

**MATTHEW SMITH**

## **Distinguishing Marks of the Spirit of God: Eighteenth-Century Revivals in Scotland and New England**

In the mid-eighteenth century, the Protestant world shifted on its axis. Awakenings in England, Scotland, and colonial America erupted, transforming popular religion into something new and remarkable, dramatic and threatening at the same time. Evangelicals took heart, convinced that God intended something extraordinary, by means of the revivals. The countervailing liberal tendency of Protestantism, emphasising reason above the passions, alluded with perverse intemperance to the diabolical origins of enthusiasm. Revivals were diverse, both geographically and in their effects on denominations, communities and individuals. The lines of controversy were broken by class, regional and sectarian loyalties, but gave rise to distinct, self-conscious parties, which corresponded with one another in every sense. Evangelicals on both sides of the Atlantic united, dissolving the regional outlook of provincial Christians, and complementing the growth of international commerce and communication. Susan O'Brien has written of a 'Transatlantic Community of Saints', tracing the epistolary networks of evangelicals in Scotland, England and New England.<sup>1</sup> This was an essentially imagined community, few of whose members would ever meet one another, but it represented a genuine renaissance in Protestant culture.

Prominent evangelicals included Massachusetts revivalist Jonathan Edwards, minister of Northampton, and William McCulloch, of Cambuslang, Scotland. Both men were Calvinists. Both played similar roles in almost-simultaneous revivals, and were assisted by the itinerant George Whitefield, another key figure. Comparison may also be drawn through the letters they wrote each other, although sadly, only one of McCulloch's letters to Edwards is extant. Edwards has been variously remembered as America's greatest theologian, a precursor of modern psychology, a hell-fire preacher, and a *de facto* leader of the 'Great Awakening'. McCulloch's mark on history is pale in comparison, but he was a painstaking chronicler and left what TC Smout has described as 'the first Scottish oral history project'.<sup>2</sup> The 'McCulloch Manuscripts' are housed in Edinburgh's New College Library, and comprise two volumes, recording the testimonies of 108 converts at the Cambuslang revival. Volume 1 was meant for publication, and its edited leaves, which bracket off passages that stray from orthodoxy, suggest the critical concerns of the Calvinist ministry. While focusing on the converts' own spiritual trials, the accounts also reflect McCulloch's concerns. Combined with other sources they aid comparison of the revivals and their leaders, providing an insight into Calvinist piety with which to reconstruct their worlds. Little else survives of McCulloch's writings, and there are few contemporary sketches and no visual depictions to reveal his character. Sources written by or concerning Edwards are abundant, yet for many historians he too remains an enigma. Similarities of

temperament are striking. Edwards ‘possessed but a small fund of animal life ... [he was not] what might be called an affable, facetious gentleman, in all companies.’ And in a posthumous sketch, McCulloch is described thus: ‘not a very ready speaker: though eminent for learning and piety, he was not eloquent.’<sup>3</sup>

To understand why Northampton and Cambuslang proved so fertile to revivalism we must examine the parishes’ religious character. Both areas were agrarian, noted for their Protestant sobriety but also a certain evangelicalism. In Northampton revival was burnt into living memory: Edwards’s grandfather and ministerial predecessor, Solomon Stoddard, had led five ‘harvests’ or mass conversions between 1679 and 1718. Through the revivals of 1735 and the early 1740s Edwards was re-enacting an ancestral as well as a community role. Cambuslang had no obvious analogue to the Northampton revival, but folk-superstition and revivalism marked the surrounding countryside uniquely among Scottish regions. These were far from enlightened times. When McCulloch was a child, witches were still being burnt at the stake. The south-west was also the heartland of Covenanters, and the 1680s had been the ‘killing time’ of their persecution. In 1645, the battle of Kilsyth, about ten miles from Cambuslang, had been the bloodiest slaughter in the movement’s history, leaving 6,000 Covenanters dead on the field. Political and religious radicalism were indistinguishable in south-west Scotland. James Robe, McCulloch’s counterpart at Kilsyth, comparing religious outbreaks he was witnessing to Northampton, commented on their long tradition ‘in several Parishes of the Shire of Air, and other Places of the West from 1620 to 1630 ... It was called the Stewartoun Sickness by the Malignants’.<sup>4</sup>

