

Alexander Duff
and the
Theological and Philosophical Background
to the
General Assembly's Mission in Calcutta
to 1840

by

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis was written solely by myself and has not been submitted in any previous application for a degree. The work of which it is a record was completed by myself under the guidance of supervisors. All quotations of less than one line have been denoted by double quotation marks. Quotations of more than two lines have been indented. Sources of information, in both cases, have been specifically acknowledged.

Abstract

This thesis sets out to explore the theological and philosophical background to the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta. This is done by means of a study of the education and early career of Alexander Duff, the Mission's first superintendent, and an examination of the institutions with which Duff was involved.

Earlier historical study by Duff's Victorian biographers suggested that the Evangelical Revival was a significant influence on Duff's early religious formation. Duff's involvement in the Theological and Student Missionary Societies at the university has already been identified by several historians as important for his later mission interests. The powerful influence of Thomas Chalmers, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the United Colleges has also been noted. This thesis argues, however, that the most important elements of Duff's later approach to mission in Calcutta have their origins in the educational traditions of St. Andrews University. From the Humanities course there Duff imbibed a Baconian theory of modernity. And the rhetorical skills to which he was introduced in Professor James Hunter's class were to be a characteristic of his later career.

Alexander Duff's main theological training was at St. Mary's, the divinity college of St. Andrews University. This training, the thesis argues, was in the then dominant tradition of rational Calvinism. The emphasis of this tradition was essentially on the importance of rationality for Christian belief, chiefly expressed in an assured confidence in the potentialities of reason and the rational progress of history.

The argument of the thesis continues by tracing the contours of the wide ranging debate within Scottish presbyterianism on the progress of civil society and the key role of rationality in advancing that progress. Many of the assumptions and expectations underlying the establishment of the Institution in Calcutta first emerged in this debate.

Much valuable research has already been completed into the early history of the Institution in Calcutta. This enquiry builds on that earlier research in order to explore further Alexander Duff's use of apologetic theology in the renowned lectures to the students of Hindu College. The argument of this study is that Duff's use of this theology typifies the emphases of the rational Calvinist tradition. The enquiry goes on to record the mounting financial pressures on the Institution which led Duff to seek public funding from Scotland.

The necessary financial support for the Mission, however, was contingent on public perceptions of the work of the Institution. Within Scottish presbyterianism the dominant paradigm of missions was traditionally evangelical and biblicist. Alexander Duff, however,

was supremely successful in displacing this model by a series of Assembly addresses, speeches, pamphlets and books, *India and Indian Missions* in particular. He was, furthermore, able to consolidate these gains by further speeches on a tour of the presbyteries of Scotland. He did this to such effect that what was essentially the rational Calvinist approach to missions became part of the normal discourse of Scottish presbyterianism until at least the second half of the nineteenth century.

These themes are drawn together in a conclusion which enables a more precise assessment of the contribution of the Scottish Enlightenment to presbyterian missions. The conclusions of recent historical study are corroborated. Alexander Duff was not the pioneer of missionary education that previous generations understood him to be. His achievement lies in other areas. In *Missions - the Chief End of the Church*, for example, he made a highly original contribution towards an understanding of the missionary nature of the Church. Within the period in question, however, his main achievement was to have shifted the public perception of missions in Scotland towards a modern theory of rationally motivated change. Indeed, as a general conclusion this study argues that Duff's promulgation of a Baconian emphasis on modernity based on an older Enlightenment theory of the emergence of civil society was prototypical. As such, it was the ancestor of those later nineteenth century mission theories of development which aimed at the displacement of traditional, pre-industrial culture by rational Westernized society.

Abbreviations Used

C.C.O.	Calcutta Christian Observer
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography
E.C.I.	The Edinburgh Christian Instructor
E.R.	The Edinburgh Review
I.I.M.	India and Indian Missions
New. Coll.	New College
N.L.S.	The National Library of Scotland
P.R.	Presbyterian Review
S.G.	The Scottish Guardian
S.R.O.	Scottish Record Office
U.C.R.	Report of the Royal Commissioners on Scottish Universities

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I must also thank the staff of the many institutions who were of very considerable help. The staff of New College Library, Dr. Murray Simpson, Mr. Paul Coombs and Mrs. Norma Henderson displayed the greatest of patience with my constant requests for books. Mention must be made of Mrs. Linda Stupart, Secretary to the Dean, who kept me apprised of the technical side of thesis completion and Mrs. Julie McCormack for her helpfulness at reception. Thanks are due also to the staff of the National Library of Scotland, the Scottish Record Library, Perth Public Library and Edinburgh Central Library. Mr. R.N. Smart and the members of St. Andrews University Library Staff provided invaluable assistance in research of archive material relating to students and courses. I must also thank Rev. Jock Stein for the opportunity to work at Carberry Tower and for his practical assistance. Part time employment there enabled me to continue the research in the most beautiful of surroundings.

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hardly have been embarked upon were it not for Dr. William F. Storrar. His steadfast Christian friendship and understanding and his interest in the intellectual history of Scotland were quite crucial in sustaining my own sense of purpose.

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In its entirety this work was only made possible by the patience and love of my family. Elspeth, Alison and Rachel always wondered when 'the book' would be finished. It was the loving encouragement of my wife Ellen which inspired me to begin this study several years ago now and sustained me when it seemed the work would never be finished.

Si emittis spiritum, creantur, et renovas faciem terrae. Ps.CIII.XXX

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In a brief prologue to his personal memoir of Alexander Duff, the Rev. Thomas Smith, translator of Vinet, amateur mathematician and colleague of Duff at the General Assembly's Institution wrote perceptively,

"There is probably a sound foundation for the prevalent opinion that the estimate of actions and characters by cotemporaries(sic) is not to be regarded as final, but is subject to revisal on appeal to posterity"¹.

In the case of Alexander Duff, what his contemporaries considered as his singular achievements have indeed been subject to major revision in recent years. As historical inquiry has progressed, a wider context for Duff's missionary exertions in Bengal has unfolded. The estimate of his character and actions, as Smith surmised, has ultimately proved less than final.

The ten or so years after Duff's death in 1878 saw the publication of a number of biographies. George Smith's massive two volume work *The Life of Alexander Duff D.D., LL.D.*² was published in 1879, as was Lal Behari Day's *Recollections*³. Thomas Smith published what is the most measured and critically balanced early biography *Alexander Duff D.D., LL.D.* in 1883. And Duff's son, William Pirie Duff assembled a memoir of his father entitled *Memorials of Alexander Duff D.D.* in 1890⁴. What renders these earlier works distinctive is the way in which the force of Duff's personality made its impress upon each of these writers. What unites these authors is their acquaintance, friendship, or family ties with Alexander Duff.

In historiographical terms, however, the biography whose influence has been most enduring was that written by George Smith. Smith wrote what is a characteristically Victorian biography. It encompassed all kinds of textual memorabilia of Alexander Duff ranging from personal letters to oral testimony, from summaries of local histories to accounts of political and diplomatic events. And as such, Smith's work remains an

¹ T. Smith, *Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D.*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1883, p. 10.

² George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff D.D., LL.D.*, 2 Vols., London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1879.

³ Lal Behari Day, *Recollections of Alexander Duff D.D., LL.D.*, London, Nelson, 1879.

⁴ W. Pirie Duff, *Memorials of Alexander Duff, D.D.*, London, Nisbet, 1890.

invaluable historical source for much of our information on Alexander Duff. Smith, furthermore, makes it still possible for us to gain a palpable sense of the impact of Duff's evangelical ardour on Victorian presbyterianism.

Thomas Smith's counsel concerning the provisionality of historical judgement from the perspective of posterity has a peculiar appropriateness to George Smith's work, however. The fierce debates in the early 1870s over union with the United Presbyterians, the Robertson Smith case and the passing of a generation of Disruption leaders all left their imprint on Smith's historical interpretation. In George Smith's estimation, the essential ethos of the Free Church was in imminent danger of being lost.

This conviction emerges in his portrayal of Alexander Duff where, in a manner typical of the Victorian biography, the accent is on Duff's determinedly individual qualities. The name of Alexander Duff became synonymous with the pioneering of missionary education. Smith represents his subject as an archetypal evangelical who never relinquished catholicity of mind or missionary interdenominationalism. In his biography of Alexander Duff, therefore, George Smith was offering the Free Church of the 1870s and 1880s a paradigm of missionary evangelicalism, one who embodied just those Disruption values which seemed to be evaporating in modern Scotland.

In the early 1920s Smith's interpretation received fresh impetus through the Indian debate on a national system of education and its relation to mission policy. Relying heavily on Smith, William Paton wrote *Alexander Duff Pioneer of Missionary Education*⁵ as a contribution to that discussion. Paton largely reiterated and consolidated Smith's thesis of Duff's original and innovative role in the development of missionary education.

A series of historical studies in recent years, however, has examined Alexander Duff's role in Scottish missions from a somewhat different perspective. While he subscribed to Smith's thesis of the pioneering part Duff played in missionary education, Olav Myklebust placed Duff's achievements in a much wider context altogether. His magisterial and exhaustive study of the role of missions in theological education integrated Duff into the international missionary movement⁶. Myklebust's research remains as the most comprehensive examination of Duff's role in the creation of the first Professorship of Missiology in the world, the chair in Evangelistic Theology at the Free Church College.

The Victorian contention that Alexander Duff had played a leading role as a pioneer

⁵ W.Paton, *Alexander Duff - Pioneer of Missionary Education*, London, S.C.M., 1923.

⁶ O.Myklebust, *The Study of Missions in Theological Education*, 2.Vols., Oslo, Studies of the Egede Institute (6), Egede Instituttet, 1955.

of missionary education persisted until it was finally called into question in Michael Laird's definitive study of missionaries and education in Bengal⁷. Alexander Duff was assigned a central place in the Scottish contribution to education in Bengal, but Smith's thesis of his pioneering role was shown to be false. Not only did Laird provide a full account of the development of missionary education, he also gave an outline of the domestic background to these missionary labours. Michael Laird, however, was principally, though not exclusively, concerned with the traditions of educational methodology which led to the setting up of the General Assembly's Institution⁸. Laird's work, which remains unsurpassed in breadth of research and fineness of historical judgement, has laid the foundation for further study in this field.

A study of the role played by the Moderate and Evangelical parties in the establishment of the Church of Scotland's mission committees⁹ extended knowledge of the Scottish background further. Following the lead given by I.D.L. Clark's important thesis on the Moderates¹⁰, Don Chambers described the formal contours of the early nineteenth century mission debate in Scotland in terms of its ecclesiastical politics¹¹. This particular study is characterised by some profound insights into the origins of Scottish presbyterian missions and anticipates, at least in outline, the direction of much future research. However, the issues at stake in doctrinal argument and the finer distinctions of early nineteenth century theology did not prove fully amenable to Chambers' ecclesiastico-political approach¹².

⁷ M.A.Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793-1837*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972. For an example of a study which subscribed to Smith's notion of Duff's pioneering role see D.P. Sinha, *The Educational Policy of the East India Company in Bengal to 1854*, Calcutta, Panthi Pustak, 1964, pps.151-158. For a more comprehensive chronological list of articles and full length studies which regarded Duff as a missionary education pioneer see Laird, op.cit., p.256 n.4.

⁸ Laird argued that John Wood's Sessional School in Edinburgh was a major methodological influence on Alexander Duff (Laird, op.cit., p.270).

⁹ i.e., the Foreign Mission Committee, the Colonial Committee, the Church Extension Committee, the Highlands & Islands Committee and the Jewish Mission Committee.

¹⁰ I.D.L.Clark, 'Moderatism and the Moderate Party in the Church of Scotland, 1752-1805', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1963.

¹¹ D.Chambers, *Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland, 1810-1843*, unpublished thesis, University of Cambridge, 1971.

¹² Chambers acknowledged the existence of a continuous and objective theological tradition (ibid., p.4) and the limitations of party terminology (op.cit., p.3f). He viewed the former, nevertheless, as primarily 'ideologically' motivated (ibid., pps.246, 248,

The *intellectual* history of early nineteenth century Scottish missions, however, merits serious consideration. In an introduction to his study of the cultural renaissance in early nineteenth century Bengal, David Kopf, remarked

"We need to know as much of the European background which shaped the mind of an early nineteenth century transplanted Englishman(sic) as we do of the Indian experiences which provided the environment for a special acculturation process"¹³.

More recently, Stuart Piggin has called for further research into

"The evolution and transmission of the two missionary theologies, moderate Calvinism and evangelical Arminianism..."¹⁴

in particular.

As knowledge of the development of the missionary educational institutions in Bengal has progressed it has become clear that historical enquiry might indeed profit from a further examination of the *Scottish* background to presbyterian missions. The precise contribution of nineteenth century theology and philosophy to the establishment of those missions remains among the questions still to be examined in depth. This question, in fact, constitutes the narrative subject of this thesis as well as its rather unimaginative title.

Several historians, such as Michael Laird and Don Chambers, had already noted the influence of Enlightenment ideas on early nineteenth century missions. Duncan Forrester, for example, made the general observation some years ago that in the early period of the formation of the Westernized elite in Bengal, Scottish missions held to

"a general intellectual position deeply influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment"¹⁵.

This elite itself, moreover, was

"a generation...entranced by the very debates of the Scottish Enlightenment out of which Duff's own theology and strategy of mission had emerged"¹⁶.

The Scottish Enlightenment has emerged in recent years as a major field of historical study and debate. It is probably the case that the majority of monographs and historical essays published in Scotland at the present time are concerned with the eighteenth century. The contemporary debate on the Scottish Enlightenment has engendered a massive amount

253,266).

¹³ D.Kopf,*British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*,Berkeley,1969.

¹⁴ S.Piggin,*Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789-1858*, Sutton Courtenay,1984,p.16.

¹⁵ D.B.Forrester,'Christianity and Early Indian Nationalism' in *Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S.*, No.582,p.332.

¹⁶ *ibid.*,p.333.

of research. It might be assumed, therefore, that the study of early nineteenth century theology was in a position to draw on this research.

With one or two notable exceptions¹⁷, however, there are very few full length studies relating the Scottish theology of the eighteenth century to its Enlightenment context¹⁸. This may be the legacy of older interpretative notions which assumed the exclusively secular nature of the Enlightenment as a fundamental premise. Whatever the case may be, many historians of the Scottish Enlightenment appear unfamiliar with the nature of theological discussion and debate.

The situation in theological research into early nineteenth century Scotland, however, is a little better. Several theological studies have examined the thought of Macleod Campbell, though this has tended to be from a doctrinal, rather than a purely historical perspective. The wider context of the events leading up to the Disruption has also been the subject of much recent discussion. A recent collection of essays on the Disruption edited by

¹⁷ In particular, the earlier work of Friedhelm Voges.

See Voges F., *Das Denken von Thomas Chalmers im Kirchen und Sozialgeschichtlichen Kontext*, Frankfurt, Lang, 1984. In this work Voges announced his intention to move beyond the limitations of the ecclesiastico-political approach to an examination of the philosophical and theological background to Chalmers' thought (op.cit., p.20). Significantly, he abandoned

"die einfache Alternative moderiert-evangelikal" (ibid., p.24)

as an interpretative tool. See also Friedhelm Voges' article 'Moderate and Evangelical Thinking in the later Eighteenth Century: Differences and Shared Attitudes' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. XXII, 1986, p.141f.

One volume still frequently used is John MacLeod's *Scottish Theology* (Edinburgh, 1943), but this adopts a rather polemical approach to the influence of Enlightenment thought on Scottish theology.

David Bebbington has explored the relation of Evangelicalism to the Enlightenment in the British Isles as a whole. See D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1989, chapters 1 and 2 passim and D.W. Bebbington, 'Evangelical Christianity in the Enlightenment' in *Crux*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, Dec. 1989.

¹⁸ For example in *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment*, (Edinburgh, E.U.P., 1993) David Allan puts forward an argument for the importance of the Calvinist, humanist tradition in assessing the origins of the Scottish Enlightenment. More specifically, he draws attention to the significance of providential historiography for this tradition. The bibliography of secondary works consulted lists over three hundred items. Of these only three books and one article of a theological nature are included; David Lachman's *Marrow Controversy*, Edinburgh, 1988, John MacLeod's *Scottish Theology*, Edinburgh, 1943, James Walker's *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland 1560-1750*, Edinburgh, 1888, and S. Sutherland's 'The Presbyterian Inheritance of Hume and Reid' in R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner (eds), *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, 1982.

Stuart Brown and Michael Fry reflects this growing interest. The editors note the flourishing state of studies of this period, and draw attention to the critical significance of religion in Scottish politics and society of the first half of the nineteenth century¹⁹. They also observe, however, that much work remains to be done in this field.

The relative lack of historical discussion concerning the theology of the Scottish Enlightenment and its enduring legacy imposes certain restrictions of its own. The philosophical and, in particular, theological research which follows must of necessity proceed without the reassuring orientation that other historical surveys might have provided. Within these constraints the following study is a preliminary attempt to develop the argument further by focussing not simply on intellectual traditions alone, but on their institutional context. Ecclesiastical, legal and scholarly institutions, after all, played a key role in the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment period in Scotland by defining, controlling and mediating the questions and ideas explored by the *illuminati*. In contrast to previous biographical or educational studies of Alexander Duff the enquiry undertaken in this thesis, in fact, might best be regarded as a type of *institutional* history.

Victorian biographers made much of the early 'influences' on Alexander Duff, and the current inquiry begins with an assessment of these. The results, it must be said, are less than conclusive. An examination of the curricular traditions of the Colleges at St.Andrews where Duff studied then follows. Here at the United College, it will be argued, Alexander Duff adopted the then popular form of Baconian philosophy which later framed so much of his thinking on Indian development. A case is also made for the significance of the rational Calvinist tradition of St.Mary's College for Duff's future understanding of mission method.

An enquiry which confined itself to an examination of the theological course at St.Andrews University would be insufficient, however. It would fail to take account of a much broader discussion which, on occasion, preoccupied Scottish calvinist theologians of this period. What was at issue in these discussions was the relation of missions to the development of civil society. An attempt will be made to trace this debate and its implications for the establishment of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta. I will argue that a characteristic emphasis on the 'instrumentality of reason' typified rational Calvinism of this period. More importantly, this emphasis was shared by Scottish presbyterian missionaries like Alexander Duff. Duff's mission methods owe as much to this tradition as to Scottish educational methodology.

¹⁹ S.J.Brown, Preface to *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption*, S.J.Brown & M.Fry eds., Edinburgh, E.U.P., 1993, p.ix.

Characteristically, these mission methods found expression in *institutional* form in the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta which Alexander Duff established in 1830. This particular aspect of Duff's labours has been thoroughly researched and documented, particularly by Michael Laird. The emphasis here, however, will be on Duff's use of the arguments of evidential theology in his lectures to the student intellectuals of Hindu College.

Duff's decision to initiate a publicity campaign in Scotland from 1835 onwards will be considered as a response to the increasing financial constraints on the Institution in Calcutta. What was centrally at issue in the early Assembly addresses, it will be further argued, was the justification of mission method. The speeches, pamphlets and books which Duff published in the late 1830s testify to his attempts to defend the rational Calvinist approach to missions against Evangelical criticism. In this he was supremely successful. Alexander Duff's Baconian vision of the reform of India and, to a much greater extent, his insistence on the fundamental role of rationality in mission became part of the normal discourse of Scottish presbyterianism.

II

This study employs a number of the methods available to the contemporary historian in pursuit of a deeper grasp of past events. The opening chapter, for example, draws on the established work of social and economic historians to try and construct an understanding of the processes affecting Southern Highland society at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In the period in question theology and philosophy, particularly moral philosophy, were not considered as distinct and separate disciplines. The study of one frequently implies an appraisal of the other. But when the contemporary historian seeks to apply appropriate techniques of historical analysis to this period he soon discovers that the once useful terminology of 'ideas' has largely been abandoned. In comparison to the disciplines of social and economic history the methods implicated in the historical analysis of philosophy and theology have been the subject of increasing debate and criticism in the past decade²⁰.

One alternative approach has recently been developed by Alasdair Macintyre. He has fashioned a logic of tradition which is particularly suited to the problems involved in the description of eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scottish thought. Rationality

²⁰ see Donald R. Kelley's survey of the situation from an American perspective in D.R.Kelley, 'What is happening to the history of ideas' in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Jan-Mar. 1990, Vol.51.1, and D.Allan, op.cit.,p.13f. See also R.Rorty, J.B.Schneewind & Q.Skinner, *Philosophy in History*, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1984.

itself, he argues, is a 'tradition-constituted and tradition-constitutive enquiry'²¹. He has used the notion of 'tradition' descriptively, as the framework for a historical narratio of great fruitfulness. And he has used it methodologically, to outline a theory of the essential historicity of justice and practical reasoning. One of the 'traditions of enquiry' he examines by these means is "the Scottish blend of Calvinist Augustinianism and renaissance Aristotelianism"²² which informed Scottish institutions in the eighteenth century.

Macintyre's notion of tradition provides a particularly appropriate concept for the study of institutions in early nineteenth century Scotland as well. Its range is not, of course, confined to questions of justice and practical rationality. I have found the concepts of 'rational enquiry' and 'tradition' of great descriptive and methodological value in attempting to reconstruct and understand the broader historical context of the various debates within rational Calvinism.

Such an interpretative notion reveals the debates and conflicts which informed the rational Calvinist 'tradition' and the extent of these disputes becomes clear. The discussion concerning the christian progress of civil society and the methods to be employed in the furtherance of missions, for example, extended far beyond the Scottish universities and theological faculties. And in the later development of that discussion Alexander Duff, with a command of rhetoric that was the envy of his contemporaries, played a key role. He succeeded in modifying, if not absolutely replacing, the earlier evangelical approach to mission method of Scottish presbyterianism with an understanding which derived directly from the rational Calvinism of the late eighteenth century. This understanding would be, henceforth, a distinctive characteristic of Scottish missions.

²¹ A.Macintyre,*Whose Justice? Which Rationality?*, London, Duckworth, 1988,in particular p.349f.

²² *ibid.*,p.349.

CHAPTER TWO

The Early Influences on Alexander Duff

A succession of mission histories and biographical studies of early nineteenth century Scottish missions has laid particular emphasis on the essential continuity of Alexander Duff's early life with Highland or Gaelic culture. He has been regarded as in some way representative of this background. Historians have ascribed the origins of Duff's religious attitudes, for example, to an Evangelicalism promulgated during the visit of Charles Simeon to the Southern Highlands in 1796. Others have linked Duff's later language policy in Bengal to his experience of Gaelic culture in early 19th. century Perthshire. George Smith, William Paton, to a certain extent M.A.Laird, and more recently, D.Chambers¹ number among those who have adopted this approach.

The question of the early influences on Alexander Duff is made yet more complex by the fact that in the 1830s Duff did not hesitate to employ *rhetorical* references to his Highland background in public speeches. These often depended for their force on common Romantic notions of 'Celtic' and 'Highland' life. Before examining Duff's philosophical and theological education, then, a more precise enquiry into his social and religious background is necessary.

Alexander Duff was born at the farm of Auchnahyle² in the Parish of Moulin in North Eastern Perthshire on the 25th. of April 1806. In the first record of the family's existence

¹ See George Smith, *Alexander Duff D.D., LL.D*, Vol.I, London, 1879 pps. 1-2; William Paton, *Alexander Duff, Pioneer of Missionary Education*, London, 1923 pps. 21-22; M.A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793-1837*, Oxford, 1972, p. 207; D. Chambers, 'The Church of Scotland's Nineteenth Century Foreign Missions Scheme: Evangelical or Moderate Revival?' in *Journal of Religious History* 9 (2) 1976, p.138.

² The farm of Auchnahyle belonged to the original estate of Balnakeilly purchased by a scion of the Stewart family under feu charter in the sixteenth century (see *Pitlochry District: Its Topography, Archaeology and History*, H.Mitchell, Pitlochry, 1923 pps. 146-147.).

the Duffs appear in the catechetical notebook of their namesake the Rev. David Duff³. He was the new incumbent of the parish church and a man of Moderate persuasion. He recorded the Duffs as present at Auchnahyle in the winter of 1806-1807. He noted as resident at the farm James Duff, farm servant, Jean Rattray, his wife, the infant Alexander and a female servant⁴. The catechetical notebook fails to record a farm tenant, indicating that James Duff, Alexander's father, was an agricultural labourer temporarily resident in a custodial capacity until the commencement of a full tenancy⁵.

From the minister's parish census in the same catechetical notebook it is quite clear that in 1806-1807 the farming communities of the parish of Moulin were experiencing the first phase of what would become a permanent process of out-migration. The parish was being drawn into the commercial nexus of the Lowlands. Those particularly vulnerable were the lower groupings of agricultural labourers and farm servants, like the Duffs.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century a transformation of the rural economy of the Southern Central Highlands, the result of improved agrarian methods and an altered system of land tenure, had been in process for nearly fifty years. The impact of this economic development in parishes such as Moulin resulted, broadly speaking, in a twofold process. On the one hand there was increasing prosperity for proprietors and tenant farmers who had security of tenure. Cottars, pendiclers and farm servants like the Duffs, however, were subject to a steadily increasing economic vulnerability with less tenurial security.

There had also been, however, a general economic upturn⁶ in this period, in

³ Duff D. Rev. *Catechising Notebook*, SRO CH 2/488/19.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ A feuing document of the mid-nineteenth century registers 59 acres of mainly arable land and pasturage as belonging to the lands of the tenancy of Auchnahyle. That this was too much for a single tenant is borne out by a subsequent catechetical census in which two tenant farmers, a wheelwright and three farm servants appear as occupiers. (see *Plan of Feuing Ground on Estate of Balnakeilly*, 1864, property of H.B. Stewart: NLS Map Library).

⁶ As a result of a series of poor harvests in England and the restrictions on European cereal imports during the Napoleonic wars, wheat prices increased by thirty percent in the first decade of the 1800s. The continuing demand for salt beef production for the Royal Navy meant a steady increase in cattle prices in this period (Bruce Lenman, *Integration, Enlightenment and Industrialization: Scotland 1746-1842*, London, 1981, p.116).

which many in the parish of Moulin shared⁷. Larger proprietors and tenant farmers in Moulin were able to derive a major commercial benefit from improved roads⁸. Furthermore, the lower lying areas of the civil parish of Moulin itself were among the most fertile soil series in Perthshire. There was a broad diversification of farming method, ranging from mixed arable cultivation to livestock management or pasturage in the upland districts⁹. But the economic security this afforded was available only to tenants in possession of a ploughgang or more (13 acres) who could take best advantage of improved agriculture¹⁰. The overall number of tenant farmers in Moulin was actually reduced over the period currently under consideration¹¹.

For a considerable proportion of the rural population in the parish, then, the profound change both in the traditional agrarian class structure and in the physical arrangement of farming communities¹², had led to narrowing employment opportunities¹³. In general the

⁷ Between 1790 and 1810, for example, there had been a steady increase in real wages for rural workers in every region in Scotland, including agricultural labourers in Perthshire.

⁸ A Parliamentary Act of 1803 created a publically funded commission "for making roads and building bridges in the Highlands of Scotland". The Act had set in motion a major programme of road building and upgrading(Lenman,op.cit.,p.122). As part of the requirements of the Act, communications had recently been vastly improved by the construction of a new bridge over the Tay at Dunkeld, initiating a vital modern trade link to Perth to the south, and linking Perth and Inverness by stage coach. For those able to take commercial advantage of the new trunk road Moulin, a mile and a half to the east, and more particularly, the burgeoning hamlet of Pitlochry were admirably situated.

⁹ Sir J.Sinclair,*Statistical Account of Scotland:Drawn up from the Communications of the ministers of the different parishes*, Vol.V., Edinburgh,Creech,1793,No.III,Parish of Moulin,p.51.

¹⁰ The acreage totals for Moulin parish demonstrate this process quantifiably; the land under cultivation expanded from 1950 acres in 1790 to 2719 in 1839 with a concomitant doubling in total income in rents(*Old and New Statistical Accounts*, 1791 & 1839).

¹¹ *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*,Vol.X,'Perth',Edinburgh, Blackwood and Sons,1845,p.651.

¹² Traditionally patterned round smaller cot-towns rather than villages.

¹³ The main organisational feature of traditional rural trades in Moulin parish had been the small community of craftsmen such as shoemakers, seivewrights, tailors, wheelwrights, flaxdressers and coopers gathered round scattered farm and cot-towns such as Etradour, Coilyoulin or Pitfourie (in the case of Moulin parish).(see entries

commercial pattern was changing, demographically speaking, to the more familiar nineteenth century system of population concentration at points of general access¹⁴. The villages of Moulin and Pitlochry were at the beginning of that development which would bring them into prominence as main rural centres later in the nineteenth century¹⁵.

The traditional rural social structure had also changed. In the mid-eighteenth century the system of rural agrarian tenure in the Southern Highlands had been characterised by a loosely structured arrangement of "...tenants holding a 'baile' or township...farming it on the runrig system"¹⁶. Forming the lowest socio-economic group were the "subtenants...the small tenant, crofters, cottars and mailers"¹⁷. As late as 1791, *The Statistical Account* recorded the continued use of run-rig farming in outlying districts of Moulin parish¹⁸. However, by the early 1800's Moulin had begun to evolve towards the tripartite social structure typical of the 'improved' agrarian systems of Lowland Scotland and of most of England¹⁹. In this arrangement land belonging to a proprietorial class of mostly local landowners was farmed by tenants and their families. They, in turn, employed farm servants and labourers.

It was to this latter class that Alexander Duff's family belonged. Their situation was, however, more secure in several respects. As a family in farm servant's quarters they had been fortunate to retain the accomodation at Auchnahyle. It was usual for couples to be

in D.Duff,*Catechising Notebook*). The geographical distribution of these trades was now subject to alteration towards the more complex rural community typical of the Highland margin at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

¹⁴ At the start of the nineteenth century, the traditional household economy of previous decades finally succumbed to commercial pressure. The flax spinning and weaving cottage industry, a characteristic trade of Moulin district collapsed(see T.M.Devine 'Urbanisation' in *People and Society in Scotland* Vol.I 1760-1830 T.M.Devine and R. Mitchison eds. Edinburgh, John Donald 1988 p.44-45).

¹⁵ The change in commercial and cultural structure is graphically illustrated in Rev. D. Duff's catechetical census; Moulin features three general merchants, along with several weavers and tailors, and Pitlochry included a 'vintner' , a 'dancing master' and a 'local bard'.

¹⁶ J.MacInnes,*The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland 1688 to 1800*,Aberdeen,1951,p.132.

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ Sir J.Sinclair,op.cit.,p.68.

¹⁹ Lenman,op.cit.,p.115.

obliged to seek alternative employment at marriage²⁰. Under agricultural improvement policy accommodation, which was provided in the contract of employment, was increasingly limited to the strict labour needs of the farm²¹. Most farm workers were unmarried male or female servants under twenty years of age as the catechetical census for Moulin Parish demonstrates²². James Duff and his wife Jean Rattray, however, were 25 and 27 years of age respectively²³.

Soon after 1806²⁴, however, James Duff was in fact obliged to move from the custodial tenancy at Auchnahyle. For the agricultural labourer or farm servant the normal result of termination of employment was transference to another farm and term of employment. In Moulin Parish, out-migration to the Lowlands in search of work was another possibility.

According to *The Statistical Account*, the major focus of migration from Moulin, predictably, was Perth, just over twenty miles away to the South²⁵. As the agricultural system further commercialised Perth was able to absorb the inward migration or the rural population of its hinterland²⁶, at the same time as it serviced the commercial activity of this region²⁷. A substantial rate of population loss was a common factor²⁸ in parishes on the Highland margin like Moulin²⁹.

²⁰ T.M.Devine 'Urbanisation' in T.M.Devine and R. Mitchison, op.cit., p.47. The exodus of farm servants reaching marriageable age (23-25) from the rural districts has been described as 'a great haemorrhage from farm service'(ibid.p.45).

²¹ ibid.p. 47.

²² In Perthshire, however, at least some of the agricultural labour force was housed in cottages built to be occupied by entire families (see M.Gray, 'The Social Impact of Agricultural Change' in *People and Society in Scotland*,Vol.I, T.M.Devine and R. Mitchison (eds) Edinburgh 1988 p. 64.).

²³ Headstone, Moulin Parish Church yard.

²⁴ G. Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1879, p.4.

²⁵ cited in B. Lenman, op.cit., p.119.

²⁶ ibid.

²⁷ T.M. Devine 'Urbanisation' in T.M.Devine and R.Mitchison, op. cit., p.32.

²⁸ R.A.Houston,'The Demographic Regime' in T.Devine and R.Mitchison, op.cit. p.20.

²⁹ It is this complex of factors which makes the experience of the Southern Highlands distinctively different from that of the North Western Highlands (G.S.Pryde,*Scotland from 1603 to the Present Day*,Edinburgh,1962,p.135). In the North West, demographic circumstances had impeded a general rise in living standards. Retention of population,

James Duff, however, was fortunate instead to find security of employment as a gardener on the Balnakeilly estates³⁰ to the north and east of Moulin village. Here, in fact, he resided till his death in 1848. The high slopes of Ben Vrackie surrounding the tied cottage at Balnakeilly shaped Alexander Duff's earliest memories³¹. Like many others, however, Alexander Duff himself would have to leave to find opportunity in the Lowlands.

The steady process of economic and social transformation was also associated with a gradual decline in the status of the Gaelic language in Eastern Perthshire at this period. In his classic study of missionary education M.A.Laird³² has referred to Alexander Duff's linguistic experience as one means of explaining the origins of his Anglicising policy in Bengal. Some account of the state of Gaelic in Moulin parish is important in order to clarify Duff's relationship to Gaelic culture and the language in particular.

Fifteen years before Duff's birth Rev. Alexander Stewart, minister of Moulin parish, had recorded for the Statistical Account of 1791 that the principal language of the parish of Moulin was Gaelic. The majority of the inhabitants, nevertheless, possessed enough trading and commercial English to transact "ordinary business" in the neighbouring Lowlands. He also commented on the extension of Gaelic literacy among the populace, associated with the publication of the Scriptures in Gaelic³³.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the effect of agricultural reorganisation and the resultant out-migration of many cottars and farm labourers to nearby urban centres and the gradual assimilation of the Southern Highland margin into the

increases in land rent, the introduction of the potato as a staple and the regularity of subsistence crises all contributed to a highly vulnerable local economy. In the South Eastern Highlands changed economic circumstances led to the lowering of economic status for many. This resulted in high levels of out-migration - a permanent social feature of the parishes of Blair Atholl, Logierait, Kirkmichael and Moulin and most of the other neighbouring districts in the Southern Highlands noted and described by contemporary commentators.

³⁰ The commercial affairs of the estate were under the management of Captain Alexander Stewart, afterwards Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Perth, who had succeeded to the estate in 1801 residing at Balnakeilly with an unmarried sister.

³¹ G. Smith, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.4.

³² Laird, *op.cit.*, pps.208-9.

³³ Sir J.Sinclair, *op.cit.*, Vol.V, p.64.

economic system of the Lowlands was to lead to a gradual linguistic change in which monoglot Gaelic speakers, such as James Duff³⁴, Alexander's father, were becoming bilingual³⁵.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the East Perthshire parishes of Kirkmichael, Little Dunkeld, Logierait, Moulin and Weem while widely retaining Gaelic speech, were now on the edge of the Gaelic isogloss³⁶. The acquisition of English as the language of opportunity, the lingua franca of the modern economic order³⁷ gained ground. Furthermore, to be a Gaelic speaker in the urban centres of Lowland Scotland or in the immediate hinterland, was to be stigmatised as "outside and below" in terms of culture and class³⁸.

Gaelic speakers in Eastern Perthshire laboured under more difficulties than that of linguistic pressure from Lowland Scots. O Murchu, the linguistic historian, has suggested in his recent study of East Perthshire Gaelic that it is a probability, at least in principle, that the Gaelic speakers of this region regarded the speech of the Western Highlands and Islands as the general linguistic standard - "purer and therefore better"³⁹. The Western dialects gained added prestige from their use by the clergy⁴⁰ but Perthshire Gaelic was not regarded as standard by speakers of the more conservative West⁴¹.

The reported evidence from the Old Statistical Account (Vol. XIII) is that the informants, who were universally of the the local and mostly Gaelic-speaking clergy, regarded the local Perthshire Gaelic as "a barbarous intermixture" "a corrupted dialect" "not

³⁴ G.Smith,op.cit.,vol.I,p.4.

³⁵ Sir J.Sinclair,*The Old Statistical Account*, Vol.XII, p.101, cited in Mairtin O Murchu,*East Perthshire Gaelic*,Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1989, p.8-9.

³⁶ *ibid.*,p.7.

³⁷ A.Murdoch and R.B.Sher, 'Literary and Learned Culture',in T.M.Devine and R.Mitchison, op.cit.p.129.

³⁸ C.J.Withers,'Kirk,Club and Culture Change:Gaelic Chapels, Highland Societies and the Urban Gaelic Subculture in Eighteenth Century Scotland' in *Social History* 10 (1985) quoted by A.Murdoch and R.Sher in T.M.Devine and R.Mitchison, op.cit.p.128.

³⁹ O Murchu, op.cit.,p.52.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.51.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.48.

the purest of Gaelic"⁴². The status of Perthshire Gaelic, therefore, was not high and there was increasing pressure on its speakers to abandon it.

Attitudes towards Gaelic, nevertheless, were changing in this period and Alexander Stewart⁴³, minister of Moulin, was at the forefront of this movement. Stewart had long been aware of the inadequacy of previous Gaelic grammars⁴⁴, since private study of the language during his divinity course at St.Andrew's in the 1780s⁴⁵. He began the task of writing a new grammar of the language⁴⁶.

Stewart had to contend with traditional prejudices in his attempt to consolidate the status of the language by writing its Grammar. The opposition came from several quarters,

⁴² *ibid.* O Murchu states that the features of Southern Highland Gaelic likely to sound strange to Western ears, can be assumed to be in differing rhythmical patterns, intonation, grammatical modification, and lexical differentiation through distinctive and particular loan-words from Lowland Scots (*ibid.*,p.49).

⁴³ Stewart's place among early nineteenth century Gaelic scholars has been somewhat neglected, as has the scholarship of Gaelic speaking ministers in general (Macinnes, *op.cit.*p.59). Even throughout the winter of the 1797-8 Revival, Stewart's linguistic studies continued undiminished (see the Stewart correspondence in Laing Ms.II,474, in Edinburgh University Ms. Library).

⁴⁴ in particular, William Shaw's, *Analysis of the Galic(sic) Language*, 1778, the earliest, and to this date, the only Gaelic grammar.

⁴⁵ James Sievwright, *Memoirs of the late Alexander Stewart D.D. one of the Ministers of Canongate Edinburgh*, 2nd.ed., Edinburgh, Oliphant, 1822, pps.38-39.

⁴⁶ Alexander Stewart, *Elements of Gaelic Grammar in Four Parts*, 4th.ed., Edinburgh, MacLachlan and Stewart, 1886, Introduction p.i. and following.

The structure of his Gaelic Grammar was still being used as the framework for H.C.Gillies 2nd. edition of 'The Elements of Gaelic Grammar' in 1902 (M.Ferguson and A.Matheson, *Scottish Gaelic Union Catalogue*, Edinburgh, NLS, 1984).

from the SSPCK⁴⁷, from the hostility of some of the clergy to the Gaelic verse tradition and, perhaps most importantly, from Stewart's literary friends who espoused Whig ideas of progress and improvement.

The introduction to Stewart's grammar, is of considerable interest. Here he defended his work against a variety of possible objections and set out a cultural theory in the form of a rationale for a Gaelic grammar. Stewart's most powerful argument against those who pressed for uniformity of speech throughout the kingdom, however, was couched in moral philosophical terms familiar from the doctrines of Thomas Reid. Stewart utilised the familiar concept of the relation of desire and rationality to claim that "As the human mind is enlightened...(so) further acquisitions in knowledge...(will be desired)". The only medium for knowledge and rationality in the Highlands was the language. The Gael, therefore, who became literate would also come, through rational enlightenment to desire further scientific knowledge, accessible only through the medium of English⁴⁸.

This ambivalence as regards vernacular language emerges very clearly in Duff's attitude to Bengali in the 1830s. Duff's abandonment of Gaelic, of course, may have much

⁴⁷ Up until 1767, it had constituted a punishable offence for an SSPCK teacher to assist his pupils to gain a measure of literacy in Gaelic. The view was widespread that it was impossible to teach the reading of Gaelic, and that literacy, if it was to be achieved, was to be achieved in English only. Until the mid-eighteenth century the destruction of the Gaelic language was regarded by the SSPCK, along with majority opinion in the Lowlands, as intrinsic to the project of achieving political and religious uniformity in the nation. Some Highland Evangelicals were actively hostile to the Gaelic oral tradition and conceived it as their purpose to prevent the transmission of the Ossianic stanzas. Macinnes states that this inimical attitude persisted until the nineteenth century (Macinnes, op.cit., pps.187,245 and 58.).

⁴⁸ Stewart's contention here is simply a pragmatic reflection of the facts of 18th. century literary publishing. The comprehensive catalogue of literature published in Gaelic in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see M.Ferguson and A.Matheson *Scottish Gaelic Union Catalogue* Edinburgh, NLS, 1984) lists no contemporary philosophical, technical, scientific or historical works.

to do with its status as "a corrupted dialect" in the Moulin district. But the assumption that if a language of low status must be taught, it can only be as a propaedeutic to English, the language of modernity, is absolutely characteristic of Duff's educational method in Bengal.

If assimilation into the commercial orbit and linguistic norms of the Lowlands characterises Moulin in this period, the arrival of Evangelical christianity constitutes the other vehicle of cultural change, the harbinger of nineteenth century values. The broader impact of this evangelicalism made itself felt only in the first decade of the 19th. century, but it had originated in the ministry of Alexander Stewart and was focussed particularly in the Moulin revival of 1798. The revival played an important role in shaping the religious experience of James and Jean Duff and, through them, the young Alexander Duff.

In the 1790s the local church in Moulin was still traditionally, to use Brown's phrase, "the focus of community organisation"⁴⁹, mediating "virtually all civil functions, police, magistracy, education, tax collection, (and) burials"⁵⁰. The Established Church in Moulin parish was still the sole form of religious organisation⁵¹. In 1791, writing in the Statistical

⁴⁹ C.G.Brown, 'Religion and Social Change' in T.M.Devine and R.Mitchison op.cit. p.143.

⁵⁰ *ibid.* p.145.

⁵¹ There was, in fact, a small number of the Episcopalian persuasion who joined in the services of the Established Church, as was frequently the case in the Highlands (MacInnes,op.cit. p.33). But the churches of the Secession were wholly absent (*The Old Statistical Account*, Vol.V,p.68). The catechetical enumeration of 1806 records a Haldanite preacher, John Reid, as having recently left the parish (Rev.D.Duff, *Catechising Notebook*, S.R.O., CH2/488/19) and a family of Episcopalians farming the land at Mains of Orchil (*ibid.*). Even by 1836 the number of dissenters in the parish was under two percent (*Topographical,Statistical, and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland*, Vol.II, Glasgow, 1842,p.406). This denominational homogeneity marks the parish of Moulin off from many Lowland parishes where, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, dissenters, predominantly of the Secession Churches regularly numbered between twenty and seventy percent of the population (Brown,op.cit.p.151). Recent historical studies have estimated that by 1826, thirty percent of the Scottish

Account Stewart had remarked on the virtually total denominational homogeneity of the parish - "all the inhabitants," he remarked, "are of the established church"⁵². The parish was, as a result, "totally free from the baneful consequences of religious controversy"⁵³.

In the opening chapter of his biography of Alexander Duff published in 1879, George Smith used the metaphor of kingly succession, of primogeniture, to place Duff in juxtaposition to Charles Simeon. For Smith, Simeon was the "prince of Evangelicals" who through his encounter with Alexander Stewart passed on the evangelical patrimony to Alexander Duff, the "prince of Evangelical missionaries"⁵⁴. By this means Smith was able to interpolate Duff into an 'Evangelical Succession' and establish without further discussion the authenticity of Duff's evangelical background. Several historical studies have adopted this construct, Macinnes⁵⁵ for example, and more recently, Chambers⁵⁶. From the evidence of his published correspondence, however, the source of Stewart's evangelical views was not, in the first instance, Charles Simeon.

Upon his arrival in Moulin Alexander Stewart had possessed all the necessary

people were dissenters (ibid.).

⁵² J.Sinclair,op.cit.,Vol.V,p.55.

⁵³ ibid.,p.68.

⁵⁴ Smith,op.cit., Vol. I, p.2.

⁵⁵ "Simeon's subsequent influence on Highland Evangelicalism was mediated through Stewart, who dated his conversion from this visit" (Macinnes,op.cit.,p.143-144).

⁵⁶ "Duff, whose own religion owed much to the influence of Charles Simeon, (and Highland revivals..." (D. Chambers: 'The Church of Scotland's Nineteenth Century Foreign Missions Scheme: Evangelical or Moderate Revival?' in *The Journal of Religious History* 9 (2) 1976, p. 138.

qualifications for a Moderate minister⁵⁷. In 1791, however, apparently in growing dissatisfaction with the poverty of his religious experience and desiring something more than the stolidly orthodox rationalities of the Calvinism of Principal George Hill, Stewart began a "long correspondence"⁵⁸ with David Black⁵⁹, minister in the parish of St. Madoe's near Perth, around twenty miles away.

Black, a man of evangelical principle, was a close acquaintance of Dr. John Erskine⁶⁰, leader of the Popular, later Evangelical, Party⁶¹ and part of a much wider circle of evangelically inclined clergy. In correspondence, therefore, those principles which Alexander Stewart and David Black discussed were not merely the private views of isolated individuals, but rather the commonly held evangelical principles of a loosely associated group of mainly provincial evangelical ministers.

⁵⁷ He was born in 1764 in Blair Atholl, the neighbouring parish to Moulin in Strathtummel. His father, also a minister and renowned preacher was descended from the Stewarts of Invernaheil in Argyll, and according to Sievewright "held evangelical principles" (Sievewright,op.cit.p11). He excelled in grammar, mathematics and metaphysics at St.Andrews University, entering St. Mary's College in 1782(ibid.) under the tutelage of the recently appointed Principal, George Hill (ibid.,pps.14-15). Stewart's presentation to the parish of Moulin was in fact facilitated by Hill's patronage(ibid.,p.190).

⁵⁸ Sievewright,op.cit.p.43.

⁵⁹ Rev. David Black, born 1762, son of David Black minister at Perth; educated at the University of Edinburgh, ordained to St. Madoe's in 1785, translated to Lady Yester's, Edinburgh in 1794, died 1806.

⁶⁰ Erskine preached at Black's induction to Lady Yester's Church in 1794. The sermon is to be found in J. Erskine,*Discourses on Several Occasions*, Edinburgh, 1798 as Discourse III.

⁶¹ Sievewright,op.cit.p.43.

These were the ministers who would in time lend their financial and moral support to the Edinburgh Missionary Society. The membership of this circle⁶² would eventually widen to include leading luminaries such as Drs. Davidson and Campbell. However, parish ministers such as George Wright of Stirling, David Dickson of St. Cuthbert's Church Edinburgh and Thomas Scot of Perth⁶³ formed the greater part of this circle. Rev. James Sievwright of Markinch was also a member and, in fact, became Alexander Stewart's biographer. Some of the more active participants in these meetings and discussions eventually came together to publish the monthly periodical *The Religious Monitor*. Moulin parish, therefore, through its minister, would now be open to the currents of evangelicalism typical of late eighteenth century Scotland.

In the broadest of terms this influence would include an abiding interest in missions and a biblicism which laid less stress on theological formulation. This was accompanied by a wide evangelical interdenominationalism, a sabbatarianism typical of the early 19th. century, and a sober moral intent⁶⁴.

⁶² Theologically the group remained within the federal calvinist schema, but favoured what Principal Hill would have called a "temperate antinomianism" . The main theological reading of this group, judging by Black's correspondence was likely to be predominantly the writings of Wilberforce, Cadogan, Milner, Newton and Cecil.

In a letter to a correspondent in Staffordshire, Alexander Stewart wrote that these were men "whose names are justly dear to us." (Siewwright, op.cit., p.248).

⁶³ A.Stewart and J.Brown, *Hints on Faith and Hope*, Edinburgh, 1858,p.v.

⁶⁴ David Black was a representative exponent of many of these evangelical values, concerned at the "growing neglect of the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel" (D.Black,*Sermons on Important Subjects*, Edinburgh, n.d., p.xii) which he felt was responsible for the growing nominalism of the late 18th.century.Black took the rise of Christian missions to be a sign of revival in "the prosperity of religion". He

In the summer of 1796 Alexander Stewart met Charles Simeon, of King's College Cambridge, later to play a leading role in English evangelicalism. On his first tour of Scotland in the late spring and early summer of 1796, Simeon paid a fleeting visit to the parish of Moulin. Accompanied by James Haldane he had planned a tour through Stirling, Perth and Argyll. Simeon now aged 36, had made the acquaintance of David Black, Alexander Stewart's correspondent, and Dr. Davidson at Dr. Erskine's house in Edinburgh on June 8th. On the 15th. of June he had preached to a large congregation of college students at Lady Yester's in Edinburgh, Black's new charge⁶⁵.

Simeon left two accounts of his personal encounter with Alexander Stewart. In the diary which Simeon kept of the tour, the first account, he describes Stewart as "a most agreeable and pious man"⁶⁶. "In the evening," Simeon recorded, " Mr.Stewart came up into my room; and we had much and useful conversation about the ministry. He complained much of unprofitableness,and was much affected..."⁶⁷. In his *Memoir*, however, written seventeen years later, Simeon shaped a narrative structure for the meeting between himself and Stewart which emphasised much more sharply Simeon's role in Stewart's conversion. Stewart he asserts, in the 1813 *Memoir*, was "a man in high repute, both for amiableness of manners, and for learning; but he was very defective in his views of the Gospel, and in his experience of its power"⁶⁸. Simeon claimed that his conversation was, however, "effectual for the

found expression for this as a founder member and director of the Edinburgh Missionary Society.

⁶⁵ W.Carus (ed.),*Memoirs of the Life of Rev. Charles Simeon M.A.*, 3rd. Edition, London 1848. pps. 92-93.

⁶⁶ Carus, op. cit., p. 96.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*

⁶⁸ Carus,op.cit.,p.97.

opening of his (Stewart's) eyes" and "From that moment he changed the strain of his preaching..."⁶⁹.

In contrast to the thesis maintained by Smith, Macinnes and, latterly, Chambers, a more accurate assessment of the impact of Simeon's visit is that it consolidated and affirmed the evangelical conviction⁷⁰ and understanding which Alexander Stewart had gained through long correspondence with David Black⁷¹.

This evangelicalism was typical of the 'Religious Monitor' circle in the first instance, characterised by its commitment to Calvinist theology. Stewart's embracing of evangelical values was the result of a process⁷² which had lasted several years. Simeon's

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ The evidence of Stewart's correspondence suggests that what made the lasting impression on Stewart was the vitality of Simeon's preaching, which was based on a homiletic method quite different to that of Stewart (Siewwright, *op.cit.*, p.106).

⁷¹ Alexander Stewart's changing theological views, his move from Moderate principles of rational orthodoxy to evangelical conviction may be seen as a much wider movement of evangelical influence in this period. At this time many 'Moderate' clergy were either adopting a full evangelical theology, like Thomas Chalmers, Henry Duncan or Alexander Stewart himself, or adopting various aspects of evangelical principle like John Inglis.

⁷² Simeon's Memoirs contain the following two published letters; Dr. Buchanan to Charles Simeon Oct. 25 1796 quoting a letter from Stewart to Black, in which Stewart says "The sentiments I have felt since Mr. Simeon's visit..." were "no revival; I never was alive till then. I think however I was in a state of preparation. I was gradually acquiring a knowledge of divine truth. It was given me to see that such truths are contained in the Scriptures; but I did not feel them." and again; from Stewart to Simeon Nov. 25th. 1796; "I had read and heard about the natural state of man and about the grace of the Gospel; but never till then felt its power. My opinions were, I believe, pretty free from error; but they had not yet affected my heart." Carus, *op. cit.*, pps. 104 and 105.

direct *theological* influence was slight and does not warrant the assertion that Stewart subsequently spread Simeon's evangelicalism throughout the Southern Highlands⁷³.

It was chiefly the principles and practice of those Scottish evangelicals involved in the Edinburgh Missionary Society, and later the monthly periodical 'The Religious Monitor' which were the major influence in the South Highland parish of Moulin. Here is the more immediate source of the interdenominationalism, the biblicism⁷⁴, and the interest in missions which Alexander Duff recalled as characterising his father⁷⁵.

The main religious influence in Moulin Parish, however, was the revival which occurred in 1798. It can be interpreted partly as a social response to the massive upheaval of the traditional way of life of the parish. Its complexity arises from the fact that it was both an

⁷³ There are, in fact, significant differences between the theological approach of the 'Religious Monitor' circle and that of Charles Simeon, chiefly associated with the more pronounced calvinism of the former. Simeon always adopted a policy of moderation in theological issues, regarding them as almost purely divisive. In the text of his *Account of the Revival* in 1798 Alexander Stewart did not hesitate to criticise what he felt were the latitudinarian features of the preaching of Samuel Carr, one of Simeon's close associates.

⁷⁴ Several new features appear in Stewart's correspondence in the summer of 1796 and the winter of 1796-1797. Besides an increasing emphasis on introspection and self examination as a basis of knowledge of human nature, Stewart's Biblicism took a new and radical turn from this point on. This manifests itself as an insistence on the relativity of the creeds and the confessions of classic calvinist orthodoxy to individual judgements based on scripture. Here is to be found the beginnings of a new attitude to both creeds and church polity, which heralded change in the traditional life of the congregation.

⁷⁵ "Into a general knowledge of the objects and progress of modern missions I was initiated from my earliest years by my revered father, whose catholic " (i.e. interdenominational) " spirit rejoiced in tracing the triumph of the gospel in different lands and in connection with the different branches of the Christian Church. Pictures of Jugganath and other heathen idols he was wont to exhibit..." (Smith, op.cit, vol.I,p.10).

agent of modernity and a vehicle conserving important aspects of Gaelic tradition. Chambers⁷⁶ has already noted that Alexander Duff owed some early influences to this revival. Duff's parents were among those affected by it.

From August 1797 to January 1798⁷⁷ Alexander Stewart embarked on a course of sermons in the parish Church of Moulin "on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity"⁷⁸ encapsulating and summing the newly found biblicist approach, the emphasis on personal experience and the renewed moral seriousness of his recent years.

The biblical texts for Stewart's sermons in Moulin for the four months in the winter of 1797-1798 show that Stewart was following an archetypal evangelical pattern. For the first month Stewart addressed the entire congregation as "sinners, under sentence of death"⁷⁹ but for the bulk of the series he laid emphasis on repentance and the free grace of the gospel. Stewart's preaching had a profound effect on his hearers, with its new vitality and its emphasis on personal experience. More significant, perhaps, is the fact that many of his Gaelic speaking hearers, those distantly familiar with Highland traditions of revival, would recognise this preaching.

In the years prior to the Revival Stewart assessed the numbers of those 'enlightened' or 'awakened' to Divine truth as "but one or two"⁸⁰. To be sure, the Scriptures were available in Gaelic, the New Testament, the Psalms and the Westminster Shorter Catechism were used as school text books, but according to Stewart, while the people of Moulin "had some

⁷⁶ Chambers, op.cit.,p.138.

⁷⁷ Sievwright,op.cit.,p.134.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*

⁷⁹ Sievwright,op.cit.,p.135-136.

⁸⁰ A.Stewart, *An Account of the late Revival in Moulin*, Edinburgh, 1815, p.13.

knowledge...this knowledge of the principles of Christianity was superficial and confused"⁸¹ - they were unexceptionable, sober and industrious but "destitute of religious principle"⁸².

Now in the months during and shortly after the revival of 1798, small groups assembled after Sunday worship, gathering in the fields to engage in "Christian converse"⁸³. Numbers continued to increase throughout the rest of 1798⁸⁴, until in his later *Account* Stewart reckoned the numbers of those "truly enlightened with...saving knowledge" to be about seventy⁸⁵. The majority of these were "under twenty five or thirty" years of age (James Duff was 17, his future wife Jean Rattray 19). Several individuals affected were above forty, six or seven above fifty, one was fifty six and another above seventy. A considerable number were children under twelve or fourteen⁸⁶. There is some evidence that

⁸¹ Stewart,op.cit.,1815,p.5.

⁸² Stewart,op.cit.,1815,p.7.

⁸³ Sievewright,op.cit.,p.141.

⁸⁴ The influence of the Revival in Moulin began to permeate the rural population. Eighteen months later, in 1799, Stewart informed Black, the inhabitants of the uplands round Glenbriarachan were showing definite signs of a revival of religious interest.

⁸⁵ i.e. the number involved in the Revival at its commencement was around three percent of the total population of the parish. (Sievewright,op.cit.pps.140 & 146-147).

⁸⁶ One striking feature of Stewart's account of this particular revival, is its emphasis on sober and even rationality (Sievewright,op.cit.,p.145). The physical phenomena, such as convulsive expressions of visionary, even hallucinatory enthusiasm, assumed by the Enlightenment to be the necessary outward expression of the fundamental irrationality of such occurrences, if not of all religion, were conspicuous by their absence. Those who were part of the awakening came to be so in "a quite gradual manner" (Sievewright,op.cit.,p.152) and Stewart warned his people from the pulpit against "transient impressions" labouring to instill a sense of sober conduct and a uniformly even tenor of purpose (Stewart,op.cit.,1815,p.33). This need not be immediately

those most affected by the Moulin revival were from the 'third-level' - either agricultural labourers or tradesmen of lower social status.

The parents of Alexander Duff, James Duff and Jean Rattray belonged to this social group⁸⁷. James Duff, converted in the revival, was involved in the small fellowship groups⁸⁸ which sprang up. Alexander Duff, from the perspective of later life recalled that his father superintended the Sabbath schools that Alexander Stewart had established, and presided over the weekly prayer meetings held in various farms for "prayer and scriptural exposition"⁸⁹, employing a bilingual register of Gaelic or English as the situation demanded⁹⁰.

"transient impressions" labouring to instill a sense of sober conduct and a uniformly even tenor of purpose (Stewart,op.cit.,1815,p.33). This need not be immediately attributed to an 18th. century abhorrence of irrationality, or to abiding Moderate traits in Stewart's theological predilections. Earlier Highland revivals in Scotland , at Nigg for example in 1739 or Golspie (Macinnes,op.cit.,158 & 160) in 1743 were marked by a similar gravity and solemnity.

⁸⁷ Scottish evangelicalism of this period was developing an association with the middling ranks and working classes of both urban and rural society (Brown,op.cit.,in T.M.Devine and R.Mitchison,p.148).

⁸⁸ Originating as an expression of Ulster and Scottish Lowland presbyterian piety, fellowship meetings , are familiar from 18th. century accounts of Highland revivals. Their function was to enable unofficial lay leaders to exercise their abilities in prayer, scripture exposition and "experiential religion" (Macinnes,op.cit.,p.5). They had become a significant feature of Gaelic religious culture .

The leaders of these groups, known familiarly in the Northern and Western Highlands as 'The Men' maintained the evangelical tradition in Moderate parishes with meetings which were essentially "conferences on practical divinity" (Macinnes, op.cit.,p.213-217).

⁸⁹ G.Smith,op.cit.,vol.I,p.7.

⁹⁰ G.Smith,op.cit.,vol.I,p.4.

Stewart attempted to have Sunday proclamation of secular business halted⁹¹. It was, he complained, "still customary to give audible notice (of parish business) in the Church yard by the beadle... on the congregation being dismissed"⁹². The Highland funerary traditions surrounding the lyke- or late-wakes at the home of the deceased were also suppressed at this time. Between 1798 and 1800 Stewart recorded that before the 'awakening', "the whole night used to be spent in childish, noisy sports and pastimes - This unnatural custom, which is still pretty general over a great part of the Highlands⁹³ is almost wholly discontinued in this part of the country"⁹⁴. The mourners still assembled but they now occupied themselves in "reading the Bible, or some religious book, and in sober conversation"⁹⁵. In the new climate of sobriety and moral seriousness Stewart noted that "swearing" had "in great measure ceased"⁹⁶ and was writing to a correspondent on the apparent change in the public manners of the rural population⁹⁷.

The revival, however, had also restored, or at least affirmed, links with the traditions of

⁹¹ There was one exception to this, however. Stewart, who had been appointed chaplain to the Athole Regiment of Volunteer Militia in 1803 (Sievwright,op.cit.,p.186) assured the heritors of Moulin that he would have "no scruple to stop in the middle of a sermon to make an intimation...to arm, to march and to fight on Sunday" (ibid.p.183).

⁹² Sievwright,op.cit.,p.180.

⁹³ Again, this is evidence of the Gaelic culture of Moulin,even as late as 1800, that late-wakes should have persisted so long. As early as 1715, the Presbytery of Dornoch had "enjoined the brethren to read from their pulpits the Acts of Assembly against such abuses" (Macinnes,op.cit.,p.50).

⁹⁴ Sievwright,op.cit.,p.151.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

⁹⁷ Sievwright,op.cit.,p.152.

