D.T.K. DRUMMOND AND THE FOUNDATION OF ST THOMAS'S CHURCH

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ST THOMAS'S ENGLISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH in Rutland Place at the West End of Edinburgh was opened on Christmas Eve 1843. The reason for the appearance of this new church in defiance of the Bishop of Edinburgh lies broadly in the changes affecting churches in Britain in general and Scotland in particular during the nineteenth century. The year 1843 saw the Disruption in the Church of Scotland, which had been boiling up for nearly a decade and resulted in a large part of the established church breaking away to form the Free Kirk. There were divisions within the Church of England also – the Evangelical or Low Church movement, the High Church or Anglo-Catholics, and all the shades of theological opinion and practice in between, including the great mass of Middle Churchmen. Relations between the various divisions within churches were often poor and those between denominations hardly existed.

The Episcopal Church in Scotland was very small compared with the established Presbyterian Church, but was growing after having been reduced almost to extinction in the aftermath of the 1745 Rebellion. It was hardly large enough to have differences in thought within itself. Because of its Jacobite background it was High Church in its practice. Even when the Catholic James VII of Scotland and II of England abandoned his throne and fled to France in 1688, it remained loyal to him, and its clergy refused to pray for or take the oath of loyalty to the protestant William and Mary. In direct consequence of this, in 1689, the prelacy was abolished by the Scottish Parliament, but the episcopalians maintained secret communication with their 'King across the Water' until 1788, when Prince Charles Edward Stewart, last of the Jacobite line, died in Rome. With the end of the Stewarts, the episcopal clergy had no choice but to acknowledge the Hanoverian dynasty and by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Protestant Episcopacy in Scotland, by its reluctant acknowledgement of the only available monarchy and by its partial acceptance of the 39 Articles of Religion of the Church of England, had again become an accepted entity, with its bishops again permitted to exercise openly their ecclesiastical functions.

However, the Scottish church differed in many ways from its English sister. In England the Episcopal Church was the established church of the land, with the monarch at its head, its chief prelate holding precedence over all subjects other than the blood royal. It was established by law. Its Articles of Religion were approved by Parliament and could be altered only by the will of Parliament. Its prelates, with seats in the House of Lords, had a powerful voice in government. Its adherents were by far the most numerous in the land, and it had extensive properties for its maintenance. In Scotland the established church was presbyterian and the episcopalians were a tiny minority, with legal tolerance but few possessions and no more protection than any other private society, religious or otherwise. But they were free. Although they accepted the English liturgy they were under no obligation to use it in preference to any other. They ordained their own clergy and appointed their own bishops. They wrote and amended their own Code of Canons at will without reference to any outside body, not even Parliament.

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Their public worship was strictly formal or High Church but, particularly in Edinburgh, the number of evangelicals or Low Churchmen in their midst was beginning to grow, made up largely of English residents in Scotland, English soldiers and their families garrisoned in Scotland, and Scots who had returned home after living in England or after service in the armed forces. In the 1830s, one of the few active evangelical pastors in the Episcopal Church in Scotland was David Thomas Ker Drummond. His charges, first at St Paul's, Carrubber's Close, in the Old Town, and afterwards in the new Holy Trinity Church at the north end of Dean Bridge, became gathering places for the evangelicals of the city.

Drummond was a Scotsman, born in Edinburgh on 25 August 1805 of an old Perthshire family, the youngest of the seven sons of James Rutherford Drummond, who died when David was four years old.[1] Their mother brought up the family in Edinburgh where David attended the High School and University, intending the law to be his career. He was early called to the church, however, and in 1825 entered Worcester College, Oxford, graduating in 1830 after a lengthy interruption due to illness. In 1829 whilst at Oxford he married Harriet Hutton, a daughter of the Rector of Beaumont in Essex, whose brother, also a clergyman, married David's only surviving sister.[2] The Drummonds' son, Henry James, was born in Edinburgh on 17 May 1833 but died on 22 June 1835. Their daughter, Harriet Elizabeth Beatrice, was born on 20 December 1840, and later married the Rev. C. T. Moore, a Church of England clergyman in Leamington. The Drummonds adopted Ellen Sherwood, the orphaned daughter of a sea captain, shortly after the death of their son.

During his two years' curacy at Henbury and Compton Greenfield in the diocese of Bristol, David Drummond began to develop what became a peculiarly personal form of ministry. This was an intimate family-gathering type of meeting, in which bible study and extempore prayer formed the greater part, without the formal worship of older times. This kind of ministry was becoming popular in the Church of England with the rise of the evangelical movement and he was much encouraged by his bishop. He carried his enthusiasm for this work with him when he returned to Scotland, where any departure from formal worship was little encouraged in the Episcopal Church.

When he came north in 1832 to St Paul's, Carrubber's Close (now Old St Paul's), in Edinburgh, he succeeded two former ministers who were to play notable parts in his future. They were Dr C. H. Terrot, who became Bishop of Edinburgh in 1841, and the Rev. E. B. Ramsay, Dean and incumbent of St John's, Princes Street. Shortly after taking up his post, Drummond began extending his ministry by holding informal weekly meetings in hired halls, first in Princes Street and later in Clyde Street, off St Andrew Square, similar in their informality to those he had found so successful during his curacy in England. These continued throughout the winter months for the next ten years. They became very popular in the city, not only with his own people but also with presbyterians, due to the unique opportunity they gave to hear the bible expounded by an episcopalian minister without the ceremony and ritual prayer which they had been taught for generations to abhor. His meetings also provided a haven of peace where the bible was preached, rather than the sectarianism which was tearing the Church of Scotland apart at that time.

But these meetings were less than popular with mainstream Scottish episcopalians. His own bishop, Bishop Walker of Edinburgh, said nothing to him against them but others were not so tolerant. An opportunity for complaint was seized in 1837 when he was on holiday at Usan, a busy little fishing port

on the Angus coast. He was wont to meet the local people for bible study in a small schoolroom on Sunday evenings, a service much appreciated by the fisherfolk and also by the Church of Scotland minister, who was a busy man with a large and scattered parish. But he committed a considerable breach of etiquette within his own church by not first obtaining the permission of the episcopalian clergyman into whose area he had strayed. A formal complaint was sent to Bishop Walker jointly by the clergyman and the Bishop of Brechin that Drummond had 'repeatedly officiated in the Presbyterian form in a Chapel of Ease in the neighbourhood of Montrose'. Drummond's subsequent interview produced not censure but the bishop's 'express sanction' to continue the informal type of meeting. It is not known how Bishop Walker replied to the Bishop of Brechin.[3]

