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Autograph

The Evangel in Gowrie

Sketches of Men and Movements

BY THE

REV. ADAM PHILIP, M.A.

United Free Church, Longforgan

Author of "The Parish of Longforgan"

"Songs and Sayings of Gowrie" Etc.

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PREFACE



THE purpose of the present work is not to tell the history of Gowrie. Thus far, its Annals have not been written. It is rather an attempt to deal with some chapters in the story of religion and religious life in the Carse, and to illustrate their power and some of their ramifications.

In pursuing this line, the writer has allowed himself a large freedom in the choice and treatment of subjects.

CONTENTS



BOOK I

CHAP.	PAGE
I. THE EVANGEL IN GOWRIE	9
II. HELPING THE REFORMATION	14
III. THE FOUNDER OF THE SCOTTISH JESUIT MISSION	21
IV. FATHER HAY	33
V. PETER HAY AND <i>A VISION OF BALAAM'S ASSE</i>	36
VI. ANDREW PLAYFAIR OF ST. MADDOES	40
VII. THE TWO PRINCIPALS; STRANG OF ERROL	44

BOOK II

VIII. IN THE DAYS OF THE COVENANT	60
IX. ALEXANDER LINDSAY: A PENITENT BISHOP	71
X. MR. HARIE	82
XI. THE WELLWOODS: AN ERROL TEACHER AND HIS SONS	89
XII. THE MINIMANS OF ABERNYTE	143
XIII. GOURLAY THE COVENANTER	148
XIV. DR. CANARIES: A VICAR OF BRAY	151
XV. GLIMPSES ABOUT THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTION	164

BOOK III

XVI. ADAMS OF KINNAIRD	170
XVII. GLIMPSES OF COLLACE, ETC.: 1715 AND LATER	184
XVIII. GLAS OF TEALING IN GOWRIE	189
XIX. THE SECESSION: GEORGE WHITEFIELD	195
XX. THE FOUNDER OF THE REFORMED PRESBYTERY	200
XXI. DISSENTERS	208
XXII. THE BEREANS	231

CHAP.	PAGE
XXIII. JOHN WESLEY IN GOWRIE	259
XXIV. WILLIAM PEEBLES OF THE ORPHAN INSTITUTION .	263
XXV. GLIMPSES OF PARISHES ABOUT 1790	267

BOOK IV

XXVI. IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF EVANGELISM	273
I. THE HALDANE GROUP—	
(1) Rev. Dr. Robert Gordon	273
(2) Rev. David Black, <i>the M'Cheyne of those days</i>	277
(3) The Haldanes	299
II. THE M'CHEYNE GROUP—	
(1) The Situation	307
(2) Hamilton of Abernyte	314
(3) Reminiscences of—	
(a) M'Cheyne and the Carse	335
(b) Dr. Andrew Bonar and the Carse	341
(c) William Burns and the Carse	348
(d) Dr. Moody-Stuart and the Carse	350
XXVII. THE DAYS OF THE DISRUPTION	356

BOOK V

XXVIII. TOM ALEXANDER	365
XXIX. WILLIAM ROSS: STORY OF A CARSE PLOUGHBOY .	368
XXX. CAPTAIN PATERSON AND ERSKINE OF LINLATHEN	391
XXXI. CAIRD OF ERROL	397
XXXII. JOSEPH WILSON OF ABERNYTE	403
XXXIII. THE AUTHOR OF <i>MORNING AND NIGHT WATCHES</i> .	411
XXXIV. PIONEERS	418
XXXV. LADY MARY JANE KINNAIRD	422
XXXVI. A SCOTS SABBATH IN PERTHSHIRE	426
XXXVII. NANCE FLEMING: A LATTER-DAY SAINT	432
XXXVIII. SUPERSTITION AND WITCHCRAFT	439
XXXIX. POSTSCRIPT	450
INDEX	453

The Evangel in Gowrie



BOOK I

I

THE EVANGEL IN GOWRIE

PENNANT is responsible for an oft-quoted statement about the people of the Carse, that "they want water in the summer, fire in the winter, and the grace of God all the year round." It is cleverly put, and, justly or not, the imputation has stuck.

We question the truth of Pennant's epigram.

The Carse, it must be kept in view, is a small district, and its population is sparse. The impulses and sympathies that go with numbers are unknown. We cannot, certainly, point to great upheavals of conviction and of feeling. Nor can we point to names that are inseparably linked with its parishes, like those of Rutherford with Anwoth, Welsh with Ayr, or Boston with Ettrick. The ministries of unique men like these are themselves unique. But such do not exhaust the interest or the pathos of our religious life.

It would be strange were the people of the

Carse irresponsive to the better influences working around. At quite an early period in history the gospel reached its shores. According to one tradition, the first Christian church north of the Tay was built at Invergowrie. Mill gives 431 as the date. Even if this cannot be verified, there is every reason to believe that at an early date the gospel was preached in Gowrie. Christian institutions took root in the soil. Then, too, in Perth and Dundee, at Balmerino, Lindores, Elcho, and Cupar, there stood religious houses whose life, sometimes for good, sometimes for ill, entered into the life of the Carse, and, in every century, and from many quarters, influences have been working to bring nigh the blessings of Christ's great Evangel. There is ample room for a study—and such a study would be eminently rewarding—of the rise and growth of the Christian Church in Gowrie, of the ambitions and progress of its founders, of the institutions and services in which its adherents expressed their devotion, and of its struggles and difficulties. There are many quarries whence facts may be taken. When such a work is adequately done, it will be found that the Carse has played a more significant part in Scottish religious life than is commonly supposed. If in some instances it is a story of intrigue, dishonour, and disaster, in others it is a tale of aspiration, honourable purpose, and godly service, bringing a new lustre and distinction to the name of Gowrie.

But for the present, at least, we offer a less ambitious contribution to the knowledge of its story.

The Evangel has been a great thing in Scottish life. Men have stepped into battle with the Evangel as a rallying cry. They have lived for it, they have died for it, and the bravest and best of our sires esteemed no title more highly than that of minister, servant of Christ's Evangel in Scotland.

The life of Gowrie has felt every pulsation of the national heart, and it has made its own distinctive contribution to the religious well-being of the land, and the religious questions of the day. There are hallowed incidents in the tale, and sacred spots in the soil. The Carse has been the seedplot of harvests behind, and of harvests to be. Some of the great knights of the Christian Church are linked with its story, and, as we read it, we feel summoned to reverence the deeds of many who were dear to God.

If, without the use of possibly heavy statistics, and the somewhat painful exposure of the foibles and sins of lives which the study of Session Records offers, we can show that the Evangel has been energising and organising life, both within and without Gowrie, impelling men to worthy service, building up a true devotional life, leavening lives through its power, we shall have more than achieved our purpose.

It would not be hard for a student of Scottish history to pick out a still more dramatic moment than that of George Wishart praying at Invergowrie; but it would be difficult to match, in simple sublimity, his great prophetic words, "This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's Apostles."

The incident has often been told, but it can bear retelling. It was the year 1545 or 1546, and therefore almost at the close of his anxious, stressful life. He was on his way from Montrose to meet the gentlemen of the west at Edinburgh. On reaching Dundee, Calderwood tells us "he stayed not, but went to the house of a faithful brother, named James Watsons, dwelling in Inner Gowrie, distant two miles from Dundee. That night," continues Calderwood in his graphic narrative, "before day he went furth to the yard, William Spaldine and Johne Watson followed quietlie, and took heed what he did. When he had walked up and doun in an alley a reasonable space, with manie sobs and deepe groanes, he fell upon his knees, his groans increassing; and frome his knees he fell upon his face. The persons forenamed heard weeping, and an indigest sound, as it were of prayers, in which he continued almost an houre, and after beganne to be quiete and so arose and came to his bed. They prevented him as if they had beene ignorant, till he came in. Then beganne they to demand where he had beene; but that night he would answeare nothing. Upon the morrow, they urged him again; and while he dissembled, they said, 'Mr. George, be plaine with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw you both upon your knees and upon your face.' With dejected visage, he said, 'I had rather yee had beene in your beds, and it had beene more profitable for you, for I was skarse weill occupied.' They still urged him to lett them

have some comfort. 'I will tell you,' said he, 'that I am assured my travell is neere at an end. Therefore call to God for me, that I shrinke not now when the battell waxeth most hote.' While they weeped, and said that was small comfort to them, he answered, 'God sall send you comfort after me. This realm sall be illuminated with the light of Christ's Apostles. The hous of God sall be builded in it; yea, it sall not lacke whatsoever the enemie imagine in the contrairie, the very kaipstone'—meaning, that it sould once come to the full perfectioun. 'Neither,' said he, 'sall the time be long till that the glorie of God sall evidentlie appear and once triumphe in despite of Satan. There sall not manie suffer after me. But, alas! if the people sall be after unthankfull, then sall the plagues be that after sall follow.' And with these words he marched forwards in his journey toward Sanct Johnston and frome thence to Fife, and then to Leith."

A few months later Wishart suffered martyrdom at St. Andrews. But his glowing words at Invergowrie still ring true. "God sall send you comfort after me. This¹ realm sall be illuminated with the light of Christ's Apostles. The hous of God sall be builded in it."

And who will not echo his prayer? "Therefore call to God for me, that I shrinke not now when the battell waxeth most hote."

¹ In the United Free Church of Longforgan a beautiful window commemorates the incident.

HELPING THE REFORMATION

IN his work on *The Reformation in Scotland*, Dr. Hay Fleming deals, in detail, with its *Causes*, its *Characteristics*, and its *Consequences*. Among secondary causes he names clerical depravity, clerical ignorance and irreverence, clerical credulity, imposture, and rapacity.

Of primary causes, the chief, in his view, are—the Word of God, books, ballads, plays, preaching, and persecution. James Resby was burned at Perth in 1407, under sentence of a council presided over by Laurence of Lindores, “inquisitor of heretical pravity.” Resby had Wicliffite views; and, according to Bower, “his preaching was held in high esteem by the people.” His death at the stake did not stop the progress of his teaching. Others lived and died for the truth, near by the Carse. In 1528 Patrick Hamilton fell at St. Andrews, in 1543–44 Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Ronaldson, and Ronaldson’s wife, Helen Stark, suffered at Perth, and shortly thereafter, George Wishart, of whose prayer at Invergowrie we have spoken, perished at St. Andrews. Members of the family of Leys took an active part

at the Reformation, and were on friendly terms with Knox. The Grays were more divided.

James Halyburton, a fellow-student of George Wishart and Erskine of Dun, and himself one of the greatest of the Reformers, married Margaret of Rossy. In 1540, James v. gave him and his affianced wife a charter of certain lands in the Carse. For over thirty years Halyburton was Provost of Dundee; and, after the abdication of Queen Mary, to whose ways and policy he was strongly opposed, was called, with some others, to administer the affairs of the realm.

Sir David Lyndsay, whose satire proved so effective, printed among other things the *Tragedie of the Cardinall*, with an account of the martyrdom of Wishart. *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, 1567, are, in chief part, the work of the Wedderburns of Dundee.

We get other glimpses, albeit faint, of those better impulses working in and round the Carse.

At Hodemyre, there was a well, now disused, known as the Baron Well. It was so named because standing there, three barons—Abercairney, Inchmartin, Dunsinane—might meet and yet be in their own property.

This simple but interesting fact may recall to us the close proximity of Collace to the Carse, and the possibilities of influence.

Here, in pre-Reformation days, there was a very learned scholar, Henry Barry, who signs himself "Rector of the Churches of Ryne and Culas," both

churches being then associated with the Carse. Barry seems to have been wide awake, and was purchasing in 1475 the fresh publications of the Continent. Curiously, on one of the books which carries his signature, there is also found the name of Jacobus Halyburton, the famous Protestant Reformer of Dundee. Barry, presumably, was plagued by dishonest comrades or forgetful borrowers. For, on the last page of some of his books, he has written, *Qui eum ab eo alienaverit, anathema sit*—"Whosoever shall take it away from him, let him be accursed!"

One of the earlier publications of the Reformation hails from Barry's parish.

In 1589 Mr. James Anderson, minister of the Evangel at Collace, published a poem entitled, *Ane Godlie Treatise, called the First and Second Coming of Christ, with the tune of the Winter Nicht; showing briefly of our blindness.*

The poem was dedicated "To the Richt Godlie, worshipping, and vigilante Pastor in Christe's Kirke, John Erskine of Dun, especial Planter and Builder of Christis' Kirke within the bounds of Anguse, Mearnes, Stormont, and Gowrie."

Simple in thought and evangelical in spirit, it was well fitted to lodge the truth in wistful minds. And though unable to trace its influence in the years following 1589, we may confidently believe that it was considerable. The little work has once and again been reprinted, amongst others by Dr. Andrew Bonar, who, when minister at Collace,

circulated it widely. Dr. Bonar was attracted by its quaint presentation of the gospel, and, so recently as 1892, in *Youth*, gave a fresh exposition of it.

Of the preachers of the Reformation we know little. Knox, of course, preached at Perth. He was one of those appointed to visit Gowrie, and, as we know, passed along the Carse. Rollock was Commissary of the Carse; Winram, in 1565, was Superintendent in Gowrie; and Erskine had also work in it, "being my cuire," he wrote. Row of Perth had many links with it. Some of the best ministers of the district preached frequently in it, and, it is said, with wonderful success, using no other arguments than those which the Bible afforded them. But in the Carse, as at Perth, the people were profoundly ignorant, and, of those who had been touched, many were "young and rude in Christ."

James Smith became minister at Errol in 1582. He had been a reader at Perth under the ministry of John Row, probably also at Kinfauns, and is described as a man much approven. James Melville, in his *Diary*, has a charming tribute to a reader in Montrose. "The minister was able to teache na offer but annes in the ouk; but haid a godlie honest man reidar, wha read the Scripture distinctlie and with a religius and devot feilling; wherby I fand my selff movit to gyff guid eare and lern the Stories of Scripture, also to take plesure in the Psalmes, quhilk he haid almost all by hart in prose" (p. 22).

Of Wichtand, "reidare at Inchesture and Kynnarde," we have honourable testimony, of which we take note. For, in 1574, under a division of parishes, which embraced all the Carse district and something more, the district was served by six ministers and fourteen readers, whose worth was thus a matter of high importance. Unfortunately for the cause of the Evangel, some of its earlier witnesses proved unworthy. The first minister of Kilspindie was suspended for fornication; the first minister of St. Madoes had a natural son; and the first minister of Errol had "a bastard dochter" at St. Cyrus. Of James Row of Kilspindie it was reported in 1613 that he resorted "over meikle to the burgh of Perth, specially upon the Satterday, that he takes no paine to studie, and is giffen to drink."

But in truth it was hard to man the churches. Amongst the kirks reported to the Assembly of 1593, as "vaikand in Angus and Mairnes," are Inchtore, Invergowrie, Logie, Lundie, etc., and the western end of the Carse was little better served.

Superstitious practices were still in vogue. The kirks were in danger of falling into disrepair. And in some places the people were not resorting to them.

NOTES

I

Lord Balfour writes suggestively: "The ministers did not spare their own order; and their lives were

practically unchallenged. . . . The impartial exercise of discipline as one of the 'notes' of the true Church has never ceased to mark the Scottish Church. . . . The people had the right to elect their minister, subject to examination of his character, learning, and ability; *and at first the casting out of offenders and the restoration of the penitent lay ultimately with them. Hence that original publicity of discipline, which has only gradually passed away.*" The italics are ours. (Cf. *Hist. Account of . . . Presbyterianism in Scotland*, pp. 40, 45.)

II

In the Register of Ministers and Readers in the Kirk of Scotland, from the book of the Assignation of Stipends, 1574, we have preserved an account of the way in which the Carse was served. (Wodrow, *Miscellany*.)

1. Logy, Dundie, Lyff, Invergowrie, Abirnyte, Lundie were grouped together and served by—
 - William Haitlie, Minister, £80.
 - Andro Hany, reidare at Logie and Lyff.
 - Alexander Forbes, readare at Invergowrie.
 - Michael Greig, readare at Abirnytt.
 - George Cochrane, readare at Lundy.
2. Banvy, Fowlis, Langforgund—
 - Nicholl Spittall, Minister.
 - John Blaire, reidare at Banvye.
 - Patrick Mortimer, reidare at Fowlis.
 - Johne Smyth, reidare at Longforgund.

3. Erroll, Rait, Kilspindy—
Maister Alexander Dunmure, Minister.
Maister William Powry, reidare at Erroll.
Nece Ramsay, reidare at Raitt.
Andro Stewart, reidare at Kilspindy.
4. St. Madose *per se*—
Maister David Balward, Minister.
5. Rossy, Inchesture, Kynnairde—
David Robertsoun, Minister.
David Cuke, reidare at Rossy.
James Wichtland, reidare at Inchesture and
Kynnairde.
6. Kynnowle, Kynfawnis—
Maister William Rynd, Minister.
Robert Rynd, reidare at Kynnowll.
James Smith, reidare at Kynfawnis.

Those divisions, it will be observed, cover a somewhat wider district than the Carse. They were served by 20 agents, 6 ministers, 14 readers, with stipends varying from about £90 (Scottish money) to about £10.

III

THE FOUNDER OF THE SCOTTISH JESUIT MISSION

THE commencement of the Scottish Jesuit Mission was an event of no ordinary importance in Scotland. It carries us back to the stormy times of Queen Mary, when Rome was making a desperate effort to regain its lost ascendancy in Scotland, and through Scotland to control the destinies of other thrones and countries. This was the epoch when Knox and his compatriots were laying the foundation of a better national life. In Queen Mary and her favoured advisers, those measures met with steady and insidious opposition; and in great centres of Europe, Scots were intriguing with the most resolute intriguers of the Continent to compass their overthrow.

Looming large out of the mists of these times stands one figure, Edmund Hay, a son of Gowrie.

A little later the famous Master of Gray was intriguing in the Carse, plotting and counterplotting with monarchs and with statesmen. If Edmund Hay stands acquitted of the extraordinary treachery of Gray, he must be reckoned his peer in the strenuousness and in the power of his intrigue for Rome.

Edmund Hay's father was Peter Hay, the Laird of Megginch, his mother, Margaret Crichton of Ruthven.

Thus he was related to the family of Errol, one of whose members, Francis, Earl of Errol, he was destined to reconcile to the Catholic faith.

Peter Hay was Bailie of Errol. "Sheryffe of Arrell," Randolph styles him in writing to Cecil in 1562. He had the repute of being a staunch Catholic. At considerable risk he sheltered de Gouda, and was threatened for his conduct. But he stood to his ground; for in 1565 James Tyrie, the Jesuit who had left Scotland two years before, in company with Edmund Hay, to follow his studies at Louvain, wrote to his brother David, "Gif ze pleis to answer ze may send zour wryting to the Baillie of Arroll, quha will caus it to be send to me." (Cf. Laing, *Knox*, vi, 511.)

Of Edmund Hay's earlier years we have no knowledge. When the Reformation struggle was in progress he went abroad, and the greater part of his life was spent in Italy and France. He studied at Rome. When Pius IV. sent a secret embassy to Queen Mary in 1562, Hay, then at Louvain, volunteered to accompany the papal nuncio, Nicolas de Gouda, to Scotland.

Writing to Salmeron in June of that year, de Gouda says: "And now almost all is ready. There will be two priests with me. One of the Society, Father John Rivat, a native of France. The other a Scot of good family [Edmund Hay], who

volunteered his services to Father [Provincial], and who has resolved to enter the Society. Through his agency I hope, please God, that we shall gain access to the Queen, and that the wants which we may have when we get there may be supplied" (*Papal Negotiations with Queen Mary*, p. 104).

Father Adrian, writing at the same time to Salmeron, describes Hay as a trustworthy, learned person, twenty-eight years of age, son of a confessor, unusually eloquent, prudent, and amiable, adding that he has a noble bearing.

To Hay's cousin, William Crichton, we owe a *Memoir* on de Gouda's Mission. The object of it was, he says, to console the Queen of Scots, who had returned from France after the death of her husband, Francis II., and to beg her to send the bishops of her kingdom to the Council of Trent.

But de Gouda's own letter to Father General Laynez contains the most graphic account of his mission. We shall let him tell the tale, premising, in passing, that Crichton in his *Memoir* adds one or two vivid items.

"Next, a Scottish priest, named Edmund [Hay], a bachelor of theology, presented himself, and offered to accompany and guide me all the way to Scotland. Nor was this all, for with marvellous charity and zeal he remained with me all the time I was there. Indeed, I should not have been able to accomplish what I came for had I not had his aid or its equivalent. Guided by this man, as by the angel Raphael, we first reached Zealand on the tenth of

June, where, through God's good providence, we found directly a Scottish vessel, which was weighing anchor at the very moment we arrived. Thus the Scottish heretics on shore and on board, though somewhat suspicious, had no time to ask many questions or stay our journey, as they would certainly have done, had they but known the cause of our going.

“Christ thus leading us onward we got aboard, and put to sea with a favourable breeze that same tenth of June. Next day, however, so great a storm arose that we were nearly swamped. . . . The day before we disembarked, the heretical Scots, of whom there were many on board, began to grow very suspicious, and curiously to question Master Edmund who we were, and on what errand we had come. He answered curtly, ‘What are they to me? They are of age, let them answer for themselves.’ And so we passed undiscovered.”

It was the 18th June 1562 when de Gouda and his party landed at Leith. “Master Edmund took us,” he says, “privately to a house in the harbour town, belonging to a kinswoman of his.”

In the capital feeling was acute, and, to add to the perils of the situation, the General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk was assembling. Knox was thundering against the wickedness and the doings of Rome. The levity of the Queen and her admirers increased the strain of the situation, and it became daily more difficult for the nuncio to remain in the capital. “We were,” he continues,

“consequently often threatened with extremities, and could not now with safety be seen abroad. On this account Master Edmund took us to his parents house [at Megginch]. They welcomed us most kindly, and concealed us for two months. When at last we were to go to the Queen, they sent three horsemen to bring us safely to Edinburgh, lest we should be surprised or attacked on the road, as there was some reason to fear.”

De Gouda relates the precautions taken, and the craftiness of the Queen, who received them “at an hour when the aforesaid heretical courtiers were at the sermon.” “I asked,” de Gouda continues, “if I might call in my colleague, Master John Rivat, a Frenchman, and Master Edmund, a Scot, who were waiting in readiness outside the door, and who would interpret all her proposals faithfully. She agreed, and they immediately came in. The Queen turned at once to Master Edmund, as to a subject of her own whom she had met before, and began her response in the Scottish tongue.”

Hay was active in the negotiations that ensued, and he and his friends were in difficulties. “The trouble undergone on our account by Master Edmund’s parents and the history of our return to Flanders must now be noticed, and then I will conclude. Such bitter threats were uttered against Master Edmund for bringing us to Scotland, and against his parents for receiving us into their house, that I was obliged to write to the Queen entreating her not to give easy credence to lies and calumnies

which might reach her against them. As to the threats uttered against myself, it would take long to recount them. I will only mention that I was credibly informed that almost all the ports were watched to prevent my escaping in safety with my letters, and it was only by the great skill and industry of Master Edmund and his kinsman, Master William (who have both now joined the Society) that we departed thence in safety. They dressed me as a sailor, and bargained with the seamen that we should be taken on board from a boat some miles out from the port, and separate ourselves from Master Edmund. Thus the guide of our voyage stayed behind for a while thereby to ensure our getting off in safety and to gather together and bring with him a band of young men whom he had collected together to be educated as Catholic in these countries, no contemptible result of our foray into Scotland. His kinsman, Master William, accompanied us as our guide on our return, and showed us so much charity that I can hardly describe it. . . . Other particulars will be more easily communicated by word of mouth than by letter. These points Master Edmund and Master William, whom we daily expect, will be able to set before you more fully."

De Gouda's report is dated Mayence, 30th September 1562.

Edmund Hay followed de Gouda after a short interval. With him were six or seven young Scots, some of whom, after many years of training, were

destined to return to strengthen the Jesuit Mission in Scotland. The little party, after seeing de Gouda, set out for Rome. At Trent, the scene of the great Council, the Father General Laynez received and counselled them, Polanco, the Secretary, furnishing them with letters of introduction to the houses of the Society. Still more interesting is the note carried by Hay to Borgia, the Father Vicar at Rome, describing the candidates. Edmund was already a *Bacillar* in theology, William Crichton, his cousin, "though very young," was a Master in Arts, "and well versed in languages."

Within two years Hay had become a doctor in theology, and was settled as Professor of Scripture in Innsbruck, the charming capital of the Tyrol. The Young Scots Jesuit must have possessed a considerable fascination, for, when orders were sent to Hay, by Polanco, to go to Paris, the Archduchesses of Austria, who were patrons of the Jesuit College, would not allow him to leave. "Now that the queens and members of the imperial court are absent," Polanco writes to Father Canisius, Provincial of Austria, "Dr. Edmund, the Scotsman, may be taken away with less difficulty, and sent towards France." What Polanco thought of Hay may be gathered from his letter to Father Pontius at Paris. "Doctor Edmund, the Scotsman, who is to have charge of our college, is a man very discreet and learned, and of an admirable spirit." Polanco mentions

that he knew the French language. In a letter of almost the same date, 16th November 1564, Polanco wrote to Hay, who was to be Rector of the Jesuit College in Paris, expressing the hope that, through his being there, many Scottish students might come. His instructions to Hay were minute, and here and there are touches which suggest the capacity and equipment of the men. "I shall write to you in Italian to give you an opportunity of keeping up the language. If, however, you find a difficulty in answering in the same tongue, do so in Latin."