John Sinclair’s *First Statistical Account of Scotland*, published 1792, presents a fine portrait of Cambuslang in mid-century, thanks to the submission by the parish’s then-minister Andrew Meek. Cambuslang was a small, relatively poor village at the time of the revival; ‘oats were almost the only grain sown’. And yet her fortunes even then depended on Glasgow, the city that was destined, in time, to swallow her up. As Glasgow’s prosperity stemmed from trade with the colonies, so too, Meek observed, ‘improvements in Glasgow soon began to show themselves in the surrounding country. An increasing demand for the articles which land produces, and a consequent rise of prices in the market, gave life and vigour to the exertions of the farmer.’ The weaving of ‘holland’, or fine linen, began about this time, and many parishioners were involved in the textile industry. Cambuslang sat on the cusp of considerable economic change in the 1740s, although this may not have been obvious to the casual observer passing through.<sup>5</sup>

If one worm be a little exalted above another, by having more dust, or a bigger dunghill, how much does he make of himself! What a distance does he keep from those that are below him!<sup>6</sup>

So wrote Jonathan Edwards, addressing himself in the evangelical manner to the sins of his congregation, about the follies of mankind. Edwards judged the money-motive with disgust, but there is little doubt that material acquisition was a desirable object for Northampton townsfolk and increasingly achievable in the 1740s. The economic picture of New England is complex. Kenneth Lockridge has suggested that the upper

stratum of taxable incomes may well have been declining as a share of the whole, but opportunities for gain, and commercial gain especially, were expanding.<sup>7</sup> Edwards perceived a dullness of religion in the years immediately preceding the revival. Among the youth of the town, worldly pleasures were usurping religious affections. This was blamed on the parents: ‘family government did too much fail’, lamented Edwards in his guide to the revival, *Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*. Despite its moralistic tone, his narrative does indicate some social and economic strains. ‘There has ... long prevailed in the town a spirit of contention between two parties’, he states.<sup>8</sup> The exhaustion of family bonds at the heart of society was interpreted as decadence. Northampton enjoyed greater luxury than formerly, and from the perspective of earlier generations, the sight of young people frequenting taverns and socialising outside the confines of church and parental home was presented as a shocking thing. Ironically, it was the young who provided most converts at Northampton; and in revivals generally, the young, women, and the poor were disproportionately drawn.

To put McCulloch and Edwards in their place, we must begin with their own conversion experiences. Religious concern began at an early age for them both—for Edwards especially, if his *Personal Narrative* is to be believed:

I used to pray five times a day in secret, and to spend much time in religious talk with other boys ... I with some of my school-mates joined together, and built a booth in a swamp, in a very retired spot, for a place of prayer.

This is described by Edwards as occurring ‘some years before I went to college’.<sup>9</sup> Edwards matriculated to Yale aged twelve, but given his pious upbringing, one might have expected him to be precocious. McCulloch, similarly, displayed unusual piety from the age of seven. Neither man was ‘converted’ as a child, but both fell subject to spiritual ‘concern’; this distinction is vital. ‘Conversion’ here can mean two things: acceptance into church communion, or the subjective encounter, spiritual ‘re-birth’. Evangelicals understood the latter as true conversion, although communion was ideally a rite of passage, which sealed and acknowledged regenerate status. But this was not always the case: religious conversion often came *after* communion, if indeed it happened at all. Since 1662, the ‘Half-Way Covenant’ had been a problem for New England Congregationalists. This policy ensured ‘Half-Way’ communion admittance to children of ‘regenerate’ members, who were guided thereafter into full membership. Edwards’s grandfather and ministerial predecessor, Solomon Stoddard, defended the practice, but Edwards’s father, also a minister, took a harder position—foreshadowing that of his son—and maintained the veto on all church admissions. Patricia Tracy has seen Edwards’s diary reference (January 12, 1723) to renewal of his ‘baptismal covenant’ as describing ‘Half-Way’ admittance to the Church—aged 19 years—and not as an allusion to the conversion experience recounted in his *Personal Narrative*, as others have assumed.<sup>10</sup>