Highland evangelicalism. For example the fellowship group structure resembles closely the North West Highland meetings of 'The Men', the godly elders of the parish. James Duff, Alexander's father, while possessed of a certain degree of theological literacy⁹⁸ was also a leading exponent of the oral tradition of Gaelic verse, the 'dain spioradail' or Gaelic spiritual songs⁹⁹ and the religious verse of Dugald Buchanan¹⁰⁰. Buchanan's poetry,

⁹⁸ A.Duff, letter to W.K.Tweedie Calcutta Feb.18th.1848, *Free Church Magazine* , No.LIII,May 1848,p.144. A man of strict evangelical piety, possessed of a fierce reluctance or inability to compromise in matters of religion. His father's faith was "Abraham-like..in its directness, simplicity and strength" (G.Smith,op.cit.,vol.I,p.10) his son recalled from the perspective of mid-life, the epitome of the apostolic martyr or covenanting worthy. The similitude of Abrahamic faith is certainly more than merely rhetorical, it aptly describes the strongly independent element in the personal religion of James Duff, who, according to his son, was often subject to "the ridicule, contempt and ...calumny" of the local community for his "unsparing exposure and denunciation of...a giddy and sinful world" (ibid.p.9). Duff's reverential awe of his father was the product both of the abiding impression of the austere simplicities of his father's faith (it was to his father's dramatic readings from 'The Cloud of Witnesses' that Duff owed his 'heart-hatred' of catholicism he asserted later (ibid.)) and the absence of any real relationship with his father after the age of eight. Here too, however, the elder Duff's passionate interest in foreign missions, a characteristic of the interdenominational evangelicalism of the period, communicated itself to the young boy (ibid.p.10).

It would be mistaken to assume that this was the simplistic evangelicalism of an unlettered farm servant , for James Duff was literate and bilingual in both Gaelic and English. The Memoirs of Thomas Halyburton, whose autobiographical theme encompassed conversion from the torments of sceptical Deism to the assurance of evangelical faith were one of his favourite works (ibid.p.9), and the most cherished of all next to the reading of Scripture, was 'The Cloud of Witnesses'. While the elder Duff was apparently familiar with the works of some seventeenth and eighteenth century Scottish theologians (ibid.p.8.), part of the limited library may have consisted of the works of Dugald Buchanan.

⁹⁹ Macinnes,op.cit.,p.262.

structuring the perennial themes of evangelical religion in traditional Gaelic poetic form reflects closely the nature of South Highland culture in the period of the mid to late eighteenth century. His verse "exercised...a profound influence on all classes of Gaelic speaking Highlanders"¹⁰¹ and his poetry was already part of the oral tradition of Moulin district. The starkly concentrated eschatology, the brightly hued imagery and moral force of his verse had a profound impact on the youthful Alexander Duff through the recitations of his father in particular. The theme of judgement, the central motif of *La a Bhreitheanais*, the greatest of Buchanan's mature sustained work¹⁰² was apparently of abiding effect on the younger Duff's sensibilities.

The effect of this oral tradition of poetry was so profound that Duff¹⁰³ was apparently later unable to distinguish between the narrative course of Buchanan's verse and his own lived experience. In his eighth year, on the night before his departure to begin his

¹⁰⁰ Born in Strathyre in 1716 of a Presbyterian family, Buchanan was educated at Stirling and Edinburgh, where he became an apprentice carpenter. Later he became an itinerant teacher and schoolmaster at Kinloch Rannoch and was later confirmed by the General Assembly as a lay preacher and catechist. He returned to complete his studies at Edinburgh. During his mid-twenties, he was profoundly influenced by George Whitefield. On the latter's second visit to Scotland in 1742. Buchanan's poetry, and, indeed, his cultural experience reflect closely the cultural experience of Moulin parish. K.D. Macdonald has rightly argued that "Geographically and educationally, Buchanan's experience straddled two cultures..." (D. Daiches ed., *A Companion to Scottish Culture*, London, 1981, p.45).

¹⁰¹ Macinnes, op.cit., p.280.

¹⁰² For a translation into English prose see A. Sinclair: *Reminiscences of the Life and Labours of Dugald Buchanan*, Edinburgh, 1875, pps. 154-158.

¹⁰³ Duff was a lifelong admirer of the work of Dugald Buchanan and in later years published excerpts from Buchanan's autobiography in the *Calcutta Review*. In 1873 he subscribed to a fund to erect a memorial to the bard in Rannoch (Macinnes, op.cit., p.264).

education near Dunkeld Duff was tormented by apocalyptic foreboding of approaching judgement. On the precise pattern of Buchanan's *La a Bhreitheanais* he understood himself to be brought before a judge "seated on a great white throne who passed sentence on the human race". Duff was seized with convulsive terror and woke before sentence was passed¹⁰⁴. He later dated his earliest conversion to this moment¹⁰⁵.

After Stewart's translation to Dingwall in 1805¹⁰⁶ vain attempts were made to persuade the Duke of Atholl to present an evangelical minister to the vacant charge¹⁰⁷. A Reverend David Duff, a man of Moderate principles, was appointed to the charge¹⁰⁸. At this point, Alexander Duff recalled, his father contemplated severing his association with the

¹⁰⁴ G.Smith,op.cit.,vol.I,p.13.

¹⁰⁵ During the harvest of 1815, at the age of nine years while resting beside the burn to the west of his parents' cottage Duff dreamt, once again in apocalyptic imagery, of a chariot approaching in incandescent light. The occupant of the chariot commanded "Come up hither, I have work for thee to do" (G.Smith,op.cit.,vol.I,p.13). At the same period, it is recorded that Duff narrowly escaped death from drowning after falling into a stream while drawing water (ibid.). He saw in his rescue the protecting hand of Providence.

¹⁰⁶ On a visit to Rev. Charles Calder of Urquhart in the Autumn of 1802 (Sievwright,op.cit.,p.207) Stewart seems to have been struck by the integrity of the northern Gaelic evangelical culture. The emoluments of Moulin Parish were not large and Stewart seems to have been financially in difficulty (ibid.p.211). However, Stewart took the opportunity of translation to Dingwall when it occurred. Alness in Ross-shire still maintained the older Highland evangelical traditions (Macinnes,op.cit.,p.117).

¹⁰⁷ Stewart was able to argue in correspondence with the Duke that "union and harmony" had continued in the parish under his evangelical ministry, and that, as a consequence, there had been no defections from the Church of Scotland (ibid.p.223). Stewart received no reply and a representation by the elders of Moulin parish met with a similarly negative response (ibid.p.225).

¹⁰⁸ Sievwright,op.cit.,p.226.

Established Church¹⁰⁹, but having considered that the constitution of the Church of Scotland remained unalloyed despite the rationalistic Moderatism of many of its ministers, he and other of 'The Men' in the parish remained within the congregation¹¹⁰. Throughout the period of Rev. David Duff's ministry, the lay-leadership structure and the fellowship meetings initiated and encouraged by Alexander Stewart continued. The tradition of vital evangelical religion was maintained. Alexander Duff could remember his father's leading of meetings even as late as the years 1812 to 1814.

It is possible to outline the broad background of religious influences on Alexander Duff, then. The evangelical movement in the parish brought a new emphasis on missions which Duff was to recall in later life. Here, too, is to be found the origins of the moral seriousness characteristic of Duff's approach to missions, and typical of nineteenth century Scottish evangelicalism as a whole. The imagery of Buchanan's verse constitutes some of the most potent of Alexander Duff's early memories and may have contributed to the imaginative power of Duff's later rhetoric.

Like many in the Southern Highland districts, however, James Duff sought an education for Alexander which would improve domestic circumstances and lead to greater opportunities for employment in the Lowlands. Education, above all, offered access to the meritocratic system of the universities.

In 1814, accordingly, James Duff took much care to find a decent school for the eight year old Alexander. The education available at the Parochial School in Moulin was less than satisfactory. The school contained on average 60 pupils, with the customary increase in the

¹⁰⁹ A few individuals from Moulin Parish, along with several of Blair, Logierait and Dowally left the Established Church to join the Independents.

¹¹⁰ See A.Duff, letter to W.K.Tweedie, loc.cit, p.144. This high regard for the visible church, and general reluctance to secede from the Established Church is a characteristic of Highland Evangelicalism (Macinnes, op.cit.,p.79) and the Anglican evangelicalism by which it was influenced (ibid.p.7).

winter months. However, the headmaster, James Robertson was little motivated to provide even the most basic education. He was continually absent, leaving the older children to tutor the younger¹¹¹.

James Duff, however, was particularly concerned to find the best available standard of education. Ignoring, therefore, the parochial and Gaelic schools, James Duff sent Alexander to a venture school¹¹² in a non-Gaelic speaking area south of Dunkeld, where acquaintances involved in land reclamation persuaded him to enrol his son.

The venture schools were characterised in the main by extreme impermanence. They were not highly considered in terms of educational achievement and for the most part they were open only in winter. However, they fulfilled an essential role in that they offered the first elementary education to many outlying districts. The venture School between Dunkeld and Perth was of the latter kind, established by a group of tenant farmers who were employed in a drainage project for the Duke of Atholl¹¹³. Nothing more is known of

¹¹¹ Smith,op.cit.,vol.I,p.4. There was also a school in the parish partly supported by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, engaged in the instruction of 80 to 100 children in the Gaelic language. Four venture schools in the outlying districts of the parish, operated chiefly in winter. With rolls of about 20-30 children each classes were tutored by the more able pupils of the parochial school for three or four months in the winter. These schools comprised the educational provision of Moulin parish.

¹¹² Macinnes,op.cit.,p.255-256. There were, in this period, two forms of Adventure School. The School proper was established and maintained by a permanent professional schoolmaster, using personal reputation to attract and hold the students. The other type consisted of those private and joint schools managed by tacksmen or a group of tenants (chiefly in the Western Highlands). Students on vacation from University would teach the rudiments of English and other basics to the children of the lesser tenantry, who farmed upland areas (D.Withrington, 'Schools,Literacy and Society', in T.M.Devine and R.Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland*,vol.I, Edinburgh, p.164.).

¹¹³ Smith,op.cit.,vol.I,p.14.

Duff's attendance at this school.

In 1817, however, James Duff, concerned again for the progress of his son's education, took him from this school and sent him to the parochial school at the village of Kirkmichael, in a parish roughly similar to Moulin in terms of population, twelve miles to the east through Glenbriarichan¹¹⁴. An Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1696 had provided for the "Settling of Schools" with a schoolmaster in every parish, requiring that the heritors, who were mainly the local proprietors, should undertake to provide a proper school building and a salary for the schoolmaster¹¹⁵.

On the resignation of the previous teacher, John Gourlay, in the winter of 1815 the heritors elected Alexander McDougall as schoolmaster, to provide education for the scholars in the basic parochial curriculum¹¹⁶ of "Latin, English, Arithmetic, Book Keeping and

¹¹⁴ *A Digest of Parochial Returns made to the Select Committee appointed to inquire into The Education of the Poor*, Session 1818, Vol.III, April, 1819, p.1416.

¹¹⁵ Macinnes, op.cit., p.225.

The Old Statistical Account records that the master in Kirmichael Parish School was teaching English, Latin, writing and arithmetic in 1795 (*The Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol.XV, Edinburgh, 1795, p.516). A rudimentary education in English and writing was being provided in the winter for between 40 and 50 children in outlying districts (Digest of Parliamentary Returns, op.cit., p.1416). In summer most of the children were "at service" or "herding and tending cattle". The schoolhouse at Kirkmichael was inadequate for the purpose and in the spring of 1813 the schoolmaster, Alexander Robertson, now advanced in years, made application to the heritors for financial assistance in building a new schoolhouse "fit to contain all the scholars" (*Kirkmichael Heritors' Minute Book*, 1813-1902, S.R.O., HR. 103/1, meeting 8/4/1813). A tender was submitted by Daniel Macdonald, wright at Balnakeilly in the parish of Moulin, but Robertson died in the autumn and so the project was abandoned. In Robertson's place the heritors appointed a John Gourlay as his successor, with a curriculum of "Reading and writing English grammatically, Latin, Church Music, the practical parts of Mathematics, Arithmetic and Geography" (ibid. Meeting 29/10/1813).

¹¹⁶ Withrington, op.cit., in T.M.Devine and R.Mitchison, p.164.

Church Music"¹¹⁷ to be examined at intervals by the Presbytery of Dunkeld. McDougall proved to be an excellent teacher, with the interests of his pupils paramount¹¹⁸.

The schoolhouse itself was typically less than adequate, 75 children¹¹⁹ being accommodated in a building thirty feet long by fifteen feet wide and only seven feet high. On the north side the walls lay "a number of feet under the public road" resulting in permanent dampness¹²⁰. The heritors, however, were reluctant to proceed with any major building programmes associated with the schoolhouse, and the facilities remained in the same condition until 1861 when McDougall retired¹²¹.

With typical care, James Duff visited the school before sending Alexander, now twelve. James Duff arranged for him to board with McDougall¹²². Duff remained at Kirkmichael until 1820, forming a close relationship with the McDougall family. He later considered his time there as being under the guidance of "an over-ruling Providence"¹²³. Duff benefited

¹¹⁷ *Kirkmichael Heritors' Minute Book*, extract minute 28/3/1815 hereafter *Heritors' Minutes*.

¹¹⁸ In 1817 he applied to the heritors, for example, to have the schoolhouse passage flagged and the schoolhouse benches raised further from the floor to lessen the deleterious effects of dampness on the pupils (*Heritors' Minutes*, 29/8/1817). In 1819, he proposed an extension to the east end of the schoolhouse to include a more adequate kitchen and to enable his wife to "carry on a female school for needlework, already begun" (*ibid.*, 29/8/1823).

¹¹⁹ Digest of Parliamentary Returns, *op.cit.*, p.1416.

¹²⁰ *Heritors' Minutes*, 14/5/1850.

¹²¹ *Heritors' Minutes*, 15/10/1861.

¹²² Smith, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.14.

¹²³ Smith, *op.cit.*, vol.I., p.15.

It was while returning from Kirkmichael on a Saturday evening in the bitter winter of December 1819 that Duff and a companion wandered off the hill track through

greatly from McDougall's tuition, which effectively laid the foundation of Duff's "well-disciplined culture"¹²⁴, by which was meant a good grounding in the classics, particularly Latin. As a schoolmaster, McDougall was successful in drawing the highest intellectual abilities from his pupils and in this period the most distinguished of these, alongside Alexander Duff, was Duncan Forbes, later Professor of Oriental Languages at London University¹²⁵.

In general, it was the more able pupils who took Latin. In Moulin parish, for example, out of 230 pupils in education in 1791, 180 were being taught English and Gaelic at venture schools, 43 were learning reading, writing, arithmetic and book-keeping at the Parochial School, and 7 studying Latin. The Statistical Account of 1839 indicates 388 pupils in education, of whom 112 were reading Gaelic, 276 reading and writing English; only 6 were engaged in learning Latin¹²⁶. While Latin had declined as a subject in the interim, the ratio of pupils studying the language was always small and always confined to the most capable. The opportunity to learn Latin was a critical feature in educational progress for children of a lower status rural background. It allowed access to classical culture, to

Glenbriarichan in a blizzard. The flare of a poacher's torch, however, 'burning' the water for salmon in the Tummel illuminated the night sky and the two youths found refuge in a nearby cottage. Duff was certain of the hand of Providence in this.

¹²⁴ *ibid.*

¹²⁵ Forbes was a monoglot Gaelic speaker until his twelfth year, but McDougall evidently recognised his intellectual ability and put him in charge of the outlying school at Straloch at the age of seventeen in 1815. He attended Kirkmichael soon after and left in 1818 to go on to study at St. Andrews University. He then took up a post at the Academy in Calcutta. (L. Stephen, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography* vol. XIX, London, 1889, p. 386-387).

¹²⁶ *The New Statistical Account*, Vol. X, p. 664.

Grammar School and, eventually, the Scottish Universities¹²⁷.

Duff, like Forbes, made the most of the opportunities presented to him, and a deputation from the Presbytery of Dunkeld, probably in 1819 or early 1820, heard him read from the Odes of Horace as head pupil of the school¹²⁸. In October 1820¹²⁹ Alexander Duff left Kirkmichael School to continue his education at Perth.

Perth boasted a number of educational institutions at the beginning of the nineteenth century. For the teaching of classics, there was a grammar school, for scientific and technical subjects an Academy and there were separate establishments for English, French, Drawing, Painting and Writing¹³⁰.

An Act of Perth Town Council in the early 1770's had made 'Classical Studies'¹³¹ the main diet at the Grammar School. With its removal to a new site at Rose Terrace in 1807, the Grammar School had assumed a prominent position as one of the chief "classical seminaries of Scotland"¹³². In early 1820, John Moncur, a former divinity student and teacher at St. Andrews had arrived to take charge of the classics class. Moncur was one of the most able proteges of John Hunter, Professor of Humanities at St. Andrews

¹²⁷ While in the late 18th. century Latin had become "much less important for the middle and upper classes" it was, according to D. J. Withrington, maintained in parochial schools "for the able poor"(Withrington,op.cit.).

¹²⁸ Smith,op.cit.,vol.I,p.14.

¹²⁹ Smith,op.cit.,vol.I,p.16.

¹³⁰ E.Smart,*The History of Perth Academy*,Perth,1932,pps.136-155.

¹³¹ *ibid.*,p.68.

¹³² *ibid.* p.99.

University¹³³.

Smith states that under Moncur Duff's 'Latin and Greek scholarship had their foundation broadened'¹³⁴. The histories of the Perth Schools for this period, however, indicate that "Greek had not been taught for some years". The Town Council were concerned enough to appoint the Magistrates to meet with Moncur concerning the 'manner and terms' upon which Greek lessons might proceed. Moncur, however, died in September 1822, before these arrangements could be completed¹³⁵. Whether or not Duff embarked upon the study of Greek in private is not clear, in any case the standard of Greek tuition of St. Andrew's University was also low, so his attainments need not necessarily have been of the highest level at this time.

In June 1821, one of the sporadic examinations of Perth Public Schools took place under the auspices of the Magistrates and Presbytery of Perth, including an examination of the five classes of the Grammar School. The classes, according to the local press, displayed an "intimate acquaintance with the constitution...the niceties and beauties of the Latin tongue..."¹³⁶ and Messrs. Moncur and Cameron were commended for their lively inspiration of the pupils. The Higher Class, in which Duff was a pupil, read Vergil *ad*

¹³³ Moncur proved to be an excellent teacher, and in the autumn of 1820, when Dick became physically incapacitated and was advised by the Town Council to resign (ibid.,p.125), Moncur was promoted to the Rectorship by the same body, despite his recent arrival at the school. His first act as Rector was to summon the whole school and oblige the janitor to sink the leathern "tawse" into the River Tay (Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.16), betraying the influence of the new educational methodologies of George Jardine and Thomas Reid. Moncur announced to the students that he expected them to be disciplined, not by corporal punishment, but by the stricter obligations of moral duty (ibid.p.17).

¹³⁴ Smith,op.cit.,vol.I,p.17.

¹³⁵ Smart,op.cit.,p.127.

¹³⁶ *Perth Courier*,number 704, 26/7/1821.

aperturum libri and performed excellently in the memory exercises¹³⁷.

Alexander Duff left the school as *dux*¹³⁸. The Presbytery of Perth declared itself well satisfied with the "general glow of classical enthusiasm " which "seemed to animate the whole school"¹³⁹. On his leaving the school for the vacation before the University term Moncur lent Duff Johnson's *Rambler* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Duff carried the latter volume continually with him¹⁴⁰, and recalled that it had 'exercised a great influence over his mental habitudes'. Towards the autumn of 1821, James Duff gave his son Alexander the sum of twenty pounds, enough to finance his education for the next eighteen months, and the youthful classical scholar prepared to depart for St. Andrews University and the Arts session of 1821-22.

Victorian biographers traced Alexander Duff's evangelicalism to Charles Simeon and the Evangelical Revival, and accepted Duff's own somewhat romanticised account of his 'Highland' upbringing. The evidence for the early influences on Duff, however, is insufficient to enable us to come to any firm conclusions. A close study of the revival in Moulin, does allow us to suggest that the evangelicalism of Alexander Duff's family was derived from a more local source than Charles Simeon. The revival was associated with Rev. Alexander Stewart's ministry. And that ministry, in turn, was one which typified that circle of clergy which included David Black, John Erskine and the contributors to the *Religious Monitor*.

Duff's later appeal to his Highland background seems more a function of his figurative rhetoric than an assertion of fact. Since the age of eight, Duff had been absent

¹³⁷ 10 students could repeat one book, 4 two books, 3 three books and 2, presumably Duff and Urquhart, four books of the Aeneid (*Perth Courier* number 704,26/7/1821).

¹³⁸ *ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Perth Courier*, number 705,2/8/1821.

¹⁴⁰ Smith, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.17.

from Moulin, attending elementary school first and then Perth Grammar School. It is difficult to ascertain whether or not in adulthood he was still fluent in the Gaelic of the Southern Highlands. He was, for all effective purposes, a monoglot English speaker. For the most distinctive elements of Duff's later missionary work we must look instead to the intellectual traditions of St. Andrews University, beginning with the Arts course at the United Colleges.

CHAPTER THREE

A Foundation in Philosophy

For those who had finished schooling in Perth and wished to continue their education the most convenient academic institution was St. Andrews University. The University dominated the town of St. Andrews socially and commercially and played an essential role in sustaining the local economy. Where there were often tensions between the municipal authorities and the Universities at Edinburgh or Glasgow, at St. Andrews the Town Council was in many ways simply a body which extended the concerns of the University into municipal affairs. This kind of control often tempted the University Senate to understand its chief function as the guardian of moral values and traditional social structures. This arrangement was to be under constant pressure throughout the 1820s.

While the official commencement of term at St. Andrews University was the 20th. of October, lectures, according to custom, did not begin until the first Thursday in November. Alexander Duff arrived, accordingly, in mid-October 1821 to prepare for the beginning of the first session of the Arts course, one of around sixty first year regular students¹. For students of limited means like Duff the bursary competitions at the start of term were important as they gave access to a guaranteed income. Though the majority of awards were less than £10 in annual value, over a quarter of the students² were maintained by the seventy two bursaries available. Duff entered and won the Latin bursary which was worth around £8 per annum³ for four years⁴.

¹ In 1823, the University was still the smallest of the Scottish colleges with an average of 220 resident students (S.J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth*, Oxford, OUP, 1982, p.5). Numbers attending Scottish universities had increased in the ten years from 1818 to 1827. A statistical survey of the provenance of 64% of students attending between 1800 and 1849 shows that the majority (45%) came from the Fife area, the others from Perth(32%) and Forfar(21%).(R.N. Smart: 'Some observations on the Provinces of the Scottish Universities 1560-1850', in G.W.S. Barrow (ed.) *The Scottish Tradition*, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1974 p.95).

² S.J.Saunders, *Scottish Democracy 1815-1840*, Edinburgh, 1950, p.361-362.

³ See the United Colleges Scroll Account Book, UC 520. The evidence of account suggests the possibility that the sum of £8 was disbursed *twice* per session.

⁴ S.Piggin and J.Roxborough, *The St.Andrews Seven*, Edinburgh, Banner of Truth, 1985 p.25.

Since no accommodation was provided by the University, Duff, like the other students, had to find his own lodgings⁵. He shared a room in South Street with Duncan Forbes, a former classmate from Kirmichael⁶. Among other acquaintances at this time were Lindsay Alexander, Robert Lee, Robert Arnot and the Craik brothers. Duff and his fellow students were classified as 'Ternars'⁷ an old distinction according to social rank which had ceased to be of importance in the 1820s.

In the 1820s the Scottish Arts course still preserved in some vestigial respects the broad formal outline of the medieval Aristotelian curriculum⁸. On this pattern an attempt was made to pay equal attention to philosophy, science and literature in a tripartite arrangement consisting of a "language-literature...philosophy-ethics.. and...mathematics-physics course"⁹. The Arts or Philosophy course as it was sometimes called, lasted four sessions and comprised Junior Humanity (Latin) and Greek in the first year and Senior Humanity, Greek, Logic and Mathematics in the second. Moral Philosophy and Senior Mathematics formed the basis of the third year and the fourth year consisted of a single course in Natural Philosophy. A preoccupation with questions of a philosophical nature¹⁰ was characteristic

⁵ According to Ronald Cant, the practice of college residence and common tables, familiar in the eighteenth century, was discouraged under Principal Hill and finally abandoned by 1816 in St. Marys and by 1820 in the United College (R.G.Cant, *The University of St. Andrews: A Short History*, Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1946, p.97.).

⁶ W.P.Duff, *Memorials of Alexander Duff D.D.*, London, 1890, p.1.

⁷ The student body had traditionally been divided into three ranks; *Primars* or those of aristocratic background, *Secondars* or gentleman commoners, and *Ternars*, those of common rank.

⁸ The university course in the seventeenth century had consisted of Grammar in the first year, arithmetic and logic in the second, ethics and rhetoric in the third and physics in the fourth year (see J.Burnet, 'Language and Literature' in *Votiva Tabella*, St. Andrews, 1911, p.133, cited in G.Davie, *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and her Universities in the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd. ed., Edinburgh, 1964, p.204).

⁹ Davie, op.cit, p.14.

¹⁰ This was given its clearest expression in the writings of George Jardine, Professor of Logic at Glasgow University and theorist of Scottish University education of the first decades of the nineteenth century. Jardine argued that though geometry "on account of its precision and certainty" offered an education in "accurate reasoning...(and) habits of attention and perseverance" there were "few minds which discover any peculiar aptitude for geometrical investigations". Using geometry as a fundamental, core course would therefore be hurtful to general culture.

Instead the lectures, exercises and discipline of philosophy which "promote equally

of the general ethos of the curriculum¹¹.

The curricular system was innately conservative. A fixed salary augmented by directly paid student fees and the tradition of academic independence in choice of course material permitted the individual professor a virtual monopoly of his subject. This inevitably meant that it was difficult to remove a subject, subdivide it, or introduce innovation¹². The universities, therefore, often found it difficult to adapt curricular content to suit the newly emerging educational demands of the industrial society of the 1820s¹³.

Teaching method was well adapted to students beginning university at the age of fourteen or fifteen. There was a heavy dependence on a recursive system which operated both at the level of the classroom and the curriculum. Under this system, a variant of the professorial lecture, the beginning of the class would be taken up by what were called 'examinations'. The professor would ask questions concerning the previous lecture either at random or according to the class register. The same recursion was a feature of the obligatory weekly essay which retraced the topics of previous lectures. Even within the overall structure of the curriculum the student would find himself studying philosophy of language in Latin as in

and gradually the general culture of the mind, and the improvement of each separate faculty" were to be preferred. The improvement of these faculties distinguished the accomplished scholar and intelligent man of business.

Jardine also considered language study foundational since "thinking, speaking, writing" were fundamental to "all intellectual endowments...imagination, memory, (and) judgement" (G.Jardine, *Outlines of Philosophical Education Illustrated by the Method of Teaching the Logic Class in the University of Glasgow.*, 2nd.ed., Glasgow, University Press, 1825,pps.241-244). For Jardine the main purpose of a Scottish University education was twofold; the communication of knowledge (study of Homer, Euclid, La Place etc.) and the cultivation of the mental powers(Jardine,op.cit.,p. 427).

¹¹ Davie, op.cit.,p.30.

¹² R.D.Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland*, Oxford, OUP, 1983, pps.27-29.

¹³ From the perspective of the professional class in the commercial centres of Lowland Scotland, the universities now seemed less able to respond effectively to the demands of a rapidly expanding urban society. Where the Universities had once formed a coherent social and political body they now came to be seen as an "irrational and irresponsible pattern of vested interests" (Saunders, op.cit.,pps.311-312), obsolescent in form and surviving on inherited dignity.

Logic and the same epistemological themes in Moral Philosophy as in Logic¹⁴.

If a pattern of repetition was considered essential practice in the task of the communication of knowledge, mutual 'emulation' among the students was regarded as one of the chief motivatory forces in the 'improvement' of their 'intellectual powers'. The spirit of intellectual competitiveness was understood to be fundamental to the development of the mind. Consistent with this principle, weekly essays were judged by members of the class and the awarding of class prizes was according to a democratic vote by the students¹⁵. During the four years from the beginning of session 1821-22 to the end of session 1824-25 Duff was to win prizes in every subject in the curriculum¹⁶ in the course of a brilliant student career.

The system of 'emulation', however, offered more than an annual prize. Through its emphasis on the social recognition of academic achievement, the principle of 'emulation' maintained an intellectual hierarchy among university students¹⁷. Academic ability afforded access to social status for the talented student of limited means, like Duff. In common with the Scottish university system as a whole the St. Andrews curriculum inculcated the principles of a broad, essentially philosophical rationality. Two related sets of reasoning, however, seem to have militated against closer historical study of the educational ethos of the St. Andrews Arts course.

If we make a distinction in student life between those activities structured by the curriculum and other extra-curricular pursuits it becomes clear that the approach of

¹⁴ In the Theology course, similarly, the third and fourth years of Divinity were a straightforward repetition of the first two years.

¹⁵ Jardine regarded emulation as 'that most active and animating principle', universally operative and intended by Divine Providence to 'supply the want...of other motives to action' (Jardine, *op.cit.*, p.376).

¹⁶ Mathematics excepted.

¹⁷ The comments of George Smith's correspondents who were Duff's contemporaries at St. Andrews University in the 1820s are of interest in this regard. They represent the expression of a quite spontaneous but profound respect for intellectual achievement engendered by the system of 'emulation'.

For example, in W. Lindsay Alexander's opinion Duff was 'crowned with academic distinctions earned by success'. J.W.Taylor remembered him as 'the boast of the college...(who was) greatly regarded'. A. McLaren recalled the fact that Duff was 'not unfrequently impressive in his appeals to ...our nature'. (Smith, *op. cit.*, pps. 22-24.).

nineteenth century evangelical historiography¹⁸ was to lay stress on Duff's evangelical filiation and mission motivation by concentrating almost exclusively on the influence of Thomas Chalmers' Moral Philosophy lectures in the academic curriculum and the extra-curricular foundation of the University Missionary Society in 1824. By obscuring the content of the remainder of the curriculum this conveniently served to distance Duff from what was later perceived as the Moderatism of the university institution¹⁹. Associated with this largely Evangelical critique was a prejudicial assessment of the educational status of the Arts curriculum at St. Andrews in the 1820s. This judgement had wider origins in the political, social and religious debate of the Scotland of the 1820s. It basically asserted that the standard of the St. Andrews curriculum was inadequate and, therefore, was hardly capable of influence on Duff. A more detailed historical account of this, however, must wait until after the following enquiry into the substance of the curriculum itself, largely neglected by previous historical studies.

Examination of the substantial content of the courses in classics, logic, rhetoric, moral philosophy and natural philosophy at St. Andrews in the 1820s reveals, as has been said, a generally philosophical ethos. The following sections of this chapter will attempt to illustrate the general structure of the curriculum and show its relation to Duff's intellectual formation²⁰.

The study of classical antiquity, extending over two sessions, primarily offered a

¹⁸ In particular George Smith, see *op.cit.*, pps. 18-22.

¹⁹ A recent popular study (see Pigginn and Roxborough *op.cit.*, ad. loc.) has taken some steps to redress the balance, but assesses the influence of the curriculum on St. Andrews students in purely abstract terms disregarding substantial content. Students "were taught the value of...the collection of data (research), close scrutiny of...data (analysis), and the imaginative integration of findings(synthesis)" (*op.cit.* p. 33).

²⁰ The question, of course, arises as to the precise influence of the curriculum and daily lectures on Duff. It cannot, naturally, be assumed that Duff simply absorbed uncritically the ideas of his professors. This would imply, as Camic has pointed out, the "tacit assumption that bright adolescents accept everything they hear. Such a supposition, dubious in all events, is...problematic." and even with the more capable lecturers there were "certainly...limits to...persuasiveness." (Charles Camic, *Experience and Enlightenment: Socialization for Cultural Change in Eighteenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, EUP, 1983, p.187n.).

However, two facts should be taken into account. First, the fact that Duff was a consistent prize winner is evidence of his active participation in and engagement with the educational content of the University curriculum. And second, the main body of evidence from Duff's organisation of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta demonstrates the profound extent to which he developed an approach consistent with ideas and notions inherited from St. Andrews University.

foundation in Latin and Greek. Duff, like all other Scottish students entering university for the first time, began the first session in 1821-22 by attending the Junior Humanity and Junior Greek classes²¹. The Junior Humanity class was under the direction of Professor John Hunter, the "most learned classical scholar of his time and country"²² who was renowned for his critical and scholarly editions of Horace and Vergil, and for his Latin Grammar²³. Born in 1744, Hunter had started lecturing in 1775, and by Duff's first session was into his late seventies, his energy seemingly unabated.

The class met twice a day from ten o'clock to eleven in the morning and then again from one o'clock till two, with one hour set aside on Saturday from ten till eleven. Until the class was fully convened, the students read through the history of the Catiline conspiracy comprising the two speeches of Caesar and Cato. The Junior class then tackled a play of Terence, a 'book or two' of Vergil's Aeneid and the works of Livy for the rest of the session with a considerable amount of time set aside for translation work²⁴. Hunter encouraged the Saturday morning class in grammatical composition by awarding prizes for the best translations²⁵.

The Junior Greek class was taught by Professor Andrew Alexander and lasted an hour and a half, beginning at seven thirty in the morning (eight o'clock in winter) and from eleven till midday, five days per week, with one hour on Saturdays. Session 1821-22 commenced with an introduction to Greek Grammar, followed by the reading of Dunbar's *Collectanea Minora* or *the Analecta Graeca Minora* which included extracts from Xenophon, Lucian, Anacreon and Tyrtaeus, followed by one book of the Iliad. The weekly

²¹ The average age of students attending these classes was from twelve to fifteen years (Sir P.R.S.Lang, *Duncan Dewar's Accounts*, Glasgow, 1926, p.).

²² Lang, op.cit., p.63.

²³ Hunter edited annotated editions of Horace (1797, 1813) Vergil (1799, 1817) Juvenal and Persius (1806), Sallust (1807), Caesar (1814), and Livy (1814, 1820, 1822). He wrote a Latin Grammar (1818) and revised Ruddiman's Latin Rudiments (1818, 1820) (Lang, op.cit., p.63).

²⁴ The textbook employed was Mair's Introduction and Commentary on the Rules of Syntax (*Evidence Oral and Documentary: Taken and Received by the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty George IV, July 23rd. 1826 and re-appointed by His Majesty William V, Oct. 12. 1830 for Visiting the Universities of Scotland: Vol.III* (University of St. Andrews), London, 1837, p.40. Henceforth U.C.R. XXXVII. III.

²⁵ Hunter claimed to have initiated the system of prizegiving in Scotland and was a firm proponent of the value of emulation as a motivation for the students (U.C.R., XXXVII. III, p.39).

exercise consisted of exercise in Greek prose composition with a translation from Latin into Greek over the vacation²⁶.

The second session in Senior Humanity and Senior Greek in 1822-23 followed much the same pattern²⁷. In the senior class in Humanity, Prof. John Hunter continued to lecture broadly on philology and the grammatical elements of Latin, on Mondays and Thursdays. On the other days a Latin author was read or the class studied Roman sculpture and architecture. Grammatical essays were fairly frequent, but Latin composition was less common except for the essays for Dr. Gray's prize²⁸.

The Senior Greek Class met from one o'clock to two five days a week. The texts under consideration were a book of the Iliad, the works of Xenophon, Herodotus and Thucydides from the *Collectanea Majora*, Extracts from Plato, Longinus and Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*. From ten till eleven on Sundays Prof. Alexander lectured to the students on the *Diatessaron*²⁹. Having won all three competitions³⁰ in Junior Humanity and Junior Greek³¹ in session 1821-22 Duff completed his study of the classics by taking the prize for "distinguished eminence and exemplary conduct" in the Senior Humanity class and the award for the best translation of passages from the *Cyropoedia* of Xenophon in senior Greek³² in session 1822-23.

The Scottish approach to Latin and Greek was not, as was the case at Oxford and

²⁶ U.C.R., XXXVII. III, p.39.

²⁷ Duff shared lodgings this session with John Urquhart, his old colleague from Perth Academy (W.Orme, *Memoirs Including Letters and Select Remains of John Urquhart late of the University of St. Andrews*, 2 vols., 2nd.ed., London, Holdsworth, 1828, p.41).

²⁸ U.C.R., XXXVII. III, p.40-41.

²⁹ U.C.R. XXXVII.,III, p.141.

³⁰ Professor George Jardine also claimed to have introduced the system of prize giving into Scottish University education in the late 1770s and early 1780s. At Glasgow the practice was later extended from the Logic classes to the Humanity and Greek classes. The recipients of class prizes were chosen by the students themselves.

The Senatus Academicus prescribed the titles of prize essays to be completed during the summer vacation. A committee of professors heard the papers and decided respective premiums. The first day of May was the date for the public distribution of the prizes (Jardine, *op.cit.*,p.380-381).

³¹ Cupar Herald (later The Fife Herald) no.10, 16/5/1822, p.37.

³² Fife Herald, no.62, 15/5/1823, p. 33.

Cambridge, purely grammatical³³. Besides offering a foundation in Latin and Greek, the study of classical antiquity at St. Andrews, following the tradition of the Scottish Enlightenment, provided students with a rational introduction to the philosophy of language, to paradigms of social and moral organisation³⁴ and to elementary study of culture. Professor Hunter's lectures, for example, were renowned for their philological approach to Latin³⁵ and for the way in which linguistic rules were set within the broader framework of the philosophy of language³⁶. Greek included a survey of rhetoric and the philosophy

³³ The *Quarterly Journal* of 1832, commenting on the Universities Commission Report gives a view of the Scottish system of classical education from an English perspective. From the point of view of the English system of classical education in operation at Oxford and Cambridge the *Quarterly Journal* found that Scottish Humanity and Greek left much to be desired. It found the classical training inadequate, and part-time attendance a poor system; the training given, it announced, was mostly 'formal observance'. The students were given too much freedom and did not work hard enough.

The *Quarterly Journal* was aware that the classes were in the form of a continuous discourse (unlike the text book oriented curriculum in the two English Universities) and associated this with a Scottish predilection for preaching. The goal of the system, according to the *Quarterly Journal*, might be the awakening of intellectual life, but it failed in the communication of knowledge and therefore offered only a superficial grasp of the disciplines under discussion. The *Quarterly Journal* advocated the practice of the pre-lecture (the system in operation in Oxford and Cambridge), and a greater emphasis on tutorials (see 'The Universities of Scotland' in *The Quarterly Journal of Education of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Educational Methods and Knowledge*, Vol.IV, July & October 1832, London, July pps.21-43, Oct. pps.234-264).

³⁴ The classics, it was argued by the moralist George Home in *The Mirror*, 'could instil those virtues of justice, temperance, fortitude, and public spirit which ... act as a restraint...'. They helped provide 'models of firm and patriotic behaviour...' to equip 'future members of the élite with wisdom and experience of past ages...'. They inculcated 'simplicity...' and a tendency to 'straightforward definitions and models of virtuous behaviour' (J.Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in late Eighteenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1987, p.83).

Professor Jardine's argument for the study of the classical history of Greece and Rome was on the grounds that it provided an introduction to 'the infancy of society' (Jardine, op.cit., p.453).

³⁵ J. Pillans, *A Word for the Universities of Scotland*, 1848, pps.34-35, cited in Davie, op.cit., p.231.

³⁶ Henry Craik, a student contemporary of Duff recalled the manner in which Hunter "conveyed to his students an acquaintance with the philosophy of language, " which "exercised a powerful influence on their mental character and mode of thinking" (W.E.Taylor, *Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik of Bristol*, London, J.F.Shaw, 1866, p.7).

of criticism³⁷ and a comprehensive if general account of Greek civilisation³⁸.

In the second session in 1822-23, along with Senior Humanity and Senior Greek, Duff attended the classes in Mathematics and Logic & Rhetoric. The Mathematics course was under the guidance of Professor Thomas Duncan who used the normal methodology of examination, "practical and theoretical" home exercises and prizes. The textbooks were Playfair's *Elements of Geometry* and Wood's *Algebra*. The first class commenced with study of the elements of plane Geometry, proportion and algebra up to quadratic equations, along with the theory of arithmetic³⁹. While the approach to Mathematics was a broadly philosophical one⁴⁰, Duff, as one of his nineteenth century biographers has noted had "no very special aptitude for...mathematical studies"⁴¹ and was not among the prize winners at the end of the year.

Professor James Hunter's class in Logic and Rhetoric, however, was to have a profound effect on Duff's intellectual formation. The class was held for one hour per day per week. The class texts were Thomas Reid's *Enquiry*, and the *Essays on Intellectual Powers*, Dugald Stewart's *Philosophy* and Alison *On Taste*⁴².

The Logic and Rhetoric class at St. Andrews introduced students to three broadly related areas of philosophical inquiry; the principles of mind of the Scottish Common Sense school; the empirical philosophy of Lord Bacon; and the elements of rhetoric.

Professor Hunter began session 1822-23 with an introduction to the intellectual powers using Reid's analysis of the five senses. The class was then invited to consider the powers of attention and their relation to memory and conception. A study of the critical importance of the use of abstraction⁴³ and the theory of the association of ideas⁴⁴ for art, science and

³⁷ Davie, op.cit.,p.30.

³⁸ See George Cook, *The Life of the Late George Hill, D.D., Principal of St. Mary's College, St.Andrews.*, Edinburgh, A.Constable,1820, pps.387-395.

³⁹ U.C.R., XXXVII.III, pps.144-145.

⁴⁰ According to G.E. Davie, theory of arithmetic was introduced on a philosophical-theoretical basis using a "detailed scholarly exegesis" of the first six books of Euclid (Davie, op.cit.,p.109).

⁴¹ T.Smith, *Alexander Duff DD, LLD*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1883, p.23.

⁴² U.C.R., XXXVII.III, pps.121-123.

⁴³ According to Anderson, the Scottish intellectual style was typified by its readiness to correlate diverse subjects, its interest in generalising theories and its tendency to

education followed. While the somewhat austere maxims of the facultative psychology of the common sense school may have been more than many students could understand, here Duff would have been given a first taste of the psychology taken to underlie educational and intellectual development.

Hunter devoted the middle section of session 1822-23 (the second half of the Logic course) to an introduction to Baconian philosophy⁴⁵. This placed the St. Andrews philosophy course well within the mainstream of the Baconian revival⁴⁶ in Scottish philosophy of the 1820s⁴⁷. The professor presented the main elements of the Baconian approach to rationality and set the consideration of Aristotelian logic in the light of Bacon's experimental induction. The definitions and distinctions of medieval Scholasticism were rejected as merely verbal. The attention of the students was directed instead to 'facts', the communication of knowledge, analysis and investigation.

Discussion of the Baconian theory of language led naturally to a consideration of Rhetoric. At the completion of the Logic course in early February, therefore, the study of

systematic classifications and abstract categories (Anderson, op.cit. p.31).

⁴⁴ According to associationist theory, the association of ideas was conceived to be the motive power in the mechanism of understanding and was therefore essential to a grasp of the operations of reflection and memory, taste and moral impression. Hunter's course outlined the general relevance of this theory for the process of early education, the cultivation of virtue and the formation of philosophical habits.

⁴⁵ The emphasis on the Baconian notion of language was still, however, *within* the range of interests of the Scottish Common Sense school. Reid had devoted a chapter to prejudice as the source of human error in his *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* (Essay VI, Chapter VIII), drawing heavily on Bacon's theory of *idola*.

⁴⁶ At the turn of the early 19th. century Baconian inductivism had undergone a revival in Scottish intellectual life. According to J.C. Robertson "the incentive given to the mood of scientific optimism among the intellectual members of that generation was Bacon's zeal for any knowledge which might serve to benefit human society" (J.C. Robertson, 'A Bacon-Facing Generation: Scottish Philosophy in the Early Nineteenth Century', in *The Journal of the History of Philosophy*, Vol. XIV, Jan. 1976 (1), pps.39,41).

Dugald Stewart had argued that induction should be extended into the field of metaphysics and moral philosophy in order to reconstruct them as proper sciences. The scepticism with which these disciplines were now regarded would be countered by "applying to these subjects the method of induction" (Robertson, op.cit., p.42). Stewart's ideas were of considerable influence on Thomas Chalmers' approach to moral philosophy.

⁴⁷ Robertson, op.cit., passim.

Rhetoric commenced⁴⁸. Building on the foundations already laid in the Latin and Greek classes an examination of the structure of oratory⁴⁹ passed into a discussion of the principles of criticism⁵⁰. Alongside prizes in the Senior Classics, Duff was awarded the prize for the "best essay and general eminence"⁵¹ in the Logic & Rhetoric class at the end of the second session 1822-23.

The course in Logic and Rhetoric at St. Andrews was, along with Thomas Chalmer's Moral Philosophy lectures, one of the single most influential parts of the curriculum for Duff's intellectual formation. Duff always maintained the greatest respect for Professor Hunter as "a conscientious and able teacher"⁵². It was under Hunter's tuition that the foundation of Duff's 'Baconianism'⁵³ was laid in systematic fashion. This was not, in the first instance, a preoccupation with inductivist philosophy, but a cognitive framework in which rationality⁵⁴, language⁵⁵ and scientific knowledge could cohere. This philosophical

⁴⁸ U.C.R.,XXXVII.III, pps.121, 124-125.

⁴⁹ The importance of language in the Scottish system of philosophical study is well illustrated by George Jardine's comment that the student "will find a constant relation between the progress of reason and that of language. Where the language is imperfect and defective, the people who speak it will be found rude and uncivilized; and, wherever a language is found much improved, the people have arrived at high degrees of civilization" (Jardine, op.cit.,p.84). This is, in essence, Bacon's theory of the relation of language and reason.

⁵⁰ The first philosophy class was considered to be important in the further "development and culture of the powers of taste". The descriptive power and stylistic elegance of classical learning would, ideally, have already stimulated the students' imagination (Jardine, op.cit., p.213).

⁵¹ Fife Herald, no.62, 15/5/1823, p. 33.

⁵² T. Smith, op.cit.,p.24.

The claim that Hunter was "not interesting ...as...a... lecturer" and that "he had not many lectures" (repeated by Pigginn and Roxborough,op.cit. p.8) was a judgment made by a student, W.H. Gray, who attended his classes seventeen years later in session 1838-39 (W.H.Gray, *Jubilee Jottings*, Edinburgh,1908, p.43, cited in P.R.S.Lang, *Duncan Dewar*, Glasgow,1926 p.78.).

⁵³ see T. Smith, op. cit., p.25, where Smith attributes Duff's philosophical outlook to Chalmers.

⁵⁴ Bacon's approach to language paralleled his notion that the faults of sense perception can be corrected by instrumental means at the level of scientific observation and hypothesis, and by scrupulous attention to 'idola' or prejudices, superstitions and unfounded dogma at the level of rationality. There were, according to Bacon "dangers inherent in language itself...".



system was later to be of major significance for Duff's Indian Mission policy. It was also in Professor Hunter's Logic class that Duff was introduced to the fundamental elements of rhetoric. In Hunter's class, of course, rhetoric remained a *textual* study of oratorical categories and figurative styles. Duff, however, went on to develop his rhetorical abilities into a skill he was to use to profound effect in the campaign on behalf of the Calcutta mission in Scotland in the 1830s.

In the autumn of 1822, Francis Nicoll, Principal of the United Colleges, moved to make an appointment to the vacant chair of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews. The candidate he had in mind was Thomas Chalmers⁵⁶, then minister at St. John's Church in Glasgow.

The subject of Moral Philosophy had been crucially important for the Scottish academic disciplines in the eighteenth century. It was understood to be intrinsically related to the other patterns of enquiry in the curriculum in an integrated scheme whose separate elements

Two kinds of false appearance are created by words. The first occurs when *res* and *verba*, subject matter and language do not correspond. Language misleads when words are "names of things which do not exist...fantastic superstitions" (J.Spedding, R.Ellis, D.Heath, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 14 vols., London, 1857-1874, Vol.III,p.338, Vol.IV,pps.61-62, cited in B.Vickers (ed.) ,English Science: Bacon to Newton, CUP, 1987,pps.8-9).

According to Bacon, science must address the natural world directly while purging language of its imperfections (ibid.). This approach, however, did not rule out the use of rhetoric as a linguistic instrument, for Bacon distinguished "between the proper language for recording observations...and language in all other contexts where appeal ...to the imagination was legitimate" (ibid.).

It is not difficult to see here the source of Duff's assessment of Bengali as an inadequate medium for the communication of scientific truth, and for his enthusiasm for Western science as a tool to reshape the Indian mind.

⁵⁵ Jardine's theory of the relation of language and reason is an indication of how influential Baconian ideas were at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

⁵⁶ Nicoll corresponded with Viscount Melville concerning the possible appointment. His assessment was that Chalmers' "transcendent abilities...his great fame would...give new lustre to our University" on the departure of Dr. Hunter (F.Nicoll to Melville, 25/10/1822, St. A.U.L., Melville Papers, MS.4644 quoted in Brown, op.cit.).

Nicoll was aware of the dangers, but was convinced that Chalmers' opinions were not those of "a violent party man". Though the appointment might give temporary offence, any controversial tendencies on Chalmers' part would be restricted by the amount of class work he would find it necessary to deal with. Melville agreed with Nicoll's judgment. He found Chalmers' solidity questionable and was aware of his eccentricities, but was convinced that "his great reputation and...degree of celebrity," would be, "very beneficial to the University." (ibid.).

referred mutually to one another. The academic lectures and intellectual enquiries⁵⁷ of the professors of moral philosophy, as MacIntyre has argued, "provided the curriculum to a significant extent with its central focus"⁵⁸.

By the early nineteenth century, however, the subject matter of moral philosophy⁵⁹ was less well defined and the institutionalized role⁶⁰ of the professor of moral philosophy⁶¹ had become far less important⁶². The industrialisation of Scottish society now required an

⁵⁷ In mid-eighteenth century Scotland, as Macintyre has documented, there was still a coherent philosophically informed body of opinion which regarded as customary the obligation to defend rational statements on the basis of an appeal to first principles and their evidentness (A.Macintyre,*Whose Justice? Which Rationality?*, London, Duckworth, 1988,p.248).

⁵⁸ Macintyre,op.cit.,p.250.

⁵⁹ The discipline itself had long been subsumed as a department of mental philosophy, more precisely the rational facultative psychology of the school of Thomas Reid. The absorption of moral philosophy into pneumatology had been in process for the previous sixty years at least.

In the *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* Adam Ferguson had identified the problem as a semantic confusion over the term 'law' originating in Montesquieu. In moral and civil usage the term 'law' was applied to the rule of the customary, whereas in the physical sciences it applied to the invariable regularities of nature and the material system.

Ferguson noted that since whatever related to mind was said to be moral, 'any theoretical question relating to mind has been substituted for moral philosophy'. Moral philosophy, according to Ferguson, was properly the knowledge of what ought to be, drawing its rules from 'the facts of man's nature' (A.Ferguson,*The Institutes of Moral Philosophy*, Edinburgh, 1769, pps.4-7)

Ferguson was taking a stand here with the moral tradition of Francis Hutcheson which saw the descriptive element of moral philosophy as secondary to its prescriptive function (ibid).

⁶⁰ The situation in the 1820s should undoubtedly be seen against the background of developments in moral philosophy at the University of Edinburgh. The traditional stability afforded by common sense philosophy and intuition were "suddenly beset with...doubts about inductive procedure" (Robertson, op.cit.,pps.37-38). Thomas Brown who played a central role in this critical attack, argued that analysis should begin anew as a 'process of "intellectual physics"'(ibid.).

⁶¹ Macintyre, op.cit., p.251.

⁶² Under the influence of Thomas Reid, Moral philosophy had engaged in rigorous analysis of the intellectual faculties in response to the empiricism of David Hume. Hume's philosophy had tended to "transform moral philosophy from a far-reaching, didactic, character building discipline into an abstract, descriptive, and more narrowly metaphysical and epistemological enterprise" (R.B.Sher, *Church and University in the*

ethical response sufficient to cope with rapid change and the singular moral challenge of urbanisation. Confined to a strict attention to the problems of perception and the intellectual powers in the traditional Scottish manner, however, moral philosophy was in danger of becoming marginal to commercial society⁶³.

In response to this Chalmers proposed a practical morality which would attempt to face the problems of the modern industrial society he had known in the parish of St. John's in Glasgow. He argued that moral philosophy and political economy⁶⁴ could be combined without yielding to a shallow utilitarianism. Chalmers was invited to take up the appointment as Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews⁶⁵ and gave the inaugural

Scottish Enlightenment, Edinburgh, EUP, 1985, pps.167-168).

Under Dugald Stewart's influence moral philosophy at Edinburgh University had taken a similar course and was later developed by Thomas Brown, who did even more than Stewart to change "the emphasis of Edinburgh academic moral philosophy toward the analytical study of "mental science" (Sher, op.cit., pps.313-314).

J.C. Robertson has also pointed to the likely influence of the "Academy of Physics established in Edinburgh in 1797...(which) viewed its work as a dual enterprise combining the "Physics of Matter" and the "Physics of Mind" in the assimilation of moral philosophy to mental science (Robertson, op.cit., pps.37-38).

⁶³ There were several responses to this situation. Some, the more radical critics, were later to argue that moral philosophy be removed from the curriculum and replaced by something more relevant .

Others, like William Thom, minister of Govan, had argued as early as 1762 that logic and metaphysics were a waste of students' time and that moral philosophy should be radically transformed into a "practical morality" (Macintyre, op.cit., p.259, citing D.J. Withrington 'Education and Society in the Eighteenth Century, in *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*: N.Phillipson & R.Mitchison (eds.), 1970.).

The context of these arguments was, on the one hand, the increasing pressure that the expanding economy was bringing to bear on Scottish moral and intellectual life (ibid.) and, on the other, the changing role of precisely those Scottish institutions whose fundamental moral principles were assumed to be defended and articulated in moral philosophy (Macintyre, op.cit., pps.238-239).

⁶⁴ U.C.R., XXXVII.III, pps.65-74.

⁶⁵ The installation of Chalmers as Profesor was to have taken place on Friday 14th.November 1823. He had resigned from the Presbytery of Glasgow at the beginning of the month and had preached his last sermon at St. John's the previous Sunday.

lecture in St. Andrews to a crowd of five hundred people⁶⁶ in the "Parliament Hall" of the Public Library⁶⁷ on Saturday the 15th of November 1823.

In the lecture Chalmers, whose argument for the status of moral philosophy was always much more lucid than the actual content of his course, insisted on a clear division⁶⁸ between ethics and mental science⁶⁹ in what was effectively a return to the moral traditions of Hutcheson, Fergusson and Smith⁷⁰. Chalmers' realignment of moral philosophy within

⁶⁶ Delayed for the benefit of those who had travelled from Glasgow (W.Hanna, *Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers*, 2 Vols., Edinburgh, T. Constable, 1854, Vol. I., p.722).

⁶⁷ G.Smith, *op.cit.*, p.18.

⁶⁸ Chalmers adverted to the common Scottish practice of identifying moral philosophy with mental philosophy. This, he argued, had led to the collapse of ethics as a field of enquiry. The root of this error was to be found, according to Chalmers, in the Scottish response to the dual impact of Hume's scepticism and empiricism, which had forced late eighteenth century moral philosophy to seek a defence in the laws of the understanding.

While these laws had something to contribute towards an explanation of ethical norms, ethics itself was an independent branch of philosophy. The tenets of Mental Philosophy were, in reality, subservient to "the establishment and ...illustration of Ethical principles." (U.C.R.,XXXVII.III,p.78). The ethical principles Chalmers had in mind, furthermore, were those, not of Aristotle, but of the christian religion.

Against the charge of opponents that the Scottish reputation in philosophy had been founded on achievements in mental science Chalmers asserted that the close relation of moral philosophy to christian theology was sanctioned by the works of Boyle, Newton, Locke and Bacon. On the analogy of the division of the sciences, Chalmers argued for the separation of ethics or moral philosophy from mental science. (Fife Herald, and Kinross, Strathearn and Clackmannan Advertiser,no.89, 20/11/1823, p.142).

⁶⁹ U.C.R., XXXVII.III, pps. 65-74.

⁷⁰ Chalmers' approach to moral philosophy has been the subject of various critical studies. In particular G.E. Davie has put forward the view that Logic and Moral Philosophy overlapped in a manner generally accepted in Scotland (Davie, *op.cit.*,pps.11-12). According to Davie, however, Chalmers wished "epistemology to be excluded ..." to allow for a course on political economy and jurisprudence. Davie argues that this has to do essentially with Chalmers' *opposition to* "the unique (Scottish) system in which epistemology was treated twice - first in Logic, then in Ethics" (*op.cit.* p.267).

Davie is correct in saying that reform of the ethical curriculum was to "enable the Universities to cope better with the problem of restating the Evangel in terms of industrial society" (*ibid.*). Chalmers' notion of the place of moral philosophy, however, is in effect a *conservative return* to the ethical position of Hutcheson, Smith and Ferguson and not an aberrant innovation.

In addition, as far as the close relation between moral philosophy and theology was concerned Chalmers was also returning to the principles enunciated by William

the curriculum⁷¹ would, he argued, allow it to operate both as a critique of mental science⁷² and logic, and would shape it as a prolegomenon to theological study.

In session 1823-24 Duff attended the Senior Mathematics class and Professor Chalmers' first Moral Philosophy lectures. Chalmers' teaching method was very similar to the

Wishart in the mid-eighteenth century. Wishart held that the holder of the moral philosophy chair should teach "the principles of Natural Religion and Morality and the truth of the Christian Religion" (Macintyre, op.cit., p.248) He even went so far as to regard the chair as "a Professorship of Divinity" (ibid.).

In his last lecture at St. Andrews five years later Chalmers was to state categorically "So much am I impressed with the unity of the two subjects (moral philosophy and theology)...with the way in which the one graduates into the other, that I scarcely feel myself translated to another walk of speculation...from an ethical to a theological chair " (W.Hanna, *Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers, DD, LLD*, Edinburgh, Constable, 1854, Vol.II, pps 167-168).

⁷¹ Which was only ever temporary in terms of the St. Andrews curriculum. Rev. George Cook, Chalmers' successor to the chair of Moral Philosophy reverted to a Reidean epistemology. Later in the nineteenth century, the chief proponent of mainstream Scottish philosophy, Sir William Hamilton, was to express grave reservations about the project of "merging philosophical ethics in Christian theology" (Veitch, *Memoir of Sir William Hamilton*, pps.299-300, quoted in Davie, op.cit., p.291) proposing instead to treat these problems separately. Hamilton suggested that discussion of man's moral nature should be conducted before any consideration of positive revelation. The results could then be viewed, if necessary, from the perspective of the Christian dispensation.

⁷² In *The Outlines of Philosophical Education* published in 1818, Professor Jardine gives an articulate account of the argument for *retaining* pneumatology as an element of moral philosophy. According to Jardine "knowledge of the intellectual instrument" and the various processes of attention was (Jardine, op.cit., p.253) of central importance. Without the study of pneumatology, intellectual habits would "never be duly balanced...mental operations will pass unheeded, and imperfectly understood; the wonderful mechanism of mind will remain unanalysed; the origin of ideas, and the history of human thought, will never be inquired into; and men would then use the noble gift of reason without knowing of what subordinate faculties it is composed, the laws of its operations, or the means of its improvement" (op.cit., pps.252-253).

The chief object of philosophy, insisted Jardine, was to "explain the office and operation of the intellectual powers", not merely theoretically, but "in improved habits of directing their several energies...(and) command of...(the)... faculties" (op.cit.pps. 272-272). According to Jardine, "In metaphysics, ethics, politics, theology and taste, no progress can be made without a previous analysis of the intellectual and moral faculties; the anatomy of the mind must be studied, before the mental powers can be thoroughly known or successfully exercised (op.cit.p.424)".

Seen against the background of the Scottish discussion of the role of moral philosophy in the curriculum the varying responses of St. Andrews University suggest that it was far less 'archaic' and remote from educational concerns than is commonly claimed.

common practice in the United Colleges. Along with examinations and prelections an essay topic was prescribed to the class each Friday, to be ready for the following Friday. This essay was to be a paper of between eight to ten minutes, and each student was obliged to produce three or four of these each session. There was also a prize essay given out at Christmas to be ready by the end of session in April. This was on a given topic, a part of the course, or an analysis of either the lecturer's views or the student's own⁷³.

Chalmers had frequently to insist that his youthful hearers restrain their enthusiasm. He would pause to remind his students that his course of study was "exegetical, *not* exhibitional"⁷⁴. After Chalmers' arrival student numbers attending the Moral Philosophy class almost doubled, from thirty-nine in 1822-23 to sixty-three, reaching a peak of seventy-nine in the following session 1824-1825. There was a decline the following year⁷⁵.

Because, on the one hand, Chalmers was not a particularly systematic lecturer and, on the other, the three main sources⁷⁶ for these lectures convey accounts of content which are occasionally inconsistent, the actual content of Chalmers lectures at St. Andrews in this first session is more difficult to establish. The main outlines, however, can be distinguished.

In the main account, that given in the University Commission Report (August 1827) and summarised in Hanna's biography, three elements feature in Chalmers' course. There was an introduction to the field of ethics proper. This led, second, to a comprehensive consideration of natural theology. The course terminated with an account of the evidences for christianity on the principles of Baconian induction which directed students on to the study of theology itself.

In other words the first part of the course dealt with the morality of social relations, the second part, beginning in the March of the university session addressed the

⁷³ U.C.R., XXXVII.III,p.77, see also Hanna, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.53.

⁷⁴ Hanna, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.6.

⁷⁵ The reasons for this are clear - Chalmers pointed out later to the University Commissioners that the increase in his Moral Philosophy classes had come about in the early years through 'lateral movement' of students transferring from other colleges, mainly Glasgow. In 1823-24, 18 out of 64 students came in this way, by the next session it was 46 out of 82 (U.C.R.,XXXVII.III, pps. 75,84). The decline in the number of students in the Moral Philosophy class became a matter of deep concern to Chalmers.

⁷⁶ i.e. The report to the University Commission, (summarised in Hanna's biography), the volume on Moral Philosophy in Chalmers collected works and the list of Essay headings from the notebook of a student in Chalmers' class.

problems of theological ethics. The invisible nature of the Deity, as object of human relations, necessarily required a demonstration of the existence and nature of God in the form of an introduction to natural theology. Chalmers insisted, however, that natural theology was in itself inadequate. It was a science, like moral science in general, of desiderata, not dicta, and found its true realisation only insofar as it pointed to christian theology⁷⁷.