The correspondence that remains of Polanco, Borgia, Manare, and Hay, is conclusive as to the place and influence of Hay. His presence is so useful in Paris that Manare deprecates the proposal of the Bishop of Dunblane to remove him to Scotland. While Polanco reassures Manare that there is no present intention to remove him, he and his fellow Jesuit reveal the eagerness of their ambition to recover Scotland; and it was with satisfaction that Hay wrote to Polanco in 1566 how he heard that the Jesuit colleges were gaining a good reputation even in England and Scotland.

By this time a forward movement seemed possible, and Polanco wrote to Hay giving him notice that it behoved him to prepare to go to Scotland in company with Laureo, the papal nuncio, Bishop of Mondovi, "an old, true, and devoted friend of our Society." At Queen Mary's desire, Hay

remained for a time in Paris, affairs being troubled in Scotland. But at length, without the nuncio, he crossed the seas to renew his exertions for the reconquest of Scotland.

Crichton, in his *Memoir*, says that Hay was sent to inform the Queen of the Pope's liberality towards her, and of his purpose to assist in restoring the Catholic religion, "and to assure her that whilst the Pope had it in his power to sell a chalice, he would not abandon her."

In the neighbourhood of Perth, as elsewhere, matters were not wholly prosperous with the cause of the Reformation, and much to the injury of the Protestant Cause in the Carse, Hay was the means of bringing over to the Catholic Church more than one whose loss was important.

In a letter to Borgia (September 1566), Manare speaks of Hay in terms of the highest praise. In going to Scotland, he was going, "as it were, to martyrdom," and he speaks of him as having refused a bishopric several times, and as having given many proofs of his virtue. He and an English friend were "very well tried and known as literary persons and men of great perfection."

The general result of the mission was less successful than was anticipated.

"You will perhaps have heard," writes Polanco to Father Robert, "that a nuncio was sent to the Queen from the Pontiff, that he reached Paris, and as the affairs of Scotland were in a state of confusion, that he sent on in advance Father Edmund

Hay, who by the Pope's orders was to be his companion. When Father Hay had reached Scotland, treated with the Queen and others, and studied the state of affairs, he returned to Paris, and when the Pope had been informed of all, the mission was recalled, though Father Edmund's prudence and trustworthiness were approved by all. An aid of money was also forthcoming, and the first payment to the Queen had been made, but there seemed to be no prospect of the Pope's mission or his aids leading to a good result at present. . . . Truly that country needs the suffrages of the faithful." (Rome, July 1567.)

The following letter from Paris gives a general estimate of Hay's work:—"The reverend Father Edmund their rector travelled to Scotland last year with the Bishop of Dunblane. While there he gave an example of modesty, and refused with constancy the honours which his friends and kinsfolk offered him unasked. He preached the Catholic faith freely in that country and [made] many wise [answers] to the calumnies of the wicked. He everywhere made known who he was and whence he came. Amongst those [whom he influenced] one was a doctor of that sect, whom he reduced [to powerlessness]; another, a man of noble birth, whom he restored to the Church; another, who was indeed a Catholic, but who lived with a woman who was a relative, he admonished so prudently that he immediately shut her out of the house. At London, the capital of England, on

his journey back, he animated and consoled many, both men and women. He did the same good office in writing letters for the bishop of that city [Bonner], who is detained in prison." (Paris, May 1568. Signed, Johannes Boterius.)

One other letter must be referred to (this time from the pen of Hay to Borgia) on account of its frank reference to the Queen.

"Wherefore I will only beg you of your wonted charity towards that queen, to be sure that she is remembered in the sacrifices and prayers of the Society. It may be that some day all things may combine for the good of that sinner, and that she may hereafter become the doer of great deeds who formerly would not consent to sound counsel."

In view of Darnley's murder and Mary's marriage with Bothwell, Hay's language is significant. He calls her "sinner," though he concludes with a hope. (Paris, January 1568-69.)

On his return to France, Hay was appointed the first Rector of the Academy at Pont-à-Mousson in Lorraine. How highly he was esteemed by the Jesuits, may be judged from the circumstance that, in 1568, at the first meeting of delegates in Rome, he was chosen by the French Province of the Society of Jesus, as their representative. For a time, during the cruel days of St. Bartholomew, he governed the province; and still later was chosen as assistant for Germany and France to Claudius Aquaviva, the general of the Jesuits. This post he held till his

death, which took place at Rome in November 1591.

Enough has been said to indicate the far-reaching influence of Edmund Hay of Megginch. At a time when Scottish affairs were of international importance, Hay had his finger on some of the springs, and when the Jesuit movement was covering Europe with its fatal meshes, he was a central figure in the Society, inspiring and directing its operations.

Mr. Thomson Cooper mentions, in his sketch of Edmund Hay, that he is said to have left a work *Contrarietates Calvini*. If he did it was, apparently, judged inexpedient to press it forward.

IV

FATHER HAY

THE sketch we have given of Edmund Hay will suffice to remind us of the pervasive influence of the Hays in the narrower circles of Gowrie, and on the wider plain of national and European history. The story might be expanded. The first Earl of Carlisle, James Hay, was a grandson of Sir Peter Hay of Megginch. Here a brief account is given of the doings of another aggressive churchman, also a Hay. Edmund Hay died in 1591. But before that event took place, a kinsman of the Jesuit was resolutely working to secure the ground which had been won. Two entries from contemporary records may be cited in passing.

In the session records of Perth, November 1587, we read of a fast being appointed to continue eight days, when prayer was to be made to God that "it would please Him to remove the plague of the pests from the towns of Edinburgh, Leith, etc., and to preserve us therefrom, as also to preserve us from the pest of the soul, which is Papistrie's ignorance maintained presently by thir Jesuits and Papists now come in, who press to bring men under the thraldom of idolatry and ignorance, and from the

true knowledge of Christ our Saviour, revealed to us in His Word, and to embrace their superstitious rites and ceremonies, from the which the Lord preserve us." (*Book of Perth*, p. 175.)

From the *Privy Council Records* we glean the following:—1589—Patrick Hay of Megginch, along with his brother Peter and others, denounced as rebels for non-appearance to answer, "tuiching the allegeit practize leading to the subversioun of the trew religioun and perelling of his Hienes persone and estate." (*P.C.R.* iv. 380.)

Behind all these subversive proceedings, Edmund Hay was working. But, in addition to him, and in Scotland and beyond it, fresh and vigorous allies were busy. One of these was Father Hay, a relative of Peter Hay of Megginch.

Thus we read that at Holyrood, 12th November 1600, a proclamation was made against certain Jesuits lately arrived from abroad, especially Mr. John Hamilton and Mr. Edmund¹ Hay. Of the latter it is said, "quha is knawin to have been ane Jesuit of his professioun and ordour, thir mony yeiris bygane:—quhilkis personis, following the unhappie cours of thair ordour and professioun efter that they have busied and occupyit themselffis in dyvers cuntreis, practising, conspyring, and devysing the disturbin and schaikin lows of the publict estaitis thairof, they have now at last, come hame to this cuntrie, resolved and disposed to follow furth

¹ In a note in the *P.C.R.* there is a ? to Edmund, and a proper suggestion that it should be John. Edmund died in 1591.

the like treasonable purposis and coursis heir without remeid be provydit."

Accordingly an order was made, charging the lieges not to rest nor intercommune with those under pain of treason. (*P.C.R.*)

Spotswood (p. 463) says that much about this time, the Pope, Clement VIII., had sent an order to England, warning all Catholics, in the event of the Queen's death, not to admit a man, however near in blood, to be king, unless he bound himself by oath to promote the Catholic Roman religion. At the same time he sent Hamilton and Hay into Scotland—"two factious and working spirits." When the King understood of it he proclaimed a forbid, but they came and "found lurking holes among the Papists in the north and kept the country."

In spite of the King's action they were kept "heichlie to his Hienes offence and displesour and manifest violatioun of the saidis Actes of Parliament."

Proclamation was accordingly made that whoever apprehended them in the house of a resetter should have one-half of the escheat and penalty of the resetter.

V

PETER HAY AND *A VISION OF
BALAAM'S ASSE*

IN 1600 Peter Hay, "an honourable youth," acquired the estate of Nether Durdie in Kilspindie. He was the eldest son of George Hay of Ross, a branch of the Megginch family.

Nether Durdie is a pleasant, fruitful land, and the new laird was evidently a man of considerable powers. Like the head of the Hays, Peter was an ardent Roman Catholic. Sometimes in a week, when residing in France, he heard more than twenty masses. But a visit to Rome awakened him rudely, as it had startled Martin Luther about a century before. The Reformation movement was still proceeding in Scotland, and Peter had gone forth like Abraham, he thought, to worship the Lord truly, and to be blessed of Him in a strange land.

One has the impression, in reading what he says, that a cold suspicion was stealing into his mind even before he reached Rome. But what he saw and heard in Rome of cloistral life, of papal indulgences, of pretended miracles, staggered him. On his return journey through France he had several interviews with his friend, Casaubon. Than

this distinguished scholar, none was more fitted to help him. From Casaubon Peter carried messages to King James. Knowing, as we do, the devotion of Hay to the King, and the part which His Majesty took in confirming Hay in the reformed faith, we may believe that Hay had his part in the transference of Casaubon to England, if not in his appointments to Canterbury and Westminster.

In Perth Hay found Lord Errol, the head of the family, in confinement. To say the least, Errol's action in Scottish affairs had been tortuous. Many were the efforts made to change his views. Through some of these Peter himself found benefit, and, finally, through study and under the teaching of David Lyndsay and his colleague in Dundee, where for two years Peter Hay lived, he "got a sure hold of the thread of God's Word, which is our only guide through this mystical pilgrimage of human follies, of which thread Christ hath left the one end here with us on earth, in His Word, and hath tied the other upon the gate of heaven, which He did first open."

Of Peter Hay's experience we have an account in a volume written by the Laird of Durdie, and published in London in 1616. It is entitled, *A Vision of Balaam's Asse. Wherein Hee did perfectly see the present estate of the Church of Rome. Written by Peter Hay, Gentleman of North Britaine, for the reformation of his Countrymen. Specially of that truly Noble and sincere Lord Francis Earle of Errol, Lord Hay, and great Constable of Scotland.*

It is a small quarto of two hundred and eighty-six pages. At the commencement it has an address to the King, an epistle dedicatory to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and also an address to the Christian reader. In the last of these he tells what the book contains—(1) “The cause of my voluntary recantation of popery, (2) a clear discovery of the tyranny of Rome, mounted in our time to her Meridian or Altitude, and of the treacherous trade and doctrines of the Jesuit, (3) a discourse of the apparent approach of her reformation or downfall.”

There are fourteen chapters. It is, on the whole, a tedious book, though marked by considerable learning and intimate knowledge of Scripture. Chapters I and VI have pleasing biographical touches. In Cap. XI he urges the use of organs, etc.

In 1627 a second volume came from the pen of Peter Hay. Its title is, *An Advertisement to the Subjects of Scotland of the fearfull Dangers threatened to Christian States, and, namely, to Great Britaine by the Ambitione of Spayne, with a contemplation of the truest Meanes to oppose it. Also Diverse other Treatises Touching the present estate of the Kingdome of Scotland verie necessarie to be knowne, and considered in this Tyme; called The First Blast of The Trumpet. Written by Peter Hay of Naughton in North Britaine.*
4 Aberdeen 1627.

This book is said to have made a great sensation,

but we do not intend to dwell upon it. When it was written, the Laird of Durdie had become Laird of Naughton. In Dr. Campbell's work on Balmerino, an interesting account of the Hays of Naughton will be found.

VI

ANDREW PLAYFAIR OF ST. MADOES

THE name Playfair has been a familiar one in Perthshire and in the Carse of Gowrie. In the latter, we can trace it through some hundreds of years. The ramifications of the family have been wonderful, and the individual members of this clan have stamped themselves strongly on Scottish life. In Rogers' *Four Perthshire Families* the student will find many and striking reminders of this, nor will he feel disposed to question the judgment of Dr. Rogers that their claim to consideration rests chiefly on their industry, while the distinction achieved by individual members has been due solely to their energies.

In this district, the first home of the Playfairs seems to have been in Errol and in St. Madoes. Reference is made in the parish registers to Peter Playfair, "agricola in the Kirktoon," "fermorar in the Kirktoon"; to John Plafeir in Carnye, Patrick Playfair in Gouktoun, parish of Kinfauns, etc. etc.

One of the Errol family had established himself in St. Andrews. How much the venerable town owes to the Playfairs need not here be set down.

As in the case of the Wellwoods, there were men

of public spirit and force amongst the early Playfairs of St. Andrews. Within the last twenty years of the sixteenth century there are, at least, notices of Patrick Playfair, who was deacon of the cordiners, appearing before the Privy Council. On the second occasion the deacon was summoned, with other burgesses of the town, and charged with taking part in a demonstration in which Andrew Melville, the Principal of the New College, had been subjected to discomfort. To us this reads all the more curious, as the deacon was an ardent champion of the principles so resolutely maintained by Melville.

Patrick Playfair had a son, Andrew, who was duly trained at the University. The boy, for he was barely fifteen, owed his first position to a cousin in the Carse. This was John Playfair, in the parish of St. Madoes. In 1593 he was elected an elder, and it would seem that it was chiefly through him that his young cousin, Andrew, was chosen teacher in the following year. The minutes of St. Madoes record the decision of the session that "Andrew Playfair, son to Patrick Playfair in St. Andrews, be elected to teche the bairnis in the parische and the otheris about the parische." For this service he was to get "his buirde and service daylie ; alswell for every bairne 6s. 8d. quarterlie." A lordly sum !

Keeping in view the fact, disclosed in a minute of the Presbytery of Perth in 1649, that in that year there were only nine families in St. Madoes where some of the members could read, we realise better the difficulties of the task which lay before the

young teacher, and the restricted opportunity which must have been his in the parish of St. Madoes.

We have no record of his work. As with Wellwood, his purpose was to enter the church; and in 1613 he was ordained to Aberdalgie by Alexander Lindsay, minister at St. Madoes, who was also Bishop of Dunkeld.

Andrew Playfair had a son and daughter. Margaret, his daughter, deserves more than a passing mention. She is described as "remarkable for her knowledge, memory of the Scriptures, and gift of prayer." Her life was one of vicissitude and trial. The wife of Mr. George Halyburton, her father's successor at Aberdalgie, she shared the anxieties and sufferings of that much vexed man. Though a cousin of Bishop Halyburton of Dunkeld, he was a staunch adherent of Presbytery, and, for his attachment to it, was deprived of his office by the Privy Council in 1662. Through troubled years he was befriended by Hay of Balhousie, but was bitterly pursued by his enemies, and was denounced by the Privy Council, in 1676, for keeping conventicles. Six years later he died. Again and again sorrow had swept the home, and out of eleven children, two only—a son and a daughter—survived him. Janet, the daughter, married a minister famous in his day—Mr. Patrick Couper of St. Ninians.

But a renown of a higher kind belongs to his son, Thomas Halyburton, minister first at Ceres, and then professor of divinity at St. Andrews. Of

this noble Scot, author of *The Great Concern of Salvation—Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Thomas Halyburton*, it does not fall to us to speak. Suffice it to recall the link which he has with the Carse through his grandfather, Andrew Playfair, once teacher at St. Madoes.

VII

THE TWO PRINCIPALS: STRANG OF ERROL

ERROL may be called the capital of the Carse. Its central position, its area and its population make it so. Some, too, of the oldest homes of the Carse are in the parish.

Ecclesiastically, also, it has been of importance. (*Liber de Scon.*) There are many Reformation and pre-Reformation notices of it. The lords of Errol gave it a glory, and important men have lived and laboured in it.

Of those this chapter makes mention of two, who, having adorned their office at Errol, came to adorn the Principalship of Glasgow University. The one went directly thence, the other served elsewhere for a time. Both left their mark at Errol.

More than two centuries divide them. Yet they are not unfitly associated together. Some of their experiences were similar, for both fell under the suspicion of their brethren. They were both able and erudite, keenly interested in thought and speculation. Both were famed for their power—the one for oratory, the other for controversial acumen—

and, in administrative capacity, both showed themselves remarkable men.

To both Errol owes something, Glasgow more. Each is worthy of the title which the earlier received, "doctus et accutus," and both claim our admiration. John Strang is the one, John Caird the other.

The sources for a sketch of Strang are few. There are, of course, the ordinary University and Church Court notices. Here and there, also, in our early Church histories, there are references to the part he played in Kirk affairs, and there are incidental allusions elsewhere. But the chief sources are three—(1) Strang's own writings, (2) Robert Baillie's account of him, prefixed to Strang's book on Scripture, (3) Wodrow's MSS. Collection (Biographical) in the library of Glasgow University. In this work, No. 16, vol. ii. contains *Collections upon the Life of Mr. John Strang, D.D., Minister at Errol, and Principal of the College of Glasgow.*

It commences thus: "This learned and pious man is well known by his works in print,—not only in this Church, but through all the protestant, and even the popish Countreys. His Colleague in the same University, who could not but exactly know the Doctor, the Learned Mr. Robert Baillie, hath given some Account of his life, before his Book, *De Interpretatione et perfectione Scripturae*; and I shall bring it in here, with some other things I meet with, in Mr. Calderwood, as far as he goes; and after his period, I give my Account of him from some original papers, and Letters of his, and of

other persons, in my Hand, and hints concerning him, which I have had from old Ministers, who knew him; and his great and just Reputation for Learning, Requires that he should have a room in this Work, Thô I am sorry my materialls fall so short of what we owe to his Memory."

Strang was a west-country man, being born at Irvine in 1584. Here his father, a person, according to Baillie, of a very good character, was minister. The Strangs, however, really belonged to Fife—to the old family of Strang of Balcaskie. While but a child of four, John Strang lost his father, but ere long his widowed mother married Mr. Robert Wilkie, minister of Kilmarnock. More than a tradition of his capacity at school has come down to us. Amongst his schoolmates was Zachary Boyd, who used to say that, "when condisciple at Kilmarnock with Mr. Strang, he constantly observed a modesty, and piety in him, superiour to all his Fellows." The highest honours awaited those two school friends. Strang became Principal of Glasgow, Zachary Boyd was thrice rector of the same University.

In 1596 young Strang was sent to St. Andrews, "to be under the Inspection of his Kinsman, Mr. Robert Wilkie, principal there; that he might study the Greek tongue and philosophy." There, we are told, "he equated, if not surpassed his fellow-students." In four years he got his degree—M.A. Almost immediately afterwards he was unanimously chosen to be a regent in St. Leonard. Here, for

some years, he taught with faithfulness and fruit. Baillie testifies that he was second to none in Scotland in philosophical matters, especially in disputing.

Strang's connection with the Carse became close in 1614, when, on 16th April he was settled at Errol. Amongst those who recommended him besides the professors, was Alexander Henderson of Leuchars, the same who under God was a means of blessing to James Wellwood, the Errol Schoolmaster.

The twelve years which Strang spent at Errol were eventful, both in his own life and in the history of the Kirk.

Amongst the distinguished persons then in the Carse, perhaps the most illustrious was the head of the family of the Hays—the Earl of Errol. Lord Errol had his residence in the parish ministered to by Strang, but was out of sympathy with the Scottish Church. He kept Mr. Hay, “a learned Jesuit in his Family, who had subdued the most part of his Family to popery, and was like to prevail with many in the neighbourhood to take the same course.” It was commonly thought that no one was more likely to recover Lord Errol and his family than Mr. Strang, and thus the concurrence in his settlement was general. “And the Lord,” writes Wodrow, “so remarkably blessed his Labours, that he preserved his whole parish, and the neighbourhood from the Infection, and stopped the spreading of popery there; and thô he could not

bring the Earle himself perfectly to embrace the Truth, yet his Conversation with, and pains upon him, Brought him to be exceeding modest, in all controversies. His son, Francis, a youth of great Hopes, had he lived, was Brought over to the protestant religion, By Mr. Strang, and his Daughters, Lady Marr and Countess of Balcleugh, Excellent Ladies; These all continued in the Truth to the End."

A man of Strang's gifts and energy was bound to make his influence felt where he laboured, but he does not seem to have had the preaching gift. It is said that on one occasion, when serving a table in Glasgow, he cited a text where the thing that arrested him was the remarkable force and beauty in the particle, *επι*; and, according to report, he entertained the communicants only with critical remarks on the force of that particle. On the other hand, he had, in a rare degree, the teaching faculty.

Strang is the first Protestant minister of Errol of whom we have any accurate knowledge. He had a powerful mind, and was well equipped for the discussions of the time. To this he added many elements of personal attractiveness, and he was endowed with tact and prudence. At times he seemed hesitating, thereby exposing himself to charges of vacillation and indifference.

It is clear that he was an acceptable person to the court party, who cherished high expectations from him. Two years after his settlement at Errol

he was, with others, made Doctor of Divinity by order of the King. According to Calderwood, this novelty was brought in amongst us "without advice or consent of the Kirk." Two or three ministers refused the degree. Speaking generally, the universities of Aberdeen and St. Andrews fell in with the arrangement, while the authorities of Glasgow and Edinburgh were more reluctant.

Unquestionably it was Strang's learning, rather than any favour on his part to innovations and ceremonies, that procured for him the honour, yet it is beyond doubt that the King was especially anxious to conciliate him. In 1617, when the King made his famous visit to Scotland, nominally to see his northern realm, in reality to impose upon it the usages and ceremonies of the English Church, he spent some time in that part of Perthshire which interests us most. At St. Andrews, too, a great disputation, on certain *Theses Theologicae de Potestate Principis* (P.C.R. 1617), in which the Doctors of Divinity took part, was held in presence of King James. About which Baillie tells us that, by universal consent, Doctor Strang excelled all the speakers. His discourse was "pious, modest, but full of the greatest, and subtilest learning." But next year, at the notorious Perth Assembly, the minister of Errol bitterly disappointed the King and the Bishops by voting against the Five Articles.

Scot's account (Cf. *Apologetical Narration*) of the scene in which the minister of Errol took such a memorable share, deserves reproduction. "Noble-

men, barons, burgesses, bishops, and doctors, sat at a long table upon formes; but ministers were left to stand behind, as if their place and pairt had been onlie to behold. The bishops carrie some majestie on their part to dash simple ministers. . . . The pretended Moderator (Spottiswood) took the catalog of names from the Clerk, and called first on the King's Commissioners and their assessors; then the noblemen, bishops, and barons; then the doctors and ministers; and, last of all, the burgesses. All the doctors, except Dr. Strang, voted for the Articles." (Cf. also Calderwood's *Hist.* vii. 320, 332.)

Strang was frequently Moderator of the Perth Presbytery in the absence of the Bishop.

Next year, 1619, he was put on the High Commission, but was seldom, if ever, present at its meetings. "I do not find him," writes Wodrow, "at any of their meetings, and I am sure he would not have joined in most of their work, that is, in Harassing of Ministers for Non-conformity to Perth-Articles."

In 1620 the city of Edinburgh, which had then, according to Baillie, "a priviledge of chusing any Minister in Scotland," put Strang on the leet for a vacancy, with famous men like David Dickson, Andrew Cant, and Robert Wilkie.

But Strang, who was chosen, was indisposed to come. In spite of all that was done to secure him, "he stuck to his people, and would not part with them." "The Doctor," writes Wodrow, "was a modest and prudent person, and lived in the

greatest friendship with his flock, and the presbitry of Perth; and neither persuasion, nor threatened force could prevail with him." When invited unanimously to the Principalship of Glasgow University in 1626 (Strang was a cousin of the Bishop of Glasgow), he was scarcely less reluctant to accept the post, and could not bring himself to leave Errol till a second letter came from Court, reinforcing the earnest solicitations of the University and the Town. In the *Wodrow Biographical Collections* there is an interesting account of the negotiations.

The office into which Strang entered was both arduous and honourable. Till 1621 the Principalship had been conjoined with the office of minister of Govan, but in that year it was disjoined, on the ground that the people of Govan could not be attended, instructed, catechised, visited, comforted, governed by a Principal who was bound to read so many lectures publicly. (*Mun. Glas.* vol. i. xxxv.)

In all, there were twenty post-Reformation Principals, down to Dr. Caird. Of these, Strang of Errol was the sixth. His predecessor was Cameron, of Saumur fame—Cameron's predecessor had been Boyd of Trochrig.

From 1623 to 1626 the office had been vacant; and had Strang got his wish, Boyd, a man of the highest distinction, would have been restored to the position. (Cf. Prof. Stewart's *University of Glasgow*.)

Strang presided over the University for twenty-

four years, and won renown as a scholar, a theologian, and a man of affairs.

Mr. Coutts says of his work, "Amid all the turmoil and tumult in the country, the University underwent a greater development than it had ever done in an equal period of time in its previous history." A commencement, for example, was made in a faculty of medicine.

Amongst his services to the University, his interest in the students, of whom there were about one hundred at the beginning of the seventeenth century, deserves especial mention. Along with the regents and scholars, he sat at a common hall. This, Baillie mentions in a letter to William Spang, the Principal "allwayes countenanc'd," and adds, giving us a glimpse of student life, "the leaving of that table was the great cause of your Hollanders deboshing" (p. 72).