Holy Trinity Church was new, built in 1838 at the north end of Dean Bridge, and Drummond was appointed co-incumbent with Mr George Coventry.[4] This post removed him from the bustling central slum area of the Old Town out into the fields beyond the New Town, at the far side of the deep valley of the Water of Leith. Dean Bridge had been built a few years before, in 1832, to open up the area for speculative building; this, however, was slow to develop and when Holy Trinity opened there were few houses nearby. Before accepting the co-incumbency Drummond received Coventry's agreement and encouragement to continue his weekly meetings, though Coventry declined to take part in them because of a 'natural nervousness'.[5] As had happened at St Paul's, Holy Trinity rapidly became the home of the Low Church episcopalians of the city, many of whom – doctors, lawyers, civil servants, university staff and some minor gentry – had considerable intellectual influence. But to much of the Scottish episcopal hierarchy of the old school they were an unwanted influence and their gathering together in one congregation was to be discouraged. It was suggested that, were Drummond to be removed, he would have to return to England and this rallying point of the evangelicals would be disrupted. In 1842 a letter to the editor of *The Record*, the weekly Church of England evangelical newspaper, alleged that 'shortly after the address of the Scottish bishops to Her Majesty [in 1837] they were so elevated with the prospects of the advancement of Puseyism as it is called, that they were closeted in a private meeting for some hours at which meeting it was determined that Mr Drummond should be put down'.[6] No denial was ever published.

An opportunity to prepare the ground for such a removal presented itself in 1838 when a General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church was called to revise the Code of Canons. At the previous revision in 1828 a new canon entitled 'Pointing out the Uniformity to be Observed in all the Parts of the Morning and Evening Service' had been added.[7] This laid down that:

> As in all the ordinary parts of Divine Service it is necessary to fix by authority, the precise form, from which no Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, shall be at liberty to depart by his own alterations or insertions, lest such liberty should produce consequences destructive of 'decency and order', it is hereby enacted, that in the performance of Morning and Evening Service the words of the English Liturgy shall be strictly adhered to.

The General Synod was made up of two chambers, the first consisting of the six Scottish bishops under their Primus, Bishop Walker of Edinburgh, and the second of five deans and six clerical representatives. The proceedings in 1838 were later outlined in a pamphlet by Drummond. He reported that the second chamber had proposed a relaxation of the 1828 canon and had offered an amendment to that effect. However, the bishops

rejected this and proposed a much more stringent addition, which in turn was rejected by the lower chamber. A joint meeting of the chambers resulted in the bishops winning the day and the insertion of a new section in the canon. The title of what became Canon 28 then read 'On the Uniformity to be Observed in Public Worship', its first part being practically the same as Canon 19 of 1828.[8] The new section added:

> And it is farther decreed, that, if any clergyman shall officiate or preach in any place publicly without using the Liturgy at all, he shall, for the first offence, be admonished by his Bishop and, if he persevere in this uncanonical practice, shall be suspended until, after due contrition, he be restored to the exercise of his clerical functions. In publicly reading Prayers and administering the Sacraments, the Surplice shall be used as the proper Sacerdotal Vestment.

This punitive section of the rule appears to have been used only once and that against Drummond, but with results, as will be seen, not quite as expected. Opinion in general was against it; it was very much an embarrassment to most of the clergy and it was quietly dropped at the next revision in 1862–63. It has hardly ever been referred to since and is not mentioned in the historical 'Account of the Canons' which prefaces the 1973 issue of the Code. Although it was designed to get rid of Drummond, it was not immediately put into force, Bishop Walker having no intention of withdrawing his 'express sanction' of the non-liturgical meetings. It is not known if pressure was put on the bishop to apply Canon 28 or if any further complaints about irregular meetings were made to him; certainly none reached the ears of Drummond.[9]

Even when Dr Terrot became Bishop of Edinburgh in 1841 no immediate action was taken, and it was not until October 1842, yielding eventually to considerable pressure ('in consequence of suggestions from a quarter I am bound to respect') that he issued a formal warning.[10] Drummond's meetings had become more and more popular. At the Clyde Street hall fifty to sixty people were being turned away each week; he was urged to look for a larger hall but declined as he felt a larger gathering would spoil the intimate atmosphere which he found so useful. Another episcopalian clergyman, the Rev. Daniel Bagot of St James's Church, Broughton Place, was holding similar meetings but with the difference that only episcopalians attended and these were all members of his own congregation. Although Drummond's meetings were also intended for his own people, others could not be kept out and it was found that, at times, more presbyterians than episcopalians were attending.[11] Bishop Terrot's letter, dated 3 October 1842, accused Drummond of failing to comply with the canon by holding public meetings without the strict use of the liturgy and ended: 'I beg, then, Rev. and dear Sir, that you will consider this an *admonition* in terms of the Canon; and I hope that you will find it possible to preach the Gospel without violating the law of the Church'.[12]

Drummond could not accept the admonition and he fought back. He argued that his meetings were private whilst the canon concerned public meetings only; that he had hired the hall himself for his own use; that he had been doing so for ten years since the revised canon had been in existence; that he had not even known about the stricture until it was pointed out to him in the bishop's letter. There had been no word of criticism from the previous bishop – only encouragement – and Terrot had been in office for nearly two years before saying anything. Furthermore, he had been holding similar meetings for the youth of his congregation and, jointly with Bagot, missionary society meetings, without using the liturgy, but these had not been mentioned in the accusation. Bishop Terrot answered that the latter were 'private' and the bible study meetings 'public'. When pressed to define a public meeting, the bishop

declined but was adamant that the meetings he complained of were public and that Drummond was therefore in breach of Canon 28. He suggested that an appeal against his ruling could be made to the College of Bishops but this Drummond firmly declined; the bishops' decision on such an appeal had to be accepted without question and he knew that most were against him. Drummond told Terrot that he would resign rather than accept so strict a ruling on a canon which was not even law when he took his first post in the Scottish church and was contrary to the usages of the Church of England in which he had been ordained.[13]

Dean Ramsay then formed a small deputation of Edinburgh clergy, including Bagot, to act as mediators.[14] Drummond eventually agreed to a compromise suggested by a friend who was present when the deputation called, that all except members of his own congregation be excluded from his meetings. This was taken to the bishop, but Terrot was adamant that meetings exclusive to the congregation were still public and therefore must conform to the liturgy. The bishop still insisted that the admonition be accepted. Drummond thereupon resigned from his post and withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Episcopal Church in Scotland.[15] A sigh of relief went up from his opponents, who sat back to await his departure from the land – but their relief was short-lived.