The Professor of Moral Philosophy employed the Butlerian notion of the supremacy of conscience in his analysis of the moral structure of the individual. According to this moral theory, the faculties are arranged hierarchically under the control of the conscience which directs 'the perpetual will to do good'⁷⁸. Chalmers held this notion in opposition to the

⁷⁷ The essay topics set for class essays for 1825-26 (U.C.R.,XXXVII.III, p.80) reflect the above arrangement very closely. After arguing for the proper divisions of philosophy, and pointing out the difficulties inherent in study of the mind Chalmers treats of social morality in respect of Property and Rights criticising Hobbesian self-interest. By way of conclusion he turns to a consideration of the arguments of Natural Theology for the existence of God, the immortality of the soul and the fall.

Volume V in Chalmers' collected works contains the ethical section of Chalmers lectures. Chalmers argues typically that Laplacean mathematics, Humean metaphysics and Voltairean scepticism had all failed to observe appropriate limits, limits understood by moralists such as Hutcheson and Smith. Moral philosophy would not reject scientific method, but would employ the appropriate inductive principles to arrive at morally valid observation of the concrete situation.

In Chalmers' argument for a rigorously objective moral science the constitution of the individual mind was to be discovered in the study of those objects which are "addressed to its various feelings and faculties" (T. Chalmers, *Sketches of Moral and Mental Philosophy: Their Connection With Each Other; and Their Bearings on Doctrinal and Practical Christianity*, Collected Works Vol.VI, Collins, Glasgow & London, 1835, p. 68). The emotional response of the subject was analogous to his perception of the external world. Against a rationalism which found "feeling...blended with thought" (ibid., p.98) suspect, Chalmers argued for an affective rationality.

On this ground Chalmers could build an attack on the rational orthodoxy which he believed to be typified by the Calvinism of the St. Andrews University Divinity Faculty (ibid., p.127). It is, however, less certain whether he actually used this line of argument in his lectures in the Moral Philosophy class at St. Andrews, or gave it fuller expression after his departure.

⁷⁸ Chalmers, ibid., p.218.

Conscience acts on the will, and the will, in turn acts on the attention. The attention for its part commands the emotions. Under the control of the will, the mind is directed to the sphere or situation in which it is subject to emotion. The emotions are ultimately subordinated to the will.

Conscience, therefore, ultimately has control over intellectual states and is a 'powerful influence in determining the views and opinions of the understanding' (ibid., p. 320). The will does not have to do with the 'concluding sequence' of the moral causal nexus, but the "sequences that went before it" (ibid., p. 322). On this ground then "the moral may have...causal antecedency over the intellectual" (ibid.,

typically eighteenth century emphasis on sensibility maintaining that a truly consistent personal morality does not vary with the passing demands of the situation but is based on determined principle and a sense of duty.

Chalmers' personal impact on students like Duff⁷⁹ can hardly be doubted. His lectures appealed to the youthful Romantic imagination⁸⁰, and his emphasis on the determined will to perform one's moral duty unflinchingly, provided a complete contrast to the discussion of epistemology of the Logic class. To many students⁸¹ Chalmers must have seemed the embodiment of confident evangelical modernity⁸².

p. 323).

Attention is the connecting link between the moral and intellectual natures, and its effect is "to evolve into greater clearness all...the lineaments (of the object of contemplation) and...to impress the right conviction upon the understanding" (ibid., p.327). If, Chalmers concluded, an observer refused to recognise "a certain creditable aspect" of any object placed before him he was chargeable with "moral perversity" (ibid.,p. 328).

⁷⁹ John Adam, for instance, later missionary in Calcutta, was impressed by Chalmers' striking imagery, by his comprehensive grasp, by his fine imagination and penetrating style. For Adam these produced "new and original elucidations" (J.Cross,*Memoir of John Adam: Late Missionary at Calcutta*, London, 1833,p.49). Adam was aware that Chalmers was using moral philosophy as an propaedeutic to revelation and was struck by the practical orientation of the lectures. "(C)ontemplation of our intellectual nature, and of our various emotions and passions, is always made to bear on the interests of morality and religion" (ibid.,p.52).

Henry Craik, however, Duff's friend and colleague, had his own philosophical preferences. Studying Thomas Brown's 41st and 42nd lectures in the Autumn of 1825 he declared that the 42nd. lecture was "among the proudest triumphs of human genius" and that Brown was inferior to no one (Tayler, op.cit., p.20).

⁸⁰ Brown, op.cit., p.168.

⁸¹ Students began to arrive in St. Andrews from all over the British Isles and Ireland (ibid.).

⁸² Staff relations at the University, however, were worsening. Chalmers already felt isolated at St. Andrews in the earliest months of his professorship, an isolation which, according to his biographer Hanna turned to outright opposition and made relationships between those who might have been natural companions, Dr. Buist and Dr. Duncan, much more difficult. As early as the February of 1824 Chalmers was expressing his disillusionment in personal correspondence "Perhaps there is no town in Scotland more cold and meagre and moderate in its theology than St. Andrews" (Hanna,op.cit.,Vol.II,p.64).

The situation worsened when in the summer of 1824, Francis Nicoll, Principal of United College and minister of the College Chapel of St. Leonards, applied to the Crown for the appointment of James Hunter (Professor of Logic and Rhetoric) as his

When, at the end of session 1823-24, he took the prize in Moral Philosophy for 'general eminence'⁸³ Duff was to retain the emphasis on duty and determination and was to remain profoundly influenced by Chalmers' example⁸⁴. He did not, however, adopt Chalmers' moral anthropology and this provides the clearest evidence that Duff did not imbibe his mentor's teaching in all its fundamental aspects. In his discussions of mission Chalmers employed Butler's notion of *the universality of conscience* to argue for preaching as the foremost mission methodology. Yet, in the organisation of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta Duff's approach was to be consistently that of Baconian philosophy with its emphasis on *universal rationality*.

Duff's fourth session in 1824-25 was the last year of his Arts course. The only course Duff was obliged to take in this session was Natural Philosophy, held daily, five days a week twice a day between ten and eleven in the morning and twelve and one in the early afternoon. The class, under the tuition of Professor Thomas Jackson, studied a range of subjects spanning engineering - Statics, Dynamics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics and Pneumatics - to Magnetism and Electricity, Optics and the related field of Astronomy⁸⁵. Here he learnt the methods of observation and induction which would complement in practical terms the theoretical approach to and confidence in scientific modernity of the classes in Logic and Moral Philosophy. The Natural Philosophy class completed the comprehensive introduction to Baconian theory and practice of the St. Andrews curriculum. Despite Duff's relative weakness in Mathematics, he still won the prize for general eminence in the Natural

assistant in the chapel. Hunter sought to retain the professorship and the assistantship as plural appointments. Chalmers opposed Hunter's assistantship in St. Andrews presbytery and insisted that Nicoll also resign from the chapel living.

Chalmers persisted in following the case through, despite being warned by Lord Elgin in the autumn of 1824 that Nicoll was popular with both Evangelicals and Moderates. To ease the situation, Nicoll resigned his chapel living, and Hunter was left to take up the plurality (Brown, op.cit., pps.170-171).

Chalmers' unflinching moral stance removed any possibility of continuing cordial relations with the University academic staff.

⁸³ Fife Herald, no.114, 13/5/1824, p.33.

⁸⁴ In common with students like William Lindsay Alexander, Duff would have undoubtedly "recognised and acknowledged (Chalmers) as his first real intellectual master" (J.Ross, *W.Lindsay Alexander: His Life and Work*, London, J.Nisbet, 1887, p.13).

⁸⁵ U.C.R., XXXVII.III, pps.126-127.

Philosophy class⁸⁶.

In the previous April (1824), as was the annual practice at St. Andrews, the Senate had chosen a subject for the Gray's Prize. For the students of philosophy this was to be the translation of Plato's Apology for Socrates into Latin. On 29th. April 1825 the committee announced that the winner of the prize was the essay entitled *Hoc mihi jucundissimi vocati negotium fuit*⁸⁷. The author was Alexander Duff, and by order of the Senate he was awarded the degree of Master of Arts. Open competition had also established him as the foremost student of classics of his year⁸⁸.

For St. Andrews University as an academic institution, however, session 1824-25, was among the most turbulent of the 1820s. The second decade of the nineteenth century was a difficult one for the Scottish Universities in general as social and political tensions in Scottish society were reflected within the main educational institutions. There was an increasing public debate on the problems of university autonomy, reform and expansion⁸⁹.

The University Senate at St. Andrews faced a series of problems in addition to those experienced by other Scottish academic institutions⁹⁰. Due to its relative isolation from the

⁸⁶ Fife Herald, no.165, 5/5/1825, p.29.

⁸⁷ St.A.U.L., Senate Minutes, UY 452/14/65,pps. 21 & 65.

⁸⁸ Fellow student John Adam's remarks on Duff as late as May 1825 reveal that Duff's primary passion was still the study of classical antiquity. Adam and Duff studied Campbell's *Lectures*, the Greek NT and a volume on the Greek Antiquities. Adam expressed an evangelical concern at Duff's classicist fervour stating in personal correspondence "I should feel happy if I could be in any way useful in turning his classical enthusiasm towards the Bible and the great concerns of Religion" (Cross, op.cit.,p.84).

⁸⁹ As the pressure for reform mounted, the Faculty in Edinburgh used the notion of academic freedom to defend itself against "the control and... reforming energy of the municipal authorities" (Saunders, op.cit.,p.312). On the other hand, in Glasgow, the opposite was the case, the state of the university was argued as a clear evidence of the inadequacy of academic autonomy. The Town Council insisted on the need for some external control over the deeds of an incompetent professoriate (ibid.).

⁹⁰ Each of the Scottish Universities had inherited a distinctive political arrangement. Edinburgh, for example, according to its post-Reformation founding was a municipal university under the jurisdiction of the city magistrates with the Lord Provost filling the rectorial office. Glasgow differed in that the college professors provided the administration, but a distinction had developed between the original college and the broader arrangement of the university so that the institution was effectively under the control of a single group of the professorial body (ibid.).

main Scottish commercial centres, with their access to capital funding, the University's financial base was too narrow to provide resources for essential repairs and the maintenance of buildings.

According to Principal Haldane of St. Mary's, what had initiated the long running financial crisis at St. Andrews was the fact that endowments were not rents but teinds⁹¹. On the property side the university revenues⁹² were subject to financial stringency as a result of the general economic stagnation of north-east Fife which reduced the general value of properties pertaining to the university⁹³. With the financial stringency came a decline in the general fabric of the college buildings. Prior to the Report of the Universities Commission of 1826 they had come to an advanced state of disrepair and decay⁹⁴.

The Senate was acutely aware that the state of the buildings was rapidly becoming

⁹¹ The endowments of the university consisted of the teinds of six parishes which were subject to valuation at the Court of Teinds after a sum had been subtracted for clerical stipends (U.C.R.,XXXVII.III,pps. 94-96).

⁹² The United College and St. Mary's had an annual income of about £3,000 and £1,000 respectively, but St. Mary's in particular had run up a large debt of about £4,000. Up until 1825 the University received about £1,100 from the sale of degrees (mostly medical). Of this, £700 went to the Library, £100 to the Physics laboratory and the rest to various professors. After the new regulations of 1826 were brought in to force, the income of the University dropped to a mere £300 per annum (Saunders, op.cit.,p.330).

Mismanagement was also another factor. The controversy over the Candlemas dividend provides a ready example. This payment had first been instituted at St. Andrews in 1784 as a means of providing greater stability in the levels of professorial salaries. In the mid-1820s on legal advice, Thomas Chalmers asserted that the professors had no real legal right to the Dividend, and argued further that the University was a public, not a private, institution and that therefore revenue surpluses should be directed towards the fabric or new professorial chairs (Brown, op.cit.,pps.171-172).

⁹³ Brown,op.cit.,p.163.

⁹⁴ The main university accommodation, the Parliament Hall and Library, while the best preserved, was damp and less than adequate. St. Mary's College was in "a very wretched and dilapidated condition"; the north building was classified as beyond repair and was demolished in the years immediately after the Commissioners' visit. The Principal's house was badly affected by dampness while the west buildings, including the Common and Divinity halls were "wholly unsuitable" (Cant,op.cit.,p.104).

John Adam, future missionary in India thought them "antiquated," and in "a neglected and ruinous state" (Cross,op.cit.,p49) and Thomas Chalmers remarked in 1827 that the United College resembled 'an old cottonmill' (Brown, op.cit.,p.163).

detrimental to the University's reputation. By the mid-1820s the state of the University⁹⁵ had become matter for discussion in the Scottish periodical press. Opponents were quick to use the state of the fabric to assert the declining educational standards of the University⁹⁶.

As the intensity of political argument grew in the 1820s⁹⁷ the Scottish liberal-Whig weekly press and periodicals like *The Scots Magazine* began to devote column space to discussion of the policy of St. Andrews University Senate. As one of the centres of

⁹⁵ The accusation that educational standards were in decline at St. Andrews University seems to have originated in a comment by William Hunter in *A Summer Ramble in the North Highlands*. "The University (of St. Andrews)," he wrote, "though admitted to be in a declining state, still draws together the majority of the youth of Fife and Forfarshire" (p.7).

In a review of the volume, the *Scots Magazine*, traditionally Tory biased, argued that on the contrary the number of students at St. Andrews had increased, the reputation of the academic staff had grown and that the pattern of daily examinations and exercises along with "the rigid surveillance of the morals and conduct of youth, for which St. Andrews is distinguished" were better than "vapid lectures" or indiscipline (*Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol.XCVI.II, Nov 1825, p.520,).

The *Scots Magazine*, interestingly, acknowledged the relatively restricted range of the curriculum at St. Andrews and the low standard of Greek, but stated the high efficiency of the teaching of the elements of literature and science and singled out Professor Hunter's Latin philology and Chalmers' Moral Philosophy for particular praise.

In the following issue, a contributor argued that St. Andrews was a match for other universities in Scotland in terms of discipline and achievement. The writer argued that the increase in students at the university was attributable to the "comparative lowness of class fees", which were set at one guinea and the fact that under Dr. Nicoll foundation bursaries had doubled in value. A St. Andrews certificate, the writer insisted was held in high regard ('Notes on the Present State of the University of St. Andrews' in *The Scots Magazine*, Vol. XVII, Jan.1826, pps.90-93).

⁹⁶ The most common line of liberal-Whig and Evangelical polemic employed against St. Andrews University in this period usually equated its Moderatism with an eighteenth century rationalism irrelevant to the needs of the 1820s.

The conservatism of the University Senate, furthermore, was identified with archaism and obsolescence and the commercial isolation of the town was taken to imply its remoteness from the 'real' concerns of industrial Scotland.

As is demonstrated above, however, the philosophical approach of the Logic & Rhetoric class at St. Andrews was in large measure Baconian and was, therefore, typical of contemporary philosophical education in the other Scottish Universities in the early nineteenth century. The charge of a 'Moderate rationalism', at least as regards the Arts curriculum, is unsustainable.

⁹⁷ By the 1820s the coalition of "Evangelicalism and Whiggish liberalism" had had one political victory in the Leslie affair of 1805 (Anderson, op.cit.,p.37).

Scottish conservatism⁹⁸, the 'Moderatism', 'archaism', or 'remoteness' of St. Andrews University offered democratic reformers a variety of targets.

After the death of Principal George Hill in 1819 the pattern of Senate decisions emerges distinctly as a conservative policy designed to maintain social and moral stability in the student body. Largely maintaining its opposition to democratic institutional change, the Senate sustained this policy in the face of pressure for reform and, in its own terms was ultimately successful. The best understanding of the Senate's decisions⁹⁹ is that they are those of an institution still committed to maintaining a policy of pre-reform social control. In the Senate's understanding, therefore, students required strict supervision¹⁰⁰. The function of educators was to protect them from "the corrupting elements in an increasingly artificial and impenetrable society"¹⁰¹. The administration understood itself as *in loco parentis* and deployed a considerable array of controls to maintain this policy.

With regard to library management, the chapel dispensation controversy of 1824-25, the founding of the Mission Society in late 1824 and the student unrest concerning the election of the rector in 1825 the Senate's policy was consistently marked by this cautious conservatism. The area in which the University was prepared to be less inflexible was,

⁹⁸ During the period in which Professor George Hill was Principal the university administration had become closely connected to the political interest of Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, University Chancellor from 1788 to 1811. His cousin, Robert Dundas, the Second Viscount Melville, was appointed Chancellor as his replacement. From the 1780s onwards, under this political ascendancy the "quiet provincial university" was transformed into "a stronghold of Dundas Toryism"(Brown,op.cit.,p.5)

The Dundas administration had unique control over a number of academic posts in St. Andrews University. In general these were a valuable source of patronage for the Government and a "perquisite of those at the centre of political power". No routine burgh or county MP would have much concern with this type of appointment. (R.M.Sunter,*Patronage and Politics in Scotland 1707-1832*, Edinburgh, J.Donald, 1986 pps.61 and 72-73).

⁹⁹ Institutional authority was centred on the Senate. The Faculties had been demoted to a subordinate function as an advisory board by the end of the eighteenth century. The Faculty of Theology was "indistinguishable from St. Mary's College" and the business of the Faculty was equated with that of the College. A similar arrangement operated in the Faculty of Arts which still, however, appointed its own Dean annually. The Colleges retained some small measure of autonomy; they were in control of property and finance; appointed most of their own officials and retained a disciplinary authority over their own student bodies (Cant, op.cit.,p.110).

¹⁰⁰ Dwyer, op.cit., pps.74-75.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, pps.75 & 188.

ironically, in the academic field itself¹⁰².

If a cautious conservatism characterises the policy of the St. Andrews Senate, ideals of democratic reform certainly underlie the student controversies over the Chapel Dispensation and the Rectoral elections of 1824-25. They also played a significant role in the founding of the Students' Missionary Society in 1824.

At the beginning of December 1824, the Established Church students, 95 in number, presented a petition to the university authorities pleading for relaxation of the obligation to attend the college chapel and for the liberty to attend the preaching of any other pastor. Thirty students from the first year were denied their request, but thirty were granted a dispensation on the concurrence of their parents¹⁰³. When the liberal Whig *Edinburgh Star* took up the issue later in its pro-reform campaign¹⁰⁴ this matter was to become the subject of public debate.

This controversy was not an isolated incident, however, for in the spring of 1825 another dispute broke out, this time over the election of the University rector¹⁰⁵. Pressure for

¹⁰² Principal Nicoll's conservative resistance to a system of increased democracy for the student body should be distinguished from his progressivist ambitions for the University, manifested in the appointment of Thomas Chalmers to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in 1823.

¹⁰³ Three years later, in his evidence to the Universities Commission, Chalmers argued his support for the students' case on the grounds of the parental right to "religious management of their own children" (U.C.R.,XXXVII.III, pps. 38, 75-77, 344).

The University authorities responded that this was a threat to the Established Church since it would "lessen the attachment of Students to the Establishment" (*ibid.*). Chalmers countered with the assertion that patronage and intolerance were the real danger to the Establishment and that numbers of students were being put off by the refusal of a dispensation (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁴ *Edinburgh Star*,
Vol.XVIII,no.1798, 2/12/1825
Vol.XIX, no.1818,2/2/1826, pps.89-90,
Vol.XIX, no.1820,17/2/1826, p.105-106,
Vol.XIX, no.1823,28/2/1826,
Vol.XIX, no.- 3/3/1826.

¹⁰⁵ The University was still administered on medieval constitutional lines in the 1820s. The Chancellorship was more of a symbolic appointment. The main residential administrator was the Rector. The Rector chaired the Comitia and Rectorial Court and acted as Vice-Chancellor but his main work was as President of the Senatus Academicus, the supreme ruling body in the University.

The Senatus authorised the conferral of degrees, administered finances, controlled the library and appointed officers such as the Librarian, Quaestor (or financial manager) and the Archbeadle or ceremonial mace bearer. Since senators were also

democratic reform of the Universities among students had already been apparent at Glasgow University, it now surfaced at St. Andrews¹⁰⁶. The most significant rectoral victory was that of Joseph Hume¹⁰⁷, the Radical MP for Aberdeen who was elected to the rectorship of Marischal College in 1824. Four years before that, however, the leading Whig Francis Jeffrey had been elected rector of Glasgow University.

The students of St. Andrews students, now including as many as fifty students from Glasgow University who had come to attend Chalmers' Moral Philosophy class, were deeply dissatisfied with the electoral procedure and the restriction of choice in the University's rectoral system. Since 1642 only Principals of the Colleges and 'public professors'¹⁰⁸ could be elected. This amounted to four persons in all - Principals Nicoll and Haldane, Drs. Buist and Mitchell. The elections for the office of rector were held annually to serve on the first Monday in March but the electors were confined to the 3rd and 4th year Arts students and the Divinity students. The first and second year students were excluded¹⁰⁹.

In early March 1825 the students, including Alexander Duff, who was in his fourth year, voted illegally for Sir Walter Scott. The President of the Comitia condemned the election as unlawful and threatened the ringleaders with expulsion¹¹⁰. Scott, meanwhile, politely turned down the appointment. Student frustration, however, was able to find other 'democratic' outlets.

While the founding of the St. Andrews University Missionary Society in 1824 is

Rector's assessors the distinction between the Senate and the Rectorial court had become obscured. The Senate was the ultimate court of discipline (Cant, op.cit., p.109).

¹⁰⁶ Anderson, op.cit., p.37.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Subsequently limited to Professors of Divinity and Church History.

¹⁰⁹ In the rectoral election students were divided according to their home districts into the four 'nations' of the *Fifani, Angusiani, Lothiani and Albani* (Lang, op.cit., p.140-150).

¹¹⁰ These threats were later withdrawn doubtless due to the Senate's awareness of the response of the liberal-Whig press to student expulsions (Cant, op.cit., p.103, see also Pigginn and Roxborough p.58).

primarily a symptom of the frustration of evangelical students with the Moderatism¹¹¹ of the St. Andrews University Establishment the background of pro-reform political sentiment discussed above should also be borne in mind.

Inspired by the St. Andrews Town Missionary Association¹¹², students in the Divinity Hall organised a separate St. Mary's College Missionary Society on the 2nd. of December 1824¹¹³. A group of students¹¹⁴ from Chalmers' moral philosophy class followed suit

¹¹¹ That the Senate and Theological faculties of St. Andrews University promoted the Moderate interest in the Established Church, as earlier studies have argued, is indisputable. Both Principal Thomas Tullidolph who had negotiated the union between the colleges of St. Leonards and St. Salvators to form the United College in 1747 and Principal Murison of St. Marys "supported the Moderate party in ecclesiastical affairs" (Sher, op.cit.,p.141). This ascendancy was consolidated in the 1790s under George Hill who, as Professor of Greek in 1782 and then as Principal of St. Marys, was leader of the Moderate Party. Six out of thirteen academic posts at St. Andrews were held by family members (Cant, op.cit.,p. 97). The last two decades of the eighteenth century saw the gradual transformation of the Scottish Universities as a whole into centres of "enlightened ideas and values" (Sher, op.cit.,p.328).

¹¹² Chalmers had accepted election in early 1824 to the presidency of St. Andrews Missionary Society, which "Founded during the brief outbreak of missionary enthusiasm in 1812...had been dormant for nearly ten years". Under Chalmers' guidance' the Missionary Society moved from accommodation at the Mason's Lodge to the Town Hall where the more influential of the Townspeople began to attend. During this period, Chalmers also had the rare opportunity to meet and extend hospitality to some of the renowned missionaries of the age; Drs. Marshman and Yates of Calcutta and Dr. Morrison of China were visitors to Chalmers' home.

¹¹³ This was held at Robert Trail's lodgings. The aims of the association were to be discussion and support of missions. Membership was open to all students of St. Mary's. It was to meet on the first Monday of each month at 7 o'clock. The subscription, originally five shillings (later reduced to three shillings) was to be paid to parent missionary societies. The society donated £2.12 to the SMS. Copies of the *Missionary Register* for summer 1824 were to be purchased.(St.A.U.L.,UY 911. Students Missionary Society Minutes, 1, 1824-46).

¹¹⁴ According to Duff, the discussions in the autumn of 1824 were on the blindness of the understanding, hardness of heart and alienation from God and the influences of the Spirit in removing obstacles to truth. Members also discussed the resistance made to offers of the gospel by the world and the lack of universality in its propagation. They discussed the efforts of enlightened christians in publishing the "glad tidings of salvation" and "the operations of missionary societies" (Orme, op.cit., p.75).

and under the leadership of John Urquhart united with the small society in St. Mary's¹¹⁵ to form the St. Andrews University Missionary Society in December 1824¹¹⁶ on the pattern of the Aberdeen (1820) and Glasgow (1821) University Missionary Associations. The leaders decided to pay no heed to the reaction of the student body or professorial opposition¹¹⁷. There were 70 members by the end of the 1824-25 session, out of a total of 320 students¹¹⁸, which amounted to around a third of the regular students¹¹⁹. The primary object of the Society was not to assist the mission organisations financially¹²⁰, but was to include apologetic on behalf of missions, factual information and the encouraging of serious enquiry into missionary operations. To achieve this goal the new united Society instituted a library¹²¹ and organised monthly meetings on the model of Chalmers' Town Association. Recent missionary reports¹²² were exchanged, addresses were delivered,

¹¹⁵ The St. Mary's Missionary Society consisted of around sixty members who met monthly in the Divinity College, by special permission of the Principal (Cross, op.cit., p.58).

¹¹⁶ The arrangement was that 2 presidents should chair alternately, and that there be 4 vice-presidents. The treasurer was to be appointed from the United College, the secretary from St. Mary's. A committee made up of equal numbers from each college was to be appointed. The title of the body was to be 'An Association among the students of the University of St. Andrews for the Review and Support of Missions'. The time was set as 5.00 pm on the first Monday of the month. Alexander Duff was appointed as a vice-president, Robert Nesbit as secretary, John Adam as treasurer. A proposal was made to form a library which would include periodicals, books and reports. (Students Missionary Soc. Minutes, 1824-46, see also Orme, op.cit., Vol.I, p.69).

¹¹⁷ Hanna, op. cit., Vol.II, p. 155.

¹¹⁸ Piggin, Roxborough, op.cit., pps.42-46.

¹¹⁹ Brown, op.cit., p.167.

¹²⁰ At the end of the first full session, however, John Adam announced that finances amounted to £9 13s, to be divided between the SMS, the Moravians and the CMS.

¹²¹ Books purchased included: The Earl of Roden's *Change of Mind*, William Brown's *History of Missions*, Buchanan's *Researches*, Judson's *American Mission*, Milne's *Retrospect of the Chinese Mission*, and Mitchell's *Essay on the Evangelisation of India*(Students Miss. Soc. Minutes, 1824-46, 4/1/1825, 7/2/1825, 12/2/1825, -/4/1825).

¹²² At the March meeting in 1825 the duration of these reports were later limited to 20 minutes (Students Miss. Soc. Minutes, 8/3/1825).

essays read at the monthly meetings and correspondence was initiated with other Associations¹²³.

In the beginning, the University authorities regarded the Society with some suspicion¹²⁴ as academically weak and theologically schismatic, offering at best only a distraction from proper intellectual pursuits¹²⁵. The original application for lecture-room accommodation in the Colleges was summarily rejected. It was difficult to find rooms in the burgh itself because of the influence of University patronage and eventually the Society had to make do with a highly unsatisfactory location in a private schoolroom. Numbers, however, increased due to the number of evangelical students attracted to St. Andrews by the lectures of Thomas Chalmers. Urquhart estimated that this had resulted in an additional forty members for the the Missionary Society¹²⁶. To students like John Urquhart, the Society was the central organisation in an evangelical network which included student-led Sabbath Schools and student prayer meetings¹²⁷.

The Society soon felt confident enough to approach Principals Nicoll and Haldane and Professor Chalmers to invite one of them to act as patron¹²⁸. When Nicoll and Haldane declined, Chalmers accepted the invitation to be President of the Missionary Society. He went on to take the task of its organisation and guidance very seriously making it part of his 'active labour' and insisting on its potential for 'extensive usefulness'.

Chalmers had greater ambitions for the subject matter of the Society's meetings; he included a delineation of the distinctive characteristics of various Missionary Societies in

¹²³ The St. Andrews Missionary Society went on to correspond with a society in Belfast in 1826, and Andover Seminary's Society of Enquiry in America (Piggin, Roxborough, *op.cit.*, pps.42-46).

¹²⁴ Davie and others have drawn attention to the importance of student societies as centres of free discussion and debate within the structure of the University education system. The Senate's initial opposition to the founding of the Missionary Society was an attempt further to restrain what it saw as the pro-reform tendencies in the student body by inhibiting such free discussion.

¹²⁵ Hanna, *op. cit.*, Vol.II, p. 156.

¹²⁶ Orme, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.72.

¹²⁷ *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.130.

¹²⁸ Hanna, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.151.

his lectures and extracts from the various mission reports were illustrated by examples¹²⁹. Chalmers also included the 'motives and encouragements' to missionary work in his addresses. Most significantly, he regarded accounts of missionary operations as empirical material upon which a science of missions could be built¹³⁰. Missionary accounts were to form examples of the practice of a particular doctrine, or could act in confirmation of christian evidences¹³¹. The autonomous nature of the mission societies, Chalmers observed in his lectures, chiefly resulted in a diversity of approach, distinctiveness of character and proliferation of method in the missionary enterprise¹³².

At the end of session 1824-25 Alexander Duff, now one of the four vice-presidents of the Missionary Society, remained in St. Andrews, returning home only at the end of July. His main preoccupation was further study as a preparation for the coming theological course and the completion of reading lost due to an illness the previous year¹³³. Along with John Adam, a fellow student and future colleague in India, he began private study of the evidences of the christian religion. George Smith and the historians who have followed his interpretation have laid great stress on the influence of Thomas Chalmers' on Alexander Duff. And the meetings of the Students Missionary Association at St. Andrews University have customarily been apportioned a significant role in the development of Duff's missionary interests. Such 'influences', of course, remain undefinable in factual historical

¹²⁹ Hanna op. cit., Vol II, p. 151.

¹³⁰ Chalmers, for example, agreed wholeheartedly with the ethos and general direction of the CMS in England. He stated his preference for a plurality of independent missionary societies, each working in a particular territory. Here he identified a basic law which would ensure an efficiency not possessed by a large conglomerate body.

Again, the CMS acted as the exemplar of Chalmers' ideal type; employing catechists or readers, founding schools, organising literary correspondents to collect information and write reports at the various mission establishments and instituting translation projects. Chalmers declared that from 'the complexities of their proceedings, from the numbers of their Missionary Register...from that vein of devoted spirituality...of admirable sense'(Hanna op. cit., Vol.II, p. 153) he preferred that society to all other missionary societies, the Moravians, of course, excepted.

¹³¹ Hanna op. cit., Vol.II, p.152.

¹³² Hanna op. cit.,Vol.II, p. 152-153.

¹³³ For Duff's Reading List see Appendix I.

terms. Smith's determination to emphasise the early evangelicalism of Alexander Duff renders some parts of this interpretation questionable, however. Not least because he almost completely neglected the content of Duff's formal university education.

From an examination of Duff's role in the later establishment of the General Assembly's Mission in Calcutta some important considerations emerge clearly. Chalmers' moral philosophical emphasis on the appeal to *conscience* is the natural foundation for an emphasis on *preaching* as a mission method. Yet, despite Duff's profound admiration and respect for Thomas Chalmers as a teacher, it was the philosophy of Francis Bacon and a passion for the rationalities of christian apologetics which formed the main source of inspiration for Duff's mission practice in Calcutta in the 1830s. It is to the theological course which laid the foundations of that rational Calvinist apologetic that we now turn.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Theological Scholar

The commencement of the new session 1825-26 at St. Mary's, the Divinity College at St. Andrews, opened a new chapter in Duff's studies. The main focus of his extensive reading no longer included the lyric poetry of Scott, Wordsworth or Shakespeare. The record of his borrowing from the University Library shows an increasing number of theological works. Indeed, for four months after the end of the Arts course Duff remained in St. Andrews reading in preparation for the theological course to come. At the end of July 1825 he returned to Moulin for the last three months of the vacation. He was back in St. Andrews in the early days of November 1825 to register at St. Mary's.

The session at St. Mary's College lasted four months from November through till March. Lectures were held three times weekly, amounting to around fifty in each session, with Saturday mornings set aside for the examination of the obligatory discourses of the Church of Scotland candidates¹.

With the appointment of John Mitchell in early December 1825 the theological faculty at St. Andrews had reached its full complement. There were four professorial appointments at St. Mary's College - a chair in Oriental Languages, one in Church History, and two in Divinity².

The Professor of Oriental Languages, Archibald Baird, had formed his lectures on a pattern similar to that used in the Faculty of Divinity at Edinburgh. The students were divided into a Junior and Senior Class with the Junior class of 19 students, including Duff, devoting half an hour to Hebrew three days a week in the first session. The Senior Class of 40 students attended the remaining sessions in which they were given a grounding in Chaldee (i.e. Aramaic) and Syriac³. In order to complete their course members of the Junior class were expected to continue study of the Hebrew text in the summer vacation. In accordance with the predominant pedagogical method of the 1820s Baird used a combination of textbook, exercises, essays and examinations.

While Baird dealt with the peculiarities of Hebrew syntax and idiom, he also extended the

¹ U.C.R. XXXVII.III p57.

² U.C.R. XXXVII.III pps. 98-117.

³ U.C.R. XXXVII.III pps. 116-117.

scope of his lectures to include a consideration of the antiquity of Hebrew and the varieties of its literature. While the advantage of this pattern, common to both the Hebrew and Classics courses at St. Andrews, was that students were given a broad context for their textual study, this system had served to bolster claims that linguistic standards were low at the department of Biblical Criticism in St. Mary's⁴.

The Professor of Church History, George Buist, held a series of lectures which lasted four years. Buist had transferred to the Chair in 1823 after six years as Professor of Oriental Languages. The major divisions of Buist's course consisted of Old Testament history, New Testament history and Church history from the Constantinian era onwards⁵. In the later sessions he devoted several lectures to the main outlines of 'controversial divinity' or the history of theological debate. Examinations on preceding lectures constituted Buist's chief teaching method.

The essential core of the curriculum at St. Mary's College, however, consisted of the lectures in Divinity. Though Biblical Criticism was increasingly highly regarded, the traditional Scottish preference was for systematic theology as a foundation for all other studies in Divinity. The lectures were shared between two Divinity professors, Professor John Mitchell MD, who took over one Chair in December 1825 after a career in medicine⁶, and Professor Robert Haldane, formerly of the Chair of Mathematics in the United College, but since 1807 Professor of Divinity and Principal of St. Mary's College⁷.

In 1813 the Church of Scotland had endorsed an Act of 1782 which had attempted to lay down guidelines on education and selection standards for student candidates. These Acts provided for a four year course of 'regular' attendance as the optimum. An 'irregular' attendance was also permitted which required only enrolment and the submission of a given

⁴ U.C.R. XXXV (1837) p.548.

⁵ U.C.R. XXXVII.III pps.110-111.

⁶ H.Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol.VII, Edinburgh, 1928, pps.423-426.

⁷ Mitchell's course introduced students to the Evidences of Christianity and included an account of the variant readings of New Testament Greek and the Septuagint. His main work, however, seems to have been to consolidate the main themes of Haldane's lectures. He also used prizes and examinations as part of his teaching method.(U.C.R. XXXVII.III.pps.108-109,114).

number of discourses⁸ over a period of five years.

Even though student numbers showed a marked increase in the mid-1820s St. Mary's College was still the smallest of the theological faculties of the Scottish Universities. Around ninety students were enrolled, of whom only fifty seven, including Duff, were 'regular'. Some six hundred students attended the four Scottish theological faculties in the 1820s as either 'regular' or 'irregular' students. The largest theological faculty was that at Edinburgh University, with around two hundred and fifty students of whom half were 'irregular'. Glasgow followed with one hundred and fifty students, of whom one third were 'irregular'. The theological faculty at Aberdeen included one hundred and seventy students - half of these were 'irregular'⁹.

The Act of 1813 for the regulation of theological education and training for candidates for the ministry of the Established Church was symptomatic of a much wider concern, however. Attempts to modify candidate training were hindered by the fact that by the mid-1820s the theological curriculum in the Scottish faculties of divinity had entered a transitional stage. Reform was discussed and there was an awareness that improvements could be made but there was little clear consensus on course arrangement, or on what should constitute the basis of a theological education.

The problems of the Scottish theological curriculum were reflected in the reports to the Commissioners on the Scottish Universities in 1827. At Glasgow, the Divinity Professor, Stevenson McGill, had established a comprehensive course with a system of regular examinations and exercises on important lecture topics¹⁰. His course, however, lacked a single textbook, which was of crucial importance in the attempt to train 'regular' and 'irregular' students to the same standards. At Kings College, Aberdeen, meanwhile, Professor Mearns was devoting one session to the Christian Evidences, the second and third to the Patriarchal, Judaic and Christian dispensations and a fourth to theology proper. The lectures of Professor William Brown, Principal of the Divinity Faculty at the same university, however, provide a fine example of the deficiencies of the theological curriculum. His lectures ranged from the problems of philosophy and morals, natural religion and christian evidences to doctrine and pulpit eloquence. The full course, however, lasted six years so that no student, except perhaps the most improbably zealous, could attend

⁸ Saunders, op.cit., p.349.

⁹ Saunders, op.cit., p.350.

¹⁰ Jardine, op.cit., p.475-476.

a complete series.

The Faculty of Divinity in Edinburgh was the largest of all the Scottish theological faculties. Here, the Professor of Divinity, Robert Brunton, was finding it difficult to attempt a full theological course at all. Theological lectures occupied a precarious position among the scores of discourses and examinations to be heard and Brunton was overwhelmed by the amount of work¹¹.

Independently of the Royal Commission on the Scottish Universities, and nearly a decade earlier in 1818, Professor George Jardine, the leading theorist of the Scottish system of higher education, had recommended that a pattern similar to that in use at the Divinity Faculty at Glasgow University be generally adopted. The major difficulties faced by the divinity faculties in the theological education of Church candidates were a result, Jardine had observed, of;

"the necessity of devoting time to hear the discourses read which the church demands of every student, (this) leaves ... the professor little more than two hours a week for lecturing; and thus puts it entirely out of his power to explain to his pupils the leading doctrines of natural and revealed religion...In consequence of this...the projected course of lectures remains unfinished"¹².

Against this background Principal Robert Haldane's modest achievements in curricular reform at St. Andrews stand out. Haldane may well have been limited in his originality as a theologian - he was after all trained as a mathematician and held a Chair in that subject until 1807. But in his organisation of the divinity course at St. Mary's College he was rivalled only by McGill of Glasgow. The small size of the Divinity Faculty at St. Andrews gave Haldane an advantage in rapid and comprehensive implementation of new teaching methods. In general, Haldane's response to the problems facing the Scottish theological curriculum was twofold. He introduced a firm methodological base for the lecturing system and established Professor George Hill's *Lectures in Divinity* as a standard text.

Haldane adopted Jardine's methodology¹³ wholeheartedly. The Professor's efficient model for curricular consolidation in the Scottish Universities was peculiarly appropriate to a divinity course structured almost solely round a single theological textbook. So, for example, instead of lecturing continuously, Haldane insisted that selected passages be read privately. For half of the class time 'regular' students were examined publicly on their

¹¹ U.C.R. XXXV (1837), p.381.

¹² Jardine,op.cit.,pps.472-473.

¹³ Lang,op.cit.,p.101.

reading. This was followed by a short elucidatory lecture on more obscure points arising from the students' reading. The striking feature of this method was that it facilitated a rapid overview of the entire textbook. Regular essays were introduced and, starting in 1826, Haldane awarded prizes for 'general eminence'¹⁴. The whole course lasted two sessions and the intention was that students should be able to attend the class twice¹⁵.

Under Haldane's professorship the curriculum at St.Mary's College emerged as the most efficient of all the Scottish theological faculties. The full course could be completed in two years, there were clear and deliberate subject divisions within the course and theological enquiry was to be guided by a standard text. With its ideal of equipping students with a comprehensive and logical framework for categorising the vast literature of christian evidences and providing an interpretative approach to Calvinist orthodoxy Hill's *Lectures in Divinity*, the standard text at St. Mary's, was eventually to become the approved theological text for all the Scottish universities. By utilising Jardine's method with Hill's *Lectures* as a foundational text, Haldane had guaranteed the institutionalization of Hill's theology¹⁶.

¹⁴ 'Irregular' students could study using a reading list, accompanied by occasional examination by the Professor of Divinity. The only requirement was that they give an obligatory discourse some time after entering their name on the 'day of subscription' (U.C.R. XXXVII.III p.101).

¹⁵ One student recalled in later years that Haldane was "a most faithful teacher...a thorough drill-master. It was almost impossible to attend his classes without getting a thorough knowledge of Systematic Theology"(Gray,op.cit.,p.54).

¹⁶ Professor George Hill's son Alexander Hill had edited and published the *Lectures* in 1821 (H.M.B.Reid,*The Divinity Professors in the University of Glasgow 1640-1903*, Glasgow,Maclehose & Jackson,1923 p.314 and Brown,op.cit.,p.7) and they immediately replaced Hill's earlier *Theological Institutes*. Alexander Hill worked towards the full publication of his father's system of Doctrine, Government and Worship(Reid, op.cit., p.314). The only element missing was any substantial work on Christian Ethics. The *Lectures* were eventually adopted for use in all the Scottish Universities and by presbytery examining committees. After Alexander Hill's appointment to the Divinity Chair in Glasgow(Reid,op.cit.,p.312) the *Lectures* continued to provide the systematic form for theology at Glasgow until 1867.

Chalmers, who had commended the theological curriculum at St.Mary's to the Royal Commissioners (U.C.R. XXXVII.III p.81), used the text of the *Lectures* for his prelections at the Free Church College in Edinburgh (H.R.Sefton, 'St.Mary's College,St.Andrews, in the Eighteenth Century', in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. XXIV, Part 2, 1991).

Beginning in early November 1825 then, Principal Haldane's lectures to the new students of divinity, including Alexander Duff, formed a comprehensive introduction to the theology of philosophical Calvinism as Principal Hill had defined it in the text of his *Lectures*. By means of examinations, lectures, class essays and close private reading of the prescribed text¹⁷ an attentive 'regular' student could hope to complete a survey of the theological principles of Calvinism twice in four sessions. With his keen intellect and strong self-discipline Alexander Duff was able to take full advantage of the theological education St. Mary's College had to offer.

The Calvinism of the lecture halls of St. Mary's however, was not the scholastic Calvinism of previous generations¹⁸. Like his predecessor Professor George Campbell of Aberdeen, the leading Scottish theologian of the mid-eighteenth century, Principal Hill¹⁹ of St. Andrews had explicitly broken with that tradition²⁰. Nor was it Evangelical Calvinism as its earlier exponents, Halyburton or Riccaltoun would have understood it. The Calvinism of St. Mary's College, the result of Hill's reformulation of the Scottish Calvinist

¹⁷ Haldane had access to a discretionary fund to ensure that even the poorest student could own a copy of the class text (U.C.R. XXXVII.III p.99).

¹⁸ S. Mechie, 'The Theological Climate in Early Eighteenth Century Scotland' in D. Shaw (ed.), *Reformation and Revolution*, Edinburgh, St. Andrew Press, 1967 pps.267-271.

¹⁹ Principal George Hill DD was admitted as Professor of Greek to the United College at St. Andrews in 1772 at the age of 22. Though offered the Chair of Divinity in 1779 he declined on the grounds that he was unprepared for such a task (G. Cook, *The Life of the late George Hill D.D. Principal of St. Mary's College St. Andrews*, Edinburgh, Constable, 1820, p.212). In 1788, however, he replaced Dr. Spens as Professor of Divinity (Cook, op.cit., p.211). He was leader of the Moderate Party, and was elected Moderator of the Church of Scotland in 1789.

²⁰ Up until the late 1780s the standard theological text at St. Andrews had been the *Christianae Theologiae Medulla Didactico-Elenctica*, or, as it was commonly known the *Marckii Medulla* of Professor Marck of Leiden. The Marrow theologians of the early eighteenth century had studied under Marckius and Evangelical Calvinists among the Secession Churches, particularly the Anti-Burghers, continued to use the text until the 1820s (A.L. Drummond, *The Kirk and the Continent*, Edinburgh, St. Andrews Press, 1956, p.142).

tradition, is best described as a type of *rational Calvinism*²¹.

At St. Mary's the overriding concern, since the days of Hill's Principalship, was to articulate Calvinist theology within the confines and terms of Enlightenment rationality²². To this end, this tradition in Scottish Calvinism sought a foundation in the philosophical theology of Locke, Cudworth, Tillotson, Clarke and Butler, and the Common Sense Philosophy of Thomas Reid²³. At certain crucial points, however, it was sharply critical of Reid, so it is proper not to exaggerate the dependence of rational Calvinism on that philosophical school²⁴.

In broad terms, as a consequence of the attempt to express theological understanding

²¹ In a discussion of Hill's doctrine of Baptism T.F.Torrance noted the rationalization of Calvinism in Principal Hill's theology. He describes this theology as "Hyper Calvinism moderated by inherent rationalism..." (see T.F.Torrance, 'The Doctrine of Baptism', subsection (c) 'Principal George Hill (1750-1819) in *The Church of Scotland : Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts : 1958*, Edinburgh, Blackwood & Constable, 1958, p.740f). However, in order to preserve the philosophical and technical sense of the term 'rationalism' (i.e. the term applied, for example, to the philosophy of Leibniz), I have consistently used the epithet 'rational'.

This term is fundamental to this thesis. The method of defining the historical field by using the categories 'Moderate' and 'Evangelical' is, to say the least, counter-productive in intellectual history. The scope of these designations is useful in ecclesio-political description of General Assembly, Synod and Presbytery policies and decisions but such a duality is far too simplistic and limiting an approach to theology and mission theory as Voges has already noted (Voges, op.cit,p.24). David Bebbington has observed that some contemporary Calvinists described their doctrinal system as 'moderate Calvinism' (D.W.Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.63). Hill, however, rejected this term as meaningless.

²² Many theologians were undoubtedly convinced that "the goal of adjusting Christianity to science and reason was nothing less than the project of saving religion for the modern world" (R.N.Stromberg, *Religious Liberalism in Eighteenth Century England*, Oxford, OUP, 1954, p.25).

²³ James M'Cosh thought that Thomas Chalmers was responsible for this emphasis. It was, however, Hill's achievement to have effected this synthesis. (see J.McCosh, *The Scottish Philosophy*, London, Macmillan, 1875, p.393).

²⁴ For a detailed account of the relation of Hill's theology to Common Sense Philosophy see Voges, op.cit., p.57ff, and W.Benton, *The Ecclesiology of G.Hill 1750-1819*, Unpublished Thesis, Edinburgh, 1969, pps.4-40. In his article on Chalmers' Natural Theology D.F. Rice, following M'Cosh, contends in the face of a large body of evidence to the contrary that 'the Moderates were neither interested in initiating a theological program grounded in the methodology of Common Sense philosophy nor were they particularly concerned with apologetical theology' (D.F.Rice, 'Natural Theology and the Scottish Philosophy in the Thought of Thomas Chalmers' in *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Vol.24:1, Feb.1971, p.21).

within the discourse of Enlightenment rationality, the St. Andrews school of theology came to be characterised by an externalist perspective on its subject matter²⁵. Calvinists of a rational hue insisted that theological problems and insights were to be judged not just by the demands of logic but also by the standards of common or universal rationality, the norms of Enlightenment epistemology. The focus was not, in the first instance, on the reason of the individual, but on the commonly agreed criteria of meaning, truth and certainty to which all disciplines were required to conform.

In accordance with this, rational Calvinism subjected theology to a redescription²⁶ in order to emphasise its intelligibility and common foundation with other spheres of knowledge. Since the main Enlightenment criteria for human knowledge included the truth and justification of the propositional content of a discipline and the examination of its epistemological grounds, theology took a deductive turn. Theologians of the later eighteenth century treated the Scriptures as a set of propositions which could be analysed for logical status and content. In accordance with Enlightenment procedure theology underwent a major redefinition and emerged in Hill's work, and in the curriculum at St. Mary's, structured round the twin themes of reason and revelation. In the context of the Scottish Enlightenment, because of the philosophical interests of theological enquiry and a corresponding emphasis on the externalist perspective²⁷, revelation was often effectively subordinated to reason.

Accordingly, following the text of Hill's *Lectures* closely, Duff and his fellow students in the Junior Divinity class would begin the new session in November 1825 with an introduction to the theology of natural religion as a preliminary to the study of the 'Christian Evidences'. There were, the students learned, certain fundamental principles common to all natural religions, Christianity included²⁸. These principles, understood to be innate to the human mind, were the existence of God and His acknowledgement of those who would seek Him.

The first principle, the existence of God, could be inferred from the natural world. It was open to the human mind to discern the Creator as the prime mover of the world of nature,

²⁵ I.U. Dalferth, *Theology and Philosophy*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1988, pps. 89-93.

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ Voges, *op.cit.*, p. 81.

²⁸ G. Hill D.D., *Lectures in Divinity*, Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1854, 6th. Edition, Book I.I, pps. 1-9.

as director of all historical events. Calvinists like Haldane and Mitchell, however, were much more cautious in their use of the teleological argument. The theologians of rational Calvinism were acutely aware of the force of Hume's attack on the argument from design²⁹. This, at least, might explain why Hill and his successors concentrated on those common sense perceptions and sentiments which they believed were universally present in the constitution of the mind. The curriculum at St. Andrews tended to emphasise the moral order manifest in the dispositions of the human intellect. Rather than directing students towards the natural sciences the curriculum focused on the relation between religion and society³⁰. Such an ethico-religious emphasis is in perfect accord with the social determinism of the Scottish theology of this period.

For the students assembled for the divinity lectures, the logic must have been compelling. Haldane argued that from the natural world man could infer an Intelligent Being. From the social world, more importantly, he could infer the existence of a Moral Governor of humankind who, as Locke had insisted, inflicted pleasure and pain in accordance with moral good and evil³¹. And if rational judgment and conscience were among the primary elements of the structure of human nature as created by the Divine Being, they were also

²⁹ Hurlbutt has argued convincingly that a distinction can be made between natural *theology* and natural *religion*. This distinction has its origins in the work of those theologians who espoused a natural theology which drew on Newton for its inspiration, and those who followed Locke's "natural religion". Both approaches are, of course, based loosely on the rational capacities of the mind, but Locke's concept of natural law was primarily that of a self-evident *moral* code. Locke and the continental natural law theorists (R.H.Hurlbutt III, *Hume, Newton and the Design Argument*, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1965, pps.88-89) regarded the phrase "natural law" quite differently from Newton. Natural law had to do with self-evident, ethico-moral or political laws with a basis in common or general consent (Hurlbutt, op.cit., pps.49,65,88-89).

Against this background a significant difference of emphasis becomes clear between the empiricist design theology of Thomas Chalmers and the orientation of rational Calvinism towards social theory. Chalmers had contended for a return to classical Newtonian theology in which there could be no fundamental conflict between theology and science. Hurlbutt, however, has argued convincingly that Hume's *Dialogues* were a direct critique of "the dominant theological trend...(of)Newtonian theism". In a post-Humean climate this would explain why rational Calvinism found more secure ground in emphasizing the fundamentally social nature of natural religion.

³⁰ Thomas Chalmers, of course, had argued that there 'could be no conflict between theology and science' and saw much that was positive in the natural sciences. (see Piggin, op.cit., p.226).

³¹ R.Attfield, *God and the Secular*, Cardiff University College, Cardiff Press, 1978, pps.135-136.

clearly fashioned in order to direct man towards the Scriptures. As Butler had formulated it³², confronted with the Scripture text, man would recognise its rationality and his conscience would acknowledge its ethical superiority.

Following Hill, however, Professor Haldane ensured that the Junior Class understood that only in an ideal situation was the christian revelation the logically necessary *terminus ad quem* for man's unassisted reason. The decay and resultant pluralisation of natural religion meant that it had departed from its original purity. In turn this meant that Christianity, as Hill's text formulated it, was obliged first to distinguish itself from the rabble of natural religions by demonstrating its rational superiority, and then secondly by arguing for the importance and necessity of its adoption. The class could now prepare itself for an extensive survey of the rational advantages of the Christian religion.

This claim to rationality, however, could hardly be secured until doubts about the truth and justification for the propositional content of the foundational texts (i.e. the Scriptures) of Christianity had been removed. For this reason, Haldane's lectures to the Junior Class at St. Mary's College included a discussion of the status of the New Testament as an historical document as outlined in Book I of Hill's *Lectures*³³. In this section of the course the collateral evidence for events described in the New Testament was examined and the New Testament canon defended. The textual integrity of the New Testament, which had been a favourite point of attack for the leading English Deists of the early eighteenth century, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, Collins, Toland and Tindal, was affirmed.

Having cleared the ground in a preliminary fashion, Haldane could now introduce his students to the major element of theological study of the 1820s, one which was often considered the most important³⁴ - the Christian Evidences. To this end the Professor could call on the assistance of an additional text to that of Hill's *Lectures* - the *Evidences of Christianity* by William Paley. By means of these textbooks, and with the class lectures,

³² Rice,op.cit.,p.35.

³³ Hill,op.cit.,Book I.II, pps.10-14.

³⁴ For example, Professor W.L.Brown of Aberdeen considered "that branch of the Christian Evidences as the most important part of all my lectures," and took, "immense pains" to prepare his course (U.C.R. XVIII.4 (Aberdeen) p.82. There is no evidence to suggest that the role of the Evidences in theology diminished in importance after the Leslie case in 1805, as Dr.I.Clark argued in an early essay (I.D.L.Clark, 'The Leslie Controversy 1805' in SCHS Records, Vol.XIV, Glasgow, 1963: reiterated in 'From Protest to Reaction: The Moderate Regime in the Church of Scotland 1752-1805' in N.Phillipson and R.Mitchison, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, Edinburgh, 1970,p.222).

Haldane could calculate on finishing a survey of the 'Evidences' within one and a half sessions, in other words by early 1827.

Here Hill's *Lectures* came into their own as a superior student textbook. As a body of literature, the evidences did not form a system. There was no single categorical refutation of the sceptical objections to christianity. Instead the evidences were considered to be cumulative in force. Particular refutations of particular forms of sceptical or Deist argument³⁵ kept the atheist or infidel threat at bay. Book I of the *Lectures*, however, offered a coherent survey of the massive and often confusing field of the evidences and operated both as an introduction and as a basis for the student's own reading. The short bibliographies at the end of each section of Hill's *Lectures* were almost certainly one of the main guides in Alexander Duff's reading.

With the preliminaries behind them the students of Haldane's class were now ready for an introduction to the main divisions of the christian evidences as the next logical step³⁶. Haldane discussed briefly the *internal* evidences. These were aspects of the New Testament which were in harmony with the standards of reasonableness, such as the reasonableness of Christ's teachings, their exemplary moral quality and the virtuous character of the disciples.

At St. Mary's, however, the emphasis lay heavily on the other side of the division, on the *external* evidences³⁷, which had at its heart the doctrine of miracles. Miracles were a crucial part of the deductive system of Scripture since they were the essential empirical sign which accompanied and confirmed the propositional truths expressed in the Bible. Miracle was the 'sensible outward sign' of revelation and those agents who performed miracles were also those to whom revelation had been entrusted as an affirmation of the authenticity of their statements.

In common with other Calvinist theologians of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Haldane outlined to the class the traditional notion that miracles had ceased with the consolidation of the New Testament canon and that the present age was one of the 'ordinary' or 'rational' administration of Divine Providence. The historical record of miracles, consequently, assumed a central role in guaranteeing the propositional truth of Scripture.

³⁵ J.Meiland,*Scepticism and Historical Knowledge*,New York, Random House, 1965,p.85.

³⁶ Hill,op.cit.,Book I.III, pps.15-21.

³⁷ Hill,op.cit.,Book I.IV, pps.21-41.

For this reason, rational Calvinism was committed to a defence of testimony since miracle and the authentic statements which it guaranteed were in turn dependent on the veracity of witnesses³⁸. Here, Haldane's lectures turned to Locke's theories of miracle and testimony for philosophical support³⁹.

In the Scottish theology of this period, however, the profound influence of Hume's critique of religion materializes, above all in the argument about the status of miracle. Hume's scepticism regarding reason must surely be responsible for the distinctively rational turn which characterized Scottish Calvinism. Through his indirect attacks on natural religion in *The History of Natural Religion* and the posthumous *Dialogues on Natural Religion* published in 1779⁴⁰ Hume had thrown into question the doctrine of natural religion which was fundamental to rational Calvinism. The most profound and immediate effect, however, was that engendered by his *Essay on Miracles*⁴¹.

At St. Mary's College, the students, including Duff, were schooled in the theological response to the attacks of Hume. Several lines of defence were on offer. The student could find in Hill's *Lectures* the traditional arguments rehearsed by Augustine, Locke and

³⁸ Hill,op.cit.,Book I.IV, pps.21-41.

³⁹ In Locke's scheme miracles belonged to the *preambula fidei* (W.Stoker,*De Christelijke Godsdiens in de Filosofie van de Verlichting*, Assen, Van Gorcum,1980, p.19), they were the outer entrance to faith itself. Grasping the importance of testimony for this theory, Locke had developed two essential criteria for testimony; the first was that the probable authenticity of any testimony could be ascertained by appeal to the total number of witnesses and their integrity. Secondly, that the content of a given testimony should match the uniformity of nature in general (Stoker,op.cit.,p.26).

⁴⁰ As Lloyd Bitzer has reminded us, George Campbell, Thomas Reid and James Beattie all wrote "their first major work in response to the philosophy of David Hume" (L.F.Bitzer(ed.), Introduction to G.Campbell *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1988, p.xi). In Hume's writings the eighteenth century crossed, in the words of Basil Willey, its 'great intellectual watershed'(B.Willey,*The Eighteenth Century Background*, London, Chatto & Windus, 1957,p.110). This is as true for Scottish theology as it is for empirical philosophy.

⁴¹ In the *Essay* Hume distinguished between the probabilities of testimony and the operation of natural law and drove the distinction through until he had demonstrated a contradiction between the two. The occurrence of miracle, he contended, introduced an impossible empirical contradiction between experience of the natural world and experience of the conditions under which testimony could be validated. In this context, testimony would always be a less reliable source of probable truth. By indicating, furthermore, the existence of miracles in all natural religions, Hume undermined the claim of Scottish Calvinism that Christianity was a superior and rational republication of natural religion and denied its distinctiveness.

Campbell that miracles are not contrary to the laws of nature itself but only contrary to our limited knowledge of nature. Natural law was neither unchanging nor absolutely sovereign in the Humean sense⁴². Instead it was subject to Divine sovereignty⁴³. The attentive student would be directed to the works of Professor George Campbell, who had rejected Hume's scepticism concerning testimony on the grounds that Hume's definition of experience presupposed and included a reliance on testimony. An assiduous student of theology, like Duff, absorbing the text of Hill's *Lectures*, could assure himself that Hume's challenge to orthodoxy had been fully met.

Despite the confidence of Scottish Calvinism in Campbell's refutation of Hume, it was long before his ghost was laid. His subversion of reason in the name of the passions shaped a defensive attachment to rationality within Scottish Calvinism which lasted nearly a century. The Calvinism of St.Mary's College was a notable example of this. The sceptical aspects of Hume's philosophy of religion, furthermore, meant that a generation of Scottish Calvinists defined unbelief almost exclusively in terms of scepticism with regard to religion. Scottish students of theology like Alexander Duff tended to conceive of antagonists as 'Infidels' armed with weapons sharpened on the slipstone of Humean scepticism.

Following the text of Hill's *Lectures* Professor Haldane went on to describe the support given to the evidences by biblical prophecy as "one of the most essential points of the education of a student of divinity". From the point of view of the place of scriptural prophecies within the logical scheme of evidence centred on the biblical text this was undoubtedly true. Haldane accordingly introduced the Junior Divinity class to this aspect of the evidences towards the end of the first session.

The criterion of genuine prophecy⁴⁴ was that it was an utterance authentically predicting an event distant in time⁴⁵. The most important of these predictions concerned the Messiah. When the prophecies recorded in the Old Testament and the corresponding events in the New were compared several concrete facts were established ; the authenticity of the Messiah

⁴² Stoker,op.cit.,pps.20,28.

⁴³ Hill,op.cit.,Book I.IV, pps.21-41.

⁴⁴ Prophecy and its fulfilment and the corresponding links between the prophecies of the Old Testament and the events recorded in the New Testament had been the subject of much Deist attack in the earlier part of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁵ Hill, op.cit., Book I.VI, pps.55-72.

and of the prophecies given by the Messiah⁴⁶ himself, and the fundamental harmony between the Old and New Testaments.

Towards the end of the first session students at the divinity faculty at St. Andrews could be introduced to more of the stock-in-trade refutations of the criticisms of Deists and sceptics. They learned that the response to sceptical doubt concerning the resurrection⁴⁷ lay in deploying its consistency with prophecy, the large numbers of witnesses, the apostles' testimony and working of miracles and its eventual universal acceptance.

At St. Mary's, however, evidence based on the history of the progress and propagation of christianity⁴⁸, was regarded as equal to the resurrection in terms of its importance. This approach typifies the Calvinism of St. Mary's College and it lay at the heart of a long debate between different wings of Scottish Presbyterianism⁴⁹. Its most recent origins lay in the response of rational Calvinism to the indirect attack on Christianity made by Edward Gibbon in the 15th chapter of Volume 1 of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Gibbon had given an account of the 'secondary causes' for the rise of Christianity. In a purely historical and critical account he gave an effectively secularising explanation for the progress of the early Church⁵⁰. The implication was that such a purely empirical explanation on the basis of secondary causes was quite sufficient to account for events without reference to a primary cause at all⁵¹. The main response of Scottish theologians⁵²,

⁴⁶ Hill, op.cit., Book I.VII, pps.72-95.

⁴⁷ Hill, op.cit., Book I.VIII, pps.95-102.

