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Editorial

Nonconformist Communion Plate, a subject long neglected, found a champion in Mr. C. F. Stell, who lectured on it to a recent meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Mr. Stell continues his researches for the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments into meeting houses and chapels, and when he eventually publishes the fruit of his labours, he plans to have a chapter on Plate. People are taking an interest in their old treasures at last. Not all of it went to the sale-rooms when individual glasses took over. If any reader knows of items older than 1800 and would care to tell Mr. Stell at Fortress House, 23 Savile Row, London, W1X 1AB, he will be rendering a service to our Church history.

We are also concerned about the preservation of modern records. Some men of this century, considered to be eminent by their generation, seem to vanish almost without trace. In some cases their papers have been lost or even burnt. Without materials how could Dr. Alan Sell have offered us his article in this issue on Robert Mackintosh, or Douglas Young done a thesis on Alfred Garvie, for which he has received a London Ph.D? Dr. Williams's Library has initiated a meeting between a number of societies like ours to take all possible steps to save the raw materials of history. We ask our members to do what they can and keep us informed.

WILLIAM JAY (1769-1853) AND HIS ADMIRERS

Those who have walked in Lakeland know how Grisedale Pike looms over its neighbouring fells, beckoning us to climb it, and who can feel satisfied until he has? Similarly, the figure of William Jay, neglected, always seems to be looking down on nineteenth-century Evangelicalism, beckoning for us to explore his life and work. In his invaluable little book, *The Congregational Two Hundred*, Albert Peel says,

Jay has been called the 'prince of preachers,' and so unbiased a judge as Sheridan said he was the most natural orator he had ever heard; his mind was as 'a clear, transparent stream, flowing so freely as to impress us with the idea of its being inexhaustible.'¹ This description is intriguing and, unless read with care, could be misleading, for Sheridan was not the author of the quotation, nor was it made, in fact, about Jay's preaching. The quotation comes from the margin of Jay's *Christian Contemplated*, which he had given to the wealthy, though much declining, connoisseur and author, William Beckford. According to the acquaintance who found the quotation, Beckford never met Jay nor heard him preach. However, whether writing or preaching, the judgement seems valid.² Jay owed his popularity not just to his preaching but to his publishing. Indeed, he surfeited the more affluent members of Evangelicalism with a continuous repast of devotional aids which the heads of pious households consumed hungrily in their search for pre-packed spiritual food for family prayers.

The year after Jay's death, his admirers, the Congregational and Evangelical leaders, George Redford of Worcester, and John Angell James of Birmingham, supplied the mourning public with their hero's *Autobiography*, to which they added two hagiographical chapters and some fragments of his correspondence with the famous such as William Wilberforce and Hannah More; it was a handsome and worthy volume of nearly 600 pages. And the moral of the book was that here, in William Jay, there was the ideal for the young aspiring minister, and though no one could expect to surpass the hero, might not a man 'begin as auspiciously, proceed as successfully, and terminate as honourably, as William Jay?'³

It would have taken superb audacity on the part of any young aspirant to make an attempt on Jay's preaching record. After all, he entered the pulpit at the age of sixteen years, and remained there

¹*Op.cit.* p.119.

²Redford and James (Editors), *Autobiography*, (1854) p. 581f.

³Redford and James, p.v.

until eight-four. Furthermore, he remained in one pastorate for over 62 years, his marathon period at Argyle Chapel, Bath.⁴ Jay's rise into the preaching firmament was just what nineteenth-century moralists rejoiced in and could unashamedly be placed alongside Samuel Smiles' popular biography of George Stephenson. Jay says he came from 'an obscure condition'. His father was a stone-mason in Tisbury, a village in Wiltshire, and the son began life as his apprentice. He says that his parents were, in the current jargon, 'very respectable, that is, *poor* and *religious*', and they used to attend the local chapel presided over by a benign but unnamed Presbyterian who was 'a very dull and dry preacher' and 'a Clarkeian Arian'. There came to the village a Mrs. Turner who took charge on behalf of her husband, one of Dr. Bogue's men from Gosport, of a preaching station in a house and here the preaching was extempore and the singing uplifting. Young William was 'much affected'. Mrs. Turner looked intently at him and said, "Are you hungering for the bread of life?" He was, of course, and he was soon on the road of conversion, and then of preaching, and then of ministerial training.⁵ After a year or two at Cornelius Winter's small academy at Marlborough, and some probationary pastorates, at twenty-one years of age he was ordained at Bath, 'a stripling that stood upon a table . . . to give a general confession of his religious belief'.⁶

Another point that the aspiring imitator would have to consider was whether he had the looks and voice which any preacher in Jay's class needed. 'Mr. Jay . . . owed not a little to his personal appearance and undoubtedly to his voice.' One description says that Jay's countenance was full of sunshine; his eyes were dark and fiery; his lips promised something witty, quaint or caustic before long; but it was his hair which drew out the most poetic descriptions: 'a shaggy wilderness', 'a copsy crown', or 'an oak-thicket on an old rampart'. However, his voice was the centre of interest. It was 'sonorous but not loud — alternating between base and tenor . . . it soothed and delighted you, as with the soft tones of a flute.' 'You sat in sweet stillness, luxuriating under those beautiful trains of quiet thinking. . . .' And at last, 'an involuntary, unbidden tear . . . suffused your eye, and a gentle emotion filled your heart.'⁷

Such spells were not cast without diligent study, and much practice. Need it be said that Jay never used a note when preaching? It was a lesson Redford and James rubbed into the young preachers of the mid-century who were slipping into 'the lazy way of reading sermons'.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 539, 585.

⁵Redford and James, chs. I-III.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 542.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 543.

'Where is the practice of reading tolerated except in the pulpit?' they asked. 'Not on the stage' How curious that Evangelicals liked to compare the adored pulpit and the abominated stage! If only ministers would take 'half the pains to make their speaking in the pulpit as impressive as the actor does to make his successful on the stage.'

One of the disappointments of our study of Jay is that it is so difficult to imagine what it was like to hear him. If we take down a volume of his sermons, discourses or addresses, and browse through them we shall probably come to the conclusion that he was a bore and we shall be at a loss to explain why people sat through such stuff at the rate of over an hour a time. The explanation is that the live performances were very carefully doctored for the press, and for the reader at home. However, there is at least one sermon which was 'secured by a professional shorthand-writer' and 'published with scarcely an alteration', and this gives us a taste of sitting under Jay instead of poring over him. This sermon was preached a second time by special request in 1802; it bears the title, 'The Grand Inquiry'; and the text is the question of Jesus to Peter in *John xxi. 17*, 'Lovest thou me?'

My dear hearers, imagine the Saviour of the World looking down from his throne and applying this question to you — to each of you — young or old — rich or poor — learned or illiterate — while all heaven and hell are in suspense, anxiously awaiting your reply, — 'Lovest thou me?'

It is when we reach the peroration that Jay's powers blossom fully: — What answer shall I give him? . . . What answer will *you* give?

It would distress every feeling of my soul to return a negative answer. How could I tell him — No? And yet, what other reply could many of you make?

You love him? . . . "Yes, O Lord, I love thee — but I never think of thee. I love thee — but I cannot endure the conversation that turns upon thy praise. I love thee — but I wish to shun thy presence"

What are we to think of you? What are we to think of your taste? What are we to think of your temper? How low! How vile! What a compound of stupidity and depravity is thy wretched soul!

And this is your answer? — Deliver it yourselves. Look up, and if you have courage, tell him; tell him by your lips, what you have constantly told him by your lives — "No. I do not love thee. I declare thee unworthy of my regards. Whoever becomes thy follower, I will not."¹⁰

The sermon does not end there, of course, but goes on to appeal to men's better feelings. But the general run of Jay's printed work

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 560ff.

¹⁰*Short Discourses*, IV.

resembles his public utterances in about the same way that a riding pony resembles a wild one in the freedom of the forest.

Jay, the preacher, always went for the arresting text, with what we call today a punch-line. Best remembered by his contemporaries was the text he took at the gravesides of both Robert Hall and Rowland Hill, 'Howl fir tree; for the cedar is fallen'. But his ordinary sermons and addresses usually have the same simplicity, directness or sheer curiosity.