Returning to McCulloch, we are told he

continued to have a liking to good people and the formes of duty till about thirteen years: Then the word, under Mr Ker’s ministry, very much

awakened him, and about that time, by the Minister's advice, he communicat[ed].<sup>11</sup>

This excerpt could be said to be an 'ideal' conversion narrative: boyhood concern awakened by God's word, with the resultant church admission under pastoral guidance. Scripture played a similar role for Edwards, and a passage is cited as triggering his conversion:

The first that I remember that I ever found anything of that sort of inward, sweet delight in God and divine things, that I have lived much in since, was on reading those words, I Tim. 1: 17, 'Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honor and Glory for ever and ever, Amen.'<sup>12</sup>

After his conversion, Edwards would 'dwell long on one sentence, to see the wonders contained in it ... almost every sentence seemed to be full of wonders.' (Claghorn 797). This fascination distinguished Edwards's sense of his own conversion from the childish piety of the swamp booth. Scripture was the means of revival, and the defence against critics, when it was suggested that the spirit at work was of the devil. Both Edwards and McCulloch were steeped in scripture, which was seen as both the word of God and an instrument of grace.

McCulloch was a retiring sort, and had only one sermon published in his life. *A Sermon against the Idolatrous Worship of the Church of Rome*, a rather jaundiced diatribe against Catholic forms of worship, nevertheless demonstrates McCulloch's evangelical personality. His alarm at Catholic tendencies in the ecclesiastic fashion for Latitudinarianism sits closely with Edwards's 'great noise ... about Arminianism', expressed some years later in the *Faithful Narrative* (Claghorn 148). McCulloch writes that

[t]ho' the Advocates for Popery do not want abundance of Sophistical Pleas to support their Cause, it must be own'd however, there are a great many other Schemes of Religion more dangerous in point of Subtility and Colour of Argument ... more ready to insinuate upon the Minds of such as value themselves upon giving a Decisive Voice in every thing to what they are pleas'd to call Reason.'<sup>13</sup>

One contemporary, Robert Wodrow, relates how in 1731 the already middle-aged McCulloch had since ordination 'been preaching on Conversion, and the nature of it, which ... he had not thoroughly considered and gone to the bottom of before; and now thinks he is perfectly a stranger to this great work'. McCulloch felt inadequately called to the ministry, was plagued with atheistic anxieties, and was preparing to flee the pulpit and Scotland altogether. Wodrow's picture is unique; later descriptions of McCulloch's life and character tend towards hagiography. McCulloch's *Sermons* are prefaced with the observation that 'he had been preaching several Sabbaths on subjects relating to the nature and necessity of regeneration [whereupon] ... an uncommon degree of concern fell upon the people about their eternal salvation' (Wodrow iv, 279). In the light of Wodrow's assertion this seems