⁴⁸ Stromberg has summarised this line of argumentation as follows. Christianity had "won the civilized world..." it had "equipped men with a most useful moral and political code". The 'excellency of its doctrines and precepts', its "perfect morality, (and its tendency to) promote the well-being of men" were therefore excellent proofs of its divine origins (Stromberg, op.cit., p.63). Stromberg appropriately labels this a utilitarian and moralistic argument.

⁴⁹ In the text of the *Lectures* Hill had advised a cautious approach to the use of this argument - other factors might explain the phenomenal rise of christianity (Hill, op.cit., Book I.IX, pps.102-118), though miracle witnessed to its divine origins.

⁵⁰ Including the determination and zeal of the christians, the appeal of their message in a time of social upheaval, the distinctiveness of the christian virtues, the rapid institutional development of the Church, the occurrence of miracles and the trade routes open to the Christian faith throughout the Roman Empire.

⁵¹ Gibbon E., *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 7 vols., London, Grant Richards, 1903, 2nd impression, Vol.II, Ch.XV.

well aware of the dangers of such an historicist empiricism⁵³, was to affirm a type of Providentialism.

This is manifest in Hill's reply to the typically Enlightenment and Deist charge that the truth of Christianity was rendered doubtful by the fact that it was not universal in origins⁵⁴. Hill's response was to insist that Divine action may respect particularity since Providence acts, *not* instantaneously, but *gradually and by the use of means*. A time of preparation had been necessary for the eventual universal diffusion of the gospel⁵⁵. In its historicist determinism, this Providentialist argument has close affinities with the Whig idea of progress.

What becomes clear here is the strongly empiricist strand in theology which was a characteristic of St. Mary's and characteristic of rational Calvinism in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. This empiricist strand emerges frequently in rational Calvinism, particularly in its doctrine of faith and it lies at the heart of the prolonged debate between rational and evangelical Calvinism in Scotland as to whether civilisation or conversion was prior⁵⁶ in the propagation of the faith.

Natural Religion featured next in the lectures to the Junior Class. Before the students

⁵² Hill regarded it as "the most uncandid attack which has been made upon Christianity in modern times" (Hill, *op.cit.*, Book I.IX, p.109). Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, devoted an entire volume to the refutation of this section of Gibbon's history.

⁵³ As F.W. Macran contended, Gibbon's influence "combined with that of Hume and Butler in removing the question of revelation from the domain of abstract speculation and bringing it within the sphere of historical evidences" (F.W. Macran, *English Apologetic Theology*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1905, p.69).

⁵⁴ On the grounds that what was true was universally valid, one of the standard truth-criteria of the Enlightenment, Deists had contended that it would be unjust and arbitrary for the Divine being to judge or favour any peoples on any other basis than a universal faculty (D. Brown, 'Butler and Deism' in C. Cunliffe (ed.), *Joseph Butler's Moral and Religious Thought*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1992, p.10). They asserted that the evidence of the Old Testament pointed to the extreme particularity of Israelite religion.

⁵⁵ Joseph Butler had similarly argued that God's dealings with Israel were 'but an instance of what we already know by experience, that God effects his ends not by immediate acts, but indirectly, through limited human ...agents' (quoted in Willey, *op.cit.*, p.82).

⁵⁶ At the popular level the debate tended to polarise round two alternative categories of discourse. Those who argued from a determinist view of history contended that civilisation preceded the propagation of christianity. Many evangelicals insisted that the proclamation of the gospel took priority.

could move on to a consideration of natural religion, however, one final apologetic defence of the New Testament was necessary. Priestley and other Socinians⁵⁷ had contended that there was no necessity for the divine inspiration of the New Testament. It could be treated as an ordinary document by setting aside its moral imperatives and opening it to the tools of literary criticism. What was at stake here, of course, was not merely the authority of the New Testament itself, but also in key part the deductive scheme of rational Calvinism.

With the text of Hill's *Lectures* before them, the Junior Class were introduced to the Principal's apologetic counter to Priestley, under the title of 'The Scripture System'⁵⁸. Hill had distinguished three levels⁵⁹ of inspiration in Scripture. In this system there could be no place for a fallible scripture, since scripture was the essential foundation of a logically deduced theology. On the other hand, there was no place for Calvin's doctrine of a self-evidencing scripture oriented to the believer⁶⁰. Calvin's notion was a little too close to an endorsement of 'enthusiasm' for the rational Calvinism of St. Mary's. The authenticity of revelation derived solely from the testimony of witnesses⁶¹.

Having explained the basis of the 'Scripture System' and the rational nature of the New Testament text Haldane could now shepherd the Junior Class back to a consideration of the relation of Christianity to Natural Religion. In the context of Alexander Duff's future missionary endeavours, this aspect of rational Calvinism is of prime importance. For theories of Natural Religion in the early nineteenth century were effectively prototypical notions of

⁵⁷ Conyers Middleton and Gilbert Wake.

⁵⁸ Hill, op.cit., Book II.I, pps.119-132.

⁵⁹ The three level system has its origins in the theology of Phillip Doddridge. Hill considered the three levels to be Divine prevention of human error, enlargement of an author's understanding and, finally, direct communication of thoughts and words (Hill, op.cit., Book II.I, pps. 119-132, and see N.Needham, *The Doctrine of Holy Scripture in the Free Church Fathers*, Edinburgh, Rutherford House Books, 1991, pps.70-71).

⁶⁰ Thomas Chalmers explicitly rejected Calvin's position on the self-evidence of scripture (Needham, op.cit., pps.34-45). Typically for the Scottish theology of this period, he denied "the sufficiency of internal evidence as a criterion of canonicity... historical evidence, rather than the internal evidence, was the most satisfactory guarantee of ...inspiration"(ibid.).

⁶¹ This perspective has its origins in Locke (see Stoker, op.cit., p.26). In this precise theological sense it is simply not the case that "while Europe was alive with biblical criticism... Scottish theologians held the line that the scriptures were their own evidence" (Camic, op.cit., p.21, quoting J.Walker, *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland 1560-1750*, Edinburgh, 1872, p.67 and G.D.S. Henderson, *The Burning Bush: Studies in Scottish Church History*, Edinburgh, 1957, p.150).

cultural theory and comparative religion. At St. Mary's College, therefore, Duff would absorb an essentially *a priori* schema for the understanding of other religions of major relevance for his later interpretation of Hinduism.

The formal and logical framework of this doctrine is a striking feature. In the tradition of rational Calvinism Christianity was understood as a *superstructure* founded on Natural Religion⁶². A hierarchy of the Natural Religions was implied in which each religion was ranked according to its rationality. Hill's *Lectures* were probably unexceptionable in arguing that if Christian doctrine was abstracted from Scripture the residue would be a Natural Religion. What differentiated Christianity (in the opinion of the Calvinist theologians) was its doctrine concerning the universality of original sin the effects of which could be demonstrated in social and political history. At a moral level this demanded Divine judgement and the coming of Christ. With Christ's ascension the Spirit was sent upon mankind to continue Christ's work.

So far this is orthodox Calvinism. However, in discussion of the work of the Spirit the empiricising anthropology of rational Calvinism becomes clear. At St. Mary's College there was a rejection of any absolute distinction between the work of the Spirit and human agency. The "boundaries between the agency of God and the agency of man"⁶³ were hidden from human gaze. There were "no marks to distinguish the natural operation of...means from (the)...agency of the Spirit"⁶⁴.

The implications of this doctrine are manifold. In thus rigorously excluding any form of 'enthusiasm' the exponents of rational Calvinism were heavily committed to the rational in thought and action. This was not, in the first instance, a type of semi-Pelagianism⁶⁵, though it may appear to be very similar. Rational Calvinism still adhered to the orthodox doctrines concerning necessity and freedom of the will.

The broad understanding of human agency as espoused by Haldane, Mitchell and others was significantly different from semi-Pelagianism. Whereas semi-Pelagianism is a doctrine of the will, these theologians laid great stress on *reason*. This view seems to have been influenced more by Enlightenment Stoicism than by the traditional Augustinian/Calvinist

⁶² Hill, *op.cit.*, Book II.II, pps.132-144.

⁶³ Hill,*op.cit.*,Book II.II, p.142.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁵ "The prevailing Calvinism kept their (the missionaries') Pelagianism in check" (Piggin, *op.cit.*,pps.148,250).

discussion of the scope of human initiative.

The theologians of St. Mary's college rejected *passivity*. In other words they rejected the timid hesitancy of hyper-Calvinists who feared to act in a manner contrary to the will of God. On the contrary, they argued, man could act in confidence and could freely employ human means, as these were the instruments of God. Advance in the social virtues, economic improvement and historical progress - all these could now be seen as essentially instruments of Divine Providence. A resolute confidence in rational action from first principles, therefore, pervaded the lectures in St. Mary's College and the rational Calvinist perspective on missions was to be refracted through this same prism of reason.

The first session of the Junior Divinity class would probably conclude in April 1826 with the doctrine of the work of the Spirit. Half way through the same month Duff returned to Moulin for the summer vacation resolved very probably to devote a major portion of time to the extra-curricular study necessary for Professor Baird's Junior Hebrew class.

At this point the question arises as to what extent a student of Evangelical leanings, like Alexander Duff, would have absorbed the concepts and ideas of rational Calvinism. Since one of the arguments of this chapter, and indeed, of a major part of this thesis is that Duff operated essentially within the traditions of rational Calvinism, this is a very pertinent question.

Though Duff was intellectually very gifted, it is implausible that at nineteen years of age he was equipped with the necessary critical and philosophical tools to discern the contradictions and obscurities in the rational Calvinism of St. Mary's College. What then of the possible influence of Thomas Chalmers, who was to remain as Professor of Moral Philosophy at the United College until 1828 ?

After Chalmers had moved to Edinburgh University to become Professor of Divinity in 1828 he adopted Hill's *Lectures on Divinity* as the class text. Throughout the series of prelections held on the text in sessions 1829-30, 1830-31 and 1831-32 it is clear that Chalmers had the greatest respect for Hill's theology. "I know," he informed the class, "of no treatise which professes to exhibit the whole range of theological doctrine, and ...does it in more of a lucidus ordo"⁶⁶. Most significantly, Chalmers insisted on his major agreement with the text of Hill's *Lectures*. He was, he said, "at one on all the major points

⁶⁶ T.Chalmers, *Prelections on Butler's Analogy, Paley's Evidences of Christianity, and Hill's Lectures in Divinity*, Edinburgh, Constable, 1859,p.125.

of doctrinal Christianity ...alike Calvinistic in ...views" with Principal Hill⁶⁷. He also found himself in broad agreement with Hill's theory of natural religion or "notions respecting the theory of religion"⁶⁸.

Chalmers's minor critique of Hill's text rested on the insistence that the *Lectures* betrayed a certain lack of "full force and vitality...(and) feeling"⁶⁹. In his prelections Chalmers also made plain his disagreement with Hill on the necessity of a prior civilisation before the propagation of the gospel⁷⁰, expressed doubt as to Hill's emphasis on the rational aspects of the work of the Spirit⁷¹ and demurred at Hill's historical approach to Calvinist orthodoxy⁷². None of these objections are a major critique of the foundations of rational Calvinism. Certainly, some leaders of the Evangelical persuasion, like Andrew Thomson, could be critical of Hill's Calvinism, but the moderate tone of Chalmers' viewpoint probably represented majority opinion. Since Chalmers did not mount any fundamental attack on Hill's theology it is hardly surprising that Alexander Duff, like other Evangelically minded students at St.Andrews, imbibed the traditions of rational Calvinism with only minor reservations. This becomes clear in his work in India and Scotland in the 1830s.

⁶⁷ Chalmers also valued the contribution of philosophy to the christian faith very highly and certainly more enthusiastically than Principal Hill had ever done. It was hardly conceivable, according to Chalmers, that, "had the Baconian philosophy been known and proceeded on in the days of Paul, he would have stigmatized it as a vain philosophy"(ibid., pps.168-169).

⁶⁸ ibid.,p.377.

⁶⁹ ibid.,p.127.

⁷⁰ Chalmers agreed that the propagation of the gospel and the operations of the Divine administration could be "slow but lengthened and magnificent progressions". But while "grace differs not...from what we observe in the kingdoms of providence and nature" Chalmers held it to be "doctrinally and experimentally untrue, that a preparatory civilisation is necessary ere the human mind be in a state of readiness for the reception of the gospel of Jesus Christ" (Chalmers,op.cit.,pps. 154-155).

⁷¹ According to Chalmers it was "...a great question...connected with the power of the internal evidence... whether... Christianity is originated by the power of a historical argument operating on the ordinary faculties of...(the) understanding, or..in the manifestation of its own truth brought home to the understanding...by the operation of the Holy Spirit" (Chalmers,op.cit.,p.155). This is of course at odds with Chalmers notion of the inspiration of scripture.

⁷² Chalmers objected to the historical method in positive theology by which Hill had handled doctrinal controversy. Chalmers claimed that "the exposition of divine truth is work different... from the exposure and correction of human error" (Chalmers, op.cit.,p.234). Chalmers also interpreted saving faith differently from Hill.

After the vacation in the summer of 1826 Alexander Duff returned to St. Andrews for the second session of the Divinity course. Once again Principal Haldane began the Divinity lectures by returning to the chief elements of the christian evidences as outlined in the *Lectures in Divinity*.

As a second textbook on the evidences the Faculty of Divinity at St. Andrews made use of William Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*. At St. Mary's this work was preferred to Campbell's *Dissertation* presumably for its direct factual tone. Written in 1794 Paley's book had quickly become one of the standard texts in the literature of the christian evidences. While Paley lacked Campbell's philosophical appreciation of the strength of Hume's argument against miracles he was on surer ground in arguing that Hume had an impoverished view of the Divine nature. In the first two sections of the work Paley dealt with the traditional elements of the evidences - the authenticity of the Scriptures and Scripture history, and the high moral tone of the Gospel. In the third and last section he scrutinised and countered popular objections to christianity. In Paley's work the Divinity classes at St. Mary's would find a clear and concise guide to the factual support for the christian evidences with which to complement Book I of Hill's *Lectures*.

From the beginning of the session 1826-27 Duff and his fellow students were now a Senior Class. Haldane continued his lectures on Natural Religion aiming to conclude this first section of the course by the end of December 1826. In the lectures the emphasis was no longer on the distinctiveness of Christianity but on its importance⁷³, its pre-eminence among the natural religions⁷⁴. Professor Haldane endeavoured to instill in the students a hierarchical model of the natural religions. According to the criterion of rationality Christianity was at the apex of this hierarchy.

The pre-eminence of Christianity, its place in the hierarchy, the Senior Class learned, lay in the fact that it was a 'republication of the religion of nature' and a method of saving sinners. In what was effectively a conjectural and theological framework for discussion of the world religions, Haldane introduced the class to the history of religion. The origins of

⁷³ In contending for the importance of Christianity theologians such as Samuel Clarke had employed *a priori* arguments for the logical necessity of revelation. Clarke had then insisted on the high probability of a such a revelation taking place.

Hill, and rational Calvinism in general, rejected this approach and preferred to "establish the fact that a revelation has been given" by *a posteriori*, empirical and historical methods of reasoning. In this way they hoped to demonstrate the importance of Christianity.

⁷⁴ Hill, op. cit., Book II. III, pps. 132-144.

religion were traceable to Divine creation. An examination of the history of mankind revealed that religion subsisted from one generation to another in custom, tradition and in the innate principles of human nature.

Currently existing natural religions had declined from their original purity, however, and were certainly not the ideal, rational natural religion of the *philosophes*. In comparison with decadent natural religion Christianity stood out by its systematic and rational nature. The main difficulty students would face in their ministry, therefore, would be, "to bring (non-christian hearers) to (the) examination (of christianity) with a fair unprejudiced mind"⁷⁵.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that this discussion of the inherent superiority of Christianity was merely abstract. To rational Calvinism the enlightening agency of Christianity meant that it occupied an essential role in social structure and progress. One of the direct and major implications of this theory was the doctrine of Church Establishment. "(T)he public establishment of Christianity " was, according to the text of Hill's *Lectures*, "a standing memorial ... of the fundamental truths of religion, and the great duties of life"⁷⁶. The students were cautioned that those who opposed establishment were setting their faces against the foundations of the moral and civil structure of society.

Before the class turned to a consideration of Calvinist orthodoxy Professor Haldane, following the text of Hill's *Lectures*, gave a short series of lectures on 'The Use of Reason in Religion'⁷⁷. For Calvinist theologians such as Hill, Haldane and Mitchell, this discussion involved "the essence of Christianity"⁷⁸. What the students of the Senior Class were encountering here was one of the most characteristic doctrines of rational Calvinism⁷⁹. Following a middle course between the outright denial of the exercise of reason by

⁷⁵ Hill,op.cit.,Book II.III, p.154.

⁷⁶ Hill,op.cit.,Book II.III, p.150.

⁷⁷ Before quitting the evidences students had still to imbibe the defences against Deist critique. Butler's notion of Christianity as a 'republication of natural religion' had been subject to Deist critique since the mid-eighteenth century. This attack was levelled at the "obscurities" in Scripture. Deists argued that authentic revelation would be rationally lucid and would not occur in "such a circuitous and ambiguous a manner" (B.Mitchell,'Butler as a Christian Apologist' in Cunliffe, op.cit.,p.100). As a defence Haldane reminded the students that the fundamental grounds of liberty and morality were also obscure, and that there was a proper limit to human knowledge beyond which man could not go (Hill,op.cit.,Book II.IV pps.156-160).

⁷⁸ Hill,op.cit.,Book II.V, p.161.

⁷⁹ Hill,op.cit.,Book II.V, pps.160-165.

Evangelical Calvinist 'enthusiasts' and the exaltation of reason by the Socinians, rational Calvinism attempted to utilise reason in the service of Christianity.

In the text of Hill's *Lectures* Alexander Duff and his fellow students would find three fields for the exercise of reason in theology all of which were undergirded by the philosophical logic of Bacon, Locke and Reid. First, reason was a tool for the examination of the evidences which demonstrated that Christianity was a 'divine original'. Second, the use of reason enabled textual study and the construction of systematic doctrine. Third, a primary use of reason was in "repelling the attacks of the adversaries of Christianity"⁸⁰. There could be no inconsistency between theological doctrine and reason, the class heard. In the event of controversy either the doctrine in question was not a genuine doctrine, or reasoning was flawed by prejudice. Contradictions arising over such matters were only apparent, they were simply 'truth imperfectly understood'. This vigorous confidence in reason was characteristic of the rational Calvinism of St. Mary's college and of its theological graduates.

By January 1827 the Senior Divinity Class was well over half way through the theological course. In the months remaining Haldane and Mitchell turned to lecturing on the positive theology of orthodox Calvinism⁸¹. In turning away from scholastic Calvinism Hill had re-arranged the structure of theological study proper by adopting what became known as the 'Disease-Remedy'⁸² scheme⁸³. This return to Augustinian categories seems motivated by a desire to find a less restrictive framework for orthodoxy⁸⁴. The scheme categorised sin and the fall as the 'Disease' and the coming of Christ as the 'Remedy'. With

⁸⁰ Hill, op.cit., Book II.V, p.163. David Bebbington argues that "the chief role of reason, according to ...Evangelical leaders...was to weigh up the evidences in the way popularised by William Paley"(D.W.Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.59). Rational Calvinism typically attributed a much wider function to reason in theology.

⁸¹ It is important to note that 'orthodoxy' in this context means more than the traditional theological corpus of Calvinism. It is clear that the philosophical, rational and historical framework through which Hill had redefined Calvinist theology subtly but significantly altered it from 'orthodoxy' as Evangelical Calvinists understood it.

⁸² This division was important for Chalmers' theology (see Rice, op.cit., pps.43-44 and Brown, op.cit., p.377). He used it to such effect that the original formulation of it has been attributed mistakenly to Chalmers' own *Theological Institutes*.

⁸³ Hill, op.cit., Book II.VII, pps.171-176.

⁸⁴ Rice, op.cit., p.44.

this scheme in place Hill could conveniently treat the remaining parts of traditional theology as 'technical terms' to be dealt with much less systematically.

The Senior Class imbibed theological method too. Under Hill, the emphasis at St.Mary's had moved away from the substantive theology of scholastic Calvinism. The text of Scripture was still central, but in a subtly different way. Like Professor George Campbell of Aberdeen, Hill insisted that the 'data of scripture' were the 'fundamental units' of religious truth. Where Campbell, mistrusted 'system'⁸⁵, however, Hill saw scripture as a source of propositional truth which, when treated inductively, could be formed into a deductive scheme⁸⁶. From their textbook the students learned that '(P)ractical conclusions could be legitimately deduced' from scripture⁸⁷ and developed as a systematic theology.

From this foundation the Senior Class could approach in classically Enlightenment fashion the history of the theological variants of Christianity such as Arianism, Pelagianism, Socinianism, Arminianism and Catholicism⁸⁸. The rational method employed at St.Mary's

⁸⁵ Campbell believed that scripture doctrine would manifest itself self-evidently and that the mind should make its own readings of the data free from the misrepresentations and distortions which a system could introduce. This was consistent with Campbell's commitment to the "essential maxim(s) of ...empirical logic and rhetoric of facts"(Bitzer,op.cit.,p.xl). According to Bitzer Campbell's "course in systematic theology, (was) a method of inquiry into scripture rather than a system of religious doctrines"(ibid. p.l).

⁸⁶ Hill,op.cit., Book IV.X-XI, pps.436-458.

⁸⁷ Cook, op.cit.,p.95.

⁸⁸ One of the clearest expressions of this methodology is to be found in Professor George Jardine's *Outlines of Philosophical Education* : "in many subjects of study, such as divinity, law, ethics, and politics, the history of opinion constitutes the sum and substance of our knowledge. Our enquiries, after the statement of a few first principles, are directed to little more than the succession of truth and error, to the varying forms which they may have assumed, and to the circumstances which have paved the way for their alternate reception" (Jardine, op.cit.p.429).

Jardine also provides us with the clearest account of the relation understood to operate between the human mind and history. According to Jardine, the subject matter of history is

"the character and condition of the human mind,...the various stages in which it is found...its progress from rudeness to refinement. Such knowledge of the facts and events of history is the basis of the sciences of morals, politics, jurisprudence, economics and law" (ibid.p.407).

Hill would have concurred sufficiently with this judgment to add theology to the human sciences listed above.

College was to compare the logical relation of each of these theological opinions with the text of Scripture. By this means, those 'reasons or prejudices by which...understanding and ... conviction had been influenced or produced'⁸⁹ were made plain. Calvinism could be shown to be the most logically authentic theology by the demonstrable way in which it could be deduced from scripture.

At St.Mary's College, then, the students were offered a theological method which employed scripture as the fundamental criterion by which to assess various doctrinal systems. The theological characteristics of Arianism and Socinianism, to take an example, were set before the class in the most objective manner. A short, impartial historical account of their development was given and their rational shortcomings sympathetically treated. This emphasis on the 'Scripture System', however, only serves to obscure the fact that rationality - the rationality of the deductive scriptural schema, the rationality of Calvinism as a theological system, the rationality of Christian faith - was a criterion just as fundamental as that of the Biblical text. For Alexander Duff, an authentic product of St.Mary's College, there would be little that was alien in the rational approach to missions, in the *rationale* of the General Assembly's Institution at Calcutta.

Theological method was, then, a key characteristic of the rational Calvinism of St.Mary's. Theologians such as Haldane and Mitchell also gave a characteristic turn to orthodox doctrine. Since it is the rational Calvinist understanding of the doctrines of sin, providence and the nature of faith which is of most relevance to mission theory, only the briefest survey of other elements of the course is necessary.

Using the 'Disease-Remedy' scheme, Principal Haldane introduced the class to an historical outline of Christological doctrine or 'the opinions concerning the Persons by whom the remedy is brought and applied'⁹⁰ and an account of 'the nature, extent and application of the remedy itself'. The orthodox understanding of the Person and Divinity of Christ and the nature of the hypostatic union was explained. This was no abstract consideration of the Chalcedonian definitions, however, since christology and the doctrine of the Trinity⁹¹ had been the focus of a major debate in the mid-eighteenth century

⁸⁹ Cook,op.cit.,p.216.

⁹⁰ Hill,op.cit.,Book III.I, pps. 177-183.

⁹¹ Hill,op.cit.,Book III.X, pps.282-300.

between the defenders of orthodoxy and the Socinians⁹².

Having learnt the classic defences of Catholic orthodoxy, the students were introduced to the distinctive doctrines of Calvinism⁹³. At St.Mary's College 'the nature, extent and application of the divine remedy for sin' were considered to be the "capital branches of controversial divinity"⁹⁴. Haldane and Mitchell were determined to provide the students with a modern rational defence of the doctrine of sin against the attacks of the Socinians⁹⁵. The class heard that though the means of transmission of sin might remain obscure, it was, nevertheless, a universal natural propensity.

From the late eighteenth century onwards a certain ambivalence had developed within rational Calvinism regarding original sin, however. The doctrine of "the malignity of sin, the manner in which it was introduced (and) ...transmitted"⁹⁶ was still affirmed. Nevertheless, Scottish moral philosophers beginning with Francis Hutcheson⁹⁷ had moved away from notions of natural depravity and the innate corruption of human nature. Rational Calvinism now conceived sin much less radically⁹⁸. Original sin, for example, was now most apparent in 'the defects of reason' and 'the universal corruption of manners'.

This shift in hamartiology is important. It enabled rational Calvinism to move the problematic doctrine of original sin which was so offensive to Enlightenment sensibilities into the background and express a greater confidence in reason. When sin was equated, even

⁹² Hill was concerned to defend the orthodox understanding of the Person of Christ against Socinians such as Theophilus Lyndsey (Hill, op.cit., Book III.I, pps.177-183), and the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ against Socinian denial. By drawing on the works of Waterland and Randolph Hill argued for orthodoxy against the eighteenth century Arians and the views of Joseph Priestley (Hill, op.cit., Book III.II-V, pps.183-236). Hill also combatted Socinian theories of the union of the two natures (Hill, op.cit., Book III.VI-VIII, pps.236-274) and gave an analysis of Arian and Socinian pneumatologies (Hill, op.cit., Book III.IX, pps.275-281).

⁹³ Hill, op.cit., Book IV.I, pps.301-317.

⁹⁴ Hill, op.cit., Book IV.I, p.301.

⁹⁵ The Socinians denied the doctrine of original sin, emphasising the personal responsibility for sinful deeds of each individual.

⁹⁶ Hill, op.cit., Book IV.I, p.317.

⁹⁷ Camic, op.cit., p.38.

⁹⁸ It has been said, similarly, of Joseph Butler and William Paley that while "the former paid more heed to conscience, the latter to utility, they shared the optimism of their times and... (a) less-than-radical view of sin" (A.P.F. Sell, *Defending and Declaring the Faith: Some Scottish Examples 1860-1920*, Exeter, Paternoster, 1987, p.60).

partially, with 'the defects of reason' the stage was set for the identification of the ordered, enlightened progress of rationality with the promotion of the Gospel itself. This is in key part the theological framework with which John Inglis operated and this doctrine underlay the project of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta.

The views of the atonement which the Senior Class heard in Professor Haldane's lectures were, again, those of orthodox Calvinism⁹⁹. In the lectures on the associated doctrine¹⁰⁰ of divine election¹⁰¹, however, determinism¹⁰² became a striking feature¹⁰³. At St.Mary's College, the students learned that, contrary to Arminian theology, Divine foreknowledge was consistent with contingency. The representation of all possible worlds and events was eternally before the Divine mind. Calvinists, however, appealed to the doctrine of the *scientia visionis* to assert that divine knowledge included what *would* be created - down to the level of individual persons and societies. In this way the Calvinism of the early nineteenth century maintained a strongly deterministic view of providence.

It was in Professor Haldane's lectures on predestination, however, that some of the major

⁹⁹ In the text of his *Lectures* Hill had distinguished Calvinism from what he called the Socinian, Middle and Catholic systems. Where Socinians laid the emphasis on the benevolence of God, and the Middle or semi-Arian system on the moral achievements of Christ, Hill was concerned to defend the doctrine of substitutionary atonement. Hill argued that Calvinism provided the most satisfactory account of Divine righteousness and justice(Hill,op.cit.,Book IV.II-III,pps.317-386).

¹⁰⁰ Hill,op.cit.,Book IV.VI,pps.386-391.

¹⁰¹ In his *Lectures* Hill attempted to be scrupulously impartial with regard to Arminian doctrine. He pointed out its strong points and agreed that they were reasonable arguments. He regarded the Arminian doctrine that grace was available for all men as an historically and empirically contradicted fact. If Arminian doctrine was to be taken to its logical conclusion then, said Hill, it could be argued that the Divine purposes had failed. The Arminian scheme of salvation eventually became effectively independent of grace.

¹⁰² Hill,op.cit.,Book IV.VII, pps. 392-407.

¹⁰³ In the mid-eighteenth century there had been a vigorous debate on Divine election in England. On the one hand, Socinians like Joseph Priestley had maintained a divine foreknowledge but had asserted that this concerned only the manifold *possible* courses of events. Arminians represented by leading latitudinarians in the Church of England contended that foreknowledge and contingency were inconsistent.

philosophical issues involved were broached¹⁰⁴. On one level, the doctrine of predestination¹⁰⁵ had been one of the chief objections to Calvinist theology. It was held to be inconsistent with the moral attributes of the Divine Being. Some Scottish moral philosophers, moreover, had argued that it was inconsistent with the notion of man as a free agent. The *Illuminati* of the eighteenth century, of course, hailed in profound and confident optimism the freedom of man and the progress of civilised order¹⁰⁶. Rational Calvinism, for its part, while sympathetic to this outlook, often found it difficult to reconcile it with the pessimistic overtones of its own theological and social determinism.

At this point theologians of the rational Calvinist school turned to philosophy for weapons of argument¹⁰⁷ making a critical break with the Common Sense School. Hill had given the lead by rejecting Reid's notion of the mind as a self-determining power¹⁰⁸. This philosophical doctrine, Hill argued, was meaningless and represented an Arminian bias in Reid's thought. In its place Hill reasserted a Providential determinism which drew on Locke's *Essay on Power* and, more particularly, on Jonathan Edwards' *Essay on Free Will*¹⁰⁹. This doctrine was fundamental for rational Calvinism as a whole and placed it on

¹⁰⁴ As Stromberg notes, the doctrine of predestination had moved to a central place in the theological debates of the earlier part of the eighteenth century (Stromberg,op.cit., p.70).

¹⁰⁵ According to the text of Hill's *Lectures*, the basic tenets of Calvinism on this point were ; that all actions of men are under Divine Providence ; that predestination is God's good pleasure and that God's glory is manifest in this.

Hill defended this doctrine from scripture, using the election of Israel and the arguments of the New Testament Epistles to critique the Arminian account of grace.

¹⁰⁶ Latitudinarians in the Church of England also shared this view and rejected the Calvinist understanding of Divine election (see the discussion of Calvinism and the review of Hill's *Lectures* in *The British Critic*, Vols. XXII and XXIII, July 1803, March 1804).

¹⁰⁷ Hill,op.cit.,Book IV.IX, pps.413-435.

¹⁰⁸ As George Davie has so lucidly illustrated(G.E.Davie,'The Scottish Enlightenment' in *The Scottish Enlightenment and other Essays*, Edinburgh,Polygon,1991,p 49), Hill's fundamental disagreement with Reid, Ferguson and Beattie had its origins in the voluntarism of the latter. An important deployment of determinist psychology is to be found in the work of David Hartley whose views significantly influenced Joseph Priestley (Willey,op.cit.,p.186).

¹⁰⁹ The young Thomas Chalmers was profoundly affected by the force and clarity of Principal Hill's lectures on Edwards' *Essay on Free Will* (Hanna, op.cit., Vol.I, pps.12,13).

the necessitarian wing of the Scottish Enlightenment in the company of thinkers like Hume and Lord Kames.

The type of determinism promulgated at St.Mary's College was, of course, not that of a crude biological necessity or of a mechanistic materialism. There was no attempt to attribute to the actions of Divine providence any kind of compulsion. Rather, the emphasis was on the concurrence or succession of *regularities* in man's nature and his social world.

The students learned that the Spirit acted directly on the human soul but, it was immediately added, due to the fallenness of man the effects operated in many different ways. Divine action was always in accord with human nature and so supernatural illumination of the 'enthusiastic' type was not to be looked for. The class heard that those who pointed to seeming contradictions arising from the doctrine of predestination had misunderstood its fundamental import¹¹⁰. For this was not inevitably a narrow and outmoded scholastic concept; quite the contrary. At St.Mary's the implications of the doctrine of predestination were extended far into the social realm. The gospel, the students learned, had had wide benefits even for those who were not of the elect. The positive social benefits of the gospel lay in the fact that it "points out ... duty ... (and) restrains ... flagrant transgressions ...(and) ... has contributed to the diffusion and ... enlargement of religious knowledge ...the refinement of manners ... (and) the general welfare of society"¹¹¹. After this wider perspective had been introduced to the students, however, they were advised on pragmatic and doctrinal grounds to place the doctrine of predestination well in the background in their public discourses¹¹².

Rational Calvinism of the 1820s, then, affirmed a determinism of a singular kind. The traditional doctrines of election, predestination and free will had undergone a marked transformation, revived or reformed as it were round the rationality of the Scottish Enlightenment. At St.Mary's College Haldane and Mitchell, like George Hill before them, could call on an historical tradition which, they contended, ran back through the

¹¹⁰ Some theologians had contended that the doctrine of predestination and the scripture record of Divine commands were irreconcilable. Hill argued that command operated harmoniously with Divine election. He also denied that there was any illogicality in offering the gospel freely to all, since "it was not revealed ... who the elect are" (Hill,op.cit.,Book IV.X-XI,p.455).

¹¹¹ Hill,op.cit.,Book IV.X-XI,p.445.

¹¹² This was not an innovation as such. Hill had used the traditional Calvinist doctrinal distinction between the *secret* and *revealed* will of God to argue that predestination, being an element of the former, should form no part of preaching.

Reformation to Augustine and the apostle Paul. For their concept of the determination of human nature within the framework of Divine Providence, they could claim the support of Leibniz, Canzius, Wytttenbach and Wolff¹¹³. They could draw, moreover, on the writings of the greatest theologian of the eighteenth century, Jonathan Edwards¹¹⁴.

There is no reason to assert, as some historians have, that this determinism inevitably led to a mechanistic philosophy or fatalism like that of the French deists or English latitudinarians¹¹⁵. Transposed into a rational key from the works of Turretin or Marckius, the doctrines of election and predestination, Divine foreknowledge and Providence could become forceful and dynamic arguments for socially determined historical progress. The real problem for this set of views lay in its uneasy relation with the optimism, the 'vision of perfectibility'¹¹⁶, of the eighteenth century. What is in focus here is quite simply the fundamental outlook of Scottish Calvinism in the early nineteenth century. When Scottish theologians and laymen began to consider British responsibilities in India, therefore, their thinking tended inevitably to the prospects of a socially determined transformation of the sub-continent which would, of course, be within the plan of an over-arching Providence. The only constraint bearing upon the method by which this was to be achieved was that it be by the rational principles undergirding civil society and in accordance with universal human nature.

In the version of Calvinism to be heard in the lecture halls of St.Mary's College the finer distinctions of faith so beloved of scholastic theologians were set, for the most part, to one side. Instead, the text of Hill's *Lectures* treated questions arising from the doctrines of regeneration, conversion and faith as 'technical terms'¹¹⁷. It is in Hill's doctrine of faith, however, that the profoundly empiricist influence of the Enlightenment is most clearly seen¹¹⁸. This doctrine, perhaps more than any, epitomises the anti-suprationalism of early nineteenth century Scottish Calvinism. Indeed the doctrine of faith of rational

¹¹³ Hill,op.cit.,Book IV.X-XI,p.457.

¹¹⁴ Stromberg,op.cit.,p.114.

¹¹⁵ Piggan,op.cit.,p.84. See the discussion of Calvinist determinism in Davie, op.cit., pps.18-24.

¹¹⁶ Stromberg,op.cit.,p.119.

¹¹⁷ Hill,op.cit.,Book V.I,p.459.

¹¹⁸ Hill,op.cit.,Book V.I,pps.459-465.

Calvinism is central to an understanding of the concepts and ideas lying behind the setting up of the Assembly's Institution in Calcutta.

In the lectures at St. Mary's there was a brief acknowledgement of the distinctions made by the Westminster divines between historical, temporary and saving faith. In effect, however, the exposition of faith which followed left little place for this older doctrinal formula. Faith was now defined as *a rational act*¹¹⁹. Gone were the cruder notions attributed to earlier generations¹²⁰ in which the action of the Spirit played upon man as upon an automaton¹²¹. The students learned that faith was cumulative, it was

"not a solitary impulse, a solitary act...but a habit or permanent state of mind, proceeding upon many previous acts".

From a formal point of view, then, the history of the rational faith of the individual is analagous to the history of christianity within civil society - progress comes about through cumulative events, not by revolutionary caesurae¹²².

Reason and fact are again the dominant motifs. Faith "implies an exercise of the understanding" and while this does involve some action of the Spirit of God it also presupposes

"previous knowledge...of the facts which constitute the history of ...religion, of the arguments which constitute the evidence of it, of the doctrines and precepts which constitute the substance of it"¹²³.

While no Calvinist of a rational persuasion would contemplate theological restrictions on Divine action¹²⁴, nevertheless "the use of outward means" was "the ordinary course of

¹¹⁹ Hill,op.cit.,Book V.I,p.464.

¹²⁰ Bourignonism had, of course, surfaced in Scotland in the late eighteenth century claiming just the kind of direct inspiration that rational Calvinism held in such contempt.

¹²¹ According to Hill, Calvinists understood their system to occupy a mid-point between the synergism of Pelagianism or semi-Pelagianism on the one hand and Platonic mysticism on the other.

¹²² In a similar way moral philosophers were interested in pointing up the analogies and direct connections between the structures of human nature and the social world.

¹²³ Hill,op.cit.,Book V.I,p. 464.

¹²⁴ As a representative of the more empirical wing of rational Calvinism, William Robertson considered Divine supernatural intervention in history as rare. 'Natural means' were almost universally the process by which Divine goals were achieved. Joseph Butler had argued similarly that Divine action is indirect 'always using

(Divine) procedure"¹²⁵.

On the other hand the Professors at St.Mary's were also concerned to avoid the over-emphasis on reason of Socinianism. They were careful, therefore, to remind students that

"a knowledge of the facts of ...religion, ... an assent upon evidence to its truth is not the whole of faith...for the gospel does not contain general propositions (finding) ...ready admission into a speculative mind, and concerning which nothing more is required than to perceive that they are true;... its peculiar character is this ...it brings a remedy for the present state of moral evil, the mind, ...is not disposed to accept of the remedy until a change upon the will and the affections be produced by the Spirit of God"¹²⁶.

Yet, the Spirit's transformation of human nature was still understood in thoroughly rational terms. The Gospel

"restores the whole nature..not merely...in sentiments and emotions, but ..(in) understanding ...powers of action ...(and) all those principles which unite in forming the constitution of a reasonable and moral agent"¹²⁷.

through a process which took place

"in a manner corresponding with...reasonable nature"¹²⁸.

The rational Calvinists of St.Mary's College, then, understood the diffusion of faith as a cumulative process. It took place within the parameters of reason using rational methods of argument, debate and teaching. A man whose human nature was regenerate was

"restored to ...the renewed exercise of all his faculties, to a state in which truth illuminates his mind, the influence of moral inducements is felt,...exercises of devotion conspire with education and moral discipline in refining...character"¹²⁹.

Not only did nineteenth century Scottish Calvinism claim a superior rationality for Christianity over natural religions, then; it also claimed for orthodox faith a place and function in human affairs which the philosophers of the Enlightenment had reserved for the

subordinate means and agents'(Willey,op.cit.,p.79). Despite the debate caused in Scotland by Gibbon's writings on the early church, Robertson was quite ready to attribute the success of primitive christianity to socio-political conditions obtaining at the time, rather than to supernatural intervention (Camic,op.cit.,pps,61,62).

¹²⁵ Hill,op.cit.,Book V.I,p.463.

¹²⁶ Hill,op.cit.,Book V.I, p.464.

¹²⁷ Hill,op.cit.,Book V.I,p.462.

¹²⁸ Hill,op.cit.,Book V.I,p.463.

¹²⁹ Hill,op.cit.,Book V.I,p.463.

light of pure Reason. Eastern India was to be one point of application for these principles.

As the session moved towards a close in 1827, the remaining elements of Calvinist theology were covered. The lectures surveyed the doctrines of justification and sanctification and their relation to one another¹³⁰. An outline was also given of the Covenant of Grace. The doctrine of the sacraments was also reviewed¹³¹. An emphasis on eschatological doctrine is notable by its absence, as Evangelical critics were quick to point out.

Using Book VI of Hill's *Lectures* the class was introduced to the principles of church government¹³². This Book was divided into two sections. The first concerned those persons in whom the authority of church government is invested. The second section consisted of an investigation of the extent of the power which a legitimate exercise of church government implied. In the first section Calvinist opinion on the ministry was distinguished from the Quaker, Independent and Roman Catholic views¹³³. The fullest treatment was reserved for the forms of Episcopal and Presbyterian ecclesiastical government¹³⁴. In the observations on the nature and extent of church power contained in Book VI an outline of the classic Calvinist position was given in five propositions¹³⁵. The session concluded with a survey of the traditional threefold definition of church power as

¹³⁰ Hill's *Lectures* treated justification as a forensic act, and justification and sanctification were regarded as inseparable. Hill combated the differing theories of sanctification of the Quakers, the Roman Catholics, Anabaptists, Franciscans, Jansenists and Molinists (Hill, op.cit., Book V.II-VIII, pps 465-519).

¹³¹ Professors Haldane and Mitchell sketched the Calvinist understanding of the sacraments as a positive institution, the pledges of grace and seals of the covenant against the background of Roman Catholic and Socinian notions of the sacraments. He rejected Priestley's idea of the dispensability of baptism.

¹³² W.Benton has devoted an entire thesis to this important topic see p.78 footnote 24.

¹³³ So Hill had outlined the Quaker view that no ministers were required (Hill, op.cit., Book VI.II, pps.522-526), and the Independent view of the autonomy of congregations (ibid. pps.526-531). He objected to the Roman Catholic notion on historical, theological and scriptural grounds (ibid. pps.531-546).

¹³⁴ Here Hill argued that the terms for bishop and presbyter were synonymous in the New Testament. After the canon of scripture was closed, furthermore, there was absolutely no distinction between these offices.

¹³⁵ That church power is independent of the state, that the church has an essential moral role in the state, that church power is subordinate to the sovereign authority of Christ, and is, finally, also limited by that sovereignty (ibid. pps.559-573).

the *potestas dogmatike*, *potestas diataktike*, and *potestas diakritike*¹³⁶.

The conclusion of session 1826-1827 also concludes the survey of the formal theological curriculum at St.Mary's College. The Senior Class could expect to repeat the course in the following two sessions, revising fundamental concepts and concentrating on the more obscure theological points. There were, however, two other informal sources of theological education, the private reading of the individual students, and the student societies at St.Mary's.

From the Library Lending Receipts at St.Andrews it is immediately apparent that Alexander Duff made theology the central theme of his reading from the start of the Divinity course. Over the four sessions from 1825 to 1829, Duff read around two hundred theological books. By far the greatest bulk of his reading was in the Christian Evidences. Some works he consulted frequently - George Burnet's famous abridgement of the Boyle Lectures, for instance. Conybeare's *Defence of the Christian Religion*, Leland's *View of the Deistical Writers*, and Maclaine's *Discourses*.

Biblical study also featured, though to nothing like the same extent as the study of the Evidences. Duff later recalled that he and John Adam¹³⁷ spent the summer of 1826 in 'minute and critical' study of the Scriptures. 'Our Biblical apparatus,' he said, 'was amply supplied from the University Library, to which we had free and unrestrained access. The best lexicons and critical commentaries were constantly consulted and the various readings examined and compared'¹³⁸. Duff's memory seems to have failed him at this point, however, since the Library Lending Receipts register has no record of any borrowing of books by Duff between mid-April and mid-November 1826. The register, however, does show that Duff was borrowing books on the biblical text throughout the summer of 1827.

Other events contributed to make 1827 the most significant, perhaps, of Duff's theological course. Early 1827 marked Duff's first appearance in print. John Urquhart, who had been at times Duff's closest companion, had died in late 1826. Duff was asked to contribute to Urquhart's *Memoirs* by the author, William Orme, by writing an account of

¹³⁶ The first grants the church the power to formulate its own articles of faith, the second concerns the rights of the church to form its own ecclesiastical canons and constitution. The third specifies those cases in which office bearers of the church interpret, declare and apply scriptural truth and are empowered to admit or exclude individuals from membership of the church (ibid.pps.559-588).

¹³⁷ later a missionary with the LMS in Calcutta.

¹³⁸ Piggin & Roxborough,op.cit.,pps.35-36.

Urquhart's character and missionary zeal¹³⁹. The work itself is significant as an early example of a new category of nineteenth century writing in which precise models of character were offered to Evangelical youth. Over sixty years later Duff was to write the preface to the 1869 edition

Duff's reading in the University Library in the summer of 1827 also fulfilled another purpose. In early August the members of the Royal Commission on the Scottish Universities arrived in St. Andrews, on the first official visitation for over a century. The Commission began taking evidence from staff and students and, in general, St. Andrews acquitted itself well. The administration gave a good account of itself on the educational side¹⁴⁰, though the Commissioners were concerned at certain sinecures still in operation¹⁴¹. As a senior student, Alexander Duff was called on to give evidence to the Commissioners concerning the University Library¹⁴². The Commission wished to document statements from the students themselves concerning the Library facilities. Duff was to be one of the students interviewed and so had remained in St. Andrews until the Commissioners were ready to take evidence. On the 2nd. of August they took a statement from Alexander Duff to the effect that the Library lacked modern publications. He thought that the establishment of a reading room "would be an advantage" and, characteristically, complained at the limits on the number of books students were entitled to borrow.

The Theological Society at St. Mary's College was open only to Divinity students. This was not a large society, in the 1820s there were around twenty regular members¹⁴³. As an officially recognised forum for the discussion of theological topics emerging from the

¹³⁹ Orme, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pps. 22-24, 41-43, 74-76, 102-103.

¹⁴⁰ In his submission, however, Thomas Chalmers agitated for much more rapid development in the reform of university patronage and administration of revenues. He rather rashly described the St. Andrews professoriate as a "privileged corporation" (Brown, *op.cit.*, p. 169). Chalmers, already alienated from the academic community after the dispute over the Candlemas dividend, hoped that the Commission would adjudicate in his favour (*ibid.* p. 172). The Commission recorded his complaints and then politely ignored them.

¹⁴¹ Such as that of Professor William Ferrie, who had not lectured for over a decade.

¹⁴² U.C.R. XXXVII.III, pps. 86-87.

¹⁴³ see The Theological Society Minutes (3), 1823-1857, UY911, pps. 39-84.

curriculum the Society was run very strictly¹⁴⁴ - Principal Haldane of St.Mary's and Principal Nicoll of the United College were honorary members. Duff had been proposed and accepted by a narrow majority as a member at the beginning of December 1825.

The evening meetings of the Society consisted of two parts, three if there was any business to be discussed. In the first part of the evening one of the members gave a discourse. The second half was devoted to a set debate on a topic suggested the previous week. In general, the members' discourses were on a more formal theological level and closely reflect topics in the curriculum. The debate, however, gave members the opportunity to engage in wider speculation and discussion. Traditionally, new members could choose the subject for debate for the following week. Duff and a colleague, with an unfortunate disregard for the formal tone of the Society chose as their subject 'Whether the Moderate side of the Church or those opposed to them have the juster view of religion'. There were thirteen abstentions when it came to a vote and the Society condemned the topic as 'a highly improper subject'. After this inauspicious start, however, Duff attended over half of the sixty meetings of the Society from December 1825 to March 1829 and was eventually made an honorary member. He probably regretted this earlier lack of judgement. Certainly, when the topic of debate for the end of March 1827 was 'Was Church patronage to be supported' and 13 voted for the motion, 3 against, Duff was one of the two who abstained. This is further evidence that Duff cannot be considered to be unequivocally on the side of the Evangelical party at this point. The depth of his intellectual interests in the classics, philosophy and apologetic theology ensured that.

By the winter of 1828, however, the Theological Society was facing a much reduced membership. The reason for this was the strength of the Missionary Society, whose members' discourses provided ample opportunity for students of an Evangelical persuasion to explore topics and themes beyond the restrictions of the theological curriculum. Alexander Duff had been elected as president to represent the students of the Divinity faculty, along with John Urquhart from the United College.

In contrast to the Theological Society the Missionary Society did not concentrate on debate but on the set discourses of its members¹⁴⁵. The most famous of these was to be that of John Urquhart on 'The necessity of personal engagement in missions'. Again, Thomas Chalmers' personal involvement with the Society was a formative influence. He

¹⁴⁴ Its function as 'a chief venue for rivalry' (Piggin & Roxborough, op.cit., p.59) between students of an Evangelical or Moderate persuasion should not be overexaggerated.

¹⁴⁵ See The Students' Missionary Society Minutes, 1824-46, UY 911, pps.23-61.

took his duties as Honorary President very seriously and was happy to discuss missions, the power of missionary preaching and the missionary work of the Moravians, one of his favourite topics. Duff was, of course, a regular attender at the monthly gatherings of the Missionary Society, missing perhaps only three out of a possible twenty meetings.

As it grew the Society gathered a small library, sent donations to the Scottish Missionary Society, the Gaelic Schools Society, the London Missionary Society and the Moravian missions. Between March 1827 and March 1829 the Society established contacts with the Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Belfast Student Missionary Societies. In April 1829 Alexander Duff attended the Missionary Society for the last time as a member. He had been, the Society's minutes record "called to preside over the interests of the General Assembly's scheme for propagating the Gospel in India".

In May of the previous year the Senate Committee of St.Mary's College had set the topic for the Gray's Prize Essay for 1829. The title of the essay was to be *The alliance between learning and religion*. At the end of March 1829 the result was announced. The 'best essay,' the Senate Committee agreed unanimously, was 'on the connexion between Revelation and human learning, and the advantages they have mutually given and received' and it was written by Alexander Duff¹⁴⁶.

The student who took his farewell in the spring of 1829 of both the Theological and Missionary Societies was a characteristic product of the Arts and Divinity Colleges of St.Andrews. To the passionate interest in classical literature and philosophical Baconianism gained at the United College, Duff could now add a schooling in the Calvinism of St.Mary's College. He was competent in the Biblical languages, and possessed a striking command of the philosophical foundations and arguments of apologetic theology with its profound respect for the place of reason in human affairs. Indeed, the subject of his prize winning essay - the mutually reinforcing relation between revelation and reason - might stand as a thematic summary of his future addresses, speeches and writings in the 1830s.

Speculation on the relation of revelation and reason also featured as part of a wide and prolonged debate within Scottish presbyterianism. Indeed, whenever the subject of missions was discussed in the early nineteenth century opinions usually polarised around differing perceptions of revelation, reason, and the way in which they related. This emerged most clearly in Scottish discussions of the rational progress of civil society, and the relation of that progress to the propagation of the gospel. An examination of this debate is important, then, for an understanding of the methods of Scottish presbyterian missions in this period.

¹⁴⁶ UY 452/14/65 Senate Minutes: Oct 1823-Nov.1831, pps. 208,229-230.

We turn now, therefore, to an investigation of the origins of this discussion and its implications for the establishment of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Background and Development of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta

Alexander Duff's arrival in Eastern India in early 1830 signalled the beginning of the material development of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta. The planning and discussion which had spanned nearly twelve years had now culminated in Duff's appointment as the first superintendent of the Institution and its future success was his responsibility. It would be an error to suppose, however, that the founding of the Calcutta Institution in 1830 arose from merely pragmatic, merely local concerns - as a result, say, of Moderate party politicking within the Church of Scotland, or simply as a rival response to the Anglican establishment in Calcutta.

The Institution's immediate origins do, of course, lie in the direct response of the Church of Scotland to the opportunities opened up by the fundamental revision of the terms of the East India Company's Charter by the British Government in 1813. But the debates that had taken place around 1820 on the possibilities for Scottish presbyterian involvement in Eastern India owed as much to the habitual discussions of the institutions and development of civil society typical of Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment Scotland. It is the relation of this debate to the Calcutta Institution which provides the substance of this chapter. The political and parliamentary background is familiar enough and needs only a brief summary here.

On the eve of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813 a wide ranging discussion arose in parliamentary circles as to the conditions of the Charter and how these might be reformulated. Since February 1812 William Wilberforce and the members of the influential group which came to be known as 'The Clapham Sect' - Claudius Buchanan, John Shore, Charles Grant, Zachary Macaulay, Grenville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson and others - had been making detailed preparations for the debate. The aim of the Clapham Sect and, indeed, for Evangelicals throughout the country, was on how to promote "the best mode of providing for the free course of religious instruction in India"¹ within the terms of a renegotiated East India Company Charter.

To this end the members of the Clapham Sect conducted a campaign to influence parliamentary and public opinion on a broad front. Claudius Buchanan, for instance, drew

¹ R. & S. Wilberforce, *Life of Wilberforce*, Vol.IV, London, 1838, p.14, quoted in E.M.House, *Saints in Politics - The 'Clapham Sect' and the Growth of Freedom*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 2nd.ed, 1971, p.83.

up a draft proposal on episcopal establishment in India as a basis for parliamentary discussion. Charles Grant had his *Observations* on India republished for the benefit of the parliamentary committee on Charter renewal and Thomas Babington began the organisation of a series of massive public petitions to be presented to the House of Commons. Grant, Babington and Wilberforce went as a deputation to the Prime Minister, Spencer Perceval² to put the case for the necessary changes and a committee was established to lobby Government ministers.

As the public momentum of the campaign to alter the terms of the Charter gathered, however, its initial success led to increasing opposition from powerful Anglo-Indian interests. At an early date influential conservatives, such as Thomas Twining, a former Bengal civil servant, and Major Scott Waring, a former member of staff in Warren Hastings' administration, cast doubt on the long term stability of British India³ if christianity was accorded liberty of expression. Charles Grant, who was a member of the E.I.C. Court of Directors, failed to get the Company's ban on missionaries lifted in January 1808⁴.

Parliamentary ratification was by no means a foregone conclusion, then, when Wilberforce presented a petition to the House of Commons on February 19th. 1813 demanding that the Charter Bill include provision for the teaching of christian principles in India⁵. Still generally hostile to Wilberforce's plans, the Commons formed a Committee of the Whole House on the E.I.C.'s affairs following a motion of Lord Castlereagh on March 22nd. In their written evidence, two former Governor-Generals of India, Warren Hastings and Lord Teignmouth, remained uncommitted to any major change in the Charter's terms⁶. The future terms of the East India Company's Charter still hung in the balance.

The public campaign, however, had grown to a vast scale. There were massive gatherings of supporters in London and huge amounts of campaign literature were generated, including

² House, op.cit,p.84.

³ D.Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835*, Berkeley, 1969, pps.136-137.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ House, op.cit.,p.85.

⁶ *Hastings' Evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on the Charter, March 30th. 1813*, cited in Marshman II, (12,14), quoted in Kopf, op.cit.,p.141, and *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John, Lord Teignmouth*,p.141, quoted in Kopf, op.cit., p.142-143.

a barrage of letters to the *Times*⁷. Wilberforce, for example, had received 837 petitions with over 500,000 signatures in support of his position⁸. In the face of such public pressure the Commons began to reconsider its opposition to the wider renegotiation of Company terms. After the Parliamentary recess the first signs of a government change of policy came when episcopal establishment in India was conceded. This was for the benefit of European residents only and any missionary activity among Hindus was rejected. More concessions were soon to come, however.

On May 26th. the Earl of Buckinghamshire, president of the E.I.C. Board of Control, informed Wilberforce privately that the Ministry might be willing to establish a bishopric in India *and* grant missionary licences⁹. Encouraged by this Wilberforce carried Parliament with him in a brilliant speech in the preliminary Parliamentary debates on the moral responsibility of the British towards India¹⁰ in June 1813. The renegotiated terms of the Charter were ratified on the final reading of the Bill on July 12th. 1813.

The resolutions of the Parliamentary Act provided for

"the encouragement of missionaries with a view to the 'moral and religious improvement' of the people of India and...for...(Company) chaplains under the authority of a bishop"¹¹.

While there was an agreement that the Company's Indian subjects were to be allowed "the free exercise of their religion"¹² and that there would be no disruptive missionary activities, Wilberforce did make it clear that he regarded it as

"the duty of the Company...to seek the improvement of its Indian subjects...by the gradual introduction and establishment of our own principles and opinions; of our own laws, institutions and manners; and above all, as the source of every other improvement, of our religion, and consequently of our Morals"¹³.

Parliament set aside a grant of a lakh of rupees, or £10,000 sterling, for the purposes of

⁷ *Parliamentary Debates XXVI*, pps.529-563 quoted in House, op.cit, p.88.

⁸ Kopf, op.cit, p.144.

⁹ Kopf, op.cit.,p.144.

¹⁰ House, op.cit., p.88.

¹¹ Sir Penderel Moon, *The British Conquest and Domination of India*, London, Duckworth, 1989, p.371.

¹² Moon, op.cit.,p.372.

¹³ *ibid.*

Indian education¹⁴.

There had been an abiding interest in Indian affairs among Scots since the mid-eighteenth century. The first Viscount Melville, Henry Dundas, was closely involved with the E.I.C. and through his patronage many young men of leading Scottish families had participated in administrative and military affairs on the sub-continent. With varying degrees of interest the Scottish daily press, reviews, and secular and religious periodicals followed the Parliamentary debates on the Charter. The Parliamentary petition of February 1813 demanding renegotiation of the E.I.C. Charter had, in fact, come from the *Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge*. For several historical reasons, however, the substantive debate on Indian affairs was conducted along different lines in Scotland.

One obvious reason was the absence of a political forum for such debate. Public political manifestations in support of amendments to the Charter of the sort common in London in 1812 and 1813 were non-existent. In general terms informed Scottish opinion on India derived its main features from a wider post-Enlightenment discussion of the nature and development of *civil society*. It is clear, for example, that Scottish historians and theologians often understood the prospective development of India in explicitly civil-social terms.

Scottish thinkers were keenly interested in social development and, as a valuable recent historical study has shown¹⁵, the functional importance for civil society of an educated elite. While Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* is, perhaps, the best known of the Scottish works on civil society his lectures were merely the most representative of a much larger corpus of Scottish Enlightenment thought on the structural role of social institutions.

In the work of William Robertson, the historian, Scottish interest in the historical progress of civilisation reached its apogee. In his *Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India* published in 1791 by applying an historical framework to India Robertson provided a basis for discussion of contemporary Indian problems¹⁶. Robertson chose to define his work as a 'commercial' or economic history¹⁷,

¹⁴ House,op.cit.,p.94.

¹⁵ see D.Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, E.U.P., 1993.

¹⁶ W.Robertson D.D., *An Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India and the Progress of Trade with that country prior to the Discovery of the passage to it by the Cape of Good Hope*, Works Vol.XII, Edinburgh, Hill, 1818.

but it also constituted an application of elements of civil-social theory to Indian history. Robertson made plain the economic importance of India to its conquerors and reminded his readers that Alexander and those who followed him had succeeded in retaining control of the western-central sub-continent by their civil-social policy of integration¹⁸. The broad conclusion to be drawn was that historically the foundations of civil progress in India could only be built on the ground of political stability, a political stability now to be guaranteed under British rule. While Robertson acknowledged the past achievements of Hindu civilisation, the real momentum of this new civil progress would, he insisted, come through Western science¹⁹. Robertson was almost certainly the first theorist to suggest that enlightened Western learning could be disseminated by a Brahmin²⁰ elite²¹.

Typically associated with this kind of discussion of civil society and sharing some of its fundamental presuppositions were the observations and reflections of Scottish theologians on *civil religion*. This was in key part derived from Locke's political philosophy and Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des lois* and was developed to varying degrees of formalisation by thinkers such as George Campbell²², George Hill²³ and, latterly and to a lesser extent, John Inglis²⁴.

At a general level Scottish theories of civil religion presupposed a universal natural religion as a fundamental social phenomenon. The primordial structures of human society were understood to be grounded in a theism or, more precisely, a socio-theistic belief upon

¹⁷ Robertson, op.cit, p.8.

¹⁸ Robertson, op.cit., p.25.

¹⁹ Robertson, op.cit., p.272.

²⁰ Like other Enlightenment commentators on India Robertson regarded Brahminism as a species of theism (see G.D.Bearce, *British Attitudes towards India 1784- 1858*, O.U.P., 1961).

²¹ Robertson, op.cit., p.285.

²² In particular *The Happy Influence of Religion on Civil Society*, preached at the Assizes at Aberdeen May 23rd. 1779, in G.Campbell D.D., *A Dissertation on Miracles: Containing an Examination of the principles advanced by David Hume Esq. in An Essay on Miracles: with a correspondence on the subject by Mr. Hume, Dr.Campbell, and Dr. Blair to which are added Sermons and Tracts*: London, Togg, 1834.

²³ Hill, op.cit., p.7.

²⁴ See John Inglis D.D., *A Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishment*, Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1833.

which rudimentary social and political structures were built²⁵.

The leading post-Enlightenment philosopher in Scotland, Professor Dugald Stewart of Edinburgh University, for example, made natural religion one of the main themes of his moral philosophy lectures from 1792 to 1812²⁶. By instructing his students in the fundamental principles of natural religion he hoped to correct any tendency to philosophical or religious scepticism and the political radicalism Scottish thinkers regarded as inevitably associated with it²⁷. Stewart went further, and informed his hearers that the principles of natural religion were foundational to all "the moral, the intellectual...(and) the material" truths²⁸. The conclusion the students were required to draw was, of course, that religion played an essential role in maintaining and upholding the moral and social structures of civil society.