And Wodrow writes of his influence: "I hear from good hands that Dr. Strang was a great encourager of piety; and when he heard of any of the students piously inclined, he was sure to nottice them kindly." But the Principal was reckoned a strong disciplinarian, and, as part of his duty was to administer "the belt of correction" to delinquents, it was an unfortunate experience to draw down his anger.

Of money he was careful, though himself content with the salary assigned him, considerably less though it was than his stipend at Errol, "*etsi illud priori apud Arelianos non paulò minus fuerit.*"

Having influence with the nobility, he got the

buildings added to and improved, and in everything that concerned administration he was most alert. His name is appended to a charter, granted by the King in 1630, in favour of the College, "provyded that the said decreit shall not tend to diminishe the amount of their revenue of victuall." (*Mun. Glas.* i. p. 244.)

Here and there in the records we cross references which light up this part of Strang's life. In one we are told how, in "March 1636, the Session grants leave to Doct. Strang to build a seat for his wife." In 1649 we read of a promise by the Principal, his son, and other professors, to take care of a key given to each of them for the back door of College yard (iii. 539).

Discipline seems to have been difficult. Some of the students used to keep the fees sent by their parents to the regents, and indulged in debauchery. Accordingly, it was enacted that they should pay them on the day of entry.

For a time the University removed to Strang's native town, Irvine, on account of the plague.

His own duties were various. In 1642 it was ordained that he should "expone the hard places of Scripture; goe through the commoune places of Theologie, as he was accustomed to do other yeares; and preside to the disputes."

How he did his work let Baillie tell: "The Principale dytes, on Thursday betwixt ten and eleven, and on Friday betwixt eleven and twelve, his notes on the hard places of Scripture; all he

does is very weel and accuratelie done, onlie the length is the pitie; bot in this it is reason he have his will for no Principall in Scotland teaches one lyne and he hath ane charge besyde would kill ane ox. He attends on everie Tuesday afternoon the private disputes which he can doe better than any of the kingdom; for me, I am but yet a meer novice."

In addition to his knowledge of the great classical writers, Strang is said to have had a unique acquaintance with eastern philology and literature, the Zion of the west becoming a rival of Athens and Rome.

The years covered by his Principalship were stirring years in Scotland, and Glasgow was a centre of the storm. Baillie refers to the prevalence in Glasgow of what he calls "heady men," whose influence he attributes to the excessive zeal of Mr. John Carstares. By temperament Strang did not belong to the extreme party, and thus, in the Church politics of the day, he was at first inclined to go with the King's party rather than with the Covenant. But it was in a halting fashion. In a letter to Laud, written in 1638, the Dean of Durham, Dr. Balcanquhall, describes him as "the learnedest Covenanter in Scotland, but so fearfull that he darre not owne" authorship of a paper he had drawn up on the King's side.

He disapproved of the Liturgy, and helped to reject it. When it was withdrawn, he wrote a paper urging acquiescence in the declaration of the King.

Baillie and Strang were fast friends. In 1638 we find Baillie writing to Strang about the situation of things, and inviting him to "help the Church of God at this so needfull a time."

"Your great place and great abilities does call you to it before any man I know in the west of Scotland. Your first concurrence did a great deall of good to further that universall refuseall of the Book which followed. Your withholding of your hand from the last complaint I hear much spoken of and heavily taken; bot what I can I justifie it, at least excuses it to my power," etc. (Edit. 1841, vol. i. p. 29.)

Baillie was anxious to see Strang come over to the side of the Covenant. "I think," he writes, "it is one of the greatest occasions that ever ye had in your life or shall have to your death, to doe God, our Church, our Country, a piece of good service."

Strang was one of those who at first had doubts as to the constitution of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638; but the protestation against lay elders sitting in the Court, etc., to which, with some others in Glasgow, he had subscribed, was withdrawn at his request. How far Strang's judgment went with this is uncertain, much pressure having been put upon him by friends who told him that, if he did not withdraw, they must "deal with him as an open enemy." (*Letters of R. Baillie*, i. 134.) It is said, also, that he yielded to his wife's tears.

When Hamilton dissolved the Assembly he again hesitated; but, on the following day, joined those

who had protested against it (Cf. Row's Narrative), and in 1643 he signed the Solemn League and Covenant.

Feeling, however, had become so hot that a certain distrust of the Principal was inevitable.¹ Some of the keener men accused him of heterodoxy, having found, "in his dictates to his scholars, some few things wherein he differed in his sentiments from Doctor Twiss and Mr. Rutherford in some scholastic speculations." In his views on the nature of sin, Strang occupied the ground of Rutherford, but differed in what he taught as to the providence of God in relation to sin.

Strang was a Sublapsarian, while Rutherford was a Supralapsarian, and he did not hesitate to assail strongly some of his high Predestinarian views. (For interesting discussion of the point, see Dr. James Walker's *Theology and Theologians of Scotland*, 2nd edit., pp. 18, 55, 61.)

At times Baillie seemed vexed at the Principal's attitude, but discouraged action against him. "Ding his bussiness dead so soon as you are able," he once wrote. But nine years elapsed before the case was settled, and Strang acquitted. Unhappily, however, his acquittal did not remove the distrust and suspicion, and fresh attacks were made upon him.

Strang's name appears with considerable frequency in the Glasgow Commission Records,

¹ Prof. Cooper's language about Strang needs qualifying. He was not a Vicar of Bray.

1646-47. These references show how Strang touched the affairs of the Kirk at many points, and what perplexity he was occasioning to some, at least, of his brethren. His *Dictats* were under consideration, difficulty being found in transcribing copies for those who were to review them. Robert Baillie's reference to Strang's views and learning is worth repeating. Writing to a friend in Holland, he says: "I do not like his (Strang's) withdrawing from the divine decree the act and entity of any sin, much less of free and indifferent actions; in this I think he sways too much to the one hand. But I fear those he refutes will be found in as dangerous errors. . . . I do pryse the man's ingyne and learning much more than before; and think him now among the best scholars of the Reformed Church."

Baillie was anxious about the issue of the Assembly's dealings with what are quaintly described as Strang's "infirmities." "I fear," he writes, "the Principal's case shall be little better." He both dreaded and deprecated his deposition. (Cf. *Com. Records—Scot, Hist. Soc.* pp. 21-34, 191-2, 582-3; Baillie's *Letters*, ii. pp. 377-99, iii. pp. 5-13.)

In 1650 Strang asked the visitors at Glasgow College to give him a certificate of orthodoxy, and, wearied with the struggle that had embittered his later days, resigned office and retired into private life. Simpson of Renfrew declares that he would have been removed had he not demitted

office, which appears to have been the opinion of Cosmo Innes, who records how we owe to Baillie a full account of Glasgow affairs from "the forced abdication of Dr. Strang." Baillie says that "by great studie and violence Dr. Strang was made to demitt his place." He received an annuity of 1000 marks from the University.

Four years later, in 1654, he died. On his deathbed he was much comforted by Robert Douglas and David Dickson. A huge crowd followed his remains to the grave in Old Greyfriar's Churchyard, Edinburgh, where his body was laid not far from the resting-place of his famous predecessor, Robert Boyd of Trochrig.

Strang was thrice married.

After his death two large and important works of his were published.

The first, entitled *De Voluntate & Actionibus Dei circa Peccatum Libri Quatuor*, was issued at Amsterdam in 1657.

It is a thick quarto. The four books cover 886 pages, and there is a copious index of matters—also of passages of Scripture referred to, and of authors.

Strangius hoc fecit—Spangius edit opus.

It is a book of great ability and of more moderate views.

The other volume is entitled *Tractatus de Interpretatione et Perfectione Scripturae, cum Autoris Vita, et Opusculis Variis*. Roterodami 1663. Quarto. The work is in two books. Book I. treats, in thirty chapters, *De Interpretatione sensûs Scripturae*;

Book II., in twenty-two chapters, *De Perfectione Sacrae Scripturae*. Then follows a treatise on the Sabbath, the name of Jehovah, divorce, etc.

It is a bulky work (over 700 pages) of immense learning, and contains a powerful criticism of the Romanist view as stated especially by Bellarmine.

In the Appendix to the *History of the Church of Scotland*, London 1677, Strang is described as "a man of great parts, extraordinary Subtlety, and of a most solid Reason, as appears by his excellent Books."

Strang's daughter, Helen, became Robert Baillie's second wife. William, his son, was a distinguished scholar. For when, in 1668, John Dickson demitted the Humanity Class, "it was appoynted that if ane able man for his place could be fund, he shuld be called to the vacand place of the Humanitie Classe, the tyme being strait and the College already taken up. It is appoynted that Mr. William Strang the Principallis son bee sent for and tried by the Moderators, if he shall be found qualified for the vacant place and upon satisfaction received." Evidently he was qualified, for, on the 16th October, "ther wes assigned to Mr. William Strang the 7 chapter of the 6 Book of the Ethicks to discourse upon on Tuesday the week after as the matter of his triall."

John Blackader, the famous Covenanter, was a nephew of Dr. Strang, under whose eye he studied divinity at Glasgow.

BOOK II

VIII

IN THE DAYS OF THE COVENANT

THERE are fewer visible traces in the Carse of the troubled times and deeds which gather round the Covenant than might have been expected. One writer tells us that he had only crossed one such memorial. That this should be so is strange. For at one extremity the Carse almost touches Perth, and at the other, Dundee, both of them centres of activity and conflict. And then, a little to the north-east of Dundee is Claverhouse.

It is not, however, to be supposed that there are not records which show that it took its part in the movement. If we cannot point to battlefields where the flag of the Covenant was unfurled, if we have no Drumclog nor Priesthill of which to tell, and if dreaded dragoons did not carry fire and sword through our borders and drench our hillsides with blood, as they drenched the hills of Ayrshire and Annandale, we have yet names to cherish, of which the world was not worthy, and deeds to remember, both noble and base.

A close link connects each of the parishes of the Carse with the movement, and its families and their retainers were actors in the fray. During the Reformation struggle, the Errols and the Grays were the dominant power amongst the great families; in the days of the Second Reformation and the covenanting struggle, it was rather the Kinghorns and the Kinnairds.

The lack of deep religious conviction led too many of the ministry to change their colours with the time. Patrick Galloway, a minister of Fowlis and Perth, "a man of many pensions," was won by the Court, and cast his considerable influence in favour of Episcopacy. Robert Lawrie, son of an old Longforgan minister, was one of those who favoured the Covenant. But, turning a somersault, the "Nest Egg," as he came to be called, adopted Episcopacy shortly after the Restoration, and died Bishop of Brechin. George Halyburton, described by a historian (Kirkton) as one who had made more changes than old, infamous Eccebolius, and was never thought sincere in any, deserted his principles at the Restoration, and was consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld. His immediate successor was, likewise, a renegade, while men like Fowler of Kinfauns, Bell of Errol, and Campbell of St. Madoes, conformed in 1662.

But things were not wholly allowed to drift throughout the struggle. From the minutes of Perth Presbytery it appears that a strong feeling existed in the city and the neighbourhood against

the Service Book; and, in November 1637, a supplication against it was subscribed by the parishioners of Perth, Collace, St. Martins, Kilspindie, etc., craving to be exhibited the next Council day, before the Lords of the Secret Council. Familiar Carse names appear in the list of those who assisted the movement which overthrew Episcopacy and restored Presbytery in 1638, and who shared in the steps that were taken by the Covenanters to secure co-operation at this fateful juncture. A minute of Presbytery thus describes it:—

“Att Perth, 29th August 1638, Mr. John Robertson, Moderator.—This day a motion was given in to the brethren for fear that any man suld be corrupted among them with budds and bryberie; that everie ane of them suld gyff ther aith that they were not alreddie corrupted; and that they suld not be corrupted to do anie thing prejudicial to the freedom of the General Assemblie, or to the Covenant; and gyff that they suld be dealt with in any private way to be corrupted, that they suld reveal the same. The whilk they did, all that were present, by the extension of their hands.”

Amongst those who agreed were Joseph Laurie, formerly of Longforgan, Alexander Omay of Errol, Thomas Hallyburton of Kinnoull, who, before being translated to Errol eighteen months later, was called upon by the Presbytery to “subscribe the Covenant and promise by oath not to delapidate the benefice during his tyme there.”

Then, in September 1638, the Presbytery met

to elect commissioners to the Glasgow Assembly. It is indicative of a change that at this meeting, for the first time for years, representative elders were present from the various Kirk-sessions, including Sir Thomas Blair, of Balthayock, for Kinnoull; Robert Hunter, in Over Fingask, for Kilspindie; Patrick Hay, of Leys, for Errol; Thomas Moncur, in Seggieden, for Kinfauns;—all, it appears, influential men.

At both ends of the Carse were men who distrusted Laudian Episcopacy, and dreaded what savoured of popery. The stout Earl of Kinghorne, celebrated by Lithgow as “one who made profession of Christ’s Reformed Church by cleare confession,” was then in Castle Huntly. He and Blair of Balthayock were among those appointed by the Privy Council in 1642 for the apprehension of Jesuits, seminary and mass priests, and such as go on pilgrimages to chapels and wells, and Kinghorne fought on the side of the Covenant at the Battle of the Bridge of Dee.

A stone in Longforgan carries the inscription: “Hir rests ane trev covenanter, Androv Smyth, in Huntlie, aged 63, 1643. My savl to praise the Lord. A.S.; E.F. Memento Mori.”

1643 was a historic year in Scotland’s story, and possibly Andrew Smith, the true Covenanter, was a descendant of the brave worthy of Longforgan, who, some centuries before, shielded Wallace—a yet earlier champion in freedom’s sacred cause.

In the wall surrounding the little churchyard of

Benzie are two stones, one bearing the date 1637, the other 1643.

The years that followed were very troubled. War was everywhere, with its inevitable consequences. After the battle of Tibbermore, in 1644, the Highland host "sacrilegiously killed and roasted sheep in the church of Kinnoull, and burned the Communion Tables and other seats for firewood."

Some of the ministers were absent in camp, and their people were under arms. Worship was carried on under difficulties — sometimes it ceased to be observed. In a minute of Kinfauns it is stated: "The ordinar exercise was intermitted, becaus baith pastors and people were gone out in armes to the border, to stand in defence of their country, religion, and libertyes."

Mr. Mylne of Longforgan was absent from his post for several months. The Church minutes run:—

"1650 November.—The Commission of Assembly appoynts Mr. Alexander Mylne to attend the Lord Brechins regiment for the space of two moneths for performing ministeriall dueties to them, and that he repair to them with diligence."—S.H.S. *Glasgow Com. Records*, iii. 134.

"1651 March.—The Commission appoints againe Mr. Alexander Mill, minister at Longforgane, to Brichins regiment and his stay to be for two moneths from his entrie, and that letters be written to the Presbyterie to send him foorth with diligence."—S.H.S. *Glasgow Com. Records*, iii. 345.

Of others a similar tale may be told.

One circumstance, in connection with the family of the Rev. John Hall of Kilspindie, who died in 1656, deserves to be noted. Several of his children were baptised in Perth. Why this should be so is not easily explained; but a probable reason has been suggested. If in the eighteenth century, as Mr. Henry Graham has vividly reminded us, too many of the manses of Scotland were scarcely worthy of the Church, in the seventeenth in many places there were practically none. About Hall's time several of the country ministers lived in Perth. No doubt John Hall did so, and in this we have, probably, the key to the fact mentioned above, and also a suggestion of the difficulties under which the ministry of the gospel was maintained.

To these difficulties we must add the condition of the roads, bad, indeed, at all times, but which, in inclement seasons, were practically impassable. Lamont speaks of there being hardly any passage to church in the spring of 1661.

General Monk passed more than once through the district. He is said to have spent a night at Mylnfield House. According, also, to tradition, he is said to have occupied Fowlis Castle as a station for cavalry, and to have used its church as a stable.

Cromwell was masterful towards the Church courts. Two officers of the English garrison at Perth appeared before the Presbytery in 1655, claiming power "in Cromwell's name, not to suffer such meetings to be, but to dissolve them." Whereupon, according to the minute, "the Moderator

protested that it was an encroachment upon the liberties of the Church of Christ, and did appoint the Clerk to mark the samine, to the whilk protestation all the brethren present did adhere."

The Presbytery was to be called, "at conveniencie," by the Moderator. Which proved to be soon, for within less than a month a meeting was held, not at Perth, but at Kilspindie, probably, Dr. Wilson thinks, as being more out of the reach of the English garrison.

The situation was perplexing and sometimes difficult to read. Parties were sharply divided, and their division again gave opportunities for other parties. In the neighbourhood of Perth, Quaker views took a considerable hold. Colonel Daniel, writing to Monk in 1657, decries "this generation of stupid Scottish people," and tells him how he was going to throw all the water he could on the business.

But on the whole the position had grown easier. In 1656 it was reported that all corners in the shire were peaceable, "and if the harvest bee faire are like to be full of plenty, soe that if God move the Parliament to lessen our Assesse, all former losses and crosses will soone bee forgott."

It was, however, only for a season. The restoration of King Charles changed the position. Little by little, things drifted from bad to worse, and, before the House of Stuart fell, the Carse had many a tale to tell of honourable endurance and vexatious oppression and persecution.

Thriepland in Perth was exacting and imperious. He did his utmost to check conventicle keeping, and was knighted in 1674 for his services. The then Laird of Castle Huntly was married to Lord Middleton's daughter, and supported his cause. Sir George Kinnaird, of Rossie, was equally exasperating, winning a peerage as his reward.

Amongst those condemned for going to places to pray were Howieson, Patrick Crie, Thomas Ogilvie, in the Carse of Gowrie. The Laird of Balhousie was fined for attending a meeting at Glencarse. Others besides Balhousie and these Carse men suffered for frequenting conventicles. "Upon July 14th," so runs the Decree of Council, 1672, "the council find it proven that Meggins younger, Jean Campbell, spouse to Meggins elder, were at a field conventicle kept at Glendoick, and Alexander Chrystie and Thomas Keltie were present at field conventicles; and fine Meggins elder in five hundred pounds Sterling for the transgression of the acts of Parliament by his lady; and ordain Meggins younger to continue in prison, till his father pay his fine. They fine Keltie and Chrystie in five hundred merks each; and in regard to Peter Hay of Lees, by his own confession was present at the said conventicle in Glendoik, he is fined in a thousand merks. . . . And all of them are to remain in prison till they pay the said fines to Sir William Sharp his majesty's cashkeeper."

Young Megginch, it may be mentioned, had been carried a prisoner to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh; James Mercer, his tutor, was confined to Edinburgh;

Peter Hay was confined to his chamber in Edinburgh. (Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 191-3. Edin. 1829.)

Balhousie's fine and that imposed on Megginch the elder were quite arbitrary. But Lauderdale found pleasure in adding to their rigour; and, when paid, used to banter them with the taunt: "Gentlemen, now ye know the rate of a conventicle, and shame falls them first fails."

Judging by the severity of the measures taken to repress conventicles and kindred movements, we may infer that sympathy with them was pretty considerable. Wedderburn of Liff, who was deprived by Acts of Parliament in 1664, was summoned before the Privy Council in 1673 for keeping a conventicle in his own house, and was imprisoned until he found caution not to do so again, "or take on him a voluntary banishment." In 1676 the town of Perth was fined for conventicles. One of the bishops in 1678 expresses surprise at "the great and insolent field conventicles in Perthshire." When an attempt was made in 1682 to settle an incumbent at Dron in place of Mr. Pitcairn, who, though outed in 1662, yet laboured at the hazard of his life amongst his much attached people, Mr. Drummond of St. Madoes, who was to serve the edict, was roughly refused a hearing.

Subsequent chapters will illustrate other sides, or special facts of the Covenant. Meantime, we close with an account of a conventicle held in the

neighbourhood of Megginch, with what results will appear.

A well-known field preacher, William Reid, who latterly was the famous minister of Dunning, came, in the course of his wanderings, to Megginch to hold a conventicle. Arriving the night before, he ventured to seek shelter at the mansion of Megginch. This was cheerfully granted. But he had not been long in the hall of the servants before his humour and his conversation had won their hearts. Hearing of the good company of the visitor, the laird came to the hall to get his news. The conversation happened to turn on the rumoured conventicle which, Megginch declared, he was determined to scatter. "Why," asked the visitor—"why hinder the people from meeting to worship God in their own way? What ails you at them?" "I don't know," said the laird; "only I am resolved to put them down, and to apprehend, if I can, the fanatical preacher." "If that is your purpose," observed the stranger, "I may be of use to you, as I know the man well. If you will go to the meeting, and sit quietly till the service is over, I engage to hand him over to you, to be dealt with as you may think proper." "A bargain," quoth the laird.

Next day they set off for the conventicle. Seeing the laird with the preacher, the people were alarmed, thinking that he had taken him prisoner. But Reid signalled to them quietly not to leave, and preached to the throng with arresting power. Megginch was astonished and impressed. When the service

was over Reid went to him, saying that, according to the bargain, he now gave himself up to him. To which Megginch replied that he had changed his mind about conventicles, that hitherto he had blamed them unjustly, but that, for the future, he would have nothing to do with any measures against them.

IX

ALEXANDER LINDSAY : A PENITENT BISHOP

NO one has read the *Lives of the Lindsays*, by Lord Lindsay, or the *Land of the Lindsays*, by Jervise, without being struck by the endless ramifications of this powerful clan. In feudal times there were over a hundred different minor families or houses of Lindsays flourishing in Scotland, chiefly in Angus and the adjacent counties, "many of them powerful independent Barons, holding *in capite* of the Crown—many more, vassals of the House of Crawford . . . the whole clan thus forming, collectively, more particularly during the fifteenth century, a great barrier and breakwater between the fertile Eastern Lowlands and the lawless clans of the Highlands."

The enterprise of the clan has been notable, and many have distinguished themselves, for good or ill, in the highest places of Church and State. In the Scottish Church, for example, a Lindsay has been Archbishop of Glasgow, and bearers of the same name have occupied the sees of Aberdeen, Ross, Brechin, and twice, at least, the see of Dunkeld.

When King Charles was crowned at Holyrood in 1633, David Lindsay, the Bishop of Brechin, preached; Alexander Lindsay, Bishop of Dunkeld, assisted at the ceremony; and Patrick Lindsay, the aged Archbishop of Glasgow, was present.

It is of Alexander, one of the Lindsay bishops, that this chapter speaks.

He belonged to that branch of the clan which formed the family of Evelick in the Carse of Gowrie. He was a student of St. Andrews. One of the earliest facts we know of him is also one of the most interesting. Amongst the church records of St. Madoes the most curious is known as *The Book of the Assembly of St. Madoss*. It commences with a minute of 7th September 1591, and is in the handwriting of Alexander Lindsay, who in that very year had been ordained as minister of St. Madoes. The minute contains an account of the nomination of elders and deacons by commissioners appointed by the Presbytery of Perth. Amongst these commissioners were some notable men, like Henry Guthrie and Patrick Galloway. In so far as the careful administration of discipline reflects favourably on character, Lindsay is entitled to much credit, and, altogether, there are indications in this volume of minutes, which closes in 1615, of interest being abroad.

Elsewhere we have reproduced one quaint extract from this record. We give here another from the year 1594, which preserves the reasons on account of which objection was taken to the

celebration of a marriage. According to the entry, 2nd June 1594, the objector alleged that "the man was an idiot, and nocht of wit and judgment to govern himself," while the woman involved was "ane proud young bangster hizzie wha had goglit him in his simplicitie."

The policy of King James in reference to the Scottish Church was, at this time, fickle and unstraightforward; and at Perth, as elsewhere, there was a sharp conflict between the supporters of King James and Episcopacy and those who disliked and distrusted both. At Court, Lindsay was an acceptable person, and entered into the plans of the King. But he was never so rude in his measures as were some of his brethren. Even after he became a bishop he was inclined to moderation. Mathieson calls him a semi-puritan bishop. "Under favour of such semi-puritan bishops as Alexander Lindsay of Dunkeld," etc. (i. 359).

Such language receives colour from the fact that, during his rule, "nonconformists, known to be such, were still occasionally ordained."

James Melville mentions him in 1602, and in that year he was appointed to attend on Lord Errol. In 1606 he was one of the King's leet of four for the Moderator's chair at the Linlithgow Assembly. Next year he appears at the Synod of Perth, when the question of constant moderators of Presbytery came up.

Anxious to gain his end, the King sent the

Provost of Perth, Lord Scone, a dissolute, vulgar man, to overawe the Synod into accepting, as moderator, the person he named. Row of For-gandenny, who was to preach at the opening of the Synod, received a message from Scone that he would drag him out of the pulpit if he said a word in his sermon against constant moderators. In every sense Row was more than a match for Scone, and made reply that he would give just occasion of offence to no man, but that "he was throughlie resolvit what to speak."

His text was from Amos vii. 10-13, concerning the "Bishop of Bethel." In spite of all that Scone had said, he made it clear that constant moderators ought not to be permitted in the Kirk. But, knowing that Scone did not understand either Latin or Greek, he always referred to the office under the Latin words, *Praestas ad vitam*. At the close, Scone remarked to one of his retinue; "You see how I daunted the minister; but I wonder who it was he preached so much against called *Praestas ad vitam*."