Among his other problems Drummond was now faced with breaking the news to his congregation. Although rumours were beginning to circulate, only a few intimate friends had any inkling of the troubles that had beset him for the past fortnight. He decided to announce his resignation from the pulpit but, by its very nature, the complicated story of the events leading to his withdrawal was difficult to explain and easily misunderstood. He was a public figure of considerable reputation and his hasty departure from his pulpit was a matter of much public concern and speculation. Accordingly he resolved, in that age of pamphleteering, to publish the whole of the correspondence which had passed between the bishop and himself so that both sides of the matter were displayed for all to judge at leisure.[16] But this public display of how the Scottish episcopalians could treat one of their clergymen was greeted with no joy at all by those who had hoped the matter would be resolved as quickly and as quietly as possible. The correspondence caused a considerable stir on both sides of the Border, particularly in ecclesiastical circles. *The Record*, as well as reprinting much of it, produced a ponderous leader which, while suggesting that Drummond had been over-hasty in resigning, roundly condemned Terrot for his heavy-handed action, ending with the comment that 'his zeal might have been a little less ardent against one of the most faithful and efficient of his clergy'.[17]

But for the subsequent action of his congregation, that might have been the end of the matter: Drummond could easily have found a living in England and would have been replaced by a conforming clergyman at Holy Trinity. The indignation aroused in some of his congregation, however, was such that they would not let the matter rest. This was final and public proof that they were not wanted, that the Episcopal Church in Scotland had no time for evangelicals. A 'Committee of Mr Drummond's Friends' was quickly formed to see what action could be taken. They were ten in number, among them two doctors, three lawyers, an army and a navy officer, headed by a lawyer, the young heir to a baronetcy, John Wauchope. Their first public action took the form of a newspaper advertisement announcing that they were seeking to persuade Drummond to remain among them in Edinburgh as a pastor of the Church of England and

Fig. 1. St Thomas's Episcopal Church, Rutland Place, 1976. *(Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.)*

asking for the support of all interested persons.[18]

The episcopal clergy of Edinburgh were hastily summoned by Dean Ramsay to a meeting on 1 November 1842, when they produced a wordy 'Remonstrance' addressed to Drummond and signed by them all. This they in turn published in the newspapers, 'the correspondence between the Rt. Rev. the Bishop and the Rev. Mr Drummond having been so unexpectedly published by the latter'. Their argument was that he had no real reason for resigning; all he needed to do was to comply with the rules of the church. Their greater concern was obviously the threat of a breakaway church, which possibility they roundly condemned as the sin of schism.[19] This provoked a retaliatory pamphlet from Drummond, rebutting in great detail the charge that he had resigned 'totally without cause', and accompanied by another from the Committee of Friends detailing their reasons for asking Drummond to stay. At the same time the Friends made enquiries to find out if their action was 'in accordance with the principles of the Church of England'. They then published a further advertisement inviting those interested to 'take seats in the church which is about to be formed', and soon another announcement was made that divine service would start on 20 November 1842 in the 'Local School', No. 10 Young Street, Charlotte Square.[20]

The Committee of Friends dissolved itself on 21 November after the inaugural service and was replaced by a Committee of Interim Managers.[21] These ten men, who were in fact if not in name the first vestry of what was to become St Thomas's Church, were:

John Wauchope of Edmonstone (Chairman)
Col. J. F. Holcombe
Dr Andrew Wood
Dr J. Keith
Robert Pitcairn, WS
Dr R. K. Greville (Treasurer)
Montague Stanley, ARSA
James Mylne, WS
J. Neil Dyce, MA (Cantab)
John Shedden Patrick of Hazlehead.

Yet another pamphlet was produced by Drummond at this time, inspired by a letter from a London clergyman which drew his attention to the use of the old Scottish liturgy in a large number of episcopal churches in the north of Scotland. The Code of Canons also specified that this must be used in the inaugural communion service of each General Synod.[22] His correspondent pointed out that the Scottish liturgy contained passages which could be interpreted as teaching transubstantiation. To Drummond this was anathema and would have been sufficient justification in itself for his resignation from the Scottish church. This became his main

objection to the Episcopal Church of Scotland during the rest of his life.

This spate of pamphlets, advertisements, editorial comment, letters to editors, etc., all published within the first fortnight of November 1842 and accompanied by increasingly wild rumours, caused much uneasiness within other episcopal congregations. Daniel Bagot, for instance, was so besieged with enquiries about whether or not 'the Bishop of Edinburgh had put down extempore prayer and prayer-meetings' that he was moved to send a denial to the editor of *The Record*. He was also strongly taken to task by the majority of his vestry because of his support of the bishop's judgement and for putting his name to the 'Remonstrance'. He declined to meet his congregation to discuss these matters, instead circulating a placatory 'explanation'.[23]

The task facing the interim managers was formidable but they were not daunted. They had the very active support of most of the former Holy Trinity congregation, whose ranks were swelled by some from other episcopal churches and later by some presbyterians. They had collected a goodly list of prospective seat-holders who had promised to rent 'sittings' in the church. This was a common method of subscribing to a church by paying a yearly or half-yearly rental for each seat or pew – the name-card holders fixed at the ends of the pews in many churches (including the present St Thomas's) is a relic of this system.

Drummond's task was equally formidable. True, he started with a large, loyal and enthusiastic congregation, but could he hold them together? They had vacated a fine new church but were now reduced to being tenants of a hired hall and would have to find permanent premises out of their own resources. They were on their own, an isolated episcopal community amid episcopal hostility in a presbyterian land cool to all episcopalian thought. They had no access to a bishop for even that most fundamental episcopal function, the confirmation of their young people. They knew that no Scottish bishop would carry out this duty and no English bishop would trespass into Scotland (none did for over thirty years). Drummond was 36 years old and, although he was not in robust health, they should not have to look for another pastor for a long time. They knew they had friends across the Border but would they be strong and willing enough when and if help was needed? Could they ever rejoin the Scottish Episcopal Church?

His own congregation had got down to their own immediate practical matters with much energy. They had to find a home for themselves. Their enthusiasm and determination was such that, within a fortnight of that first Sunday of freedom in November 1842, they had collected £780 in cash and had a loan of £1500 from a member, Thomas Buckmaster, who, with John Buchanan and Andrew Stuart, later became one of the first trustees.[24] By the end of the year, less than three months from the date of the bishop's admonitory letter, they had obtained land on which to build their church and plans for it were being drawn up by David Cousin, Edinburgh City Architect. Their site between Erskine Place (now Rutland Place) and Rutland Street, a few steps from Princes Street and just outside the western boundary of the city, was more centrally placed than Holy Trinity, although quite close to two other churches, St John's Episcopal Church and St Cuthbert's, the ancient parish church of the area. There was much building activity westward from Princes Street and it was evident that their new church would soon be in the midst rather than on the edge of the city. By the end of January 1843 the plans had been approved and on 1 March, with building started, they resolved that their new house of worship would be known as the Church of St Thomas the Apostle (fig. 1).[25]

