his country, Dr. Norman Macleod preached before the Queen at the little Highland Church of Crathie.[3]

Other works not yet mentioned, include 'The Gold Thread,' 'Character Sketches,' 'Simple Truths,' 'Parish Papers,' 'Eastward,' 'Peeps at the Far East,' and 'Days in North India,' the last three being accounts of travels in the Near East and India.

Alexander Strahan, his publisher who came to know him intimately,[4] in his biography of Norman Macleod says, "All he did in literature was good, and like him. But he had no self-competing ambitions, and never pushed any specialty beyond a certain point of excellence, which may be called domestic."[5] Thus his writings were directed towards thehearts of all those who read them. His audience in this facet of his larger ministry was wide. Not

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 110.
2. "Norman Macleod". In Charles Dudley Warner, ed.: op. cit., p. 9495.
3. Ibid., pp. 9496, 9497.
4. A. Strahan: op. cit., p. 6.
5. Ibid., p. 58.

only was the circulation of "Good Words" a large one, but his books went into many editions, some being published in the United States as well.

3. His Positions in the General Assembly.

Norman Macleod was a member of the General Assembly at various times during his early ministry and some of his influence and earlier tasks have already been discussed. The evidence of his early prominence is seen not only in his call to the Barony parish but also by the fact that the University of Glasgow in April, 1858 conferred the honour on him of the degree of D.D.[1] However, in his later years even greater demands wholly extraneous to the work of his parish were made upon him, which William Ewart Gladstone, in his essay on Macleod, says were "... to an extent perhaps without parallel in the history of his Church."[2] He further states that, "He became a leader in the business of the Church."[3] He held the position of Convener of the Foreign Missions Committee from 1864 to 1872,[4] and in 1869 he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly.[5] He spoke in the General Assembly at many different times on different subjects but only these areas of his major concern will be mentioned here.

a. Convener of India Mission.[6]

He had a keen interest in missions throughout his ministry. In 1844 and 1845 he was active as a representative of the General

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 76.
2. W. E. Gladstone: loc. cit.
3. Ibid.
4. J.R. Fleming: op. cit., p. 230.
5. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 297.
6. The Foreign Missions Committee was usually referred to as the India Mission since this was the sphere of the foreign missionary activity of the Church of Scotland.

Assembly in the founding of Missionary Associations for the promotion and support of female education in India,[1] and as has been mentioned, one of his phases of organization in the Barony concerned the missionary education of his people. In 1864 he was unanimously appointed to the Convenership of the India Mission by the General Assembly.[2] It is further recorded by Donald Macleod in the "Memoir" that,

> ...with much gratitude for the confidence thus reposed in him, he determined to devote his energies to its advancement. To awaken a lively interest in Missionary affairs, and to promote a more effective method of conducting them, was henceforth to be one of the great works of his life. His journals show how many places he visited, and indicate the variety of meetings he addressed with this view, but they convey a very inadequate impression of the time he had to spend in reading, in correspondence, and in anxious thought.[3]

In 1867 the General Assembly, "...acting on the unanimous request of the Mission Board at Calcutta, appointed him, along with Dr. Watson of Dundee, to represent the Church of Scotland in India."[4] He had been convinced for several years of the need for sending a deputation to India to inquire not only into "...matters affecting particular localities..."[5] but to "...take a wide survey of the condition of India in reference to Christianity."[6] They had a most successful tour-being warmly received by high and low throughout India.[7] They encountered many difficulties in obtaining accurate information, but Norman Macleod went to great pains to make sure that all that they obtained was trustworthy.[8] J.R. Fleming states the results of this mission to India as follows:

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., I, pp. 216, 233.
2. Ibid., II, p. 168.
3. Ibid., pp. 168, 169.
4. Ibid., p. 243.
5. Ibid., p. 242.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 244.
8. Ibid., pp. 244, 245.

> ...Its results were memorable in the strengthening of the staff in the educational institutions of the Church, in the organisation of a mission to the aboriginal tribes of North India, in an enlarged vision of the needs of the foreign field, and most of all in the passion for a forward policy that Macleod aroused by his speeches after his return....[1]

He was away on this tour for five months and although it produced much good for the Church, the tremendous exertion it involved proved to be very hard on his health, and was in large measure the cause of his early death four years later. However, he had been aware of the dangers, though pronounced fit to go, and had counted the cost and so was prepared for the sacrifice of health which it entailed.[2]

In 1872 he was obliged by his physician to give up his chairmanship of the India Mission for the sake of his health. The speech he made at the time of his resignation was "...the most powerful and stirring he ever delivered...".[3] He had determined that "...he would express, once for all, the conclusions he had reached regarding the manner in which Christian work in India ought to be conducted...".[4] These conclusions were basically, that Indian Churches should be allowed to develop along Indian lines and that ecclesiastical differences from the older Churches should not be transported to the mission field.[5] In order to do this he said the missionary's task must be to "...prepare the Hindoos to form a Church for themselves...".[6] This speech proved to be his last - the exertion it involved - both in preparation and delivery were too

. . . . . .