misleading, as McCulloch had long preached on regeneration, and had been pushing at an open door. What effected such a dramatic change in McCulloch's fortunes and in the affections of his congregation is not clear. The styling of the prefatory sketch to McCulloch's sermons appears however to owe much to Edwards's *Personal Narrative*. Furthermore, 'The Love of God in Sending his Son', a McCulloch sermon preached at the height of the 1742 revival, is clearly influenced by Edwards's *Distinguishing Marks of the Spirit of God*, printed in Glasgow that same year. Quoting from John iv. 10, 'Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his son to be the propitiation for our sins', McCulloch notes how the apostle 'directs us to try the spirits, whether they are of God, and furnishes us with a rule whereby to make the trial' (W McCulloch, *Sermons* 55). Edwards and McCulloch wanted to distinguish the true from the counterfeit in spiritual matters, both to justify their own practice, and to protect converts from false religion. In his sermon 'False Light and True' Edwards refers to the light of religion, meaning a supernatural, spiritual light discovering 'the spiritual excellency of God in Christ', as opposed to the 'counterfeit light that the devil oftentimes flatters men in'.<sup>14</sup> The spiritual order here is different in kind from the empirical world; indeed the shadow on Earth becomes a metaphor for spiritual reality.

Edwards and McCulloch were educated men. McCulloch read Hebrew and Divinity at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Edwards was intellectually influenced by Newton and Locke. He took the Lockean distinction between 'imagination' (inward impressions of sensible things) and the spiritual, or ineffable, as the basis for his *Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God*. When McCulloch appeared surprised and unsettled by the violence of revival, Edwards wrote back to him:

You inquire of me, Reverend Sir, whether I reject all those for counterfeits that speak of visions and trances. I am far from doing of it ... persons are neither to be rejected, nor approved on such a foundation. I have expressed the same thing in my discourse on the marks of a work of the true Spirit, and haven't changed my mind.<sup>15</sup>

By examining audience and communion statistics, Edwards's and McCulloch's successes are brought into focus. During the 1735 Northampton revival, Edwards described around 300 persons as 'savingly brought home to Christ' and the revival resulted in 'about six hundred and twenty communicants, which include almost all our adult persons.'<sup>16</sup> McCulloch's account in the evangelical *Glasgow Weekly History*, reprinted in Thomas Prince Jr.'s sister publication, the *Boston Christian History* describes the peak of Cambuslang:

Some have called them fifty Thousand; some forty Thousand; the lowest Estimate I hear of, with which Mr. Whitefield agrees, who has been much us'd to such multitudes ... makes them to have been upwards of thirty Thousand.<sup>17</sup>

Considering the parish population was barely a thousand souls, Cambuslang must be accounted as a regional, not merely parochial, phenomenon. Though the populations

of Cambuslang and Northampton were similar, in many respects the two revivals were of different kind. One difference between Northampton in 1735 and Cambuslang in 1742 was the role of itinerants, especially George Whitefield, in the latter revival. On August 15, 1742, when Whitefield preached at Cambuslang, he was joined by a dozen other ministers. All but Whitefield were Kirk evangelicals, intent on helping a brother minister in the work of God.

Whitefield was an Anglican and a controversialist, famed for the consummate theatrics of his preaching. An earlier tour of Scotland came at the behest of the Associate Presbytery, a secessionist group, whose own evangelical activities were undermining lay adherence to the established church in Scotland. Whitefield and the Associates fell out however, because the denomination insisted he preach to its congregants exclusively. The ‘Cambuslang Wark’ was already well underway by the time he arrived in June and the ground had been well laid. Many were drawn in to hear Whitefield, but it would be wrong to credit him with the success of Cambuslang. One young man, whose conversion McCulloch later recorded, heard Whitefield preach while in England ‘but got Nothing’.<sup>18</sup> Whitefield was a powerful preacher, but no magician; his celebrity drew crowds, but should not detract from the numerous, less well-remembered preachers of the revival. And though he lacked Whitefield’s eloquence, McCulloch seems to have been transformed by the revival. In the account of ‘A.M., A Young Unmarried Woman aged 20’ he is positively charismatic:

In the afternoon hearing a Minister [26] preach from that text Jo 3. 38 *He that believeth on the Son hath life* ... I was very much affected ... especially when that Minister (seeming to look me full in the face after he had been describing the sad case of those that believed not ...) said ‘There is nothing of God to be found in you that are of such a condition.’ (‘McC Mss’ i. 177)<sup>19</sup>

