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The Restoration in Scotland, and the Role of Greville Ewing

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Introduction

Once again Faulkner University has championed the need to recall our history. For a good number of years now, the Lectureship committee has seen fit to give a slot of the program devoted to our past. You have honored the Friends of the Restoration group by hearing our suggestions each year and allowing us to give input into this program, and we thank you.

It is a pleasure for me to stand before you today to share some of the research I’ve discovered in the present sense of Restoration. The Bible is God’s book on restoration. Its teachings and principles handled accurately are what has led to the success of the American Restoration Movement. As long as those principles are held steadfast, we as a people can retain our identity as the church you read about in the New Testament.

With that in mind we look back to what got us here. When this nation was its infancy, people like Barton W. Stone of Kentucky and Alexander Campbell of what is now West Virginia stand as giants who cried for going back to the Bible for authority in all practices of religion. These and others were products of what we call the Second Great Awakening in American History. In the years leading up to the turn of the 19th century, religious fervor in America was at best stagnant. The theology of John Calvin seemed to rule the day. His teaching that men were totally depraved, all bearing the sin of Adam, were cursed to a Devil’s hell, lest God, who pre-determined before time those few whom he would save, might awaken them through some sort of Spirit driven religious experience. Yet the experiences seemed few and far between.

The feeling of spiritual depression being felt in America was shared across the waters in the British Isles. Religion was stale in England, Ireland & Scotland. The church of Scotland, or Presbyterians, were Calvinists to the chore; their founder, John Knox, being a student of John Calvin. Their Westminster Confession of Faith was the blood pump that gave life to the denomination. Yet, it served to be a choking chain around the necks of its preachers to the point that spiritual fervor was at a standstill. Elevated above the Bible, preachers were given the solemn charge at their ordinations to be committed to the Confession of Faith, to preach it, to teach it, and through it fulfill their mission. As a result, standard orthodoxy did not lend itself to any sense of evangelistic fervor. Out of it, any sense of evangelism was deemed unnecessary. And why not? If man could have no faith unless quickened by the Spirit of God, it was pointless to appeal to man to search for God on his own.

1728 - John Glas

In 1728, an indigenous movement in Tealing, Scotland was led by John Glas, a presbyterian minister who found himself preaching “too much Bible,” if that’s possible, instead of the prime directive of the church, which was to preach the Westminster Confession of Faith. “He formed churches in most of the large towns in Scotland, where his followers were called Glasites.”[[1]](#footnote-1) Glas’ son-in-law,

1755-Robert Sandeman

Robert Sandeman, in 1755 further established their Independent views when releasing a volume entitled “Letters on Theron and Aspasio,” a response to book written by Englishman, James Hervey. Hervey’s work, called Theron and Aspasio, was a restatement of the principles of Calvinism. Sandeman’s work was a response to Hervey where he expressed the right of each person to choose faith without divine force.

The Glasites advocated the weekly observance of the Lord’s Supper; love-feasts; weekly contributions for the poor; mutual exhortation of members; plurality of elders in a church; conditional community of goods, etc. He also approved of theatres and public and private

diversions, when not connected with circumstances really sinful.”[[2]](#footnote-2)

1730s-1740s – 1st Great Awakening

In the 1730s and 40s, men like George Whitefield in England and Jonathan Edwards in the American colonies began crying for revival, and what might be called the 1st Great Awakening was the result in all English-speaking parts of the Commonwealth. Out this movement was the Evangelical Movement.

Clarification of Terms: You’ll hear the words ‘evangelical’ or “Evangelical Movement.’ When I say evangelical, I don’t mean what the meaning is today, not inter-denominationalism, and is synonymous with the community church movement today. I mean it in its most basic of terms. *Euanggellion* is the Greek term in the Bible to describe the vocal proclamation of the good news of Jesus; Romans 15:20; 1 Corinthians 1:17. In the Commonwealth of the 1730s to be evangelical meant sharing the good news to the lost, which by definition, opposed the Calvinist doctrines of unconditional election and limited atonement. In other words, gospel by man’s choice not by Unconditional force.

Enter Greville Ewing.

1767, April 27 – Birth of Greville Ewing

Greville Ewing was born April 27, 1767, in the parish of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, Scotland. He grew up just SW of Edinburgh Castle, between the Royal Mile and Edinburgh University. The family attended the Greyfriars Kirk, essentially the college church, which was as mainstream as any congregation of the church of Scotland could be. Two preachers preached there. One was died-in-the wool Calvinist, and the other was evangelical.