1. J. R. Fleming: op.cit., p. 231.
2. Donald Macleod: op.cit., p. 242.
3. Ibid., p. 368.
4. Ibid., pp. 367, 368.
5. Ibid., pp. 371, 372.
6. Ibid., p. 372.

much for an already sick body - and his death came shortly afterwards.[1] More mention of it will be made in a following section.

b. Moderator of the General Assembly.

The General Assembly of 1869 unanimously elected Norman Macleod as Moderator.[2] He was deeply gratified - not only with the event itself but with the evidence of the liberality of the Church "...which could bestow such an honour on one who had so recently fought for freedom[3] at the risk of losing his ministerial position, and was highly appreciated as a mark of confidence in his personal loyalty and attachment to the church."[4]

The main issue involved in the discussions at this time was that of the movement for the abolition of patronage.[5] Norman Macleod believed that this step was now necessary[6] and with his own wide knowledge and influence[7] and with the backing of his Church he was instrumental in bringing this about[8] - although the Anti-Patronage Act was not passed by Parliament until 1874.[9]

4. His Stand on Public Questions.

There were two major national concerns in which Norman Macleod became a prominent figure. These painful controversies were to him more

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 374.
2. Ibid., p. 297.
3. In Sabbath Controversy - to be mentioned in following section.
4. Donald Macleod: loc. cit.
5. Ibid., p. 305.
6. Ibid., pp. 305, 306.
7. Ibid., p. 305.
8. J.R. Fleming: op. cit., p. 193.
9. Ibid., p. 201.

exhausting than the hardest work[1] and yet he was convinced it was his duty to stand by his convictions[2] even if it meant that he had to stand alone.[3]

a. Temperance.

From his earliest contacts with the working classes he was concerned about the problem of drunkeness.[4] In 1859 he published a tract called "A Plea for Temperance." It came as a result of much fruitful work with drunkards.[5] Although he encouraged total abstinence he did not feel it was obligatory for all[6] and as a result raised a storm of protest from those who advocated total abstinence for all.[7] He felt that the criticism was unwarranted since they were all working toward the same end -- the conversion of souls-- using whatever means God directed.[8] He was convinced that "...the grand instrument for elevating the working classes, and all classes, is the gospel. Along with the gospel, many plans of doing good might succeed; without the gospel they would certainly fail."[9] In the tract itself he stated,

> ...The advices I have offered for the cure of drunkeness, will be useless unless you come to Jesus Christ, the only Deliverer of man from sin. Whatever subordinate means we employ, He himself is the only life.[10]

This statement is followed by practical suggestions of how the drunkard can come to Christ and then how he can keep going on in the Christian life.

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 95.
2. Ibid., pp. 192, 193.
3. Ibid., p. 190.
4. Ibid., I, p. 213.
5. Ibid., pp. 213, 231.
6. Ibid., II, pp. 92, 104, 105, 106.
7. Ibid., pp. 90, 103, 105.
8. Ibid., pp. 106, 107.
9. Ibid., p. 93.
10. Norman Macleod: A Plea for Temperance. Thomas Murray and Son, Glasgow, 1859, p. 26.

b. Sabbath Controversy.

In this controversy, (1865-66), Norman Macleod stood for a freer conception of the Christian Sunday than had hitherto been the case in Scotland.[1] In a speech in the Presbytery of Glasgow which lasted for three and a half hours he defended his position.[2] The press picked up the most destructive part of the speech and as a result the speech "...came to be more talked about in Scotland than any other utterance of that day."[3]

In order to clarify the position he had taken, he published, "The Lord's Day: Substance of a Speech; Delivered at a Meeting of the Presbytery of Glasgow, on Thursday, 16th November, 1865." His speech, though carefully prepared, had not been written out[4] and so he explains in his preface that what follows is the substance of what he said.[5] In the preface he also states the reason why he was obliged to take up the whole question and discuss it as he had.[6] It was to deal with the general feeling the Church had about the Sabbath and with the tendency which was manifesting itself in some quarters "...to lose all faith in the Lord's day, because losing faith in the only ground on which it had generally been put in Scotland,"[7] that he had entered the controversy. He states further that, "My sincere desire was not to destroy,

. . . . . .