Jay develops his texts by division in the conventional way at the time. The division is almost grammatical and the interpretation very often allegorical. The context is not frequently dealt with and the whole sits lightly to the text. He seizes on a word or a thought and it supplies him with a gateway to a garden full of spiritual thoughts which may or may not bear much relation to the message the Scripture itself carried. For example, he takes *Hosea ii.15*, 'And I will give her vineyards from thence', and first he takes the subject; 'I', that is, God, and speaks of his grace; next he takes 'vineyards' and says a little about the abundance God gives; then he comes to the words 'from thence', that is, he explains, 'from the wilderness'. Now the idea of the wilderness is the gateway. Fourteen lines suffice for the first two points; the third, with its many variations occupy 123 lines. First we have the children of Israel in the wilderness, then the world as a wilderness, next solitude, trouble, conviction of sin, humiliation, and last of all death itself as a wilderness.¹¹ A further example of allegorization comes from *Zech. iii.9*, 'Upon one stone shall be seven eyes'. Today we understand this as a stone with seven faces. This Jay did not know, so he takes it to mean that seven people (or kinds of people) are looking at Christ, the corner-stone. There is the eye of God and the eye of Satan; there are the eyes of men, then and now, and at the last, 'we shall see him as he is'.

The sermons and addresses are crammed with biblical references and allusions like Christmas puddings full of fruit. Perorations may be little other than strings of biblical quotations, and even the odd connecting sentence, or application thrown in for good measure, assumes a quasi-biblical appearance: "Blessed be my mistress," says a servant, "I was ignorant as a heathen when I entered her family; but she has led me in the way everlasting." Supposedly, an age which tolerated statues of George III dressed in a toga like a Roman emperor, welcomed servants who spoke like patriarchs. References to anything outside holy writ, save for sacred verse, Watts, Cowper and many others, are rare, though we have seen the occasional mention of Bunyan, Doddridge, Henry and Paley. Voltaire, of course, is regularly exhibited, hanged, drawn and quartered, "O curse you,

¹¹*Exercises*, II. pp. 196ff.

Voltaire!" But this one could have heard all over the place. It was what ministers were expected to say now and again.

His use of the Bible, as for example in *Morning and Evening Exercises* strikes one as curious. In the Preface he states that he set out to show 'the less observed and less improved parts of Scripture,' this he did to such an extent that doctrine suffered. There is hardly a verse of consequence from any great psalm despite 73 addresses based on the *Psalms*; there is nothing from *John xiv.1-6* or *I Cor.xiii*; the Sermon on the Mount provides but one address and that on anxiety; the Prodigal Son is missing; the Good Samaritan parable provides one which turns out to be an admonition on reading, 'How readest thou?' The prophets and the epistles furnish a relatively small part of the whole. After *Psalms*, *Genesis*, with 40, in the *O.T.*, and *John*, with 76, in the *N.T.*, are his favorite sources. The *Exercises* do not proceed to any visible pattern, save for some observation of the seasons of the Christian Year. Both writer and reader appear to have a good splash around in the Bible; neither appears to want to master swimming, to understand it, to learn its message.

He enjoyed Matthew Henry but found Calvin cold and Baxter one who 'tried to saw the beams of cobwebs into planks'. He went for the simple evangelical truths, 'the three R's . . . Ruin, Redemption, and Regeneration.' William Wilberforce confirms that there was beside Jay 'not another minister in Bath whom any of the poor, wretched upper classes' were 'likely to hear, who preaches the Gospel.'¹² A concise statement of his message appears in the Preface to his *Short Discourses*, vol.iv:—

Man is a sinner, guilty, depraved, and helpless in himself. Help is laid on one that is mighty. Jesus is not only able, but willing to save to the uttermost all that come to him by God. Faith is necessary to our deriving advantage from him; and good works will result from faith and prove it to be the operation of God. This is what the Author means by the gospel.

But Jay was no teacher. Neither theology nor ethics had a formal place in his work. He was no deep thinker. He could utter the thoughtful remark; he disliked controversy. He was happiest playing with words and thoughts, turning out the pithy sentence: 'Conviction is not conversion' or 'Envy is grief, not at another's woe, but another's welfare'; but he hated the public platform and the cut and thrust of debate. Poetry he loved and quoted far too often to please most people; he composed a good deal himself, none of which lived beyond his lifetime.

A considerable part of his work is taken up with Christian behaviour, middle-class behaviour. The Marxist would be quick to point out just how bourgeois it is. The man in the street would think

¹²Redford and James, p. 304.

how Victorian it is, yet in fact it is fifty years before Victoria. Jay's going to Bath coincided with the French Revolution, that unparalleled jolt to our society which came on top of Wilberforce's public campaigning to clean up the country, his Royal Proclamation against Vice and Immorality (1787). Jay has no time for egalitarianism. Absurd, he calls it. It could only result in levelling down. There would always be rich and poor, but this does not mean that the poor are to be wretched. They must do more than exist. 'Let them have employment, and food, and clothing. Where this is not the case, a country has retrograded . . . and till it be rectified there can be no solid or lasting peace or safety.'¹³ In his long lifetime the poor were getting poorer. He exhorts the wealthy to generosity and good works; meanness seems to be one of his most frequently castigated sins, but providing the affluent use their benefits to bless the less fortunate, let them enjoy their prosperity: 'religion, therefore, instead of being an enemy to the enjoyment of this state, enjoins it'.¹⁴ Work, regular habits and a sense of independence are characteristics of the Christian in the secular world. Everyone should be useful. Rather than be idle for a single day, 'an angel would pray for annihilation'.¹⁵ He himself was a man of clockwork habits, say his admirers, rising at 5 a.m., and going to bed at 10 p.m., daily, and having the day carefully planned, including a period of exercise. He stresses that the basis of happy family life is regular and punctual hours. He does not go along with advocates of the rights of man, but believes in the necessity of every man being conscious of his independence and every other man respecting it.

Political and social concerns, which were engaging the attention of Nonconformists increasingly, seldom come within Jay's orbit; he is happiest in the domestic sphere: married life, the family and education of children, the management of servants, these are the subjects he knows most about and pursues most often. Curiously, it is in writing about family life that he reveals an uncharacteristic contempt for the bachelor, which seems inexplicable, the 'poor, illiberal, solitary' who prefers 'vice or mopishness or an escape from expense, care or trouble'. His advice to parents, however, in disciplining children, is 'Victorianism' at its best: 'Instead of making a child tremble and retreat, gain his confidence and love, and let him run in your arms.' Mind, 'do not let your tender bosom be an asylum for delinquents appealing from the deserved censures of the father,' he warns mothers.¹⁶ Servants should be treated in a manner 'between haughtiness and a familiarity that inspires no deference';¹⁷ old

¹³*Exercises*, I, p. 460.

¹⁴*The Christian Contemplated*, 1826, Lecture VI.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Lecture V.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Lecture III.

¹⁷*Exercises*, I, p. 426.

domestics should be cared for as humble relations and should receive an honourable funeral, like the 'old female' Deborah, who was Rebekah's nurse; and he adds, 'a dry funeral is a hateful sight.'¹⁸ He was, by the way, a defender of weeping, even in public, not on psychological grounds, of which he would have been ignorant we suppose, but because he believed in the expression of feeling, a sentiment Whitefield and Wesley would not have opposed in the least. 'What can equal beauty in tears?' he asks, and he points out that not only Jonathan and David wept, but Ulysses and Achilles, and Jesus himself.¹⁹ Jay was one of the many Nonconformists who began the groundswell movement on behalf of women's position in life. 'I never, indeed, despair of anything being done, and being done well, when it once gets into the heads, and the hearts and the hands of females.'²⁰ He wanted women's work in the Church extended: 'Could not females be usefully and properly employed?' They were in *N.T.* times, apart from preaching, and Scripture in forbidding this 'is only common sense!'²¹ Temperance is another of the current movements which affected Jay. He became a total abstainer during his ministry but never said much about it from the pulpit.