After sermon, Scone wanted the Synod "to stay a quhill upon him till he might be at leasur eftir dinner." This they refused to do, and proceeded to the election of a moderator. When challenged by Scone to proceed according to the ordinance of the assembly which arranged for constant moderators, the Synod "craivit the sight of that act, quhilk could not be produceit and thairfoir they could give no answer thairto. Moirovir, they schew

that diverse of thair number, quho wer at the Conventioun of Lithgow, declairit that they hard not sic a thing mentiounit, let be inactit ; only Mr. Alexander Lindsay (eftir a Bischope) said, ' It wes anis castin in at the tail of ane uther matter, he knew not how.' One askis him, ' Iff confusitlie?' ' Yes,' couth he."

Had Scone had humour, he would have yielded to the logic of fact, for the Synod maintained that, even if the act was as it had been represented, they still could not elect any of the four ministers named, for one of them was dead, and another was at the point of death, a third had refused the office, and that the fourth, Mr. Lindsay of St. Madoes, had, in face of a protest by his brethren of the Presbytery, violently intruded into the office of permanent moderator of the Presbytery.

With the exception of Lindsay, all the members of Synod voted for a free election. Only the courage of Row and his allies made it possible. Scone fumed and raged ; but, holding the roll of members in one hand, and with his other keeping Scone in his chair, he called the names, when Henry Livingstone was chosen. On his way to the chair he was met by Scone, who cried in a threatening fashion, " Let no man be so bold as to come there." As Livingstone began to pray in the name of Jesus, Scone cried out, " There is no Jesus here!" and, finding that futile, overturned the table on the Moderator as he led the devotions of the Synod. The scenes that followed were equally

dishonouring to Scone and to Lindsay ; and, to cap their folly and crime, Mr. Row, the hero of the liberties of the Kirk, was put to the horn, and “ wes much sought for, to be apprehended and imprissoneit ; so that he was faine, with many foule steppis, to lurk heir and thair amongis his freindes ; but evir with courage and great edificatioune quhair he come.”

We have not data, nor are we called here to follow the fortunes of Row. In the following year the Assembly of Linlithgow petitioned for his restoration, and some years later we find him officiating in his old charge. But a grievous change had taken place in the Church. By deposing or banishing ministers, by fining and intimidating others, James had, he thought, compassed his end. Presbytery he hated—the very name he could not bear to hear. It is curious to find the changed form of minutes in Perth which cover all this. At the weekly meeting, the minute was drawn not, “the Presbytery met,” but “the ministers of the bounds.” Kirk-sessions existed in the parishes, but there were no elders in the Presbytery. The king ruled the bishops and the bishops ruled the church. Against this, Row and staunch men like him protested. The good old man was several times censured for absence from the weekly meeting presided over by the bishop. But Lindsay, now Bishop of Dunkeld, who was a fellow-student of Row and valued his friendship, was anxious to save Row as far as might be.

When Row's health required a helper to be settled at Forgandenny, Lindsay, who was the patron, appointed Row's son, and on the day of ordination behaved with a graciousness which redounds to his honour. Turning to Row, the bishop said, "Mr. William, I do not come to this meeting as a bishop, but as your friend and co-presbyter, and I promise that I shall not ask your son any other questions than those which are contained in the Psalm-Book" (or *Book of Common Order*).

After service, dinner was served in the manse, to which Lindsay, who was not invited, came. Turning to him as he marshalled his guests, Row said, "Mr. Alexander" (for he would not call him my Lord), "ye know ye and I were con-disciples at the colledge and Mr. John Malcolme wes our master; wherefore I judge it all reasone that your master be sett at table above yow." "The bishop," adds Row, the historian, "acknowledged he wes exceeding right, whatever he thought within, and the trueth wes, that Bishop wes not verie proud."

How keenly the action of the prelates was represented may be judged by the "sundrie poesies" written against them and circulated in Edinburgh in 1609. One of these, in Latin, thus refers to Lindsay of Dunkeld.

"Arva Caledonius fraterni ruminat agri."

The piece has been translated—

"St. Androes loves a cup of wine.

Dumblane to trifle and Aberdene
 A glorious name to have.
 By chance Dunkel has lighted so
 That Jacob he would bie ;
 But, O, good Catnes, when comes thow
 Thy flock to teach or see?
 For life and doctrine they may al
 Resign it to Argill ;
 So faith has left the Lowland clear,
 Gone to the hills a while."

But we have been anticipating. In 1607 Lindsay was thrust into the position of constant moderation of the Presbytery of Perth, and, on the refusal of James Melville to accept the position, he was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld. This office he held along with the charge at St. Madoes, for which he laboured well. That Lindsay was zealous for the cause he espoused is certain. He was seldom absent from meetings of Perth Presbytery, and in those days they were almost weekly. At Falkland in 1607 he was designated, "Mr. Alexander Lindsay, persoun of Sanct Madoes, appearand of Dunkelden." He was a member of the High Court of Commission in 1610, 1619, 1634; a member of eleven general assemblies before 1619; and one of the commissioners for visiting the new college, St. Andrews, in 1621. He was admitted a Privy Councillor in 1624, "to brouke all honoures, digniteis, previlegeis, and immuniteis proper and dew to the said place."

In 1633 he attended Parliament, and took part in the Coronation of King Charles. Lindsay was averse to the arbitrary imposition of Laud's Prayer

Book, and ended by subscribing the Covenant and by submitting himself to the Assembly.

His arms are to be seen on the south wall of the cathedral of Dunkeld.

An old pamphlet (6 pages) printed for H. Walker in 1641, contains *The Recantation, and Humble Submission of two ancient Prelates, of the Kingdome of Scotland: Subscribed by their own hands; and sent to the Generall Assemblie*, etc.

One of the prelates was the Bishop of Dunkeld. Here follows, *The Bishop of Dunkell his Recantation*:—

“Be it known to all men, I Mr. *Alexander Lindsay*, Minister at St. Madois, forsomuch as I by my Missive Letter sent by me to the Generall Assembly of the Kirke of Scotland, holden at Glasgow, the 21 of Novemb. 1638, did freely submit myself, and dimit and lay down at the feet of the said Assembly my pretended Office of Episcopacie, as pretended Bishop of Dunkell and my Letter promised and subscribed with ample form of dimission thereanent, as the said Assembly should subscribe. And now the said reverend Assembly hath found and declared the said Office of *Episcopacie* as it hath been used and termed within the said Kirke of Scotland, to be abjured by the *Confession of Faith* of the said Kirke subscribed in the yeers 1580, 1581 and 1590. And therefore hath declared and decerned the said Office to be removed out of the said Kirke of Scotland. As also seeing the Reverend Assembly hath decerned Me according

to my said Letter to subscribe a more ample forme of Dimission of the said pretended Office, in presence of Sir *John Moncreefe*, Knight Baronett, Mr. *Robert Murray* Minister at Methven, Mr. *John Robertson* Minister at Perth, Mr. *Alexander Petrye* Minister at Rynde, and *Thomas Durham* Burges of Perth, Commissioners appointed by them for that effect. Therefore and for performance of my said Letter and in obedience to the ordinance of the said Reverend Assembly; Witt you me to have Dimitted, quytdclaimed, and *simpliciter* overgives the foresaid pretended Office of Episcopacie, as pretended Bishop of *Dunkell*, with the whole Title, Style, Name, and Dignitie thereof: Power of Ordination, and Jurisdiction, Voice in Parliament, and usurpat on of the same in time coming. And faithfully promises and by these presents binds and oblidges me, never to exerce, nor use the said pretended Office, in the said Kirke of Scotland; Nor no power of Ordination, Jurisdiction, Voice in Parliament, neither any other Power Ecclesiasticall, belonging, usurped, and acclamed to belong to the said pretended Office. Like as, according to the Act of the said Reverend Assembly, I acknowledge the said Office of Episcopacy to be abjured in the foresaid Confession of Faith; and therefore most justly ought to be removed out of the said Kirke of Scotland; and these whole Premisses I heartily acknowledge, *As I will answer to God*. In testimony hereof, I am content and consents that these Presents be insert, and Registrate in the Generall Books of

Assembly therein to remain *ad futuram rei memoriam*. And to that effect constitutes my lawfull Procurators, conjunctly and severally, *Promitten de rato*. In witsesse whereof (written by *Robert Redhewch*, servant to *Patericke Rosse Nottar* in Perth), I have subscribed the same with my hand, as said is. At *St. Madois*, the 24 of January 1639. Before these witnesses—

Mr. <i>George Paterson</i>	}	Students in Perth.
Mr. <i>Alexander Dundie</i>		

George Boswall, servant to
Sir *John Moncreefe*.

A little later he made repentance in the kirk at *Kilspindie*, and was allowed to continue in *St. Madoes*. But by this time he was an old man of seventy-eight, and in October of this year the “*persoun of Sanctmadoes*” died.

Lindsay, who succeeded *James Nicolson*, Parson of *Meigle*, as Bishop of *Dunkeld*, was the thirty-third to hold the office.

EPISCOPI SCOTI.

3 *Deucaledonius*.

Quas sibi *Lindsaeus* sola virtute paravit,
Virtute, famulas et sibi fecit opes.

Deucaledonius in the epigram should be *Duncaledonius*.

X

MR. HARIE

“MR HARIE,” as he was often called in his lifetime, is Mr. Henry Guthrie. As of his great contemporaries, Dickson and Rutherford, divers opinions have been uttered, so on Guthrie the most contrary judgments have been passed. Robert Baillie, one of the most capable of his contemporaries, calls him “a very bold man.” Guthrie names himself as amongst the soundest ministers of the land; the incisive writer of *Scottish Theology and Theologians* describes him as “a turbulent, ill-set man.”

He bore a name which has been carried by notable men in Scottish story, which was borne, in the days of the Solemn League and Covenant, by three men of renown in the Scottish Church. Of these, one is James Guthrie of Stirling, who died on the scaffold in Edinburgh for his fidelity to Christ; a second is the author of that most influential work, *The Christian's Great Interest*; and the third is Mr. Harie.

He was born at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and died in 1676. His father was minister at Coupar-Angus. After graduation at St. Andrews, he became tutor in the family of

the Earl of Mar. From Guthrie, his first charge, he was presented to the church at Stirling by Charles I. Whilst not unfavourable to the government, he disapproved strongly of the measures adopted to force a liturgy on the nation, and he subscribed the Covenant.

About this time Guthrie took a considerable share in the work of the Church, and figured largely in a controversy where he seemed partially successful—in which, however, he has failed before the judgment of history to vindicate the ground which he thought it right to take up.

The question arose in connection with certain meetings which had originated mainly in Ireland, where, when their ministers had been driven out, people had betaken themselves to conventicles, and thus had formed the habit of meeting among themselves for worship. It is easy to see how dangers might arise. Henderson, for example, the leader of the Covenant, disliked the innovation and distrusted it. Many in the Church shared these views. And had the question at issue only been the due encouraging of family worship and of social worship in church, there would, as the action of the Assembly in 1640 and 1647 proves, have been little hesitation in acquiescing in what was done. At the same time, as Dr. Walker in his work on *Scottish Theology* shows, there was a deeper and a vital question involved. He writes, "Notwithstanding a judgment rather adverse in the Assembly of 1647 the issue was the firm establishment of the fellowship meeting

in which the laity had religious communion and discussion among themselves, and which became a vitalising element in Scotch religious history, developing, as we know, at one period into a system of lay religious activity, which has had very notable results in the Northern Highlands of Scotland.

From 1640, Guthrie drifted slowly away from the men who were directing the affairs of the Kirk. And when, in 1647, the Assembly condemned the engagement of the Scottish Parliament for the release of Charles from the Isle of Wight on the ground that it contained no provision for the maintenance of the national religion, Guthrie, with others, preached in favour of it. In 1648, after the Scots army under the Duke of Hamilton was defeated, Guthrie was dismissed as "malignant."

As Blair puts it, he was deposed for being *dux factionis* in certain "subdolo plots" to deal deceitfully with the Covenant, and "in the business of the late Engagement endeavouring in the time of the last Assembly to get the Engagement approven."

Thenceforth, for some years, he lived in quiet, his chief study being the Early Fathers. Seven years later his sentence was removed, and in 1656 he was settled in the Carse at Kilspindie. We have a record of the procedure, which is full of interest as well as quaint.

The Presbytery minute reads:—

"March 19th 1656.—Compeared Robert Whittet and Alexander Davidson, elders of the Paroch of

Kilspindie, and producit ane commission from the said Session of Kilspindie, dait thereat the 16th March 1656, together with ane supplication in name of the parishioners of Kilspindie, bearing that, seeing they have unanimously nominated Mr. Harie Guthrie, some time minister at Stirling, to be their minister, and given him ane call to that effect, the Presbytery suld interpose their authoritie for their speedy plantation. Ane lettre from the Presbyterie of Stirling was producit and read, giving the said Mr. Harie ane ample testimonial of his life and qualifications, and recommending him to the Presbyterie of Perth, that upon the call of the congregation of Kilspindie, they may receive him in the Lord. Dait at Stirling March 5th 1656, The Presbyterie having perused the premises, doe delay the consideration of the call and nomination until such tyme as the said Mr. Harie be heard preach to the parishioners of Kilspindie, and for that effect they appoynt ane lettre to be wreatin him to come and preach ther the nixt Lord's day, or the Lord's day cum aucht days, and to be present at the Presbytery the next day, the 2nd of Apryle. From quhilk nomination call and forsaid act, Mr. John Murray and Mr. John Cruikshank dissented."

In due course Guthrie was inducted at Kilspindie. The nine years during which Guthrie was minister of the parish were exciting in Church and State, and, after the King's restoration, Guthrie was in the thick of the conflict. Like Lindsay of St. Madoes,

he was prominent in the Presbytery of Perth, and by the will of the Archbishop of St. Andrews was appointed its permanent moderator. This occurred shortly after the Restoration, when Episcopacy was established. The minute runs: "At Perth, the 29th off October, 1662, Mr. Harie Guthrie, minister at Kilspindie, being appointed by my Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, Moderator of the Presbyterie of Perth, and in his absence, Mr. William Bell, minister at Errol, upon the warrant given to the clerk under the said Moderator his hand, to advertise the whole brethren to meet, both for doctrine and discipline, as formerlie, who reported that he advertised the whole brethren, particularlie by letter." Amongst those who came are the names of Guthrie of Kilspindie, Fowler of Kinfauns, Bell of Errol, Campbell of St. Madoes, etc. Indeed, the majority of the Presbytery accepted the oath prescribed by the Privy Council, and declared their submission to the bishop, only six refusing to do so. These six, with one-third of the ministers of the Church, were flung from their charges for nonconformity, amongst them being the flower of the Scottish ministry.

It appears that it was at Kilspindie that Guthrie wrote his *Memoirs*. He calls it, somewhat ostentiously, "an impartial relation of the affairs of Scotland." Impartial it is not, and, in the light of his own "history," many of his criticisms savour of unreality. But it is the work of one who shared in the events (1638-49) it describes, and who helped

to shape them. For us this constitutes its value, and it gives to the narrative a certain vividness. His description, for example, of a conversation with Montrose (p. 41), of the discussion about private meetings (pp. 78–82), of his relations with Mr. John Stuart before Stuart was beheaded (p. 95), and his speech in reference to a letter from the Westminster divines and the declaration from Parliament in 1643 (pp. 136–9), are told with the eagerness of an actor in these events.

Here and there, also, in the little volume, are references to names once familiar in the Carse—Dr. Strang, who had been minister of Errol, Sir Patrick Ogilvie of Inchmartin, the Laird of Balthayock, and the Earl of Kinghorne.

How much the Carse suffered about the time of the Covenant we know from many sources; but he writes of it as being, in 1646, “pretty well exhausted,” and relates how “a few gentlemen of the Carse of Gowrie” joined Montrose, who, when he came to Collace, “was robbed of his friend, the lord Kilpont, by a treacherous assassination.” The story, which, from its local character, is full of interest, is told with a certain animus. As the volume was not issued till after the bishop’s death, the conjecture has been started that there are interpolations in the story.

Into the study of Church government Guthrie threw himself with ardour at Kilspindie. He was a capable scholar in Latin and Greek, and came to the conclusion that a parity could not be maintained

so as to preserve unity and order, and that a superior authority must be introduced.

Guthrie was well rewarded for the services he rendered to the now ascendant cause. In 1661 Parliament gave him a grant of £150 on account of his sufferings; and in 1665 he was, through the influence of Lord Lauderdale, promoted from Kilspindie to the see of Dunkeld. Lamont, in his *Diary*, thus refers to his promotion:—

“1665, Aug. 24. Mr. Harie Guthrie, minister of Kilspindie in the Carse of Gowry, was consecrated at St. Andrews, Bishop of Dunkell, by the Archbishop ther, and some of the adjacent bishops to that diocese. He did succeed to the deceased Mr. George Halyburton. Mr. George Pittelloke m. of Kingsbarns did preach the day of the consecration.”

Lindsay was the thirty-third bishop; Henry Guthrie was the thirty-sixth. He died eleven years later, in 1676—a man of over seventy-five.

Amongst the interesting letters in the correspondence of Lauderdale and Sharp is one in which Lauderdale refers to Guthrie, who was thought to be dying, and asks Sharp to offer the post, should it become vacant, to no one without consulting him.

XI

THE WELLWOODS : AN ERROL TEACHER AND HIS SONS

IN Scotland we owe much to our schoolmasters. As a whole, they have been most capable men, and done their work well. The Carse of Gowrie has had some admirable men. Two of the teachers of St. Madoes made their mark in the Scottish Church. But, perhaps, of no teacher, who ever taught within the shire, could so striking a record be given as of the Errol Schoolmaster, whose life and whose boys are the subject of this sketch. Himself a remarkable man, he had three sons, each of whom attained distinction. One was a confessor in the days of the Covenant; another was eminent as a saint; the third was a public man, distinguished in the State, as well as a physician. All of them have made contributions to our literature. Beyond this, through the Errol teacher, one of the best-known families in Scotland traces its history. We claim that this is a story which deserves remembrance.

About the time of the Reformation, the Wellwoods were one of the vigorous families in the town of St. Andrews. The name appears in

various forms—Welwod, Weluod, Walwod, Waluod, Wolwod, Wollwod, Wolwood, Velvod.

But even before this date we read of Ellyn of Walwode and John of Walwode, in the neighbourhood of Dunfermline.¹ This branch of the Wellwoods became especially associated with Touch.

A glimpse at the St. Andrews Session Records discloses quickly the part which the family took in its public, especially its ecclesiastical, life.

In 1559 we cross a David Wellwood—an elder. He was son-in-law to John Motto, who was also an elder, and town-clerk of St. Andrews. In the same year we find Thomas, a deacon in the church, and in 1578 a member of the Convention of Estates.

That they moved in the best society, more than one entry in the Privy Council Records indicates.

In 1576 the authorities of St. Andrews University were charged by the King to admit “his weilbelovit Maister Williame Walwod” within ten days, under pain of rebellion. The authorities raised fresh difficulties, but the appointment was carried through.

In 1593 we find “Andro Wallad, burgess of Sanct Androis for Mungo Murray, brother of Sir

¹ In the *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* there are frequent references to Welwoods. Walwod (Walwode, Welwod, Weluod) Abraham, pp. 468–88; Adam, 494; Andreas, 481; Catherina, 471; Johannes, 468, 475, 480, etc.; Laurentius 473, 489; Thomas, 492; Willyhame of, 285, 287, 290, etc. Elsewhere we have the form Welyeuth in 1270. Robert Walwood, scutifer, is mentioned in the R.M.S. in 1482.

Johnne Murray of Tulliebardin £1000 not to harm George Oliphant of Bauchiltoun."

In the same year mention is made both of Andrew and William as elders, "both for the north parroche of St. Andrews."

Andrew seems to have had a temper and a tongue. At the inquiry into the life and conversation of the session in 1596, fault was found with Andrew, and it was minuted "that Andrew Weluod mend his rasche speking in the sessioun." Andrew promised to amend.

His colleague, William, was "maister in the Auld College." James Melville speaks, in his *Diary* (p. 272. A.D. 1589) of "Mr. Wilyeam Walwode, Professour of the Lawes, a man bathe in blude and affinitie joyned neir to the maist honest in all the town"; and mentions how he himself had got an act in "favours of the honest men of St. Androis, James Smith and Jhone Walwode, for retourning of tham from exyll to their awin countrey, citie, hous, wyff, and childring" (p. 318).

We need not refer to other incidents to show on which side the influence of the Wellwoods was cast. But it may be added that the women amongst them seem to have been distinguished by the same spirit and sympathies.

To this clan, capable and free, James Wellwood, the subject of our paper, belongs.

Of James Wellwood not a great deal can be said. Scott has summarised the facts of his earlier life thus (*Fasts* i. p. 661):—"James Wellwood,

A.M. had his degree at the University of St. Andrews in 1626, was schoolmaster of Errol from 14th Nov. 1630 to 13th Nov. 1651, and on the Exercise at St. Andrews 26th Jan. 1643." Those dates recall one or two interesting facts in Scottish history. The National Covenant was signed in 1638, and 1643 was the year of the Westminster Assembly. When Wellwood took his course at St. Andrews, Samuel Rutherford was in the University, and Robert Blair was in the first charge. But his student days in St. Andrews were passed under less edifying men. Alexander Glaidstans, who was in the parish church during his college course, was deposed in 1638 for drunkenness, etc.; George Wyshart, who came to the second charge in 1626, was deposed in 1639 "for deserting his flock, the space of eighteen months together, error in doctrine, immorality, and arbitrary discipline"; and George Dewar, who left the second charge in 1626, was also deposed, in 1644, for "drunkenness, malignancy, and disaffection to the great and glorious worke of reformation which the Lord is now about to establish in these thrie kingdoms." These men were not hopeful guides for the people and students of St. Andrews.

Alexander Omev, an unpretending man, was minister of Errol when Wellwood was installed as schoolmaster there. Things had not been flourishing in the school under the former teacher, Andrew Blair. He was, accordingly, removed from his place, and it was into this somewhat

difficult post that James Wellwood stepped in 1630. He had a good deal to do in bringing up arrears. He wrote up Blair's books, for, like most of the teachers at the time, he was the session-clerk of the church.

A lovely spot was the home of the young teacher. About half-way down the Carse from Perth to Dundee, a traveller will observe to the right, about a mile from the railway, the church and village of Errol. Save the church there is nothing, perhaps, remarkable in the somewhat irregular village, but both are beautiful for situation. Built on the crown of a gently sloping hill, near the gates of Errol Park, in sight of some of the noblest mansions of the Carse, and commanding a view of the richest and one of the amplest of Scottish plains, the village, while itself a pleasing object, is the centre of a rural amphitheatre not easily surpassed. The finest view is to be got about a mile to the west of the village. One who loved the spot well writes:—"This prospect stretches, on the one hand, to the Lomond-hills in Fifeshire, and the opening of the delightful valley of Strathearn; and, on the other, to the bold and romantic scenery of those rocky promontories and wooded steeps which form the north-western barrier of this part of the valley of the Tay; while more directly in front are seen the high grounds which rise in pastoral beauty from the very deepest part of that valley. Beyond these is seen the loftier summit of the Hill of Moncrieff, which divides the Earn and the

Tay immediately above their juncture, and which, from the wide panorama which it commands, over what is the richest and also what is the wildest and the sublimest region of our native land, may be allowed to possess some claims to the proud title which its admirers have bestowed on it, in calling it *the glory of Scotland.*"

Even so early as Wellwood's time travellers were struck with the beauty of the Carse. Just two years before the young teacher was settled at Errol, William Lithgow had described it in his *Travels* (1628) as "the Garden of Angus; yea, the Diamond-plot of Tay, or rather the youngest Sister of matchless Piemont." And five-and-twenty years earlier, Monipennie had spoken of Gowrie as a "fertill ground for corne." But while yielding our approbation to this glowing account of its fields of wheat and rye and corn, and its well-stocked orchards, we can believe that there was another side to the picture. For at that time the Carse was rather swampy, pathways were few, and industry had its dangers as well as its delights. Not very long before this time a tenant, in renewing his lease, had to promise to render service, amongst other things, in watching the orchard from robbers and "fra entres of ony bestiall." Lithgow has a less kindly account to give of the people than of their home. He speaks of them "being onely defective in affableness, and communicating courtesies of naturall things, whence sprung this Proverbe, the kearlles of the Carse." That this was

a reproach may be gathered from an entry in the Records of the Perth Session for 1579, where Thomas Malcolm was convicted for having called Thomas Brown a "loun carll," "for the whilk the assembly ordains him to be put in the Tolbooth, there to remain two hours, and to pay 6/8^d to the poor." It was the "loun carlls" of Errol whom James Wellwood had come to teach.

Country teachers in those days were not treated luxuriously. According to an act passed in 1696, the heritors were to provide a commodious school-house, and a salary for its master not under 100 merks (£5, 11s. 1½d.) but not above 200, with such additions as formerly belonged to the readers and clerks of session. In the Longforan records we read of a small sum "given out for four dealls to be a bed to the Schoolmaster."

One fact, almost contemporaneous with the settlement of James Wellwood, may be given, sadly indicative of the state of things, educationally, in the neighbourhood. A minute of 28th March 1649 shows that there was submitted to the Presbytery of Perth, on that day, "a list of those families wherein some of them can read within the parishes following:—Scone, 25; Dron, 36; Dunbarnie, 55; St. Madoes, 9; Rynd, 25; Kinnoull, 18; St. Martins, 13; Redgorton, 9; Arngask, 16; Abernethie, 100." Errol can hardly have had more.

In 1539, when the nuns of Elcho (and there were usually eleven), had to sign a contract, with the exception of the prioress and Catherine Lin-

dores, who subscribed "with their hands," all the others are simply said to have "touched the pen."