When Greville was six years of age, his mother died. Shortly thereafter, his father remarried. The new Mrs. Ewing was more than stepmother to Greville and his siblings; she was a strong spiritual influencer as well. The new Mrs. Ewing had been converted through the George Whitefield’s Evangelical or “Tabernacle” Movement.

1772 – Lady Glenorchy’s Chapel

Through her influence, the family soon left Greyfriers church and began attending Lady Glenorchy’s Chapel. Located in what was called Edinburgh’s new city, Lady Glenorchy’s was considered a parish church among the Presbyterians. It was not considered a church with any ruling power, like the orthodox churches. Greyfriers was a ruling church. There is a Wikipedia article on Lady Glenorchy. She was a viscountess and had set up the church to be primarily Presbyterian in 1772. However, the church was more ecumenical in that there was a proviso there that allowed Presbyterian, Episcopalian (church of England) and Methodist ministers to preach there.[[3]](#footnote-3) This lent itself to be less tied to high church policy, and more to the Scriptures. An example of this would be that in November 1782, young Greville, at the age of fifteen, was able to attend the partaking of the Lord’s Supper for the first time. At that time, the church of Scotland partook of it twice a year. It was around this time when Lady Glenorchy’s began partaking it six times a year.[[4]](#footnote-4) Perhaps this is the earliest indication of influence of Greville Ewing’s leanings toward questioning the orthodoxy of the church of his youth.

Greville was the youngest of eight children. His father, Alexander, was a teacher of mathematics in Edinburgh. The eldest son, Alexander, Jr., was ordained a preacher in the Church of England and lived sometime as rector of Pembroke in Bermuda. He had a sister, Jacobina, who was married to a clergyman in the church of England. Yet, his father envisioned that Greville would learn a trade, and was enrolled as an apprentice to a seal-engraver, a position or career he never enjoyed or saw himself doing. Completing the apprenticeship in 1786, he desired greatly to enter the ministry, much to his father’s disapproval. When he completed his education in 1792, he was ordained by the presbytery of the church of Scotland and given the preaching position at Cambusnethan, North Lanarkshire, in southern Scotland. However, he was not there long before being invited to become the associate minister of Lady Glenorchy’s Chapel in Edinburgh. He preached his first sermon there November 25, 1892, but began officially January 6th of the following year.[[5]](#footnote-5) His lesson text that first day was from 1 Timothy 1:15 – “The saying is trustworthy and deserving of full acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the foremost.”

Dr. T. S. Jones was the main preacher for the church, and Greville’s work was that of rotating the preaching. Church policy ordained only morning assemblies. But Lady Glenorchy’s chapel had an afternoon worship. Also, young Greville was invited by other churches in the region to come and fill in as well.

Nearly immediately into his new pastorate the subject of missions became an issue. Remember that the orthodox Scottish church saw no need for evangelism. God called the sinners he intended to save. Yet, there were many in the highways and byways who needed the gospel. The poor and the ignorant were essentially discarded, and never given consideration. Other religious groups were beginning missionary programs.

1792 - Societies begin with the Baptists

The Baptists had begun a Missionary Society beginning in 1792.

1794 – December – *Evangelical Magazine*

In December 1794, Greville Ewing submitted an article to the newly founded *Evangelical Magazine* comparing Calvinism to Arminianism.[[6]](#footnote-6) He connected with this paper as a trustee until 1840, about a year before his death.

1795 – 1796 - London Missionary Society

In 1795, the London Missionary Society began. In the Fall of that year Greville went to Stirling to visit his brother-in-law, William Innes. Innes was also a Presbyterian minister, and very interested in promoting missions as well. While there the two took the opportunity to visit Airthrey Castle, the home of the Haldanes, Robert & James. Older brother Robert was keenly interested in the subject of missions, and very quickly a relationship between Ewing and Haldane deepened. A plan was set in place for missions to expand through a Society called *The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge*, in the spring of 1796.

In March, the Edinburgh Missionary Society, later known as the Scottish Missionary Society was formed. Greville Ewing serves as secretary for a time. Glasgow soon followed with one of its own.

By July, Greville was **chief editor** of a new paper called, *The Missionary Magazine* and edited it for three years.