In this Stewart was merely expressing the common Scottish consensus on the significance of civil religion, the contribution of institutional christianity to a viable society. This consensus was shared by most Scottish thinkers of the late eighteenth century, except perhaps for David Hume. In 1779, for example, Professor George Campbell of Aberdeen had set out in the clearest terms the social importance of the Christian religion. In a sermon drawing in part on Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des lois*, Hume's old antagonist had insisted on the benefits of religion for "the security and well-being of civil society"²⁹.

Campbell could also use the familiar terms of the discourse on civil society for theological purposes. As early as 1777, in a sermon to the S.S.P.C.K. in Edinburgh, he had used an argument similar to that of his professorial colleague William Robertson to assert that, in the absence of miracles and divine interposition, *learning* might provide the methodology for future missions³⁰.

David Allan's recent historical study has drawn attention to this strand in Scottish

²⁵ see Introduction to Hill's *Lectures*, p.7.

²⁶ D.Stewart, *The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*, 2 Volumes, Edinburgh, Black, 1828.

²⁷ Stewart, op.cit.,Vol.I, pps.v-vi.

²⁸ Stewart,op.cit.,Vol.II,pps.246-247.

²⁹ Campbell, op.cit., p.234.

³⁰ G.Campbell, *The Success of the First Publishers of the Gospel a proof of its Truth: A Sermon preached before the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge at their Annual Meeting, Edinburgh, Friday, June 6 1777*, in op.cit., p.226-227.

thinking in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Allan argues that there was a central scholarly tradition in the Scottish Enlightenment which drew on an "active and rational social theory inherited from Boece, Buchanan and Drummond"³¹. Historians and theologians such as George Ridpath, Lachlan Shaw, Robert Henry and Hugh Blair "emphasised to their audience in Scotland the potential historical impact of reason and learning"³². The social and moral value of learning was to be the motor of change in Scottish society, essential for "responsible membership of a civilized modern community"³³. Such learning would produce "the rational leader..." who was identified as a "special causal influence over the political, economic and social affairs of a modern Scottish community"³⁴. Presbyterian thinkers shared this view, of course, but in addition to this, learning was also to be a key element in advancing civil polity to the level of christian society and maintaining it there. The aim of Enlightened Scottish scholars, says Allan, was the construction of a 'moral apex' of cultivated and learned men within Scottish society³⁵. By 1824 post-Enlightenment presbyterians had broadened this vision to include *Indian* civil society.

It was Professor George Hill, Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, however, who developed the Robertsonian³⁶ emphasis on the progression of civil society into a theological programme of how the expansion of christianity might take place. In his divinity lectures³⁷ he had adopted a different perspective from Montesquieu and Campbell by directing attention away from the status of civil religion within the structures of civil society. Instead he adapted Robertson's historical framework to give a dynamic account of the place of the christian religion in civil progress.

Hill proposed a general model of providence in which gradual development of social

³¹ Allan, op.cit., p.215.

³² Allan, op.cit., p.233.

³³ Allan, op.cit., pps.233-234.

³⁴ Allan, op.cit., p.217.

³⁵ Allan, op.cit., p.195.

³⁶ see Hill, *Lectures*, p.114.

³⁷ See Hill, *Lectures*, Book I. Chapter IX on the Propagation of Christianity, op.cit. pps.102-118.

structures and norms culminated in a 'civilized society'. When once the appropriate level of civilized norms had been reached, Hill argued, the social preconditions were in place for the appearance of christianity³⁸. The Principal posited the rise of christianity as a necessary historical moment to be repeated in every civilized society, given the correct conditions³⁹.

Principal Hill used his moderatorial sermon to the General Assembly on May the 20th. 1790, to apply this model of the necessary historical development of christianity. He argued that the historical progress of christianity, though slow, had always been towards universality⁴⁰. However, the preconditions which had evidenced themselves before the expansion of christianity in Western Europe were now appearing throughout the world. The Moderator exhorted his hearers to rejoice that rational christian modernity was theirs and that the rest of the world would soon join them⁴¹.

By the time of the famous discussion on missions at the General Assembly of 1796⁴² Hill's developmental model was matter for common debate and the greater part of the Assembly's discussion was framed in terms of Hill's paradigm. The central question was whether, if the appropriate historical moment had arrived, the Church of Scotland was at liberty to work for the expansion of christianity. Robert Heron, one of the lay speakers, insisted that it was⁴³. George Hamilton, William Robertson's successor at Gladsmuir, agreed that the Assembly should be attentive to the development of civil societies throughout the world⁴⁴, but absolutely rejected Heron's assertion that the revolutionary 1790's were an appropriate point for the Church of Scotland to begin involvement in mission⁴⁵. Principal Hill agreed with George Hamilton. While "the object (of missions

³⁸ Hill, *Lectures*, p.115.

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ G.Hill, *Sermons*, London, Strahan, 1796, p.352.

⁴¹ Hill, *op.cit.*, p.354f.

⁴² see R.Lundie, *Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th. May 1796; on the Overtures from the Provincial Synods of Fife and Moray respecting the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen*, Edinburgh, Lawrie, 1796.

⁴³ Lundie, *op.cit.*, p.10-16.

⁴⁴ Lundie, *op.cit.*, p.23.

⁴⁵ Lundie, *op.cit.*, p.26.

is)..in itself desirable"⁴⁶, he said, contemporary political events militated absolutely against any such efforts⁴⁷. Majority concerns for social and civil stability triumphed over the Church's interest in the expansion of christianity and the Assembly voted against the overtures before it.

In general, Principal Hill's philosophical, or providentialist, theory of history, is clearly opposed to the speculations of the stadial historians of the Scottish Enlightenment. Not least by its reliance on the *empirical* study of Western history. The determinist tenor of this approach, moreover, sets Robertson, Hill, Inglis and Scottish presbyterianism apart from the Scottish theorists of the notion of *spontaneous order*. Ronald Hamowy has recently drawn attention to the presence of this idea in a whole series of Enlightenment thinkers from Hume, Smith, Ferguson and Kames to John Millar and Dugald Stewart. This secularising social theory held that

"social arrangements...are...of such a high order of complexity that they invariably take their form...as the unintended consequence of countless individual actions"⁴⁸.

In these terms the origins of complex social structures could be explained without recourse to a directing intelligence. By contrast, Calvinists like Hill insisted that civil authorities *could* regulate social progress. The authorities were, after all, responsible for the maintenance of social stability and the protection of civil religion. It was this conviction which underlay later Scottish presbyterian support for an imperial civil *dirigisme* in Indian affairs.

Early numbers of *The Edinburgh Review* reveal the extent of influence of the model of christian development that Hill had popularised. In a summary of J.Barrow's *Account of a Journey in Africa* in 1806⁴⁹ the Reviewers deplored recent attempts to directly christianize bushmen and advocated instead the gradualist methods of the Moravians. The Moravians, according to the *Review*, were employing the correct method by gently introducing primitive tribes to successive levels of civilised life through agriculture and manufacturing.

⁴⁶ Lundie,op.cit.,p.45.

⁴⁷ Lundie,op.cit.,p.49.

⁴⁸ R.Hamowy, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Theory of Spontaneous Order*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press,1987,p.3.

⁴⁹ *The Edinburgh Review*, No.XVI, July 1806, Art.XV, p.434f.

However, as the debate on India in connection with the renewal of the E.I.C. Charter intensified *The Edinburgh Review* reverted swiftly to an ultra-conservative position and abandoned developmental notions of the role of christianity within civil society. In an article entitled *On Indian Missions* in April 1808⁵⁰ Sydney Smith gained lasting notoreity by asserting that the dissemination of the gospel in India was inherently destabilising. Nothing could be achieved by sending out 'detachments of maniacs'⁵¹ as missionaries.

If the Edinburgh Reviewers abandoned the notion of the key role of christianity in social development in a moment of controversy, it continued to be proffered to the burgeoning Evangelical public in Scotland. From its first issue in August 1810 *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, under the Evangelical editorship of Andrew Thomson of St.Andrews Church Edinburgh, argued that a prudent reformation of Hinduism would pose no threat to the political stability of the Empire⁵². The *Instructor* attacked the subsidising of Hindu temple worship and consistently advocated missionary action. By early 1813 the *Instructor's* editorial line was clearly on the side of Indian civil development. In a major article on *The Propagation of Christianity in India* the *Instructor* asserted that christianity would be 'the best friend of (Indian) civil society'⁵³. The experience of revolutionary France provided the clear lesson that political stability in India would only be *assured* by the establishment of christianity and the improvement of its intellectual and moral life⁵⁴. It was, said the *Instructor*, the duty of the British Government to introduce christianity into India⁵⁵.

Meanwhile, at least one Scottish University was also involved in the debate on India. In 1805, as part of an attempt to broaden discussion in England on the renewal of Charter terms, Dr. Claudius Buchanan had offered a huge prize of £500 to students at Oxford and Cambridge for an essay⁵⁶ on the providential implications of the Indian Empire. In 1808

⁵⁰ E.R., April 1808, Vol.XXIII, Art.IX, p.153f.

⁵¹ E.R., op.cit., p.179.

⁵² *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, Vol.I, No.I, p.53f.

⁵³ E.C.I., Vol.VI,No.I,No.XXX, Jan.1813, p.18.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ The E.C.I. also opposed the conservative stance of Twining and Scott Waring, see Vol.VI,No.III, Mar. 1813, p.159f.

⁵⁶ The essay was to be entitled *The probable Design of Divine Providence in subjecting so large a Portion of India to the British Empire*. It was won by J.W. Cunningham of St.John's College Cambridge, in June 1807 see H.Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and*

he instituted a similar scheme in the Scottish Universities.

The prize was won⁵⁷ by James Bryce, a former student at Marischal College and now minister of the parish of Strachan in Aberdeenshire. The major part of the essay⁵⁸ was a rather uninspiring resume of Robertson's *Disquisition*, but Bryce redeemed this by advocating a cautious and mildly progressive civil policy for India⁵⁹. He had absorbed Robertson's providentialism⁶⁰ and regarded the future of India as the special responsibility of the British Government. Bryce was for a slow gradualist introduction of christian values, civilization and knowledge into the sub-continent⁶¹.

It was Bryce's conservatism which, no doubt, appealed to the members of the East India Company Court of Directors immediately after the renewal of the Charter in 1813. Under the conditions of the Charter they were obliged to appoint Scottish chaplains to each of the Indian Presidencies - to Fort William, Fort St. George and Bombay. The precise ecclesiastical arrangements were to be defined by the Church of Scotland. In November 1813⁶² the Directors asked Bryce to take up the post of Church of Scotland chaplain to the Calcutta Presidency⁶³. Sailing to India on board the same ship as the Anglican appointee, Bishop Middleton, he arrived in Bengal in early April 1814, aged 29⁶⁴.

Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan D.D. late Vice Provost of the College of Fort William in Bengal, 3rd.ed, London, 1819, pps.173-174.

⁵⁷ Though there is some confusion as to whether or not it was actually awarded. At the beginning of the essay Bryce says that it was submitted too late for adjudication. Since the essay also featured an attack on Buchanan's *Asian Researches* the learned doctor may have been more than reluctant to recognize it.

⁵⁸ see J.Bryce, *A Sketch of the State of British India with a view of pointing out the best means of civilizing its inhabitants and diffusing the knowledge of christianity throughout the Eastern World: being the substance of an essay on these subjects to which the University of Aberdeen Adjudged Dr. Buchanan's Prize*, Edinburgh, Constable, 1810.

⁵⁹ Bryce, op.cit., p.130.

⁶⁰ Providentialist historiography had grown in influence since the beginning of the eighteenth century in Scotland, Allan, op.cit., pps.119,124.

⁶¹ Bryce, op.cit., pps. 355-356.

⁶² J.Bryce, *A Sketch of Native Education in India, under the Superintendence of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1839, p.179, henceforth, Bryce, N.E.

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ G.Smith, op.cit.,p.37.

Political and parliamentary developments concerning the renewal of the E.I.C. Charter had, for the moment, run ahead of the debate on India in Scotland. It was not until the end of May 1814 that the General Assembly was able to formalise the already existing relationship with the congregations in the Indian Presidencies⁶⁵. Acting on an agreement with the E.I.C. and a petition from Bryce a hastily convened Assembly committee consisting of Principal Hill and Drs. Inglis, Lamont and Brown resolved that the congregations in India should "continue in full union and connection with the Church of Scotland". Representatives of the aforesaid congregations would be constituent members of the Assembly. With such haste there was no time for the implementation of the Barrier Acts, so the Assembly committee simply pressed ahead. An Act for the "establishment of a branch of the Church in India" was passed⁶⁶. As a result of this there remained some dubiety about the legality of the Act and in the early 1820s John Inglis found himself having to defend it against a hostile Assembly.

For the moment, however, after the passing of the new E.I.C. Charter terms in 1813, the intense debate on Indian affairs, Indian history and the ethics of imperial intervention in Indian civil society subsided rapidly. The next impulse towards the development of the General Assembly's Institution would now come from events in Calcutta itself.

Since Warren Hastings had chosen it in 1773 as the future capital of British India Calcutta had been transformed from an important provincial town to a bustling, vital city. Calcutta was the cultural centre of Bengal, the *Florence of Asia*⁶⁷, the colonial metropolis. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Governor Wellesley's tax revenue census suggested that there were six hundred thousand inhabitants within the city bounds and two and a quarter million people within a twenty five mile radius. It was possibly the largest non-Western city in the world⁶⁸. By the early 1820s there was a burgeoning manufacturing industry. Calcutta had its own European style school system, municipal libraries⁶⁹, colleges

⁶⁵ Bryce, N.E., p.179.

⁶⁶ see *A Compendium of The Laws of the Church of Scotland*, 2nd.ed., Part First, Edinburgh, Edinburgh Printing and Publishing Co., 1837, pps.473-474.

⁶⁷ see *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance* in R.C.Majumdar (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Volume.X. Part II, B.V.Bhavan, Bombay, 1965, p.1, and Kopf, op.cit.,p.4.

⁶⁸ Kopf, op.cit.,p.178.

⁶⁹ Kopf, op.cit.,p.187.

for the Bengali elite and presses, newspapers and periodicals⁷⁰ in both Bengali and English.

The initial scheme for a Church of Scotland presence in the metropolis had been simple. James Bryce would be appointed as minister at Fort William near Calcutta, the E.I.C. would provide a building and the congregation would be subject to the jurisdiction of Edinburgh Presbytery⁷¹. However, as the dust of parliamentary and civil debate settled the potential significance of a Scottish Establishment in the city became apparent. The elements were in place for a presbyterian polity in India and beyond that, for an increased presbyterian participation in India civil affairs.

As Bryce himself put it,

"The assembly of 1814...granted what may be called an ecclesiastical charter to the presbyterian Church in India"⁷².

In this early phase Bryce was to play an important role in communicating developments in Calcutta to the Church of Scotland and suggesting possible responses.

In the immediate present, however, his mind was taken up with other concerns. The first of these was to oversee the construction of an ecclesiastical edifice appropriate to the status and aspirations of the Scottish presbyterian community. Accordingly, on the 30th. of November 1815 the Countess of Loudoun and Moira was asked to lay the foundation stone of St. Andrews Church in the presence of the Grand Masonic Lodge of Calcutta, the Grenadiers of the 53rd. and 59th. Regiments, the Magistrates of the city and the Kirk Session⁷³. Bryce announced to the gathering that one of the declared aims of the congregation would be to "uniformly strive to disseminate...a knowledge of the pure and exalted doctrines of Christianity"⁷⁴. His hopes for a smooth development of presbyterian establishment in Calcutta were soon dissipated, however.

From the beginning, leading Anglicans anxious to retain a large measure of ecclesiastical power had been hostile to Scottish Establishment in India and it was not long before a sharp ecclesiastical controversy arose in the Calcutta Presidency. Bishop Middleton

⁷⁰ Kopf, op.cit.,pps.189,191.

⁷¹ Bryce,N.E.,p.281.

⁷² J.Bryce,*Ten Years of the Church of Scotland from 1833 to 1843*, Edinburgh, 1850,pps.236-237.

⁷³ E.C.I., Vol.XIV,No.III,Mar.1817, p.204.

⁷⁴ E.C.I., Vol.XIV,No.III,Mar.1817, p.206.

of Calcutta attempted, absurdly, to impose a limit on the projected height of the steeple at St. Andrews. When this failed, his attention moved from limitations on architectural features to constraints on presbyterian practice. The Anglican authorities insisted that Bryce demand payment for baptism, and then called into question the legitimacy of presbyterian baptisms and marriages⁷⁵.

For the next three years the controversy dragged on, and Bryce was obliged to devote the major part of his energies to it. When the news of the conflict reached the British periodical press in 1817 the London *British Critic* accused the unfortunate Bryce of hostility to episcopacy and of fomenting division. *The Antijacobin Review* repeated the same charge two months later⁷⁶. Fortunately for Bryce the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* supported him and printed a defence of his position, maintaining this until his return to Scotland in 1820. The ecclesiastical wrangling in Calcutta collapsed anyway when an Act of Parliament of 1818 legitimised presbyterian marriage in India⁷⁷.

To his credit James Bryce did continue to keep a broader vision of presbyterian social and cultural obligations before his congregation. The early sermons reveal a preacher in the Aberdeen tradition of divinity, insisting on a personal christian ethic of moderation⁷⁸ and rational virtue⁷⁹. Preaching in Calcutta in 1818⁸⁰ Bryce demonstrated that despite recent controversies he had been closely observing broader social developments in Calcutta. In particular he had noted the growing Westernization of the Calcutta Brahmin elite and their desire for Western knowledge. In terms made familiar by Principal Hill, Bryce told his hearers that this desire was

"a most important step towards the adoption of a faith which so finely harmonizes

⁷⁵ E.C.I., Vol.XV, No.II, Aug. 1817, p.97f.

⁷⁶ E.C.I., Vol.XVIII, No.V, June 1819, p 404.

⁷⁷ E.C.I., Vol.XV, No.II, Aug. 1817, p.105f.

⁷⁸ J.Bryce, *Sermons*, London, Underwood, 1818, pps.vii-viii.

⁷⁹ A close study of Bryce's sermons reveals no grounds for stating that he 'preached a gospel without a passion narrative', see Chambers, op.cit., p.31.

⁸⁰ The sermon was published in London and later reviewed in *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor*. In it Bryce also told his hearers that the moral state of contemporary Hinduism was deplorable. For this reason the work of the Bible Societies should be supported.

with the deductions of true philosophy"⁸¹.

While Bryce may have lacked the ability to formulate a practical response to these developments among the urban elite he had, nevertheless, focussed the attention of influential presbyterians in Scotland, John Inglis in particular, on the Westernizing process itself.

John Inglis⁸² was minister of Old Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh and leader, by this period, of the Moderate interest in the Church of Scotland. His commanding intellectual capabilities were acknowledged by his contemporaries⁸³, though Inglis never really seems to have exercised them to the full. Shortly after Inglis rose to power in the Moderate party he became disastrously involved in the Leslie case of 1805. Along with Moderate colleagues Inglis misjudged the public mood in trying to prevent the appointment of John Leslie⁸⁴

⁸¹ E.C.I., Vol.XVIII, No.V, May 1819, p.353.

⁸² Inglis was born in 1763 in Forteviot in Perthshire. While little is known of his divinity training, he certainly studied Arts at Edinburgh University where he would have attended the moral philosophy classes of Adam Ferguson. He was ordained minister of Tibbermore in Perthshire in 1788 and translated to Edinburgh in 1799. He was made Dean of the Chapel Royal and from 1800 onwards was manager or administrator of the Moderate party in the Church of Scotland, see J.C.Watt, *A Memoir of John Inglis, Lord Justice-General of Scotland*, Edinburgh, W.Green, 1893.

⁸³ He was possessed of a 'transcendant', 'capacious', intellect (see A.Brunton & R.Gordon, *Two Sermons preached in the Old Friars Church, on Sabbath 12th. January 1834, Being the day after the funeral of the Rev.John Inglis D.D. Senior Minister of that Church*, Edinburgh, Waugh, 1834, pps.22 & 45). Alexander Duff recalled his 'commanding' intellect (A.Duff D.D., *India and Indian Missions including sketches of the gigantic system of Hinduism, both in theory and practice also notices of some of the principal agencies employed in conducting the process of Indian Evangelism etc. etc.*, Edinburgh, Johnstone, 1839, p.476). Henry Cockburn was of the opinion that with his 'intellectual power...strong and acute understanding, general intelligence, deep and ready reasoning' he could 'at any moment have puffed (Principal) Hill out' (H.Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time*, Edinburgh, Black, 1856, p.233).

⁸⁴ Leslie had, in a footnote to one of his scientific papers, asserted that Hume's doctrine of causality possessed an economy and clarity quite sufficient for scientific purposes. For rational Calvinists of the Moderate persuasion this doctrine threatened the very basis of theology. Without the traditional notion of causality, the central inferences of natural theology from creation to creator would be invalid. At the General Assembly of 1805 Inglis stated, "If I had nothing but *sequence* (in the Humean sense) as the foundation of my belief for the existence of the Deity, I should...consider that belief to be ill-founded indeed" (see R.Lundie, *Report of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland respecting the election of Mr.Leslie to the Mathematical Chair in the University of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, Ballantyne, 1805, p.77).

to the chair of Mathematics at Edinburgh University. The Moderate interest overestimated their capabilities as a party in the attempt to replace Leslie with their own appointee. The case, as important historical studies have shown, constituted the high-water mark of Moderate influence and power⁸⁵. It was also, as even a *favourable* biographer commented, the major blunder of Inglis' career⁸⁶.

In Inglis' published writings and sermons, nevertheless, we gain a valuable insight into the theological and philosophical views implicated in the founding of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta. Inglis' early theological position becomes clear in the pamphlet war that surrounded the Leslie case in 1805. Claiming as his theological and philosophical mentors 'George Campbell, Alexander Gerard and Thomas Reid'⁸⁷ Inglis engaged in a fierce polemic on behalf of the rational coherence of causality, providential design and natural theology⁸⁸. Throughout his career Inglis was always much more ready to ascribe a leading role to reason in religion⁸⁹ and he retained, therefore, a profound suspicion of Humean philosophy. His rather one-sided insistence in the Leslie Case on the rational grounds for belief, moreover, drew opposition from numerous quarters⁹⁰. This indicates that part of Inglis' error in judgement in the Leslie case was to have failed to perceive that the old attitudes to Hume were changing. The traditional emphasis on reason

⁸⁵ see I.D.L.Clark, *The Leslie Controversy, 1805*, in S.C.H.R., Vol.XIV, Glasgow, 1963, p.179.

⁸⁶ Watt, *op.cit.*, p.22.

⁸⁷ J.Inglis, *An Examination of Mr.Dugald Stewart's Pamphlet relative to the Late Election of a Mathematical Professor in the University of Edinburgh*, 2nd.ed., Edinburgh, Hill, 1806, p.143.

⁸⁸ Inglis, *op.cit.*, p.143.

⁸⁹ In a published letter to Dugald Stewart, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University, Inglis claimed that "one of the great objects" of the Moderate party was "to rest the claims of our religious faith on the foundation of sober reason and sound argument" (Inglis, *op.cit.*, p.142).

⁹⁰ In particular from a leading member of the Popular Party, Rev. Andrew Thomson, (see A.Thomson, *A Letter to the Rev.Dr.Inglis*, Edinburgh, 1806, p.170). John Playfair, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh University (J.Playfair, *A Letter to the Author of the Examination of Professor Stewart's Short Statement of Facts, with an Appendix*, Edinburgh, 1806, p.109) and Principal William Brown, Professor of Divinity at King's College (W.L.Brown, *Remarks on Certain Passages of "An Examination of Mr.Dugald Stewart's Pamphlet" by one of the Ministers of Edinburgh relative to subjects nearly connected with the interests of Religion and Learning*, Aberdeen, 1806).

of Scottish theology appealed far less to the new generation of Scottish thinkers.

To the end of his life, nevertheless, John Inglis maintained the primacy of reason in religious matters. In *A Vindication of Christian Faith*, a volume on the christian evidences written in 1830 Inglis reiterated his favourite themes. What "renders the human mind very nearly inaccessible" to the truth of christian evidences, is *prejudice*⁹¹. Inglis' apologetic methodology was to attempt to remove these prejudices by refuting them, facilitating the access of rationality, christian rationality, to the (unenlightened) mind. Of course, as Inglis always acknowledged, the corrupted heart can only be corrected by grace. Nevertheless, the rational refutation of objections to christian faith, he believed, could be an instrument of divine providence⁹².

Inglis' famous sermon to the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge at the High Church in Edinburgh in June 1818 is quite typical of his habitual emphasis on the importance of reason. It also marks the beginning of his public campaign to establish an Institution in Eastern India. Using Isaiah 49.6 as his text, Inglis asked his hearers, rhetorically, whether confidence in the eventual universal prevalence of the gospel was justified⁹³. The universal applicability of christianity was not in question, he argued, but this was in stark contrast to its limited geographical spread⁹⁴. Like Principal Hill, Inglis attributed this to the gradualist nature of Divine action⁹⁵. In agreement with Hill's paradigm of civil development, Inglis asserted that only nations with a particular level of civil society had so far accepted the gospel⁹⁶. The growth of the British Empire, however, like that of Rome before it, now offered new opportunities for the development of those civil societies under imperial patronage⁹⁷. Presbyterian practice in mission, then, should give the primacy to learning and education in order to hasten the civil societies in question

⁹¹ J.Inglis,*A Vindication of Christian Faith*, Edinburgh,Blackwood,1830,pps.v-vi.

⁹² Inglis,op.cit.,p.xii.

⁹³ J.Inglis D.D., *The Grounds of Christian Hope in the Universal Prevalence of the Gospel. A Sermon preached before the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge at their Anniversary Meeting in the High Church of Edinburgh on Friday June 5th. 1818*, Edinburgh,Waugh & Innes,1818, p.3.

⁹⁴ Inglis,op.cit.,p.10.

⁹⁵ Inglis,op.cit.,p.11.

⁹⁶Inglis,op.cit.,p.12.

⁹⁷ Inglis,op.cit.,p.41.

towards the historical moment of acceptance of christianity⁹⁸.

In the thirteen years since the Leslie Case, however, Inglis had moved away from a *dogmatic* emphasis on the primacy of reason in christian faith⁹⁹. While he still maintained the common consensus of Scottish thinkers¹⁰⁰ like Dugald Stewart on the priority of the rational over the affections and will, Inglis now spoke as a representative of the tradition of rational Calvinism. From this perspective, he explained, "the religion of Christ addresses itself directly to the reason of man"¹⁰¹ but he was quick to point out to evangelical critics that, of course, the Spirit's work was necessary to remove unbelief.

Yet, he averred,

"God is pleased, to accomplish his purpose by the intervention of natural means,"¹⁰²

man's reason possessed the ability to grasp the evidences for christian faith offered to him and so

"the prejudices of the corrupt heart are...overcome"¹⁰³.

Here, like Dugald Stewart¹⁰⁴, Inglis in typically rational Calvinist terms identified *unbelief* with *irrational prejudice*.

⁹⁸ It was Inglis' conviction that,

"a man of an understanding mind, habituated to thought and reflection, has an advantage over others, for estimating, both the evidence of Christian doctrine, and its accomodation to human wants "Inglis,op.cit.,p.13.

⁹⁹ While he remained the widely respected leader of the Moderate Interest, the experience of the Leslie Case in 1805 was reflected in a change in Inglis' outlook. In later years he habitually sought consensus rather than Moderate pre-eminence on broader issues facing the church and was careful to distinguish his own brand of rational Calvinism from that of others. Henry Cockburn described this as an advancing 'liberality' on Inglis' part (see H.Cockburn,*Memorials of his Time*, Edinburgh,A & C Black,1856,p.233).

¹⁰⁰ See Professor Dugald Stewart,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.235.

¹⁰¹ Inglis,op.cit.,p.13.

¹⁰² Inglis,op.cit.,p.17.

¹⁰³ Inglis,op.cit.,p.17.

¹⁰⁴ Stewart had insisted that as the prejudices (essentially the Baconian *idola*) inherent in man's nature were removed a path for the positive aspects of christian faith, the potential for belief was created. In fact, in his moral philosophy lectures Stewart displayed the same emphases on rationality as Inglis. "It is," stated Stewart," to a mind well fitted for the discovery and reception of truth in general that the evidences of religion appear the most satisfactory"(see Stewart,op.cit.p.248).

John Inglis was, then, a proponent of the old school of apologetic theology whose leading representatives were George Campbell, Thomas Reid and George Hill. Its emphasis on natural religion and universal reason had roots in the philosophical controversies and historical realities of eighteenth century Scotland. And though in the early 1830s Inglis sensed that his contemporaries were less ready to emphasise the role of rationality in religion¹⁰⁵ his conception of the Institution in Calcutta demonstrated his unshaken confidence in the power of reason to transform society. He saw the Institution not just as an educational establishment but as a key weapon in the struggle against Hindu superstition.

The sermon to the S.S.P.C.K. in 1818 also demonstrates that John Inglis intended the presbyterian intervention in Calcutta to be more than an exercise in apologetic theology. A major aim was to be involvement in the development of Indian civil society. In an oblique reference to Bryce's reports Inglis concluded the sermon by arguing that schools needed to be founded, and that the *ecclesiastical establishment* in Eastern India

"may afford many facilities for communicating the knowledge of religious truth"¹⁰⁶.

Here the other main strand in Inglis', and indeed Scottish presbyterian thinking of the early nineteenth century appears. This involves the debate on the nature, extent and legitimacy of ecclesiastical establishment.

Once again, in Inglis' sermons and published works we gain an insight into the broader significance of the notion of ecclesiastical establishment. In a sermon entitled "The Importance of Ecclesiastical Establishments" preached in January 1821¹⁰⁷, Inglis reviewed the current condition of the Church of Scotland and insisted on the broad significance of the Established Church. The real object of religious institutions, he asserted, was "not the good of those who administer them, but the general welfare of men"¹⁰⁸. Religious establishment,

¹⁰⁵ 'There are symptoms of a disposition...to attach less importance...to the external evidences. But this (is) not justified by either Scripture or reason.' (Inglis, *Vindication of Chr. Faith*, p.321).

¹⁰⁶ Inglis, Sermon 1818, p.32.

¹⁰⁷ J.Inglis, *The Importance of Ecclesiastical Establishments: A Sermon preached on Monday 29th. Jan. 1821 before the society incorporated by Royal Charter for the Benefit of the Sons of the Clergy of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, Anderson, 1821.

¹⁰⁸ Inglis, op.cit., p.3.

like natural religion, was founded in "the first principles of our nature"¹⁰⁹ and social worship of this kind was universal and natural.

Inglis was a consistent proponent of these doctrines to the end of his life. Twelve years later in *A Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishment* published in 1833¹¹⁰ he insisted, that religion was essential to the good order of human society and, positively,

"ecclesiastical establishments were the great instrument in the hand of God for a more extensive propagation of the Gospel"¹¹¹.

The existence of ecclesiastical establishment promoted a

"tendency to sanctify and strengthen the bands of civil society"¹¹².

The establishment of the Church of Scotland in the Indian Presidencies in 1814 and, more specifically, in Calcutta entailed much more than the extension of presbyterian polity to new imperial territory. From the beginning, John Inglis had promoted a positive vision of the social and moral role that established presbyterianism might play in Indian civil society.

Inglis' plans, however, had a whole series of administrative and financial problems to confront before they were to be realised and the work of sustaining the missions project through the 1820s was often to prove extremely difficult. John Inglis, as his colleagues recognised, played a key role in assuring the future of the Institution in one form or another.

The first of Inglis' difficulties occurred when James Bryce returned home on furlough in 1820. In the General Assembly in May, by means of an overture, he launched an unforeseen and intemperate attack on *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor*¹¹³. The use of Assembly overtures for personal attacks on the public press was most irregular and Dr. Inglis informed the brethren that, had he known the content of the overture, he certainly would not have countenanced it. Relations between Inglis and Bryce became strained and this in turn threatened Bryce's role as Inglis' chief informant in Calcutta.

Worse was to come the following year when the Act of 1814 establishing the Church of Scotland in the Indian Presidencies was called into question at the General Assembly of

¹⁰⁹ Inglis,op.cit.,p.4.

¹¹⁰ J.Inglis, *A Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishment*, Edinburgh,Blackwood,1833.

¹¹¹ Inglis,op.cit.,p.214.

¹¹² Inglis,op.cit.,p.215.

¹¹³ Bryce claimed that as he was "about to proceed to India the *Christian Instructor* proclaimed him to the world as not being a Christian"(E.C.I.,Vol.XIX,No.VI, June 1820,p.433).

1821. The claim was that since the Act had not been transmitted to presbyteries under the Barrier Act its legitimacy was in doubt. When it came to a vote, however, the majority affirmed the Assembly's power to disjoin and erect presbyteries¹¹⁴ and despite a further controversy in September of the same year the decision stood. The relationship of the Church of Scotland to its overseas establishments was affirmed. Procedurally the way was clear for the home church to respond as it saw fit to developments in the Indian Presidencies. According to James Bryce this settlement was the key to the future of the Church of Scotland's mission in Calcutta¹¹⁵.

In the meantime, Bryce had returned to Calcutta. But whereas in 1814 he had been initially pessimistic about the possibility of mission to the Hindus, now he observed, as many others had, that there was a profound social change in process among the elite of Calcutta. As a phenomenon this is what recent historians have described as the onset of Westernization, or more specifically that flowering of East Indian intellectual life known as the Bengal Renaissance.

Of course, there had been a constant westernization of the administrative system in Bengal since the arrival of the East India Company in the mid-eighteenth century. The Regulating Act of Lord North setting up the Calcutta Supreme Court had introduced principles of English law into the Bengali judicial system, for example. And during Cornwallis' Governor Generalship the old Mogul system of financial and civil administration had been abolished and civil jurisdiction had been separated from revenue collection¹¹⁶. In 1793, moreover, a new property system had been introduced by the 'Permanent Settlement' in which the zemindars or local Bengali landowners were given inalienable rights over their districts¹¹⁷. The leading historian of early nineteenth century Bengali intellectual life, David Kopf, has noted that a further

"group of 'acculturated' civil, military, and judicial officials (and some

¹¹⁴ Church lawyers managed to adduce historical precedents to show that the establishment in the Presidencies could conceivably be regarded as a continuation of the establishment at Campveere in the Netherlands, see *Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland etc.*, op.cit., p.473-474.

¹¹⁵ Now "An ecclesiastical connection with that country had been created, under the Act of the Court of Directors of the Hon. E.I.C." and the Act of the General Assembly of May 1814. In this way, the Church of Scotland was *legitimately* extended.

¹¹⁶ M.E.Chamberlain, *Britain and India - The Interaction of Two Peoples*, David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1974, pps.66-67.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*

missionaries)"¹¹⁸

was responsible for the "positive aspects of westernization and modernization" of Bengali thought in this period.

The pre-1813 East India Company, however, had attempted to restrain European influence as a matter of general policy. It had, instead, encouraged traditional Hindu learning¹¹⁹ by offering financial grants and following a strictly neutral scheme of non-interference in religious matters¹²⁰.

Despite this a number of Europeans, including Scots like J.Duncan, J.B.Gilchrist and W. Hunter, had been involved in educational affairs in Calcutta as early as 1791¹²¹. In 1800 a College had been founded at Fort William to train young men for the Civil Service in India. By far the most important institution of this period in terms of the Westernization of Bengali thought, however, was the Hindu College.

As part of the general expansion of institutions after the renegotiation of the East India Company Charter, the Hindu College was established in Calcutta in January 1817 as a response by Sir Hyde East, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, to the requests of leading Hindus¹²². The College was an English-language school offering advanced teaching to Hindus¹²³ and was a primary catalyst as a "cultivator of European literature and European science"¹²⁴.

The early Baptist missionaries, of course, had also been active in the field of education.

¹¹⁸ Kopf,op.cit.,p.4.

¹¹⁹ There had always been an educational system of a sort in Bengal, offering elementary education in *pathshalas*, and higher education in Hindu *tols* or Muslim *madrassas* (see Laird,op.cit.,pps.44-47).

¹²⁰ V.N.Datta, 'Western ideas as reflected in the official attitude towards social and educational policy 1800-1835', in B.Prased(ed),*Ideas in History: Proceedings of a Seminar on Ideas including Social and Religious Movements and political and economic policies during the 18th. and 19th. Centuries in India*, London, Asia Publishing House, 1968,p.45.

¹²¹ for an account of educational policies in this period see Laird, op.cit,pps.60-62.

¹²² Majumdar,op.cit.,pps.32-33.

¹²³ D.W.Killingley, 'The Hindu Response to Christian Missions in Nineteenth Century Bengal' in K.Ballhatchet and D.Taylor(eds.), *Changing South Asia: Religion and Society*, Asian Research Service, 1984,p.114.

¹²⁴ Presidency College, Calcutta, Centenary Vol.1955, Alipore, W.Bengal, W.Bengal Govt. Press, 1956,p.2 quoted in Kopf, op.cit.,p.181.

William Carey, especially, had developed the College at Serampore and Joshua Marshman, one of Carey's colleagues had in fact emerged as the leading mission educationalist in the Presidency. His activities had inspired many other projects in Bengal¹²⁵.

Other important agencies of Western education in Calcutta were the Calcutta School Book Society¹²⁶, founded in 1817, and the Calcutta School Society¹²⁷, established in 1818. Both of these carried on education in the Bengali language, with some teaching of modern science and English¹²⁸. These colleges were run jointly by Indians and Europeans, and were careful to avoid religious controversy¹²⁹. The Fourth Report of the Calcutta School Book Society published in 1825 recorded a total of 166 schools established in Calcutta since 1818¹³⁰.

Along with the profound economic and social changes in Eastern India and the growth of Calcutta's commercial institutions, the increasing demand for Western education underlay the development of a Westernized elite in Bengal. David Kopf, the historian of the Bengali Renaissance has described this elite as

"a distinctively new social grouping in India...composed of an elite and an intelligentsia...urban, literate and sophisticated; its status...founded more on wealth than on caste; ...professional, not a literati group...it was receptive to new knowledge, ideas and values; it absorbed new attitudes and its intellectuals created a syncretic cultural tradition.."131.

While for the most part this intelligentsia regarded Hinduism as "an exhausted culture" there was, nevertheless, broad agreement that Hinduism was "capable of revitalization"¹³².

J.T.F. Jordans has distinguished a further range of Bengali responses to Western influence. He has noted the presence of radical and conservative movements within the Bengal elite itself. But of most relevance, perhaps, to the Church of Scotland's future project

¹²⁵ Kopf,op.cit.,p.73; and Laird,op.cit.,pps.59-85.

¹²⁶ see Laird,op.cit.,pps.101-106.

¹²⁷ see Laird,op.cit.,pps.107-109.

¹²⁸ for an account of missionary involvement in English language teaching see Laird,op.cit.,pps.93-100.

¹²⁹ Killingley,op.cit.,p.114.

¹³⁰ From The Fourth Report of the Calcutta School Society, in *The Asiatic Journal*, XXII,Jul.1826,p.73, quoted in Kopf,op.cit.,p.162.

¹³¹ Kopf,op.cit.,p.213.

¹³² Kopf,op.cit.,p.8.

in this period was the movement for Hindu reform, whose leading representative, "the first great modern (Hindu) reformer"¹³³ was Ram Mohun Roy¹³⁴.

Ram Mohun Roy espoused a deistic type of theism, typical of Enlightenment thought¹³⁵ and on the basis of this theory held that there was "a ... core of rational religion and humanitarian ethics" common to all religions¹³⁶. Along with Mrtyunjay Vidyalanka, the Hindu scholar, he advanced the thesis of the universality of all cultures¹³⁷. In December 1823, through Bishop Heber of Calcutta, Mohun Roy went so far as to protest to the Governor General, Lord Amherst, against the founding of a new Sanskrit school. The foundation of the Sanskrit College represented the continuation of the older policy of encouraging traditional learning of the East India Company¹³⁸. Mohun Roy, however, advocated instead a liberal education consisting of a course in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Anatomy. He regarded the study of Sanskrit grammar as fruitless, the equivalent of the medieval "system of the schoolmen" displaced in England by the true "Baconian philosophy"¹³⁹.

By 1823, James Bryce had been nine years minister at St. Andrews Church of Scotland in Calcutta. Where initially he had thought that "any attempt to shake the Hindu in the faith of his fathers" was futile¹⁴⁰, the development of this Westernized elite and the activities of the Hindu reformers now drew him to enquire how

"the establishment of ...our National Church...may be rendered conducive towards the moral and religious instruction of the native population"¹⁴¹.

¹³³ J.T.F.Jordans, 'Hindu Religious and Social Reform in British India', in *A Cultural History of India*, A.L. Basham(ed.), Oxford, Clarendon, 1975, pps.336-337.

¹³⁴ see also Laird,op.cit.,pps.52-55.

¹³⁵ One Indian historian has argued that "Post-enlightenment rationalism was at the heart of the intellectual tradition encountered by the Bengali intelligentsia"(see T.Raychaudhuri,*Europe Reconsidered : Perceptions of the West in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, Delhi,O.U.P.,1988,p.20).

¹³⁶ Jordans,op.cit.,p.366-367.

¹³⁷ Kopf,op.cit.,p.207.

¹³⁸ Datta,op.cit.,p.45.

¹³⁹ Mohun Roy,*Works*,p.472-474, cited in Majumdar,pps.34-35.

¹⁴⁰ Bryce, *Native Education*, p.57.

¹⁴¹ Bryce,*Native Education*,p.282.

In a Memorial to the General Assembly from the Kirk Session of St. Andrews dated 8th. December 1823, Bryce described the process he saw taking place in Calcutta and wrote of the "wide and inviting field"¹⁴² opening for the Established Church of Scotland in the city.

In this important document Bryce began by explaining that the Government policy of encouraging commerce and higher education had generated an openness to Western thought among the Bengali elite¹⁴³. The developing school system and the more or less open cultural relations between Indians and Europeans in this period were together producing an enlightened Bengali social class¹⁴⁴. Bryce pointed out the positive opportunities for the Kirk Session of St. Andrews to engage in this process by meeting

"the religious needs of the rising class of intelligent young men"¹⁴⁵

To meet the dangers of secularisation in this urban class, Bryce argued for the necessity of an apologetic counter-offensive

"to prevent their falling into deism and infidelity"¹⁴⁶

and

"to carry them forward to a knowledge of Christianity, its evidences and doctrines"¹⁴⁷.

As evidence for the social process he had described, Bryce pointed to recent institutional developments in Calcutta. The Government had established a General Committee of Public Instruction to co-ordinate the flourishing Literary Societies in Calcutta¹⁴⁸. The Church of England had already started construction¹⁴⁹ of the Bishop's College on the banks of the Ganges¹⁵⁰. And, of course, Mission Societies, as he observed, had been active in the city

¹⁴² Bryce, *Native Education*, p.282.

¹⁴³ "enlightened and liberal policy...had generated a spirit of inquiry, and a desire of improvement, on the part of the higher and better educated classes of the native population"(Bryce,*Native Education*,p.15).

¹⁴⁴ Bryce,*Ten Years*, pps.238-239.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Bryce,*Native Education*,p.52.

¹⁴⁹ Bryce,*Native Education*,p.282.

¹⁵⁰ Bryce,*Native Education*,p.18.

for many years.

In Bryce's estimation, however, despite considerable activity in Calcutta, mission projects in the city had had only limited success. According to his analysis this had more to do with a wrong methodology than with the prejudices of the Hindus¹⁵¹. In terms characteristic of the Scottish theory of civil-social development he contended that missionary efforts should be directed more towards the urban elite and less towards the lower social classes¹⁵².

Bryce detailed the way in which this might be achieved. Two Scottish ministers or probationers would acquire a fluent knowledge of Bengali in order to speak and preach to Hindu audiences gathered in St. Andrews Church. Accompanying this a "Scottish College" would be set up in Calcutta¹⁵³ to be financed by a general parochial collection in Scotland. The risks in such a project were minimal, argued Bryce. The Government's normal reluctance to countenance explicitly missionary projects in Eastern India would be moderated by the fact that the Established Church was involved¹⁵⁴. The only other uncertainty was to whether the westernization process was a permanent social development¹⁵⁵. Along with the text of the Memorial, Bryce included a petition of support from Ram Mohun Roy. In summary, then, Bryce's plan was for a Scottish College and Bengali language discussion and worship at St. Andrews Church of Scotland.

Inglis must have received the documents by early January 1824 for by the end of that month he gave notice of a motion to be made at the February meeting of Edinburgh Presbytery concerning an overture to the General Assembly. St. Andrews Church of Scotland in Calcutta was of course subject to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. The proposed overture asked the Assembly to

"take into consideration the expediency of employing such prudent means as may be in its power for facilitating and promoting the propagation of the Gospel among

¹⁵¹ Bryce, *Native Education*, p.284.

¹⁵² Bryce, *Native Education*, pps.284-285.

¹⁵³ Bryce, *Native Education*, p.287. The actual structure of the "Scottish College" Bryce had in mind remains unclear. It may refer to the lectures to be given in St. Andrew's Church or to a projected educational institution. In actual fact, Bryce may have kept these early plans deliberately vague in order to attract broad support in the Assembly.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Bryce, *Native Education*, pps.52-53.

the native inhabitants...subject to British Government in India"¹⁵⁶.

By the time of the February meeting¹⁵⁷ Inglis had made an addition to the original text to include a request for the appointment of an Assembly Committee to

"devise...a plan for the accomplishment of this object...including the Establishment and maintenance of one or more Schools or Seminaries for extending to the children of Native Hindoos...such an Education as may under God have the effect of preparing (them)...for the reception of the Gospel"¹⁵⁸.

According to the text of the overture, the Committee would seek permission for this from the Board of Directors of the East India Company¹⁵⁹. Once this permission was gained an Extraordinary Collection would be made in every parish in Scotland before May 1825 in order to finance the scheme¹⁶⁰.

At this point, then, the overture to the Assembly had three broad aims. Firstly to gain support for involvement in an Indian mission. Secondly, to establish an elementary school for Hindu children in Bengal. This, in fact, was a significant departure from the general thrust of Bryce's Memorial which had envisaged a 'Scottish College' and some kind of christian engagement with the members of the Bengali elite. And thirdly, to finance the project by a general collection.

Inglis was careful to seek influential patrons for the scheme to extend presbyterian polity¹⁶¹ in Calcutta. He sought the support of Charles Grant, the father of Lord Glenelg

¹⁵⁶ Edinburgh Presbytery Minutes,p.60, S.R.O. CH 2/121/20c.

¹⁵⁷ Coincidentally, Rev. Andrew Thomson also put forward a complaint(Edinburgh Presbytery Minutes,p.63, 25th.Feb.1824 & p.70 28th. Apr. 1824. S.R.O. CH 2 /121/20c) about James Bryce's activities in Calcutta at the same presbytery, embroiling Bryce in yet another controversy in the pages of *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor*. Thomson, however, had been misinformed(see *A Short Answer to a long speech of the Rev.Dr.Andrew Thomson, In the Presbytery of Edinburgh against the Rev.Dr.Bryce of Calcutta, by moderate men*,Edinburgh,Ruthven,n.d.). He had accused Bryce of pluralism on the grounds of a rather confused report in *The Calcutta Journal* for July 1823(see *Short Answer...*). *The Journal* had carried a report of a trial at which Bryce had been present which had given the erroneous impression that Bryce was working as a clerk for the East India Company !

¹⁵⁸ Edinburgh Presbytery Minutes,25th.Feb. 1824,pps.62-63, S.R.O. CH 2/121/20c.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁶¹ "It was felt," wrote Bryce, "that the presbyterian polity was not fully transferred to ...India...until the seminary for the young accompanied the church..."(Bryce,*Ten Years*,p.238).

who had been chairman of the East India Company from 1805 onwards¹⁶² and Thomas Hamilton the 9th. Earl of Haddington who as Lord Binning M.P. was a member of the Privy Council, Commissioner for the Management of Affairs in India until 1822 and a member of the Board of Control of the E.I.C.¹⁶³. Sir Henry Moncrieff, minister of St. Cuthbert's Edinburgh, chaplain to the Prince of Wales and leading member of the Popular Party also lent his support¹⁶⁴.

The Assembly in May 1824 voted unanimously in favour of Inglis' overture. According to *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, there had been a contested point in the debate

"about the necessity of civilization going before efforts to spread Christianity"¹⁶⁵.

The Instructor also reported Dr. Henry Duncan¹⁶⁶ of Ruthwell's attack on the project's civil-social emphasis and its elitist aims. However, the Assembly's unanimous support for the overture indicates that *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor* had simplified and polarised positions in its General Assembly reports in July 1824 and that opposition to the scheme was minimal.

John Inglis, of course, remained firmly committed to the Moderate Interest in this period. In 1823, for example, he was writing to Sir William Rae, Lord Advocate, M.P. for Anstruther Burghs and leading Tory¹⁶⁷, that

"if anything like popular elections of the Ministers were to be allowed...the consequences would be serious both to the moderate Interest...and the peace of the country"¹⁶⁸.

Indeed Inglis' Moderate principles sometimes engendered opposition from leading evangelicals during Assembly debates. Nevertheless, the strongest and most influential opposition to the Calcutta project came from ultra conservatives in the Moderate Party itself.

¹⁶² Bryce, *Native Education*, pps.19., D.N.B., Vol.XXII, pps.378-379.

¹⁶³ Bryce, *Native Education*, p.19, D.N.B., Vol.XXIV, pps.213-214 and G.Smith, *op.cit.*, p.43.

¹⁶⁴ Bryce, *Native Education*, p.22; D.N.B., Vol.XXXVIII, pps.167-168.

¹⁶⁵ E.C.I., Vol.XXIII, No.VII, July 1824.

¹⁶⁶ He was joined in this by Dr. Brunton and Rev. Paul. (*ibid.*).

¹⁶⁷ D.N.B., Vol.XLVII, pps.153-154.

¹⁶⁸ Inglis to Sir. W.Rae, 3.5.1823, New College, Chalmers Corresp. CHA 5.7.69.

In early June 1824, John Hope, the Solicitor General for Scotland¹⁶⁹ wrote to Viscount Melville insisting that

"Dr. Inglis has done very great detriment to the moderate Interest during this Assembly...coming forward with a most preposterous scheme for the Church of Scotland to identify itself with all the missionaries in the two Hemispheres and to collect funds by parochial collections"¹⁷⁰.

Hope informed Melville that the best course of action, according to Dr.Nicoll¹⁷¹, was to await the formation of the Assembly Committee and then encourage its members to quietly subvert the whole scheme. He advised Melville to frustrate Inglis's project if the opportunity arose¹⁷².

The newly founded Committee on the Propagation of the Gospel Abroad, however, emerged as an administrative success involving close co-operation between members of the Popular Party and the Moderate Interest. In the years following the Napoleonic wars until the late 1820s a non-partisan mood had arisen and party differences diminished, as many contemporaries noted¹⁷³. The Committee on the Propagation of the Gospel Abroad benefited from this and came to represent this consensus in the Church of Scotland. It continued to remain immune from party wrangling until the Disruption itself¹⁷⁴. The main achievements of the Committee, in the opinion of its leading members, were entirely owing to the labours of John Inglis himself¹⁷⁵.

¹⁶⁹ D.N.B., Vol.IX, pps.1218-1219.

¹⁷⁰ Hope to Melville, 5.6.1824, N.L.S. Melville MSS, Ms.11, pps.159-160.

¹⁷¹ Principal of the United College at St.Andrews University, and leading member of the Moderate Party.

¹⁷² *ibid.*

¹⁷³ Cook, *op.cit.*, p.210, Brown, *op.cit.*, p.211, Campbell, *op.cit.*, p.163 (cited in Macinnes, *op.cit.*, p.176).

¹⁷⁴ In November 1840 Alexander Brunton wrote to John Wilson in Bombay, "Our Church fever is by no means abated. It is carrying its lamentable heats by far too much into private society, but it has not as yet touched at all our committee...Nothing can be more harmonious and united than it continues to be." (see G.Smith, *Life of John Wilson*, p.214).

¹⁷⁵ The chairman, Alexander Brunton, recorded that the Committee co-operated in "cordial good will and confidence...(with) zeal for success...reverence and...affection for the mastermind which presided over all our deliberations". Robert Gordon wrote that Inglis' "coadjutors had little more to do, than to admire and approve the Christian wisdom and maturity of his plans"(Brunton & Gordon, *op.cit.*, pps.25 & 45).

The first report of the Committee was ready by the General Assembly of May 1825¹⁷⁶. Eleven points were put forward for the Assembly's approval. Summarising, the Committee suggested that, having chosen a province in India for the Assembly's project the Church should seek permission from the Court of Directors of the E.I.C. When this was obtained funds were to be raised by a special collection¹⁷⁷, with half of the sum raised to be set aside to finance the first five years of the scheme. The rest was to be invested as capital. The report envisaged a central seminary of education, with branch schools in the countryside under a headmaster, who was to be an ordained member of the Church. He would be joined by two assistant teachers¹⁷⁸.

The Committee's report had returned to a broader conception of the functioning of the Institution. Besides teaching, for example, the headmaster was to "embrace opportunities...to recommend the Gospel of Christ"¹⁷⁹ as they arose, and to "court the society of those...who have already received a liberal education", using tracts "illustrative of the Import, the Evidences and the History of our Christian Faith"¹⁸⁰. He was also to preach. The Assembly would appoint a management committee to order and regulate the Institution. Activities could be extended if the Assembly thought it necessary¹⁸¹. The Assembly approved the Report, re-appointed the Committee and agreed in principle on the special collection.

By the beginning of February 1826, Inglis had prepared a statement to be distributed to the parishes of Scotland to publicise the special collection¹⁸². On the first of the month he wrote to members of the Committee, including Thomas Chalmers¹⁸³, to intimate a series

¹⁷⁶ Bryce, *Native Education*, pps.288-291.

¹⁷⁷ Bryce, *Native Education*, p.288.

¹⁷⁸ Bryce, *Native Education*, p.289.

¹⁷⁹ Bryce, *op.cit.*, p.289.

¹⁸⁰ Bryce, *op.cit.*, p.289.

¹⁸¹ Bryce, *op.cit.* p.290.

¹⁸² J.Inglis D.D., *Letter to the People of Scotland relative to the Propagation of the Gospel in India*, Edinburgh, Paton & Ritchie, 1826, (repr.1857).

¹⁸³ During the period of the renewal of the E.I.C. Charter, Chalmers had been actively associated with the Scottish Mission Societies, preaching on their behalf in 1812 (see T.Chalmers, *The Two Great Instruments appointed for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Duty of the Christian Public to keep them Both in vigorous operation*,

of meetings to discuss the draft statement. The Committee, as was customary, met in the Exchange Coffee House¹⁸⁴.

The *Letter to the People of Scotland* was carefully crafted both to publicise the project and answer possible public objections. Inglis, however, could afford to adopt a confident tone since he now had the support of the General Assembly and the standing committee. He was also well informed on the situation in Calcutta through Bryce's reports. Far more importantly, he also had objective information on the educational institutions in Calcutta in Charles Lushington's recently published *History of Calcutta's Religious Institutions*¹⁸⁵.

Since they 'could not be indifferent to the condition of the human race' Inglis was sure that the public would generously assist the General Assembly's scheme¹⁸⁶. He acknowledged in the *Letter* that the project faced major difficulties and neither Protestant nor Catholic missions had yet met with much success¹⁸⁷. There were, however, possibilities for the founding of a Church of Scotland school in India, Inglis informed his readers. Using Lushington's *Calcutta Institutions* as his main source¹⁸⁸, Inglis drew the attention of the presbyterian public to developments in Calcutta. It was apparent on the evidence of the 5th. Report of the Calcutta School Book Society that there was a huge

Preached before the Dundee Missionary Society, Monday Oct. 26th. 1812, in Works, Volume 11, Glasgow) and 1814 (T. Chalmers, The Utility of Missions ascertained by Experience, Sermon to the S.P.C.K., Edinburgh, June 2nd. 1814). Though he was a member of the Assembly's Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel Abroad, he was much less effectively involved in its business.

¹⁸⁴ Inglis to Chalmers, 1.2.1826, New College, Chalmers Corresp., CHA 4.57.74.

¹⁸⁵ Charles Lushington, later M.P. for Ashburton (1833-1841) and Westminster (1847-1852), was a civil servant with the East India Company and son of Sir Stephen Lushington who had been a director of the E.I.C. He had surveyed all the religious and benevolent institutions within Calcutta and had given a very valuable insight into the state of educational affairs in the city. This objective statistical information was just what Inglis required to support his case for presbyterian involvement (C. Lushington, *The History, Design and Present State of the Religious, Benevolent and Charitable Institutions founded by the British in Calcutta and its vicinity*, Calcutta, 1824).

¹⁸⁶ Inglis, *Letter*, p.3.

¹⁸⁷ Inglis, op.cit., p.5. He may also have been aware of the increasing pessimism among some missionaries at the future prospects for education in Bengal (see Laird, op.cit., p.176).

¹⁸⁸ Inglis quoted Lushington 13 times in 19 pages.

demand for elementary education¹⁸⁹ and an growing desire for education in the English language¹⁹⁰. Local schools had no difficulty in attracting endowments¹⁹¹ and while there were already an estimated 40,000 students within the school system many more were looking for places particularly in seminaries of higher education¹⁹².

The main elements of a presbyterian involvement in these developments, Inglis told his readers, were already in place¹⁹³. And this time the Church could count on a closer co-operation with the Government. Inglis reminded his readers that the superintendent of the proposed Institution would also engage in preaching as the need arose¹⁹⁴.

Inglis had hoped for a good response to the collection¹⁹⁵ but the raising of finance proved to be painfully slow. In late 1826 Inglis was once again preaching on the subject of missions¹⁹⁶ to try and raise funds. By July 1827 he had received some help from the Scottish Missionary Societies¹⁹⁷ and by the end of the year the Church of Scotland congregation in Bombay was able to send the sum of over three thousand rupees¹⁹⁸. At the beginning of 1828 James Bryce had informed Inglis that fund raising in Calcutta itself

¹⁸⁹ Inglis,op.cit.,p.6 ; Lushington,op.cit.,p.158.

¹⁹⁰ Inglis,op.cit.,p.9 ; Lushington,op.cit.,p.38.

¹⁹¹ Inglis,op.cit.,p.7 ; Lushington,op.cit.,pps.45 & 165.

¹⁹² Inglis,op.cit.,p.11.

¹⁹³ Inglis,op.cit.,p.13.

¹⁹⁴ Inglis,op.cit.,p.13.

¹⁹⁵ While such a collection was a relative innovation there had been precedents. Inglis quoted the example of the collection in England in 1819 for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sponsored by the Royal Family(see Inglis,op.cit.,p.16f).

¹⁹⁶ Inglis returned to themes familiar from the sermon in 1818. Examining the progress of the kingdom he argued that christianity had been hindered by its corruption. However, providentially, the British Empire provided the same opportunities as the Roman Empire at the time of Constantine. In particular, Inglis informed his hearers, in the Indian sub-continent(see J.Inglis,*A Sermon preached in the Old Greyfriars Church Edinburgh, Dec.10th. 1826*,Edinburgh,Waugh and Innes,1826).

¹⁹⁷ Inglis to St.Andrews Aux.Miss.Soc.,2.7.1827, New College, Chalmers Corresp.,CHA 4.77.3.

¹⁹⁸ C.of S. Kirk Session, Bombay to Inglis, 22.12.1827, N.L.S. MS.7531.

was proving very difficult¹⁹⁹.

At the General Assembly of 1828, however, the Committee was able to report²⁰⁰ that £2500 had been raised in Scotland of which all but £500 had been donated by 230 parish churches and chapels of ease (one quarter of all the parish churches in the land). £1000 had been raised at Calcutta and £300 at Bombay²⁰¹.

In comparison with the slow rate of planning of the projected Institution and the difficulties in the raising of finance, the appointment of the first superintendent was relatively rapid. During session 1827-1828 Principal Haldane of St. Mary's College at St. Andrews University had made tentative enquiries, on behalf of Dr. Inglis²⁰², as to whether or not Alexander Duff was interested in the post. Duff had indicated that he wished to finish his studies first. At the General Assembly in May 1828 in his report on behalf of the Committee Thomas Chalmers had noted that matters were proceeding slowly, but insisted that it was important to find

"a man of intelligence and piety, a complete man of science...deep and devoted sacredness... able to preach the doctrine of Christ crucified"²⁰³.

The Committee waited another year until the spring of 1829. Then at the beginning of February Dr. Ferrie, the Professor of Civil History at the United College, repeated Haldane's request²⁰⁴. Ferrie's cousin had originally enquired about the post, but the Professor was uncertain of his relative's suitability and asked Duff instead. Around the same time Duff also received a letter on the same subject from Dr. Muir, deputising for Dr. Inglis who was indisposed through illness²⁰⁵. Inglis indicated that he wanted a quick reply. By the 12th of March Duff had written to Thomas Chalmers to inform him that he had decided to accept

¹⁹⁹ Part of the problem may have been to do with the fact that relationships had deteriorated between the St. Andrews congregation and the Calcutta establishment. The Marquess of Hastings was the last Governor-General (1813-1823) to have visited the Scotch Kirk. And James Bryce had heard a rumour that Lord Amherst "could not reconcile it to his conscience to enter a Presbyterian Church"(Bryce to Blackwood, N.L.S., Blackwood MSS, No.4021, f76,f78).

²⁰⁰ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, No.CXXVI, No.6731, 30.5.1828, p.349.

²⁰¹ *ibid.*

²⁰² Smith, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.45.

²⁰³ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, *ibid.*

²⁰⁴ Smith, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, *ibid.*

²⁰⁵ Smith, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.48.

the post²⁰⁶. In June 1829, Inglis received permission from the East India Company allowing Duff to proceed to their territories in the East Indies.