The fact here mentioned has a humorous side, in the light of another incident in the history of Elcho. When, in 1547, the English commander was fortifying Dundee, he sent the force "to burn a nunnery within two miles of St. Johnston, who brought away all the nuns and many gentlemen's daughters at school with them." The reference is to Elcho. As Dr. H. Fleming well says, "One naturally wonders what the gentlemen's daughters can have been taught in a nunnery of which none of the nuns save the prioress could write her own name." (*Reformation in Scotland*, p. 98. Cf. also footnote pp. 97-8.)

The tenth Canon of Aberdeen (1636) may help us, perhaps, better than anything else to realise what was looked for in a teacher of that time. No one was to teach but such as was meet, "as well for his dexteritie in teaching, as for his learning, and sober and honest conversation to have care of Children, and bringing up of the Youth. But especiallie it is to be regarded, That they bee of good Religion, and obedient to the Orders of the Church.

"2. All Schoole-Masters shall teach in Scotish or Latine (as Children are able to learne) the Catechisme: And when anie Sermon is, they shall bring their Schollers to the Church; and there see they behave themselves quyetlie, and soberlie: and, at tymes convenient, examine them what they have learned."

One large change was brewing at Errol when the young teacher was settled in 1630. At that time, Errol Estate was in the hands of the Earl of Errol. Lord Errol was a Hay. James II., in 1452, gave an earldom to the eldest branch of this old family. Some of them were talented men, and gave notable service in the State. One of them was an intimate friend of John Erskine, the Laird of Dun, and was an early professor of religion in Scotland about 1539. Wodrow, in his *Collections as to the Life of John Erskine*, says: "There wer some, even among the nobility, William Hay, Earle of Errol, a person of great learning, both in humanity and divinity; he suffered much for the cause of Christ. This nobleman was well versed, specially in the New Testament, and could rehearse the choisest sentences of it, especially such as served to establish solid comfort in the soul, by faith in Christ. Mr. Robert Alexander, who had been his paedagogue, set forth my Lord's Testament, in Scottish meetre, and it was printed at Edinburgh."

The eighth earl was one of the four popish lords who made themselves notorious during the reign of James VI. The next earl maintained a splendid retinue; but he was forced, at last, by his extravagance, to part with the estate at Errol.¹ This occurred in 1634, four years after Wellwood was appointed teacher. Otherwise there was little that

¹ Under date 22nd February 1671, Lauder, in his *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs*, i. 16, Ban. Club, has the following reference to the sale: "The Barronie of Arrol being sold in the Earles minority to my Lo. Kinnoullle for 589,000 mks."

was eventful. Of local interest, perhaps the most curious thing is a letter from the Privy Council to the earl in 1633, in reference to the visit of Charles I. to Perth in that year.

In course of time Wellwood married Margaret Dury. They had four children—John, Andrew, James, and a daughter Helen. Of Helen least is known. One of Andrew's letters, written when he was dying, is addressed to her. It is full of affection and of pleasant communings with her about God. "You are pretious unto me, since I knew you in some measure a seeker of God. . . . The saints have a long, large and full Charter. . . . Think you He will withhold Journey-bread, if you be a traveller to the higher Canaan? . . . Bless Him at all times Who hath disposed your lot so, as these only great things have taken you by the heart. . . . Cast all upon Him, to the least Bit of Bread; and ye shall find a great Ease. They are miserable, who must care for themselves, and what concerns them, and have not a God to run to, on whom they may lay themselves, and all their Burdens. . . . Never any of the Saints could say, He failed them, in a Jot of what he promised them."

The young teacher who came to Errol in 1630 did not intend to stay there finally. His purpose was to study for the Church.¹ He was on the exercise at St. Andrews in 1643. His cast of mind was fitted to receive impressions from Samuel

¹ "In 1651 a Robert Welwood was an Expectant going to Orkney." (*Glas. Com. Records.*)

Rutherford, and, in what has come down to us from him, there is a certain sparkle of that most rich of Scottish saints. Perhaps, however, Wellwood owed most to the famous covenanting leader, Alexander Henderson. In Wodrow's *Analecta* the following anecdote is told :—“ Mr. James Wellwood, a minister, in his younger days was deeply exercised. Mr. Alexander Henderson was minister of Leuchars, near by him, and gave him a visit, and after long conference, could gain noe grounds upon him, for Mr. James was of a deep piercing wit, and repelled all Mr. Alexander could say to him by way of comfort ; so he goes to leave him. Mr. James grips Mr. Henderson's hand fast at parting. Mr. Alexander asked him why he expressed so much kindness, ‘for,’ says he, ‘I never did you any courtesy or personal advantage.’ ‘I love you, Sir,’ said Mr. James, ‘because I think you are a man in whom I see much of the image of Christ, and who fears God.’ ‘Then,’ said Mr. Henderson, ‘if I can gain no more ground on you, take that—1 John iii. 14, *By this we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.*’ Upon this Mr. James anchored faith, and this was the first thing that brought comfort to him. After this they parted ; but within a little he grew soe in the sense of the love of God, that the manifestations of the Lord allowed him all his lifetime were wonderful.”

Wellwood's first charge was at Tundergarth in Annandale. Before he had been long there a heavy blow fell on him. Margaret Dury died in 1659,

and he was left with four motherless children to take care of. Wellwood himself was a somewhat ecstatic man. He is said to have spent the whole of the night, following his wife's death, in prayer and meditation in his garden at Tundergarth. Next morning one of the elders came to see him and to condole with him. His reply was, "I declare I have not all this night had one thought concerning the death of my spouse; I have been so wholly taken up with the meditation of heavenly things. I have been this night upon the banks of Ulai, plucking an apple here and there."

One of the fine passages in the *Heart of Midlothian* is where Davie Deans speaks to Reuben Butler of his wife's death, and in it he attaches the saying about the banks of Ulai, not, as he should, to Wellwood of Tundergarth, but to Carsphairn John (Semple). Curiously enough, in his notes, Scott repeats the error, which double inaccuracy deserves to be noted in view of charges that are thoughtlessly flung at Patrick Walker.

In the same work Scott has reproduced a pithy saying by James Wellwood's son, John, who said of a person: "He's a round-spun Presbyterian." Scott makes Saddletree recommend Mr. Crossmyloof, the advocate, to Davie Deans, as "weel ken'd for a round-spun Presbyterian."

Other sorrows were looming. On the accession of King Charles II., hopes were entertained that the liberty of the Church would be guarded. He sent a letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh of a most

reassuring kind. But these hopes were destined to swift disappointment. In May 1662 an act was passed restoring Episcopacy, and overthrowing the spiritual independence of the Church. A little later in the same year another act was passed, that all ministers ordained since 1649 should submit themselves to the bishops on pain of losing their positions. According to Bishop Burnet, the members of the Privy Council were so drunk when they passed the act that they scarcely knew what they were doing. But it was a black day for Scotland. Between three and four hundred of her ministers, some of them the foremost men of the day in position, influence, and piety, were ejected, while their places were taken by curates whom Burnet describes as the "worst preachers I ever heard; ignorant to a reproach, many of them openly vicious—a disgrace to their orders." Of those who were deprived, Wellwood was one. But during his ministry he is said to have trained many a one who flinched not in the day when Zion's troubles came thick upon them. Driven from Tundergarth, he went to live at St. Andrews. Two years later he was summoned before the commission of which Sharp was the cruel head. And this peace-loving man, denounced as a "perverter of the people," was commanded to remove six miles from St. Andrews. But Robert Blair says that the honest man had much inward peace and holy security. "Mr. Wellwood being removed, sitting down in the outer room at the Commission house door, fell fast asleep

(Psalm iii. 3-5), and awakened not till he was called on, having more peace and calmness of spirit than his arch-persecutor." (*Blair's Life*, p. 471).

It may be of interest to reproduce here part of a letter written in 1665, "by Mr. James Welwood, Minister of the Gospel at Tundergirth in Annandale, to a Brother Minister." (In 1663 a successor was named to the parish, James Robertson. He left, however, almost immediately for Nenthorn. There is no mention of any one else being in the parish till 1684.) "Let us put on Courage in thir sad Times; brave Times for the chosen Soldiers of Jesus Christ, to shew their Courage into; brave times, offering brave opportunities for shewing forth the Bravity of Spirit in suffering; that Love, that Loyalty, Meekness, that Patience, and every Christian Vertue, that cannot be shown forth in not suffering Times. Let us live in a lively Hope of a glorious Victory over these Enemies, risen up of late, whom Christ shall very shortly tread under Foot; Let us look for a Return of the many fervent Prayers of the many Thousands of the Godly in these lands, which will be by terrible Things in Righteousness, terrible Judgments poured forth in hail Vials upon the Heads of the Enemies. Let us look for a glorious Church to spring out of these Trials and Troubles, which the greater they shall be, and of the longer Continuance, the more glorious shall the Church be. Let us enter into our Chambers, and shut the Doors about us, until the Indignation be over-passed, that is to be upon this Land: Great is the Indignation,

dreadful are the Judgments that are coming upon the Land; I tremble to think upon them, and yet I cannot tell you: For as feared as I am for them, I am not deprecating them, but desiring rather they may come, and convince the Land of the Horridness of these Sins now reigning into it, which are counted but light Sins by some, and no Sins by other some, and gloried in, as high Virtues and Duties by many; and that they may convince the Land of the Innocency and Equity of the Cause and Covenant of God, condemned of great Iniquity, as the Cause of all the Troubles that have come upon the Land. . . . It is but the little Furnace that is presently set up, pretty hot, and to be much hotter in a little Time, by the High Commission; and it is for the Godly only, to purge them and to try them. And many are warming themselves at this Furnace, and many are playing and dancing about it, especially the Lowns of the Ministry; but it is to be taken down shortly, when it hath come to its hottest; and then the great Furnace will be set up in the Place of it, exceeding hot, whereat no Man shall warm himself or dance about it, but all shall be put into it; especially the Lowns of the Ministry, that warmed themselves at the little Furnace, and danced about it, while they saw their poor Brethren burning into it. The Godly themselves shall not altogether pass free of this Furnace, but shall pass through it; howbeit, but lightly, to be purged over again from the Remainder of that Dross and Tin which the little Furnace did not

purge out of them. . . . And when the Godly shall be well purged, and made ripe for the great and glorious Deliverance, and capable to bear it without abusing it, then shall be the glorious Days of the Gospel in these Lands, which the Servants of God have spoken of, that were upon his Counsel, and knew his Thoughts towards the Church of Scotland; then shall this great Captivity return in one Day almost; then shall our banished Brethren return, 'They shall return to Sion with Singing; and all the Trees of the Fields shall clap their Hands, the Hills shall break forth before them into Singing.'

Wellwood married again, and had a daughter Mary. This is one of the last notices of the old Errol teacher. It is time, too, to turn to his boys.

A.—JOHN WELLWOOD.

Of James Wellwood's sons, John is perhaps the best known in Scotland. In 1721 he is spoken of as "a person well known to many, and his memory still savory to all that knew him, for his holiness, diligence in the labours of the ministry, amidst many perils from bloody persecutors, and false brethren, his undaunted zeal and courage in the cause of Christ, tho' under a very weak and sickly constitution of body."

Peden, the martyr, had a high opinion of him. On one occasion when Peden was preaching in Edinburgh on "I will set a plumb-line in the midst

of My people," he cried out: "Oh, how few of the ministers of Scotland will answer this plumb-line! Lord send us a Welwood, a Cargill, and a Cameron, and such as they, and make us quit of the rest."

Patrick Walker has drawn ~~his~~ ^{the} portrait in ^{of John Well} ¹ *Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. John Welwood*, and John Howie of Lochgoin, has given him a place among the *Scots Worthies*. John Wellwood was born just about the middle of the century, and within a year of Richard Cameron. Of his child life we know really nothing. It fell on anxious times. It was hallowed by a mother's love, by the example of a godly father, and the companionship of a sister and brothers. John and Andrew were never very strong. They both died early, and both of a sickness like consumption. One great sorrow darkened their home—the loss of their mother. Margaret Dury's story cannot be told, but she deserves remembrance as the mother of the Wellwoods. John's nature was perhaps less clinging than Andrew's, but her death must have been a great sorrow to a boy just entering his teens. Soon, too, his father was ejected from his charge, and the quiet home at Tundergarth had to be broken up. These things gave a certain tone to his thought and a certain accent to his speech—the tone of sorrow, the accent of suffering.

The boy wanted to be a minister, and after he

¹ In the first edition, 1727, James is printed by mistake for John.

had taken his course he was licensed to preach. But he was never settled in a parish, for those were days when the pulpits of Scotland were being closed against those who were clear in their witness against the sin and defection of the times. Once, it seems, he was all but settled at Tarbolton. This was in 1677. Wodrow (ii. 357, Burns' Edit.) has this entry in his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*:—"November 1st, Mr. John Welwood is informed against—as having intruded upon the Kirk of Tarbolton in the shire of Ayr; and the council appoint the earl of Glencairn, and the lord Ross to see that he be turned out, and apprehended. I do not hear he was taken." But his resolution to preach was unbroken, and in those stormy times John Wellwood's spare and tender form was one of the most familiar in Fifeshire, and on the hills and dales of Galloway and Annandale. It is said that he preached a number of times at Tundergarth with such tokens of power that more of its people were moved than had ever been under his father's ministry.

From more direct sources we can form some idea of the impression made by Wellwood's preaching. Renwick refers to one of his sermons in a letter. (No. 2 *Carlaw's Life of J. R.*) In his account of the conventicles held in Fife, Blackader speaks of one on the Lomond Hill by Mr. Wellwood, "a young, but grave and pious man." The description of the whole gathering is worthy of perusal. (Cf. *Crichton's Life of Blackader*, pp. 68-70.)

Jean Collace also, in the unpublished account of her impressions, has several references to him. "The next Sabbath, the Lord assisted his servant, Mr. Wallwood, and directed him to seasonable and suitable doctrine to the present circumstance from the word, Come my people, enter into your chamber." (MSS. p. 161.) On pages 164-5 she tells how she was in a constant conflict through not putting sufficient value on the life of faith. "But the Lord is calling me to the other. And on the Lord's day next spake to my case from his preached word by Mr. Wallwood on Heb. xi. 1, Now faith is the substance, etc., wherein was held forth the excellency of this grace at all times, but especially at this,—marks of it and directions how to obtain this blessed life, wherein I was much convinced of the truth of that doctrine." And so on.

Patrick Walker records (Postscript to *Welwood's Life*) how an old sufferer wrote to him describing how, in 1677, he had heard Welwood preach, not far from the border. A gentleman had come four or five miles to stop him. The writing continues: "Mr. Welwood was begun ere he came; Mr. Welwood had sung in the 24 Psalm, 'The earth's the Lord's, and the fulness thereof': and prefacing upon the same as their ordinary then was, said, 'Tho' the earth be the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, etc., yet the poor fools of the world will not allow a bit of his earth to preach his gospel upon.' The gentleman standing at the side of the

people, going to discharge him from preaching upon his ground, these words so pierced him that he sat down and heard him through the day, went home, and set up the worship of God in his family, and very shortly thereafter joined himself in a society meeting, where my informer was present, and thereafter became a sufferer himself, but not unto death."

Some of his sermons still exist, preached at Caldercruix, Bankhead, where he was interrupted by an alarm of the enemy approaching Bogle's Hole, Clydesdale.

Four of these sermons were published in 1779 by John Howie of Lochgoin. The texts are—Amos iii. 2; Song v. 8; 2 Cor. xiii. 5; 1 Peter iv. 18. They are plain, earnest, searching, full of Scripture and of the Gospel, bitter in their condemnation of prelacy, now and then, especially in his sermon at Bogle's Hole, too denunciatory. (Cf. Simpson's *Voice from the Desert*.) The author of *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* speaks of Mr. Welwood, brother to Mercurius, in a printed sermon on the text, "If the righteous," etc., saying among other as ridiculous things, these words, etc. etc.

Most of his letters, which are described as insisting much upon the distinct actings of faith and love, spirituality and zeal, have perished. But one volume of letters still remains in manuscript.

In this little volume, one of the *Laing Collection*—there are 38 letters written by Mr. John Wallwood while he was preaching up and down Scotland in the years 1675-77.

Of these, 10 are addressed to Elizabeth Collace; 12 to Katherine Collace; 5 to Richard Cameron; 2 to Thomas Hogg; 1 to Allan Cameron; 4 to Mrs. Ross; 1 to his sister; 2 to a certain lady; 1 to an unnamed correspondent.

There are, also, in this volume of the *Laing Collection*, three letters of Andrew Welwood, written a little before his death (Cf. *Glimpse of Glory*), and also a copy of the sermon by John Welwood on 1 Pet. iv. 18.

The letters of John Welwood, written, as they were, in circumstances fitted to try his patience, do honour to the writer and the truth. They are singularly free from regrettable language, and are couched in strong and worthy words. They have value, also, as giving impressions of the time.

In a letter to Mrs. Ross, dated Annandale, 4th August 1677, he writes: "We had a field-meeting in this Country yesterday, the finest that was ever in it; and there were more people than we expected."

In a postscript he adds: "Since I wrote this I am told, that the Curate, my father's successor, sent letters to several Gentlemen to stir them up against us; and they met yesterday resolving to have come upon us; but the waters hindered them, so what more will be gotten done in this Country, I know not. There are so many rude and wicked people in it."

Writing to Katherine Collace in January 1677, he mentions how, though there was a more universal persecution than heretofore, the people in the

Merse and East Lothian were being drawn more and more from the curates. "The Curates gave up a list, 3500 all which (a few excepted) were fined and forced to pay their fines. If I had time I would tell you of their rigour, but guess at it by this. They took from some poor things 20 pence and 10 pence, from others blankets, from others coal-sacks, and yet the People came out abundantly to the meetings."

The letters to Katherine Collace preserve interesting details of the persecution in Teviotdale.

In Northumberland, in 1677, he was very ill. "I fell to spit Blood, and was sicker and fainter nor ever heretofore . . . and indeed Death starred me in the face for 24 hours."

His letters to Cameron contain valuable information about the experiences of Cameron's father.

One of the longest and one of the richest letters is addressed to his sister from Leslie.

We subjoin a specimen from a letter—

To ELIZABETH COLLACE,

KILRAGE, 22nd July 1675.

"Mrs.—I hear of your solitude, but it is well that the Lord is with you: if He were away all the best company would not fill up His room; but He can fill up the room of all other comforts; yet it is indeed no mean Tryal to be deprived of Relations, but especially the Godly. But if we look to the close of Heman's Psalm we'll find that his complaint besides many other sad ingredients in his trouble. It's to you no small matter of praise, that not only

He stays his rough wind in the day of his east wind but mingles yea overmasters what is bitter in your Cup with the Consolations of his Spirit. The Kindness of God is never felt so, as when folk are brought into the Wilderness, that is, into straits when folk taste and see that He is good, and that they are blest that trust in Him. Creatures are but broken Cisterns that can hold no water, but He is the Fountain of Living Waters and now you are called away from the streams up to the Well's head: Now is the season of living by Faith in God: It's time now to consider that your Redeemer liveth and is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever; and that He never leaves nor forsakes his people, but loves them unto the end. You must cast your burden upon the Lord, and He will sustain you; be of Good Courage and He will strengthen your heart. Unbelief and security are the two most dangerous Rocks that the People of God are ready to dash against, and blest are those that keep at a distance from both of them. O! Studie this well that the eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear him and hope in his mercy; to fear him and not to have confidence in his mercie; to fear him and not to study to walk tenderly is ane errour on the left hand. But blessed are they that fear allways, and Psal. 34 8. Blessed are they that trust in him and trust in him at all times. The Godly must not have the way to heaven smooth and all strewed with Roses. Nay, all must run with Patience the Race set before them and endure

hardness as good Souldiers of Jesus Christ, but the comfort is, He will not tempt above what we are able and we shall be more than conquerors through him that hath loved us; and the Afflictions are not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed in it," etc.

Wellwood was a man of the most fearless spirit, and spoke without quarter of the leaders of the day. Like some of his contemporaries, he spoke with a kind of prophetic power which invested many of his sayings, in the view of his fellows, with a prophetic value. (In reading Walker it is well to remember this.) One time, for instance, when he was going to preach, the laird on whose land the tent was pitched lifted it and placed it on another laird's ground. When Wellwood saw it, he said, "In a short time, that laird should not have a furr of land." The laird, it seems, was a great professor, and some of his hearers were rather angry at the preacher's speech. All he said was, "Let alone a little and he will appear in his own colours." Not long after the laird fell into adultery, and "became miserable and contemptible, being, as was said, one of the Duke of York's four-pound Papists."

Several stories of this kind are attributed to Wellwood. When preaching at Boulterhall, in Fife, not long before his death, he is credited with having said of Sharp, "If that unhappy Prelate Sharp die the natural death of men, God never spoke by me." Sharp's servant happened to be present. Noticing his livery, Wellwood told him to stand up, and then

he added: "I desire you before all these witnesses, when thou goest home, to tell thy master, that his treachery, tyranny, and wicked life, are near an end, and his death shall be both sudden, surprising and bloody, and as he hath thirsted after, and shed the blood of the saints, he shall not go to his grave in peace." The archbishop was told of it, and smiled; but his wife urged him to beware. "I advise you," she said, "to take more notice of that, for I hear that these men's words are not vain words."

Something has been made of this speech, as if it indicated in Wellwood a cognisance of a plot to murder Sharp. But no one, surely, who had watched the career of that unhappy and treacherous prelate could have failed to expect that his crimes would come home to him, and that he would perish in blood. What, on any such idea, can be made of this story? Shortly before his death, he said to young Ayton of Inchdarney, who had come to see him, "You'll shortly be quit of him, and he'll get a sudden and sharp off-going, and ye will be the first that will take the good news of his death to heaven." This may not have been worthily put, but it came true. Sharp was killed one day, Inchdarney the next. (On Sharp's death, etc., see notes in Dr. Hay Fleming's *Six Saints of the Covenant*, ii. 159-60.)

Wellwood was fervent in urging the establishment of society meetings for prayer and conference, and was a well-known figure at them. Of one of these,

the following story is told by Patrick Walker. The picture is not without its humour. "One night, at the New-house in Livingstoun Parish, when the Night was far spent, he said, 'Tis good loosing a going Plough, let one pray, and be short, that we may win to our Appartments before it be light, that we be not seen. It was the Turn of One who exceeded many in Gifts; but, before he ended, it was as light within the House as without. He said, James, James, your Gifts have the Heels of your Grace. And to the rest he said, Be advised, all of you, not to follow James at all times, and in all Things; otherwise there will be Outs and Inns in the Tract of your Walk. When the most of them was gone, he said, What was he, that ye were all in such Haste to get him a Seat? Some answered, He is a very honest useful Man. He said, He's a round-spun Presbyterian; he will not long keep that Name among you; his House will be rather a Court-house and Prison-house, than a Friend's House; which sadly came to pass afterwards."

Sympathising with the views of Richard Cameron, whose forerunner he may be called, Wellwood preached steadily separation from the Indulged. This once landed him in trouble. In 1677 an attempt was made to have Wellwood,¹ Cameron, and Kid deposed for their teaching, but they

¹ Professor Herkless holds that Wellwood was not charged with Cameron, and that in saying so Walker was speaking from imperfect knowledge.

declined the authority of those who charged them.

Thomas Hog, the famous preacher and sufferer, happened to be in Edinburgh. Asked his advice about them, Hog replied, "His name is Welwood; but if ye take that unhappy course to depose them, they will turn Thorterwood."

John Carstares was one of those who thought that Wellwood had gone further than was reasonable. According to Brodie of Brodie, he expressed to him his strong dislike of one of Wellwood's utterances about the sin of going to hear those that conformed.

With Carstares' feeling all will agree. In this his instinct was both truer and more refined.

The ten years following 1670, called the blinks of the persecution, were hard on Wellwood. The Government determined to crush the Covenanters. In 1674 a decret was issued by Charles II. against several outed ministers, forbidding any of them, who were not licensed by the Council, to "presume to preach, expound scripture, or pray in any meeting except in their own houses, and to these of their own family, and that none be present at any meetings without the family to which they belong, . . . declaring all such who do in the contrary to be guilty of keeping conventicles; and that he or they who shall do so, shall be seized upon and imprisoned until they find caution, under the pain of five thousand merks not to do so in time coming, or else to enact themselves to remove forth of the

kingdom, and not to return without his majesty's license; and further, by the said act, that persons preaching, praying at, or convocating field conventicles, shall be punished with death." John Wellwood was one of those denounced and put to the horn.

Two years later, King Charles passed an act of intercommuning with certain ministers who were denounced for their rebellion—one of whom was John Wellwood. And indictments exist, served on those who encouraged, in any way, men like John Welsh—a declared traitor—Donald Cargill, John Wellwood, etc.¹ But it was hard work. Neither fines nor imprisonment, neither the terror of the Bass nor of the Grassmarket, nor the cruelties of Sharp and Claverhouse, availed to crush the movement. The thing was of God, and neither prelates, nor statesmen, nor dragoons could overthrow it. And so, despite all that was done, Cargill, Peden, Cameron, and Wellwood preached and prayed. Once at Bankhead he was stopped by an alarm of the enemy coming.

Wellwood was not, perhaps, always wise in his speech. It was not wise, nor was it right, to denounce the nobles as incarnate devils. But the situation was exasperating, and the more so because of the treachery of Sharp.