On Christmas Eve 1843 the first service was held in the new church, though not before Bishop Terrot

had made a last attempt to disrupt their plans. In late November, when the building was all but complete, he issued a pamphlet entitled *A Dissuasive from Schism* addressed to the 'lay members of the Scottish Episcopal Church within the diocese of Edinburgh', in which he lectured his readers on the sin of schism and warned them that anyone joining the new church would fall into guilt.[26] He made no mention of the reason for Drummond's resignation or for the formation of the new congregation. The document appears rather half-hearted and, as Drummond argued, seems to have been written more to placate outside pressure rather than with any hope of success. Drummond could not leave the attack unanswered. He used his first pastoral letter, in December 1843, to suggest that his congregation was less schismatical than the Episcopal Church in Scotland which, by its actions against the Church of England, appeared determined to remain so.[27] His defence was vigorous but his wish and that of his congregation was only to be left alone to get on with their work and worship in their own way without interference and without continually having to defend their actions. This was not to be, however, and for many years to come they were to be criticised and interfered with by the Episcopal Church in Scotland in its publications, utterances and actions.

The new church, which occupied the space of two terraced houses at No. 3 Rutland Street, was quite small – too small in fact for the new congregation. The pews were cramped and uncomfortable, with high seats and doors at the ends, arranged with an aisle down the middle and at each side, but after a few years the capacity had to be increased by fitting hinged seats across the aisles. 'Pew Openers' were employed to usher families to their places with Victorian solemnity. The church proper was two storeys high, rather plain inside with a ceiling painted in imitation of oak beams, under a pitched roof with a gallery across the west end for the organ and the choir. The organ was bought by subscription of the congregation for 'a sum not exceeding £250' at the end of 1847. Many years later, again to increase the seating, the gallery was extended along the church sides and the organ and choir were moved downstairs. Originally the south facade conformed with the neighbouring houses in Rutland Street but it was rebuilt in Norman style to match the entrance front in Rutland Place in 1882. A basement contained the beadle's flat, a small hall or schoolroom, heating apparatus and store rooms. The building was originally lit throughout by gas, later changed to electricity at the expense of the railway company when the new Caledonian Hotel overshadowed the church.[28]

In autumn 1844 a 'Deed of Declaration of Trust' was drawn up, with an important clause binding the trustees to:

> hold the property of the said area, and Building thereon, in Trust only, and that the said Chapel called Saint Thomas' English Episcopal Chapel is, and shall continue to be, so held by us, and our successors in office, in Trust, and shall in all time coming, be maintained as a Church or Chapel for the Worship of God, according to the existing Protestant Standards of the Established Church of England.

The Deed of Trust, which has never been formally amended and remains valid to the present day, requires all trustees and vestrymen to be communicants and members of the congregation, failure leading to disqualification. There is provision for a maximum of three trustees and twelve vestrymen, appointment to vacancies as they occur being in the hands of those remaining in office, the congregation as a whole having no voice in the appointment. The pastor has *ex officio* membership of vestry and is its chairman with, when necessary, a casting vote; in his absence the senior vestryman present becomes chairman. There is no provision for any other *ex officio* membership of vestry or trustees. Thus appointment to the vestry and

trustees has been in the hands of the members of these bodies ever since the beginning of the church, a self-perpetuating system which on occasions has led to problems. In the 1970s the original arrangement was relaxed by voluntary act of the vestry in order to allow members to retire by rotation after a fixed period, and for the congregation to nominate and elect replacements. The choice of a pastor (now Rector, to conform with the Scottish Episcopal Church usage) is the joint responsibility of the trustees and vestry, again the congregation having no say. The stipend was originally set at £400 per year, with an extra £100 when the pastor took 'the assistance of a Curate', over whom he had the sole power of 'appointing, controuling and removing'.[29]

By October 1844 it was known that the total cost of the building had come to £4200. Subscriptions had amounted to £1900 and so, over and above Buckmaster's £1500, there was a debt of £800 to be paid. The following year additional work costing just over £200 had to be done but by April 1846, less than three years after the decision to build had been taken, this £1000 had been paid up and a surplus of £304 was reported. There being no pressing need to meet Buckmaster's loan, it was gradually reduced over the years as money became available and, helped by a £200 legacy, it was completely paid up by 1861. These figures suggest that the church not only had a large and enthusiastic congregation but that they were able and willing to back up the policies of the vestry, who were in the words of the trust deed responsible for 'the whole funds and temporal affairs of the Chapel'.[30]

Within two years of its beginning, the church had settled down to a full and vigorous life. As well as Sunday morning worship, there was an evening service in summer and an afternoon service in winter to allow the congregation to reach home in daylight. There were also the weekday prayer meetings (the original cause of the bishop's displeasure), a bible class, three Sunday school classes and a monthly foreign mission meeting. St Thomas's was a well-to-do church with a goodly number of comfortably-off middle-class members, many being landowners, merchants and professional people. The church was plain and had not been costly to build. They spent little of their money on it but supported a number of charities, particularly the Church Missionary Society, of which Drummond was joint secretary with Daniel Bagot.[31] During the first sixty years of the church an average of £400 a year was subscribed for this work alone, a remarkably generous amount for a single congregation (and equal to the pastor's stipend, which was itself high compared with that of most Scottish pulpits of the time). Other causes also regularly supported were the Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews, the Colonial and Continental Aid Society, the Jerusalem Diocesan Fund, Italian Evangelism, the Pastoral Aid Society, the Scripture Readers Society of Ireland, the Gaelic Schools Society, the Edinburgh City Mission and the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary. A further interest which stretched through Drummond's adult life was the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society – he was a founder member in 1841 and served on its committee from the beginning.[32]

As well as monetary help in the shape of subscriptions to these charities, a great deal of practical aid was given to the poor and downtrodden of their own city. Although the Edinburgh City Mission, which was funded and supported jointly by a number of churches, had been in operation for over a decade, there were very few other institutions of this type in existence. Drummond had practical experience of life in the squalid tenement slums of the Old Town, having ministered for his first six years in Edinburgh in St Paul's (whose Carrubber's Close Mission was not started until 1858), and it is

probable that his was the inspiration for St Thomas's to set up their own mission in the Old Town. At any rate, by the end of 1845, they had a schoolroom in full operation, with a teacher and missionary, in property in Gillan's Close in the Canongate, all paid for by subscription of the congregation and supported by a team of their own voluntary workers. This was one of the earliest, if not the very first, such service in the city provided entirely by a single Edinburgh church. The work flourished for many years and an annual report in the 1880s lists two services each Sunday with one on a weekday, and a Sunday school, temperance society, mothers' meeting, work society, penny savings bank and library. A nursery staffed by volunteer ladies of the congregation was started in 1881, where working mothers could leave their babies during the day, a scheme then becoming popular in continental cities but little heard of in Britain, which provided a 'most valuable aid to the poorer classes of the community'.[33]

Relations with the Episcopal Church of Scotland, however, were distant and remained so for many years despite attempts to heal the breach. The original reason for the split faded from memory as time passed but a more fundamental reason remained, affecting his congregation more deeply than the original slight to Drummond. This was the matter of the Scottish Communion Office, declared by the Canons of the Scottish Episcopal Church as its prime liturgical authority, although as time passed used regularly in fewer and fewer of its churches. Drummond's particular objection – and his vestry was steadily behind him – concerned the Communion Office and what he considered its Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, at variance both with Scripture and with the standards of the Church of England.[34] Many times during the remainder of his ministry he declared that, were this objection to be removed, his separation from the Episcopal Church in Scotland would no longer be justifiable.