Sometime in the fall, Robert Haldane visited with him to ask his interest in moving to Bengal to become a missionary. Haldane intended to sell his castle, liquidate his holdings, and finance the trip. Ewing determined to do so and began making his plans to go.

1797-1798

While awaiting approval by the East India Company to make his move to India, Ewing, the Haldanes, and several other preachers in Edinburgh started another society at the end of the 1797 called, *The Society For Propagating The Gospel At Home*. The first sentence in the announcement to the public was that the Society “shall be composed of persons of every denomination, holding unity of faith in the leading doctrines of Christianity.”[[7]](#footnote-7) This was not an effort to start a new church, but to rally support among able preachers and teachers to take the gospel to places and people who were not being taught it. Of course, this led to further criticism from the Established church leaders.[[8]](#footnote-8) The following Sunday, December 24th, Ewing preached a sermon at Lady Glenorchy’s from Proverbs 1:20-21 – “Wisdom cries aloud in the street, in the markets she raises her voice; 21 at the head of the noisy streets she cries out; at the entrance of the city gates she speaks.” (ESV)[[9]](#footnote-9) He used this as a springboard to promoting evangelism in the “highways and byways” to teach the gospel to the lost. This sermon caused quite a stir, raising the proverbial “eyebrow” of the orthodox church concerning his determination.

When application to the East India Company failed, in the March of 1798, Ewing and the Haldanes proceeded in plans to preach throughout Scotland instead through their newly formed society for propagating the gospel at home. Lay preachers were commissioned as well to preach in the Society. Many of these were highly pious businessmen who had not been to seminary or been educated through orthodox channels. For clarification, this society was not a new church. A new church was not intended. Ewing and the other preachers maintained their relationships with their home churches. However, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland grew more and more resentful of this effort. That summer they passed a law saying that no presbytery could ordain a minister who had not first been educated at a university. This led to further division in the church, and especially in the mind of GE.[[10]](#footnote-10) Ewing was at a point where he had to decide to stay at Lady Glenorchy’s and the Presbyterians or depart.

On December 1st, GE sent a letter to the Rev. the Moderator of the Presbytery of Edinburgh. Edinburgh, 1st December, 1798. “Rev. Sir, I beg you will have the goodness to inform the Presbytery of Edinburgh, at their next meeting, that I think it my duty to decline being considered, any longer, a minister of the Church of Scotland. I do, therefore, hereby resign my charge as one of the ministers of Lady Glenorchy’s Chapel, and request that the Presbytery may be pleased to sustain this my resignation, I am, with respect, Rev. Sir, Your obedient servant, GREVILLE EWING.”[[11]](#footnote-11)

As long as we are speaking of these missionary societies, in October of 1798, another Society was formed in northern Ireland, called the Evangelical Society of Ulster. Among its founding members was a young 35 years old minister, Thomas Campbell of Rich Hill.[[12]](#footnote-12) Like the Haldane & Ewing group in Scotland, this organization was meant to be a non-sectarian group of ministers interested in the propagation of the simple gospel of Christ. Campbell led in the group until sometime in the summer of 1799 when the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster in Belfast officially told him he had to disconnect himself. His submission to the synod, no doubt, didn’t set well with him. We would conclude that when he organized the Christian Association of Washington 10 years later, August of 1809, much of his connection with the Haldane/Ewing based ideals were included.

An independent church group was established in Rich Hill while Thomas pastored at the Ahorey Presbyterian church. These independents were somewhat different from the Glasite & Sandamanian groups in that they were less severe with church discipline, and more in line with Ewing & the Haldanes. “They attended weekly to the Lord’s Supper, contributions, etc., but were opposed to going to theatres or such places of public amusements; to the doctrine of community of goods; feet-washing, etc., as advocated by Sandeman.”[[13]](#footnote-13) Their meetings were generally held in the evenings. As the church of Scotland was strict on morning church attendance, they did offer a privilege of “occasional hearing” that allowed their pastors and members to attend denomination meetings when they did not meet. So, Thomas would occasionally attend the evening sessions at the Independent church. As he was a respected leader in the community, his presence was noticed and appreciated. He was fondly referred to as “Nicodemus,” for attending only at night.[[14]](#footnote-14) But it was at these meetings that he and Alexander would have been able to hear men like Alexander Carson, an Irish Presbyterian that became Baptist in 1804; the English preacher, Rowland Hill, and even James A. Haldane, himself. Another was well known Irish pastor John Walker, who had been a teacher at Trinity College in Dublin, but left his position there and his religious ties to preach only the Bible in 1804. Though we are not aware if Greville Ewing came through Rich Hill are not, we are sure this exposure to Independence contributed to the independent concepts we see take place in the Campbells when they reached America.