One of his latest public appearances was at Boulterhall in Fife. Shortly after he went to Perth, where a worthy citizen sheltered him. All honour

¹ Cf. Indictment of John Muir, late Provost of Ayr, 1678.

to John Barclay! Only seven years before, the Laird of Balhousie had been fined £1000 for sheltering the grandson of John Knox—the younger Welsh. And it was but three years since the city itself had been mulcted for allowing conventicles.

The weary preacher spent three months in his retreat, receiving all that came to him, and witnessing bravely to his own hope in Christ. "I have no more doubt" he would say, "of my interest in Christ, than if I were in heaven already. I have oftentimes endeavoured to pick a hole in my interest, but cannot get it done." At length the end came. One sweet April morning, that time of the year when Perth is beginning to put on its loveliest robe, he said, as the joyful light of the dawning day began to flood the chamber where he lay: "Now eternal light, no more night nor darkness to me." Before night-fall he was gone.

When it became known that Wellwood had died in the city, the magistrates took alarm, lest they should incur the displeasure of the Government. Nor, looking to what had happened, was this unnatural. They therefore determined to have the remains arrested. A worthy woman, Janet Hutton, had given the body a shelter in her home to screen John Barclay, if possible, from any odium, and here it lay through the night, under arrest of the Magistrates of Perth. In and beyond the city the news of his death spread like wildfire, and before the next morning was well advanced, little

groups of friends might have been seen entering the city, come for the funeral. But for the magistrates, Wellwood would have found his last home in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, but, afraid of disturbance, they refused to allow it, and summoned the militia to help. But good John Bryce, the Treasurer, who had in keeping the arms and accoutrements of the militia, declined to give them out. He loved the cause for which Wellwood had fought, and, rather than obey, submitted to be flung into the Tolbooth. But a little time brought a better mind, and the body was handed over for burial, on condition that it should be carried beyond the city walls. And so, as the day was dying, a little band of mourners, watched by a sympathising crowd of townspeople, might have been seen silently bearing the body of their well-loved friend along the southern road. They paused at Dron. Resolved to bury their dead there, they sent to the minister for the keys of the churchyard. Most unexpectedly, these were not forthcoming. "It's said," writes Brodie, "Mr. Petkarn resisted them that would burie him in his kirkyard." But farther they could not go. The day was spent, and darkness had fallen. Lifting the body over the dyke they dug a grave, and there they left their dead. A strange funeral, and yet not unworthy of the pale and anxious preacher whose fidelity to conscience denied him a home while he lived. A humble stone, erected in after years, marks the place where they laid him.

On one side are the words—

17	51
"Here Lyes The Rev	
Erend Mr John Wel	
Wood Minister Of	
The Gospel In The Chu	
Rch Of Scotland	
Who Dyed At Perth	
April 1679 About	
The 30 Year Of His	
Age."	

On the other side—

"Here Lyes

A Follower Of The Lamb
 Thro' Many Tribulations Came
 For Long Time Of His Christian
 Race Was Persecute From
 Place to Place A Scottish
 Prophet Here Behold
 Judgment and Mercy Who Foretold
 The Gospel Banner Did Display
 Condemn'd The Sins Of That Sad
 Day. And Valiantly For
 Truth Contended Until
 By Death His Days Were Ended."

A sentence or two from his sermons may be quoted as a specimen of his style—

"There are two things that of all others are the most afflicting to His people; and these are sin and distance from God. These are the two things that embitter the life of His people, as the two daughters of Heth did that of Rebekah.

"When Christ departs He leaves the soul in a winter-like case. His departure is like that of the sun, for He is often called a sun.

“What is the rule folk must walk by in the search? What is the balance folk must weigh themselves in? What is the touchstone they must try themselves by? For you know that if folk take strong weights, they will go far wrong and cheat themselves. Some folks take weight from Satan and their own dreadful flattering hearts, by which means they go down to the grave with a lie in their right hand; some weigh themselves with others, and those none of the strictest neither, and so think themselves good enough. But we must weigh ourselves in the balance of the sanctuary, the word of God, which shows the way of death and life, and describes the godly and the ungodly man, giving marks of both sorts; and folk must try themselves by these marks.

“The touch-stone that folk should betake themselves to is the Scripture. Canst thou prove thy hope by the Scripture, the Spirit of God letting you see by that touch-stone that you are religious? But I trow, take and weigh many of us in the balance of the sanctuary, we will be found very light. I could wish that many of you were doubting of your clipped religion. It is the ruin of the most part of the world that they are like such as take money and look not whether it is good or bad, and so they are cheated. Many folk neither question nor examine themselves about this. But remember that the righteous are scarcely saved. I can assure you, it is much for one to

attain unto salvation even when he is wonderfully serious."

Amongst Wellwood's last words are said to have been the following. They are entitled by Wodrow (*Analecta*, i. 132) "A Prophesie of Mr. John Walwood, which he forsau a little before His Death."

"He told he forsau several things that wer to fall out in this land; which are as follows: 1st, That many of the Lord's people would appear in arms for the defence of the Gospell; but that he was fully perswaded they would be broken and work noe deliverance, but the Lord would take a testimony of their hands. 2dly, That after the breach of that party, the Gospell should be fully buryed in this land. 3dly, After that, ther should not be a Minister in Scotland that any could converse with anent the case of the Church but only two, and they should seal the cause with their blood. 4thly, That a dreadfull apostacy and defection should follou. 5thly, Upon the back of these things, God would pour out his wrath upon the enemies of his Church and people. 6thly, Many of the Lord's people should dye in the commone calamity, especially these who have made defection from the wayes of God. 7thly, He was fully perswaded the stroak would not be long. 8thly, Upon the back of all these things, there should be the most gloriouse delivrance of the Church that ever was in Brittain. 9thly, That this Church should never be any more troubled with Popery or Prelacy."

B.—JAMES WELLWOOD.

It appears that he was educated at Glasgow and Leyden. He went to Holland in 1679, the year of John's death, and is said to have graduated M.D. at Leyden; but his name is not given in Peacock's *Index*. Amongst his contemporaries, one of the better known is Pitcairn.

One of the most touching letters of Andrew is to his brother James. It is subscribed, "your dying brother." James had some interest in divine truth, but Andrew had an intense anxiety for him. The whole letter is an earnest bit of pleading. "I hope, the last words of your brother, who is now stepping into eternity, will have some weight with you; and this consideration will make you not to neglect them. . . . The business is so weighty, so exceeding weighty, that Time, with all it's Well and Wo, is to be overlooked in comparison of this absolutely, and only necessary thing. I tell you, there is an absolute necessity, that you be holy (let not the poor name affright you; for holiness is the sweetest and most easie thing in the world, to them that are holy :) for, without holiness, no man shall see the Lord, and salvation must be nearer your heart, by many degrees, than all other concernments, tho' they were ten thousand worlds. You must know the bargain of the New Covenant, and close heartily with it, in all it's fulness, without the least reservation; upon it, I recommend unto you Mr. Guthry's Trial of a saving interest in Christ, and desire you to read

it, till you become such an one, as he describes. . . . When you shall be in such a condition, as I am in, when pale death shall be staring you in the face; then all the glory of time will be, in your eyes, nothing but a withered flower. But alas! we are drunk with this world, and we never know well what we are doing, till death make us sober. . . . Death is a great disappointer. . . . You may think I put a hard task upon you; because our nature is all polluted, and we are accustomed to do evil, but the ways of holiness are sweet, and all its paths are peace. . . . I may say by experience, He hath made good His word to me in all these things of time."

By and by, after John's and Andrew's death, James made a strong stand on the side of the struggling cause of truth. On the 6th of August, 1684, he was apprehended by order, "on suspicion that he keiped correspondence, and gave intelligence to the fugitives in Holland." Sir John Lauder adds that "he was delated by the Earle of Balcarhouse on some private pick between them." Several others were taken about the some time. A little later the prisoners were distributed, Wellwood being "ordered by the council to be sent to Cowpar, there to satisfy the sheriff's sentence for his non-conformity." (Wodrow iv. 48. Cf. also Fountainhall's *Notes*, 1680-1701, pp. 96-7, 104.)

But the chief interest in Wellwood's life belongs to the part he took in the days of the Revolution. He returned finally from Holland, when William, the

Prince of Orange, crossed to England. He became physician to William and Mary, and was made a Fellow of the London College of Physicians in 1690. About thirty years later, in 1722, he was chosen a censor of the College.

Reference may be made to one incident in his medical experience. Under *Miranda*, John Aubrey, in his *Miscellanies*, has the following:—"In the year 1694, there was published a true Relation of the wonderful Cure of Mary Mallard (lame almost ever since she was born) on Sunday the 26th of November 1693. With the affidavits and certificates of the girl, and several other credible and worthy persons, who knew her both before and since her being cured. To which is added a letter from Dr. Welwood, to the Right Honourable the Lady Mayoress, upon that subject. London: printed for Richard Baldwin, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane, 1694."

Besides making some mark as a physician, he achieved distinction as a man of affairs, and was raised by the King to the rank of Sir James.

In 1689 there was published, by authority, and printed in London for Dorman Newman at the King's Arms in the Poultry, *Reasons why the Parliament of Scotland cannot comply with the late K. James's Proclamation, sent lately to that Kingdom and prosecuted by the late Viscount Dundee, containing an Answer to every Paragraph of the said Proclamation; and vindicating the said Parliament their present Proceedings against him.* It is a pamphlet of 29 pages, quarto, with a dedication to the Duke

of Hamilton, and was written by Wellwood. It is in curious contrast to Dr. Canaries' views, and speaks of the history of Scotland, during the preceding twenty years, as one of "unexampled misery." He refers pathetically to his "own share in the Ruines of my country." It is a temperate discussion of two points: (1) that the laws the people are governed by be made by King and Government; and (2) that the Government be administered according to these laws. King James had violated both, so the tie was dissolved between the King and the people.

The same year, March, the Vicar of Newcastle, publicly attacked Bishop Burnet for his views, and advocated a doctrine of passive obedience. He maintained that the action of William of Orange and those who had supported him was rebellion, and that such as meddled with the King's forts and revenue were "guilty of damnation."

One of his hearers happened to be Dr. James Wellwood, at that time (cf. Mr. Welford's *Men of Mark 'twixt Tyne and Tweed*) practising as a physician in Newcastle. A sharp correspondence followed between March and Wellwood, which was given to the world under the title of a *Vindication of the present Great Revolution in England; in five Letters pass'd betwixt James Welwood, M.D., and Mr. John March, Vicar of Newcastle upon Tyne. Occasion'd by a Sermon preach'd by him on January 30, 1688^{8/9} before the Mayor and Aldermen, for Passive Obedience and Non-resistance.* It is a

quarto covering 36 pages. There are five letters—three of Wellwood's and two of Mr. March's. They are all full of biting sarcasm and personalities. (Cf. also *Life of Ambrose Barnes*, Surtees Society, vol. 50.

Four years later, when James issued from St. Germaines his Declaration, Wellwood published an Answer to it. *A Reply to the Answer Doctor Welwood Made* was issued shortly after. It is a quarto of 47 pages. It is very sarcastic on Wellwood, and is a strong defence of King James and a sharp attack on William's administration. The writer describes Wellwood as "this mannerly Pupill of Titus Oates." An extract or two may be given, which will show the spirit of the reply. "The new Secretary having always had the reputation of good Sence, and a very smart Elocution, his licencing Doctor Welwood's Answer to the Declaration of King James, made everybody read it as soon as it appeared, but all that know the Secretary conclude he never took the pains to read it himself, or he would so far have consulted his own credit, as to have denyed his Pasport to so frivolous and so scurrilous a Pamphlet." The writer speaks of it as stuffed "with such ignorant asseverations, such weak and quibling sophistry, it so plainly prevaricates from the genuine and calm sence of the King's words, and it rails so very coursly, that it can scarce impose upon them ost unlettered men" (p. 10). "I will not be so particular as to shew how especially of all their scribblers, it little becomes Doctor Wel-

wood to exaggerate matters against King James, since his discourses about a dictatorial power etc. brought him for his arbitrary doctrines under the censure of the House of Commons" (p. 27). "I perceive, Doctor, tho' not only the Hawkers have carried six penny worth, forty pages, of your works through all the City, but the Government has industriously spread through all the villages of the country, with as much diligence as the Ordinaries do the Fast-Prayers; yet you, Sir, are not satisfied that it is King James's Declaration" (p. 31). There is no justification for this bitterness, which may be taken as a tribute to Wellwood's influence.

Wellwood's most important work is his *Memoirs of the most material transactions in England for the last hundred years, preceding the Revolution in 1688*. The history, which is dedicated to King William, 1699, sprang out of a conversation which Wellwood had with Queen Mary. Amongst other things, she regretted the difficulty she lay under of knowing truly the history of her grandfather's reign, "saying, that most of the Accounts she had read of it, were either Panegyrick or Satire, not History. Then with an inimitable Grace she told me; If I would in a few Sheets give her a short Sketch of the Affairs of that Reign, and of the Causes that produc'd such dreadful Effects, she would take it well of me." The manuscript was found in Queen Mary's cabinet after her death. The work attained considerable popularity. By 1702 it had reached a fourth edition, and is cited as an authority on the

period by Green, in his *History of the English People* (iii. 325).

The *Memoirs* commence with a review of the state of England under Queen Elizabeth, whose praises it sounds. Of King James I. he has little good to say, but his estimate of Charles I. is favourable.

While alive to the surprising influence of Cromwell, he had no love for the Protector, holding, indeed, that he had "acted a more tyrannical and arbitrary part than all the Kings of England together had done since the Norman Conquest." Towards Charles II. it cannot be said that he is unjust, and his criticism is also scathing of those who had introduced "a Mahometan Principle, under the Names of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance; which since the time of the Impostor that first broach'd it, has been the means to enslave a great part of the World." After this extract it need scarcely be added that he is impatient of the doings of King James II. Through these he himself had been a sufferer, as we have already found. "I leave," he writes in his history, "the Detail of the Encroachments that were made upon the Laws and Liberties of that Kingdom, to others that may be thought more impartial, as having suffer'd less in their Ruins. Then follows a brief account of the difficulty with which the Prince of Orange had to grapple in Holland.

The *Memoirs*, which Wodrow justly describes as curious, extend to 259 pages, but the volume is

carried to 403 pages by no less than 23 papers, which form an Appendix of real value. Its author is given as James Welwood, M.D., Fellow of the College of Physicians, London. M'Crie, in the *Life of Robert Blair*, which he edited, speaks of James Wellwood as the author of *Memoirs of Scotland*. We have given above the correct title of the work.

In a letter to his nephew, the Earl of Chatham writes of it: "There is a little book I never mentioned, *Welwood's Memoirs*; I recommend it."

To the influence of this book, one other testimony may be added. In a volume of poems by Mrs. Grant of Laggan, a note on the lines—

"Grateful memory still reviews
His letter'd gifts,"

mentions that the Life of Wallace and Bishop Wellwood's (?) *Memoirs of the History of England*, read by the Author with sedulous attention in the seventh year of her age, on the banks of the lake Ontario, when neither *Tom Thumb* nor *Jack the Giant Killer* could be procured to lay a proper foundation for the love of valour and patriotism, were the means of quickening those virtues in her soul.

Fountainhall (*Chron. Notes*, p. 96) speaks of the extracts from Monmouth's private pocket-book as the most curious piece of his work.

Other works came from Wellwood's pen which witness both to his industry and to his literary culture. In 1710 appeared Xenophon's *Banquet*,

translated from the Greek with an introductory Essay on the doctrine and death of Socrates. The essay runs out to 80 pages. The *Banquet* in his view surpasses all for the fineness of thought and for beauty and ease of expression. The sketch is most sympathetic and appreciative of Socrates. He thinks it likely that it was Socrates who put up the altar to the unknown God, and that this accounted for its being preserved so long. In translating, his aim was not to follow the original too closely. It is a most readable work.

Some years later he prefixed to an edition of Rowe's translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, an account of Lucan and his work, as also a sketch of Mr. Rowe. His criticism of Lucan is exaggerated, but it is full of appreciation of the points of the poem. He would put Lucan's description of the storm and battle above anything in Virgil. The sketch of Rowe is good. The preface, dated 1719, was written "at the request of Mr. Rowe in his last sickness."

To this list must be added *Observer Reformatus*, and also a preface, dated 1709, to Whitlocke's *Memorials of English Affairs from the supposed expedition of Brute to this island, to the end of the reign of James I.* This preface, dated from "York Buildings," 1709, informs us that at the request of the editors he had read the MSS., and was convinced that it was written by no other than Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke. He criticises and praises the treatment of the various periods of history.

Further, his name appears in the lengthy list of compilers of Jones' *Compleat History of Europe*, published at intervals between 1704 and 1713.

Wellwood was buried in St. Martin-in-the-Field.

C.—ANDREW WELLWOOD.

Andrew may be called the saint of the family, but part of his fame is the reflected glory of John. One of his publishers describes him as Mr. Andrew Welwood, brother to Mr. John Welwood, late minister of the Gospel in Scotland. Andrew was always rather delicate. "My life," he says with much pathos, "hath been but a tract of afflictions." Towards the close of his life he suffered severely. He died at an early age in London, during the time of the persecution. If John was eminent for the grace of faith, Andrew was for the grace of love. As a child he was stirred by the Spirit of God. "The remembrance of Thy ways to me in my childhood is full of delectation. How Thou hast brought Thy sons to glory, is an eternal wonder." We have quoted perhaps enough from his letters to show his ardent affection for his brother and sister. His mother died in his childhood, but he clung to his second mother and her daughter Mary with a passion which proclaims the happy love that filled his heart and bound the home. One of his last letters, written in London a little before his death, was to his mother. After telling her how he had resolved to have been as faithful to

her as he could, he says: "I commit you unto His grace, Who hath cared for me, even unto death. Christ is a good Tutor and Governor, and carries all these well through that commit themselves to Him. See that Mary neglect not seeking of God, praying, reading of the Scriptures; let her not frequent ill company. O the worth of a soul! and the reward of these, that are instrumental in gaining of a soul! I am not able to say more, I am so weak. O, run fast, Death is at the door. We are all stepping into eternity; what is time, but a preparation for it. Overlook time, and live as daily dying, as one that must pass away immediately, and never be here any more. They build castles in the air who imagine any rest here; let worldlings dream of rest here, ours is above; our hearts are gone, and we are dead to the world. Farewel for a few daies. These are the words of your dying son, A. W."

Another of his letters is to his cousin, Thomas Welwood, whom amid the pains of death he could not forget "because of the sweet friendship we have had together; and because you are (I'm perswaded) one of the heirs of glory, and among those who wrestle through manifold temptations unto the land of eternal consolations." These are pleasing glimpses at once of Andrew's heart and of families and lives that were being given to God when the storm of persecution was raging.

It was Andrew's purpose to have served Christ in the ministry. "I desired," he writes, "to live for

no other end but to preach my Lord to the great congregation; and think you not He will accept the will for the deed? I dedicated my life for His Service; and I hope He will graciously take it off my hand as if I had done Him many years' service." He was very jealous for the royal rights of the Redeemer, which had been trampled by rulers in Church and State, and regarded with sorrow the pollutions and the defections of the time. "It is comfortable to me," he wrote from his deathbed, "that I had little or nothing to do, as to outward things, with this horrid, cursed defection."

His life was a short, holy, happy service of God. "I shall see my Father ere long: many sweet days have He and I had upon earth; many innumerable ages shall we have in heaven together." It is in this strain of hope and thankfulness that Andrew lived and died. "If I could tell you," he says, "what my Lord hath done for me unto this very hour, and much more since I came hither than in many foregoing years, I think, if I had time, I could fill a whole volume with wonderful experiences of His loving kindness, strange providences, and sweet chastisements; so that an half-year may be better than an hundred." "My Lord hath done to me what He hath determined from eternity; and all His purposes, even all the thoughts of His heart, are full of love, infinite love, to those that wait upon Him. I resolved to glorify Him on earth, and dedicated my life wholly to my Lord's service; and I know it is all one with Him, as if I had done it;

and I shall, in another manner, exalt and serve Him above, than I could have done here below, weighted with mortality and innumerable infirmities. My Lord hath said to me, 'It would weary thee to stay too long in this valley of tears and misery; I take it, as if thou hadst done Me many years' service; I have abridged thy days, but not thy life. I have shortened thy toiling, but not thy reward.'" And feeling "I go from the twilight of the sun and moon to the noonday of the splendour of glory," he gently fell asleep in Christ.

Andrew Wellwood's chief claim to interest is the little posthumous volume that bears his name. It is entitled, *Meditations, representing a Glimpse of Glory, or a Gospel discovery of Emmanuel's Land, whereunto is subjoined a spiritual hymn, intituled, The Dying Saint's Song; and some of his last letters.*

It is a 12mo of between 250 and 260 pages.

The *Glimpse* has been reprinted frequently. In 1734, Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson issued an edition in Edinburgh. Forty years later, in 1774, another edition was printed in the Bull Close opposite to the Tron Church.

In writing the *Glimpse*, Wellwood's design was plain. It was to give "a Gospel view of glory in a Scripture dialect."

The style of the book is rich and ecstatic.

Though lacking the genius and the glow of Rutherford, there is something in its pages that recalls the author of the *Letters*. So competent a

critic as Mr. Gilfillan has given it a foremost place in the literature of the Covenant. But by far, he says, the most remarkable specimens both of the power and the weakness, the faults and the merits, of the Covenanting school are to be found in the works, and particularly the letters, of Samuel Rutherford (*Heroes of Covenant*, i. 94), and in a little book breathing a similar spirit, entitled, *A Glimpse of Glory*, by Andrew Wellwood.

A brief sketch may be given here of the contents of the volume. Prefaced to it is an address by the Publishers to the reader.

“Thou hast here presented to thy View A Glimpse of Glory, from the Heavenly Zion, so bright and lively, as Nothing of humane Composure, yet extant, can equal.

“The holy Heart of the Author has been so much in Heaven, that from the End of the Prelude to the Conclusion, he talks altogether like one in Heaven already; and as a Possessor of the Glory he describes. Which is to be attentively noticed, for the better understanding of the Scope and Intent of the Discourse.”

And thus through nine pages, which give the reader some idea of the large variety of subjects handled, and anticipate certain criticisms that have been passed upon their treatment. A few biographical notes are added.

After the Publishers' Address comes a Poem written by a friend of the author “upon the sight of this rare piece.”

The Glimpse itself, which is devotional in form, falls into three parts—

- (1) The Prelude, in twenty-six sections ;
- (2) The Central Theme, in sixty-nine sections ;
- (3) The Conclusion, in eleven sections.

Thereafter follow a *Soliloquie to God*, *Prayerways*, *The Dying Saint's Song*, *five letters* written by Andrew Welwood from London, a little before his death: (1) to his mother, (2) to his brother James, (3) to his sister Helen, (4) to his cousin, Thomas Welwood, (5) to Mr. Davidson.—An *Index* and two *Latin Poems*, one in praise of the book and its author, the other an acrostic on the name of Welwood.

The book proper (Prelude—Glimpse—Conclusion) cannot be said to have any thread running through it. It is rather thoughts than a treatise. Yet the intelligent reader will find that it is not “a meer rude Heap of indigested Matter, but that there is really a comely Order observed in the Disposing of the Thoughts” (Preface). Occasionally it offends by a harsh word or thought. Sarcastic critics of the earlier expressions of Evangelical religion will find in Wellwood, as in Boston and the Erskines, something on which they can fasten. And with writers who have but an imperfect understanding of, and no spiritual affinity with, the searching thoughts and deep religious experience of the early Seceders, it may seem fitting to write in mild derision of the spiritual pasture of these worthy zealots being found in the works of Manton and Boston and Pike and Wellwood's

Glimpse of Glory (Graham, *Social Life of Scotland*, etc., ii. 107). It may, however, be confidently asserted that a work which entered so deeply into the life of those "worthy zealots," and which through so many decades was a cherished treasure on the bookshelf of the praying men and women of Scotland, is not to be dismissed with a smile. No one with any true sympathy can read it without being moved by the writer's longings, and the ardour and the loftiness of his aspirations. Those, indeed, who feel most strongly the force of the criticism, that as a whole it rather palls, from the unflagging nature of the writer, cannot but marvel at many a noble thought and striking passage.¹ Read in portions, it will do much to stimulate the aspirations that made his own life a bright quest of Christ.

We propose to bring our notice of Andrew Wellwood to a close with some extracts from his book.

"Carry thyself after the manner of these who expect the Kingdom."

"Mortality hath no greater joy, than the solide hope of glory."

"Is not grace young glory? and the forethoughts of heaven, a preparation for heaven?"

"Grace being an endowment above the strength of nature, what is it else, but young glory? For that the knowledge of the one will lead us by the hand unto the knowledge of the other: as glory is

¹ A volume on *The Devotional Literature of Scotland* is much needed, and would surprise many by its richness.

grace in the bloom and fullest vigour, so grace is glory in the bud and first springtime; the one is holiness begun, the other holiness perfected; the one is the beholding of God darkly, as through a glass, the other, beholding Him face to face."

"Who can weigh our most Noble Jewel of the new Jerusalem? Sure all the excellency of this lower universe would be of no reckoning here; yea, many worlds are not to be valued. Must not this be a glorious and delightsom city, which is immediately enlightened with the uncreated glory of Jehovah and the Lamb?"