St Thomas's remained evangelical in its outlook whilst the Episcopal Church in Scotland was not. The influence of the Oxford Movement was felt throughout the Anglican communion and St Thomas's firmly turned its back against this 'threat of Popery', which did not help rapport with the other episcopal churches in Scotland. This feeling even led to the vestry complaining on behalf of the congregation to Drummond about the High Church content of the sermons preached by a curate, Richard Hibbs, whom Drummond discharged (Hibbs called it 'ejected') in 1854.[35] These sermons could not have been all that 'high' as Hibbs, eight years later, became pastor of the new evangelical St Vincent's English Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh.[36]

A deputation from St Thomas's led by Drummond and including Professor John Hutton Balfour among others, attended the first general meeting of the Evangelical Alliance which was held in London in 1846. While there they appealed to six bishops of the Church of England and the Archbishop of Canterbury for support.[37] The climate was favourable to them; the Episcopal Church in Scotland was not popular in Anglican circles at the time and they were at least partially successful. For many years afterwards they were able to call on the good offices of Bishops Villiers and Waldegrave of Carlisle for their confirmations and later Bishop Baring of Durham, who continued this duty 'out of respect for Mr Drummond' until 1874. Since these bishops would not venture into Scotland, the candidates had to travel to Carlisle or Berwick for the service, an arrangement aptly described by one humorist as providing an 'English Gretna Green for the ecclesiastical runaways'. After Drummond's death, a retired colonial bishop living in London came north occasionally and confirmed candidates, the 'Association of English Episcopalians in Scotland'

being formed to foot the bills. When he was no longer able to travel to Scotland the confirmands had to go south, sometimes as far as Liverpool, until eventually Scottish bishops accepted them with candidates from other congregations.[38]

The revision of the Scottish Canons which took place in 1862–63, as well as dropping the punitive part of the old Canon 28, also amended the rule governing the use of the Scottish Communion Office. By the 1860s the English Book of Common Prayer had been in use in most Scottish episcopal churches for many years and the General Synod, faced with this *fait accompli*, reversed the rule, replacing the Scottish liturgy with the English as the prime authority. The Scottish Office was still retained, because of its continued use in a few churches 'which had known no other' (and which incidentally, *vide* the current Canon 22, may still be used 'in any congregation where the Scottish communion was in use in 1910'). Also, in 1864, a Parliamentary bill became law which permitted episcopal clergy ordained in Scotland to hold livings in England; until then the reverse only was the case.[39] These adjustments, although official measures in the trend already otherwise evident in the gradual move closer of the two churches, also provided the anti-Low-Church element in Scotland with good reason for appealing to their English brethren to stop the flow of Scottish confirmands across the Border. By this time St Thomas's was not the only English Episcopalian church in Scotland which was sending its young people south – they were coming from as far north as Aberdeen, and the dissident churches, including private chapels, numbered eleven in the 1870s.

Although the Scottish and English churches were becoming closer, the Episcopal Church in Scotland and the English Episcopalians in their midst were not. There were, of course, faults on both sides. In 1866 the Archbishop of Canterbury, invited to lay the foundation stone of the new episcopal cathedral in Inverness, brought down the wrath of *The Times* on his head for venturing into a presbyterian land. He also incurred the displeasure of Drummond and did not help the cause of episcopal unity within Scotland by an ill-advised remark in his speech that the Episcopal Church in Scotland was 'the only true representative of the Church of England in Scotland'.[40] This no doubt pleased his Scottish hosts but he need not have gone out of his way to say so and his statement only added fuel to what could have been a dying fire. Drummond quickly challenged the Archbishop, who after a spirited exchange of letters retreated sufficiently to admit that the Episcopal Church in Scotland was only 'a more true representative of the Church of England than certain congregations that were under no bishop'.[41] In 1870 the new Bishop of Carlisle, Harvey Goodwin, publicly stated that he would not confirm Scottish candidates, and the Bishop of Durham continued to do so only out of personal regard for Drummond. The other English Episcopal churches in Scotland had nowhere to go and in 1872 they took their troubles to London where, in a special meeting of the Church Association Clerical and Lay Union, they appealed to opinion in the Church of England. After Drummond had stated their case, many prominent English Low Churchmen spoke in their support but the resolution which was passed at the meeting in favour of the English Episcopalians in Scotland had little effect, so far away from them had the climate of thought swung, other than to furnish the Scottish episcopalian press with a target for their sarcasm. An attempt in 1873 to provide a reasoned argument for their inability to accept the doctrine which upheld the Scottish Communion Office misfired badly when Drummond and Mr Burns of Castle Wemyss, Wemyss Bay, hired two eminent English lawyers to examine the offending passages. Although their

opinion was that the words did mean transubstantiation, the Scottish establishment brushed the findings aside in a welter of further heavy sarcasm.[42]

Drummond was plagued with ill-health throughout his early life. During his days in Oxford his studies had been interrupted for a considerable time and in 1834, after coming back to Scotland, he was laid low for some weeks. He was a hard worker and did not spare himself, at times returning home from his pastoral duties in a state of collapse. This is well illustrated in the earliest of several likenesses of him which have survived, which was probably taken about 1843 and shows clearly the lines of ill-health etched on his face (fig. 2). By 1852 his health was so poor that he was advised to take a long holiday and his congregation sent him for a four month stay in Switzerland. Mrs Drummond and the two girls took a chalet near Thun while he, in company of a few friends, made various expeditions – he ran into some of his congregation in Geneva and ventured as far as Venice, Florence, Genoa and Pisa. On their return he published the journal he had kept during his wanderings, calling it *Scenes and Impressions* and illustrating it with sketches by Mrs Drummond. It was popular, running into three editions, and even today may be read with interest.[43] But as far as his health was concerned the holiday was not a success. Perhaps he expended too much energy on travel – he walked over a number of the high Alpine passes instead of resting – for, three years later, it had to be repeated, this time with more lasting effect. A second portrait shows a man in middle life, healthy and with no trace of his former haggard appearance. This photograph was probably taken about the time the bust of Drummond was made, now one of St Thomas's most precious possessions.[44] A third, in later years, is of an old man, lively in mind and at peace with life.[45]