Dale used to lament the woeful lack of churchmanship amongst the Evangelicals and certainly Jay shows little interest in the matter. It goes without saying that as a Protestant preacher of this period Jay was incapable of mentioning Rome or the Pope without abuse; he was more restrained about the Established Church; yet he supported Catholic emancipation — on the grounds Wilberforce did, that persecution only made a Church stronger. Jay considered himself, as did most men of the Revival, a catholic Christian: 'a Bible-Christian . . . will see much to approve in a variety of forms and parties.'

With regard to myself, though I have a preference, and attach comparative importance to the things whereof pious men differ, yet there is no body of Christians, holding the Head, with whom I could not hold communion and to whom I would not join myself, if circumstances withheld me from my own denomination, rather than remain a *religious solitaire*.²²

Circumstances, it appears, had not allowed him his preference: 'Had I been led to choose, instead of being led by circumstances, I should have preferred Presbyterianism.' He explains that 'by the providence of God, I was trained among the Independents, and with them I remained. I agreed not in every iota of their system, but I approved of it in the main.' We might like to ask further questions but we are not likely to receive very full answers. 'The truth is I never

¹⁸*Ibid.*, I, p. 149.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, II, p. 73.

²⁰*Autobiography*, p. 210.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 155.

²²*The Christian Contemplated*, Lecture IV.

deeply studied the theories of ecclesiastical government. I had neither the inclination nor leisure.²³

Perhaps we are being too critical of Jay. He was, when all is said and done, a man who made the most of a slight education at the feet of a tutor with slight education, for Cornelius Winter's chief education was gained by working with Whitefield in Georgia. These were two self-educated men in the main, and certainly Jay was for ever reading and writing, much to the sorrow of some members of his congregation who felt that his pastoral visits were at exceedingly well-spaced intervals.

We have glanced at some of Jay's preaching and writing. We must now ask what it was that Evangelicals saw in him to evoke such adulation. First and foremost, there is his power in the pulpit which no study can resurrect for us. Bishop Shirley heard him and said, 'He is an extraordinary man. There is a commanding energy in his manner, and a weight in his style, which give authority to what he says.'²⁴ When we place this alongside the earlier description of his voice and the effect he had upon his hearers, we realize that in a period when there was probably more preaching than at any other time in our history, Jay possessed and developed gifts which were the wonder and envy of his admirers. Different people had their favourites, but among those who had a hand in training preachers as well as a multitude of serious Christians, Jay was particularly dear because he was free from the affectation and love of rhetorical decoration which coloured many of the great pulpiteers and made many of the mediocre ones look ridiculous. Jay was, everyone acknowledged, so natural. And it was true of the man himself. His being at Bath, the chief watering-place in the country, where everyone of any consequence was sure to go sooner or later, meant that his fame was carried about the country, but neither popularity nor fashionable society went to his head, or his heart, and he remained a man of simple tastes and few wants. His admirers praised his single-minded devotion to preaching, but we need to notice how he withdrew from preaching up and down the country, for the London Missionary Society on deputation, so as to write and reach Christian homes through his books. This brought him fresh fame and as the years rolled by and he became a last relic of the early and uncorrupted era of the Evangelical Revival, he became something of a legendary figure. It was as a spiritual guide that he was loved. He knew the dark passages of life, having lost a daughter at nineteen, and nursed a paralysed wife who became senile in middle-age. He enabled men to take everyday events and see in them the hand of God and thus raise them to a new plane of living.

Yet Jay's range as a preacher, great as it may have appeared to the

²³*Autobiography*, p. 164.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 563.

admirers, was in fact rather narrowly circumscribed. One can read his works without being aware of the changes that were coming over England, just as one can read Jane Austen, who also resided in Bath at one time, without such awareness. The Industrial Revolution does not get a look in. It is astounding to think of Jay covering page after page with devotional writings of such an other-worldly character in the late 1820s that they ignore the noise and fury of rioters and reformers up and down the land. Jay's weakness, one shared by other preachers, was not, as might be supposed, other-worldliness, so much as the smallness of the world in which his experience lay, and the fact that he allowed it to revolve about him. His doctor, who knew him well, said,

Mr. Jay was all his life so completely accustomed to be listened to, and not much to listen, that perhaps, for some years after I knew him, he might occasionally appear impatient of being interrupted or contradicted; but that was indeed seldom attempted by anyone, as all were generally too glad to hear the good and great man, whose words flowing from him were like the dew which watereth the earth.²⁵

As life went on he concentrated more and more on his biblical-cum-spiritual materials for individuals and families and deliberately paid scant attention to political, social and scientific information. The arts, philosophy and theology did not interest him very much. 'My way lies in another direction.' From the three R's, he said, 'I have never seen cause to swerve.'²⁶

Such narrowness and complacency is more excusable in Jay than in his two foremost admirers. After all, Jay was advanced in years when German theology, biblical criticism and the findings of geology invaded the colleges and began touching the churches in the 1840s; they were in their prime. Anyone who read Professor Dale A. Johnson's short article in the last issue of this *Journal* will remember how R. W. Dale as a student found the Evangelicals' preaching threadbare and the 'Angell' in particular inculcating a 'terribly low philosophy and morality', whilst the liberal 'heretic', George Dawson, leaning on Thomas Carlyle and Emerson, was 'splendid': his 'great offence is, that he will think his own thoughts and tell them in a language purified from the "slang of theologians"'²⁷ Appealing to young men to take Jay as a model was a futile, over-pious hope. Jay's way of handling the Scripture, his narrow interests and contentment with reproducing the same kind of message year after year, in the providence of God, as he liked to say, had to be replaced. It was a matter of life or death for the Church. Grisedale Pike is worth the climb but it is nothing to exult about!

JOHN H. TAYLOR

²⁵*Autobiography*, p. 256f.

²⁶*Reflections* (1841), p. 26.

²⁷*Op.cit.*, Vol. I, No.2, pp. 56ff.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF ROBERT MACKINTOSH (1858 - 1933)¹

I

If it were deemed necessary to preface this biographical account with a text, Mackintosh's own words could scarcely be bettered: 'One would thankfully spend one's whole life till one was spent out, for the privilege of removing a single obstacle from the path of hearts that are seeking God'.² This was the driving force of one who, although a scholar, was first and foremost a man of faith. Mackintosh was a man whose convictions had been hard won and for whom the obstacles to faith had not been materialism or scepticism, or any of the other external foes with which contemporary apologists loved to do battle. His difficulties were posed by the claims of the Church of his fathers.

Robert Mackintosh was born at Dunoon on 23 May 1858 into a staunchly Calvinistic home. He was fifth of the seven children of Dr. Charles Calder Mackintosh and his wife Annie (née Brown). In the Disruption of 1843 C. C. Mackintosh, then minister at Tain, was among those who 'came out'. In 1854 he was translated to Dunoon, resigning his charge just before his death on 24 November 1868.³

Shortly after his death Mrs. Mackintosh and the children migrated to Glasgow where they discovered Alexander Whyte, then junior minister of Free St. John's. Among others who helped the widow and her family was Dr. Harry Rainy, a granduncle of Robert Mackintosh and father of Principal Robert Rainy.⁴ Robert showed signs of great academic capacity. He won a scholarship to Oxford, but his mother declined to allow him to take it up, on grounds, it is thought, of his

¹I should like to thank Principal E. Jones for placing the Library of the Congregational College, Manchester, at my disposal; one of Dr. Mackintosh's daughters, Dr. M. Tandy; Drs. W. Gordon Robinson and C. S. Duthie, who have read my work and commented helpfully upon it. I have used the following abbreviations: (i) *Dr. Mackintosh's books*: ARS, *Albrecht Ritschl and his School*; CAS, *Christianity and Sin*; ETANT, *Essays Towards a New Theology*; FPA, *A First Primer in Apologetics*; IRRS, *The Insufficiency of Revivalism as a Religious System*; PR, *Principal Rainy*; SCT, *Some Central Things*; (ii) *Journals etc.*: BW, *The British Weekly*; CQ, *Congregational Quarterly*; CYB, *Congregational Year Book*; ET, *The Expository Times*; HJ, *The Hibbert Journal*; PICC, *Proceedings of the International Congregational Council*. A version of this paper was read to the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society in March 1973.