1. J.R. Fleming: op. cit., p. 213.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 189.
5. Norman Macleod: The Lord's Day: Substance of a Speech; Delivered at a Meeting of the Presbytery of Glasgow, on Thursday, 16th November, 1865. James Maclehose, Glasgow, 1865, p. 31.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

but to build up...."[1] He became the object of much abuse as a result of his stand and had he been any ordinary minister he might certainly have been deposed.[2] His Kirk-session thoroughly supported him through it all,[3] and the Presbytery of Glasgow pronounced and recorded an admonition.[4]

As to the result of his stand Fleming records that "...it [his appearance in the controversy] was the great sensation of the time, and did more than anything else to disturb, if not as yet to alter, the prevailing opinion...."[5] Alexander Strahan states that, "His stand on the 'Sabbath question' has taken much of the irrationalism out of Scotch opinion on that subject - loosened the grave clothes, and washed the face of that sublime gift of God, the day of rest...."[6] Although Norman Macleod was active in other public affairs these were his major contributions to affairs in Scotland.

5. His Contributions to the Nation.

Norman Macleod's ministry hitherto has been considered as it was directly connected with the Church of Scotland- either within it, or on behalf of it. As a result of his effective ministry within, his influence spread without, and it is with this latter phase that this section will deal - first with his relationships with other Churches, then with

. . . . . .

1. Ibid.
2. J. R. Fleming: op.cit., p. 215.
3. Donald Macleod: op.cit., p. 191.
4. J. R. Fleming: loc. cit.
5. Ibid., p. 213.
6. A. Strahan: op.cit., p. 26.

his relation to the Queen, and finally with the evidence his death brought of his very broad and deep influence on 'all sorts and conditions of men' both locally and in the British nation as a whole.

a. His Relationships with Other Churches.

Alexander Strahan in his biography of Norman Macleod states in regard to his relations with other churches - "The favourite student and devoted admirer of Dr. Chalmers, he nevertheless had to fight manfully against his old master at the time of the Disruption; and yet Dr. Macleod did more, perhaps, than any other man to breathe a spirit of comprehensive charity into all the churches...."[1] Strahan indicates further Norman Macleod's efforts to build up friendly relations with the Free Church - among other things he listened with intense interest to the debates which took place in the Free Assembly Hall, he donated the entire profits from the 'Earnest Student' to Free Church Indian Missions, (John Mackintosh had been a Free Churchman), and he accepted a poem for 'Good Words' from the daughter of one of the hardest hitting Free Church leaders.[2] On the death of Chalmers, (who became Moderator of the Free Church at its formation[3]), Norman Macleod was much moved, and in an address to the Lay Association of the Church of Scotland paid tribute to the memory of this great and good man[4] as one "...'whose noble character, lofty enthusiasm, and patriotic views will rear themselves before the eyes of posterity like Alpine peaks, long after the narrow valleys which have for a brief time divided us, are lost

. . . . . .

1. A. Strahan: op. cit., p. 25.
2. Ibid., p. 26.
3. J. R. Fleming: op.cit., p. 40.
4. Donald Macleod: op.cit., I, pp. 262, 263.

in the far distance of past history.'"[1]

He preached often in the pulpits of other denominations in both Scotland, England, and the Continent. His efforts in cementing relations between Churches by means of the Evangelical Alliance and by 'Good Words' have already been noted. The biographical note in Warner's 'Library of the World's Best Literature" states his wider influence in the following terms:

> Long before his death...he had become famous as the most eloquent and influential of the Scottish ministry; indeed, so great was his repute that hundreds of loyal Scots from America and Australia came yearly to Scotland, primarily with the desire to see and hear one whom many of them looked to as the most eminent Scot of his day.[2]

He exercised a vital influence on the outlook of Churches towards one another and on the ecclesiastical movements of his country to a greater extent than perhaps any other Church leader of that time.[3]

b. His Relationship to the Queen.

He was first asked to preach before the Queen in 1854 at Crathie - the Church connected with the Royal residence at Balmoral.[4] In 1857 he was made a "Chaplain to the Queen,"[5] and in 1869 was given the further honour of being made "Dean of the Thistle."[6] He was able to be of much comfort to the Queen and the Royal family in 1862 following the death of the Prince Consort. Gladstone records that,

> It would appear that to no person in the profession of a clergyman or pastor has Her Majesty accorded so large a share, not only of friendship, but of intimate personal confidence, as to Dr. Macleod. Nor does it appear that this favour was purchased by any manner of undue subserviency.[7]

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 263.
2. "Norman Macleod". In Charles Dudley Warner, ed.: op. cit., p. 9496.
3. Donald Macleod: op. cit., II, p. 305.
4. Ibid., pp. 36, 39.
5. Ibid., p. 313.
6. Ibid., pp. 121-124.
7. W. E. Gladstone: loc. cit.

c. His Death.