Fig. 2. Calotype Portrait of David Drummond by David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *c.*1843. *(Scottish National Portrait Gallery.)*

His interests were wide ranging, by no means confined to religious matters. He was one of the leading photographers of his day, contributing papers to photographic journals and societies when photography was in its infancy. He was an active member of the Edinburgh Photographic Society and for a time their vice-president, hanging pictures in their annual exhibitions and reading papers on his experiments and equipment at their meetings. Some of his surviving studies in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery are of outstanding technical and artistic brilliance, particularly when one realises the crudity of the cameras of his day and that sensitising and developing had to be done at home with what today's photographers would consider makeshift facilities and materials. He ended one paper of 1864 with the words: 'It is impossible to say how much,

under God, I owe both in mind and body to photography in my hours of leisure, and I would gladly, by any means in my power, put a spoke in the wheel of its advancement'.[46] When he became interested in this art and science is a matter of speculation but it could have been during the fateful year 1843. It is well known that the artist D. O. Hill's historic painting of the Disruption scene in St Andrew's Church in 1843 was made more accurate by the many photographs taken by Hill and Robert Adamson, which include one of David Drummond (see fig. 2), who was included in the front row of Hill's painting.[47]

He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1868 and, as well as his interest in photography, his studies in botany took him far and wide through the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland. In these jaunts he accompanied his life-long friend, John Hutton Balfour, who had been a fellow pupil at the High School. In 1845 Balfour was appointed Professor of Botany and Regius Keeper of the Royal Botanic Garden.[48] Soon after, Balfour was appointed a vestryman at St Thomas's and held this office and that of trustee for a total of 38 years. His biographical note for the posthumously published third edition of Drummond's *Last Scenes in the Life of Our Lord and Saviour* provides much detail of the life of his friend and pastor. Another longstanding friend and staunch supporter was John Wauchope, later Sir John Wauchope of Edmonstone, who as a young man chaired the 'Committee of Mr Drummond's Friends' and who held office in St Thomas's for 50 years, longer than anyone else in its history.

It may be proper here to mention the connection, tenuous though it is, that St Thomas's had with a prelate of high distinction. In 1854 the Davidsons, a family of staunch presbyterians, became members of the church. The father, Henry, was a prosperous merchant of Leith and the family attended regularly for three years before moving to the Borders. On his return to Edinburgh some years later, Davidson served for a time as a vestryman. A son, Randall Thomas Davidson, who was six years old in 1854 and who attended St Thomas's with his parents, became Bishop of Rochester in 1891, and of Winchester in 1895, eventually in 1903 being appointed Archbishop of Canterbury and serving as such for 25 years. It says something for the staunchness (or bigotry?) of the vestry that they decided not to send an address of congratulation to Davidson on his appointment to the archbishopric, because, as one of the vestrymen explained, they 'did not approve of an address, looking to the High Church views of the Archbishop'.[49] This was very much a mistaken judgement as one of Davidson's most notable achievements in a long and distinguished career was his creation of bridges between Anglicanism, Orthodoxy and the nonconformists, bridges which have continued to grow to this day.

As he grew older Drummond's health began to fail and he found it necessary to have more mature clerical assistance than could be had from curates. This led to the appointment of the Rev. W. Scott-Moncrieff as co-pastor in 1870. There was no provision in the constitution for such a post and so a 'Minute of Agreement' had to be drawn up between the trustees and vestry on the one hand and the two clergymen on the other, the vestry rather than Drummond becoming responsible for Scott-Moncrieff's £300 per year stipend (curates' stipends were normally the responsibility of the pastor).[50] Scott-Moncrieff remained at St Thomas's until he moved to County Durham in 1875, though it seems not to have been a particularly happy time for him. His efforts to produce something less than open hostility to the Episcopal Church in Scotland were

unavailing and in fact resulted in the vestry drawing up a 'Declaration of the Principle of the Church' which had to be signed on assuming office by every incumbent, trustee and vestryman. The phrase 'according to the existing Protestant standards of the Church of England' is prominent in this document. Many years later, in a letter to the editor of *The Record*, Scott-Moncrieff commented: 'It is fair that I should say that I never ministered to a more attached or interesting congregation than St Thomas's Edinburgh; but both pastor and flock were at the mercy of an irresponsible Vestry'.[51]

Drummond was exhausted, and with the departure of Scott-Moncrieff he could no longer carry on. He resigned at the end of 1875 at the age of 69, having served St Thomas's for 32 years and the cause of Low Churchmanship for many years longer. His departure from his pulpit was an emotional one. His congregation, as well as giving him many other tokens of their affection, provided him with a 'purse of a thousand sovereigns' and the vestry voted him a pension of £200 a year.[52] With the lifting of the burden of work and worry his health improved somewhat, at least sufficiently to allow him to do relief duties for a time at St Vincent's. He was not to enjoy retirement for long, however, and died at Pitlochry on 9 June 1877. He is buried in the kirkyard of Duddingston where, over forty years before, he had laid his little son to rest.[53]

Perhaps the general regard in which his years at St Thomas's was held is best summed up by quoting from an obituary notice written by an episcopalian who 'did not adopt Mr Drummond's views on church matters':[54]

> It was, with the National Church of Scotland, the '43, and the strife, and din, and distraction of the many years that followed. In the Scottish Episcopal Church there was more or less of uncertainty and hesitation and the stir of disturbing questions which made many minds anxious. And, in these circumstances, there appeared to many, one quiet, unruffled harbour where those might find rest, and peace, and good, who did not care for entering into the fierce Presbyterian warfare or casting in their lot with questions of ritual and polemics. Mr Drummond's step is, of course, looked at by many men from very different points of view; but we are looking rather at what came of it than at the step itself. And it was undoubtedly a good thing for Scotland that at that time, and for many years, Christians had a church to go to where they did not hear the watchwords of party strife and where even the most cautious Presbyterian need be in no fear of anything at all 'high' in the worship. Then this congregation ... set itself right nobly to do its Christian work in Edinburgh. It might be almost said to have shewn the way (in which it has been admirably followed since) in all those paths of usefulness, and kindness, and good, for carrying on which a Christian congregation exists. Work amongst the congregational poor, schools, sick societies, and the like, which now every congregation as a matter of the merest course sets its hand to – work like this St Thomas's was doing in Edinburgh when there were few congregations at work alongside of it.