"Thou art mine, my dearest Lord, and I am Thine: I was Thine from eternity, and Thou art become mine to eternity."

"That we might be ever with Thee and behold Thy glory, was one of Thy great petitions in the days of Thy flesh; thousand, thousand times blessed I, that ever this was asked! Thou asked nobly, and Thy Father granted like a king."

"Nothing can stand in the way of infinite love. Thou loved me, because Thou loved me; and because Thou loved me I became lovely in Thy sight. Not unto us, not unto us be the glory, but unto Jehovah and the Lamb be praise for ever and ever."

"O Almighty Jehovah, Thou givest like a king! too great a gift indeed for us to receive, but not too great for Thee to give. Nothing can be too great for Thee; and this was the greatest gift that Thou couldest give; hadst Thou gifted us ten thousand worlds of beauty . . . should they not

have been esteemed rich and noble gifts? But all is just nothing to Matchless Jesus. It is a shame to lay anything in the ballance with Him."

"As from eternity I loved them, so to eternity will I enjoy them; as I made them sharers of My sufferings and sorrow, so have I made them partakers of My glory and joy."

"O the inexpressible sweetness my soul finds in praising Thee! In the bosom of this divine exercise is contained a great reward. It is both the work and the wages; it is happiness to extol Thee; it is only hell not to be for Thy glory."

"Free Grace's Banner is the only pavilion we should for ever abide under."

"Believe it, holiness or wisdom is a rare thing: a saint is a wonder. God hath placed them among the numerous multitude of mankind, like so many signs and wonders; so many saints in the world, so many miracles of nature; a saint in the calender of the generality of professors is an ordinary person; but in Christ's, most extraordinary. . . . A saint hath not the stamp and fashion of this world; his heart and love are quite gone from him to another place; his words, his actions, his deportment manifest he seeks a country above."

"As the Lord Jesus is, so is he in a great part. Every one of the saints resembles the children of the King of kings; among all the sons of Adam, there are none their like."

"Even the strongest difficulties, tentations, and foes, when overcome, yield the sweetest victory:

and the thoughts of having rushed through so many enemies, and so strong, shall be sweet throughout eternity."

"It shall take up eternity to cry up the inconceivable love of Jehovah and the Lamb."

"Consider, how great a business Salvation is. We can never consider it enough. You will think so when you come to death, which you ought to look upon as at the door."

"I find the only way to heaven, that new and living way, is only by the blood of the Son of God: there is no other way but, Believe in Christ and be saved. But it is a lively, purifying, loving, and believing way."

"The melody of heaven draws me nearer and nearer; I cannot, I will not, I may not rest, until I look within the veil."

"Other loves are but the picture and resemblance of love, to this sublime and noble love of Jesus."

"The more we were graced, the more we were enabled, the more we were obliged."

"Ah! Sirs, I fear many of you have taken but a View of our Wel-beloved's Country, on the by, and no more."

"Christ is a good Tutor and Governour, and carries all these well through, that commit themselves to Him."

"One Moment's immediate Converse with Jehovah and the Lamb, shall eradicate all the umpressions of Sorrow and Grief that I can possibly undergo."

“None can have low Thoughts of Thee, but they that know Thee not.”

“Free redeeming Love hath been written on all the Passages of my Pilgrimage! and most in the last Water.”

“What hast thou here, that may draw thee aside from the Center of thy Felicity, but for one moment? If this World in her rosie and youthful Constitution be very Vanity and Vexation of Spirit, what must there be now in her sad and withered State? If in her Smiles she be not worth the regarding, what Folly is it to court a frowning Nothing? What we know not, that we cannot love; and what we behold lovely, we cannot but love it.”

“If we search not for the Glory to come, then let us search after Nothing at all.”

“Is it not evident we have our Eyes too much upon Shadows? And that we divide our Looks betwixt Heaven and Earth, since our joys are more carnal than spiritual, and our Longings and Desires run so little heaven-ward?”

“Sweet, sweet is the Way to my blessed Home! Can the Way be thought tedious, that leadeth to such boundless Joy?”

“Can any Thing befall you, except withering and Decay? Come hither, this is the Suny side of the World: were ye here, ye could not but cry out, *The lines are fallen to me in pleasant Places, yea I have a goodly heritage.*”

“If ye be wise, O Citizens of the New Jerusalem,

range not without the Borders of your Kingdom, lest some Evil befall you."

"Who are most accomplished for the greatest Actions and sufferings for Christ? Who, but these who are most above?"

"Know much of God; and know much of all Things."

"They have the sunny Side of the World, who behold thy Face in Righteousness."

"How beautiful and comely are we become, through the Blood of the Lamb? . . . Sirs, are we not far changed? May not every one of us say, I am not I? Might we not misken ourselves, were it possible such a Thing were compatible with Glory?"

"How bravely have all Exigencies and cross Dispensations conspired to my Welfare? Now, I see *All* Things work together for the Good of those that love Thee. The saddest, and most cross junctures of Providence have been the best: When Thou seemedst to be smiting, Thou wast healing; When Thou appeared to be destroying, Thou wast making me up."

XII

THE MINIMANS OF ABERNYTE

ONE day in January 1651, there was ordained over the quiet parish of Abernyte a young St. Andrews graduate. Scottish affairs were then in a troubled condition, and the Carse was rent like the country. The parish of Collace skirts Abernyte. Its minister, Andrew Forrester (1620), had pleased King James by embracing Episcopacy. But, according to Row, he was settled over the bellies of the people; and although he lived a good many years after this, Row adds that he was not useful, but died in great misery of soul, his conscience accusing him of betraying his Lord.

A different man was the young St. Andrews graduate who came to Abernyte in 1651.

John Miniman was his name. He had been chaplain to the Master of Gray, and was a man of some decision of character. Thus, in the records of Auchterhouse we read, under April 23rd, 1650—“Mr. John Mignemane, chaplain to the Master of Gray, being appointed by Presbytery to preach in our Church, refused and came not; so there was no preaching.” Of this conduct, Mr. Inglis in his *Annals of an Angus Parish* gives the explanation

that the Presbytery of Dundee was at the time split into the two parties—the Resolutioners and the Protesters. Miniman being a Resolutioner, would have nothing to do with the Protesters of Auchterhouse.

In 1662, that is, eleven years after his settlement at Abernyte, Miniman was deprived by Acts of Parliament and of the Privy Council, and by decree of the latter, in 1663, he was ordained to remove. Amongst those thus ordered are four names in the Presbytery of Dundee, Miniman of Abernyte, Campbell of Tealing, etc.

A new minister was appointed to Abernyte.

In the Abernyte records, the first entry reads: "December 4, 1664. The whilk day, Mr. Androw Shippert was admitted minister of Aberneit by Mr. Robert White, minister at Instur, being authorized by my Lord Bishop of Dunkelden to that effect." "Collected that day seven shillings two pennies."

As elsewhere in the Carse, the situation at Abernyte reflected the troubled condition of things. For Shippert found no session record, nothing in the box for the poor, no money lent out, and no mortification for their behoof.

A little later Miniman was cited with some others to appear before the Privy Council. The ground of offence was that they had continued at their former residence and churches, and that, in contempt of and contrary to the indulgence granted them by the late Act, they persisted in their wicked courses, "still labouring to keep the hearts of the

people from the present government of church and state, by their pernicious doctrine."

The *P. C. Record* (1663) reads: "The Lords of his Majesties Privy Councill, being informed that there are severall ministers within the dioces of Dunkeld who not only contrar to the order of Councill dated at Glasgow the first October last, doe continow at their former residences and churches, bot in manifest contempt thereof and contrar to the indulgence granted to them be the late act, dated 23 December last, doe persist in their wicked practises still labouring to keip the hearts of the people from the present government of Church and State by their pernicious doctrin; and more particularly that Messrs. Patrick Campbell, minister at Killine, Jon Anderson at Ochtergaven, Francis Person at Kirkmichaell, David Graham at Forgandenny, George Halliburton at Duplin, Richard Forret at Ava, Jon Miniman at Abernytt, Jon Campbell at Teling, David Campbell at Menmwir, Thomas Lundy at Ratry, etc. . . . are cheiff instruments in carying on that wicked course, therfor the saids Lords of Councill ordaines letters to be direct to charg the fornant persons and everyone of them to remove themselves, their wyves, bairnes, families, servants, goods and geir furth and frae their respective duelling places and manses and outwith the bounds of the presbyteries where they now live, and that they doe not take upon them to exerce any part of the ministeriall function either privatly or publictly; and also command and

charge them and every one of them to compear before the saids Lords the . . . day of . . . to answer for their former disobedience, with certification."

As no appearance is recorded, it may be assumed that they yielded to the storm, and quitted their manses and kirks.

But this is certain, they were not silent. A decret exists, dated July 16th, 1674, against several outed ministers. Therein it is said, that upon the first, second, or remanent days of April, May, or June last, the persons underwritten, of whom were John Welwood and John Munniman, "have, in open and manifest contempt of our authority and law, taken upon them to preach, expound scripture, or pray at conventicles in the fields, at the places following, at least in the houses after specified, where there were more persons present than the houses contained, so as some were without doors . . . and being many times called, and not compearing, the lords of his majesty's privy council ordain letters to be directed to a messenger at arms, to denounce them his majesty's rebels, and to put them to the horn."

This is briefly told the story of John Miniman. More pathetic is the tale of his wife, the heroine of the manse.

Her maiden name was Margaret Bonar, an honoured surname in Scottish Church history. Margaret Bonar, the heroine of Abernyte manse, and Andrew Bonar, the gentle pastor of Collace, make a noble pair.

Margaret Bonar Miniman was the steadfast ally of her husband in the anxious years that commence with the middle of the seventeenth century. A son and a daughter were born to them, a blink of brightness in a sky that swiftly darkened for them all. For, first, John Miniman died, then his son, then his widow, leaving Christian, their only daughter, to mourn their loss. But this is anticipating.

When John Miniman died, a sore stroke befell his widow. The times were growing fiercer in Scotland.

Under the influence of Threipland and Kinnaird the situation was harassing at Perth and in the Carse, and measures were taken which to-day appear vindictive.

Amongst those cited (October 16th, 1684) to the Kirk-session of Perth for attending Conventicles were Margaret Bonar, relict of Mr. John Miniman, minister at Abernyte, and Margaret Playfair, relict of Mr. G. Halyburton, daughter of a St. Madoes teacher, and mother of Thomas Halyburton: a worthy and heroic alliance.

This was not the first time that Margaret Miniman had been cited to appear before courts in defence of her principles. And once when the brave woman pled that she might be released to see her son who was dying, the request was refused. So sorrowing and rejoicing, she toiled, counting not her life dear for the sake of the truth.

XIII

GOURLAY THE COVENANTER

AMONGST the Covenanting heroes of Scotland, the name of James Gourlay deserves an honourable place. He was born about the year 1644 in the Carse of Gowrie, where the surname of Gourlay used to be fairly common. But the stirring part of his life was spent in the west, not far from Cambusnethan. Here, indeed, he died, it would appear from his tombstone in the churchyard of Cambusnethan, in 1714.

Gourlay was present at Bothwell Bridge, but succeeded in evading his would-be captors at the close of that fateful day. On his flight, it is said, he came to a wall over which he could not leap. Capture or death seemed inevitable. Happily he had in his pocket a large clasp knife, whose blade he managed to insert into a chink of the wall. By this means he scaled it; and then, amid a shower of bullets, disappeared into the partial shelter of the neighbouring thicket. Thence he fled to the Clyde, in whose stream and waving shrubs he hid till night fell. Though Gourlay, in this way, eluded capture, he found himself injured for life, by the cold of the river, after the heat and excitement of the battle.

This was by no means the only occasion on which Gourlay had to seek shelter. Once and again he took refuge with his friends in the Garrion-gill, a ravine situated not far from his farm of Overtown in Cambusnethan. On one occasion, when at Overtown, he was summoned at midnight to surrender. Answering from within that he was prepared to open the house, he quietly unbolted the back-door, and making a dart for life, swept past the troopers into the gloom of Garrion-gill.

According to tradition, he made a still more narrow escape. In charge of a party of troopers who had captured him, and were taking him to Hamilton, he found himself locked up in a stall with the horses. During the absence of his guard, he managed, by standing on a horse, to gain the joists, from which he forced his way through the thatch and thus escaped.

During these anxious days Gourlay was bravely succoured by his wife, Mary Weir, who prayed and laboured for her home and the truth.

In later times, when the storm of persecution rolled past, Gourlay and his wife lived an honoured life at Cambusnethan. Their descendants have been many; and the Gourlays and the Gibbs have been amongst the staunchest members of the Secession Church.

One point about Gourlay has not yet been elucidated. Wodrow mentions, in his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, how in October 1683, "James Forest in Old-yards," in the parish of

Cambusnethan, and his son, with his nephew, Robert Gourlay, were seized by a party of soldiers. The following year, "James Forrest, younger," and, amongst others, James Gourlay, were before the committee for public affairs. James is possibly a misprint for Robert, or *vice versa*, unless he is himself the Carse Covenanter. If this cannot be proved, it may be assumed with some confidence that a relationship exists between them.

In Turnbull's *Diary* (Scottish History Society) there is a reference to Robert Gourlay. Cf. p. 351.

XIV

DR. CANARIES : A VICAR OF BRAY

“A Man’s changing his Religion, as he does his Clothes, may bring him for some Time under the good Opinion of those he joins, but can never give him a settled Reputation among good Men.”—Rev. JAS. ADAMS, Kinnaird.

THE original form of the name Brontë was probably O’Prunty. And from this through Bruntee, Brunty, Branty, it passed into the dignified name Brontë, Curious it is to watch the growth of a name. In the old kirkyards of the Carse there are some quaint forms of honourable names. On a stone in Dargie we see Cock becoming Cocks and then Cox. One branch of the family now calls itself Cox-Cox.

The subject of this sketch is Dr. James Canaries, esteemed by M’Crie one of the most distinguished writers against the Presbyterians. His father bore the less conspicuous name of Kinneres. Still earlier it was simpler. We have called him a Vicar of Bray. But perhaps unjustly although he was everything by turn, and nothing for long. His father was the Protestant minister of Kinnaird. Thence, young Kinneres passed to Popery. This he renounced, and was settled in

Scotland. In course of time, quitting the Scottish Church, he became a rector in England, completing his somersault by writing a bitter attack on the Presbyterians in a work entitled, *A Scourge for the Presbyterian's Back*.

Such in brief outline is the story of James Kinnerses, who is known to historians as Dr. James Canaries.

Mr. Spence, in the Statistical Account of Kinnaird, is indisposed to claim distinction for any of its sons. Nor do we claim for Canaries a place in the front ranks of Scotland. Yet assuredly in his day he was a man to be reckoned with; and in our own day his story is of interest sufficient to detain us.

His father, Thomas Kinnerses, was, as we have said, minister of Kinnaird, a small, somewhat remote, and sparsely populated parish. Graduating at St. Andrews in 1635, he was called to Kinnaird in 1649, where he laboured for twenty-eight years, dying in 1677 about the age of sixty-two. The middle of the seventeenth century was a troubled time in Perthshire and in Scotland. There was no preaching at Kinnaird from 6th to 20th July 1651, the minister "being with the army." Next month, again, there was "no sermon," the enemy being at Perth; and later we read of there being "no preaching for a time because of the enimie in thir fields."

It was an anxious time. Money was scarce and harvests were doubtful. It meant some courage and effort to face the building of the church. But it was needed. A quaint entry in the Session

Records states that on several occasions in 1675 there was "no preaching here because the barn-doors, wherein the minister did formerlie preach, were closed, all the seats removed, and the kirk not in a condition to preach therein."

James was the eldest son. After a distinguished course at St. Andrews, he entered on trials for licence before the Presbytery of Perth in 1671. He defines his position as opposed both to fanatical principles and methods, and to Popery. And what manner of man his father was we judge from what he adds: "I bless God I was educated in such Principles by a Father, who, in the late Troubles, was a considerable Sufferer for them, that to this very hour I never knew what it was to have the least kindness for any thing that but looked disloyal."

About this time, 1671, wayward in purpose if not in life, he went to Rome, where he was led "by the sophistry of some Jesuits" to embrace Popery, though it is doubtful if he was ever in orders. On his return to Scotland he was employed as a teacher in the Presbytery of St. Andrews in 1681; and, in the following year, he was solemnly received again into the communion of the Church "after his discoursing at great length of the temptations he was under to make defection, and of the motives, convictions, and inducements that made him after some time 'nauseat' that religion."

Before May 29th, 1685, he was admitted minister of Selkirk, and had D.D. conferred upon him.

Fountainhall calls him in one place Mr. Kinaries, minister at Selkrig.

The first literary venture of Canaries was a volume of 296 pages, entitled, *A Discourse representing the Sufficient Manifestation of the Will of God to his Church in all its several Periods and Dispensations.*

The book is founded on the words, Rom. xii. 1, "your reasonable service." It is dedicated to the Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland, and was issued in 1684, after his return from Rome.

Some, he judged, might think there was affectation in his style. But it was not so. He had no designs. So he put his name to the work, which otherwise he had not done, "especially when my circumstances are such as make me yet depend upon the world for my fortune in it."

The style is grandiose.¹ He speaks of Christ's "spotless Morning (tho' clouded with the Swadling-cloaths of weeping Humanity)" being "introduc'd with the warbling Anthems of those Cœlestial Larks, the transported Angels," etc., p. 65.

The argument is that in what God did and said to Adam, to Abraham, to Moses and the people, to the prophets, in what He did and said in Christ and in the apostles, He had manifested Himself sufficiently. Throughout the book there is a certain vigour, notably in what he says of the apostles.

¹ In *Curat Calder Whipt*, Canaries is described as a vain, empty bubble.

Canaries had little patience with the struggle of the day, and with the men who were standing for freedom. "Indeed, I think (with submission to Authority) that the only pertinent Phlebotomy wherewith their Veins could be let Blood of, were that of a Launcet; and that no kind of Hemp could be more properly applyed to any other place of them, than their Shoulders," p. 186. "He speaks of them being worked up to Rebellion, Regicide, Murder, and giving their neck to the Hangman, when for once but to say God save the King would save them. He speaks of them going to the scaffold with "such an insolent undauntedness, as if they went there, rather to act the part of some Mountebank or Bravado, than that of a Criminal, or Malefactor," . . . a herd of "dull and untractable, and whining and debauched Animals." And he had a fierce hate for desperado Whigs who skulked in dark caverns and holes.

We have quoted this language on purpose. For we have been so accustomed to hot declamation on the fierce invective of the Covenanters that it is well to remind ourselves that there is another side to the matter. If jibes and taunts could have moved them, if the tortures of the Council and the terrors of the scaffold could have daunted them, daunted the men who fought for freedom would have been. But the jibe was as futile as death.

His next publication was, *A Sermon preacht at Selkirk upon the 29th of May 1685. Being the Anniversary of the Restoration of the Royal Family*

to the Throne of these Kingdoms. By James Canaries, Minister of the Gospel there. Edinburgh, 1685.

It is dedicated to the Earl of Perth, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.

The text is Ps. xx. 5 : "We will rejoice in Thy salvation."

Canaries was enthusiastic for Charles I. and the Stuarts, and had no love for Presbytery. He speaks (p. 6) of the Church "being subjected to the basest Anarchical Model of insolent and confounding Presbytery, wherein a medley of imperious Clergymen and whining Laicks metamorphos'd all things belonging to its Discipline and Worship into as much a Chaos as was the mungrel composure of their own selves," etc. etc.

His detestation of that "cursed Oliver" is correspondingly great, and he anticipated that James would reconcile the being good and great.

On p. 17 we have his view of Charles II. "I defie the greatest Republican ever to afford me an instance of Plenty and Happiness which was enjoyed under a Common-wealth parallel to that which we appeal to of these five and twenty years last bygone, which were effluxt under our Monarch; whose Subjects had wallowed in such unmixt uninterrupted Felicities, as had almost made them forget they were Earthly; had not some factious devilish Malecontents, kept them in mind of the contrary by those Disturbances and Rubbs which they threw in their Road."

He has some curious references to his visit to Rome, p. 21.

Two years later there appeared *Rome's Additions to Christianity shewn to be Inconsistent with the True Design of so Spiritual a Religion. In a Sermon preached at Edinburgh in the East Church of St. Giles, February 14, 1688. To which is prefixt a Letter vindicating it from the Misrepresentations of some of the Romish Church. By James Canaries, D.D., and Minister of the Gospel at Selkirk in Scotland.* Edinburgh: Printed in the year 1686.

It is a sermon of 20 pages, quarto, on the words in Gal. v. 6, and was written after he had renounced allegiance to Rome. Of this he says: "Now, Sir, to complete all, it is said that I should have been civil to a Religion I was once of. 'Tis true, I went abroad about nine years ago, scarcely being then of Age, and very unsettled in my judgment, and unripe in my Reason; and then I was abused by the Sophistry of some Jesuits, several unlucky circumstances concurring to favour their ill designs upon me. And thus I continued with them till towards three years, that through the mercy of God I was brought back again to that pure and reasonable Religion from which I had so foolishly apostatiz'd. And indeed I was not long at Rome when I began to discover what a lamentable change I had made. For to any ingenuous man there can hardly be a more convincing demonstration, than that Ocular one which is daily to be

seen there. So that if Papists will deal prudently with their new Proselytes, they'll be very wary to send them too soon into that place."

There is nothing striking in the sermon itself. The writer first gives a brief account of religion before Christ, and then deals with the "special and principal Design of that which he preached to the world."

In treating of these, he tries to warn all against Popery, a religion which he describes as "superstitious and unreasonable and disloyal."

This sermon had important consequences for Canaries. Its publication was popular, and from the antecedents of the preacher excited general attention. Two days after it was preached in St. Giles, it was brought under the notice of the Privy Council. The Chancellor, Perth, whose wife had been insulted as she returned from Mass, was especially forward in the matter; and on February 16, moved that "notice should be taken of a seditious sermon, preached the Sunday immediately before, in the Hy-Church, by Mr. Canairies, lately Popish, and now Minister at Selkirk. He had given his opinion freely against Popery, "that no man without renouncing his sence and reason can imbrace sundry of ther articles, such as the Pope's Infallibility, Transubstantion, etc.; tho' the Papists say, this is to lean to reason with the Socinian, and to deny the mysteries of the Christian religion: but how shall a Turk or a Pagan be converted but by his senses; to tell him bread is flesh will make him

repute us mad. Claverhouse backed the Chancellor in this, but ther being a deep silence in all the rest of the Counsellors, it was past over at this tyme" (Lauder's *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs*, ii. 709. Cf. also *Chron. Notes*, pp. 163 and 207).

A week later, however, Queensberry was removed, and the Chancellor commanded Cairncross, Archbishop of Glasgow, to suspend Canaries for his sermon; and a second time Cairncross silenced him "at Moffat Well without his co-presbyters, for printing a letter praeixed to his Sermon" (ii. 746).

But intrigue was in the air. Canaries declared that Cairncross "incouradged him, after his offensive Sermon, to goe to London and print it, and lent him 20 lb. sterling to bear his charges" (ii. 776). The following year, Cairncross himself was deprived of his see.

For this one ground, if, indeed, not the chief, was the offence he had given to the King and the Chancellor in "refusing to take notice of a sermon against Popery until it had been published in London." This refers, of course, to Canaries' sermon. But Bishop Keith observes that his removal was deserved, if all be true which Dr. Canaries relates.

(For account of the dispute, see Skinner's *Eccles. Hist. of Scotland*, ii. 502-3; Grub, iii. 313; W. L. Mathieson's *Politics and Religion*, ii. 329-30. Scottish Pamphlets collected by John Mason (Edin. Univ. Library). Mr. Terry, in *John Graham of Claverhouse*, p. 222, uses the somewhat hesitating

words: "If, as Fountainhall declares, its author was 'lately Popish,'" etc. There is no If. (Lawson's *Epis. Church*, i. 877; Bishop Keith, etc.)

About three years later, Canaries published a sermon (quarto) preached in St. Giles, Edinburgh, on the 30th January 1689, "the anniversary of the Martyrdome of King Charles the First."

It is on Rom. xiii. 5, and has been expanded into a book. He mentions in it that from February 1686 to December 1687 he was laid aside from his charge merely for preaching a sermon against Popery from the pulpit he was preaching in in Edinburgh. It is a panegyric of King Charles the martyr. He describes his death as the "greatest Villany and Wickedness, as well in its Formalities as in its Substance, that ever the Sun beheld: For its Creators Sufferings made it shrink in its Head; and here it had also done it, but that there was such a distinction to be made by it, when not the God of Nature, but the best King in the World was butchered by the bloody hands of impious Men, or rather Incarnate Furies."

This will give the key to his position in regard to the question of subjection which, being directly commanded in the Scripture, it follows that Rebellion must be the most contradictory thing imaginable (p. 86). By this time, Canaries was veering towards the Church of England, for which he claims the whole honour of demonstrating the truth against the Church of Rome.

Troubles thickened round Canaries. He was

charged in 1689 with refusing to read the Proclamation of the Estates and with not praying for William and Mary, and with praying for the late King that "God would restore him to his wonted privileges," and also with maintaining correspondence with Papists and with not observing the Fast.