Matters now moved very quickly. Alexander Duff moved down to Edinburgh, where he had time to observe classes at John Wood's Sessional School²⁰⁷. The Committee outlined the main principles of the superintendency and its financial terms²⁰⁸. For his part Duff insisted on certain preconditions. Firstly that he should have perfect liberty as to the modes of operation of the Institution and secondly, that he should be independent of the Chaplains and Kirk Session of Calcutta²⁰⁹. This, of course, meant that Duff was free from the immediate jurisdiction of Rev. James Bryce and the St. Andrews Kirk Session, an important consideration in a situation which demanded some measure of flexibility. Inglis had the wisdom to agree to this, though he did remind Duff that he should consider developing work in the rural districts²¹⁰.

With the details of the superintendency settled Duff proceeded to trials for licence as a preacher²¹¹. His ordination was arranged for 12th. of August²¹². Inglis wrote to Thomas Chalmers ask him to preach at the service and undertook to organise an extraordinary collection²¹³ at the ordination for the work of the Institution.

Duff was married in August to Ann Scott Drysdale of Edinburgh and on the 19th. of September they left Leith for London²¹⁴. Duff took with him letters of introduction to the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, the Earl of Dalhousie and Rev. James

²⁰⁶ Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,pps.46-49.

²⁰⁷ Laird,op.cit.,p.180-183 ; see also Saunders,op.cit.,pps.248-249.

²⁰⁸ Duff was to receive £300 a year plus a free house.(see Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.52).

²⁰⁹ Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.50.

²¹⁰ *ibid.*

²¹¹ His examiners were Dr. Thomson and Dr. Inglis - Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,pps.50-51.

²¹² Inglis to Chalmers,30.7.1829,New College,Chalmers Corresp.,CHA 4.123.1.

²¹³ At the beginning of August Inglis asked Chalmers to explain the work of the proposed Institution to the congregation to try and increase givings at the extraordinary collection(Inglis to Chalmers,7.8.1829,New College,Chalmers Corresp.,CHA 4.123.56).

²¹⁴ Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.61.

Bryce²¹⁵. Earlier in the month Inglis had already written to Bryce to announce Duff's imminent arrival. He knew nothing, he told Bryce, of Duff's Moderate or Evangelical leanings²¹⁶. He merely informed Bryce that the proposed Institution was to be somewhere "in the neighbourhood of Calcutta"²¹⁷. By the end of September, Duff informed Inglis that the necessary documents had been signed at India House, and that one of the Scottish officials of the East India Company, a Mr. Pirie, had been able to find superior cabin accommodation for them on board the *Lady Holland*.

Boarding on the 10th. of October 1829, Alexander and Ann Duff set sail from Ryde on board *The Lady Holland* on the 14th. On the 13th. of February 1830 the ship ran aground on Dassen Island 40 miles to the north of Cape Town²¹⁸. Inglis published Duff's letter describing the shipwreck in June 1830, and the Edinburgh Christian Instructor published extracts in its July issue. Through this publicity, the Church of Scotland Mission in Calcutta entered for the first time into the broadest public arena. The shipwreck and the fact that all on board were saved was laden with Pauline resonances which would not have been lost on the Scottish evangelical public. For many, Duff would be a man marked by the special 'overruling of divine providence'.

At Cape Town the Duffs transferred to *The Moira*²¹⁹. They arrived at the Hooghly estuary at the end of May 1830 where the ship was badly damaged by a cyclone. The Duffs travelled overland, finally, to Calcutta on the 27th. of May 1830 where they took up residence with Dr. Brown the Junior Chaplain of St. Andrews Church of Scotland²²⁰.

Alexander Duff, then, as future superintendent of the General Assembly's Scheme, was now resident in Calcutta. The location, construction, administrative structure and educational curriculum of the Institution was henceforth his concern.

The major historical study of this subject has quite rightly emphasised the role of Dr.

²¹⁵ *ibid.*

²¹⁶ Smith, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.62.

²¹⁷ Smith, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.63.

²¹⁸ Smith, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.71.

²¹⁹ Smith, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.81.

²²⁰ Smith, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.84.

John Inglis in the *organisation* of the Church of Scotland's mission scheme²²¹. However, to attribute to Inglis "the main principle of the plan which was eventually accepted"²²² is to follow the rhetoric of Duff's Edinburgh lectures in 1839 too closely. On the contrary, the historical evidence suggests that the 'main principles of the plan' derive, in fact, from the context of a long debate among Scottish theologians such as George Campbell and George Hill on the status and development of religion in civil society. It was from this tradition too that Inglis derived the notion of institutionally determined civil-social change which underlay the establishment of the Institution in Calcutta. Recent historical study, furthermore, would suggest that the presbyterian emphasis on the role of education and learning in the development of Eastern Indian society derived directly from the discussion in Enlightenment Scotland on the importance of a moral apex, a virtuous elite as a motivating force in civil society²²³.

Several distinct but related elements of the earlier discussions of the Scottish Calvinist theologians, then, came together in the planning for the projected Institution in Calcutta. In essence these constituted a theory of social development. This 'theory', if we may call it that for the moment, drew on the empirical emphases of Robertson and Hill on the historical evolution of European society. Christianity was understood to have appeared by means of causes which, though providential, nevertheless operated through determined, historical moments. The spread of the primitive church, for example, was held to have occurred at and through a determinate historical moment in the evolution of Roman civilization. On a similar interpretation the Reformation 'moment' followed the Renaissance of human learning in the previous century. Theologians like John Inglis believed that the development of enlightened ideas and the spread of the British Empire in the late eighteenth century heralded another 'moment' for European christianity in India.

If we accept this interpretation of the Scottish theology of civil society then we are able to account, in a broad sense, for the intentions underlying the establishment of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta. Eastern Indian urban society was understood to

²²¹ "The main credit for the foundation of the Church of Scotland's mission to Bengal should thus be given to Inglis. Apart from his pre-eminent work on its behalf in several General Assemblies and in the Committee, it was he who had first suggested the main principle of the plan which was eventually accepted. The importance of the Moderate contribution...is obvious"(see Laird, op.cit., p.200(129).

²²² *ibid.*

²²³ Allan, op.cit., p.195.

be undergoing an historical process which would bring it to the threshold of civil-social transformation. Westernization in Bengal seemed to presage just such a change. The phenomenon in question, moreover, had been recognised by several observers. Some of the followers of Thomas Paine in Calcutta anticipated the transformation as a political 'revolution'. Orientalists looked forward to a 'renaissance' of learning. In the early 1830s Alexander Duff expected a coming 'reformation'.

There can be little doubt that Scottish thinkers like John Inglis conceived the primary role of the Assembly's Institution as a catalyst for social change in Bengal. Using Western rationality as its instrument, the Institution would play a part in hastening the anticipated transformation. It would produce 'rational leaders...' who would occupy a leading role in the emergence of Indian civil society. And most importantly, it would interpolate christianity into that developed society at its very commencement.

With these considerations in mind we can turn to an examination of the early development of the General Assembly's mission in Calcutta under Duff's leadership. This particular aspect of Duff's work has been well documented, of course, and the present study is indebted to that earlier research. In the light of the historical enquiry so far, however, significant philosophical and theological factors will be given greater emphasis.

CHAPTER SIX

Alexander Duff and the Assembly's Mission in Calcutta 1830-1834

For the Church of Scotland's Mission in Calcutta the years from 1830 to 1834 were marked by notable successes. The expectations which had accompanied the earlier proposals for its establishment seemed near fulfilment. The Assembly's school expanded rapidly and became renowned for its high educational achievements. A central mission institution maintained by all the Christian denominations in Calcutta was proposed. Duff's opportunistic public lectures seemed to have had a major impact on the student elite of Calcutta and, in fact, produced the first converts for the Mission.

Yet, in the early years the work of the Institution was often the subject of criticism from a number of influential quarters. Not everyone in Calcutta agreed with Alexander Duff's analysis of Indian society or his declaration of the objectives of christian mission. On occasion he had to face social, cultural and even legal pressures. Most importantly, the high expectations invested in the Institution on the part of those who laboured for its advancement were in stark contrast to its financial situation. As will become evident, the relatively limited financial support for the mission carried theological implications. It was clear that the Institution would have to be heavily reliant on public funding from Scotland. Yet, in turn, that public funding was dependent on Scottish perceptions of the mission. At an early point Alexander Duff realised that a key task was to persuade presbyterian opinion in Scotland of the significance of the Assembly's mission in Calcutta. This would eventually be achieved by a *theological* justification of its work.

In the early months of the mission, from the end of May to mid-July 1830 Duff spent all his time in a preliminary enquiry into the precise situation of the missions in and around Calcutta¹. John Inglis and the Church of Scotland committee had given Alexander Duff the freedom to develop pragmatically those courses of action which would advance the Assembly's mission. While Inglis issued no directives the broad principles of the mission were clear, nevertheless. The general assumptions were that a school would be set up, directed towards the elite elements of Bengali society; that preaching would play a continuing part of the mission's activities, and that converts to Christianity would be the fruit of these labours. And from Bryce's Memorandum of 1823-24 onwards there had been the hope that the Superintendent of the mission would directly engage with the Westernized

¹ G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.104. Laird,op.cit.,p.202.

elite in Calcutta.

Duff began by establishing a location for the Assembly's Institution. In the absence of any 'Statistical Account'² for the city of Calcutta, Duff personally visited mission stations, schools and rural settlements with the intention of determining the best situation and procedure. He noted the apparent failure of the rural missions and the meagre results of bazaar preaching³.

Accommodation was scarce outside of Calcutta and Duff felt that the rural hinterland could not sustain the kind of Institution he had in mind. Inglis and Duff were, apparently, already aware of the difficulties that Serampore and Bishop Middleton's College faced because of their relative remoteness⁴. Rural building costs were so high anyway that an urban situation was the only one feasible for the proposed institution. Since Duff considered other urban centres like Krishnagar too remote he therefore decided that Calcutta was the only realistic option. The establishment of the Institution in Calcutta then, as several historians have noted, was for pragmatic reasons⁵.

Duff's enquiries⁶ led him to the conclusion that the best course of action was to establish an elementary school⁷. Sanskrit and English were the language options for teaching, but Duff considered Sanskrit elitist, inflexible, unsuited for scientific purposes and

² N.L.S, Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis, 28.8.1830,f27.

³ G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.107.

⁴ G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.87.

⁵ George Smith asserts that the home committee had insisted on a rule that Duff should stay beyond the bounds of Calcutta. There is little evidence for this. It seems that the committee had made a recommendation to that effect, nothing more (see G.Smith, op.cit., Vol.I,p.86, see also T.Smith,op.cit.,p.39).

⁶ In this preliminary period Duff also made some observations on the pattern of education in Bengal which would be relevant to the founding of the Assembly's school. He noted the fact that the vast majority of schools taught in the Bengali language(see G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,pps.87-103). Teaching lacked the kind of professional status Duff was familiar with in Scotland(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,28.8.1830,f30). Students were generally unused to regular attendance often leaving school before courses were completed(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,28.8.1830,f33). Duff also recognized the growing desire for English language teaching, just as Lushington had reported three years before.

⁷ N.L.S, Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis, 28.8.1830,f31.

lacking in a broad range of translated contemporary works⁸. English, in comparison to Persian or Arabic, seemed politically neutral⁹. Duff chose English for all future teaching.

There were, of course objections to the use of English. Some maintained that it would introduce yet another language into the already complex linguistic situation obtaining in Bengal and, worse, it would act as a secularising influence¹⁰. Duff countered this by arguing that the combination of English and the Bible had yet to be tried at a higher level, and in any case political circumstances were likely to change in favour of English¹¹.

The early progress of the Assembly's school has been well documented, particularly in Michael Laird's classic study of missions and education in Bengal. In late June 1830 Duff hired a hall on the Chitpore Road in the central part of native Calcutta¹² for forty rupees a month. It had been, in turn, a Hindu College and then a Unitarian Chapel belonging to the Brahmo Samaj and was, as Duff put it "entirely Hindoo in its structure "¹³.

Duff opened the school on Monday 12th. July 1830 with a small collection of students, the sons of personal friends of Ram Mohun Roy. Duff had been introduced to him by General Beatson¹⁴ in the first weeks after his arrival, and it was in fact Mohun Roy who had offered Duff the use of the hall¹⁵. Mohun Roy was present¹⁶ and explained to the boys that the Bible would be read but this put them under no religious obligations whatsoever. The following day 5 pupils arrived, rising to 25 on the Wednesday. By Friday

⁸ A.Duff, *India and Indian Missions: Including Sketches of the Gigantic System of Hinduism, Both in Theory and Practice; also notices of some of the principle agencies employed in conducting the process of Indian Evangelization etc., etc.*, Edinburgh, 1839, p.519 (henceforth *I.I.M.*).

⁹ *ibid.* Duff felt that Persian and Arabic were disadvantaged by their cultural and political history. The English language was 'neutral' insofar as it was regarded as profoundly connected with a progressive political system by the majority of the Calcutta élite.

¹⁰ A.Duff, *I.I.M.*, p.522.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.524.

¹² N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Inglis, 28.8.1830, f35.

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ G.Smith, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.112f.

¹⁵ G.Smith, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.120.

¹⁶ A.Duff, *I.I.M.*, p.525.

325 pupils were present and eventually Duff was forced to make a selection of those attending¹⁷. The following week he divided the students into junior and senior classes and by the 2nd. of August the selection was complete¹⁸. Duff was careful to relay the precise numbers of those applying for entrance to the school to John Inglis. These numbers, he told Inglis, were

"calculated to tell more emphatically on the minds of the people of Scotland than mere abstract reasoning"¹⁹.

Ram Mohun Roy continued to give assistance throughout August. By this time the school was open for six hours a day and had a steady attendance of 300 pupils²⁰. Kalinath Raichaudhuri, a close friend of Mohun Roy's requested the Institution's assistance in the establishment of a school at Taki, 40 miles east of Calcutta²¹. Indeed, Ram Mohun Roy played a key part in the early months of the establishment of the school by reason of his importance and influence among the Hindu elite. Alexander Duff's theological background in natural religion, furthermore, would make at least one common perspective possible between the two men. At the same time, however, Mohun Roy's involvement was an extremely sensitive issue. His name had been known in Scotland, ever since his previous involvement in Bryce's Memorandum of 1823-24 had been questioned in the Assembly.

Michael Laird has noted that Ram Mohun Roy's name appears neither in Duff's letters of August 1830, nor in *India and Indian Missions*, Duff's major summation of the mission's aims and objectives. Privately, however, Duff was confiding in mid-November 1830 to John Inglis that Mohun Roy

"of all the Hindoos...has most cordially approved of combining inseparably a moral and religious, with a literary education...he...has been the most active and helpful in filling the minds of all, over whom his powerful influence extended, with undoubting

¹⁷ *ibid.*,p.526.

¹⁸ The 40 students in the highest class were already able to read words of 2 syllables, the second class words of one syllable and the third class could recognise the English alphabet. A fourth class began with repetition of the alphabet(see A.Duff,*I.I.M.*,p.529). Those more advanced in English started on Nos.I & II of *The English Reader* while the less fluent began with Nos.I & II of *The Young Child's Instructor*.

¹⁹ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,28.8.1830,f37.

²⁰ G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.125.

²¹ W.C.Fyfe went as a teacher and by 1836, after some initial difficulties, it had around 160 pupils(see G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.131, and Laird,op.cit.,p.217).

confidence in attending the School"²².

And when Mohun Roy left for England, Duff wrote "his absence from Calcutta...I really feel to be a loss"²³. This reluctance to mention Mohun Roy publicly by name is just one example of Alexander Duff's and John Inglis' responsiveness to the moral and theological sensibilities of presbyterian opinion. This, as we have noted, was a significant consideration in the early days of the Assembly's Institution, especially as its aims and procedures developed. The extant mission correspondence demonstrates Inglis' concern to lay stress only on those elements of the Calcutta mission which would command public support at home. This support, moreover, would only be finally assured following Alexander Duff's memorable speech to the General Assembly of 1835 and his tour of Scottish presbyteries.

By late December 1830 Duff was able to write to John Inglis with a full report of the initial success of the Assembly's fledgling Institution. Duff's early insistence that text books should be paid for and that parents enter into a contractual agreement to send their sons to school ensured that theft of books and irregular attendance were minimal²⁴. In the absence of any general standards of discipline, Duff elected to use the "intellectual" system pioneered by Wood and Stowe. Duff considered this the "natural and true system"²⁵ and likened the infant institution to John Wood's Sessional School in Edinburgh²⁶.

Duff's use of the rational or "intellectual" system with its dependence on dialogical question and answer was certainly innovatory in Calcutta. This new method, furthermore, facilitated the introduction of the Bible²⁷ into the curriculum. Duff could assure his

²² N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,15.11.1830,f44.

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.138; A.Duff,*I.I.M.*,p.528.

²⁵ A.Duff,*I.I.M.*,p.532.

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ At this point around 100 students in the senior class were introduced to the reading of the Bible(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,20.12.1830,f52). The New Testaments were supplied by the Calcutta Bible Society (A.Duff,*I.I.M.*,p.539) and reading consisted of the learning of the Lord's Prayer, the parable of the Prodigal Son, 1 Corinthians 13 and the Sermon on the Mount(*ibid.*p.546). When one of the students commented admiringly that the Sermon on the Mount was "too good for us" Duff interpreted this as an example of "the self-evidencing light of God's Holy Word...(a) testimony to the superior excellence of Christianity" by a "mind...wholly untrammelled and unbiassed by prejudice, or party interest, or sect" (*ibid.*p.545).

students that they had perfect freedom of judgement, insisting that Biblical truth could withstand critical scrutiny²⁸. Duff also avoided confrontation by explaining that it was his intention to share all of Western literary, scientific, and religious knowledge with his students²⁹. By presenting the curriculum in this way as a broad introduction to Western culture, the New Testament could be approached with some semblance of neutrality³⁰ as a fundamental Western text. The most pressing of Duff's problems arose not from the curriculum but from the very success of the school. His chief difficulty was in finding qualified teachers to take over the elementary part of the course³¹.

While a considerable amount of scholarly study has been devoted to the progress of the Assembly's school, however, Alexander Duff's involvement with the students of the Hindu College is, in many ways, just as significant. The original scheme of 1824 had envisaged the use of a variety of means to advance the cause of missions in Eastern India and in the early years Duff always insisted on a plurality of mission methods or 'modes' as he called them. Duff viewed his engagement with the College students as another 'mode', an integral part of his mission practice.

David Kopf has portrayed at length the intellectual ferment in Bengal in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He describes

"William Jones linking Europe and Asia through a common linguistic source...the Serampore missionaries de-Westernizing their Reformation model to accommodate all Asians...Rammohun Roy arguing for the universality of the monotheistic tradition...(and) Mrytunjay arguing...for the validity of the so-called 'medieval tradition'"³².

This ebb and flow of new ideas was, of course, mediated by organisations and institutions in and around Calcutta - by the Colleges and the mission at Serampore for example. The intellectual movement also had a radical element imbued with the political ideals of Thomas

²⁸ A.Duff,*J.I.M.*,p.545.

²⁹ *ibid.*,p.538.

³⁰ To the objections put by one Brahmin student to Biblical study Duff replied that the reading of 'the Koran in Mohamman schools' had not resulted in 'Brahmins becoming Mohamman'(A.Duff,*J.I.M.*,p.541).

³¹ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,20.12.1830,f53.

³² Kopf,op.cit.,p.255.

Paine³³.

Alexander Duff's chief interest was in the students of the Hindu College, a higher education institution established to train the young men of Bengal for the Bengal Civil Service. Despite its name, the College was effectively committed to a secular curriculum by its declared policy of religious neutrality. In the period from 1829 to 1831 a majority of the graduates and senior students had imbibed a form of Humean scepticism³⁴ through the brilliant lecturing of Henry Derozio, one of the College staff.

While attending Dhurumtollah Academy, Derozio had been the most able pupil of David Drummond³⁵ who had arrived in Calcutta in 1813. The intellectual climate in Bentinck's Bengal was, apparently, more congenial to Drummond than that in Melville's Scotland.

Derozio³⁶ displayed a supreme talent for literary criticism and became a leading figure on the Calcutta literary scene³⁷. He was appointed first as assistant master in the senior

³³ Cheap editions of his *Age of Reason*, *Reply to Burke*, *Rights of Man* and *Essays from the French Revolution* were all freely available in Calcutta (see G. Smith, op.cit., Vol.I, p.144).

³⁴ T. Raychaudhuri, *Europe Reconsidered: Perceptions of the West in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, Delhi, O.U.P., 1988, p.4.

³⁵ Beginning as a teacher at Wallace and Measures' preparatory school (T. Edwards, *Henry Derozio*, Calcutta, Riddhi-India, first published 1884, repr. 1980, p.11) Drummond had moved on to Dhurumtollah Academy, where he played an important role in developing the school into one of the leading educational institutions in Calcutta. He was a proponent of Humean scepticism, and it was said of him that "He would believe nothing...unless it could be made as evident and reasonable as a mathematical axiom" (ibid. p.19). He taught Latin and Greek in the traditional Scottish manner, laying an emphasis on the thought of the classical age rather than on "the grammatical niceties...of verbal criticism" (ibid. pps.4-5). The school suffered in 1828 when Drummond fell ill. He later became the editor of *The Weekly Examiner* from 1839-41 and died in April 1843 aged 56 (ibid. p.20).

³⁶ Henry Derozio, born in April 1809, had been a clerk in Messrs. Scott & Co. from 1823-1825 and had then worked on an indigo plantation with his uncle (Edwards, op.cit., p.23).

³⁷ He was assistant editor of the *India Gazette*, editor of the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, a contributor to *The Calcutta Magazine*, *The Indian Magazine*, *The Bengal Annual* and *Kalidoscope* (sic). He was also a close friend of John Grant, editor of *The Indian Gazette*.

department of Hindu College³⁸, and then, in March 1828, master of English Literature and History. By March 1829 he was in charge of the 2nd. and 3rd. senior classes in the school³⁹ and had founded the *Academic Association*, a student debating forum⁴⁰. In both the classes and student debates, Derozio discussed the major philosophical issues Hume had raised, and the validity of the common sense positions of Reid, Stewart and Brown⁴¹. David Kopf has observed that Henry Derozio was chiefly instrumental in introducing the senior students to "the Macaulay type polarity between the superior West and their own tradition"⁴².

There was disquiet, however, in the Hindu community, at the content of Derozio's teaching, and his growing influence. A brief report in May 1829 asserted that in his lectures "Hinduism had been condemned, Hume affirmed and Reason exalted"⁴³. Under pressure the Committee of Management at Hindu College consisting of Dr.H.H.Wilson⁴⁴, David Hare⁴⁵ and three leading representatives of the Calcutta Brahmins⁴⁶ undertook to try and curb Derozio's influence⁴⁷.

³⁸ Edwards,op.cit.,p.30. The curriculum contained no religious instruction, but was hardly, as Duff was later to imply, militantly secular. The senior three classes studied Russell's *Modern Europe*, Goldsmith's *History*, Robertson's *Charles V*, Gay's *Fables*, Pope's *Homer*, Dryden's *Virgil*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Shakespeare(ibid.p.66).

³⁹ *C.C.O.*, No.3, Aug. 1832,p.123.

⁴⁰ B.B.Majundar,*The History of Political Thought*,Calcutta,1934,p.86.

⁴¹ Majundar,op.cit.,p.40; Edwards,op.cit.,p.32.

He also, apparently, published an objection to Kantian philosophy (Edwards, op.cit.,p.40).

⁴² Kopf,op.cit.,p.258.

⁴³ *C.C.O.*,No.3,Aug.1832,p.129.

⁴⁴ Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction.

⁴⁵ Superintendent of pupils placed in the College by the Calcutta School Book Society(*C.C.O.*,No.3,Aug.1832,p.121).

⁴⁶ Edwards,op.cit.,p.66.

⁴⁷ There had long been a profound concern on the part of the East India Company administration at the possible difficulties caused by a Bengali elite educated in Western philosophical and political thought. In 1800, for example, Dundas, President of the Board of Control of the E.I.C. had warned the Governor-General Wellesley that the College at Fort William was a possible breeding ground of "a school of Jacobinism in India..."(Brit.Mus.,Additional Mss.,37275,f191,4.9.1800,cited in C.H.Philips,*The*

Alexander Duff, meanwhile, had taken the greatest interest in the continuing debates within Hindu College, and the difficulties which the members of the College administration found themselves in. In late 1830, Duff wrote to Inglis observing that

"the more advanced of the young men have in reality, though not openly and avowedly, shaken off Hindooism and plunged into the opposite extreme of unbounded scepticism"⁴⁸.

Duff resolved on a strategy of his own and began by organising a series of lectures on 'Natural and Revealed Religion' to be held in August 1830 with Dr. Dealtry, Archdeacon of Calcutta, John Adam of the London Missionary Society and James Hill, minister of the Congregational Union Chapel as speakers. The lectures were to be held in Duff's house in College Square and were to be conducted according to a strict set of participatory rules drawing on Duff's experience in the Theological and Missionary Societies at St. Andrews⁴⁹. Duff was to give the lectures on the Christian Evidences, Adam on the proofs from prophecy, Hill on the moral character of Christ and Dealtry was to conclude the series with an account of the doctrines of revelation⁵⁰.

James Hill began the series by presenting the 'Moral qualifications necessary for investigating the Truth'. Around 20 students attended and the evening passed off uncontroversially⁵¹. However, by this time the administration at Hindu College had become alarmed at the radical nature of student discussion and attempted, rather foolishly, to prohibit pupils from attending any debates on Natural Religion. Using the East India Company

East India Co. 1784-1834, Bombay, O.U.P., 1961, p.125). Wellesley, for his part, ensured that British civil servants did not forget that "To fix and establish sound and correct principles of religion and government in their (Hindu) minds at an early period of life was the best security which could be provided for the stability of British power in India..." (Minute on the Foundation of a College at Ft. William, 10.7.1800, reprinted in 'The Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley K.G. during his Administration in India', M. Martin ed., London, 1837, Vol. II, p.346, cited in Kopf, op.cit., p.47).

⁴⁸ N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Inglis, 15.10.1830, f46.

⁴⁹ Objections would be allowed to any of the principles proposed in the lectures, so long as the objections were intelligible and objective (N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Inglis, 31.12.1831, f91). Those who wished to illustrate or expand points made during the lecture would be allowed to do so (ibid.). Objections left unanswered would be recorded and brought up later for discussion or at a General Meeting (ibid.).

⁵⁰ A. Duff, *I.I.M.*, p.608f; G. Smith, op.cit., Vol. I, p.146; Laird, op.cit., p.229.

⁵¹ G. Smith, op.cit., p.146.

Charter of 1813 as a legal weapon⁵² the College issued a notice threatening all students who attended "political and religious discussions" with expulsion⁵³. While aimed at the Derozians, or 'the dining club' as they were known, the edict resulted in the collapse of the lecture series itself. The Governor-General Lord William Bentinck⁵⁴ sympathised with Duff but advised him not to become involved in a public dispute⁵⁵. Duff confined himself to some published theological remarks on the rights of the individual to religious enquiry⁵⁶.

Bentinck's recommendation turned out to be sound, if somewhat cautious advice. The fact that the lectures were held in the students' leisure time put the issue quite beyond the jurisdiction of the College⁵⁷ and within a short period all the English language journals supported Duff - even the normally cautious *Government Gazette* thought the prohibition ridiculous⁵⁸. More importantly, the prohibition affecting the lectures had ensured Alexander Duff's credibility among the rebel students at Hindu College.

In a convoluted process, then, David Hume's mitigated scepticism, his observations on natural religion and other ideas central to the Enlightenment had become matter for intellectual discussion and impassioned debate for an elite section of Calcutta society. Even more significantly, however, this was precisely the intellectual context which had formed the matrix of the Scottish apologetic theology of George Campbell and George Hill in the eighteenth century. It might almost be argued that the theological weaponry of

⁵² *ibid.* p.147.

⁵³ *ibid.*

⁵⁴ On his arrival in Calcutta, Duff had taken letters of introduction to Lord Dalhousie and Sir William Bentinck. Bentinck was to offer Duff constant moral support throughout his first term in India(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,28.8.1830,f26).

⁵⁵ *ibid.*p.148.

⁵⁶ According to Duff, each man had the right to explore the "moral constitution under which he is placed"(A.Duff,*I.I.M.*,p.612), since there are "many forms of religion", said Duff, "and each of these *professes* to disclose...knowledge...Now all of these forms may contain some truths, but all of them cannot be *equally* true. How, then, is the true to be discovered...? *Only* by a careful examination and comparison of evidence and subject matter"(*ibid.*p.613).

⁵⁷ *ibid.*p.610.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*p.611.

rational Calvinism was adapted in anticipation of such encounters⁵⁹. Alexander Duff would find in his theological training more than adequate resources to engage the *nastiks* or 'infidels' from Hindu College.

In the meantime, however, the Church of Scotland's school had been established on a permanent basis fulfilling at least one of the expectations of the Assembly's Committee. With the abandonment of the lecture series Duff turned his attention to the legal 'anomalies' affecting converts to Christianity in Bengal. In February 1831, along with W.H.Pearce, a missionary of the B.M.S., Duff drew up a pamphlet on the effects of the 'Hindoo and Mohammedan laws of inheritance'⁶⁰ on those who had converted to Christianity⁶¹. The aim of the pamphlet was to bring before the British public the social and legal circumstances of converts⁶².

⁵⁹ Eight years later, at the ordination of Thomas Smith, before the latter's departure for Bengal, Alexander Duff described the intellectual ferment in Calcutta in almost precisely these terms. He assured Smith that he was well qualified to engage the educated Brahmins by virtue of his superior literary, scientific and theological education as a minister of the Church of Scotland. This, averred Duff, was normally of little *practical* value (A.Duff, *Missions the Chief End of the Christian Church; also, the Qualifications, Duties and Trials, of an Indian Missionary: Being the Substance of Services Held on the 7th. March at St. Andrews Church, Edinburgh, at the Ordination of the Rev. Thomas Smith, as one of the Church of Scotland's Missionaries to India*, Edinburgh, 1839, p.121, henceforth *Missions Chief End*). In Calcutta, however, "the whole field of Western theological controversy is thrown open...all the battles with the deist and infidel...(the) new dynasty of illuminati" were destined to be re-fought. (ibid.p.122).

⁶⁰ A.Duff, *Observations on the Hindoo and Moohumadan Laws of Inheritance as affecting Converts to Christianity in India*, Calcutta, Baptist Missionary Press, 1831, p.1 (henceforth *Observations*).

⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶² Duff and Pearce listed a number of cases in which individuals lost between 5,000 and 100,000 rupees on becoming Christian (Duff, *Observations*, p.3). Converts from Hinduism, for example, lost caste and were disqualified from holding or inheriting property (ibid.p.1). Duff and Pearce objected to the Hindu legal traditions on the grounds of natural justice (ibid.p.5) and property rights (ibid.p.6). They argued that it was the responsibility of the Government to uphold the rights of the individual and freedom of religion (ibid.p.7). Duff and Pearce suggested a variety of solutions for this problem.

They suggested, for example, that the inheritance laws could be declared obsolete (ibid.p.16) or an adjudication officer could be appointed to pass judgement in inheritance cases (ibid.p.18).

In March 1831 Duff wrote to Inglis concerning the Hindu inheritance laws⁶³, requesting that some kind of political representation to Parliament be made by the Church of Scotland. The matter was all the more pressing since the renewal of the East India Company Charter was due in 1833⁶⁴. Even though all the major mission bodies in Calcutta had ratified the main conclusions of the *Observations*⁶⁵ and the Governor-General and the civil service approved of the document⁶⁶ some members of the home mission committee questioned Duff's involvement in legal and political questions arising in Calcutta⁶⁷. In correspondence Duff explained to Inglis that it was essential to amend the inheritance laws in order to remove

"one of the most powerful artificial obstructions to the spread of Christianity in India"⁶⁸.

In April 1831 the Committee of Management of Hindu College, under pressure from Ram Kamal Sen⁶⁹, one of the leading Brahmins, had eventually decided that it would be expedient to engineer Derozio's dismissal⁷⁰. He was forced to resign at the end of the

⁶³ Duff informed Inglis that the Judge of the Supreme Court in Calcutta had recommended that the *Observations* be included in the body of evidence to be presented to the House of Commons Committee on Indian affairs (N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Inglis, 8.3.1831, f56).

⁶⁴ John Inglis, in fact, wrote to Thomas Chalmers in October 1833 to ask him if he knew whether the renewed E.I.C. Charter contained a revised clause on the laws of inheritance (New.Coll., Chalmers Corresp., CHA.4.207.18, Inglis to Chalmers, 17.10.1833).

⁶⁵ Duff, *Observations*, p.viii.

⁶⁶ N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Inglis, 12.9.1832, f112.

⁶⁷ In a display of further nervousness, the committee refused Duff permission to teach political economy at the Assembly's school. Duff pointed out that the Government had established a Professorship at the Hindoo College which included a series of lectures on political economy. (ibid. f113).

⁶⁸ N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Inglis, 19.3.1831, f57.

⁶⁹ Ram Kamal Sen was the grandfather of Keshub Chunder Sen (Edwards, op.cit., p.73). A representative of conservative Hinduism he was interested in furthering education.

⁷⁰ Derozio himself seems to have commanded sympathy among some members of the Committee. It was put to him that he had 'denied the existence of God, taught the lawfulness of disrespect to parents and marriage with sisters' (C.C.O., No.3, Aug.1832, p.128). Derozio was appalled that the Committee had given credence to such reports, but acknowledged that he had used Hume's *Dialogues on Natural Religion* as a textbook and had taught "the substance of Hume's celebrated dialogue

month. The prohibition of August 1830, however, had achieved the opposite of its intended effect. Instead of crushing dissent, it prompted the students to form an organised opposition. At least two student journals began publication, the *Parthenon* and *The Enquirer*⁷¹. The latter survived to become briefly part of the campaigning Bengali press in 1831⁷², notorious for its stridently secular tone and its support for liberalism⁷³. Several debating societies and a 'Literary Association' were set up in direct defiance of the College authorities⁷⁴. Duff often attended debates as a member of the audience⁷⁵.

Historians are divided on the impact of the Derozians⁷⁶ on the society of nineteenth century Bengal. David Kopf takes a positive view and thinks it no exaggeration to claim that Derozio "had a key role in originating " what was effectively " a secular ...intellectual elite"⁷⁷. Duncan Forrester has also argued that they played a key role in the future, long-term development of 'secular ...radical nationalism'⁷⁸. T. Raychaudhuri, on the other hand, maintains that Derozian rational-scepticism had only a very narrow impact on the Bengali elite⁷⁹, though its legacy of political radicalism was to form an important part of nascent

between Cleanthes and Philo...(and) Reid's and Dugald Stewart's more acute replies" (Edwards,op.cit.,p.84).

⁷¹ Duff,*I.I.M.*,p.619.

⁷² Originally there had been only two Bengali newspapers, the conservative *Chundrika* and the *Cowsmalee*, a progressive Brahmin paper(ibid.p.617). These were later joined by the Bengali *Gyananeshun* and the English language *Reformer*, under the proprietorship of Ram Mohun Roy.

⁷³ *The Enquirer* later giving an unqualified welcome to the Reform Bill as it passed through the House of Commons in July 1831(ibid.p.624).

⁷⁴ ibid.p.615.

⁷⁵ He recorded that "If the subject was historical, Robertson and Gibbon were appealed to, if political, Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham; if scientific Newton and Davy, if religious Hume and Thomas Paine; if metaphysical, Locke and Reid, Dugald Stewart and Brown, (with) literary quotes from Byron and Scott"(ibid.).

⁷⁶ The Derozians themselves were a diverse group forming " a highly articulate intellectual tradition of extreme Westernization and accompanying cultural alienation" as David Kopf puts it(Kopf,op.cit.,p.253).

⁷⁷ ibid.

⁷⁸ D.B.Forrester, 'Christianity and Early Indian Nationalism', in *Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S*, No.582 Asie du Sud. Traditions et Changements.

⁷⁹ Raychaudhuri,op.cit.,p.13.

Bengali nationalism⁸⁰. For B.Ghose, the marxist oriented historian, the Derozians were simply a grouping within the "English educated 'bourgeoisie'" in Bengal, which consistently ignored the concerns of the peasantry⁸¹.

In the 1830s Alexander Duff, for his part, entertained no doubts whatsoever as to the importance of the Derozians. According to his estimation, they were

"the leaders of those who may be instrumental in introducing a new era into the history of Hindoostan"⁸²

and it was

"scarcely possible to over-estimate the importance of the endeavour to bestow just impressions of the truth and give to their minds an impulse in the proper direction"⁸³.

Indeed, Duff took this endeavour so seriously that when Inglis wrote in mid-November 1831 to inquire how the project for the teaching of native preachers was progressing, Duff wrote back to inform him that at the moment such a project was simply not practicable⁸⁴ in the "present transition state of Hindoo Society"⁸⁵. Duff's considerable energies, in other words, were solely devoted to an engagement with the Derozians.

In the same month, Henry Young, of the Western Indian Civil Service, a close friend of Rev. John Wilson of the Scottish Missionary Society in Bombay, interviewed Alexander Duff with regard to his short term aims. Duff stressed two immediate tasks. The first was to take up the leadership of the movement left by Henry Derozio, and the second to train up 'a different, Christian class of young men' in its place⁸⁶. An opportunity to engage in the first task was soon to present itself.

In one of the many discussions and debates in late 1831 involving the students of

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ B.Ghose, *Selections from English Periodicals of Nineteenth Century Bengal*, Vol.1 1815-33, Calcutta, Papyrus Press, 1978, p.xiv.

⁸² N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Inglis, 31.12.1831, f90.

⁸³ *ibid.*

⁸⁴ N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Inglis, 19.11.1831, f86.

⁸⁵ *ibid.* f87.

⁸⁶ G.Smith, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.168.

Hindu College the founding of a student 'Reformation Society'⁸⁷ was suggested⁸⁸. Duff, who was present, staged his own critical attack and pointed out to its potential leaders that at the moment they had no authentic programme of 'reform', only an *ad hoc* critique of the Calcutta establishment. The French Revolution provided a fine example of where that led to, asserted Duff, adding, in classic Scottish style⁸⁹, that Christianity was the only genuine basis for

"real civilization - the best friend of science and art - the fruitful parent of civil and religious liberty.." ⁹⁰.

The only source of Reformation was, furthermore, "primitive unadulterated Christianity"⁹¹. Duff suggested to his hearers that that it was in their power to become the Reformers of 19th. century India⁹². Seizing the opportunity to put himself at the head of the *nastik* movement in Hindu College, he proposed that the series of lectures be recommenced.

Within a short space of time Duff's arguments began to have an impact on some sections of the student movement. Now, some student leaders proclaimed that they were "seeking for truth"⁹³ and in an editorial at the beginning of October *The Enquirer*

⁸⁷ According to David Killingley, the use of the term 'Reformation' originated in the missionary community and was introduced by them into Hindu social and political thought in this period. The term 'Renaissance', on the other hand, was first applied by Sir William Jones, according to David Kopf(Kopf,opc.cit.,p.97). By the use of this latter term an historical analogy was drawn between Hindu and European medievalism. Jones' theory was that "Just as Europe liberated itself by reviving its classical literature, so might Hindu India do the same"(ibid.p.102). A similar analogy was involved in the use of the term 'Reformation'(Killingley,op.cit.,p.121). Killingley traces the origins of the words 'reform' and 'reformer' in Bengali debates to Ram Mohun Roy and argues that by their use "the Protestant view of the historical dynamic of Christianity...(was) transferred to the history of Hinduism"(ibid.). For Alexander Duff, of course, the term 'Reformation' had nothing to do with a repristination of Hinduism. In the early days of the mission, he viewed 'Reformation' in India as a singular event which would signal a radical break with the Hindu past.

⁸⁸ Duff,*I.I.M.*, pps.628-629.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁰ *ibid.*p.630

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ Duff,*I.I.M.*,p.631. Duff also informed Inglis that the students from the College had been consorting with "Deistical and Unitarian parties among Europeans, with whom they had long formed habits of intimate acquaintance" (N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to

announced that henceforth its policy would involve a 'dispassionate search for truth'⁹⁴. Within a month the editor of *The Enquirer* had declared his readiness "to inquire", appropriately enough, into the claims of Christianity⁹⁵.

Duff prepared a second series of lectures for the end of December 1831. Each lecture was to be followed by discussion - a pattern familiar to Duff from the debating societies at St.Andrews⁹⁶. On this occasion, however, Duff was solely responsible for the choice of subject and for the lecture presentation. This time the content of the lectures would be the traditional *loci* of Scottish apologetic theology - the argument for Divine being on first principles, followed by the argument from design and the customary demonstration of 'the evidences'.

The Derozians, up to this point, had proclaimed themselves 'atheists' in a manner much more radical and public than Scottish students. For the bulk of the students of Hindu College, however, 'atheism' and to a lesser extent 'scepticism' were terms used more to express their defiance of the College administration than to systematically define their philosophy. Using a version of Samuel Clarke's argument for the necessity of a Divine being, Duff devoted the bulk of the first lecture to developing a refutation of the atheistic attitudes of some of his hearers⁹⁷. They had asserted that the being of God was a logical impossibility but Duff concluded that this position ruled out *a priori* any open and sincere conclusions, and therefore was unphilosophical⁹⁸. He demanded that his hearers allow themselves to confront 'the truth and its evidences'⁹⁹.

Inglis,9.11.1831,f85).

⁹⁴ Duff, *I.I.M.*,p.631. In late August 1831 the editor, Krishna Mohun Banerjea had been party to an incident which involved the throwing of a joint of beef into the domestic courtyard of a pious Brahmin(G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.153).

⁹⁵ The paper informed its readers that "we are only clearing the obstacles that lie in the way of (Christianity's) propagation, and preparing the mind to receive it if true...examining doctrines which we know have humanised almost the whole world, and raised man in the scale of reason and civilization"(Duff,*I.I.M.*,pps.631,632).

⁹⁶ *ibid.*p.632.

⁹⁷ The audience consisted of between 40 and 60 students from Hindu College along with members of the European community in Calcutta attracted by the vigorous debate (*ibid.*).

⁹⁸ *ibid.*,p.633.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*,p.634.

In the following lecture Duff gave the argument from design a new twist by treating his hearers to a history of optical engineering from Galileo onwards. He concluded by listing the functions of the human eye¹⁰⁰ which, he argued, clearly demonstrated Divine design by its marvellous structure¹⁰¹. In this way he was able to combine an account of the achievements of Western science with traditional teleological arguments.

An historian of the design debate in the eighteenth century has observed that its arguments were often "an indifferent friend to theology and to the Christian point of view"¹⁰². This was to be Duff's experience in debate with his student audience when he discovered that few of his listeners could grasp the use of analogy and, therefore, the argument from design was almost irrelevant¹⁰³. It is plain that 'Scotch metaphysics' was profoundly alien in many ways to the cultural traditions of his Brahmin audience. For Duff, however, this was merely further proof of "the want of a preparatory and *appropriate* mental culture"¹⁰⁴ to be remedied by an increased emphasis on elementary schooling.

Indeed, the second series of lectures provides us with one of the clearest examples of Alexander Duff's *absolute* confidence in the natural, self-evident rationality of his own philosophical, theological and linguistic tradition. Duff viewed Hindu cultural and religious phenomena almost exclusively in terms of this tradition. For example, the inability of the students to comprehend his argumentation arose, he thought, from their failure to observe the principles of common sense thinking¹⁰⁵. The Brahmin doctrine of Maya or illusion he rebutted as a variant of the "Idealism of the Berkeleyan School" and he viewed Hindu materialism as a kind of Epicureanism¹⁰⁶.

The turning point in the lecture series, however, came when Duff employed what

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*,p.635.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*,p.636.

¹⁰² Hurlbutt,op.cit.,p.158.

¹⁰³ Duff,*J.I.M.*,p.639.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ He informed his hearers that "all valid reasoning necessarily implies certain primary intuitive principles, themselves improved, - and only the more indubitable because antecedent to all argument and incapable of proof"(*ibid.*,p.638).

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*,pps.639-640.

he called "a mixed mode of the *a priori* argument"¹⁰⁷ derived from Samuel Clarke. The student audience was, apparently, profoundly impressed by Duff's insistence that causality was not an infinite series and that therefore there must be, logically, a single first cause¹⁰⁸. In the following lecture, Duff went on to argue that the first cause must be divine being itself. Once his audience had conceded this point, it was a straightforward matter to refer to the authority of Christian scripture¹⁰⁹ and develop the main outlines of George Hill's disease/remedy schema¹¹⁰. Duff concluded this section of the lectures by summarising the theology of the incarnation¹¹¹. The editor of *The Enquirer*, Krishna Mohun Banerjea attended and was profoundly impressed by Duff's account of Christian theology and ethics¹¹². Duff's forceful, rational and systematic exposition of the Christian evidences had begun to have a major impact on at least one section of his student audience.

Duff continued to lecture throughout the following year, 1832. By February 1832 he had reached 'the illustration of Christian doctrine'. The lecture series did not, of course, progress without encountering occasional difficulties. Numbers fluctuated and some sections of the Calcutta press remained hostile¹¹³. In counterpoint to the difficulties, however, there were soon to be triumphs. On the 28th. of August 1832 the *Calcutta Christian Observer* announced that the baptism of Mohesh Chunder Ghose was to take place. Duff's lectures had been instrumental in his conversion. When Ghose had been

"Shaken out of Atheism, he took shelter in Deism; driven from Deism, he sought refuge in *the general acknowledgement* of Christianity"¹¹⁴.

Krishna Mohun Banerjea, editor of *The Enquirer* followed soon after¹¹⁵, to be joined by

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*,p.642.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*,p.643.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*,p.645.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*,pps.645-646.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*,p.647.

¹¹² G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.157.

¹¹³ A critical article in the *India Gazette* of March 10th. 1832 observed that numbers attending the lectures had dropped(Edwards,op.cit.,p.92).

¹¹⁴ Duff,*J.I.M.*,p.650.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*,pps.652-655.

Gopeenath Nundi¹¹⁶ at the end of the year¹¹⁷. Duff wrote home to suggest to Inglis that the account of Gopeenath Nundi's conversion be published and circulated in Scotland to publicise the work of the mission¹¹⁸. In December 1833, the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* carried a report on Nundi's baptism¹¹⁹, the *Presbyterian Review* in May 1834¹²⁰. Despite the drop in numbers attending both the lectures and the school¹²¹ arising from the publicity surrounding the conversions¹²² Duff continued the series throughout 1832¹²³. He broadened the choice of topic to include Sunday evening lectures on 'The Contrast between Christianity and Hinduism and Mohamedanism'¹²⁴. Alexander Duff's objective of transforming the Derozians into 'a different, Christian class of young men'¹²⁵ seemed near fulfilment, particularly as Henry Derozio had died in late December 1831 leaving the movement leaderless¹²⁶.

What had occurred here in the play of particular historical circumstances in Calcutta in the early 1830s was a fascinating encounter between a westernized student elite

¹¹⁶ Gopeenath Nundi came to Duff privately to discuss matters of Christian faith. Duff regarded Nundi's inquiries as "a manifestation of the *self-evidencing power of the Word of God*"(ibid,p.659).

¹¹⁷ Setting these four conversions in perspective, George Smith calculated that up to 1829 there were only fifteen converts in Calcutta. "(N)ine Baptist and half a dozen Anglican converts...a portion Hindoos...one... Muhammadan"(G.Smith, op.cit., Vol.I,p.103) the result of ten years work.

¹¹⁸ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,10.6.1833,f161.

¹¹⁹ E.C.I.,Vol.II,No.XXIV,Dec.1833,p.865.

¹²⁰ P.R.,No.XVIII,May 1834,pps.285-288.

¹²¹ When the news of the first conversions spread the Institution's methods were attacked by the Bengali language newspaper *The Chundrika*. Attendance at the school collapsed from 300 pupils to 6(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis, 14.3.1832, f102-104; and G.Smith,op.cit., Vol.I, p.142). Numbers soon returned, however, to their previous level.

¹²² The *India Register* for October 19th. had reported a further drop in attendance (N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Inglis,21.12.1832, f123).

¹²³ He concluded 1832 by speaking on 'The Contents of the Bible'(ibid.,f126).

¹²⁴ G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.263; N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,12.2.1835,f261.

¹²⁵ G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.168.

¹²⁶ Edwards,op.cit.,pps.4-5.

influenced by a rather inchoate scepticism and the rational, systematic argumentation of Alexander Duff's brand of Calvinism. Former pupils of Henry Derozio like Mohesh Chunder Ghose, or Krishna Mohun Banerjea¹²⁷, had been afflicted by a *crise pyrrhonienne* more profound perhaps than anything facing European students. The result of the philosophical scepticism they had imbibed was a rejection, not just of rational certitude, or of religion, but of Hindu tradition itself¹²⁸. What Alexander Duff offered in its place was an intellectual edifice built on the cumulative certainties of the Christian evidences, the anti-sceptical nostrums of common sense philosophy and the plain, solid bedrock of Baconianism.

Ghose's move from Atheism to a 'general acknowledgement of Christianity' covered a range of positions typical of the student audience. Duff, in fact, in the traditional rhetorical manner, classified his hearers according to such categories. When he had started, he wrote, his hearers had been universally 'Atheists or anti-Theists'. Now, their number included those who were 'baptized', 'catechumens', 'non-Trinitarians or Socinians', 'those unable to invalidate the evidences', 'Deists accepting a plurality of authoritative religious figures such as Manu, Socrates or Confucius', and the straightforwardly hostile¹²⁹.

Duff structured the following lectures according to each category. For the baptized, he held one class per week on the systematic study of Christian doctrine, with a Bible study on Sundays¹³⁰. For those who considered the Bible to be a 'Divine authority' he continued lectures on the deduction of doctrine from scripture¹³¹. For unbelievers he instituted a debate on the probability and desirability of revelation¹³² in which both sides appointed a chairman and arranged the precise topic beforehand¹³³. For some, however, Duff's rhetorical skills proved overwhelming. They turned instead to the native press to provide an

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, pps.121 and 123.

¹²⁸ In this negative sense, Edwards was correct in stating that "Duff's lectures on the evidences of Christianity...were but the outcome of the training of the Hindoo School, and the influence and teaching of Derozio"(Edwards,op.cit.,pps.8-9,41).

¹²⁹ Duff,*I.I.M.*, pps.660-661.

¹³⁰ G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.164.

¹³¹ Duff,*I.I.M.*,p.663.

¹³² Duff,*I.I.M.*,p.667.

¹³³ *ibid.*, pps.668-669.

outlet for further discussion and argument. To reply, Duff also used the press and the pages of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*. Public debates became crowded once again. By May or June of 1833 Duff had made Socinianism the target of his lectures along with a consideration of Baconian philosophy, and the thought of Thomas Brown¹³⁴. In January 1834, Duff made the divinity of Christ the subject of his lectures to members of the Anglo-Indian community¹³⁵. This proliferation of lectures, prelections, debates and discussions was only cut short with Duff's illness in July 1834 which was to lead to his return to Scotland¹³⁶.

Unsurprisingly, the lectures convinced Alexander Duff of the

"design, use and value of the *external* evidences of Christianity, in conducting certain departments of missionary labour"¹³⁷

and this conviction stayed with Duff until the end of his life¹³⁸. Duff insisted that the use of the evidences was necessary in the absence of miracles. True, Duff acknowledged, the evidences were mediate and indirect in comparison with teaching and preaching, but he utterly rejected the claim that

"the *external evidences* have done, and can do, little or nothing, even as a mean towards conversion"¹³⁹.

The rational evidences were limited by the effects of sin agreed Duff, but, he insisted, by

"*rational* evidence, whether external or internal, many were led to give earnest heed to the reading and the hearing of the Word..."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁴ *ibid.*,p.669.

¹³⁵ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,12.2.1835,f260.

¹³⁶ Duff,*I.I.M.*,pps.669-670.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*,p.670.

¹³⁸ In a preface to *The Apologetics of the Christian Faith* written by his friend W.M.Hetherington and published in 1867, Alexander Duff assured readers that the volume was

"admirably fitted to meet one of the special wants and necessities of missionaries and others, who are engaged in the arduous vocation of practically recommending the high and transcendent claims of Christianity to the educated natives of a country like India"

see W.M.Hetherington, *The Apologetics of the Christian Faith*, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1867, p.xiii.

¹³⁹ Duff,*I.I.M.*,pps.673-674.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*,p.678.

and the Holy Spirit "ordinarily works through the instrumentality of (these) means"¹⁴¹. In Calcutta the cohesive argumentation displayed in Duff's use of the evidences had convinced many of the rationality of the Christian faith and had even resulted in a handful of conversions. By March 1833, Duff was convinced by such apparent receptiveness that the expected cultural crisis was about to occur in the Hindu community. Discussions, articles in the press and the Lecture series¹⁴² would all play a part in hastening its onset.

In the Scotland of the early 1830s, however, few members of the evangelical public would demonstrate the doctrinal ability necessary to distinguish between Duff's 'reasoned' presentation of Christianity and the rational theology associated with the Moderate interest. It was only after Duff's *apologia* for the mission in the speeches and tours of the late 1830s that their wholehearted support would be forthcoming.

There had been, however, other areas of conspicuous progress for the General Assembly's mission in the three years since 1830. By the end of May 1831, Duff's plans for the construction of a new school building were before the home committee, plans which became the chief item of business for the new Corresponding Board in Calcutta. This had been formed in March 1832 to handle finances and promote the Assembly's mission. Rev. James Charles, Junior Chaplain¹⁴³ to the congregation of St. Andrews Church, was its secretary.

In early 1832 he wrote to Inglis with details of a proposed Central Institution¹⁴⁴ which would unite the resources of all the missions in Calcutta. According to Charles "an appetite (had) been created for literary and scientific knowledge"¹⁴⁵ to which such an

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*,p.677.

¹⁴² Duff wrote to the home Committee that the conversion of high-ranking Brahmins had begun to alarm the Hindu community. This would lead directly to a crisis. The mission, therefore, had to "endeavour to avail ourselves of every possible means of hastening the General crisis" (N.L.S., Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,15.3.1833,f138).

¹⁴³ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Charles to Inglis,18.12.1832,f122.

¹⁴⁴ In June 1831 a general meeting of missionaries in Calcutta had resolved as follows "I. That an Institution in Calcutta, adapted to carry on the literary and Christian education of promising Natives to a higher degree than has hitherto been attempted, is highly important to the propagation of Christianity in India II. That if such an institution should be formed in connection with the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in which an educatio can be given without interference with the peculiar views of different denominations of Christians...we pledge ourselves to aid it..."(cited in Laird,op.cit.,pps.249-252).

¹⁴⁵ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Charles to Inglis,18.12.1832,f122.

Institution would respond, and it would encourage "a uniformity of direction" if all denominations joined in¹⁴⁶. Just as importantly, it would also enable the Church of Scotland to share costs with other denominations. Duff had also corresponded with Inglis concerning the Institution since the beginning of the year. The interdenominational missionary committee in Calcutta asked Duff to prepare a plan by July of 1832 and he proposed a scheme¹⁴⁷ in which higher education on the pattern of the universities in Scotland¹⁴⁸, would be given to a select number of Hindu students¹⁴⁹. There was widespread support for the project. Lord Dalhousie had given it his approval¹⁵⁰, and at home Thomas Chalmers agreed with John Inglis that the proposal was sound¹⁵¹. Inglis, however, always mindful of the realities of presbyterian opinion in Scotland, did not allow Duff and Mackay to forget their continued obligation to allow time for preaching "in conformity to the original design and continued purpose of the General Assembly"¹⁵². While the General Assembly approved the scheme in May 1833, the Baptists¹⁵³ and the L.M.S.¹⁵⁴ rejected it. In July 1833 Duff suggested that the Church of Scotland develop the Central Institution on its own¹⁵⁵. The fact that such a project had been widely and seriously discussed, nevertheless, illustrates the impact of the Church of Scotland's

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*,f123.

¹⁴⁷ At the lowest level would be the Bengali schools, to be followed by 4 years at English language preparatory schools(see *Statement respecting a Central Institution or College*,p.16,cited in Laird,op.cit.,pps.249-252). The curriculum would advance towards the study of Greek, Latin and possibly Sanskrit, Hebrew, Political Economy and Metaphysics with an interdenominational divinity course(*ibid.*,pps.18-23).

¹⁴⁸ Laird,op.cit.,p.251.

¹⁴⁹ see *Statement etc.*,pps.6-8, in Laird,op.cit.,pps.249-252.

¹⁵⁰ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,14.1.1832,f99ff.

¹⁵¹ In June 1832, Inglis had written to Chalmers regarding the Central Institution that "I am inclined to rely upon it more than any other means...employed for Christianizing the Eastern World"(New College,Chalmers Corresp.,CHA.4.181.55,Inglis to Chalmers, 5.6.1832; and CHA.3.14.21,Chalmers to Inglis).

¹⁵² New College,Chalmers Corresp.,CHA.4.181.55,Inglis to Chalmers,5.6.1832.

¹⁵³ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,3.2.1834,f179ff.

¹⁵⁴ The L.M.S. was unhappy at what it saw as the 'exclusiveness' of the College(see Laird,op.cit.,p.251).

¹⁵⁵ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,17.7.1833,f165.

successful strategy of higher education in Calcutta.

In the meantime, the Church of Scotland's school had also shown demonstrable signs of progress. Rev. William Mackay had arrived to assist in the work of the mission in October 1831¹⁵⁶ and the elementary classes had gained another two members of staff, Messrs. Sunder and Pereira¹⁵⁷. Perhaps the clearest example of this progress was in the annual examinations which the school conducted publicly. The first had been held in May of 1831 in a hall in the European quarter of Calcutta. James Bryce presided and Archdeacon Corrie was present as an observer. *The Indian Gazette*, *The Bengal Hurkaru* and the *John Bull* all reported on the high academic abilities of the pupils¹⁵⁸. Alexander Duff was confident that the advanced classes in the school would shortly attain the academic level of the Scottish Universities¹⁵⁹. The annual examinations of 1833 and 1834 demonstrated that this level of progress was being maintained¹⁶⁰. The fourth annual examination in 1835, however, was to exhibit to its fullest and most public extent the academic achievements of the Institution. The pupils of the senior class¹⁶¹ in the school were able to give an account of the Christian evidences, Scott's Essays and the Old Testament as far as the book of Exodus. Along with the second senior class they answered questions on classical history, Euclid's theorems, logarithms and algebra. The most capable students gave public readings of essays on Political Economy and Physical and Political Geography¹⁶².

In complete contrast to his work in the school, Alexander Duff had channelled some of his abundant energy into the founding and editing of a monthly review. The first issue of *The Calcutta Christian Observer* appeared in June 1832, with the aim of providing an

¹⁵⁶ Mackay and his wife stayed with the Duffs. He began Bengali classes immediately and was able to assist by teaching the senior English class three hours per day (N.L.S., Ms. 7530, Duff to Inglis, 10.10.1831, f85).

¹⁵⁷ G. Smith, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 164.

¹⁵⁸ Duff, *I.I.M.*, p. 585.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ N.L.S., Ms. 7530, Duff to Inglis, 5.5.1833, f154.

¹⁶¹ The elementary class was able to read, translate, explain and spell from the Instructor I textbook, offer a brief survey of History from Instructor II and a short account of English Grammar and Geography (N.L.S., Ms. 7530, Duff to Brunton, Nov. 1834, f201).

¹⁶² *ibid.*

interdenominational periodical which would "dignify by sanctifying useful knowledge"¹⁶³. In an editorial, Duff announced that the journal would carry articles on 'Theoretic and Practical Theology, Biblical Criticism and Translation, Missionary Operations, Reviews and Hindoo Intelligence' on 'Catholic or Interdenominational principles'¹⁶⁴. Within its first year the *Observer* had had favourable reviews from almost the entire spectrum of the English language Calcutta press - *The India Gazette*, *The John Bull*, *The Philanthropist*, *The Indian Register* and even the *Bengal Hurkaru*. Under Duff's editorship, the *Observer* exhibited a characteristically polemical tone¹⁶⁵ and provided Duff with a public platform from which to promote his mission theories¹⁶⁶ and to advance 'sound' theological views¹⁶⁷. Duff used his editorial position to further engage in the debate over the legal constraints on converts¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶³ C.C.O.,No.1,Jun.1832,p.2.

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*,pps.2-12.

¹⁶⁵ By August, it had launched an attack on Dr.H.H.Wilson of Hindoo College for an alleged slur on missionary character. Wilson had written to an Anglican correspondent at home that "In Bengal the better order of Hindoos regard the Missionaries with feelings of inveterate animosity" but, (exhibiting a fine sensibility of judgement) they were wont to "express a high respect for clergymen of the Established Church"(C.C.O, No.5, Oct.1832, p.233). The correspondence had, unfortunately, been published. Wilson, however, defended himself on the grounds that he had simply been *describing* certain Hindu attitudes, not condoning them (*ibid.*,p.235).

¹⁶⁶ In June 1833 the *Observer* carried an article in which Duff reiterated his ideas on Indian mission - that Hinduism should be overthrown through the intervention of a Westernised, Christianized elite(C.C.O.,Jun.1833,pps.259 and 266).In April 1834 Duff published the correspondence he had had with C.E. Trevelyan on the desirability of the romanisation of the Indian alphabets in the *Observer* (C.C.O.,Apr.1834,pps.183-192. see also article in E.C.I.,No.XVI,Apr.1837). By July 1834, Duff was warning that, while a liberal education would bring progress to Indian society, it could not be promoted without Christian teaching being included(C.C.O,Jul.1834,pps.319-325).

¹⁶⁷ In early 1833 Duff took the Harvard Professor, Henry Ware, to task for his "partial and unscriptural views of human depravity". According to Duff, Ware's liberal views ascribed the origins of wickedness to "a defective education, vicious example, and untoward circumstances"(C.C.O.,No.2, Feb.1833,p.83).