²ARS, p.4.

³See *Memorials of the Rev. C. C. Mackintosh, D.D. of Tain and Dunoon, by the Rev. William Taylor, M.A., Stirling*. 2nd ed., Edinburgh (1871).

⁴See PR pp. 8-9.

youthfulness and of the distance of Oxford from Glasgow. Instead, at the age of fourteen he entered Glasgow University and graduated with honours of the First Class in Philosophy and honours of the Second Class in Classics. Of his teachers at Glasgow Edward Caird exercised the profoundest influence upon him⁶. At first he endorsed Caird's idealism but later felt critical of it, though by the time he came to write *From Comte to Benjamin Kidd* (1899) he had reassessed the matter and was led to expound a modified idealism.

When Robert went to Edinburgh to read theology at New College his family also moved house. Here they were reunited with Dr. Whyte who had moved in 1870 to Free St. George's. Of him Mackintosh later wrote, 'If I came through the hard days of youth and doubt without losing my hold upon the things that truly matter, I owe it mainly, under God, to that one voice and to that one place'.⁷ When he was invited to serve as a deacon Whyte overcame the young man's scruples by persuading him that since we were not saved by virtue of our belief in the eternal punishment of the damned, credal subscription was less of an obstacle than he had thought. 'There was for me a special charm in the fact that I never felt personal awkwardness in close talk with Whyte — he put himself so frankly, so humanly, so simply alongside one. With others it was different, shyness making me lose touch'.⁷

Mackintosh was placed second in the New College Entrance Bursary competition, and in his final year in the College, 1881, he was appointed Cunningham Fellow. He had doubts about accepting the Fellowship since he felt so out of sympathy with the doctrinal position of its sponsors. He turned to Principal Rainy for advice, and Rainy suggested that he accept the Fellowship, and use the period of time afforded by it to think through his theological position. Mackintosh persisted,

"Dr. Rainy, I don't wish to speak over-confidently, but I see no probability whatever of my returning to the old view of future punishment." To that he made no reply. Looking back over many years, one sees that there might be more than one interpretation of his meaning.⁸

⁶Mackintosh won a number of prizes including a first prize in Higher Metaphysics and a Coulter Prize for the best Latin essay on "The True Relation of the State to Education." Something of the competitive spirit at Glasgow may be sensed in R. Mackintosh, "My Experiments in Authorship," C.Q., vol. 9 (1931) p. 285. Mr. Neil Robertson of the University of Glasgow kindly supplied details of Mackintosh's career there.

⁷"Dr. Whyte as I remember him", C.Q., vol. 2 (1924) p. 200.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁹PR, pp. 74-75. During his college days the Theological Society asked Mackintosh to support 'education' in a debate on the motion "Is life better viewed as education than as probation?" Whilst reading up Erskine of Linlathen in preparation for his speech he became convinced that belief in eternal punishment must go. See *op.cit.* pp. 73-74.

Mackintosh wrote little about his theological teachers.⁹ He did say that A. B. Davidson was the one from whom students drew their inspiration, but he branded the Professor of Doctrine (unnamed in context) 'an arch-Calvinist, and one who loved to put a keen edge of paradox upon his statements of doctrine.'¹⁰ His rueful conclusion was that 'we had no breath of modern theological life in the system of doctrine taught us at New College.'¹¹ That Mackintosh satisfied his teachers more than they satisfied him is evident from his graduation as Bachelor of Divinity.

II

His next movements are not easy to trace. He pursued further studies in Jena and Marburg; then for a brief period he was a missionary assistant to Dr. Walter Smith in Dundee. There he contracted scarlet fever, and his mother went to nurse him, and found herself acting as a secretary as he dictated notes which were to be the basis of his first book. A recuperative trip to New Zealand followed. *Christ and the Jewish Law* was published in 1886. Dr. Marcus Dods reviewed the book favourably in *The Expositor*, and to this Mackintosh later attributed the fact that his first book 'came nearer achieving real success than perhaps anything I have since done'.¹² Principal Rainy also wrote him 'a very kind letter of praise'.¹³

He later described himself at this period as 'fighting for life as a Christian, and for liberty as a preacher from the fetters of a seventeenth century creed'.¹⁴ He sought to rally support for the projected Declaratory Act and said that behind the overt political necessity of uniting the Free Church with the United Presbyterian Church was a ground-swell of opinion which recognised the need of a measure of doctrinal liberalisation.¹⁵ It was a time when 'my path in life seemed closing against me; and I tried to compose the turmoil of my own

⁹They were: Rev. Robert Rainy, D.D., Principal and Professor of Church History; Rev. James Macgregor, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology; Rev. A. B. Davidson, D.D., Litt.D., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament; Rev. John Duns, Professor of Natural Science; Rev. George Smeaton, D.D., Professor of New Testament; Rev. W. G. Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Apologetics, Christian Ethics, and Practical Theology; and the teacher of Elocution, Dr. Anderson Moxey. I am indebted to Erma R. Leslie of New College for this list of teachers, and for other information concerning the College.

¹⁰"My Experiments in Authorship," CQ, vol. 9 (1931) p. 279.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 279.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 281.

¹³PR, p. 75.

¹⁴CAS, p. 107.

¹⁵See PR, pp. 67-8.

thoughts and beliefs by shaping out a set of what I termed "Theological Aphorisms"¹⁰ He did not publish these at the time, but the discipline of composing them was salutary. However, it was not enough.

Milder methods of easing my passage of the barrier, constituted by the necessity of signing the Westminster Confession of Faith, had failed me. I had recourse accordingly to somewhat violent methods; my mother, I now perceive, must have winced dreadfully.¹¹

He planned a series of 'Creed Reform Tracts' of which two saw the light of day: *The Obsolescence of the Westminster Confession of Faith*, and *The Insufficiency of Revivalism as a Religious System*.¹² He faulted his Church on its ethos, its lack of social vision and its tendency to make the evangelical conversion experience the *sine qua non* of religious faith; but his overriding objection was that his Church was inviting her sons to make a dishonest public profession of loyalty to a Confession whose validity as an unamendable statement of Christian truth he had come radically to question:

Many things are undesirable in one's Church connection. Only one thing is unlawful — personal sin; a lying pledge; a false profession. And that is what our wise Presbyterian Churches demand in the case of almost all thoughtful candidates for their ministry. Go where I may, I cannot secure that my neighbours have no motes in their eyes. I must secure that I have no beam in mine.¹³

Henry Drummond, writing to a friend on 20 November 1889 gave an assessment of Mackintosh's position:

He studied for the Free Church, but stuck at the Confession and will not be ordained. He lives to expound the New Theology. He is one of the acutest minds in the country, a thorough scholar, and has already written one book (*Christ and the Jewish Law*) and two pamphlets (one on the Confession, the other an attack on Revivalism). These pamphlets are too fierce. But his book is admirable. The new book (*Essays towards a New Theology*) I have only glanced at. It is sure to be good.¹⁴

Meanwhile, Mackintosh had moved to England, to be assistant to Benjamin Bell, the Presbyterian minister of Withington, Manchester, at £120 p.a., with special responsibility for church extension at Didsbury, work which later bore fruit in the shape of St. Aidan's

¹⁰They were published (slightly amended) in *CQ*, vol. 5 (1927) pp. 51-57, prefaced *inter alia* by the remark here quoted.

¹¹'My Experiments in Authorship', *CQ*, vol. 9 (1931) p. 281.

¹²These were published in one volume with *ETANT* in 1899.

¹³IRRS, p. 37.

¹⁴Quoted by John S. Richards in 'Death of Dr. Mackintosh', *BW*, 16 Feb. 1933.

Presbyterian Church,²¹ but he would not stay; he would not make a lying pledge.