1799-1800

Back to Greville Ewing. Upon his departure from the Presbyterians, Mr. Ewing entered with full force into the Society for the Propagating the Gospel At Home. Upon leaving the Presbyterians in December, 1798, he devoted the rest of the month conducting a preaching tour of northern Scotland. He preached in barns, in meadows, and anywhere a gathering could assemble.

At the beginning of 1799, Mr. Ewing was back in Edinburgh where he began a seminary for training preachers. There were 24 students from all the divisions of the Presbyterians. The purpose was to prepare young men to go into the field to preach with no connection to a denomination. Ewing’s plan of teaching was simply “to make the Bible its own interpreter, by comparing one part to another.”[[15]](#footnote-15) He and all the students received a stipend from Mr. Robert Haldane.[[16]](#footnote-16)

Speaking of educational opportunities, Robert Haldane had already been educating the common man through Saturday Schools. Children attended these schools as well where they were taught to read and write using the Bible as a school text. By the end of 1797, Mr. Ewing reported there were 34 such schools in operation in Scotland.[[17]](#footnote-17)

Keep in mind, 1799 was the year when revival was to begin in southern Kentucky, under the preaching of another Presbyterian preacher by the name of James McGrady. Meanwhile, back in Scotland, completely unknown to people in the then western throws of the New World, Mr. Ewing found himself without a church. He had been thinking through, and studying how a church completely by the Bible might be organized.

Robert Haldane had rented the building next door to Lady Glenorchy’s, the previous summer to Mr. Ewing’s departure from the Presbyterians. This building was known in Edinburgh as the location of the circus. It was a large auditorium with a big circle in the middle. The seating capacity was above 2500.[[18]](#footnote-18) The last Sunday in January, 1799, Mr. Ewing was the featured speaker.

Greville Ewing was the chief architect in drawing the plans for a new independent church. He had been studying the Bible and the early Christian church and how it was organized, its terms of admission, and its worship. He and six others, including the two Haldane brothers determined to meet weekly for preaching assemblies. About 310 in number agreed to organize themselves entirely upon the Scriptures alone. The newly formed independent church was to be Congregational, self-governed. It was to be evangelistic in nature. One of Ewing’s initial efforts was to institute weekly observance of the Lord’s Supper. That part didn’t become a reality until 1802. James A. Haldane was ordained as its first full-time minister. Ewing preached occasionally, but he saw his main work as that of educator.

In fact, the Haldanes offered Ewing the opportunity to pastor his own independent church in Glasgow to which he began making plans. On June 2nd he preached his last sermon in the circus, or “tabernacle” as it was called. The next day he moved to Glasgow. Robert Haldane arranged for a location on Jamaica Street to house the new Tabernacle at Glasgow. On July 28th Greville Ewing preached to above 3000 where his biographer states, “His mindset in starting the church was, ‘Without issuing any thing in the form of creed, confession of faith, formula, or church rules, he exhibited the Bible, as the only rule of faith and practice, to which reference should be made, for government in every duty. He never contemplated making men Independents, but as being made Christians, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Spirit.’”[[19]](#footnote-19)

With his move to Glasgow, the theological school with its students moved as well, still under the financial support and direction of the Haldanes. In fact, the seminary was moved around over the next several years to different locations under other preachers, much to Ewing’s disappointment, and may have been the first nail in the coffin of his relationship with the Haldanes. But that was still several years away.

1800-1809 – The Publications – leading to division

Over the next few years, the congregational movement continued to grow. By the end of 1804, there were 24 congregations throughout Scotland.[[20]](#footnote-20) Over the next three years tensions in the movement began increasing when several pamphlets and volumes appeared on the subject of Church organization/church government. It’s good to recall that these people were struggling to unshackle themselves from the divisiveness of denominationalism.