After a short period of more severe illness - following directly upon his speech in the General Assembly on his resignation from the India Mission Convernership - already mentioned, he passed away quietly at his home in Glasgow, on June 16th, 1872.[1] Immediate expressions of regret were received from all over the nation - most notably from Her Majesty the Queen[2] and from the Archbishop of Canterbury.[3]

The last tokens of respect paid him by his Church, by his city, and by his country were indeed evidence of the great contribution he had made to all, and of the high esteem in which he was held by all. It is recorded that, "His funeral...was celebrated with a solemnity unparalleled in the history of the city with which his labours were so long associated."[4] Services were held both in the Barony Church and in the Glasgow Cathedral with ministers of the Established Church, Free Church, and United Presbyterian Church officiating.[5] It is recorded in the "Memoir" that at the conclusion of the services -

> ...the cortége was accompanied to the outskirts of the city by the magistrates of Glasgow, the sheriffs, the representatives of Royalty, the senate of the University, and by other public functionaries in their official robes; by clergymen of all Churches, gathered from many districts of the country, and by members of various religious and other societies with which he had been connected. These preceded

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 391.
2. Ibid., pp. 393, 394.
3. Ibid., pp. 395, 396.
4. Ibid., p. 396.
5. Ibid., p. 397.

> the Hearse, and behind it and the mourning relatives, there followed a long line of nearly three thousand persons of all classes of the community. This demonstration of respect is the more gratifying that it was entirely spontaneous...it was watched along the whole route by a vast multitude, occupying every available position from which a view could be obtained, and showing by their saddened aspect how deeply the hearts of the people had been touched. One of the most remarkable features in that crowd was the large proportion of working men and of the poor, who came to pay honour to the memory of him who had laboured so honestly for their good....[1]

Strahan records that "...money-making Glasgow struck work in the middle of the week to show that it felt it had lost its best citizen..."[2] The procession proceeded to Campsie where he was laid to rest with his father and brother. Wreaths from the Queen and Royal family were lowered with the coffin and all the people of Campsie, his early home, were there to pay their last respects.[3]

Thus the conclusion to a busy, active, fruitful life was marked by tributes from all those whom he sought to help and serve.

E. Summary

The ministry of Norman Macleod, embarked upon in a time of crisis in the Church and continued through many challenges and storms has been outlined. His stand in the Disruption Controversy, because of its importance and because it came at the outset of his ministry was discussed first. His ministry in the rural parishes of Loudoun, and Dalkeith, and then in the large Barony parish in Glasgow where he excelled in parochial organization and in his ministry to the poor, was discussed next. Finally his larger ministry was set forth as he represented his Church, as he reached many thousands with the printed word, as he held positions of importance in the

. . . . . .

1. Ibid.
2. A. Strahan: op.cit., p. 6.
3. Donald Macleod: op. cit., pp. 398, 399.

General Assembly, as he took his stand on public questions, and as he made vital contributions to the nation as a whole. This second chapter as it has shown the "what" of his ministry lays the groundwork for the analysis of the "why," which follows in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

REASONS FOR THE EFFECTIVENESS OF NORMAN MACLEOD AS A CHRISTIAN LEADER

CHAPTER III

REASONS FOR THE EFFECTIVENESS OF NORMAN MACLEOD AS A CHRISTIAN LEADER

A. Introduction

In the previous chapter the influence of Norman Macleod on the lives of individuals - both poor and rich, and on the life of the Church - both the Church of Scotland and other Churches in Britain, has been established. His leadership of men as individuals and as a group was widely recognized during his life and greatly honoured at his death. The purpose of this chapter is to determine the reasons for Norman Macleod's effectiveness as a Christian leader. This chapter will deal with the specific features of his life not brought out in the preceding chapters, but which are basic to the events recorded there and for which these events form a very necessary background. The chapter will deal first with the influences that acted upon Norman Macleod's life and then with the relationship of the man produced by these influences to the situation in which he worked.

B. Formative Influences

He who influenced others so greatly was himself vitally influenced. The first chapter recorded in large measure the early influences which helped to shape his life and give it direction and purpose. Dominant among these influences was that of a loving home environment produced by wise and loving parents who themselves had come

from similar Christian homes. Macleod's own appreciation for this influence is expressed in a letter to his Mother written on his birthday, June 3rd, 1846, from Dalkeith:

> "I cannot let my birthday pass without saying God bless thee--for my birth and up-bringing--and the unceasing love and goodness which has beamed upon me from your heart and which has gladdened my life on earth, and next to the grace of God has helped to prepare me for the life in Heaven...."[1]

The influence of people outside his immediate family, begun in school and college days when foundations were being laid, extended to his early ministry where it was particularly focused. This influence is recorded by Donald Macleod in the "Memoir" as follows:

> The two men who had most influence on his opinions were Thomas Arnold, and his own relative, [a cousin], John Macleod Campbell. Arnold's life had just been published, and the manliness, the healthy common sense, the unswerving truthfulness and faithfulness of the great Head Master of Rugby, touched him profoundly...
>
> John Macleod Campbell was in many respects a contrast to Arnold. If the latter was clear and trenchant, the former was meditative, abstract, profound, almost to obscurity....Campbell had a greater influence on Norman's views than any other theologian living or dead, and was reverenced by him as being the most heavenly-minded man he ever knew....[2]

Both by conversation, and later by Campbell's work on the Atonement, when it was published, the views of Norman Macleod were influenced.[3] Campbell's views were "...that assurance is the essence of faith and that Christ died for all men...."[4] There were a number of others

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., I, p. 257.
2. Ibid., pp. 274, 275.
3. Ibid., pp. 275,276.
4. Allan Menzies: "Scotland, Church of". In The Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th ed. Vol. 20. New York, 1929, p. 175.

that influenced his views to a greater or less extent,[1] but the two mentioned provided the greatest and most formative influences.

The influence of travel and the consequent contact with other minds produced its vital effects too, serving to develop the foundation of character which had already been laid.

Thus the character of one who so greatly influenced people was itself most influenced by other people.

C. The Man in Relation to the Situation

Some hints have been gained as to the kind of man these influences produced through seeing what he himself was able to do. This section will attempt to show the character of the man, the situation in which he worked, and those factors which made possible the relation between the two.

1. Character.

It was indicated in the first chapter that the influences in Norman Macleod's early life were forming a broad and sympathetic nature and a staunch character. It was evident that his breadth of view, his human sympathies and his firm loyalties were further developed by his widening contact with men in his own country and abroad. One reason for the effectiveness of these influences is given by Gladstone when he states:

> It is plain that, besides other and higher gifts, he was an extremely clever, ready, perceptive and receptive man. None of his experience passed by idly like the wind; all had fruit for him; all left a mark upon his mind and character.[2]

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., pp. 277-279.
2. W. E. Gladstone: op. cit., p. 5.

This was displayed by his great knowledge of the world and his great elasticity and variety of mind.[1]

Even as he incorporated these influences into his own nature, so was this broad and sympathetic nature which resulted one of his chief means of benefitting others. That this was the secret of his contributions to the lives of the poor is indicated by the following comment in the "Memoir":

> His unaffected sympathy with the poor and ignorant in all their wants and difficulties was the secret of his power over them. His frankness and large human-heartedness commanded their confidence and won their affection.[2]

That this breadth of spirit became one of the most vital factors in his influence in his larger ministry is indicated by his biographer's statement:

> ...although he was not an ecclesiastical politician, he acquired an influence in the councils of the Church, and, what was still more important, an influence beyond her pale which was perhaps wider and more vital than that of any or all the leaders of parties.[3]

In fact, A. P. Stanley, (Church of England, Dean of Westminster), wrote:

> "He was the chief ecclesiastic of the Scottish Church. ... Macleod represented Scottish Protestantism more than any other single man. Under and around him men would gather who would gather round no one else."[4]

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 7.
2. Donald Macleod: op. cit., II, p. 61.
3. Ibid., p. 305.
4. Ibid.

And it was felt when he represented his Church in its petition to Parliament for the abolition of patronage that it was being represented by one who would speak "...on grounds of public rather than sectarian policy."[1]

Although his broad and sympathetic nature was one of his chief attributes, other attributes included shrewdness of judgment, swift and kindly tact, and an endless store of humour.[2] In addition he was "...eminently able, earnest, energetic..."[3] and had "...great gifts of oratory, and large organizing power."[4] As well he had literary ability.[5] Nevertheless, it is noted everywhere that these attributes are all overshadowed by his sympathy and kindness, and breadth of love for others. His character then, chiefly in its breadth and kindness, was the means by which he was able to make his contributions to the Church of Scotland - to individual members and to its life as a whole.

Before an analysis is made of how this character was able to make contact with the situation it would be well to review briefly just what the situation was, and how it influenced Norman Macleod's contributions.

2. Situation.

One of the first, and of course one of the most vital

. . . . . .

1. Ibid.
2. "Norman Macleod". In Charles Dudley Warner, ed.: loc. cit.
3. W.E. Gladstone: loc. cit.
4. Ibid.
5. "Norman Macleod". In Charles Dudley Warner, ed.: pp. 9495, 9496.

factors in the situation, was the Disruption. Gladstone in noting its importance for Macleod's contribution states:

> But the sudden avoidance, at that crisis, of almost all the prominent posts in the Kirk, created an irresistible necessity for the advancement of the most promising among the residuary ministers. Mr. Macleod was accordingly transferred to Dalkeith; and again, after no long period, to the great parish of the Barony in Glasgow. He immediately developed, upon this broader stage, the same powers of activity and devoted benevolence and zeal which had marked his career from the first....[1]

The field of leadership in the General Assembly was similarly thrown open, and he was ready to fulfill the responsibilities involved there too, as was first evidenced in his speech of encouragement, already referred to, following the Disruption.