The Rutland Street congregation declined during the 1930s. In 1938 they sold their old church and moved to a new building on the Glasgow Road, on the west of Edinburgh. During the Second World War the old church was used as a 'British Restaurant' and then lay empty for some years; it was later used as an exhibition centre, 'The Scottish Experience', and is now a casino. In 1940 the new St Thomas's was given the status of a private chapel by the Bishop of Edinburgh, thus bringing to an end the period of its history outwith the Scottish Episcopal Church.[55]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Editorial note: This paper is the result of many years research by the late Mr Ford, who was a member of the congregation of St Thomas's Church, Glasgow Road, Edinburgh. He submitted his manuscript in 1993, but unfortunately became ill before editing was completed. The Editor of *BOEC* is very grateful to Dr Tristram Clarke, Scottish Record Office, who helped to prepare the article for publication and provided most of the references. The text is substantially that produced by Mr Ford.

Mr Ford acknowledged with gratitude much help and assistance from: staff of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh City Libraries, and the British Library, London; Miss Sara Stevenson, Curator of the Scottish Photographic Archive, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, for advice about Drummond's photographic activities; Mrs Baxter, Edinburgh Medical Mission archivist; and Mr Anderson of the Free Church of Scotland Offices. Dr Clarke benefited from the assistance of the present rector of St Thomas's, Rev. Mike Palmer; Mrs Pat Meldrum, who gave access to the records of the church; and the staff of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh City Libraries and Edinburgh City Archives.

Many of the contemporary pamphlets and leaflets used by the author are collected in two volumes in the National Library of Scotland (NLS), pressmarks Dowd. 531 and 3.2543. The author's copies of many of the press sources are among the records of St Thomas's, which are listed in the Scottish Record Office (SRO), National Register of Archives (Scotland) survey no. 2702. Special attention should be drawn to the clearest modern account of Drummond's case, which sets it in a broad context and provides a more sympathetic view of the Church's position: R. Foskett, 'The Drummond Controversy, 1842', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 16 (1967), pp. 99–109. The history of 150 years of St Thomas's is traced in Mike Palmer, *For the Worship of God: The Story of St Thomas's, Edinburgh* (privately printed 1993), of which a new edition is forthcoming. However, a full account of the evangelical movement within the Scottish Episcopal Church and the emergence of the 'English Episcopal' congregations, of which the story of St Thomas's forms a remarkable part, remains to be written.

1 Biographical details are from the 'Memoir of Rev. D. T. K. Drummond' by Professor John Hutton Balfour published in the third (posthumous) edition of Drummond's *Last Scenes in the Life of our Lord and Saviour* (London 1878), pp. xiii–clxxxv.

2 One of their three sons, the Rev. Dr Hutton, later became rector of St Silas's English Episcopal Church in Glasgow.

3 D. T. K. Drummond, *Reply to Resolutions of the Clergy of the Scottish Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1842), pp. 11–12.

4 Holy Trinity Church was designed by John Henderson: see John Gifford, Colin McWilliam and David Walker, *Edinburgh* (Penguin Buildings of Scotland, Harmondsworth 1984), p. 387.

5 *Correspondence between the Rt. Rev. C. H. Terrot, Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church in Edinburgh, and the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, Minister of Trinity Chapel* (Edinburgh 1842), p. 25. The surviving records of Holy Trinity Church are in SRO, CH 12/52, but lack minutes earlier than 1878.

6 *The Record*, 10 November 1842.

7 *The Code of Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland, as revised ... MDCCCXXVIII* (Edinburgh 1828), pp. 51–52, Canon 19.

8 Drummond, *Reply to Resolutions* (note 3), pp. 10–11. The revised Canon 28 enjoined strict observance not only of the exact words but also the 'rubrical directions' of the English liturgy: *The Code of Canons of the Episcopal Church in Scotland as revised ... MDCCCXXXVIII* (Edinburgh 1844), p. 34, Canon 28.

9 *Correspondence* (note 5), pp. iv, 24.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 24; Balfour, 'Memoir' (note 1), p. xli; *The Record*, 3 November 1842.

12 *Correspondence* (note 5), p. 10.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 1–33.

14 *Resignation of the Rev D. T. K. Drummond: Statement by the Committee of Mr Drummond's Friends, November 12, 1842* (Edinburgh 1842), p. 11.

15 *Correspondence* (note 5), p. 33. For Terrot's refusal, on the advice of the diocesan synod, to compromise, see also letters of William Forbes of Medwyn in *The Scottish Guardian*, 15 February and 8 March 1873.

16 *Correspondence* (note 5), pp. viii, 33. The letters are dated 3–22 October, and the preface, addressed to the Trinity Chapel congregation, 24 October 1842.

17 *The Record*, 3 November 1842.

18 Proof copy in NLS, Dowd. 531.4.

19 *The Record*, 10 November 1842.

20 Drummond, *Reply to Resolutions* (note 3), p. 4; *Resignation of the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond* (note 14); notice of service, dated 17 November 1842.

21 Copy of minutes printed in *Supplementary Statement by Captain Francis Grove, R.N., and Mr James Cunningham, W.S., to the Members of St James' Chapel, Edinburgh*

(Edinburgh 1843). Robert Pitcairn was an antiquarian and author of the standard history of Scottish criminal trials. Montague Stanley was a noted Edinburgh actor and painter who died in 1844. Like Drummond's biographer J. H. Balfour, Dr R. K. Greville was a distinguished botanist, and with Drummond published *The Church of England Hymnbook* (Edinburgh 1838). J. S. Patrick was an Aberdeenshire laird. Of the original Committee of Friends, Francis Grove, RN, had resigned already and James Cunningham, WS, resigned on 21 November.

22 D. T. K. Drummond, *Reasons for Withdrawing from the Scottish Episcopal Church* (Edinburgh 1842), p. 12.

23 *The Record*, 1 December 1842; pamphlets relating to the controversy between Rev. Daniel Bagot and a section of the vestry of St James's Chapel, Broughton Place, 1842–43, are to be found in NLS, Dowd. 531.15–20.

24 See Deed of Declaration of Trust (note 29 below). Buckmaster ran a tailoring and army outfitting business at 135 George Street (*Post Office Directory*, 1842–43); John Buchanan was the laird of Carbeth, Stirlingshire; and Alexander Stuart was a circuit clerk of justiciary.

25 As trustees for the congregation, Buckmaster, Buchanan and Stuart obtained from John Learmonth of Dean a feu of ground on Rutland Street, part of the lands of Kirkbraehead, by a feu contract dated 19 and 30 March and 6 April 1844. The instrument of sasine, 19 April 1844, which was recorded in the Register of Sasines for Edinburgh, 20 April 1844, recites the binding conditions concerning the architectural design of the Rutland Street elevation which had to conform to that of the neighbouring houses: SRO, RS 27/1711, ff. 250–262.