Dr. William Innes, Greville Ewing’s brother-in-law and independent preacher in Stirling, Scotland published, "Reasons for separating from the Church of Scotland, in a Series of Letters, chiefly addressed to his Christian Friends in that Establishment.”[[21]](#footnote-21) Greville Ewing was placed front and center, being quoted heavily in the document.

So, in 1805, Mr. Ewing released “A Vindication of Presbyterian Church Government,” where he goes into greater detail and explanations of Innes’ “reasons” especially as it had to do with statements made about himself.

Also, Mr. James Haldane released a work in 1805 called, “Views of the Social Worship of the first Churches,” which quickly enjoyed two printings. But, one of the biggest challenges to unity among the independents came from an independent by the name of William Ballentine. He produced a work in 1805 called, “Treatise of the Elder’s Office,” where he insisted that the Bible teaches there should be a multiplicity of elders in each congregation. And, that these should come from among members, who volunteered, members who had no “formal education,” to participate in worship. This practice was called, “mutual exhortation.”

Then in 1807, Mr. Ewing published a book entitled, “An Attempt towards a Statement of the Doctrine of Scripture on some Disputed Points, respecting the Constitution, Government, Worship, and Discipline of the Church of Christ.” It was written in response to James Haldane’s work on Social Worship. Haldane had set standards for church government, elders in every congregation of the working class, etc. It caused a good bit of disturbance. GE wrote his book in response to Haldane’s work being ever so careful as to not even use Haldane’s name in the process.[[22]](#footnote-22) Of course, the Haldanes and others could read between the lines.

Division took place in April of 1809. A couple of things could be cited. One was the subject of “pedo” or infant baptism became a point of controversy in March of 1808 when James A. Haldane stated in the Edinburgh Tabernacle that from his studies of the Scriptures he could no longer baptize infants. Further strain came about when he was immersed himself the following month. This served to divide the independent work at Edinburgh. As Mr. Ewing held firm to his pedo-baptism teaching, he came to Edinburgh and preached for those who left Haldane’s tabernacle group.

A second thing that contributed to division was when Mr. Robert Haldane began renting seats in the various tabernacles. That may sound a little odd to us, and it did as well to Ewing. But, by the fall of 1808, the Haldanes had spent over £60,000 (That’s over 1.8 million in today’s US dollars) to support ministers, pay rent on tabernacles, operate their seminaries, Saturday schools, and produced thousands of tracks. It was even a major point of contention to Greville Ewing, even when it was explained that the rent of the seats was used to “support the preachers and the seminaries.”[[23]](#footnote-23) Mr. Ewing was paid by the Haldanes £200 per year with the promise that if the income from seat rentals did not come in, they would pay the remainder for his work in the seminary.

The Ewings were noted for their several and often dinner parties where students were invited in for a meal and discussion. Alexander was invited to several of these evenings where he met both Robert & James Haldane, Dr. Robert Wardlaw, and others.

In November of 1808 a young man from Ireland knocked on Mr. Ewing’s door having just endured with his mother and siblings a shipwreck off the coast of Scotland. His name: Alexander Campbell.

Campbell’s biographer, Robert Richardson went into a good bit of explanation about the background of the Congregational Movement undertaken by Mr. Ewing and the Haldanes. Its well worth your time to go back and read that explanation. For our discussion it is worthwhile to note that Richardson’s resources were somewhat scant as to the details of Campbell’s numerous interactions with Ewing over the course of the year he was in Glasgow attending the university his father had attended years before. We know that Mr. Ewing helped to the Alexander, his mother, and siblings locate a place to live. He assisted in making introductions as well as matriculation into the university.

Richardson pondered over whether the subject of pedo-baptism ever entered the discussion between Alexander and Ewing, but suggested it probably was not much of a concern since baptismal mode was not a stipulation for membership as it later was discovered by Campbell in his own search. However, he did recall Ewing’s frustration over the Haldane’s handling of the finances, and thought Ewing was in the wrong in how he conducted himself. Undoubtedly, during the winter of 1811-1812 when A.C. was conducting his own Bible-wide study of baptism he would have reflected on Ewing’s persistence in holding to the pedo-baptism model.

Reference: David Warren’s speech in March 2014 - Greville Ewing and Alexander Campbell – 70th Annual Lectureship – Warren’s speech dealt more heavily on the subject of baptism, and stands on its own merit. Whereas this speech focuses more on the Congregational movement.