Throughout his life it is evident that he made use of the situations as they came as opportunities in which to serve God - he accepted their challenge and overcame them, rather than being overcome by them. Significant among these situations were the conditions of the poor in Glasgow, and the climate of ecclesiastical opinion with regard to the Sabbath.

The situations then, were in themselves all potentialities - Norman Macleod took their challenge and made them the fields for his labours. However, the presence of such situations, particularly the Disruption, was in some measure responsible for his prominence and resulting influence.

. . . . . .

1. W.E. Gladstone: op. cit., p. 5.

3. Elements Relating Character and Situation.

It has been shown that Norman Macleod made many contributions to the Church of Scotland, that there were definite influences that formed his character, that his breadth and sympathy of character were basic to his contributions, and that the situatin was propitious for the development of his abilities. However, it remains to be shown how this character made effective contact with the situations it confronted and how it was maintained and developed throughout life.

In this section these elements will be discussed. Although, for purposes of analysis, 'contributions', (outlined in chapter two), and 'influences', 'character', and 'situation', (outlined in this chapter), have been considered separately it should be remembered that in actuality there was a close and continuous interaction among them. Similarly, in regard to the discussion to follow in this section, it should be noted that 'character' cannot be strictly separated from the 'means' (or elements) by which it connects with the 'situation'. However, although the 'means' are often projections of 'character', it is considered that they are distinct enough to make possible separate discussion of them here. Since the 'results', (viz. Norman Macleod's contributions during his ministry), have already been established, (in chapter two), this section will deal primarily with the relationships between 'character' and 'situation' which produced these results.

a. Habits of Orderliness.

These, though not native to Norman Macleod, were developed by him.[1] Orderliness was shown not only in the business-like manner in which he conducted his affairs,[2] but also, and more basically in the way in which he organised his study and thinking. This was evident at the time of the Disruption when he set himself to study everything connected with the dispute, and then made this study the basis for his conclusions. Furthermore, it was his custom to set down in his Journal, and sometimes in letters to friends, the salient points of issues in which he was involved, or points regarding tasks that were to be accomplished. Similarly when tasks were in progress or completed he would list the vital facts connected with them. An example of this, (which is just one of very many which are recorded), is the listing he made after completion of his first winter of services for the poor,[3] (these continued from 1857 to the end of his ministry). It is as follows:

> "I am persuaded that in doing permanent good to such, [i.e. the poor], it is necessary (1) To preach regularly and systematically (with heart, soul, and strength though!). (2) To exclude well-dressed people. (3) To keep out of newspapers and off platforms, and avoid fuss. (4) To develop self-reliance. (5) To give Communion on creditable profession, as the apostles admitted to the Church, and then to gather up results, and bring the converts into a society. (6) To follow up by visitation, stimulating themselves to collect for clothes."[4]

. . . . . .

1. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p.231.
2. Ibid.
3. Donald Macleod: op. cit., p. 63.
4. Ibid., p. 64.

The budgeting of his time was also done in an orderly fashion. The following proposed schedule for the winter of 1852 gives an indication of this, and also indicates the rigorous programme which he followed. The entry in his Journal is as follows:

> "Sunday, Sept. 5, 1852--What I propose for this winter is the following programme: --
>
> "1. Rise as near six as possible. After devotion, give the mornings of Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, to John's Memoir; of Thursday, to the Magazine; and Friday, Saturday, wholly to sermons.
>
> "2. Keep the house till 1 P.M.; at 9 A.M. prayers; 9½ breakfast; 10 to 11, letters; 11 to 1, when not interrupted, the business of the morning continued, or public business as may be necessary; from 2 till 5, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, visiting sick, parish visitation, and calls; 4, Friday and Saturday to be given entirely to writing sermons; 5, attend the evening adult class; 6, as much as possible devote the time after dinner to my family and reading.
>
> "May God in Mercy help me! I will begin tomorrow."[1]

Succeeding entries in his Journal indicate that he maintained this schedule throughout that winter with few exceptions. His schedules changed as his responsibilities varied but they were basically similar to this one.

His devotions were regular, and usually the hour between six and seven a.m. was occupied with devotional reading, Bible study, and prayer.[2] His orderly outward life mentally, and physically, stemmed basically from his trust in God's mercies. After a time of great pressure of work he was able to write the following:

> "It was indeed a very trying time; yet I had much inward peace. I felt as if outside of the house there was wind and storm, which beat into the ante-chamber; but that there was within a sanctuary which they did not and could not reach. I

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 15.
2. Ibid., p. 54.