¹⁶⁸ In July 1833 he clashed with a Q.C. at the Calcutta Supreme Court, Longueville Clark over remarks he had made in a trial concerning paternal custodial rights. A student at the C.M.S. school, Brijanauth Ghose, had become a Christian. His father contested the boy's right to take this decision(C.C.O.,Aug.1833,pps.438-453). The correspondence between Duff and Longueville Clark was published in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, and then later as a separate pamphlet(see Alexander Duff *To*

In July 1834, however, the illness which had first afflicted Duff in December¹⁶⁹ of the previous year returned. Dr. Vos, the Police Surgeon in Calcutta, ordered Duff to return to Europe and remain there "at least twelve months"¹⁷⁰. Alexander Duff and his family left India on board the *John Maclellan* on the 19th. of July 1834 arriving in Greenock on the 26th. of December.

In the four years, then, since Alexander Duff had arrived in Calcutta, the General Assembly's mission had made significant progress. Duff's series of lectures had produced the first converts. The annual examinations held at the school were an example of what could be achieved academically. The Assembly school's role as a model for other missions became evident in the discussions concerning the interdenominational General Educational Institution in 1831 and 1832. A Corresponding Board had been established in order to provide an administrative framework for financial matters. In the *Calcutta Christian Observer* Duff had a review which would publicise and extend the influence of his missionary ideas. The annual reports, to the General Assembly in Scotland on the progress of the mission had been uniformly favourable. There were, apparently, small but discernible signs of the expected further development of Bengal society.

George Smith, the nineteenth century missionary biographer offered several explanations for Alexander Duff's success¹⁷¹. He attributed a major role in this to the far sightedness of John Inglis' original planning. Duff's personal qualities, the strength of his calling and his educational background were other reasons for success, as was his independence of the Church of Scotland establishment in Calcutta. More concretely, Smith acknowledged that the early assistance of the Governor-General and, in particular, Ram Mohun Roy had been crucial. The revolutionary events at Hindoo College had also been of vital importance.

We might also add to this list, as a reason for his success, Duff's background in the apologetic theology of rational Calvinism. This was of critical importance in his encounter and debates with the students of Hindoo College in the early 1830s. And the fact remains that it was from this encounter that the first converts of the mission came.

Longueville Clark).

¹⁶⁹ Duff had convalesced aboard the "Duke of Buccleugh(sic)" off Sagar Island (N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,9.12.1833,f169, and 18.12.1833,f170).

¹⁷⁰ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,17.7.1834,f183.

¹⁷¹ G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,p.112.

However, from the very beginning of the General Assembly's mission in Calcutta, one critical problem had threatened any progress made. The difficulty was that the mission was subject to major financial constraints.

In 1830, John Inglis had announced to Edinburgh Presbytery¹⁷², that the Calcutta mission had capital funds of around five thousand pounds, with an estimated annual expense of one thousand pounds¹⁷³. The capital funds, therefore, were sufficient to maintain the mission until mid-1835, but not beyond. From the time of his arrival in Calcutta, Alexander Duff was acutely aware of the financial limitations imposed on the mission, as his correspondence with Inglis reveals¹⁷⁴.

Duff was also well aware the the inevitable concomitants of the mission's success would be increasing financial constraints. In May 1831, with the school at a critical stage of growth, Duff wrote to Inglis to warn him that the necessary development would absorb most of the Committee's resources¹⁷⁵. Even as early as mid-1831, however, Duff was convinced that future financial support would have to come from the presbyterian public in Scotland. He wrote to Inglis,

"Let... the nature and necessity of the plan be prominently held forth to the view of the people of Scotland...let them make...the greatness and glory of the undertaking prescribe the standard of future contributions"¹⁷⁶.

In the absence of this type of support the financial difficulties of the mission increased. By the beginning of August 1831, Duff had had to apply for credit from the Calcutta financiers Alexander & Co. in order to pay the salaries of native teachers¹⁷⁷. Inglis responded to Duff's warnings about finance by making a public plea for funds in a report to the Assembly in the following year, 1832¹⁷⁸. At the end of 1832 the risks involved in dealing

¹⁷² The ecclesiastical body responsible, at that time, for the administration of the mission in Calcutta.

¹⁷³ E.C.I.,No.CCXL,Vol.XXIX,No.VII,Jul.1830,pps.514-517.

¹⁷⁴ By September 1830, for example, he felt compelled to write to Inglis to give an account of his house rent, travelling costs and domestic expenses(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Inglis,1.10.1830,fs39-42).

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*,2.5.1831,f59.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*,f60.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*,1.8.1831,f63.

¹⁷⁸ E.C.I.,No.VI,Vol.1,Jun.1832,pps.398-400.

with Calcutta financiers became clear when Alexander & Co. went bankrupt¹⁷⁹.

By the following Assembly in 1833, matters had hardly improved. The report on the mission to the Assembly itemised the substantial progress made in Calcutta, but then announced that finances had "fallen far short of the requisite amount"¹⁸⁰. Principal Macfarlan proposed that a motion be put forward to the effect that all members of the Church of Scotland had a duty to support the Institution¹⁸¹. The kind of restriction imposed on the mission's development by the financial situation is illustrated by the fact that by November 1834 *none* of the four converts were now under the aegis of the Institution. The mission did not have the means to employ them or support them. Two had left to join the Anglican Church in Calcutta¹⁸², a third was employed by the Anglicans at Futtehpore¹⁸³, and a fourth eventually joined the London Missionary Society¹⁸⁴. A direct appeal to the Bengal Government on behalf of the General Assembly's Institution by the Corresponding Board in December 1834, furthermore, met with little success¹⁸⁵.

Yet, there were some signs of an improvement in the capital funds of the committee. They involved relatively small sums, however. When John Inglis died in January 1834, the profits from the sale of the published memorial sermons by Alexander Brunton and Robert Gordon were assigned to the mission in Calcutta, and at the beginning of April there was a collection for Indian Missions in all the Edinburgh congregations¹⁸⁶. The Scottish Presbytery in London published a statement detailing the aims, objectives and successes of

¹⁷⁹ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Charles to Inglis,19.12.1832,f124.

¹⁸⁰ E.C.I.,No.XVII,VolIII.,No.V,May 1833,p.353.

¹⁸¹ E.C.I.,No.XVIII,Vol.II,No.VI,Jun.1833,p.424.

¹⁸² K.M. Banerjea and M. Ghose.

¹⁸³ Gopeenath Nundi, who eventually left to join the American Presbyterian Church.

¹⁸⁴ Anundo Majoondar (G.Smith,op.cit.,Vol.I,pps.282-283; N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Charles to Brunton, Nov.1834,f199).

¹⁸⁵ The Governor-General, who privately admired the Institution pointed out that its commitment to a Christian education prevented him from assigning any Government funds to it(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Corresponding Board Minutes, 1.12.1834, f204).

¹⁸⁶ S.R.O.,CH2/128/4,Kirk Session Minute Book of Old Greyfriars,pps.28 and 34.

the General Assembly's Institution together with an appeal for funds¹⁸⁷. Despite such encouragement the finances of the Institution still remained a cause for concern for Alexander Duff and the members of the Mission Committee in Edinburgh.

Within these constraints, however, in the first four years of its existence the Church of Scotland's mission in Calcutta had achieved some conspicuous successes. The seminary was well attended and its standards were advancing with each year. Alexander Duff had, for a time, taken over the intellectual leadership of the disaffected students of Hindu College, and this had resulted in the Institution's first converts.

On a more general level events seemed to vindicate the fundamental approach of the Institution. The use of a 'Christianised' Western rationality as an instrument of civil-social transformation now seemed justified, especially since it appeared to be producing the first of a generation of 'rational leaders'. Theories of civil progress familiar to Scottish presbyterian thinkers seemed to be universally applicable to the changes occurring in Bengal. Alexander Duff became convinced of the rapid approach of major social transformation in Eastern India.

At this point, however, some profound problems emerged. The chief of which might be summarised in the following question. What would become of the early educational achievements and apologetic successes if the expected social transformation occurred while the Institution was still constrained by its narrow financial base and limited public support in Scotland? It was this question, or one very closely related to it, which must have preoccupied Alexander Duff and the members of the Mission Committee towards the end of 1834. If we accept this as the problem perceived by Duff and the Committee members in late 1834 then the way is opened for an examination of Duff's Assembly addresses, speeches and tours in the years after 1835. In the light of this question major considerations of theology, philosophy and public rhetoric will emerge.

¹⁸⁷ There is a copy in N.L.S., Ms. 7530, f226f; and see also C.C.O., Dec. 1835, pps. 651-656.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Alexander Duff and the Campaign in Scotland 1835-1840

While the continuance of the mission was never in serious doubt, its material progress and expansion were ultimately dependent on the financial resources made available by the Scottish presbyterian public. This support, in turn, depended on public perception of the mission in Calcutta. Between 1835 and 1840, by means of speeches, Assembly addresses, sermons, pamphlets and books, Alexander Duff played a singular role in defending the theological tradition behind the Institution. To a lesser extent he also developed a philosophical coherence for his mission theory and practice. In this way he was able to influence public opinion in Scotland to a very large extent in favour of the Assembly's mission.

Duff and his family had arrived in Scotland on December the 26th. 1834. After a month at Portobello, near Edinburgh, he moved to Edradour near Moulin in Perthshire. This would be his home for many of the following years¹. In early March, on what was only his second visit to a congregation to speak on the mission in Calcutta, Duff became aware of a change in public attitudes. He visited St.Modan's Church of Scotland in Falkirk to speak on the work of the Institution. At the end of his three day visit, together with a collection from St. Modan's congregation, the Falkirk Society for Religious Purposes and a private gift, the visit to Falkirk raised thirty three pounds. The members of St.Modan's Church of Scotland, furthermore, declared their intention to form a parochial association in support of the mission in Calcutta. Duff's experience in Falkirk convinced him that there were countless similar opportunities in parishes throughout Scotland. 'A permanent interest in our mission,' he wrote to Alexander Brunton, the convener of the mission committee, 'is likely to be awakened'.

Duff had been invited to speak at the General Assembly in May 1835 on behalf of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He was aware that the speech, by its impact on the Assembly and its dissemination through the secular and ecclesiastical press, would be of critical importance. The Assembly of 1834 had been the first in which the Evangelical Party had gained the ascendancy, so Alexander Duff could

¹ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,12.2.1835,f257.

expect, potentially at least, a ready interest in missions². It was also clear that here was an opportunity to influence broader Scottish perceptions of the Church's work in Calcutta and, therefore, the future financial status of the mission.

Falkirk had shown, in microcosm, what was possible. The major difficulty facing Duff, however, arose from the fact that the Scottish evangelical public and periodical press had strong, traditional views as to what constituted 'authentic' mission. As regards mission, evangelical opinion in Scotland was fundamentally *biblicist*³. In other words it conceived true mission to be on the apostolic pattern. The biblical text provided the models and prescribed the limits for mission methods. When the readership of the various evangelical periodicals scanned reports of missionary intelligence there was a high expectation of mission accounts on a 'pentecost' pattern in which effective vernacular preaching bore fruit in conversions immediately following. The paradigm for this would be, of course, Jonathan Edwards' account of the life of David Brainerd, an immensely popular work in Scotland. It was probably Brainerd's *Life* which gave public opinion a primitivist turn towards *tribal* missions, and made it insist on the priority of christian preaching over 'civilisation'⁴.

Thomas Chalmers, of course, had both nurtured and represented this evangelical opinion over the previous thirty years in his insistence on the exemplary nature of Moravian mission work in Greenland⁵. Chalmers' emphasis on Moravian missions suggests that Scottish evangelical notions of mission were strongly pietistic. Henry Duncan of Ruthwell, a leading evangelical, had articulated his objections to the Church of Scotland's mission project in the Assembly of 1824 in precisely the terms outlined above. He insisted that the

² S.J.Brown, 'The Ten Years Conflict and the Disruption of 1843' in *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption*, S.J.Brown & M.Fry eds., Edinburgh, E.U.P., 1993, p.6.

³ This is David Bebbington's term to describe one of the marks of Evangelicalism in this period (see D.W.Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.3 and pps.12-14) Those who were biblicist regarded the Bible as "the authority...the source of all truth" (D.W.Bebbington, 'Evangelical Christianity etc', p.29). The text of scripture provided all the models and prescribed the limits for all authentic mission. 'Biblicist' is perhaps a better term than 'biblical' to distinguish evangelical opinion. Alexander Duff would have considered his mission method thoroughly 'biblical'.

⁴ James Montgomery was still arguing in these terms as late as 1829 in his preface to Brainerd's *Life* (see the Introductory Essay by James Montgomery to J. Edwards, *Life of the Rev. David Brainerd, Missionary to the American Indians.*, Glasgow, Collins, 1829, p xvii).

⁵ This, as is well documented, was Chalmers favoured mission topic in addresses to local mission societies, and in a long series given to the University Missionary Society at St. Andrews.

mission to the peoples of the South Sea islands had established the authentic pattern. For Henry Duncan, the mission to the South Sea islanders had demonstrated that the scriptures were the chief instrument of conversion through preaching, and 'christianity' always preceded 'civilisation'. John Wilson of the Scottish Missionary Society at Bombay declared that "The preaching of the gospel...(was) the grand means of propagating the gospel"⁶. Faced by the weight of this broad, evangelical opinion, Alexander Duff's representation of the General Assembly's Mission in Calcutta would be crucial to its future success. In terms of historical enquiry, furthermore, a knowledge of such public opinion is vital for an understanding of the context of Duff's speeches, addresses and pamphlets of the mid-1830s.

In the weeks before the General Assembly of May 1835, however, events seemed to conspire to render Duff's task even more difficult. There was a minor crisis involving the Mission Committee. They considered that an 'impromptu' mission meeting held in the home of a Dr. Paterson in Edinburgh was highly irregular and summoned Alexander Duff to account. When Duff appeared before the committee in the Library at Edinburgh University he threatened to resign over what he considered to be an unnecessary interference with his personal liberties⁷. The inquiry was immediately dropped⁸. In the months before May 1835, however, two matters had arisen which were potentially far more damaging to perceptions of the Calcutta mission in Scotland. Firstly, there was a prolonged correspondence between the Mission Committee and Calcutta in which the inadequacies of the Institution's vernacular preaching were revealed. And secondly, a report on the progress of the converts had arrived.

In July 1833, still insisting that preaching in the bazaars was impracticable⁹, Duff had had a bamboo church erected in Cornwallis Square in the native district of Calcutta. An English service was held there every Sunday evening along with occasional public lectures on a Wednesday for enquirers¹⁰. In the event, Duff and Mackay had little opportunity to preach. Since the workload in the General Assembly's school had increased

⁶ G.Smith, *The Life of John Wilson D.D., F.R.S.*, London, John Murray, 1879, p.56.

⁷ G.Smith, *Duff*, Vol.I, pps.276-277.

⁸ George Smith, Duff's biographer, considered the meeting to have been an example both of Moderate inflexibility and of Duff's independent spirit, but the importance of the incident has probably been exaggerated.

⁹ N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Brunton, 17.7.1833, f164.

¹⁰ G.Smith, *Duff*, Vol.I, p.164.

to such an extent they were forced to decline preaching engagements in St. Andrews Church of Scotland¹¹ and the native chapel¹².

In the text of its report to the Assembly of 1834 the Mission Committee, however, had given the impression that Duff and Mackay regularly preached in Bengali as part of the activities of the mission. On receiving the report at the end of January 1835, Rev. James Charles had written from Calcutta to Alexander Brunton to insist that this was not the case¹³. John Inglis, always aware of presbyterian opinion, had once advised Duff "occasionally...to address the natives in their own language", not primarily as a commitment to the vernacular but *in order to meet* "the wishes of certain parties at home"¹⁴. Duff wrote to Brunton in March 1835 to explain that there had never been sufficient time available for vernacular preaching, and in any case, the lectures had

"done as much to shake the fabric of Hinduism...in four years, as all other agencies put together in forty years"¹⁵.

Bengali, wrote Duff, was therefore "less productive"¹⁶. Duff had, in fact, started Bengali language study in August 1830¹⁷ but Michael Laird has suggested, probably rightly, that he never fully mastered the language¹⁸. Fortunately for Duff this debate about vernacular preaching remained within the Committee's internal correspondence. Had it emerged from there, it would have had the power to do significant damage to support for the Assembly's Institution since the evangelical public expected preaching to be central to mission.

The most recent news of the converts was also less than encouraging. Gopeenath

¹¹ James Bryce had left for Scotland in March 1832. Duff informed Inglis that neither he nor Mackay were able to preach at St. Andrew's due to the demands of the mission (N.L.S., Ms. 7530, Duff to Inglis, 14.3.1832, f102).

¹² N.L.S., Ms. 7530, Duff to Brunton, Nov. 1834, f199.

¹³ William Mackay wrote a few months later to confirm the fact that there was no "public preaching...by way of a *formal, sustained, continued discourse*" (N.L.S., Ms. 7530, Mackay to Brunton, f271).

¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵ N.L.S., Ms. 7530, Duff to Brunton, 20.3.1835, f270.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, f271.

¹⁷ G. Smith, *Duff*, Vol. I, p. 149.

¹⁸ Laird, *op.cit.*, p. 208 ; Thomas Smith recorded, however, that Duff was competent enough in conversational Bengali (T. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 80).

Nundi had declared his intention to join the Church of England¹⁹. Duff blamed certain "instigators and advisers"²⁰ and suggested that the Church of Scotland in Calcutta be given powers of ordination and increased financial assistance to support those converted²¹. Duff was then dismayed²² to learn that Mackay had written from Calcutta to inform the Committee that Anundo Majundar, a recent convert, was under suspicion for some of his financial activities²³.

The situation facing Alexander Duff and the members of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in the weeks before the General Assembly was this, then. It was apparent that the development of the Institution was dependent for its financial support on the mission interest of the public. The chief problem lay, however, in presenting to the evangelical public a mission which bore little resemblance to apostolic patterns and scarcely involved itself in vernacular preaching. This was a mission on a completely different pattern - an Institution which engaged in higher education and lecturing as its primary modes of propagation.

A preaching tour in April 1835 once again revealed, however, that there was already a groundswell of public opinion and interest in favour of missions. At the beginning of April Duff was in Dundee, speaking to members of the local presbytery²⁴. On the 15th. of April he set sail for London, planning to stay there until early May and then return via the Scottish presbyterian communities in Manchester and Liverpool, travelling on, finally, to Glasgow²⁵. On his arrival in London he engaged in a full schedule of preaching²⁶. The

¹⁹ *ibid.*,f270.

²⁰ *ibid.*,f268.

²¹ *ibid.*,f268-269.

²² N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,16.5.1835,f287.

²³ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,20.3.1835,f271.

²⁴ S.G.,Vol.IV,No.335,14.4.1835,p.120.

²⁵ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,4.4.1835,f274.

²⁶ He preached the Sunday sermon at Crown Court Church, on Monday he preached at the presbyterian congregation in central London for Dr. Brown, on Tuesday at Regent Square, on Wednesday at Mr. Tweedie's congregation at London Wall and on Thursday at Mr. Macdonald's congregation at Islington(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,24.4.1835,f276f). Though Macdonald was initially reluctant to allow Duff to preach at his church he was so profoundly moved by Duff's address that he applied to join the Church of Scotland's mission(G.Smith,*Duff*,Vol.I,p.341).

presbyterian churches he addressed were packed, and several congregations decided to form Missionary Associations²⁷. On his return to Scotland, Duff discovered that along with John Macdonald of the presbyterian congregation in Islington, James Halley, Murray Mitchell, John Anderson and Thomas Smith had all applied to be missionaries²⁸.

Encouraged by this, Alexander Duff attended the General Assembly in May 1835. Up until this point in the Assembly's proceedings, a great deal of time had been taken up in the debates on Church Extension in Scotland, led by Thomas Chalmers and Thomas Guthrie²⁹. On the 25th. of May, the day Duff was due to speak, the *Scottish Guardian* heralded his address by announcing that this "gentleman is about to introduce a new era in Christian missions"³⁰. While the rest of its report was somewhat garbled³¹, Duff was, in fact, about to introduce a new era into the Church of Scotland's understanding of mission.

As we have noted, he was already conscious of the opposition to the Calcutta mission from certain sections of the Church³². Duff's rhetorical tactics became plain in the main outline of his address. His strategy, in this speech as in many others, was to put the evangelical, biblicist *ideal* of missionary activity into question. He did this by forcefully presenting the General Assembly's mission in Calcutta as a *concrete, effective response* to the situation there, *which had produced results*. Accordingly, he began by summarising the effects of bazaar preaching, the evangelical ideal of missionary activity. Bazaar preaching, he declared, always encountered Brahmin demands for authoritative proofs from the missionaries. Evidential theology, however, was of no help here - biblical historical evidence was dwarfed by Hindu histories, miraculous evidence by Brahmin mythology and along with the 'internal evidences, the 'argument from prophecy' was incomprehensible³³.

²⁷ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,24.4.1835,f276f.

²⁸ G.Smith,*Duff*,Vol.I,pps.346-347.

²⁹ *ibid.*,p.306.

³⁰ S.G.,Vol.IV,No.350,25.5.1835,p.163.

³¹ It declared that Duff was intending to attack those who attempt "to Christianise the heathen by...preaching in a foreign tongue"(*ibid.*).

³² Thomas Smith recorded that Duff "was aware of the existence of a considerable amount of opposition, on the part of many of his hearers, to the educational character which the mission had assumed"(T.Smith,op.cit.,p.58).

³³ A.Duff,*The Church of Scotland's India Mission; or a Brief Exposition of the Principles on which that Mission has been conducted in Calcutta, being the Substance*

What was missing was the prior (Western) rationality necessary to comprehend the nature of 'the evidences'³⁴. Duff went on to stress the destructive impact of Western thought on the Hindu Shasters. If, he said,

*"you only impart ordinary useful knowledge, you thereby demolish what by its people is regarded as sacred"*³⁵.

This suggested that the main missionary activity should be, not bazaar preaching, but a Western education whose ultimate goal would be the provision of native preachers for evangelisation³⁶.

This, moreover, was no idealised scheme. Duff gave an account of the Lectures on the Evidences to the students at Hindu College as a concrete example, a microcosm of the kind of revolution in ideas he expected Western education to bring about³⁷. He reminded his hearers that this was not mission in its ideal 'primitivist' context³⁸ but a debate with students who had read Locke, Reid, Stewart and Brown³⁹.

The students from Hindu College provided experimental verification of the scheme of Western education Duff was proposing. When the students demanded authority for what Duff was proclaiming in the lectures they "*unlike* the older Hindus...were enabled to comprehend the nature of evidence"⁴⁰. This was because

of an Address delivered before the General Assembly of the Church on May 25th. 1835, Edinburgh, Waugh, 1835, p.3 (henceforth C.S.I.M).

³⁴ The "*power of conveying...necessary knowledge*" was essential, stated Duff(Duff,C.S.I.M,p.4). Only this provided the "knowledge which enables those whom we address to comprehend the nature and strength of the evidence from miracles"(ibid.). Only "inductive reasoning - the elemental principles of experimental knowledge"(ibid.,p.5) were able to destroy the coherence of the Brahmin religious 'system'.

³⁵ ibid.,p.7.

³⁶ ibid.,p.8.

³⁷ ibid.,pps.10-11.

³⁸ He pointed out that this was far different from the approach adopted in mission to the North American Indians (i.e. as in David Brainerd's case) or in the Moravian mission to the inhabitants of Greenland(ibid.,p.12).

³⁹ ibid.

⁴⁰ ibid.,p.13.

"They had studied our language, our histories, and our science....the sources and facts of history...They were initiated into the first principles of inductive reasoning. They knew the laws that regulate the successions of state in the material universe."⁴¹.

They were, therefore, able to grasp the evidential arguments from history, miracle or prophecy⁴². Duff then described the progress of the Lectures towards "the Scripture doctrine of...depravity and...helplessness of human nature"⁴³ and, eventually, crowning this process, the first conversion.

This, then, Duff suggested to the Assembly, was what Western education would produce - a generation of students capable of understanding the arguments of evidential theology. Duff pressed home his rhetorical advantage by reminding his hearers that the Assembly's Institution offered a *Christian* education which would effectively supplant Hinduism⁴⁴. A Christian education⁴⁵ would avoid the secularising dangers of the intellectual upheaval which had occurred at Hindu College. For, *knowledge without religion*, said Duff, raising the spectre of the French Revolution, would only result in "the wildest forms of European infidelity" and threaten Imperial rule⁴⁶. But, the Church of Scotland, he assured his audience, in conclusion,

"though powerless as regards carnal designs and worldly policies, has yet the divine power of bringing many sons to glory"⁴⁷.

Duff's speech made a profound impact on the Assembly. Principal Macfarlan, Drs. Mearns, Cook, Black, Burns and Brown, men of considerable influence in the Kirk, all declared their fullest support for the Institution⁴⁸. The Assembly authorised Duff to act as

⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁴² *ibid.*

⁴³ *ibid.*,pps.13-14.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*,p.15.

⁴⁵ A constant emphasis of the education policy of the Free Church was to be that "education at all levels should be the servant of the true faith"(see D.J.Withrington,'Adrift among the Reefs of Conflicting Ideals? Education and the Free Church 1843-55', in M.Fry & S.J.Brown *op.cit.*,p.89).

⁴⁶ Duff,*C.S.I.M.*,p.18.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*,p.27.

⁴⁸ P.R.,No.XXV,Jul.1835,pps.43-44.

secretary to publicise "the great affairs of the Assembly's scheme"⁴⁹. The following day the *Scottish Guardian* carried the speech in full and proclaimed in its editorial that Alexander Duff had "thrown a flood of light upon the Christianization of India...(through an) entire new model of missions"⁵⁰. The speech itself was published as a separate pamphlet and reached sales of well over ten thousand copies⁵¹.

There is an element of truth in the *Scottish Guardian's* description of Duff's proposal as an "entire new model of missions". He had succeeded in presenting the General Assembly's Mission in Calcutta as a sophisticated, modernising Institution supremely placed both to create and take advantage of the civil and intellectual revolution that he predicted would occur in India⁵². The one irrefutable fact was that it had produced concrete *results*. Duff's speech to the May 1835 General Assembly, by effectively displacing the biblicist paradigm of mission, marked a turning point in the way the Institution was perceived by the Scottish presbyterian public.

In November 1835, in Calcutta, far from the scrutiny of the Scottish public, however, the speech encountered its most trenchant criticism. A criticism all the more significant for the way in which it revealed the differences between Alexander Duff's rational Calvinism and the evangelicalism typical of the mission at Serampore. When the published speech arrived in Calcutta John Marshman, editor of the *Friend of India*⁵³,

⁴⁹ According to George Smith, the presbyterial visitation system was drawn up by Makgill Crichton at the printing works of Waugh and Innes, in the aftermath of Duff's speech. Dr. Robert Gordon moved that an Act be passed in which all presbyteries be obliged to give Alexander Duff a hearing. Presbytery committees were to encourage congregations to set up prayer and missionary intelligence groups (G.Smith, *Duff*, Vol.I, p.315. see also E.C.I. No.XVIII, Vol.II, No.VI, Jun.1835, p.419 and *The Church of Scotland Magazine* (henceforth C.S.M.), Vol.II, No.XVII, Jun.1835, pps.170-175).

⁵⁰ S.G., Vol.IV, No.350, 26.5.1835, p.166; A month later in June, the *Guardian* printed the report from London Presbytery on the Institution on its front page (ibid., No.373, 11.8.1835, p.269).

⁵¹ A.Duff, *The Church of Scotland's Foreign Mission, An Account of Dr.Duff's Tour through the Presbyteries of Scotland. A Report to the General Assembly by the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, (henceforth *Tour*), 1836, p.2.

⁵² Duff was effectively offering this as an alternative method to the dominant evangelical model. Its context was not that of a primitive people but of that of a civilized, urbanised society.

⁵³ A weekly periodical printed at Serampore.

devoted column space in three issues⁵⁴ to a critique of Duff's main points. As an evangelical Marshman shared substantial doctrinal common ground with Alexander Duff⁵⁵. However, Marshman thought that Duff's views of 'the agency to be employed' in mission threatened to nullify his orthodoxy⁵⁶.

Marshman put forward objections on several grounds. Firstly, Duff's experience with the students of Hindu College was no microcosm of Indian society. Instead, argued Marshman, Alexander Duff had generalised from his own narrow experience to a theory of how mission should proceed in India⁵⁷. Secondly, Marshman noted that a presupposition of Duff's mission project was that Hinduism was 'a gigantic system' which would suddenly collapse under the pressure of Western knowledge. Marshman, instead, proposed a more profound understanding of Hinduism which regarded it as a highly complex cultural phenomenon⁵⁸ which was likely to remain resilient to Western pressures. Marshman pointed out that Duff

⁵⁴ In fact, the controversy had begun earlier when the *Friend of India* reviewed correspondence in the *Bengal Hurkaru*. A letter was published from a correspondent which supported Duff's emphasis on education. The *Friend of India* responded in its columns by acknowledging that education had great value, but that it should not be over-estimated as a means of mission (F.o.I, Vol.1, No.45, 5.11.1835, p.361). The *Friend of India* insisted that "Conversion is not synonymous(sic) with a cultivated and enlightened understanding...(it is) a new inclination of the heart - a change of the will"(ibid.).

⁵⁵ "Mr. Duff holds the same opinions respecting what constitutes the conversion of sinful men as we do...the doctrines of the cross...the saving influences of the Holy Spirit" (ibid., Vol.1, No.48, 26.11.1835, p.378).

⁵⁶ ibid.

⁵⁷ ibid.p.378. Again, Marshman observed that Duff "As in other cases...magnifies a mere fraction of a thing into the whole of it"(ibid., Vol.1, No.49, 3.12.1835, pps.386-387). For example, argued the *Friend of India*, there were comparatively few intellectuals like those produced by the Hindu College, though Duff assumed they were typical of the whole of India(ibid.). In this, Marshman was entirely correct, but it would be an error to attribute this tendency merely to Duff's zeal, or lack of judgement. In fact, objectively, the 'part-whole structure' is one of the major loci of Duff's rhetoric. It is to be seen underlying his insistence that the small number of converts presaged the many thousands to come, that the students at the Institution were the first of countless numbers, that the educational achievements of the Institution heralded an Indian revolution to come, that the educational process was merely 'a train' leading to 'a mine' whose explosion would overturn Indian society, etc. etc.

⁵⁸ There was, asserted the *Friend of India* "an easy retreat from the untenable absurdities of the Poorani system, or the present popular idolatry" if these were challenged by Western knowledge, "to the impracticable speculation of the Vedantists". This would simply result in a syncretistic "reconciliation with the best science"(ibid.).

had never mastered Bengali⁵⁹.

The use of evidences and the power of 'the appeal to conscience' in preaching could not be so lightly dismissed, argued Marshman. Duff, objected the *Friend of India*, had ceded far too much to a Brahmin audience by insisting that the message simply became lost in their convoluted logic. For, "the true nature of Christianity...is a *fact*" and "If Hindu logic cannot grapple with such matters as facts...we would not listen to it"⁶⁰. Marshman pointed out that Alexander Duff had failed to grasp the exemplary nature of the apostle Paul's speech at the Areopagus. The Pauline paradigm of preaching to the heathen, engaging their own forms of thought, remained valid.

In this criticism the theological issues become clear. The tradition John Marshman represented held to biblicist and apostolic doctrines which placed much greater confidence in the transcendent power of the Holy Spirit than in the potentialities of reason. Underlying Alexander Duff's speech to the General Assembly, on the other hand, was a rational Calvinism derived from George Hill's *Lectures in Divinity* and common to both Duff and John Inglis. This ascribed a much greater role to the instrumentality of reason in religion. It was the task of rationality to clear away unreasoning prejudice from the forum of the mind, leaving it with a clear prospect of faith itself - *intellectus quaerens fidem*.

John Marshman's criticisms, however, made no impact whatsoever in Scotland⁶¹. Instead the gains made on behalf of the Assembly's Institution in May 1835 would be defended, developed and consolidated in a series of speeches, pamphlets and books until Duff's return to Calcutta in 1840.

Duff's triumphant tour of the presbyteries of the Church of Scotland was one way in which this was achieved⁶². This was an innovative and highly original manner of

⁵⁹ Duff "never acquired the Bengalee language...never once addressed a group of Natives, or received a word of information from Natives through it" (ibid.,Vol.1, No.4 8, 26.11.1835,p.378).

⁶⁰ ibid.,Vol.1,No.49,3.12.1835,p.386.

⁶¹ There was some discussion in Calcutta, however. In the early months of 1836 David Ewart and William Mackay(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Mackay to Brunton,2.3.1836,f355-356) wrote to Brunton to inform him that Duff's Assembly speech had been published in the *Calcutta Christian Observer* and had caused immediate controversy. Some missionaries considered that Duff had deprecated their work in some of his remarks. Fortunately this had not affected co-operation between the missions (N.L.S., Ms.7530, Ewart to Brunton,2.1.1836,f339).

⁶² G.Smith,*Duff*,Vol.I,p.315f; C.O.S.M.,Vol.III, No.XXVIII,Apr.1836,pps.135-139.

publicising the Institution⁶³. From mid-August, Duff toured the presbyteries of Meigle, Forfar, Brechin, Arbroath, Fordoun, Aberdeen⁶⁴ and others, totalling 26 presbyteries⁶⁵. There were large attendances and six hundred pounds was raised⁶⁶ for the work of the mission⁶⁷. In Brechin, the moribund Presbyterial Association for Religious Purposes was revived with the mission as its central interest⁶⁸. At Montrose the local press noted that the Provost and Magistrates had made a rare visit to the Kirk to hear Duff preach⁶⁹. Duff reported great interest in the Assembly's mission in Aberdeen in early September⁷⁰. By the end of November 1835, Duff had reached Wick and Thurso⁷¹. After a short illness at Tain he turned south towards Golspie. He preached at Inverness, Abernethy and Kingussie⁷².

⁶³ Thomas Smith notes that up until Duff toured Scotland there had been no-one "commissioned to plead any cause all over Scotland"(T.Smith,op.cit.,p.55). At the General Assembly of 1836, Thomas Chalmers stated, with reference to Duff's tour, that "what the printing press was in the Reformation era...the public speaker's platform had become for the present, and it was the Church's duty to employ this new vehicle of influence" (T.Chalmers,2nd. Rept. of Comm. of General Assembly on Church Extensions, Edinburgh,1836,pps.14-19 cited in S.J.Brown, op.cit.,p.255).

⁶⁴ S.G.,Vol.IV,No.373,11.8.1835,p.269.

⁶⁵ Duff,*Tour*,p.2.

⁶⁶ Nairn Presbytery, for example, divided each of its six parishes into districts and allocated two collectors to each district. Sixty pounds was raised(ibid.p.5). Perhaps St. George's Parish Church in Edinburgh provides the best example of this kind of organisation. In their annual report it was recorded that the parish had been divided into sixteen sections, enabling an accurate assessment of church and school attendance from each section. A chapel had been bought in Young Street and 3 Sabbath schools set up. The congregation decided to give over a hundred pounds towards the Institution and hold a quarterly prayer and news conference on the Calcutta mission(E.C.I., No.II, Feb.1836, Vol.1,No.II,pps.105-107).

⁶⁷ Duff,*Tour*,pps.3-4.

⁶⁸ S.G.,Vol.IV,No.383,15.9.1835,p.312.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ There were "Brethren" who were "greatly alive to the importance of the 'mission'"(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton, 10.9.1835,f314). A central committee had been established to publish details of fund raising, annual presbyterial mission meetings were inaugurated, an annual collection was set up and a collection of books was made to be forwarded to Calcutta (Duff,*Tour*,pps.6-7).

⁷¹ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,25.11.1835,f332-333.

⁷² N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,21.12.1835,f337-338.

On his return from the tour⁷³, Robert Murray McCheyne and Andrew Somerville who were at that time students, came to visit Duff to discuss the possibility of missionary work in India⁷⁴. There was abundant evidence, then, of a renewed interest in missions, expressed through the periodical press and voluntary societies⁷⁵. While Duff was in Aberdeen the 'Senatus Academicus of Marischal College and University' awarded him the degree of D.D. in recognition of

"his distinguished attainments in General and Theological Literature...that admirable combination of zeal and energy with a sound practical judgement, a profound knowledge of human nature, and the most enlarged views of the social relations of man...animated by fervent piety, and the most enlightened desire to promote human happiness by the diffusion of Christian truth, in connexion with useful learning"⁷⁶.

Not only was this a recognition of the achievements of the General Assembly's mission, it was also a symbol of the new status of the Institution itself.

In Calcutta matters were progressing just as rapidly as before⁷⁷. The school administration had been involved in discussion about a new school building since mid-1835. In July the Corresponding Board had dismissed the idea of a new building⁷⁸ and had examined the possibility of moving to a disused jail near the Hindu College⁷⁹. The Board,

⁷³ Later, the 'tour' would be used by the General Assembly as a means of forewarning and preparing members for the coming Disruption (see M.Fry, 'The Disruption and the Union', in M.Fry and S.J.Brown, op.cit., p.42).

⁷⁴ G.Smith, *Duff*, Vol.I, p.276.

⁷⁵ This was a characteristic of the Evangelical Party in the Church of Scotland, and evangelicalism as a whole, see D.A.Currie, 'The Growth of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland 1793-1843', Ph.D. Thesis, St.Andrews Univ. 1990, pps.12-50 and 145-88, quoted in S.J.Brown & M.Fry, op.cit., p.5.

⁷⁶ S.G., Vol.IV, No.397, 3.11.1835, p.368.

⁷⁷ On the third Sunday of January 1836, a statement by the Mission Committee drawn up by Alexander Brunton was read from every Church of Scotland pulpit. While it reported Duff's successful tour of the presbyteries and asked for financial contributions it also provided a marker for the current progress of the Church of Scotland's mission.

The statement announced that the Church was to take over the former mission work of the Scottish Missionary Society and that a school had opened in Madras on the Calcutta pattern. Meanwhile the school in Calcutta, said the statement, now had 600 pupils and was looking for new accommodation (E.C.I., No.II, Feb.1836, Vol.I, No.II, pps.104-105 and No.VII, Jul.1836, Vol.I, No.VII, p.379).

⁷⁸ N.L.S., Ms.7530, Corresponding Board Minutes, Jul.1835, f290f.

⁷⁹ N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Brunton, 13.7.1835, f309.

however, returned to their search for a new site for the school⁸⁰. A suitable place was found in early 1837, and a foundation stone was laid⁸¹. The fifth and sixth annual examinations at the Institution continued to demonstrate the steady progress of the school⁸². Lord William Bentinck had written personally to Alexander Brunton to express his delight at the abilities of the pupils⁸³. William Mackay, meanwhile, attempted to retain the five most advanced students at the school by paying them 10 rupees each to teach the junior classes⁸⁴. The senior class was now studying the first volume of Hill's *Lectures* in accordance with Duff's scheme to inculcate the principles of evidential theology⁸⁵. The Institution was now looking for more teachers from Scotland⁸⁶.

As the months passed by, there were further indications of how far Alexander Duff's

⁸⁰ In February 1836, the Board had received a communication from the Governor-General's office to the effect that a proposed site in Cornwallis Square, available for 36,000 rupees, was too expensive(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Corresponding Board Minutes, 24.2.1836, f346). By the end of the year ground had become available near the original site for 16,000 rupees(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Mackay to Brunton,3.12.1836,f388). At the beginning of 1837 the Letting Committee of the Governor-General's office sanctioned its purchase(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Corresponding Board Minutes, 20.1.1837,f393-394).

⁸¹ *ibid.*,27.6.1837 and 23.2.1837,f414-415.

⁸² James Bryce wrote to Alexander Brunton after the fifth examination that the "intellectual acuteness of the native youths...(is) inferior to none...in the world"(N.L.S.,Ms.7530, Bryce to Brunton,8.10.1835,f324) The Governor-General's sister had been present at the sixth examination to hear the most advanced class answer questions on Thomas Brown's Moral Philosophy, essays for and against caste, and one 'On the supremacy of conscience'(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Mackay to Brunton,3.12.1836,f389). Mackay wrote to Brunton to inform him that there were now between six and seven hundred pupils at the school. The standards were so high, he wrote, that "I often wish we could send home one or two of our best pupils to one of the Universities...they would highly distinguish themselves, and make the Mission more popular" (*ibid.*, 9.12.1836,f391).

⁸³ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Bentinck to Brunton,11.9.1835,f316f.

The students in the first class were now studying Mylne's Astronomy, Whately's Logic, Bengali, Algebra, Geometry, Cubic Equations and - Hill's Lectures in Divinity Vol.1 (N.L.S., Ms.7530, Mackay to Brunton,19.11.1835,f334).

K.M. Chaterjea had written an essay entitled 'On Atheism' for the annual examination. It had been published in the Calcutta Christian Observer(*ibid.*,f336).

⁸⁴ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Corresponding Board Minutes,Jul.1835,f300.

⁸⁵ "They are complete masters of it" wrote David Ewart, and had now reached the sections on "The Importance of Christianity" and "On the Use of Reason in Religion"(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Ewart to Brunton,2.1.1836,f339).

⁸⁶ N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Charles to Brunton,23.2.1837,f400.

arguments had carried. *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor* for March 1836 carried a report of Duff's speech at the 1835 Assembly. The editors agreed with Duff that "the great design of the Gospel" for the Hindu population was to equip them with "such materials as will enable them to judge for themselves"⁸⁷. The *Instructor* added, "We are aware of the loud outcry...in certain quarters...that the primary object (of this Mission) is not to preach the gospel"⁸⁸. The *Instructor* dismissed this as 'senseless clamour' and went on to deploy all of Duff's arguments *in support* of the mission. The article concluded by appealing to Alexander Duff "to make one mighty effort...to rouse us all to a due sense of our responsibility"⁸⁹. The *Instructor's* editorial policy demonstrated the acceptance of Alexander Duff's arguments into mainstream evangelicalism in Scotland. There was support for the Institution, moreover, from all shades of presbyterian opinion, ranging from the conservative, pro-Establishment *Church of Scotland Magazine*⁹⁰ to the evangelical, polemical *Presbyterian Review*.

The General Assembly of 1836⁹¹ also expressed its encouragement for the Mission. Alexander Brunton reported on the progress of the Institution and the successful integration of the Scottish Missionary Society's missionaries into the Church's operations⁹². The receipts of the Committee had increased to £4312 annually⁹³. Significantly, those addressing the Assembly⁹⁴ were now also using Duff's terms to describe the mission project. The Moderator, Rev.Dr.Macleod, declared it to be

"That judicious and scriptural enterprise for the illumination and conversion of the natives of India...an imperishable monument of...enlightened judgement"⁹⁵

⁸⁷ E.C.I.,No.III,Mar.1836,Vol.I,No.III,pps.129-131.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁰ see C.O.S.M. for January to August 1836.

⁹¹ Duff was not present at this Assembly (G.Smith, *Duff*,Vol.I,p.332).

⁹² E.C.I.,No.VII,Jul.1836,Vol.I,No.VII,p.379.

⁹³ E.C.I.,No.XIX,Jul.1837,Vol.II,No.VII,pps.499-502.

⁹⁴ The Rev. Paterson of St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow, for example (E.C.I., No.VII, Jul.1836, Vol.I,No.VII,p.379).

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

which held the

"promise of a mighty moral revolution"⁹⁶.

The early months of 1837 brought yet more welcome news from the Assembly's Institution in Calcutta. In March, Dwarkanath Bhowe, another convert, had been baptised after a sensational court case over parental custody which had filled the pages of the Calcutta press⁹⁷. In May Alexander Duff travelled to London to speak at the Church Missionary Society's Anniversary meeting at Exeter Hall⁹⁸. There was a gratifyingly large crowd present to hear the guest speakers.

Duff devoted the bulk of the speech⁹⁹ to correcting what he called the 'various unfounded misconceptions' which had arisen concerning the Assembly's mission¹⁰⁰. By 'misconceptions' Duff meant the criticisms made by representatives of the evangelical tradition in missions, in particular John Marshman. Against the insinuations of his critics Duff claimed biblical authority for the Assembly's mission. The principles of the mission, Duff argued, were in "the strictest accordance with the oracles of Divine Truth"¹⁰¹. He had never disparaged 'preaching'. Indeed, the foremost object of the Institution *was* the preaching of the Gospel, to be done by the native teachers and preachers produced¹⁰².

Duff declared that he saw 'useful knowledge' and 'sacred knowledge' as placed in

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

⁹⁷ Bhowe's father had put an advertisement in the *Chundrika* to announce that Dwarkanath had "by the cunning instructions which he received in that school... despised my religion and therefore I have cast him out"(N.L.S.,Ms.7530, Mackay to Brunton,14.3.1837,f405).

⁹⁸ The invitation had been extended to Duff the previous April(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Duff to Brunton,12.4.1836,f372). Duff viewed the speech as an important means of publicising the Mission in the Scottish community in London. He was most anxious, also, that speakers known in London would be present in order to secure a sizeable audience (N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Brunton, 14.4.1836, f374,).

⁹⁹ He began, by putting the Institution into context by describing the pitiful conditions brought about by the famine in the Highlands of Scotland and then informing his hearers that conditions in India were far worse(A.Duff,*Speech delivered in Exeter Hall on Wednesday,May 3rd.,1837, at the Anniversary of the Church of Scotland's Foreign Missions*, Edinburgh, Johnstone, 1837,pps.1-3 (henceforth *E.H.*).

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*,p.6.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

¹⁰² *ibid.*,p.7.

'friendly juxtaposition' to one another¹⁰³. His critics, he suggested, understood there to be an 'unfriendly contradistinction' between the two. But if 'knowledge' and Christian faith were to be polarised in this way then 'useful knowledge' would be unrestricted, unbridled in its influence. Duff directed the attention of his hearers to the familiar example of

"Encyclopaedists and Economists, and the whole body of fraternizing illuminati of France"

who, instead of

"kindling a light that might illuminate...were...fanning a flame that was soon to envelope (the world)...in a universal conflagration"¹⁰⁴.

The implications of this argument were plain. There were those who, for doctrinal reasons, argued for a polarity between 'knowledge' and 'Christianity', 'reason' and 'revelation' and, therefore, questioned the methods and procedures of the Assembly's mission. Duff countered this by arguing for a mutually beneficial relation between reason and revelation. Espousing this doctrine, claimed Duff, the Assembly's Institution would play a long-term role in the political stability of Imperial rule in India. The premises of this argument, incidentally, carried more than a hint of the Scottish emphasis on the importance of civil and religious institutions for the necessary equilibrium of civil society¹⁰⁵.

As far as the Church of Scotland was concerned, perceptions had changed since Duff's speech of 1835. The General Assembly had given its wholehearted support to the mission in Calcutta. But now, in addition, there was enthusiastic backing from presbyteries and missionary associations throughout the country¹⁰⁶. Duff's Assembly speech of May 1837, therefore, was far less defensive, of far less critical importance. Addressing the Assembly, Duff explained that his speech of 1835 had been 'expository'. He now wished to present a 'vindication' of the mission¹⁰⁷ in which he would attempt to confront those 'misconceptions, misapprehensions and misinterpretations' which had arisen¹⁰⁸. As at

¹⁰³ *ibid.*,p.9.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*,p.11.

¹⁰⁵ The speech was later published.

¹⁰⁶ A.Duff,*A Vindication of the Church of Scotland's India Missions: being the Substance of an Address, delivered before the General Assembly of the Church on Wednesday, May 24th.,1837* , Edinburgh,Johnstone,1837,p.13.

¹⁰⁷ The speech was published as 'A Vindication of the Church of Scotland's Mission'.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*,p.14.

Exeter Hall, he undertook to defuse criticisms made of the speech to the 1835 Assembly. Indeed, the early parts of Duff's address to the Assembly of 1837 lack coherence, seeming, on the face of it, to consist in unrelated replies to a variety of objections. For this reason, perhaps, the customary enthusiastic reports were notably absent from the pages of the Scottish periodical press.

The address to the 1837 Assembly does have a certain demonstrable logic, however. It finds its cohesion round the objections made by John Marshman to Alexander Duff's speech to the Assembly in 1835. These objections are once again the 'misinterpretations' Duff set out to correct¹⁰⁹ by dealing with Marshman's criticisms point by point. For example, referring to the 1835 Address, Duff denied that he had over-exaggerated the subtlety of Hindu logic¹¹⁰ as one of the main hindrances to vernacular preaching. This was, instead, a realistic caution on his part. Had not the subtle logic of

"one metaphysical Hume...effectually succeeded in convulsing the whole world of systematic Christian theologians...from our own Campbell down to our own Chalmers...for more than half a century"?¹¹¹

Again, Duff denied that he had accorded less prominence to the Holy Spirit. He countered this by re-affirming the mission's "entire and unqualified dependence on...the Holy Spirit"¹¹². He denied that he had disparaged "the preaching of the Gospel" and insisted that the aim of the entire mission scheme was to produce native preachers, "the Luthers...the Calvins, and the Knoxes of Hindustan"¹¹³. This, he avowed, would be done by the "ordinary application of ordinary means"¹¹⁴ by missionaries "endowed with reason and

¹⁰⁹ Duff also countered Marshman's lesser objections. He had, it had been claimed, disparaged the vocation of the missionary by apparently suggesting that missionary posts were occupied by 'babes and striplings'. This had been one of the less important rhetorical points of the speech in 1835. Marshman, however, had drawn attention to it in his series of articles. Duff corrected this by asserting that he had meant this in the context of the Assembly itself, where he found himself addressing "the Cookes and the Mearns, the Burns and the Gordons, and many more of the giant brood of our Scottish divines"(ibid.,p.17). Compared to these men, he felt himself to be, as a missionary, of little theological stature, a mere 'stripling'.

¹¹⁰ ibid.,p.18.

¹¹¹ ibid.,p.19.

¹¹² ibid.,p.35.

¹¹³ ibid.,pps.35,38.

¹¹⁴ ibid.,p.33.

judgement to employ these means"¹¹⁵. Having dealt with Marshman's objections, Duff's address became more positive.

He told his hearers of the ever increasing desire for English in Calcutta¹¹⁶. He informed them that even if Government policy was not always correct¹¹⁷, the English language *would* ultimately be subversive of Hinduism¹¹⁸. Duff reminded his hearers once again of the successes of the Assembly's mission¹¹⁹, of the need for adequate finance¹²⁰, and of the need to keep overseas mission at the forefront of the Church's activities¹²¹. He concluded by dismissing 'oppositions about questions' as absolutely insignificant compared with "the conversion of a world of lost sinners"¹²².

Significantly, it was in this Assembly address of 1837 that Alexander Duff, the consummate rhetorician, introduced for the first time the notion that the Assembly's mission was simply a development of 'the Reformation tradition'. By this particular strategy, he succeeded in further interpolating the aims and methods of the Institution into contemporary evangelical discourse. The 1820s and 1830s had seen a renewed interest in the Reformation

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*,p.33.

¹¹⁶ Over 31,000 books in English had been sold by the Calcutta School Book Society in recent years(*ibid.*,p.23).

¹¹⁷ Duff attacked Government educational institutions in Bengal. In March 1835, new instructions had been issued under Bentinck's administration for the teaching of European literature and science in the English language(Duff,*E.H.*,p.13). There were 27 central institutions, 23 of which used English, but, as Duff pointed out, the knowledge being disseminated was 'without religion'(*ibid.*,p.14). Worse still, the books available in the libraries of Government educational establishments included children's stories, Hume, Byron and the Koran along with Milton, Bacon and the Bible(*ibid.*,p.15).

¹¹⁸ A "*great ultimate revolution* in the social and religious structure of Hindu society..." would occur because of this(Duff,*Vindication*,p.29).

¹¹⁹ For two years, he informed the Assembly, he had been the one single labourer from the Church of Scotland(*ibid.*,p.40). Yet, while the Bengal agents of the Church of England, the London Missionary Society and the Baptist Missionary Society had laboured for seven years to gain one convert - the Assembly's Institution could boast three or four in just over three years(*ibid.*,p.41).

¹²⁰ There had, for example, been insufficient funds to supply a proper published report for the Mission Committee. While the Wesleyan Methodists contributed over £70,000 to their Indian missions, the Church of Scotland struggled to raise £5,000 (*ibid.*,p.39).

¹²¹ *ibid.*,p.45.

¹²² *ibid.*,p.54.

among Scottish presbyterians, an enthusiasm fuelled by Thomas Macrie's *Knox* and *Melville*. Duff declared that the Assembly's scheme was

"a design, which simply consists in transporting to the plains of Hindustan, and vigorously applying for its reformation, that very system of 'teaching and preaching' combined, which, in the hands of our own Knoxes and Melvilles, once rendered Scotland an intellectual, moral and religious garden, among the nations of the earth"¹²³.

Duff, apparently, was successful in convincing his contemporaries that the Assembly's scheme was analogous to the programme of the Scottish Reformers. This claim, of course, does not stand up to closer scrutiny. The argument that the Assembly's scheme of education would lead eventually to a 'reformation' in India was effectively the reverse of the sequence of historical developments in the 16th. century.

1837 thus saw the consolidation of the achievements of the 1835 Assembly. Duff took the opportunity to build on this progress by writing a pamphlet in support of English language education in Bengal¹²⁴. At the beginning of February 1835 Thomas Macaulay, Legislative Member of the Supreme Council, had drawn up a Minute advocating the adoption of English as the official language of British India. The Minute was endorsed by Lord William Bentinck in March 1835 and ratified as the English Education Act by the Supreme Government of British India¹²⁵. This Act diverted funds away from the Oriental languages and applied them to English education¹²⁶. Duff calculated that £30,000 could be saved annually by this Act¹²⁷.

¹²³ *ibid.*,p.44. And again, "Our object...is nothing less than intellectually and spiritually to reform the universal mind of India...to embody the essential spirit of the reformation in improved Institutions"(*ibid.*,p.45).

¹²⁴ A.Duff,*New Era of the English Language and English Literature in India; or, an exposition of the late Governor General of India's Last Act, Relative to the promotion of European Literature and Science, through the medium of the English Language amongst the Natives of that Populous and Extensive Province of the British Empire*,Edinburgh, Johnstone,1837,p.3. (henceforth *New Era*).

¹²⁵ F.W.Thomas,*The History and Prospects of British Education in India*, Cambridge, Deighton Bell,1891,p.29.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*,p.3. The budget for the Mohammedan College at Calcutta, the Sanskrit College at Benares and the other four colleges amounted to nearly sixteen thousand pounds annually(*ibid.*,pps.8-14). To produce standard works in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian came to nearly twelve thousand pounds annually. C.M.Trevelyan, a member of the Government Education Committee had discovered from the accounts that it had cost over six thousand pounds to translate six volumes into Arabic(*ibid.*,p.19).

¹²⁷ *ibid.*

Duff, characteristically, listed and answered the objections which had been made to the Indian Education Act. It would not, he argued, disadvantage the literary and classical languages of Hindustan¹²⁸, and was neither as unjust¹²⁹, impolitic¹³⁰ or ungenerous¹³¹ as its critics had made out. However, the main purpose of this pamphlet, of course, was not simply to itemise the effects of the Indian Education Act. By declaring his principled support for the policy of English education, Alexander Duff was once again able to portray the Church of Scotland's Institution as a pioneering project at the very forefront of legislative progress in Calcutta. And more than this, once again he could emphasise the crucial role of such Christian institutions in maintaining Imperial political stability¹³².

The year 1837 marked another successful stage in the campaign in Scotland to develop the Assembly's Institution in Calcutta. The Church was close to approving the establishment of a presbyterial body in Calcutta¹³³. In the financial year up to May 1837 receipts for the mission had levelled at nearly £4000¹³⁴. They would increase again throughout 1838¹³⁵. The Presbytery of London alone had donated £700 to the Mission

¹²⁸ The Government, Duff declared, was only returning to the old E.I.C. policy of strict neutrality in cultural affairs(*ibid.*,p.22).

¹²⁹ If its justice proved to be in question, Duff asserted, the Government could change its policy(*ibid.*,p.23).

¹³⁰ Duff pointed out that since the Act only affected a scholarly minority it would pass unnoticed. In any case, it was only following the time honoured policies of the Romans with regard to Latin, Caliph Walid with regard to Arabic and Akbar's efforts on behalf of the Persian language(*ibid.*,pps.25-27).

¹³¹ Though literature and education would now be separate, the study of classical Hinduism need not be disadvantaged by this, Duff stated(*ibid.*,pps.30-31).

¹³² Duff thought that Lord Bentinck's Act, along with secular institutions like the Hindu College would lay "the foundation of a train of causes"(*ibid.*,p.39) which would ultimately destabilise British rule. Unless, he insisted, there was a Christian College alongside every Government educational establishment(*ibid.*,p.41).

¹³³ At the beginning of May 1837, James Bryce had written to Alexander Brunton to remind him that the representation of Calcutta in the Assembly had "appeared as an expedient step as long ago as 1834"(N.L.S.,Ms.7530,Bryce to Brunton, 12.5.1837, f420). Nevertheless, little had been done since the Assembly debate of 1835. Now was the time to act, however, since "An ecclesiastical Body at Calcutta...(was) in a position to take advantage of a better light breaking in..." on India House and the Bengal Government(*ibid.*,f421).

¹³⁴ E.C.I.,Vol.II,No.VII,No.XIX,Jul.1837,pps.499-502.

¹³⁵ E.C.I.,Vol.II,Jul.1839,No.XIX,pps.270-271.

Committee. The list of periodicals carrying reports on the Mission had grown to include all the main presbyterian journals in Scotland - the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*¹³⁶, *The Scottish Christian Herald*, *The Presbyterian Review*, *The Church of Scotland Magazine*, and the newly established *Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland*. Alexander Duff attributed the success of his speeches and pamphlets of the two years from 1835 to 1837 to the fact that he was not 'a party man'¹³⁷, siding with neither Evangelical or Moderate. Indeed, by his adherence to the rational Calvinist tradition, his calling as a missionary and the persuasiveness of his public rhetoric he was now acceptable to almost the entire range of presbyterian opinion in Scotland.

The following year, as far as work for the Assembly's Institution was concerned, was much quieter. Rev. Robert Gordon circulated a statement throughout all the presbyteries in Scotland requesting further financial support for the Institution. In April, after a correspondence on the subject in two Edinburgh newspapers and the *Scottish Guardian*, a Committee was formed to forward books to the Institution library in Calcutta¹³⁸. A public competition raised the academic profile of missions when 250 guineas was offered for a prize essay on "The Duty, Privilege, and Encouragement of Christians to send the Gospel of Salvation to the Unenlightened Nations of the Earth"¹³⁹. Alexander Duff¹⁴⁰ was an adjudicator, along with Thomas Chalmers and Professors M'Gill and Walsh, Drs. Wardlaw, Bunting and Crisp and the Rev. H. Melvill¹⁴¹. At the General Assembly, in an indication of how much the situation had changed, Rev. Henry Duncan, minister of Ruthwell, who had objected to the mission project fourteen years before, rose to announce his wholehearted

¹³⁶ In a review of John Macdonald's 'Reasons for accepting a call as a Missionary', the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* once again showed its grasp of the substance of Duff's argumentation by reminding its readers that in Bengal the missionaries confronted not the "unsophisticated Greenlander...untutored North American Indian but an educated priesthood...able and willing....to debate"(E.C.I., Vol.II, No. VI, No. XVIII, pps.381-382).

¹³⁷ G. Smith, *Duff*, Vol. I, p.314.

¹³⁸ E.C.I., Vol. I, No. VI, Jun. 1838, p.304.

¹³⁹ G. Smith, *Duff*, Vol. I, pps.366-367.

¹⁴⁰ Duff remained with his family at Edradour, near Moulin for most of 1838.

¹⁴¹ The prizes were won by Dr. Harris, President of Cheshunt Hall, and Dr. R. W. Hamilton of Leeds (G. Smith, *Duff*, Vol. I, pps.366-367).

support for Duff's work¹⁴². Duncan explained that he had not, in fact, opposed the principle of the mission, but the elitist manner in which it proposed to diffuse the gospel throughout Hindu society¹⁴³. He was

"confidently assured that in a few years the capital of India will no longer be Hindoo...but...under the continued operation of our mission, it must become Christian"¹⁴⁴.

Other concerns, however, were beginning to demand the Church's attention. In March the House of Commons had turned down a request for the endowment grants essential to the maintenance of the newly constructed Chapels of Ease in Scotland. And in the May Assembly a great deal of time was taken up in discussion of the Court of Session's ruling on the Auchterarder case¹⁴⁵, and the dispute at Lethendy¹⁴⁶.

In early 1839, Duff made two public addresses of lesser importance, both of which were published. The first was to the *Scottish Ladies Association for the Promotion of Female Education in India*. Duff painted a picture of the 'unmitigated servitude' of Indian women¹⁴⁷ and gave a sketch of the female education projects already being undertaken¹⁴⁸. Duff insisted, however, that an improvement of the conditions of Indian women would only come about through an intellectual revolution amongst Indian men¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴² E.C.I., Vol.I, No.XII, Dec.1838, Supplement on Proceedings of the General Assembly, p.21.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ S.J.Brown, 'The Ten Years Conflict and the Disruption of 1843' in M.Fry & S.J.Brown, *op.cit.*, p.11.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.12.

¹⁴⁷ A.Duff, *Female Education in India; being the Substance of an Address delivered at the First Annual Meeting of the Scottish Ladies Association in connection with the Church of Scotland, for the Promotion of Female Education in India*, Edinburgh, Johnstone, 1839, p.5.

¹⁴⁸ In Calcutta, Mrs.Lawson and Mrs. Pearce, two Baptist missionaries had formed a Female Juvenile Society for the Education of Native Females, along with 2 East Indian women (*ibid.*, p.21).