Shortly before arriving in Cambuslang Whitefield wrote to McCulloch of the newly printed *Distinguishing Marks* ‘by one Mr Edward [sic] ... I would by all means recommend it to you, and your Brethren in the Ministry.’<sup>20</sup> The *Faithful Narrative* was published in Edinburgh in 1737, and the *Distinguishing Marks* came out in Glasgow and Edinburgh editions only a year after American publication. From December 1741–December 1742 McCulloch edited the *Glasgow Weekly History*, an evangelical compendium consisting largely of recycled material from other sources. This seems to have begun from his practice of reading revival narratives in Church, and to have supplied market demand. One Cambuslang woman, a sometime follower of the Seceders, recalled him reading ‘some papers relating to the success of the Gospel abroad; I was greatly affected at the thought that so many were getting good, and I was getting none’ (McC Mss’ i. 103).

On May 12, 1743, Edwards wrote to McCulloch:

Mr MacLaurin ... in a letter he has lately sent me, informs me of your proposing to write a letter to me, and being prevented by the failing of the expected opportunity: I thank you reverend Sir, that you had such a thing in your heart.<sup>21</sup>

It is not clear what this ‘expected opportunity’ was, but Edwards congratulates McCulloch (having read about Cambuslang in the *Weekly History*): ‘God has highly favoured and honoured you, dear Sir’. Edwards depicts the revivals as an extraordinary dispensation from God, but there is a germ of pessimism:

We live in a day wherein God is doing marvellous things; in that respect we are distinguished from former generations. God has wrought great things in New England, which, though exceeding glorious, have all along been attended with some threatening clouds ... (Claghorn 106)

By March 5, 1744, Edwards’s pessimism had grown. New England’s religious prospect was now ‘very melancholy. There is a vast alteration within this two years; for about so long ... since the Spirit of God began to withdraw’ (Claghorn 134) Though Edwards’s beliefs had not changed, events had affected his outlook. Northampton had fallen from ‘a city on a hill’ to the ruins of Babel. In 1743, Edwards’s antagonist Charles Chauncy accused him of claiming that the millennium had begun at Northampton.<sup>22</sup> Such invective owed less to Edwards’s original revival than to later events, in which he was accorded a distorted prominence. While Edwards was responsible for his own conduct, he was hardly accountable for excesses elsewhere. Lunatics such as James Davenport, who held a bonfire of the vanities in New London, Connecticut, became an embarrassment to the evangelical cause. Edwards had to fend against ‘Old Light’ opposition, while also condemning intemperate factions within the revival movement itself. Scottish revivals proved less divisive, but the established church that promoted them had common purpose. Whereas colonial revivals divided churches, the threat of secession was a positive catalyst at Cambuslang.

Any discussion of the ‘Great Awakening’ is likely to return to George Whitefield. Although the ‘Grand Itinerant’ played a different role for Edwards than for McCulloch, his presence invites comparison in both cases. McCulloch welcomed Whitefield, but did not choose to imitate him. By contrast, Edwards himself became an itinerant, something rare before Whitefield’s arrival in the colonies. The Old Lights argued that itinerancy threatened the jurisdiction of parish and minister. Itinerancy invited anarchy, Chauncy complained:

If one Pastor may neglect his own People to take Care of others, who are already taken Care of ... why not another, and another still, and so on, till there is no such Thing as Church Order in the Land? (51)

Edwards himself had few scruples about itinerant preaching:

the clamor ... must needs be from some other principle than a regard to the interests of religion; because I observe now there is a vastly greater outcry against ministers riding about to preach the Gospel, than used to be heretofore when ministers rode about on the business of a physician, though that be so much more alien from their proper work and though they were gone from their own people five times as much.<sup>23</sup>