> experienced a strange combination of great trouble and perfect peace. And how graciously has God brought me through all!... Oh, how my prayers have been answered, Thou, God, knowest! I have passed through all this in peace. I thank God. For I do feel that His supporting grace can alone enable me to meet the sorrowing burden of humanity. The flesh would say, fly, hide thyself, partake not of those cares and troubles. But this is not the voice of the Spirit. The Spirit of Jesus would have us carry the care, and the anxiety, and the sorrow of the world, all the while giving us His peace - that peace which He had even when He wept at Bethany and over Jerusalem, and went about doing good, and mourned for unbelief."[1]

Thus his trust in God which resulted in a sense of peace and a life of orderliness is seen to be a basic factor in enabling him to cope with situations.

b. Convictions.

His habits of orderliness both led to and in part resulted from basic convictions. When by careful study and investigation he made up his mind as to his position and course of action in a situation, his decision became a motivating, directing factor which carried him through hard places.

Due to limits of time and space just one example can be given here, but it typifies in part how God used and directed his convictions.

From his Journal --

> "January 1, [1860].
> The editorship of 'Good Words' was given me. I did not suggest or ask the publication, and I refused the editorship for some time. On the principle, however, of trying to do what seems given me of God, I accepted it. May God use it for His glory!"[2]

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., I, pp. 265, 266.
2. Ibid., p. 98.

It will be remembered that he had formed firm convictions previously as to the need for such a magazine, and so his convictions although not stated in this entry, formed the basis for his acceptance, and the basis for his stand when 'Good Words' was vigorously attacked. At that time, (June, 1861), he wrote in his Journal as follows:

> "...Now I have a purpose - a serious, solemn purpose - in Good Words. I wish in this peculiar department of my ministerial work to which I have been 'called,' and in which I think I have been blessed, 'to become all things to all men, that I might by all means gain some.' I cannot, therefore, write stories merely as a literary man, to give amusement, or as works of art only, but must always keep before me the one end of leading souls to know and love God....I may be wrong in my idea as to how Good Words should be conducted, and I cannot of course realise it as I wish to do, but I have a purpose which I believe to be right, and can therefore pray to Christ to bless it; and can also humbly, but firmly go ahead, whatever the religious world may say...."[1]

Thus his basic purposes borne of convictions worked out before God were vital factors in carrying him through his work - in both good times and difficult times.

Much more could be said of his attitudes, his humour and the many other elements that God was able to utilize as He used this man to His glory. However, in this life yielded to Him the two elements already discussed would appear to be the ones most basically developed and utilized by God to bear fruit for His Kingdom.

D. Summary

In this chapter the influences of the loving home, of forceful contemporaries, and of wider Christian contacts as they moulded a

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 110.

man of broad and sympathetic nature, were first discussed. Following this the character that these influences produced was delineated, and it was found that though many other outstanding characteristics were possessed by Norman Macleod that it was his breadth of spirit and sympathy and love that superceded and undergirded all else. It was next seen that the situation which he confronted was a factor of importance in determining the scope of the sphere in which his character was to operate. Finally it was found that the basic elements relating his character to the situation were orderly habits and firm convictions, both of these elements resulting from his faith in God and both being the major means which God developed and utilized in order to use the life of Norman Macleod for His glory.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The first chapter of this study gave the background of Norman Macleod's ministry. First his early life and training were discussed. It was found that his Highland ancestry combined with a loving home atmosphere produced a boy who early possessed a kind and understanding nature. Following this it was seen that his years of academic training in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and his year of study abroad helped to broaden his sympathies and increase his knowledge of the ways of men. The struggles of the Church at this time were considered next since it was in this troubled situation that Norman Macleod's ministry was soon to begin. The characteristics of the parties - 'Evangelicals' and 'Moderates' and the issues which were involved in this controversial situation which resulted in the Disruption of 1843 were outlined. Thus the first chapter introduced the man, his preparation, and the situation in which he was to minister.

The second chapter presented the ministry of Norman Macleod. Because of the significance of the Disruption and its bearing on his life and ministry, the stand he took at that time was focused upon first. It was found that although he loathed controversy he was obliged to enter the struggle. Before he did, however, he made a careful study of the issues and on this basis determined what his convictions would be. He sided with the 'Moderates' in desiring to remain in the Established Church. Although he was not wholly in

sympathy with all that the 'Moderates' stood for, he felt that the Church of Scotland, as established by law was worth preserving at all costs.