His thoughts had been turning for some time towards Congregationalism.²² He later described himself as 'less a proselyte than . . . a refugee' in his new spiritual home. 'I fled to Congregationalism', he says, 'as a means of escape from outworn dogmas and creeds; but I resolved with God's help to be loyal still — or to be more loyal than ever — to the central faith of the Gospel?'²³ This underlines what he wrote in *A First Primer of Apologetics* ('the only book of mine which has ever had the delightful words *Second Edition* inscribed on its title page'):²⁴

Our young men, and probably even our thoughtful young women, must have their initiation into personal religious certainty through an ordeal of religious doubt. . . . If we have never doubted, we can hardly help the doubts of others — unless by a perfect miracle of sympathy and love; but most of us need personal initiation.²⁵

III

Mackintosh accepted a call to Irving Street Congregational Church, Dumfries, at a 'salary of £200' and was ordained there on 11 December 1890. 'Rev. James Ross, Glasgow . . . addressed the members of the church, whilst Rev. Principal Simon, of Edinburgh Theological Hall, gave the charge to the new pastor.'²⁶ In a letter of greetings, Rainy spoke somewhat enigmatically of Mackintosh taking the right step, 'in the meantime' or 'under present conditions.'²⁷

At Dumfries, Mackintosh met and married Mary Wilson Robb (1871-1924). Her father, a strict sabbatarian, was head of the English department at Dumfries Academy. In later life in Manchester she performed a great deal of social work, being especially interested in temperance work amongst women, and in pioneering a probation service in the city. They had four daughters and one son.

On 15 July 1894 the Dumfries minute book records Mackintosh's

²¹I am indebted to the Rev. A. L. Macarthur for putting me in touch with Mr. R. J. Watson, Hon. Librarian of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England. He in turn kindly obtained the information relating to Mackintosh's service at Withington from the last minister of the Presbyterian church there, the Rev. J. V. Henderson: the Church has now been combined with St. Aidan's.

²²Cf. *IRRS*, pp. 36-37.

²³'The Genius of Congregationalism,' in *Essays Congregational and Catholic*, ed. A. Peel (1931) p. 105.

²⁴My Experiments in Authorship, *CQ*, vol. 9 (1931), p.287.

²⁵*FPA*, pp. 3-4. The words 'probably even' in the first line of the quotation ring somewhat strangely on the modern ear!

²⁶I am grateful to the present minister the Rev. Thomas Mearns, for supplying copies of minutes and letters.

²⁷*PR*, p. 75.

acceptance of the Professorship at Lancashire Independent College; it adds, 'the church felt that an honour has been conferred on them, insomuch as their pastor had been thought worthy to occupy such a position'. His life's work was about to begin.

In Manchester the Mackintosh family became members of the Withington Congregational Church, whose minister was the energetic C. H. Hickling; Robert became a deacon, an office he held until his death. Mr. H. P. Griffiths, a lifelong member of the Withington church recalls that Mackintosh was especially adept at talking to children — a not insignificant point in view of his great erudition.²⁸ He preached from full notes, in a rich, deliberate tone, but his prayers were invariably free prayers.

At the College Mackintosh found himself a colleague of Dr. Caleb Scott (to whom he dedicated *From Comte to Benjamin Kidd*), and subsequently of Dr. Walter Frederick Adeney, Dr. William Henry Bennett, 'for whom he had a particular esteem and affection,'²⁹ and Dr. Alexander James Grieve. To all of these he was 'loyalty incarnate.'³⁰ He was never invited to become Principal; in 1899, Glasgow conferred its Honorary D.D. upon him,³¹ and the same year his *From Comte to Benjamin Kidd* was published — a book which had grown out of lectures to his students.³²

What of Mackintosh the teacher? Principal Grieve said,

Like other experts I think he knew too much to be a good teacher in the ordinary sense — an observation which I know will not be misunderstood by the discerning. His gifts were not of the 'popular' order, whether in classroom or pulpit. That is no disparagement of him. But no one could sit at his feet without, as one of his students had said, and at least one of his colleagues can endorse, 'being ashamed of his own dullness,' and that is no small gain to the learner.³³

To these words we may add those of some of Mackintosh's students. Firstly, John S. Richards:

His students . . . will ever acknowledge the debt they owe to him, but I do not think any of them could conscientiously praise his method of teaching. To put it bluntly he had no method at all. He simply appeared to be thinking aloud his own thoughts on the subject he was lecturing upon. He uttered detached, epigrammatic, always exquisitely phrased analyses, comments, and criticisms. You gathered what you could.³⁴

²⁸I owe this reference to Mr. Griffiths, to Dr. J. W. Batty, the present secretary of Withington church, who supplied much helpful information concerning that fellowship.

²⁹A. J. Grieve in Mackintosh's obituary notice, *CYB*, 1934, p. 269.

³⁰So Grieve, "Funeral Oration," p. 10.

³¹It has not proved possible to trace a copy of the eulogy.

³²See "My Experiments in Authorship," *CQ*, vol. 9, 1931, pp. 283-4.

³³A. G. Grieve, "Funeral Oration," p. 13.

³⁴J. S. Richards, "Death of Dr. Mackintosh," *BW*, 16.2.33.

Bernard G. Theobald wrote in the Lancashire College magazine:

Mac had no faintest idea of the art of teaching. He assumed that his pupils were as fully acquainted as he with the learning of the ages, and all they needed from him was acute criticism or commendation, as the case might be. Plodding painfully behind him and reading hard to cover our ignorance, we did at length get some inkling of the meaning of his lectures and some insight into one of the finest minds in all the realms of British scholarship.³⁵

Finally this, from one of his last students, Leonard H. Oldfield:

He used to lecture in the Senior Common Room, with the students sitting round the table, and his dog under it. Lectures were quite uneventful except when someone, accidentally, kicked the dog. They were not very interesting, and did not create enthusiasm for the subject. . . . In the early days of my ministry, I found, rather to my own surprise, how useful were the things I had learned from him.³⁶

IV

During the first decade of the century the breadth of his interests appears. *A First Primer of Apologetics* (1900) drew a cordial review from the editor of *The Expository Times*: 'Dr. Mackintosh's book tells us, more emphatically than any book we know, what Christian Evidence means today; and what it means today it has meant from the beginning'.³⁷ There followed *Hegel and Hegelianism* (1903), *Principal Rainy* (1907), and *Christian Ethics* (1909). Then came 'the most unexpected honour of my life'.³⁸ He was invited to contribute articles to the eleventh edition of *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910-11) and he was particularly glad when Drs. Adeney and Peake commended his article on Theology. An earnest of his later work in this field was his article, "The Fact of the Atonement", a finely balanced and movingly written piece which more than stands the test of time, and is in the opinion of the present writer Mackintosh's most satisfying single paper.³⁹ His address to the third International Congregational Council (1908) was "Recent Philosophy and Christian Doctrine", and in it he surveyed *inter alia* contemporary empiricism, pragmatism and idealism, in their bearings upon religion.⁴⁰ At a subsequent point in the assembly, Dr. Archibald Duff thanked 'our masterly Dr. Mackintosh,' and added, 'but I want to say, too, that some of us felt paralysed, overpowered.'⁴¹

³⁵B. G. Theobald, "Mainly Reminiscent," Lancashire College Old Students' Association *Magazine*, October 1933.

³⁶From a letter to the author.

³⁷*ET*, vol. 16, 1904-5, p. 85.

³⁸'My Experiments in Authorship', *CQ*, vol. 9, 1931, p. 286.

³⁹*ET*, vol. 14, 1902-3, pp. 344-350.

⁴⁰*PICC* (3), 1908, pp. 76-84.

⁴¹*PICC* (3), 1908, p. 124.

In the field of biblical studies there were notes and articles in *The Expository Times* and *The Expositor*, and a commentary, *Thessalonians and Corinthians* (1909) in the Westminster New Testament series. In 1919 he contributed "Galatians" to *Peake's Commentary*. The writing of commentaries 'I felt . . . to be the most delightful work I had ever known, and only wished that I had scholarship enough to warrant undertaking more of it, upon a larger scale'.⁴² The humility of a polymath!

He also took part in the current public debate on the authority of the Bible. We find him, for example, at the 1906 Assembly of the Lancashire Congregational Union, denying that the higher criticism must inevitably have the effect of 'blowing our infallible Bible to pieces'.⁴³

Mackintosh played his part in the discussions which led to the inauguration of Manchester University's Faculty of Theology in 1904.