That itinerancy was novel enough to annoy Chauncy in the 1740s suggests different attitudes between New England Congregationalists and Scots Presbyterians. In New England, homogenous communities were built around the meetinghouse and pastor. Scottish parishes were historically contested seats, which Presbyterians and Episcopalians had fought to control. Attempts by the Crown to foist an alien episcopacy on the Presbyterians resulted in resistance, with clergy and congregations working ever closer against political interference. Leigh Eric Schmidt has argued that two consequences of this resistance were the popularisation of the ‘sacramental season’, the ancient open-air communions that foreshadowed Cambuslang; and the practice of itinerancy, common in the seventeenth century among Presbyterian ministers deposed by the Crown.<sup>24</sup> These traditions continued into the eighteenth century and were adapted by the Seceders. McCulloch’s revival belonged to a longstanding Presbyterian tradition which was rather alien to conservative New England.

Writing to a Bostonian colleague in December 1743, Edwards described the aftermath of Whitefield’s Northampton visit. In contrast to later correspondence with McCulloch, the tone is less guarded, and somewhat braver. Edwards writes of the revival: ‘there are not only many blessed fruits of it in particular persons ... but some good effects of it upon the town in general.’ Edwards links this effect to Whitefield, whose sermons ‘melted’ the congregation:

Immediately after this the minds of the people in general appeared more engaged in religion, showing a greater forwardness to make religion the subject of their conversation, and to meet frequently together for religious purposes, and to embrace all opportunities to hear the word preached. (Claghorn 116)

Edwards seemed unable however, to control the forces this revival unleashed. The second revival resembled 1735, particularly in its effect on the young, but was even more violent. Edwards’s pastoral role assumed a literal aspect when he oversaw the segregation ‘from the meetinghouse to a neighbourhouse’ of children under sixteen:

The children were there very generally and greatly affected with warnings and counsels that were given them, and many exceedingly overcome; and the room was filled with cries: and when they were dismissed they almost all of them, went home crying through the streets. (Claghorn 127)

Guiding children often proved futile: as Edwards admits, their affections were often short-lived, or proved ‘but childish’ after all (Claghorn 117). Whereas the Cambuslang converts surveyed in the *McCulloch Manuscripts* included adolescents as young as thirteen, the very young were conspicuously absent.

With Edwards away, trouble ensued. In February 1742, Samuel Buell, a recent Yale graduate, was given free run of the pulpit at Northampton. When Edwards returned, ‘almost the whole town seemed to be in a great and continual commotion, day and night’ (Claghorn 120). Edwards knew and approved of Buell’s evangelicism, and the freedom he allowed suggests a willingness to delegate when the need arose.

Buell was allowed to continue his ministrations a fortnight after Edwards's return, but this must have been a stressful time for all:

there were some instances of persons lying in a sort of trance, remaining for perhaps a whole twenty-four hours motionless ... but in the meantime under strong imaginations, as though they went to heaven, and had there a vision of glorious and delightful objects. But when the people were raised to this height, Satan took the advantage ... a great deal of caution and pains were found necessary to keep the people, many of them, from running wild. (Claghorn 117)

Religious concern could easily slide into delusion, and it was Edwards's pastoral duty not only to exhort religion, but to restrain emotion also. In this regard, his conservatism and orthodoxy matched McCulloch's. Both men saw themselves as instrument of God, clarifying points of scripture and right belief. The spiritual condition of the individual remained, ultimately, a matter between the individual and God.

Questions such as the meaning of the covenant were similar in New England and Scotland. God's sovereignty was always paramount. Edwards had to remind his congregation of God's uncovenanted will, perhaps thinking that the dilution of Congregational norms, such as the Half-Way Covenant, had damaged popular reverence. The 'covenant of grace' was personified in Christ, to signify a new dispensation, distinguishing the age of the Gospel from the age of the Moses and the formal nature of God's covenant with the Jews. Scottish Calvinism was also saturated in covenant ideology, and this was problematic, politically as well as religiously. The *McCulloch Manuscripts* contain many references such as 'a marriage Covenant between Christ and Believers' or 'the Lord had made me a Covenant everlasting' that are marked for excision. (i. 7; 187.) Whether or not this reflected a concern for mere orthodoxy, in a book intended to advertise the Cambuslang revival, anything linking the event to the Covenanter movement, however obliquely, would have been suspect.