His parish ministry was next discussed. In 1838 he was ordained to the parish of Loudoun where he remained until 1843. His labours here and in Dalkeith, where he ministered from 1843 to 1851, were attended with much success. His ministry in these two rural parishes prepared him for his ministry in the Barony parish, Glasgow to which he was called in 1851. He remained as minister of the Barony until his death in 1872. His work here was particularly noteworthy in the contributions he made in and through his congregational organization and in his work with the poor of his parish.

His larger ministry, considered next, was characterized by an ever-widening sphere of influence. His early tasks included making a successful journey to British North America on behalf of his Church, and playing an active and influential part in the Evangelical Alliance as his Church's representative. Following this his publications which included tracts, magazines and books were described. The magazine, 'Good Words,' and the book, 'Reminscences of a Highland Parish,' were two of his most outstanding works.

His positions in the General Assembly and the contributions he was able to make through them to the work of missions and to the policy of the Church in his positions of Convener of Foreign Missions, (1864-1872), and Moderator of the General Assembly, (1869-1870), respectively, were discussed next. His stand on public questions, viz.

temperance and Sabbath observance, and his contribution to a broader, freer atmosphere for both, were the following considerations. Finally his broader contributions to the nation - the promotion of friendly relations among the Churches, and his contribution to the life of the Queen and Royal family, were summarized, and the evidence of his loving, broad influence throughout the land was given in an account of the tributes paid by 'all sorts and conditions of men' at the time of his death.

Thus his contributions to lives of individuals and the life of the Church were outlined, in preparation for accounting for the reasons for the effectiveness of Norman Macleod as a Christian leader. In the second chapter the "what" was established in order that the "why" might be discovered in the third chapter.

The third chapter began with an account of the formative influences which had helped produce the character of the man whose contributions had been determined in the second chapter. These were briefly - home, contemporaries, and wider contacts in Britain and abroad - all of which produced a man with a broad and sympathetic nature, and as was established in the following section on his character, these were the two attributes which dominated all else. Next it was seen that the situation - most prominently the Disruption - was in some measure responsible for his influence and prominence. Finally the elements which related his character to the situation were discussed - and it was found that his habits of orderliness and his firm convictions - both springing from and being activated by his faith in God - were the major elements which God developed and used to bring glory to Himself through the life of Norman Macleod.

It is seen in conclusion that the determining factors in the contributions of Norman Macleod to the Church of Scotland were five in number. The first and basic factor was a happy Christian home environment. The second factor was a broad education in the school of "life," as well as a good education in the stricter academic sense. The third factor was a larger sphere in which to minister, (than might otherwise have been the case), because of the situation in the Church of Scotland at that time. The fourth factor, growing out of the first two, and gaining a wider influence because of the third, was a character which was broad and sympathetic. The final factor was a life characterized by orderliness and conviction based on a firm trust in God, which enabled the broad and sympathetic character to effectively meet situations to the glory of God.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary Sources

Flint, Robert: "Norman Macleod." In St. Giles' Lectures - Third Series, Scottish Divines 1505-1872, (Lecture XII). Macniven and Wallace, Edinburgh, 1883.

Gladstone, William Ewart: Macleod and Macaulay, Two Essays. Belford Brothers, Toronto, 1876.

Macleod, Donald: Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D. 2 vols. Scribner, Armstrong and Co., New York, 1877.

Macleod, Norman: A Plea for Temperance; or The Crime and Cure of Drunkeness. Thomas Murray and Son, Glasgow, 1859.

The Lord's Day: Substance of a Speech, Delivered at a Meeting of the Presbytery of Glasgow, on Thursday, 16th November, 1865. James Maclehose, Glasgow, 1865.

Strahan, Alexander: Norman Macleod, D.D.; A Slight Contribution Toward his Biography. J.B. Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia, 1872.

B. Secondary Sources

Barnett, Thomas Ratcliffe: The Makers of the Kirk. T. N. Foulis, London, 1915.

Black, C. Stewart: The Scottish Church. William Maclellan, Glasgow, 1952.

D'Aubigné, J. H. Merle: Germany, England, and Scotland; or, Recollections of a Swiss Minister. Robert Carter, New York, 1848.

Fleming, J.R.: A History of the Church in Scotland, 1843-1874. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1927.

Hetherington, W. M.: History of the Church of Scotland. Robert Carter and Brothers, New York, 1851.

Menzies, Allan: "Scotland, Church of". In the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Edition, Vol. 20. New York, 1929.

Morrison, N. Brysson: "They Need No Candle. IX. Norman Macleod: Salt of the Kirk." In J. W. Stevenson, ed.: Life and Work: the Record of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh, New Series No. 129, September, 1956.

"Norman Macleod". In Charles Dudley Warner, ed.: Library of the World's Best Literature. Special edition, Vol. XXIV. The International Society, New York, 1896.