I may be pardoned for mentioning that I have myself from the first belonged to the Faculty as holding the proud, though not lucrative, position of Lecturer in what our University calls "Fundamental Ideas of Religion, including Natural Religion", i.e. — as other people are content to say — in Philosophy of Religion'.⁴⁴

He contributed a paper on 'Evolution and the Doctrine of Sin' to the inaugural meetings of the Faculty.⁴⁵ He served as Dean of the Faculty; he taught Comparative Religion during two interregnums; and at the semi-jubilee of the Faculty gave the address in place of Professor Peake who had recently died.

In addition to contributions to *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1915), the next decade saw the appearance of three books, *Christianity and Sin* (1913), *Albert Ritschl and His School* (1915), and *Historic Theories of Atonement* (1920).

In 1918 he was called to the Chair of the Lancashire Congregational Union and his address from the Chair was described in the *Union Year Book* as 'a thorough war aims pronouncement . . . some of the old men rejoiced and some of the young wept'. Although he argued his case with force, he was equally concerned to uphold the conscientious rights of those who differed from him, and on this issue these included his wife and his minister at Withington, the Rev. (later Dr.) Nathanael Micklem.

The Chair of the Lancashire Union marked the peak of his attainment in ecclesiastical office. As Dr. Grieve was later to remark, the

⁴²"My Experiments in Authorship," *CQ*, vol. 9, 1931, pp. 286-7.

⁴³See W. Gordon Robinson, *A History of the Lancashire Congregational Union, 1806-1956*, Manchester, 1955, p. 73.

⁴⁴"Nonconformity in the Universities, V. Manchester," *CQ*, vol. 2 (1924) pp. 94-95.

⁴⁵In *Theological Essays*, ed. A. S. Peake, Manchester (1905), being the Inaugural Lectures of the Faculty of Theology, Manchester.

loved and honoured Mackintosh was 'a man whose heart and mind, saintliness and scholarship, Congregationalism too largely overlooked: it would have honoured itself in calling him to the Chair of the Union'.⁴⁶

V

In 1920 Mackintosh was one of the English representatives to the International Congregational Council meetings at Boston, Mass. One of his daughters recalls the delight with which he embarked upon this mission, and the pleasure with which he later looked back upon it. He had served on the Commission on "The Contribution of British Congregationalism to Religious Thought," and in the absence through ill health of P. T. Forsyth, he presented its Report to the Council. In this address he ranged widely, the question of the application of the theological insights to social questions receiving a fair amount of attention. This same concern was much in his mind when, in 1924, he attended the COPEC⁴⁷ conference at Birmingham. He felt keenly that the tone of the papers presented there was such as to blunt the dogmatic edge of Christianity. Indeed, he later described the conference as 'an assemblage of warm young hearts and hot young heads';⁴⁸ and Dr. Grieve later recalled how Mackintosh, by his intervention, 'saved that assembly from committing itself in a moment of emotional economics to a fatal slough'.⁴⁹

In 1924 Mrs. Mackintosh died. Their son entered Ridley Hall, Cambridge, and became an Anglican minister and one of the daughters became a Quaker — occurrences which puzzled Mackintosh.

He engrossed himself in the work of various societies, being a governor of the John Rylands Library, the secretary of his local auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society and a director of the London Missionary Society. In this latter role, 'his interventions in discussion were infrequent, and were generally designed to pour a douche of cold water on impracticable proposals or sentimental moods'.⁵⁰ 'If the Doctor was absent from a meeting, of which he had been duly notified, it was certain either that he was ill or that the tram had broken down'.⁵¹

He contributed many articles and reviews to the then youthful but now lamented *Congregational Quarterly*; he entered the arena of

⁴⁶C. E. Surman, *Alexander James Grieve*, p. 51.

⁴⁷I.e. Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, 5th-12th April, 1924.

⁴⁸"Recent Thought on the Doctrine of the Atonement," *ET*, vol. 37, 1925-6, p. 203. See also "The Theology of COPEC," *HJ*, vol. 23, 1924-5, pp. 85-100.

⁴⁹'Funeral Oration', p. 15.

⁵⁰Anonymous obituary, *BW*, 16.2.1933.

⁵¹G. Phillips, "Dr. Mackintosh," *The Congregational Monthly*, Lancashire edition, March 1933, p. xi. G. Phillips (1893-1967) subsequently became a Professor at Lancashire College. See *CYB*, 1968-9, p. 440.

public debate, through the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*, in the interest of anti-sacramentarian and evangelical Christianity; and he contributed some brief articles to the fourteenth edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1929). The larger themes had been 'entrusted to more conspicuous writers. . . .'⁵² Two books remain to be noted. In *Values*, published at his own expense in 1928, Mackintosh argued that salvation is the highest of all values; and in his last book, *Some Central Things* (1932), he spoke of Jesus Christ as 'the fulfiller of the messianic expectation, whose ministry ended in apparent defeat not because he lost personal popularity, but because, for the most part, his hearers 'repented not'.⁵³

June 1930 saw the end of his distinguished professorial career, and the occasion was well marked. At the Annual Meeting of the College on 20 June distinguished guests included Professor Samuel Alexander and Dr. Moberly, the Vice Chancellor of the University. Speakers paid high tribute to Mackintosh's work and character, and he was presented with a cheque for two hundred guineas and an illuminated address.⁵⁴ In the following month he addressed the fifth session of the International Congregational Council, meeting at Bournemouth, on "The Living Church: the Expression of its Life. Its Sacraments."⁵⁵

In 1932 Mackintosh set up home at Whaley Bridge but his health began to decline, and his last public appearances were made on 23 January, 1933. On the morning of that day he attended a meeting of the College Committee, and in the afternoon, a meeting of the Rylands Library Committee. After evening prayers in the College chapel he suffered a heart attack. He spent a week in College, and was then moved home. An operation in Manchester was called for, which he just survived; but on Sunday 12 February 1933, he died. On Wednesday the funeral service was held at the College, Dr. Grieve delivering the oration, and this was followed by interment at Taxal churchyard.⁵⁶

VI

It remains to offer a brief assessment of Mackintosh the scholar and Mackintosh the man. As we have seen, Mackintosh's writings cover a wide field, and a complete account of his thought is here out of the question.⁵⁷

⁵²"My Experiments in Authorship," *CQ*, vol. 9, 1931, p. 286.

⁵³*SCT*, p. 2.

⁵⁴Report, "Retirement of Dr. Mackintosh," *The Manchester Guardian*, 21.6.1930.

⁵⁵See *PICC* (5), 1930, pp. 136-143.

⁵⁶The details in this paragraph are culled from Dr. Grieve's obituary notice in *CYB*, 1934, p. 269.

⁵⁷For a fuller account of some aspects of his thought see my article, "A Liberated Churchman," *The Philosophical Journal*, vol. 10, 1973, pp. 85-96; and my forthcoming article, "Robert Mackintosh: a Neglected Theologian," to be published in *The Modern Churchman*.

Although Mackintosh's analyses of some of the philosophical trends of his day are perceptive, the nature and spirit of much subsequent philosophy in the Anglo-Saxon world make some of his remarks sound oddly dated. Whereas he can, for example, assume that the construction of a viable Christian philosophy is a real possibility, the analysis of this very assumption constitutes a considerable part of the concern of the contemporary philosopher of religion. Mackintosh never really took the measure of Russell or Moore, or weighed the possible impact upon theology of the logical empiricism of the twenties. He was by no means the only theologian so to fail! In other areas Mackintosh has much more to offer.

In driving to the heart of the biblical witness, Mackintosh anticipated the twentieth-century biblical theology movement. On the one hand he appreciated the main results of the new critical approach in biblical scholarship, but on the other hand, he did not minimise, or seek to undermine, the over-all unity of the Bible. Whereas some reacted to the higher criticism by retreating into an increasingly fossilised, uncritical orthodoxy, he passed new findings through his critical sieve, maintaining his balance throughout.

In the realm of ecclesiology Mackintosh drew attention to the divide in Christendom over the question of the priority of Gospel or Church. He saw that although the matter came to a head practically in connection with episcopacy, the difficulties derived fundamentally from divergent understandings of the grace of God. Above all, he emphasised Christ's Lordship over Bible, Church and creed.