26 Charles Hugh Terrot, *A Dissuasive from Schism* (Edinburgh 1843), dated 23 November 1843.

27 D. T. K. Drummond, *An Address to the Congregation of St Thomas' Episcopal Chapel* (Edinburgh 1843), dated 6 December 1843.

28 For a description of the church see Gifford *et al., Edinburgh* (note 4), p. 367. Drawings by Wardrop and Reid for the redesigned south elevation, the insertion of a chancel at the west end and changes to the galleries and seating in 1882, and the related petition, 31 March 1882, are in Edinburgh City Archives, Dean of Guild Court records, 13 April 1882. Copies of the plans are in the National Monuments Record Scotland. The stone pulpit and the lectern and panelling in the present St Thomas's Church, Glasgow Road, Edinburgh, were removed from Rutland Place.

29 SRO, RD 5/2705, pp. 44–59. The deed was dated 11 September and 4 November 1844, but not recorded in the Books of Council and Session until 21 February 1896. It lists the twelve men who made up the first vestry: James Mylne, WS; John Shedden Patrick of Hazlehead; Lt. Col. H. F. Holcombe, CB; John Finch; Robert Pitcairn, WS; R. K. Greville, LLB; Andrew Wood, MD; John Wauchope of Edmonstone; James Keith, MD; J. N. Dyce, MA; James Walker, WS; Thomas Buckmaster. Finch was probably the John Finch listed in the *Post Office Directory* for 1842–43 as a hosier at 2 Alva Street.

30 St Thomas's records, 'Memorandum as to the History of St Thomas's English Episcopal Chapel or Church as disclosed in the Minute Books' (1907).

31 Drummond's adopted daughter went to work as a schoolteacher with the CMS in India in 1860: Balfour, 'Memoir' (note 1), p. xxxix.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. liv–lv, cix–cx.

33 *Ibid.*, p. lvii. Annual reports of the finances are included in the vestry minute books; the cash book for 1846-61 gives details of subscribers to the chapel's missionary activities in the Canongate and charitable collections (St Thomas's records). St Thomas's Mission Chapel later housed the Canongate Boys Club and was demolished in the 1960s: see R. Ian McCallum, 'Historical Notes on Chessels Court', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club (BOEC)*, New Series 4 (1997), pp. 1–22, pp. 8, 16, fig. 9.

34 For example see D. T. K. Drummond, *The Scottish Communion Office Examined* (Edinburgh 1842).

35 *Correspondence between Rev. Richard Hibbs and Rev. D. T. K. Drummond concerning the Dismissal of Hibbs* (1854); *Truth Vindicated, or, Some Account of the new Church of England Chapel in Edinburgh* (London 1858), pp. 42–43. Hibbs clashed fiercely with Drummond. The latter pamphlet describes among other grievances the alleged unease of some members of St Thomas's over Hibbs's liberal views on the new poor law and his sermons and writings against the performances of Mozart's opera 'Don Giovanni' in Edinburgh in 1854, which were used against him. It also quotes (pp. 56–58) a newspaper report on 'the heart-burnings, and jealousies, and plottings which prevail in this Free Episcopal congregation'.

36 Under Hibbs's successor, the Rev. T. K. Talon, St Vincent's joined the Association of English Episcopalians in Scotland when it was formed in 1877.

37 Balfour, 'Memoir' (note 1), p. xv; *Report of a Deputation ... of Ministers and Lay Members of the Church of England representing the Congregations adhering to her Forms and*

Doctrines in Scotland (Edinburgh 1847). The deputation consisted of Rev. Sir William Dunbar, St Paul's Chapel, Aberdeen; Rev. Charles Popham Miles, St Jude's Chapel, Glasgow; Drummond; and his friend Dr R. K. Greville (*ibid.*, p. 14).

38 The names, dates and the churches to which they travelled are meticulously recorded in St Thomas's vestry minute books. The colonial bishop was Bishop Beccles of Sierra Leone: *The Scottish Guardian*, 28 February 1877; *First Annual Report of the Association of English Episcopalians in Scotland, formed 1877* (1878). The first confirmation register for St Thomas's dates from 1940.

39 Frederick Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1976), pp. 89–90, 97.

40 *The Times*, 23 October 1866.

41 The letters were published as *The Archbishop of Canterbury and the English Episcopalians in Scotland* [1866–67]: copy in St Thomas's records.

42 *The Record*, 16 December 1872; *The Scottish Guardian*, 4, 11, 18, 25 July 1873.

43 Balfour, 'Memoir' (note 1), pp. xxiii–cix; D. T. K. Drummond, *Scenes and Impressions in Switzerland and the North of Italy, together with some remarks on the religious state of these countries taken from the notes of a four months tour during the summer of 1852* (Edinburgh 1853).

44 This photograph has not been identified, although an engraved portrait of unknown date and artist is held by St Thomas's Church, along with a small undated marble bust about 19 cm high.

45 Reproduced as the frontispiece to Drummond, *Last Scenes* (note 1).

46 Quoted by Sara Stevenson, 'The Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, 1806–1877', *Scottish Photography Bulletin*, 2 (1992), pp. 3–10.

47 *Ibid.* Drummond's relations with the presbyterian clergy were warm and it is noteworthy that he was included in the painting of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland only a few months after his own 'disruption'.

48 *Dictionary of National Biography*, I, p. 976; Harold R. Fletcher and William H. Brown, *The Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, 1670–1970* (Edinburgh 1970), pp. 125–137.

49 Vestry minute book, 1877–1903, p. 483, 18 February 1903. The Davidsons owned the estate of Muirhouse, bordering the Forth, hence Davidson's Mains and other Edinburgh street names: note on Muirhouse, *BOEC*, 18 (1932), App. p. 33.

50 Minute of agreement between the trustees and the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond and Rev. William Scott-Moncrieff, 5 June 1871, 8 and 22 February 1872 (St Thomas's records).

51 *The Record*, 15 January 1892.

52 Balfour, 'Memoir' (note 1), pp. cxxxiv, cxl.

53 *Ibid.*, pp. clxi–clxiii.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. clxxii–clxxvi, quoting notice in *The Perthshire Constitutional and Journal*, 13 June 1877. An obituary also appeared on 11 June.

55 *The Scotsman*, 16 July 1940; *Edinburgh Evening News*, 15 July 1940. In 1988 St Thomas's was raised to the status of a full incumbency. Owing to the expansion of the congregation, members who had been attending St Thomas's but lived in other parts of Edinburgh were gathered into St Paul's and St George's, York Place, which was much more convenient for the north, east and south of the city. That year a chapel was held each Sunday in Fox Covert School, Clermiston. This is now (1997) the Emmanuel Church, Clermiston, an independent charge with its own rector.