McCulloch's one surviving letter to Edwards suggests the feeling he had for events in America:

The happy Period in which we live, and the Times of refreshing from the Presence of the Lord ... often brings to Mind that Prophecy, Isai. lix. 19 *So shall they fear the name of the LORD from the West, and his Glory from the Rising of the Sun.*

Sharing Edwards's eschatology, McCulloch remarked on the nature of this prophecy 'mentioning the *West* before the *East*, contrary to the usual Way of speaking in other Prophecies.' Still he was cautious, fearing 'some dreadful Stroke or Trial may yet be abiding us. But as to this, I cannot and dare not peremptorily determine.'<sup>25</sup> Caution was a watchword among Calvinists, but it marked McCulloch's personality to an unusual degree. After the first sacrament that Whitefield had preached in Cambuslang (June 1742), McCulloch's colleague Alexander Webster proposed 'another such occasion ... in this Place very soon.' McCulloch recalled:

The Motion was very agreeable to me, but I thought it needful to deliberate before coming to a Resolution. The Thing proposed was indeed very extraordinary, but so had the Work in this Place been for Several Months past. Care was therefore taken to acquaint the several Meetings for Prayer with the Motion, who relished it well ...<sup>26</sup>

Had the second sacrament not occurred, Cambuslang's revival would have been remembered more modestly. This episode suggests the role of the Societies for Prayer, important bodies on both sides of the Atlantic. Nowhere were they more evident than in the 'Concert for Prayer'. The project began in Scotland in 1744, and both Edwards and the Scottish evangelical ministers held out great hope in its first two years. Its stated millennial aim was 'to promote more abundantly application to a duty that is perpetually binding, *prayer that our Lord's kingdom may come*', and its duration was extended by a further seven years in 1746, after a memorial promulgated in Scotland by its original sponsors. In May 1749, Edwards wrote thanking McCulloch for 'the good news' his correspondence contained concerning 'those things which appeared with a favourable aspect ... on religion in the world' (Claghorn 272) Edwards especially hoped these would prove useful in supporting the Concert, but this was perhaps wishful thinking. In a letter of November 1745 Edwards was already worried:

I am not disheartened with respect to this Concert, though I have met with great discouragements in my efforts to promote it hitherto: I shall not cease to do what in me lies to promote and propogate it ... Please to remember me to the correspondent meeting in Glasgow ... as one whose heart is with them. (Claghorn 182)

Ultimately, the Concert was not a success. Its aims were not realised, nor did it propel the revival careers of Edwards and McCulloch to any greater heights. The Concert was thus abandoned after the seven years.

For Edwards, revivalism led to disappointment. His own congregation expelled him from the pulpit in 1750. This humiliation can be seen as a postscript to his revival career. In March 1742, Edwards drafted a Covenant for his congregation, not as a means of grace, but to moderate their behaviour. The confessions he prescribed—'lamenting our past backslidings and ungrateful departures from God', conducting wordly business as 'rules of moral equity require', forbidding 'any youthful diversions or pastimes'—reflect a stern hand, and point to tensions that would shortly turn sour for him.<sup>27</sup> Edwards's shortcomings were those of an authoritarian absorbed in a grand project, who lost touch with the concerns of his people. Though Edwards and McCulloch were similar in many ways, McCulloch was always more willing to heed the advice of colleagues at home and abroad, as well as in the prayer societies. McCulloch died of a stroke in his eightieth year, while preaching. His gravestone was inscribed: 'He was holy in his life, esteemed in his congregation, and honoured of God to be remarkably useful in preaching the Gospel.'