Mackintosh's pre-Barthian case for dogmatic theology is refreshing to read at a time when some theologians are inviting us to conduct the last rites over that discipline. Here again Mackintosh kept his head, being bowled over neither by any school of philosophy, whether evolutionary or idealist, nor yet by any brand of theology, whether liberal or orthodox. He never forgot that religion and faith are different in kind from philosophy and theology, and therefore he was never guilty of reducing the former to the latter. At the heart of his faith was Christ the Saviour; and for Mackintosh, fellowship in the Church and service in the world were inescapable implications of that faith. Mackintosh was at his strongest when critically analysing the work of others, and his constructive insights require to be collected from a number of sources; but he was also a thinker who, after a personally demanding spiritual quest, walked a middle road in theology, and whose grasp of the central issues of the faith was sure.

As a man, he was a gracious father, who brought his family up to keep the Lord's Day. Games played in the Mackintosh household on Sundays differed from those enjoyed on other days, and included Bible ludo. Daily family prayers were customary for all until the children went to school, when weekly family worship on Sundays

replaced them. Though by no means cold towards his children, they tended to have more contact with their mother, and often learned their father's mind through her.

We have already described the reactions of some of Mackintosh's students to his teaching. It may be that the following extracts will go some way towards presenting a more rounded picture of their mentor. C. L. Wilson writes:

He loved music . . . and I remember well how on one occasion in his home, when a number of us were enjoying a social evening with him and his truly charming wife, I had sung Henley's 'Invictus'. He placed his hand on my shoulder and remarked, "Thank you Wilson, that was indeed a truly elegant expression of paganism". In the opinion of J. M. Calder, 'His dignity was that of a man who walked humbly with God. It was "Mac" who comforted me most when my mother died'. And George Phillips, who was later to occupy Mackintosh's seat at Lancashire College, informs us that,

All the obituary notices I have read so far have made some reference to his 'austerity', or his 'unapproachableness.' It is of course true that he could not easily fraternise, but the impression of aloofness was very deceptive. Actually he was a kindly, genial soul. . . .

"I hope," he apologised to me one morning after an exceptionally brilliant and desolating onslaught upon a paper of mine, "you didn't think me too slashing this morning?" "Doctor," I answered, "You wouldn't be yourself if you weren't slashing. We expect it of you!" He didn't smile. He looked at me in pained surprise, and the shake of his head meant without question: "Is that the sort of man I'm supposed to be?"

But with all his intellectual eminence he was in spirit profoundly simple and humble . . . though he was conversant with all the highways and by-ways of philosophic doubt he lived and died, as the lowliest of Christ's followers, simply trusting in the redeeming mercy and grace which we have in him.⁶⁸

It is fitting that the last word should go to Robert Mackintosh himself. In two sentences he both sums up his faith and explains his stance on many issues, both theoretical and practical:

Belief in God as our Father, and in Christ as the Saviour of the world, is Christian faith. Whatever obscures this is leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees.⁶⁹

ALAN P. F. SELL

⁶⁸G. Phillips, "Dr. Mackintosh," *The Congregational Monthly*, Manchester edn., March 1933, p. xi. For the recollections of T. T. James see his "Fifty Years," *CQ*, vol. 23, 1945, p. 321.

⁶⁹*ETANT*, p. 475.

A NONCONFORMIST VIEW OF SUNDAY RAILWAY EXCURSIONS

The development of Nonconformity during the nineteenth century was influenced considerably by the growth of the railway system. To mention one example only: the railways fostered the rapid growth of seaside towns and these were long notable for their numerous and varied Nonconformist Churches. Initially, however, railway development was of particular concern to Nonconformity because of its large impact on the conventional view of Sabbath observance.

Contrary to some received notions the Nonconformists were not alone in this. More than one Bishop denounced the desecration of the Sabbath by Sunday trains and this outlook was parodied by Trollope in *Barchester Towers* with the evangelical Rev. Obadiah Slope saying:

I fear there is a great deal of Sabbath travelling here . . . On looking at the Bradshaw, I see that there are three trains in and three out every Sabbath. Could nothing be done to induce the company to withdraw them?

But it was the Nonconformists who were seen as the most ardent Sabbatarians and who thereby attracted most of the odium as 'kill-joys.' The growing popularity of outings to the seaside from the towns and of visits to London from the provinces led the railway companies to run more and more excursion trains and with a six day working week this meant Sunday excursions.

On Sunday morning 25 August 1861 an excursion train from Brighton to London of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway was run into by the ordinary train to London inside the long Clayton Tunnel under the Downs and 23 passengers lost their lives. It was a terrible railway accident which caused widespread shock and dismay. The *Brighton Gazette* recorded that:

in several of the Churches in the town the Ministers took occasion to make some edifying remarks on the catastrophe to their respective congregations.

One minister who was unable to preach that day wrote a tract shortly after the event which was published by S. Miall, Brighton, and John Snow, London, price One Penny, and this ran to a second imprint of 1,000 copies. He was the Rev. John Nelson Gouley of the Union Street Congregational Church, Brighton. The title was:

AN APPEAL to CONSCIENCE AND HUMANITY, the Self-Interest of Railway Proprietors, and the Consistency of Professing Christians Generally, occasioned by the Awful COLLISION AT THE CLAYTON TUNNEL.

John Goulty was at Brighton from 1824 until his retirement at the end of 1861 and he was the leading Nonconformist minister of his times in Sussex. He was influential in the life of Brighton and the County and he shared in the promotion of a wide range of social and humanitarian institutions. Unusually for a Nonconformist in Sussex in the nineteenth century he was called to succeed the Earl of Chichester as Chairman of the Sussex Auxiliary of the Bible Society. In obituary notices his strong character was stressed:

The late Minister of Union-Street Chapel always called to our mind that class of stalwart, energetic, never-yielding men, the early Puritans . . . He was a true Independent Minister and a strong advocate and supporter of civil and religious liberty.

There is a sonority of language and earnestness of phrase throughout *The Appeal* which must strike us as typically Victorian. As it runs to more than 2,000 words only a limited number of passages can be quoted here to illustrate this Nonconformist view of Sunday travelling in 1861. John Goulty was less rigid in his attitude than many of his contemporaries because he accepted that necessity might sometimes make Sunday travelling unavoidable: it was Sunday travelling for pleasure which was the prime target of *The Appeal*.

Such an event cannot be suffered to pass unnoticed by those who, as watchmen on the walls, must 'not keep silence.' My heart has been gladdened by the notice which is being taken by Ministers from their pulpits, and by appropriate tract distribution. . . .

In a few moments the immortal spirits of the deceased were suddenly taken from social pleasure . . . lives forfeited *in the very act of disobedience to the will of God*. It is an awful thing to die; it is no light thing to perish; and to die under such circumstances aggravates the folly of sin. . . .

The appeal is to the Sunday *excursionists*, and to the promoters of facilities for such pleasure-takers. The object and end of the railway authorities is clearly commercial — pecuniary profit. For this, life, limb, obedience to the will of God, and the interests of *eternity*, are held subordinate. . . .

These railway excursion trains are making fearful inroads on the peace and the morality of the places to which they run. . . . In some instances, the quiet habit and the voice of conscience are disregarded for the sake of a little change or pleasure. But at what fearful hazard is the doubtful expediency attempted!

It is true, the accident might have occurred on *another* day, but in this case it was on the *Lord's day*, and neither necessity nor mercy could be pleaded for the excursionists. The temptation was *the low fare*, which, by the aggregate of numbers, brings pecuniary gain to the Company. . . .