¹⁴⁹ This would, he asserted, lead to female emancipation, for "while you engage in separating as many precious atoms from the mass...we shall...devote our time and strength to the preparing of a mine...the setting of a train which shall one day explode and tear up the whole" (*ibid.*, p.38). Duff referred to remarks on female emancipation made in the debates of the Hindu College as an example (*ibid.*, p.42f). And as that

The second address in the form of a sermon, was given on the 7th. of March 1839 at the ordination of Rev. Thomas Smith who was to join the Institution as a member of staff¹⁵⁰. Duff advised Thomas Smith on what to expect in Calcutta, how to approach the work of the Institution and the difficulties he would face. For the benefit of the congregation Duff divided the native population of Calcutta into a number of classes. There was, he said, the great mass of the population. There was a class of educated Brahmins¹⁵¹ and a rationalistic Westernised elite who were openly sceptical of the Gospel. Constituting a fourth class were those who were European educated, but 'without religion'¹⁵². All of these, declared Duff, were "a challenge to evangelization"¹⁵³. Returning to a familiar theme, Duff insisted that this evangelization was to be achieved through 'human learning'¹⁵⁴ accompanied by Christian education¹⁵⁵.

The repetitive strains of Duff's mission rhetoric were broken by a new note, however. In the course of the previous five years of public gatherings and Assembly addresses he had become aware that the passing enthusiasms of the presbyterian population were insufficient to sustain the cause of missions at the proper level¹⁵⁶. In May 1839, moreover, the House of Lords had ruled that the Church of Scotland had exceeded its powers by its use of the

generation of students became "*intellectually Anglicised...they*) will inevitably enrol...in the catalogue of those who assert the right of females to be emancipated from the bondage of ignorance"(ibid.).

¹⁵⁰ G.Smith,*Duff*,Vol.I,p.375.

¹⁵¹ Duff,*Missions Chief End*,p.112.

¹⁵² *ibid.*,p.121.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*,p.41.

¹⁵⁵ The feature which particularly distinguished the seminary was "the regular systematic study of the Scriptures, the evidence of religion natural and revealed, and doctrinal and practical theology"(ibid.,p.92).

¹⁵⁶ Duff thought that as far as the broad population was concerned, there was a case for attempting to "pervade and leaven the mass with right feelings"(A.Duff,*Farewell Address on the Subject of the Church of Scotland's India Mission; being the Substance of a speech delivered before the General Assembly of the Church on Thursday the 23rd. May 1839*, Edinburgh, Johnstone, 1839,p.27) towards mission. This might be done through schoolbooks and Bible teaching. The scriptures, when read properly, consistently refer to "missionary principles, missionary objects, and ultimate missionary triumphs"(ibid.,p.31).

Veto Act¹⁵⁷. At the Assembly of 1839 Thomas Chalmers raised the distant prospect of Disruption in the Church of Scotland for the first time. The General Assembly was, then, becoming less concerned with the progress of missions and increasingly preoccupied with the debate over patronage. In response to this Duff was to develop an original and radical doctrine of the nature of the Church in an attempt to provide a permanent place for mission in the Church's life. This first emerged in outline form in a discourse entitled *Missions - the Chief End of the Church* which the evidence suggests was one of the sermons given at Thomas Smith's ordination in March¹⁵⁸.

In this discourse, Duff set out to develop the traditional Calvinist discussion of the *potestas* of the Church, of its power and authority, *beyond* the habitual preoccupation with ecclesiastical structure, legitimacy and government. Duff argued, however, that when Christ had delegated this *potestas* to the apostles and to the Church as a whole, he had also transferred a dynamic *function* - that of the evangelization¹⁵⁹ of the world. What was distinctive and radical in Duff's approach was his insistence that this function - evangelization - was fundamentally constitutive of the nature of the Church¹⁶⁰. In terms of the doctrine of the Church, Alexander Duff was moving towards an understanding of the fundamental identity of the act and being of the Church.

Of course, others had put forward the duty of Christians to engage in mission and the obligation of the Church to support missions was a commonplace. But prior to this, no-one had advanced the thesis that the very *nature* of the Church was missionary, and that if it failed in this it ceased to exist ontologically "however primitive or apostolic ...in...outward

¹⁵⁷ S.J.Brown, 'The Ten Years Conflict and the Disruption of 1843' in M.Fry & S.J.Brown, op.cit., p.11.

¹⁵⁸ The preaching at Smith's ordination proved to be too much for Duff and brought about a recurrence of his illness (N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Brunton, 13.4.1839, f49).

¹⁵⁹ Christ "*formally transferred the whole of his visible evangelistic functions to his professing disciples...This is the grand charter under which a visible Church...was at first constituted, and designed to be forever perpetuated, for the administration of Gospel ordinances, and the exercise of spiritual authority. These high functions in the Royal Head were original and underived - as transferred to...the Church, they are of necessity, derivative and vice-royal*" (Duff, *Missions Chief End*, pps.12-13). The Church, therefore, is "*his delegated representative as the world's evangelist*" and is given "*the power and authority indispensable for their exercise*" (ibid.).

¹⁶⁰ ibid., p.6.

form and constitution"¹⁶¹.

Duff illustrated this proposition by giving examples of churches throughout the course of history which had abandoned "the ...missionary character..." and had lapsed, inevitably, "into superannuation and decay"¹⁶². This occurred, he observed, in those times when the church "seemed mainly intent on turning the whole of her energies *inward* on herself"¹⁶³. In one major sense this was true. The long debate over the Auchterarder case had convinced Alexander Duff that the Church of Scotland was entering just such a period.

Here Alexander Duff, like many others, seems not to have discerned the profundity of the crisis into which the Church of Scotland was entering. In the late 1830s the discussion of the *potestas* of the church was no longer an abstract defence of presbyterianism. It had become a debate of great urgency about the relative autonomy of church government over against the rule of the state. In the harsh realities of the gathering conflict Duff's ideals of a missionary church had missed the point. However, it cannot be denied that Duff's notion of the missionary nature of the church was a highly original proposition.

By the General Assembly in May 1839 it was plain that the report on the mission in Calcutta had virtually become part of the routine business of the Church. Alexander Brunton informed the members that the missions at Bombay and Madras were progressing, and that there was a prospect of Female Schools being inaugurated by the Assembly. The finances were now at their highest annual level of over £5000¹⁶⁴.

Alexander Duff was present as a commissioner from the Presbytery of Dunkeld. When he rose to address the Assembly on the 23rd. of May¹⁶⁵ there was further encouraging news from Calcutta - another convert, Mahendra Lal Basack had been baptised on the 8th. of March. Duff returned to the themes familiar from his speeches and pamphlets. He warned the Assembly about the spread of 'knowledge without religion' through the secular institutions and libraries now mushrooming in India¹⁶⁶ and looked forward to the

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*

¹⁶² *ibid.*,p.15.

¹⁶³ *ibid.*,p.22.

¹⁶⁴ E.C.I., Vol.II, Jul. 1839, No. XIX, pps.270-271.

¹⁶⁵ For the last time before his departure for India.

¹⁶⁶ He attacked the decision by the Central Controlling Committee of Public Institutions in Calcutta who had banned Christian literature from public libraries (Duff, *Farewell*,p.13).

day when Brahminism would be "broken by true religion and true philosophy"¹⁶⁷.

In this address, however, Duff returned to a consideration of the duties of the Church. He reminded his hearers that the Church of Scotland was now "the first National Church, which, in *its national corporate capacity*" had fulfilled its obligation to engage in mission¹⁶⁸.

Duff went on to develop this by applying his notion of the nature of the Church to an exegesis of Matthew 28, moving the traditional Calvinist boundary between *ordinary* and *extraordinary* dispensations in the process. To teach and preach, he declared, was no 'extraordinary' commission¹⁶⁹. The apostles had received the dominical command

"officially, as the *original heads* of the great Christian commonwealth - the *primitive representatives* of the Christian Church and community - and *through them* to *all* its professing members"¹⁷⁰.

Principal Hill and the rational Calvinist tradition had normally interpreted Matthew 28 in the context of the legitimate exercise of authority in Church government. Ecclesiastical power was properly exercised within the constraints put upon the Church by the sovereign authority of Christ¹⁷¹. Power and authority was delegated to the apostles under these constraints. Duff, however, now interpreted Matthew 28 in a significantly different light. Since he understood the apostles to be actually *representative* of the church the injunctions of Matthew 28 were not fulfilled simply in the legitimate exercise of ecclesiastical authority. They demanded the obedience of the contemporary church. An obedience binding on the "*united corporate capacity*" of the Church¹⁷² and, therefore, binding on Assembly, Synod and Presbytery. Anything less would be an abuse of the spiritual privileges given to the Church¹⁷³.

There was little sign that the Church of Scotland had the time or the inclination to pursue such doctrinal developments. In any case, Scottish presbyterians had shown little

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, pps.20-23.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, pps.7-8.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p.34.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p.36.

¹⁷¹ See Hill, *op.cit.*, pps. 569-570, "every legitimate exercise of authority (in the Church)...is regulated by the words of Jesus and his apostles"(p.570).

¹⁷² *ibid.*, p.38.

¹⁷³ *ibid.*, p.44.

interest in ecclesiological study in this period. There were other matters far more pressing. The 'Ten Years Conflict', for example, was nearing a crucial stage. Despite this, some expressed their agreement with Alexander Duff.

John Macdonald, minister of the Scottish presbyterian congregation in Islington was profoundly influenced by Alexander Duff's ideas on the relation of church and mission. He had accepted a call from the Church of Scotland's Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel to join Duff in Calcutta. In a short pamphlet entitled *A Statement of Reasons for Accepting a Call to go to India* he insisted that "the Church of Christ is essentially and constitutionally *Evangelistic*"¹⁷⁴ and that the "*World is the Church's Trust*"¹⁷⁵. This conviction, he explained, compelled him to go India as a missionary.

The *Presbyterian Review* regarded *Missions the Chief End of the Church* as "the most perfect thing which Dr.Duff has yet given to the world"¹⁷⁶. The rising level of polemic in the *Review*, however, demonstrates how deep the divisions within the Church of Scotland had become. In an article on James Bryce's *Native Education* the *Review* set out to emphasise "the humility of one great man" - John Inglis, and "the intrepid sagacity of another" - Alexander Duff¹⁷⁷. The *Review*, on the other hand, attempted to minimise Bryce's role¹⁷⁸ in the early discussion of the General Assembly's mission, or even exclude it altogether¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁴ J.Macdonald,*Statement of Reasons for Accepting a Call to go to India as a Missionary from the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 'For the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts',*2nd.ed.,p.16 (henceforth *Statement*).

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*,p.17. Macdonald, adopted Duff's insistence that "the internal and spiritual prosperity of the Church demands a more full discharge of her evangelistic work"(*ibid.*,p.18). In certain aspects he was more radical than Duff. Macdonald declared that even the gospel "*Ministry is originally and primarily evangelistic*" (*ibid.*, pps.17-18).

¹⁷⁶ P.R.,No.XLV,Jul.1839,p.65.

¹⁷⁷ P.R.,No.XLVI,Oct.1839,pps.248-150.

¹⁷⁸ By this time James Bryce had become unambiguously involved in the patronage struggle. Within the year he would express his solidarity with the seven deposed ministers of Strathbogie. He was also a founder member of the Moderate League of 1840(S.J.Brown,'The Ten Years Conflict and the Disruption of 1843' in M.Fry and S.J.Brown, *op.cit.*,p.17).

¹⁷⁹ P.R.,No.XLVI,Oct.1839,pps.254-262. They might well have considered themselves fortunate to avoid litigation, or an Assembly overture directed against them. Bryce,

In April 1839¹⁸⁰, at the invitation of Dr. Robert Gordon of St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, Alexander Duff delivered a series of lectures on 'India and Indian Missions'¹⁸¹, a summation of the speeches and addresses of the previous four years¹⁸². From this was to emerge the 700 page volume *India and Indian Missions* dedicated to the 9 members of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts¹⁸³.

India and Indian Missions was divided into six chapters, with an appendix describing the progress of the lectures to the Hindu College students. The first provided a history of Indian civil society, the second outlined Duff's theory of Hinduism and the third gave a moral assessment of Hindu practice. The fourth included a discussion of the means of 'regenerating' India and in the fifth Duff replied to a variety of objections concerning his mission methods. The sixth chapter sketched a brief history of the Church of Scotland mission.

Recent scholarly studies have used *India and Indian Missions* mainly as a documentary source for narrative accounts of the background to the mission in Calcutta. As an historical text, however, it is much more than this. It is the record of the only *sustained* series of lectures Alexander Duff gave in Scotland in the 1830s. And as such it represents the culmination of the process of defining and representing to the Scottish public the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta. It also offers a fuller outline of Alexander Duff's theory of mission and from the point of view of the philosophical influences on Duff's thinking *India and Indian Missions* provides the clearest expression of his use of Baconian philosophy.

Duff began the lectures by offering a summarised history of India, explaining that the historical facts he was presenting were simply gleaned from 'Mill, Maurice and M'Pherson'¹⁸⁴. Duff, however, depended heavily on an interpretative schema familiar from

however, was safely on another continent. He had returned once again to take up his post as minister of St. Andrew's Kirk, Calcutta.

¹⁸⁰ He had decided to preach this early in the year since the "Aristocracy begin to move to the country early in May"(N.L.S., Ms.7530, Duff to Brunton, 13.4.1839, f50).

¹⁸¹ G. Smith, *Duff*, Vol. I, p. 375.

¹⁸² Duff, *I.I.M.*, p. v.

¹⁸³ Revs. Alexander Brunton, Robert Gordon, Thomas Chalmers, D. Ritchie, W. Muir, J. Grant, J. Paul, J. Hunter and J. Bruce (ibid., Dedication).

¹⁸⁴ Duff, *I.I.M.*, p. vi.

Robertson's *Historical Disquisition* and one which James Bryce had already made use of in his *British India*. He gave an historical account of Indian civil society and drew an explicit parallel, just as Robertson had done, between the imperial rule of Britain and Rome. In the workings of Providence, just as the legions of Rome had created one single empire, so the

"British legions...(had been) commissioned...by the same overruling Providence, to break down the barriers...between the tribes, and states...of Hindustan"¹⁸⁵.

This served to remind Duff's lecture audience and, latterly, his readers of their moral and religious obligations towards India.

One of John Marshman's criticisms of the General Assembly address of 1835, published in the *Friend of India*, had been that Duff was mistaken in proposing a 'system' as the essence of Hindu religion. For his part, Marshman laid much more emphasis on the cultural elements of folk-religion in Hinduism. This, he argued, was the source of its ability to adapt syncretistically to alien influences.

In the Edinburgh lectures, however, Alexander Duff once again approached Hinduism in a typically rational manner as a *theological* system. He undertook to formulate "the grand theory of Hinduism"¹⁸⁶. Though Duff, of course, was not entirely unaware of the traditions, culture and folk elements of Hinduism, nevertheless he was convinced that its *fundamental* structure lay in a theology which could be abstracted from the Shasters. Here, he insisted, was the real battleground and, therefore,

"Reason and judgement, discretion and forethought...are the very instruments which Jehovah has been pleased to select"

for the

"*spiritual* invasion, and ultimate possession of...India"¹⁸⁷.

Politicians and economists might give varied explanations for "the demoralization which (had) become endemic and universal"¹⁸⁸ in Eastern India. For Duff, however, the most "potent antecedent cause...(was) false religion"¹⁸⁹.

Characteristically, Duff analysed Hinduism by means of a theologically interpretative

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*,p.33.

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*,p.vi.

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*,p.39.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*,p.40.

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*

framework derived directly from the traditions of contemporary Scottish Calvinism. Hinduism was to be judged by the rationally superior standards of Christianity¹⁹⁰. Duff traced the decadent moral state of Hinduism, on this interpretation, to a defective first principle - the fact that Brahm was "absolutely undefined by attributes" and was "therefore unknowable"¹⁹¹. As Brahm could not be meditated upon or thought of, worship was impossible¹⁹², logically speaking.

Duff then went on to describe the four schools of thought within contemporary Hinduism - 'spiritual pantheism', 'spiritual idealism', 'spiritual materialism' and popular mythology¹⁹³. He also gave an account of Hindu cosmology¹⁹⁴ which, he informed his audience, was "intellectual imbecility and childhood"¹⁹⁵. The true corrective to this mythology, he proclaimed, was the substitution of "the proper object - the true Infinite...Christianity"¹⁹⁶.

It was in his description¹⁹⁷ of the Hindu concept of sin, however, that Duff was able to offer the presbyterian public a range of theological problems and doctrinal questions more familiar to them. He gave an account of the Hindu doctrine of the after life and the means by which the enjoyment of heaven could be obtained¹⁹⁸ according to the Shasters¹⁹⁹. The most exalted path was to be found through acts of "acknowledged

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*,p.50f.

The rationale for this type of approach can be found, for example, in Hill's *Lectures* and in Scottish theories of natural religion.

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*,pps.54-55.

¹⁹² *ibid.*,p.60.

¹⁹³ *ibid.*,p.66.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*,p.100-112.

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*,p.117.

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*,p.120.

¹⁹⁷ Duff insisted that his aim was not to "expose, but simply to exhibit the system of Hinduism..."(*ibid.*,p.175). It was obvious, he thought, that "in the eye of the intelligent Christian, its best confutation must be the extravagance and absurdity of its tenets" (*ibid.*).

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*,p.177f.

¹⁹⁹ *ibid.*,p.123f.

merit"²⁰⁰ which would "purchase exemption"²⁰¹. This was part of the "code of *atonements* and *expiations* which form(ed) so characteristic and integral a part of Hinduism"²⁰². This was not an interpretation derived from Common Sense philosophy or rational Calvinism. It was simply a direct and explicit parallel between Hinduism and Roman Catholicism. Both, Duff asserted, emphasised merit and neglected true atonement. In this way, the lecture audience and the readers of *India and Indian Missions* could be confident that they had grasped the essential defects of Hinduism. Duff had portrayed it as an oriental idolatry akin to that of Rome. The broad sympathies of his audience would therefore lie with an Institution which set out to overturn and replace Hinduism. Such rhetoric also fitted in rather neatly with the Reformation theme in Duff's speeches.

As the lecture series progressed, Duff gave an account of the "leading superstitions and idolatries of Eastern India" using Buchanan, Heber and Ward²⁰³. He described the celebratory excesses of the Juggernaut, Durga and Kali festivals²⁰⁴ in some detail. According to Duff's schema, these practices logically arose from the defective first principles of Hinduism, they were the inevitable outcome of the illogicalities to be found in the Shasters.

Duff went out of his way to accentuate the unexceptionable nature of his view of Hinduism²⁰⁵ and his dependence on traditional authorities. The lectures analysing Hinduism, however, are significant for the way in which they further illuminate his approach to mission. What Duff provided in *India and Indian Missions* was a highly intellectualized and abstract analysis of Hinduism. This view of it as a 'gigantic system', as 'a grand theory' explains his unshakeable confidence that under the pressure of Western knowledge there would be a rapid and total dissolution of Hinduism. Just as, under the pressure of Bacon's pragmatic rationalism, medieval scholasticism had collapsed.

Having described the 'moral decadence' of Hinduism and its root causes, Duff went

²⁰⁰ *ibid.*,p.152f.

²⁰¹ *ibid.*,p.159.

²⁰² *ibid.*,p.172.

²⁰³ *ibid.*,p.ix.

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*,pps.234-256.

²⁰⁵ At the beginning of chapter 3, Duff stated that "the Author (i.e. Duff himself) does not pretend to advance any thing novel"(*ibid.*,p.vi).

on to offer his lecture audience and readers his own theory of amelioration. There was little hope of political progress through representative government and free institutions since, Duff argued, the people of Eastern India did not possess "*the true sentiment of rational freedom*"²⁰⁶. Economic growth, he thought, would only exacerbate moral decline²⁰⁷. Education would be counter-productive if the knowledge communicated was separate from religion - the French Revolution was, again, an example of what might happen²⁰⁸.

The only force capable of reforming India was Christianity in its Protestant form, Duff proclaimed. This was

"the only effectual Liberator, Intellectualizer, Civilizer and Comforter of man!"²⁰⁹.

"(T)he mighty system of Revelation" would overturn the structure of Hinduism itself, as Roman Catholicism had been overturned in the sixteenth century. As in the Reformation era, the doctrine of justification, in particular, would nullify the central tenets of Hinduism²¹⁰.

The means, the three 'generic modes'²¹¹ by which this would be achieved, stated Duff, were the preaching of the Gospel, elementary education and Bible translation²¹². After an elementary education and a period of study at a central seminary the

"few (would) ...exert a patent influence over the *many*"²¹³.

It would be the responsibility of this elite²¹⁴ to assist the progress of higher education, to preach the Gospel and to translate the Bible. The object of this would be

²⁰⁶ *ibid.*,p.262.

²⁰⁷ *ibid.*,p.264.

²⁰⁸ *ibid.*,p.269.

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*,p.279.

²¹⁰ *ibid.*,pps.273-274.

²¹¹ *ibid.*,p.285.

²¹² Duff did not think that the Bible should be distributed indiscriminately - it should be the 'concomitant' of properly taught and preached Christian faith(*ibid.*,p.378). He also argued that translation should be undertaken exclusively by native language speakers (*ibid.*, p.386).

²¹³ *ibid.*,p.301.

²¹⁴ Duff emphasised the influence of the few committed individuals, like John Knox, in preference to a "thousand illiterate peasants"(*ibid.*,p.307). He traced the 'comparative failure' of most of the 'older missionary stations' to the lack of a 'regularly systematised' programme for the training of 'native labourers'(*ibid.*,p.393).

"the intellectual, moral and spiritual regeneration of the universal mind"²¹⁵.

To this point, this is merely an elaboration of Duff's familiar theory of a Westernized elite who would bring about the necessary reform, Christian revolution, in India. The theory of the effective power of elites, of course, was part of a long and respectable tradition in conservative Scottish social thought. Paradoxically, however, in a much more radical notion of an indigenous Indian Christianity²¹⁶, Duff now envisaged this 'reforming' elite as

"so naturalized...that it can flourish and perpetuate itself, independent of foreign aid..working out for itself the means of *self-support* and *self-propagation*...the only valid test of real permanent success!"²¹⁷.

The primary goal for the present was to work towards this self-sustaining indigenous system. The revolutionary, reforming potential of this elite, however, would only be fully operational when European finance and missionary personnel were withdrawn²¹⁸.

Alexander Duff's emphasis on the potentialities of a Westernized elite of 'native labourers' was more than just a programme of indigenisation, or an appeal to traditional social theory, however. It was also a response to evangelical criticism. To those who charged him with the neglect of 'preaching' Duff could counter that the primary task of the Assembly's mission was not to preach but *to equip others* to communicate the Gospel.

And as the lecture series progressed Duff was to mount a further assault on his evangelical critics in Scotland. Among those who criticised the Assembly's mission some had characterised it as 'intellectualist'. Those of a revivalist persuasion had questioned whether or not it would lead to a 'revival' in India. Others had scrutinised Duff's mission method for its biblical foundation and had declared it wanting.

Duff simply dismissed those critics who caricatured his mission methods as intellectualist. He described them as "inland unadventurous spirits" who were

²¹⁵ *ibid.*,p.284.

²¹⁶ An indigenous system was, according to Duff, the only practical one. The population of India was 130 million, to only around 100 missionaries. Duff thought that a programme of 'localizing' on the model that Thomas Chalmers had pioneered would be successful. Moreover, the expense of European missionaries, their profoundly different cultural traditions and lack of grasp of vernacular languages meant that in the long run native labourers would have to be used(*ibid.*,p.329).

²¹⁷ *ibid.*,p.300.

²¹⁸ *ibid.*,p.307.

"haunted with dread of the fanatical dreams of intellectualizing visionaries respecting the diffusion of mere secular knowledge and education apart from religion"²¹⁹.

Duff replied that no progress was conceivable "*apart from an enlightened Christian education*"²²⁰. Quite simply, no other approach was possible. He countered strongly by suggesting that *all* missions in India should change to the pattern of the Assembly's Institution²²¹.

To those Irvingites, revivalists and, to a lesser extent, those who regarded the methods of David Brainerd or the Moravians as paradigmatic, those whose

"minds (were) borne along by vivid remembrances of the time when thousands were converted in a day"²²².

Duff replied that in place of miracles, God had

"appointed ... propagation, growth and maturescence"²²³.

Progress was now *gradual*, in other words, and operated by means of "ordinary laws"²²⁴. In a reiteration of the normal emphases of rational Calvinism, Duff insisted on the importance of external, *ordinary* means for the propagation of the Gospel. Miracles, he declared, were an option only open to "disciples of the Irving-millenarian school"²²⁵.

Alexander Duff, of course, did not deny the authority of Scripture. But in opposition to those evangelicals who insisted on the uniquely privileged nature of its prescriptions, Duff maintained a providential, historical perspective in the tradition of William Robertson and George Hill²²⁶. According to Alexander Duff, 'preparatory' periods could be distinguished in the history of the Church. The 1830s marked such a period in India, comparable, Duff suggested, to that of the early years of the European

²¹⁹ *ibid.*,p.333.

²²⁰ *ibid.*,p.335.

²²¹ *ibid.*,pps.336-337.

²²² *ibid.*,p.343.

²²³ *ibid.*,p.344.

²²⁴ *ibid.*,p.344.

²²⁵ *ibid.*,p.353.

²²⁶ *ibid.*,pps.347-349.

Reformation²²⁷.

The term *reformation* had become increasingly important for Duff's thought. By the late 1830s it was to serve as a central concept uniting a set of diverse and often conflicting discourses. In the past, scholars have had some difficulty in defining Duff's theological presuppositions²²⁸. This is due in key part to Duff's ability to express a consistent theological position through a rich, flexible and varied public rhetoric. The term *reformation* illustrates this quite remarkably.

For Scottish evangelicals in the 1830s the Reformation represented more than simply an objective historical event. The historian Thomas M'Crie had demonstrated that sixteenth century Scotland offered a rich documentary resource, a range of characteristically uncompromising historical figures like Knox and Melville, a series of dramatic and critical confrontations and, finally, a legacy of enduring tradition. This had been a movement, furthermore, which Protestants regarded as culminating in the triumph of the primitive apostolic faith. In appealing to the Reformation in the Edinburgh lectures, then, Duff could be confident of creating a profound response among those of an evangelical persuasion.

He informed his audience that the Reformation, in terms of significant influence, was second only to "the first promulgation of Christianity"²²⁹. Having assured them of this, however, Duff went on to draw a quite remarkable series of comparisons between the apostles and the Reformers. Where the apostles were poor ignorant men of low social origins and without power the Reformers, on the other hand, were wealthy, "*the most learned men of the age*"²³⁰, and 'electors of provinces'²³¹.

Duff then went as far as to criticise those evangelicals in the biblicist tradition who

²²⁷ "Some Indian Tetzels may preach...the worst extravagances of Brahminism. Some Indian Luther may be roused...Whole districts may awaken...Whole cities may proclaim their independence. Whole provinces may catch the flame of liberty. All India may be born in a day!"(ibid.,p.353).

²²⁸ D.Chambers, for example, argues that Duff "owed much to the influence of Charles Simeon, Highland revivals, and to Chalmers' influence.."(Chambers,op.cit.,p.34).

²²⁹ ibid.,p.365.

²³⁰ ibid.,p.367.

²³¹ ibid.,p.366.

still insisted on literal imitation of apostolic methods²³². Instead, he invited his hearers to consider *the Reformers*, not the apostles, as paradigmatic, since

"at the Reformation age...(by) the cultivation and possession of those natural advantages and endowments which God so eminently blessed under a non-miraculous dispensation...armed with Reformation gifts (they did) Reformation work (by) the ordinary method of scholastic and Christian discipline"²³³.

This was not only an explicit and categorical statement of the traditional Calvinist distinction between ordinary and extraordinary dispensations. By regarding historical precedents as determinative, by appealing to the authority of historical experience Duff was expressing a fundamental rational Calvinism as typified by theologians like Campbell, Robertson and Hill.

Reform is also a key expression in the philosophy of Francis Bacon, and Duff's use of it raises the whole question of the extent of his indebtedness to Lord Verulam's work. It is certainly the case that Alexander Duff's thought draws to a major extent on the philosophy of Francis Bacon²³⁴, as his contemporaries noted²³⁵. The chief difficulty here is not in verifying Bacon as one of Duff's intellectual sources, almost the reverse. In relation to Duff's approach to Indian development the problem is to define those elements of his

²³² Duff was confident enough of his own position to point out to his audience that a great deal of evangelical practice had itself no apostolic authority. The apostles did not establish Bible Societies, appoint patrons and presidents or set up printing presses. Quoting Mosheim as his source, Duff was able to assure his hearers that the apostles, apparently, *did* institute schools !

²³³ *ibid.*,p.370.

²³⁴ The origins of this Baconianism are to be found in Reid's insistence that the school of Locke and Berkeley had led to the sceptical excesses of David Hume. In the late eighteenth century, both Reid and his academic colleagues sought a partial return to the philosophy of Francis Bacon. Bacon's notion of the correction of the unaided senses by the instrumental use of reason is a variant of the Aristotelian *sens commun* (see R.H.Popkin,*The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Descartes*, Assen, 1960, pps.120-128) which Reid had developed. J.C.Robertson has written on the academic revival of Baconianism in the early nineteenth century (see J.C.Robertson,'A Bacon-Facing Generation:Scottish Philosophy in the Early Nineteenth Century', in *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, Vol.XIV,1976,No.1, January) but the precise extent of the influence of popular Baconianism within Scotland remains a matter for further historical study.

²³⁵ see W.P.Duff, *op.cit.*,p.2, T.Smith,*op.cit.*, p.25, G.Smith, *op.cit.*,p.110.

progressive modernism²³⁶ which were *not* associated with the Baconian project of modernity.

For example, Duff's entire notion of 'modernity' is closely associated with Bacon's thought. Duff's approach to Eastern Indian and Hindu culture, of course, was typified by an assertion of its moral worthlessness. This is clearly derived from the evangelical moral standards of the early nineteenth century. A tendency to cultural blindness and exclusivity, however, is also characteristic of Baconian modernism²³⁷. Duff's programme for the transformation of Indian culture by the systematic and determined application of pragmatic rationality resembles very closely Bacon's social project in *The Advancement of Learning*²³⁸.

Duff's rhetoric of the association of knowledge and (imperial) power²³⁹ in India and his insistence on 'reform'²⁴⁰ are obviously Baconian themes, typical of the programme set out in *The Great Instauration*²⁴¹. And Alexander Duff's characteristic assertion of the utter novelty of the Indian 'reformation' is a concept of revolution distinguished by the typically Baconian

"assertion of absolute discontinuity with previous affairs and the initiation of an entirely new stage in history..."²⁴².

Laying aside, for the moment, the more general elements of Baconian influence, Duff's insistence on the *unity of knowledge*²⁴³ owes at least as much to Lord Bacon as to

²³⁶ David Kopf has described James Mill as a 'progressive modernist' whose theories were an expression of his utilitarianism (Kopf, op.cit., p.237). The major themes of Duff's vision of development in Eastern India can be derived, not from a utilitarianism like Mill's, but from the Scottish preoccupation with Baconian philosophy.

²³⁷ C. Whitney, *Francis Bacon and Modernity*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1986, p.162.

²³⁸ C. Whitney, op.cit., p.3.

²³⁹ Whitney, op.cit., p.17.

²⁴⁰ By the fourth chapter of *India and Indian Missions*, Duff had begun to use the thoroughly Baconian term 'regeneration', or *regeneratione* in place of 'reformation'.

²⁴¹ Whitney, op.cit., p.13.

²⁴² Whitney, op.cit., p.99.

²⁴³ The clearest expression of this is in Duff's insistence that the curriculum in the Assembly's Institution should attempt to cover the entire terrain of Western knowledge, from Biblical study to political economy, from philosophy to Euclidean

Thomas Chalmers or, indeed, Scottish generalist traditions. His emphasis on the instrumental use of English as a 'modernising' force in Eastern India is close to Bacon's theories of referential precision in scientific language²⁴⁴. And, more precisely, the very *form* of Duff's thought seems to have been shaped by a characteristically Baconian intellectual style, an approach in which

"the limitations of sense, reason, human individuality, human society, language and philosophical systems"²⁴⁵

were regarded as *idola* to be purged, as prejudices to be swept away. Duff, incidentally, shared this frame of mind with John Inglis, which perhaps explains their profound respect for one another.

In the Edinburgh lectures Duff went on to list a series of common objections to mission along with their refutations. He argued that such objections arose because the "old nature is not universally renovated"²⁴⁶ and itemised some of the old and popular criticisms. He countered the conservative charge that missions were 'novel and visionary' by declaring that this was "senseless rationalism"²⁴⁷ which interfered with the redemption of the world. As to the criticism that mission "*must endanger the stability of the British dominion*"²⁴⁸ Duff replied that the course of events had proved the contrary²⁴⁹. Among other criticisms, Duff returned to the controversy over parental rights which had erupted in the pages of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*²⁵⁰. He dubbed Longueville Clark a *latitudinarian liberalist* and asserted that Christianity was true. Logically, therefore, all other religions were erroneous and Christianity could claim the right to instruct children in the truth regardless of the inclinations of their parents²⁵¹.

geometry. Whitney, op.cit., p.62; F.Bacon,*The Advancement of Learning*, Book III,p.367.

²⁴⁴ Duff,*New Era*, p.37.

²⁴⁵ Whitney,op.cit.,pps.37-38.

²⁴⁶ Duff,*J.I.M.*,p.406.

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*,p.415.

²⁴⁸ *ibid.*,pps.416-417.

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*,p.418.

²⁵⁰ *ibid.*,p.436.

²⁵¹ *ibid.*,p.438-440.

Duff drew the Edinburgh lectures to a close with a brief history of the origins of the Calcutta Mission. As several scholarly studies have noted, he traced the main outlines of the mission to Inglis' plan of 1825 to

"institute...seminaries for education of various grades - as grand auxiliary instruments in removing deep-rooted prejudices; in preparing the mind...to listen to...(and) to comprehend the sublime discoveries of Christianity"²⁵².

The central object of this institution was to form well-equipped teachers and preachers. Once again, Duff returned to the discourse of Reformation to emphasize that the project was

"only a counterpart of the scheme whereby our Scottish Reformers at once perfected and perpetuated the Reformation"²⁵³.

What is most significant, however, is Duff's treatment of Inglis.

Inglis' published writings, as we have seen, demonstrate that theologically he was working within the framework of rational Calvinism. The early discussions concerning the mission in Eastern India also emerge from within that tradition. Alexander Duff, however, insisted that John Inglis was

"the *sole*, the *undisputed* author"

of the scheme. It originated as

"the product of his own solitary independent reflection on the known constitution of the human mind, and the general history of man"²⁵⁴.

Duff expressed his admiration for the way in which Inglis could

"*formally* propound such a scheme as his *initial measure*"²⁵⁵

and it was

"something original for a man in his closet, by abstract reasoning on general principles, to excogitate..."²⁵⁶

such a project. This was all the more extraordinary, according to Duff, when Inglis was

"at the time wholly ignorant of...arguments, whereby...the scheme may...be vindicated"²⁵⁷.

²⁵² *ibid.*,p.480.

²⁵³ *ibid.*,p.481.

²⁵⁴ *ibid.*,p.481.

²⁵⁵ *ibid.*

²⁵⁶ *ibid.*

²⁵⁷ *ibid.*,p.482.

Yet the evidence shows that Inglis developed the scheme within a broad context of debate, not in Olympian aloofness. And his published pamphlets and sermons testify that he was hardly the type of man to be 'wholly ignorant' of vindicatory arguments on behalf of the project.

Of course, Duff's treatment of John Inglis arises from profound respect. But the insistence on Inglis' solitary origination of the scheme also operates as a rhetorical strategy. It completely detaches Inglis from the rational Calvinist tradition and conceals the profound debt the Institution owed to that theology. It entirely eclipses the role of men like Ram Mohun Roy and James Bryce in the early formation of the scheme. It began the gradual obscuring of the debt Alexander Duff owed to the apologetic theology of rational Calvinism. Perhaps it could not have been otherwise as opinions polarised in the years that preceded the Disruption.

The Edinburgh lectures were published at the end of 1839 as *India and Indian Missions*. The *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* for 1840 gave it a generally favourable review. The reviewer, however, doubted whether European education was as powerful as Duff had asserted and questioned the universal use of the English language²⁵⁸.

Language was also the chief point at issue in the most sustained attack on the linguistic position Duff had outlined in *India and Indian Missions*. This came from William Campbell²⁵⁹, a former missionary of the L.M.S. in a book entitled *British India*. The twenty seven chapters of the work cover the familiar landmarks of this type of missionary literature, the history of India, of British ascendancy, a description of Hindu practice etc²⁶⁰. Towards the conclusion of the book, Campbell discussed education.

He argued for missionary education on principle as a guarantee for the security of

²⁵⁸ *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, Jan. 1840, pps. 20-21.

²⁵⁹ Campbell was born in 1799, studied in Gosport and was appointed to Bangalore. Ordained in 1823 he arrived in India in 1824, leaving in 1835. He was missionary to the Canarese speaking peoples in the vicinity of Bangalore, establishing a congregation, a boarding school, a theological seminary and a "Christian village". He was forced to retire due to ill health (see R. Lovett, *The History of the L.M.S. 1795-1895*, Vol. II, London, Froude, 1899, p. 106; and J. O. Whitehouse, *L.M.S. - A Register of Missionaries and Deputations from 1796 to 1877*, London, Yates and Alexander, 1877, p. 72).

²⁶⁰ W. Campbell, *British India in its relation to the Decline of Hindooism and the Progress of Christianity containing remarks on the Manners, Customs and Literature of the People; on the effects which idolatry has produced; on the support which the British Government has afforded to their superstitions; on education, and the medium through which it should be given*, London, Snow, 1839.

'rational freedom'²⁶¹. He was a defender, however, of the vernacular languages. The vernacular was perfectly adequate to express Christian truth²⁶², he argued, and the introduction of English would only result in cultural and political oppression in the long term²⁶³. An Anglicising policy, such as Duff's, would marginalise British administration by isolating it from Indian culture, creating a native sense of injustice and oppression²⁶⁴.

It was in criticism of *India and Indian Missions*, that Campbell made an acute observation on one of the cultural paradoxes typical of Alexander Duff's thought. Nothing, declared Campbell,

"can show more plainly the prejudices under which Dr. Duff is labouring, than his bringing forward his native language, to support this (Anglicising) scheme..".

For Gaelic was, said Campbell,

"a dialect...despised and neglected whose literature has suffered oppression and contempt...whose theology remains scanty"²⁶⁵.

If Alexander Duff wanted to see the long term effects of an Anglicising policy he had only to look to the remnants of his own Gaelic culture, according to Campbell.

Campbell's *British India*, however, was published in London and attracted only one review in the Scottish periodical press. The *Scottish Christian Herald*, meanwhile, printed the first chapter of *India and Indian Missions*, as its lead article entitled 'The Designs of Providence in Subjecting India to Britain'²⁶⁶. The single Scottish religious periodical to comment on William Campbell's *British India* was the *Presbyterian Review*. In a rather superficially argued article it utterly rejected Campbell's point of view. In the same issue, however, the *Review* demonstrated its absolute acceptance of Alexander Duff's arguments by supporting the scheme for training native preachers, advancing the case for *gradual* progress in missions and attacking those who disparaged the use of education in missions²⁶⁷. *India and Indian Missions*, declared the *Presbyterian Review*, was

²⁶¹ *ibid.*, pps.523-526.

²⁶² *ibid.*, pps.558-561.

²⁶³ *ibid.*, p.541.

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*, pps.548,563.

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.581.

²⁶⁶ *Scottish Christian Herald*, 4.1.1840, p.1f.

²⁶⁷ P.R., No.XLVIII, Apr.1840, p.595.

"one of the noblest contributions to our national literature which modern times have produced..."

and there was no more

"valuable present - the sacred volume excepted"²⁶⁸.

In the space of six months, then, if the judgement of the *Presbyterian Review* is to be believed, Alexander Duff's *India and Indian Missions* had gained lasting prestige. It had acquired a uniquely privileged status in mid-nineteenth century Scottish terms, that of companion volume to the Scripture itself, a status traditionally accorded only to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Guthrie's *The Christian's Great Interest*, or Boston's *Fourfold State*.

By May 1840, however, the members of the Church of Scotland, the delegates to the Assembly and the main organs of the Scottish press were almost completely absorbed by the legal proceedings, reports and debates on the Auchterarder case. Whether or not the judgement of *Presbyterian Review* on *India and Indian Missions* was accurate is less important. What is of major significance is its uncompromising support for Alexander Duff. Driven originally by the need to publicise the Institution and secure its finances, the result of Duff's prodigious rhetorical labours over the years from 1835 to 1840 was almost universal acceptance of his arguments by mainstream evangelical presbyterians in Scotland, including Thomas Chalmers²⁶⁹. At least until the questioning of mission education methods in the 1860s the missions of the Free Church would owe a great debt not only to Alexander Duff but also to the legacy of rational Calvinism.

²⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.618.

²⁶⁹ G.Smith, *Duff*, Vol.I, pps.383-385.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

Among the questions this enquiry set out to explore was the role played by Scottish theology and philosophy in the establishment of the General Assembly's Mission in Calcutta. An attempt has been made to develop the study by systematically focussing on two main fields of enquiry. One main area of historical research, in common with previous studies, consisted of Alexander Duff's background and education in Scotland and his later work in Calcutta. The other area featured the *institutional* context of that education and work. Some consideration must now be given to what conclusions can be drawn from the preceding enquiry.

The question of the early 'influences' on Alexander Duff was particularly attractive to nineteenth century biographers like George Smith. And Smith's conclusions, in the absence of a fuller investigation, have been substantially reiterated by later historians¹. Alexander Duff's evangelicalism was traced to Charles Simeon, to Thomas Chalmers and Highland revivals, for example. A connection was assumed between his language policy in Bengal and his earlier experience of Gaelic in the Southern Highlands. This study, however, has avoided undue emphasis on these early influences since the historical evidence is insufficient to support any firm conclusions.

Instead this inquiry has argued that Alexander Duff's explicit theological and philosophical convictions owe their origin to his later student career within the institutional context and intellectual traditions of St. Andrews University. Previous historical research, dependent for the most part on Victorian studies, has stressed the influence of Thomas Chalmers and the Student Missionary Association on Duff. Alongside this, however, the *formal* Arts curriculum was important in shaping Duff's outlook. From a consideration of his later missionary work it becomes clear that Alexander Duff derived distinctive elements of his approach from the academic traditions associated with the United Colleges.

It was, for example, through the lectures in Logic & Rhetoric of Professor James Hunter in 1822-23 that Alexander Duff was first introduced to the philosophy of rhetoric. Here must lie the foundations of his later interest in and formidable command of public

¹ As we have seen, Don Chambers traced Duff's religious influences to the influence of Charles Simeon, Thomas Chalmers and Highland revivals (Chambers, *Mission and Party*, p.34).

oratory. The rhetorical powers which Duff developed were seen to their fullest effect in speeches to the General Assembly, the presbyteries of northern Scotland and public gatherings in London in the mid-1830s.

In Hunter's Logic class, and later in the Moral Philosophy lectures of Thomas Chalmers, Duff would also become familiarized with a philosophy of modernity based on the works of Francis Bacon. This popular philosophical approach, which seems to have been shared by many of his contemporaries, was to provide the framework for his vision of the modernisation of India.

Despite a profound admiration and respect for Thomas Chalmers as a teacher, Alexander Duff, it emerges, did not adopt the Butlerian emphasis on the rule of conscience which was characteristic of Chalmers' moral philosophy. Instead, I have argued, he was to remain much more wedded to the fundamentals of the essentially eighteenth century rational theological tradition of St. Mary's College.

This theology had been given its chief expression in the work of Principal George Hill whose *Lectures in Divinity* was the standard theological textbook at St. Mary's College. The *Lectures* provide a comprehensive summary of the place and function of Calvinist theology in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scotland. Rational Calvinist theology of this period did not assume profound disciplinary divisions between theology and philosophy or theology and empirical history. Accordingly, a discussion of the place of reason, the insights of common sense philosophy and the implications of historical determinism were quite naturally integrated into the lectures on divinity. Theories of natural religion and the necessary progress of civil society were understood to be correlated to theological enquiry.

By employing the term *rational Calvinism* I have assumed as a basic premise an essential unity, a *coherence of tradition* in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scottish theology. In other words, that while there were inevitable disagreements among Scottish theologians some fundamental presuppositions were also held in common². Assuming the unity of mainstream Scottish theology of this period means that its protagonists can be more precisely situated. According to their differing emphases on one or other of a number of key presuppositions, the chief of which was the role of reason in theology, one can assign a place to the participants in the debate. In interpreting early

² David Bebbington has noted "a renewed interest in Calvinism" among some British Evangelicals in the 1830s (D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.77). Hill's theology, however, had maintained a continuity with earlier Scottish Calvinist theologies of the eighteenth century which was to endure well into the nineteenth.

nineteenth century Scottish theology I have therefore rejected, as Friedhelm Voges has already done, the use of the terms 'Moderate' and 'Evangelical' to describe this theological tradition. As a schema inherited from nineteenth century ecclesiastical politics this nomenclature is an inadequate tool for the analysis of the historical theology in question.

For several reasons I have consistently chosen the term *rational Calvinism* to characterise this theology. This definition depends primarily on the positive role ascribed to reason which was the chief characteristic of this body of divinity in the eighteenth century. As orthodoxy was transposed into a rational key the doctrines of hamartiology, predestination and eschatology, for example, were viewed from the perspective of reason. As a result, the radical and pessimistic Calvinist doctrine of sin was displaced by a much greater confidence in the potentialities of reason-led progress. The notion of 'the elect and of the church invisible until the eschaton' was displaced by a providentialism whose optimistic sensibilities were much more attuned to the empirical processes of history and the future which those processes necessarily implied.

On completion of the theological curriculum in the spring of 1829 Alexander Duff was, in many ways, a typical product of St. Mary's College and of the theological tradition discussed above. Student president of both the Theological and the Missionary Societies, in academic terms he had achieved the necessary level of competence in the Biblical languages. He had also demonstrated a command of the philosophical foundations and arguments of apologetic theology and a steady confidence in the place of reason in human affairs. When John Inglis looked for a suitable nominee for the post of Superintendent of the proposed Institution in Calcutta, then, Alexander Duff was the perfect candidate.

One of the main propositions of this thesis, however, is that the proposals for and the organisation of the Institution in Calcutta emerged from the context of a much broader debate among Scottish theologians like George Campbell and George Hill on the place of religion in civil society. This discussion in turn presupposed a variety of theories on the relation of reason to revelation. This is demonstrated by the fact that when the subject of missions was discussed in the early nineteenth century opinions frequently polarised round differing perceptions of this relation.

Such a theory of institutionally determined civil-social change was implicated in the proposals for the Institution in Calcutta. This, in fact, forms the clearest example of the

contribution of Enlightenment Calvinist social thought³ to the establishment of the mission⁴. The notion of social change stimulated by a 'virtuous élite' which typified these proposals, furthermore, had its origins in a prolonged Scottish discussion of the role of the intellectual in society as David Allan's recent study of Scottish Enlightenment historiography would suggest⁵.

If we accept this notion of a Scottish 'theology of civil society' as a correct interpretation we are then in a position to account for the intentions underlying the establishment of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta. Through the informal reports of James Bryce, the statistical survey of Charles Lushington in 1824 and the accounts of several independent observers it became apparent that a Westernizing process was underway in Bengal. Those involved in the planning for the Institution in Calcutta, John Inglis especially, regarded Eastern Indian society as entering an historical process which would bring it to the threshold of major civil-social transformation.

In Inglis' plan the primary role of the Assembly's mission was to act as a catalyst in accelerating this social change in Bengal. Western rationality was to be one of the chief instruments employed in this. It was expected that the Institution would, by these means, produce 'rational leaders' who would assume a central role in the emerging civil society. More importantly, they would introduce Christian values and Christian faith into the very foundations of that development.

There is, of course, a political aspect to this programme. In a recent article Andrew Porter has noted the variety of relations which existed between missions and government in the British Empire. He also raises the question of the systematic connection between

³ David Bebbington has already noted broad continuities between the Enlightenment and early nineteenth century British Evangelicalism (D.W.Bebbington, 'Evangelical Christianity etc.', pps.32 and 36).

⁴ see Brian Stanley's discussion of the influence of the Enlightenment on evangelicalism in B.Stanley, *The Bible and The Flag - Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leicester, Apollos, 1990, pps.61-68 & p.162.

⁵ In the absence of research into the Scottish background later historians, following F.W.Thomas, described the proposal to 'create a fresh learned class' which would distribute knowledge downwards as the 'Filtering Down' theory (see F.W.Thomas, *The History and Prospects of British Education in India*, Cambridge, Deighton Bell, 1891, p.40).

religion and empire⁶. In the case of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta the political relationship is absolutely explicit. A quite specific relationship with the Imperial government was presupposed from the very beginning of the project. For example, government approval was sought for the project as early as 1810. On his arrival in Calcutta in 1830, Alexander Duff was provided with an introduction to William Bentinck, the Governor General. In his later speeches, in contrast to the more cautious approach of Congregationalist and Baptist Missionaries⁷, Duff always argued that the Institution had a vital role as an agency of political stability. He frequently insisted that the British Empire offered a providential means of advancing the cause of the Gospel. As D.H.Emmott has observed, even his English-language policy was an aspect of the extension of Imperial power⁸. Duff, furthermore, consistently argued for the close association of the General Assembly's Mission with the institutions of power and political authority in Bengal. At times this insistence on the Christian implementation of Western rationality in Eastern Bengal seems close to the '*Instrumentalisierung der Vernunft*'⁹ which Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer once identified as '*the dialectic of the Enlightenment*'.

The fundamental assumptions and expectations of men like John Inglis found expression in institutional form in the General Assembly's Institution established by Alexander Duff in Calcutta in 1830. Under Duff's influential leadership those assumptions seemed vindicated. The Assembly's school expanded rapidly and became renowned for its high educational achievements. The Christian emphasis of the school caused relatively little upheaval among the Hindu middle-classes in Calcutta. And the student rebellion at Hindu College seemed to represent a microcosm of the future course of intellectual affairs in Bengal. By means of the arguments of apologetic theology many of Duff's hearers were persuaded of the reasonableness of Christian faith and the first converts came from Duff's polemical engagement with the students.

⁶ A.Porter, 'Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century 1780-1914', in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol.XX,1992, pps.370-390.

⁷ *ibid.*,p.377.

⁸ D.H.Emmott, 'Alexander Duff and the Foundation of Modern Education in India' in *The British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol.XIII,1965,pps.160-169.

⁹ Wild describes Johann Georg Hamann's critique of the Enlightenment as directed to "die Dialektik der Aufklärung, die Instrumentalisierung der Vernunft, die umschlägt in Herrschaft" see R.Wild(ed)., *Johann Georg Hamann*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft,1978,p.7.

John Marshman had criticised Alexander Duff for generalising his experience with the Hindu College students into a universal theory of how missions should operate in India. From Duff's perspective, however, the reaction of the students to his arguments was an early proof of the way in which the force of Western rationality would impel the Hindu elite into a modern nexus of civil and social relations.

By the mid-1830s, however, several factors had emerged which threatened to limit the work of the Institution and impair its future usefulness. The chief of these was financial, for without an adequate financial base the Institution was unable to implement the necessary steady expansion. Neither, in more general terms, would it be able to adequately respond to any significant major social changes if it was constrained by narrow financial considerations.

It was clear to Alexander Duff and the Mission Committee convener Alexander Brunton that the Institution would have to be heavily reliant on public funding from Scotland. In turn, that public funding was dependent on Scottish perceptions of the work of the Assembly's mission. From as early as 1831 Duff seems to have realised that a key task was to persuade mainstream presbyterian opinion in Scotland of the importance of the Assembly's mission in Calcutta by popular justification of its work.

The Assembly addresses of 1835, 1837 and 1839, the speeches, pamphlets and books which Alexander Duff published in the late 1830s testify to his attempts to defend the rational Calvinist approach to missions. Evangelical criticism of the Institution's emphasis on rationality and the neglect of preaching was potentially very damaging. Duff, however, was supremely successful. His Baconian vision of the reform of India and, to a much larger extent, his insistence on the fundamental role of rationality in mission method became part of the normal discourse of Scottish presbyterianism.

Based on the historical enquiry so far we can draw a more specific set of conclusions. The first of these concerns the contribution that Alexander Duff made towards Scottish missions in the early nineteenth century. Michael Laird, having demonstrated that Duff certainly did not *pioneer* education as a mission method, has argued that the key to his achievements is to be found in his personality. While contributing little that was original he was, according to Laird, nevertheless the most *effective* of the missionary educationists in Bengal in this period¹⁰.

Further research into the Scottish context of Duff's labours, however, has demonstrated other facets of his achievement. From 1835 onwards, Alexander Duff played

¹⁰ Laird, op.cit., pps.257-258.

a key role in defending the Institution, publicising its work in Scotland and securing its financial future. In so doing he shifted the discussion of the progress of Indian civil society from the older deterministic themes of William Robertson to a much more aggressive assertion of the transformation of the sub-continent according to Baconian notions of modernity.

Duff's theology was not of the structured kind and his published speeches and writings contain little in the way of systematically developed doctrine. Of course, a strong case can be made for the originality of Duff's theory of the missionary nature of the church promulgated in the late 1830s¹¹. But more specifically still, the question arises as to what *formal* body of work Duff's addresses, speeches and pamphlets constitute. For example, one might be tempted to dismiss Duff's speeches and addresses as merely ephemeral, as less important than more systematically considered theological work. To do so, however, would be to misunderstand the character of theological debate in this period. This frequently centred less on precise doctrinal monographs and more on public discussion. Knowledge of the historical context demonstrates that Alexander Duff adopted a *form* of argument typical of the early nineteenth century. In short, Duff's thought has a *rhetorical foundation*, less academic in style perhaps, but characterised by a powerful moral didacticism. According to P.J.Diamond, in the Scotland of this period the rhetorical presentation of ideas was understood to play a vital role in the communication of rational thought¹². This, indeed, had been a strong emphasis of Thomas Reid's teaching on the nature of the intellectual powers. Contemporaries undoubtedly recognised in Duff a superb exponent of the oratorical exposition of ideas, of a form of thought which was fundamentally *rhetorical*.

In conclusion, as far as the general theological and philosophical background to the General Assembly's Mission in Calcutta is concerned, several distinct but related elements of the earlier discussions of Scottish Calvinist theologians came together in the establishment of the projected Institution. From within the dominant providentialist view of history the appearance of Christianity was understood to be the resolution of a particular moment in the advance of society, civil society. The Institution was to be established to hasten this moment in Eastern India. By his persuasive arguments for the imminent onset

¹¹ This theory, moreover, anticipated later theories of the missionary nature of the church by over a century.

¹² P.J.Diamond, 'Rhetoric and Philosophy in the Social Thought of Thomas Reid' in J.Dwyer and R.B.Sher(eds), *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, Mercat Press, 1993, p.59.

of revolutionary transformation within urban Hindu society Alexander Duff developed this theory into an aggressive weapon of modernity.

While in many ways simplistic and primitive this theory constituted a practically oriented programme of development with an educational method at its core. As such, it may be the clearest example from early nineteenth century missions of those theories which had as their aim the development of a modern, Westernized, rationally organised society which would effectively displace traditional, pre-industrial culture.

APPENDIX I

St. Andrews University Library Lending Register

Mention should be made of the influence of the Library and private reading in Duff's intellectual formation. A record survives of all of Duff's borrowings from the University Library¹ which provides an exact account of his reading throughout the Arts course.

As was the case for all other students, the course of Duff's reading was constrained² by the Senate veto ratified in 1821³. Students of philosophy in the Arts Faculty were prohibited access to novels⁴ which were regarded as a marginal form of literature, whose 'academic status was questionable...'⁵. There was also a general veto on class textbooks,

¹ The Library, repaired and enlarged in 1760 was now inadequate, providing only restricted accomodation severely affected by damp. The Librarian, the Rev. J. Hunter, who had been appointed in 1817 had to wait until the late 1820s for the appointment of a representative in London who would undertake to collect and despatch books from Stationers' hall. Finance for new foreign books was limited. Hunter estimated the number of students using the Library at approximately one hundred per day, each taking out an average of three books.

² Duff's experience of these constraints surely underlies his later policy as regards the use of secular literature in the Bengal education system. M.A. Laird, for example, has drawn attention to the "notable omission from the curriculum" at the General Assembly's Institution at Calcutta of "imaginative literature - in any language" (M.A. Laird, op.cit., pps.212-213).

Duff's publication, in the 1830s, of lists of books suitable for use in Indian schools and his memorandum to the Bengal Government in 1837 on the subject of the study of secular texts within the Bengal school system reflect a policy of a 'negative index' (as the Bengal Hurkaru termed it, see Laird, op. cit.,p.213). Duff's scheme is a more restrictive version of the policy in force at St. Andrews University Library, .

³ According to the Senate minute of 1821, the veto was amended to allow access by students of St. Marys in the first instance, to 'reviews and periodicals of the previous ten years...' the works of fiction of stated authors including Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Moore, Burney, Radcliffe, Opie, Edgeworth, Porter, Inchbald, Scott and Brunton and all classics and commentaries with the exception of rare editions (Senate Minutes, vol.13, p.110, cited in *Library Bulletin of the University of St. Andrews*, Oct.1908, Vol.3.32, p.313).

⁴ Walter Scott's novels were permitted to students of Divinity.

⁵ As possible sources of moral danger novels were suspect. They threatened to undermine the virtues most highly regarded by the practical moralists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They were to be kept beyond the reach of impressionable youth (Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, pps. 142-143). Henry Mackenzie, had argued for the high moral and educational worth of the novels of Richardson

which the students were obliged to purchase for themselves⁶.

Perhaps the most significant detail is that from the 8th. of November 1821 to April 1825 Duff borrowed no novels whatsoever. He began the first session with two volumes⁷ and up until the 9th. of April 1822, Duff took out 41 books - already considerably more than the student average of 31. By far the greatest proportion, nearly half (19) of these books were literary works⁸. In session 1822-23, Duff's reading was still predominantly literary⁹.

In the third session, 1823-24 Duff's reading showed a noticeable change¹⁰. Under the impact of Chalmers' lectures his reading in moral philosophy¹¹ and political economy¹² now took up the bulk of the 54 books¹³ he borrowed. For the first time he began reading

and Fielding. For reasons of this sort they may have been taken off the veto by the St. Andrews Senate.

⁶ U.C.R.,XXXVII.III, p. 26.

⁷ Schlegel's *Lectures on the History of Literature* and James Beattie's *Dissertations Moral and Critical*. The latter was, according to the Scots magazine, invaluable for "inculcating virtue in the young and cultivating their native sensibility".(Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*,p.16) (see St.A.U.L.,Library Receipt Book,1816-1825,p.464).

⁸ Of which 6 were the poems of Walter Scott, and 6 the plays of Shakespeare, the works of Spenser, Byron, Southey and Moore accounted for the rest. The Library lending register records 5 books on travel , 4 Biographical works, 2 on classical history, 1 natural history book, Maclaurin's *Treatise on Algebra* and a volume on geometry.

⁹ Nine volumes out of the thirty two. He also read Beattie's *Dissertations*, and the *Essays*, several volumes on mathematics, three volumes of travel, the Koran, Plutarch's *Lives*, the *Memoirs* of Benjamin Franklin, Cuvier's *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*, Lockhart's *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, and four works of christian evidences along with two histories and a volume of rhetoric, and zoology (St.A.U.L.,Library Receipt Book,1816-1825,pps.464,463).

¹⁰ St.A.U.L.,Library Receipt Book,1816-1825,pps.201,200.

¹¹ Duff read Bacon, Hutcheson's *System of Moral Philosophy*, and *Inquiry*, Pufendorf's *de Officio Hominis et Civis* , the works of Thomas Gisborne and James Beattie's *Elements of Moral Science*.

¹² Ricardo's *Principles*, and Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

¹³ Most significantly,perhaps, as well as the fourteen works of literature , which included Wordsworth and Scott, he began reading in rhetoric. The list of volumes borrowed includes the *de Sublimitate* of Longinus, Lord Kames' *Elements of Criticism*, and Walker's *Rhetorical Grammar*.

works of apologetic theology¹⁴. Probably due to illness in session 1824-25, Duff's borrowings from the library went down to their lowest¹⁵. He only took out 20 volumes from the beginning of November to the middle of March. The bulk of his reading, seven volumes in all, was still in the area of moral philosophy and political economy¹⁶.

At the end of the session in 1825 Duff did not go home immediately but spent four extra months in St. Andrews, up to the end of July. He read another 20 volumes¹⁷ in this vacation period¹⁸. His reading, which in the university session of 1824-1825 had contained no works on christianity at all, contained five volumes of apologetic theology. Most importantly, for the first time Duff took out the 1737 edition of Burnet's abridgement of the *Boyle Lectures*, which was to be the central core of his reading in the following three sessions, laying the ground of his own lifelong interest in apologetic theology.

¹⁴ Of which one was Burnet's *Defence of Natural and Revealed Religion*, and the other Puingblanch's *Inquisition*, which no doubt fuelled Duff's later anti-Jesuit enthusiasms.

¹⁵ St.A.U.L.,Library Receipt Book,1816-1825,pps.278-279.

¹⁶ He read Bacon's works once again. Of the four historical books Duff read, one was Merie's *Life of Knox*, an important text for Scottish Evangelicals since it offered them a Reformation tradition they could then lay claim to. Among the five literary volumes he read, Duff returned to the first book he had taken out, Schlegel's *Lectures on the History of Literature*, and another favourite, Lockhart's *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*.

¹⁷ Six volumes of literature including Scott's poetry, and one volume of Cook's *History of the Reformation*, Duff continued his reading in philosophy by perusing Jardine's *Outlines of a Philosophical Education*, and the works of Ricardo and Malthus in political economy.

¹⁸ Jardine regarded the vacation as "a necessary part of a public course of education" in which "freed from the trammels of academical discipline" the student could "be accustomed to voluntary direction in the course of...studies". Positively, he could "obtain leisure for reviewing...the various doctrines of the lectures" and gather "more satisfactory knowledge in those parts of the subject in which he feels himself deficient" (Jardine, op.cit.,pps.402-403).

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