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**NOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> Susan O'Brien, 'A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735–55', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 91, No. 4. (Oct., 1986), 811–32.
- <sup>2</sup> T.C. Smout, 'Born Again at Cambuslang: New Evidence on Popular Religion and Literacy in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Past and Present*, No. 97 (Nov., 1982) 114–27.
- <sup>3</sup> Samuel Hopkins, ed., *Memoirs of Jonathan Edwards A.M.* (London: J Black, 1815) 86; Robert McCulloch, ed., *Selected Sermons of William McCulloch* (Glasgow: David Niven, 1793), 4.
- <sup>4</sup> James Robe, *Faithful Narrative of the Extraordinary Work of God at Kilsyth, and other Congregations in the Neighbourhood* (Glasgow: William Duncan, 1742), vi–vii.
- <sup>5</sup> James Meek, 'Cambuslang', in *First Statistical Account of Scotland*, 21 vols, ed. John Sinclair (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1792), v. 250–51.
- <sup>6</sup> Jonathan Edwards, 'The Excellency of Christ', in *Jonathan Edwards: Sermons and Discourses 1734–38*, ed. M.X. Lesser (New Haven: Yale, 2001), 567.
- <sup>7</sup> Kenneth Lockridge, *New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts 1636–1736* (New York: Norton, 1970), 140–43.
- <sup>8</sup> Jonathan Edwards, 'Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God' in *Jonathan Edwards: The Great Awakening*, ed. CC Goen (New Haven: Yale, 1972), 146.
- <sup>9</sup> Jonathan Edwards, 'Personal Narrative' in *Jonathan Edwards: Letters and Personal Writings*, ed. George S. Claghorn (New Haven: Yale, 1998), 790–91.
- <sup>10</sup> Patricia Tracy, *Jonathan Edwards, Pastor* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), 60.
- <sup>11</sup> Robert Wodrow, *Analecta, or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences*, 4 vols (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1842), iv. 279.
- <sup>12</sup> 'Personal Narrative' in *Letters*, ed. Claghorn, 792.
- <sup>13</sup> W McCulloch, *A Sermon against the Idolatrous Worship of the Church of Rome* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1726), 1.
- <sup>14</sup> Edwards 'False Light and True' in *Sermons*, ed. Lesser, 127.
- <sup>15</sup> Edwards's letter (March 5<sup>th</sup> 1744) in *Letters*, ed. Claghorn, 142.
- <sup>16</sup> Jonathan Edwards, 'Faithful Narrative', in *Great Awakening*, ed. Goen, 157.
- <sup>17</sup> William McCulloch, *Glasgow Weekly History* 39, 4.
- <sup>18</sup> 'McCulloch Manuscripts', 2 vols (New College Library, Edinburgh), i. 347. Hereafter referred to in the text as 'McC Mss'.
- <sup>19</sup> The [26] is a reference to McCulloch, as written down in the manuscripts. McCulloch excised specific references to ministers' names (including his own) when recording the converts' narratives, but these remain identifiable, thanks to a numerical key at the back of one volume.
- <sup>20</sup> Letter (March 22, 1742) in *Glasgow Weekly History* 17, 1–2
- <sup>21</sup> Edwards's letter (May 12<sup>th</sup> 1743) in Claghorn (ed.) *Letters* 105.
- <sup>22</sup> Charles Chauncy, *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1743), 372–73.
- <sup>23</sup> Edwards's letter (May 10<sup>th</sup> 1742) in *Letters*, ed. Claghorn, 97–98.
- <sup>24</sup> Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (Michigan: Grand Rapids, 2001), 31–32.
- <sup>25</sup> Letter in *Christian History* 46, ed. Thomas Prince Jr (January 1744), 361–63.
- <sup>26</sup> *Glasgow Weekly History* 37, 295.
- <sup>27</sup> Letter to Thomas Prince (December 12<sup>th</sup> 1743) in *Letters*, ed. Claghorn, 121–25.