Last Years

In the years that followed his 1809 departure from involvement with the Haldanes and the Independents, Ewing continued to promote education and missions. The facility at Jamaica Street was closed to Ewing. So, nearly the whole congregation helped to establish another location where he preached regularly for the next twenty-five years. He and fellow preacher, Ralph Wardlaw (1779-1853) conducted a seminary together for many of those years.

He was married three times over the course of his life. Ann Innes (1776-1795); Janet Jamieson (1778-1801). They had one daughter, Janet Jamieson Ewing Matheson, who in 1847 wrote the Memoirs of Greville Ewing. And a third wife, Barbara Maxwell (1773-1828) who died suddenly in when their carriage overturned and all including Greville were jettisoned down a steep hill. Barbara was the hostess of the Carlton Place home when Alexander Campbell visited many times during his year in Glasgow in 1808.

Robert Richardson recalling Campbell’s departure for America in July 1809 wrote, “At length, on the 31st of July, with much regret, he took leave of his many warm friends at Glasgow, whose memory he continued to cherish through life, especially that of Mr. and Mrs. Ewing, with whom he was most intimate. He regarded Mrs. Ewing as a very pious and excellent Christian lady, and in after years often spoke with much sympathy of the sad accident by which, in 1828, she was suddenly deprived of life.”[[24]](#footnote-24) In a footnote on pages 194 & 195 of v. 1, Richardson went into more detail on the nature of the accident.

Publications of Greville Ewing

Beginning on pages 671 of the Memoir of Greville Ewing, Mrs. Matheson lists 28 volumes, tracts, sermons and papers that were published. Other than those mentioned here, the most impactful of his works was in 1801, The Rudiments of the Greek Language shortly illustrated; and a Compendious Lexicon. In 1812, it was expanded into a second edition called, A Greek Grammar and Greek and English Lexicon, Greatly Enlarged. A third edition appeared in 1827.

In later years, Greville Ewing lost his vision, but continued to assist in his Nile Street congregational church. Ewing passed away, August 2, 1841. A funeral was preached in the Eastwood Parish church in Pollockshaws by Dr. Ralph Wardlaw on the 8th. Burial followed in the Eastwood Cemetery nearby next to his wife in the Maxwell family plot.

Conclusion: My purpose in this study has been multiple in nature, but I’ll list two:

1. It is helpful in many ways to see some of the early influences on Thomas and Alexander Campbell in their efforts at Restoration in the new world. They’re own movement was different to that of Ewing, the Haldanes and others, but the influence was there that gave them the latitude for departure from their denomination in a search that led them to reaffirming New Testament Christianity alone.
2. Another point to looking at this period is to show a distinction ultimately found in the efforts of Thomas and Alexander Campbell to that of their Scottish influence. Whereas the Congregational/Independent movement produced a new church in January, 1799, the Campbells had no interest in a new church. They never started one! This is one of the reasons the Christian Association of Washington was so named. A study of the Declaration & Address shows a new church was never a part of their consideration. Their total desire was to point man to the original New Testament church and its pattern to follow.

1. Richardson, Robert, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, v.1, Bethany: Robert Richardson, c.1897, p. 70. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Ibid., p. 71. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Willielma\_Campbell [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. J. J. Matheson, Memoir of Greville Ewing, 1843, p.10,11. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Ibid. p.23-24. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Ibid. p.56 [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Ibid. p.161 [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Ibid. p.159 [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Ibid., p.139ff [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Ibid. p.170 [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Ibid. p.177 [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Wrather, Eva Jean, “Alexander Campbell, Adventurer In Freedom, A Literary Biography, Fort Worth: TCU Press, 2005. Volume 1, pgs. 53, 88. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Richardson, Robert, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, v.1, Bethany: Robert Richardson, c.1897, p. 71. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Ibid. p.60. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. J. J. Matheson, Memoir of Greville Ewing, 1843, p.10,11, p.196. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Ibid., p.194. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Ibid., pgs. 138 [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. The Lives Of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and Of His Brother, James Alexander Haldane, Esq., by Alexander Haldane, first printed in 1852, c.9, p.218-219. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. J. J. Matheson, Memoir of Greville Ewing, 1843, p.230. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Ibid. p.307. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Ibid. p.356. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Ibid. p.330,345 [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Richardson, Robert, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, v.1, Bethany: Robert Richardson, c.1897, p. 174. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Ibid. pp.194-195. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)