Let any one visit the scene on the Lord's day on the west cliff of Brighton and its beach, and say, if they can, that such a scene is

becoming a Christian population, and then, let them calculate the influence on the rising generation. It has, too clearly, the character of continental infidelity, which all our morning church and chapel going cannot compensate; and if our watering places are thus to be abused, the excursionists are to turn their freedom to such licentiousness, let the instructors of our youth, and the pulpits of our land, give no uncertain sound to the fatal and awful consequences. . . . To those who have survived the hazard they were in, how terrific must be the thought of the danger which they have escaped. It is unbearable to realize for ourselves what has absolutely befallen to others. What can you render to God for his mercies to you in this instance? Shall the voice of remonstrance be uttered in vain? . . . There may be some who will be ready to retort that they are not alone in such a case. A fatal accident may happen to parties who do not scruple to employ public vehicles on the Lord's day for their own convenience. . . . No one would hesitate to employ a carriage when necessity or mercy required, and no flyman would, or ought to be blamed for rendering the needed assistance from his yard; but to 'stand for hire' on the Lord's day is quite another thing. It is keeping open house to invite and allure. To go for pleasure merely is a violation of the principle which our Lord has thus expressed: 'The Sabbath was made for man (at the creation, for his rest and edification), *not man for the Sabbath* (to make a mere parade of religion).'

You must neither judge others, nor ward off the application from yourselves. Better or worse is not the question, but personal reconciliation with God. . . .

The present moment flies,
And bears our life away:
O make Thy servants truly wise,
That they may live today.

N. CAPLAN

REVIEWS

The Pentecostal Theology of Edward Irving by Gordon Strachan (C. Darton, Longmann and Todd, 240 pp. £2.75).

The modern expansion of Pentecostalism and the revival, often in quite unexpected quarters, of the practice of speaking with tongues, gives fresh interest to the study of the life and teaching of Edward Irving. Dr. Strachan's book is a detailed and sympathetic account of both. He concentrates on trying to show that Irving was a truly Reformed Pentecostal theologian and claims that his uniqueness lay in the fact that his Pentecostalism arose not so much out of intensity

of religious feeling as out of faithful response to the study and preaching of the Word of God.

What is undeniable is that Irving did work out a highly developed body of teaching about the nature and work of Christ and its relation to the holiness of the Church and to the baptism of the Spirit. These were expanded chiefly in a magnificent series of published sermons whose scriptural propriety and length remind us yet again how much greater than ours the capacity of our forefathers was for taking solid nourishment. They make clear that Irving's main concern was to emphasize the reality of the Incarnation and therefore the reality of the continuing question of the Spirit in the Church. As he saw it, the issue between him and the presbyteries was whether they took these with sufficient seriousness and whether they were not trying to set man-made limits to the operation of God's grace. As they saw it, and Dr. Strachan's personal sympathy with Irving hardly permits him to do justice to their misgivings, the question was whether God's grace was actually operative in the way Irving said it was.

All the same it is a pity that Irving's opponents were not more discriminating. In fairness to them, they seem to have been entirely free from malice and the desire to persecute. Irving was at least as eager as they were to force matters to an issue. They regarded him throughout as a 'holy and amiable man' and only regretfully concluded that he was also 'deceived and deluded.' But their arguments against him were legalistic and there was no one of comparable theological insight to himself, as his one-time admirer Coleridge might have been, to sustain the discussion on a deeper level.

What strikes a modern reader is the surprisingly strong affinity between Irving's teachings on the Church and the Spirit and that of the modern liturgical movement in the Roman Catholic Church on Christ's mystical body. It was not accidental that the new community Irving founded called itself the 'Catholic' Apostolic Church and it might be worth inquiring whether an explanation of the puzzling revival of Pentecostalism in modern Romanism could be discovered by pondering on the significance of that affinity. If Irving had remained at Regent Square and had been allowed to live longer, the extent to which his Pentecostalism was more Catholic than Reformed might have become clearer. In either case, the experience would have been illuminating for the Presbyterianism of the nineteenth century.

DANIEL JENKINS

The Scottish Church, 1688-1843, by Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch (The Saint Andrew Press, 1973, £4.00).

The merit of this book lies in the balance which the authors have achieved in their account of what the sub-title calls "The Age of the Moderates." The Church is placed in the context of the social and

political changes of the Scotland of the Enlightenment and the industrial revolution, and full place is given to the different branches of Scottish Presbyterianism as well as to the other dissenting Churches. The relations between the Scottish Church and the English and Irish Churches are also described. A balance is achieved between the study of the Church at the local and the national level. The Church of Scotland was an establishment, say the authors, because of its identity with the common people of Scotland, rather than because of its recognition by the State. Yet those who nominated the ministers, the patrons, belonged to a different world of thought from the people. The social differences in the Church are well illustrated, including a splendid reference to the loft of the laird at the Church of Kilbirnie which 'would make the dress circle of most theatres seem plain.' Out of the social divisions, and out of the party rivalry between the Moderates and the Evangelicals, arose the divisions of the Scottish Church in this period. An impartial account is given of the two major parties in the Church, and a refreshingly balanced treatment is given of the work of Thomas Chalmers and of the Disruption controversy. A balance is also achieved in that theological developments are fully described, from the 'Marrow' controversy to the work of Irving and McLeod Campbell. It is very much to be hoped that Dr. Bulloch will bring out the remainder of the late Dr. Drummond's manuscript which deals with the Scottish Church since 1843, a fresh account of which is also much needed.

DOUGLAS M. MURRAY

A Centenary Survey, 1873-1973. This History of Bridgend U.R.C. in Wales is a lavishly produced and well-written brochure. It has been prepared by Mr. Benson Roberts and traces the history of a congregation which has shared in many of the social and economic changes of industrial Wales and has been served by a remarkable variety of ministers and members.

The Suffolk Review (Vol. 4, No. 2, 1973. Suffolk Rural Community Council, County Hall, Ipswich, 25p.) contains a list of resources available for the history of Congregational churches in Suffolk, prepared by the Rev. George Sydenham. It includes material traced in the P.R.O., the Congregational Library, Dr. Williams's, the Reference Libraries and Record Offices at Bury St. Edmunds and Ipswich. Especially interesting is the Wilson correspondence at the Congregational Library, Memorial Hall, relating to chapel building. The list will assist those who are eager to study or compile the history of local churches and will help others who may try to compile similar lists elsewhere.

R. BUICK KNOX

Grange Park United Reformed Church by Mrs. H. Lacy-McIntyre. (Grange Park U.R.C., Grange Park Road, Leyton, London, E.10. 1973. 5p. plus postage). Many chapel histories are little more than strings of names of ministers, deacons, etc. This well-researched pamphlet is fascinating to read because it sets the Grange Park church in its wider setting of Leyton history and is thus a valuable complement to the 1897 and 1923 histories of the cause. At only 5p. plus postage it is a bargain.

H. G. TIBBUTT.

ALSO RECEIVED:—

Mitteilungen des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins, Herausgegeben von Herbert Krüger (Neue Folge 58ster Band, Giessen, 1973, 28 DM.).

Działalosc Wlochow w Polsce w i polowie XVI Wieku, Danuta Quirini-Poplawska (Polska Akademia Nauk - Addzial w Krakowie, Prace Komisji Naul Historycznych, Nr.32. 1973).

We are pleased to have received copies of many of our contemporaries, which are placed on our Library shelves; in the next issue we hope to make more mention of them.

LIBRARY ACQUISITIONS

Binney (Thomas) *Sermon preached at King's Weigh House*. 1869.

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Cameron (L. L. L.) *A Badge to be Proud of: Hist. of C. of S. Huts and Canteens*. 1972.

Drummond (A. L.) *Scottish Church, 1688-1843*. 1973.

Eastcheap Sermons. Vol. 3. 1816.

Evangelical Magazine: *Rules and Minutes from 1793*.

Everitt (Alan) *Pattern of Rural Dissent in the 19th Century*. 1972.

Fawcett (T. J.) *Liturgy of Comprehension, 1689*. 1973.

Hunter (John) *De Profundis Clamavi* and other sermons. 1908.

Hunter (L. S.) *John Hunter*. 1922.

Kaye (E.) *The History of King's Weigh House Church*. 1968.

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Orchard (W. E.) *Foundations of Faith*. 4 vols. 1927.

Steel (D. J.) *Sources of Nonconformist Genealogy and Family History*. 1973.

Wadsworth (K. H.) *Century of Service: Yorkshire Cong. Union*. 1972.

Williams (Dr.) *Catalogue of Dr. Williams's Library, 1961-70*.

Wood (E. P.) *Thomas Binney, Mind, Life and Opinions*. 1874.