The charges were held to be not proven. That there were grounds for distrusting him is sure. In the *Analecta* we read—

"November [1690]. Dr. Canaries is gone for London, as the Curats' agent made and forged a paper of the Assembly's Causes of the Fast, presented it to the King and Council. Discovered by the Lord Melvil to be a forgery, yet not rebuked."

Canaries was constantly working for his allies. In 1690, when William was preparing to embark for Holland, he waited on the King along with Mr. Leask as a representative of the Episcopal clergy.

Leask and Canaries were invited to follow the King to Holland. This they did, and Canaries, at least, was alert in his business. Writing from The Hague in 1691 to his brother-in-law, William Carstares says: "Dr. Canaries and Mr. Leask are here, doing what they can for their friends."

That he had considerable influence with William is certain. On behalf of the Episcopalians, he had taken to the King a declaration of their loyalty, as also a complaint of what they were suffering from the Commission of the Kirk. William was busy with matters of European concern, and his advisers

were reluctant that he should be troubled. But he sent a letter to the Commissioners of Assembly counselling lenity, and very specially begging that such of the Episcopalian clergy as submitted to Presbytery and qualified to the Government, should not be disturbed till he should authorise them, and that, in the meantime, they should revise such sentences as might be complained of as unjust.

Accordingly, at the Assembly of 1692, Canaries at the head of 180 Episcopal ministers, and in the name of more, requested to be received, offering to subscribe the following: "I, A. B., do sincerely promise and declare that I will submit to the Presbyterian government of the Church, and that I will subscribe the Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, ratified by Act of Parliament in the year 1690, as containing the doctrine of the Protestant religion professed in this kingdom." But the leaders of the Church had little confidence in Canaries, and regarded the declaration as not really binding its authors either to the doctrine or to the constitution of the Church. In 1691 the parish of Selkirk had been declared vacant, and now his petition to be received again into communion was refused. Canaries appealed to the King for redress, and Lord Lothian, the High Commissioner, dissolved the meeting *sine die*; but the Assembly maintained its rights, and appointed its next meeting.

For a time high hopes filled the minds of the Jacobite party; but the facts of the situation came to be perceived, and in 1693 Parliament ordained

“that no one be admitted or continued a minister or preacher till he first subscribe the allegiance and assurance, also subscribe the Confession of Faith,” and to Presbyterian Church government, and “that they apply in an orderly way, each man for himself to be admitted.”

Thus the game of Canaries was up.

Not long after this time he went to England, where he became rector at Abington. Here, freed from the responsibilities of Church courts, he was able, without let, to attack his former comrades. Canaries is credited with being responsible along with Robert Calder for the production in 1692 of a work which produced a great sensation, *The Scots Presbyterian Eloquence*. Ridpath in his *Answer* has various stories about *Parson Canaries*, commonly called *Doctor*, and about Cairncross, which, if true, are greatly to their dishonour, pp. 124, 129. Cf. Lachlan Shaw's *History of the Province of Moray*; Lawson's *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church*.

Principal Munro says that Canaries told him that he had been pursued with great acerbity on account of his actions; but, according to Munro, the wise men among the Presbyterians frequently owned to Canaries “that as they hated such methods, they highly disapproved the particular injustice that was done to the Doctor.”

We do not feel called to justify anything that was wrong or harsh in the action of the Government or the Church at the time of the Revolution. But Canaries, above most men, was a vexatious character.

GLIMPSES ABOUT THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTION

1680. The "outed" Episcopal ministers of Redgorton and Kilspindie baptise bairns in the great Kirk of Perth.

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Practically none of the ministers of the Presbytery of Perth conformed at once to the changes at the Revolution.

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In *Errol Record* we read: "Sabbath, September 8, 1689. No sermon, because the troopers came into the town with sound of trumpet, and dissipat the people; and the minister was informed that they would offer violence to him."

Dr. Nicolson was incumbent at Errol from 1666 to 1691-92, when he was deprived for not submitting to the new Government. In the judgment of his Session, he had discharged his work with fidelity. "November 1, 1689. The Session, this day, with ane voice declared that the Doctor had been very painful and faithful in the exercise of all the points and parts of the ministerial function among them."

The minister of Kinnoull was also deprived.

The case of Mr. Gall of Kinfauns is full of interest. According to the Perth MSS. he "was, according to many traditionary accounts, a man of the most respectable and amiable character. He was well affected to the revolution of civil government, and thankful that the three kingdoms were happily delivered from the apprehensions justly entertained of the intended introduction of Popery." In this he acted as did most of the clergy in England. But when Episcopacy was disestablished, the Church in his judgment ruined and its ministers prosecuted, his affections were alienated from the Government, and with not a few he desisted from mentioning King William and Mary in public prayer.

In consequence of his inability to conform, he was deposed by the Presbytery in 1697. Mr. David Shaw was appointed to declare the church vacant; but, says the Perth MS., "met with such opposition that he could only be allowed to preach in the kirkyard, where he intimated the Presbytery's sentence." The following year, letters were procured and executed against Mr. Gall, who "then left the parish wholly, and gave no more trouble to the Presbytery."

His successor was admitted in 1700.

Mr. John Blair, minister of Kilspindie, remained for seven years after the Revolution in possession of the parish. He scouted the sentences of the Presbyterians, and openly defied them. It is recorded

that "ministers sent from time to time by the Presbytery sometimes were allowed to preach at the kirk door, and sometimes were not allowed by the people to come near the kirk at all" (cf. Perth MS.).

In Jan. 1693 the Lords of the Scottish Privy Council, understanding that "Mr. Laurens Mercer, minister at Gask . . . and Mr. John Blair, minister at Kilspindie, all within the Sheriffdome of Perth," had been exercising their functions without qualifying to Government, "deprive the saids fyve ministers of their respective benefices at their churches above named, and declare the said churches vacant . . . and ordains them to remove from their respective manses at the terme of Whitsunday next, and discharges them to labour their gleib or any pairt thereof in tyme coming."

Not till 1698 did the Presbyterian minister obtain possession.

Still more interesting is the account preserved in the Perth MS. of the doings in the parish of St. Madoes. Mr. Hall, the incumbent, was "vigorously supported a long time by his heritors in the possession of his parish. He was in the beginning attached to the Revolution, and mentioned King William and Queen Mary in his prayers; but when he found that the Episcopal Church was wholly overturned under the new administration, and that Acts of Parliament and of Privy Council, which appeared to him too severe, were made from time to time, not only ejecting the former ministers but forbidding all Episcopal ministers in Scotland,

however well affected to the civil constitution, to execute any part of the ministerial office, he seems to have become less loyal."

In 1697 he was deprived for not praying for the King, and "for that he had baptized a child in his own kirk brought from the parish of Kilspindy."

"Mr. William Dick, who was appointed to preach at St. Madoes and intimate the Presbytery's sentence, reported, September 1, 1697, that he went for that purpose, but met with such opposition from the Lairds of Pitfour, elder and younger, and their associates, that he could get no access to preach in the kirk nor on the ground of the parish, being all Pitfour's land. Yet, notwithstanding, he intimated the sentence, and declared the kirk vacant, and required old Pitfour and another man and a woman to be witnesses, all others being kept at a considerable distance from him."

It was not till 1699 that the Presbyterian minister got possession, and even then "he felt himself in such an uneasy situation" that he left it at the end of three months.

Thomson of Benvie had also a rough experience. Having publicly prayed for King James at a meeting of Dundee Presbytery, his gown was pulled off by the enraged populace, and he himself imprisoned by the magistrates about the time of the Revolution.

Oliphant of Rossie, who had been removed, was allowed to return, "he having expressed before the Synod his repentance for his compliance with Prelacie."

The ministers at the time had no distinctive garb.

When Errol parish was vacant "by the expulsion of the reverend and learned Dr. Nicolson," the elders and heritors, who were "men of quality," met to arrange for choosing and calling a successor.

They eventually agreed to address a call to Mr. Leask, "a person," writes Calder, "of indisputable qualification for the ministry."

Lord Kinnaird, who was the chief heritor, went with others to the Presbytery to intimate their call to Mr. Leask. When Lord Kinnaird entered the place where the Presbytery was assembled, he asked "If these were the ministers of the Presbytery." "Do not you see that we are?" said the Moderator. To which his Lordship replied that by their garb nobody could know them, and that their spirit was invisible.

Calder, who relates the incident, adds that the grave new gospellers rejected Leask and called instead "a hot-headed young man of their own stamp." This seems hard on the men of Errol, and it is not kindly to Mr. Nairne, who had been chosen.

After the Revolution in 1688, in order to restrain the growth of Popery, an annual survey of parishes was made by the ministers of parishes, or commissioners nominated by the Assembly, who were to report the names of all papists within their bounds—priests—popish schoolmasters and mistresses. In the Carse in 1702, there were Butter, Laird of Gormock in Erroll parioch, with four children (his

wife whom he had put away was Protestant), and "in the parish of Kilspindie the Lady Blairhall, who lives privatlie from the Laird her husband, having two daughters under her educatione."

Roman Catholicism had practically ceased to have adherents in the Carse. It has few to-day.

BOOK III

XVI

ADAMS OF KINNAIRD

THE first entry in the index to Robert Chambers's fascinating volume, *The Threiplands of Fingask*, makes mention of the dastardly conduct of one of the ministers of Kinnaird. Robert Chambers calls the "officious minister" Adam. His true name was James Adams.

It was in the closing year of the 17th century, that Adams took his degree at St. Andrews, and eight years later he was ordained to the parish of Kinnaird. He died early in 1734, in the twenty-seventh year of his ministry.

Kinnaird is one of the smaller parishes in Scotland. Its population (1911) is 172. But it has charms of its own. The views from the Braes of Kinnaird are charming. Its Castle, a massive square tower of perhaps the fifteenth century, stands romantically on their slopes, while the woods and towers of Fingask seem haunted with the knightly forms of chivalrous Jacobites, and seem to echo snatches of their songs.

It was the Laird of Fingask and Kinnaird who presented Adams to the church, then, as the minister described it, a remote country congregation. Sir David Threipland—that was his name—belonged to an old family which seems to have come originally from Peeblesshire.

It lies beyond our purpose to trace the fortunes of the family of Fingask. Nor is it needful, for Robert Chambers has done it with picturesqueness and appreciation. Suffice it to say that the Fingask family had been now for a long time Loyalists both in Church and State. Some curious episodes might be told anent it.

The then Laird, Sir David (1700), was pronounced in his Stuart proclivities. He was one of those who longed for a Stuart Restoration, and, indeed, kept himself in correspondence with the Court of the Chevalier. There used to be shooting parties at Fingask and Rait which were in reality political gatherings. Sir David and his son both joined the standard of the Pretender in 1715, and, early in the following year, entertained the Chevalier at Fingask. The feeling in Perthshire was pretty strong in favour of James. Sixty-nine at least of its notables were implicated in the Rebellion.

The Carse of Gowrie had some warm partisans. One of the Earls of Strathmore, who then owned Castle Lyon (= Castle Huntly), fell at Sheriffmuir.

The famous Jacobite song,

“Will ye go to Sheriffmuir
Bauld John o’ Innisture?”

reflects the feeling that prevailed. The Chevalier halted at Castle Lyon for lunch on his way from Dundee to Fingask. His progress along the Carse awakened much enthusiasm. The country folk hastened to touch the Pretender or his horse. One of them, John Doig, a retainer of the family, suffered for his loyalty. He was denied the privileges of the Church for kissing his boots. The reception at Fingask was princely.

“When the King came to Fingask,
To see Sir David and his lady,
A cod’s head weel made wi’ sauce
Took a hunder pund to make it ready.”

Chambers recalls a recollection “handed down from John Doig, the hero of the Chevalier’s boot, as to his being taken to see ‘a grand lady’ arrive at the castle, first alighting in the paved court at the gateway, and then ascending the stairs in her superb dress of green and gold, with two men bearing her train,” p. 27. There is a tradition that the Countess of Strathmore travelled in this way, and it is thought that she may be referred to.

Before long the Chevalier was forced to retreat, and the insurrection was broken. Sir David’s estates were forfeited, and a price put upon his head. To avoid being taken prisoner, he had himself to wander about for months on the braes of Angus and Aberdeenshire. Tradition tells how, thanks to the chivalry of his servants and tenants, he sometimes found a shelter in their homes; and he is even said to have stayed in his own house

at an odd time. A little way from Fingask there is a croft which is picturesquely associated with those days. It used to be commonly spoken of as *The Lady's Ward*. Its history is this. The Lady's Ward is really the Lady's Reward. Lady Threipland gave the croft as a mark of honour to one of her servants, David Ritchie, who had facilitated the visits of Sir David, and kept the secret of his master with discretion and fidelity. David Ritchie had his difficulties to face, for the minister and the laird were on opposite sides. Adams, too, was of a pugnacious disposition. He denounced the rebels and the rebellion from the pulpit, and launched out against those who helped them. Adams had a shrewd suspicion of what was going on, so he sent for David. He tried by all sort of means to get him to tell his secret. £500 had been set on Sir David's head. He reminded him of that. Failing with a bribe, he tried to succeed with a threat. He threatened to deny him kirk privileges. But David Ritchie met it by saying, "Very well, the sin be on your head, not on mine!"

Even Lady Threipland had her troubles with Adams. He called one day at the Castle on what was a grievous errand, for "this officious minister," as Robert Chambers writes, "having got some inkling of the visits of a strange man who stayed in Fingask Castle all night, thought himself bound in duty to call and remonstrate with her ladyship on the impropriety of such conduct on her part

while her husband was from home. We may imagine the vexation with which so spirited a woman would find herself obliged to submit to an imputation on her honour, in order to avoid the sorer calamity of endangering the life of her husband," p. 33.

Adams was not the man to appreciate the Laird, nor to command his affection. Just about forty years before, in 1674, one of the Threiplands, then Provost of Perth, had received the thanks of the Chancellor for his diligence in repressing conventicles. Sir David's sympathies leant that way. That Adams grew in sympathy with the Covenant seems certain. But he had it from the beginning. He had a great admiration for the Covenanters, "our worthy ancestors," so he called them. He spoke of the pleasure of fighting for the good old cause, and went further as to the binding obligation of the Covenants than most of his brethren.

Adams was a man of fiery temperament. And the state of things at Kinnaird was perplexing. The Threiplands took one line, Adams another. It was a non-jurant clergyman who was brought from Perth in 1716 to administer the sacrament to Lady Threipland when she was thought to be dying, and it was he who baptized her infant son. The Bishop of Edinburgh, Bishop Rose, was a relative of the family and a visitor at Fingask. Some of the parishioners thought with the Laird, some with their minister. The result was rather unhappy. A good deal of disaffection, both to

the Church and to the State, existed. This galled Mr. Adams, and the vehemence of his tone seemed to increase. Speaking of the Covenants he writes in 1728: "But since their Rest is unmannerly disturbed, I have a great mind to use my low Interest and Talents to procure them Civil Usage; and I doubt not of the Concurrence of all the true Sons of the Church. 'Tis a little surprising, I own, to think how this Argument falls to my Share; yet I must say, it would raise the Spirits and Indignation of a cooler Constitution than mine yet is, to hear one of the valuable Branches of our Reformation harangued and scribbled against by Men of our own Communion" (*Indep. Ghost*, p. 43).

This being the state of matters at Kinnaird, it need not surprise us that religious life was feeble. Across the hills at Collace there was much earnest life fostered under the ministry of Mr. Ramsay. But it was weaker in the Carse. There were certainly earnest lives. But there was little enthusiasm. Indeed, enthusiasm seems to have been a bugbear of the day. Adams has left us his impression of the state of things at Kinnaird.

"What kind of Christians they are about Carnock, I do not pretend to know; but this I am sure of, in the Country where I live, which is none of the best affected to the present Establishment either of Church or State, they come up by the Lump to this Man's Standart of Faith: And tho' the Generality of them, in the view of the World, are very little concerned about the *One Thing*

needful; yet converse them upon a sick-bed, all is well with them, they believe in Christ, He is their's, and they are sure of Heaven and eternal Life" (*The Snake in the Grass*, pp. 30, 31).

Adams was keenly alive to the questions that were being discussed. The manse of Kinnaird was like a watch-tower where one keen eye kept scanning the changing situation of religious and ecclesiastical life; and as each arose, he plunged into the fray with all the zest of a born fighter.

Adams was not a voluminous writer, though he touched several of the controversies of the day—the controversy about the Marrow Doctrine, which he opposed; the tenets of John Glas, and the teaching of Professor Campbell of St. Andrews. Some of his productions were published anonymously. The titles are quaint, and have a certain wit about them. They are of sufficient interest to make them worthy of remembrance. Along with the list of these, a few notes are added. These are too brief to state his line of argument, but may suffice to indicate to the reader the nature and the object of his several writings.

The Snake in the Grass: or Remarks upon a Book entituled, The Marrow of Modern Divinity: Touching both the Covenant of Works and of Grace, etc.

This is a pamphlet, printed in 1719 in Edinburgh, price 4d.

It runs out to 47 pages.

The 9th edition of the *Marrow*, corrected by Mr. Hog of Carnock, came into Mr. Adams' hands

in March or April 1719. He claims to have read it without bias, but not with such sweet complacency as Mr. Hog read it.

He speaks with respect of Fisher as "no contemptible man," praises his style, learning, and a certain strain of seriousness and devotion running through the Book, but holds that it is so "visibly stuffed with Errors, and erroneous Insinuations that I'm fully perswaded, those Excellent Ones of the Earth, who were so pressing upon the Publisher for a new Edition of it, had shown themselves much more Wisdom's Children, by letting it ly among the Rubbish of Sectarian Writings; than by the reviving of it upon a Church famous through the World for the Purity of her Doctrine" (*To the Reader*, p. 4).

The book itself, which had been "traversing the World since the days of Oliver Cromwell," belonged to a time when, he holds, there "was little among the Generality of Writers but Error and Blasphemy," and to pretend to light where the Westminster divines saw none, "is not so very good Manners, to give it no worse Name."

Adams wrote his *Remarks* to warn the Church against the Antinomianism which he saw "peeping up, in some parts of our Israel" (p. 6. *To Reader*). This was the Snake.

His method is to quote what seems an objectionable passage in the *Marrow* and then to criticise it. Speaking, for example, of what is said of Repentance in the Epistle to the Reader (p. 3), he says: "I never

heard the Doctrine of Repentance and Reformation mock't in such a grave and Serious Manner" (p. 8).

Some of his criticisms are to the point, *e.g.* about the time of Adam's continuance in the state of innocence, and the publication at Sinai of what Fisher calls the Second Edition of the Covenant of Works, and about the Law sinning so horribly and so cursedly against God (p. 22).

He accuses Fisher of teaching downright Arminianism on the subject of Christ's sin-bearing (p. 22), and of holding positions about the acquittal of believers that were "Antinomian all over" (p. 26); and also about faith (p. 30). But this arises, in part, from the strong and sometimes peculiar way in which Fisher puts his ground.

Some of Adams' statements, who made no claim to any reach or capacity, or to have more than "very ordinary pretensions to anything like learning or observation," are well put, *e.g.*, on Union to Christ (p. 35).

Principal Hadow, to whom Adams refers (p. 32), dealt with the teaching of the *Marrow* in a sermon before the Synod of Fife, April 1719. A year or two later, 1722, a satirical attack on Principal Hadow was published by the Rev. Rob. Riccaltoun of Hobkirk. It is called *The Politick Disputant; choice instructions for quashing a stubborn adversary*. It is clever, and very satirical. Some of the instructions might be applied to Adams.

Instr. x. "In all quotations you have occasion to

make whether from friends or enemies, take special heed that nothing comes in to serve the other side. Whatever looks that way, clap your thumb on it; tho' it mars the sense, no matter."

Adams himself was answered in a *Letter to a Gentleman*, a small pamphlet of 23 pages from the pen of the Rev. James Hog of Carnock, *containing a detection of errors in a print, intituled, The Snake in the Grass*. Hog was ready to admit that the author of the *Marrow* did not always speak so cautiously as he ought, but on the main points he joined issue with Adams. Hog had a good deal to say in criticism of Adams' work, its invidious title, the bitter sarcasm insinuated, the author's mistakes and absurdities, and the malignity in them and his jejune commentary. "Our Antagonist then had more need to look to himself that he wrestle out from among the Herd of the vilest Hereticks, than that he should Magisterially Doom the Marrow of many reformed Writings to be buried amongst the Rubbish of Sectarian Scribes" (p. 11).

There is a grip in Hog's statement which Adams' pamphlet wants. It is a vigorous defence of Marrow doctrine.

Hog's Letter was printed in 1719.

The controversy was continued by Adams, who published anonymously, in 1720, *The Cromwelian Ghost conjur'd, etc., and put from creeping into Houses, etc., or Epaphroditus and Epaphras, called to a new Conference, in vindication of the Author of the Snake, etc.*

This is a booklet of 88 pages. It is a sarcastic criticism of Mr. Hog's remarks, and a restatement of the leading positions of *The Snake*. The humour is tame, but the work will repay perusal. That Adams felt Mr. Hog's criticism is clear from his after writings.

Marrow-chicaning display'd in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Erskine . . . containing some observations upon the preface to his sermon, entituled, God's little remnant, etc. To which are subjoined, some things concerning assurance in the direct act of justifying faith, and the tendency of the Marrow, and the practices of its favourites, to advance gospel holiness. By a lover of peace and truth in this Church. 8° n.p. 1726. Pp. 46.

There was an answer to it—*The Viper shaken off*.

A few years later Adams was again engaged in controversy. Some one, he tells us, sent him three letters clandestinely in answer to his *Queries concerning the lawfulness of National Covenanting*. The *Queries* (pub. 1727) were addressed to Mr. John Glas, whose teaching was creating some ferment at the time.

Accordingly, in 1728, Adams issued *The Independent Ghost conjur'd*: being a Review of the three letters, "together with the Three Letters and *Queries* themselves."

The work covers 79 pages, of which, however, 40 are occupied with the three letters, the rest being Adams' work.

This is one of Adams' best things. It is a

capable defence of the lawfulness and purposes of Covenanting. His opponent held that the Covenants entered into by the Reformers before 1560 were right, being civil Associations, and that "the National Covenant and Solemn League were as different from these, both in their Nature and in their Effects, as the Exercise of Tyranny is from the Defence of Liberty, and the Spirit of Popery from that of the Gospel" (p. 39).

It must be admitted that in this controversy Adams exhibited a certain animus towards Glas. That Glas felt it, we gleam from his *Narrative*, in which he writes: "About this time there came to Dundee, from an unknown hand, two or three letters for Mr. Adams in answer to some queries which he had written for me some time before, as I reckoned, for his own diversion: He had allowed me glance these queries, but he presently took the paper away with him, and I saw them no more, till I found them in that first letter that was written in answer to them; nor did I remember them, having only looked them over since very slightly. I find the author of the Essay endeavouring in his own manner to point me out as author of these letters. I shall not say he knows the contrary, but this I suspect, he is the only man of my acquaintance that has made himself believe so, and endeavoured to impress others with it.

"And now that I have some information of the author of these letters, I can tell he is no minister of this church, as he would make the world believe,

nor, for ought I know, was he in concert with any minister in the church, when he did these letters. However, it is not easy to see the service this author has done to the cause he contends for, in his remarks upon these letters; and I reckon, he would have shown more temper in them and forbore his scolding if he had not had me in his eye as the author of them. I did not like the answer to Mr. Adams' queries, and however much favour the author shewed to me, yet I knew the improvement that would be made of his performances against me, and seeing Mr. Adams' queries had gone abroad, and another was answering for me in a way that I could not approve of, I wrote some counter queries for him" (pp. 48-49).

Adams' Queries number twenty-six, and to each Glas has subjoined one or more counter queries.

"When he (Adams) had considered these queries, he desired me to read his answer to the letters, and gave me one single query for them all: to which I gave an answer, and I have had no more of his writing since" (p. 60).

There is still another work of Adams of which we must make mention. It is called *Remarks on a late Pamphlet, intituled, The Apostles no Enthusiasts* (by Prof. Arch. Campbell).

Adams' *Remarks* occupy 18 pages, and take the form of a Dialogue between a Professor of History and Divinity, a Theologue, a serious Christian, an Enthusiast, and an Observator.

The tract was issued in 1731. There is nothing

striking in the argument. The chief interest of the pamphlet is the glimpse it gives of the opposition entertained to the peculiar views of Prof. Campbell, and the side-light which it incidentally throws on the teaching at St. Andrews (pp. 6, 7, 14), where Adams himself had been a student.

XVII

GLIMPSES OF COLLACE, ETC.: 1715 AND LATER

ABOUT the time of the Rebellion in 1715, there was, in the Carse, considerable disaffection to the Government of King George. Thomas Murray, an Episcopal preacher at Baledgarno, was fined £20 for refusing in public worship to pray for the King. In despite of the decree, he continued to exercise his ministry, and he was charged with having celebrated the Sacrament at Baledgarno and having preached to a number of disaffected people without praying for the King. He further, without proclamation of banns, clandestinely married Henry Crawford, younger of Monorgan, to the daughter of the late minister of Kettins, Crawford, at the time, being under scandal.

For a time, during the crisis, Mr. Hodge of Longforgan was obliged to leave the parish. His absence was not prolonged, but it was marked by an Episcopal intrusion. This was helped and sympathised with by the Strathmore family, then owners of Castle Huntly. For a space of five months (Sept. 1715 to Feb. 1716) there are no minutes in the Longforgan Records. But a note

says: "Observe. That in regard the unhappy and unnatural rebellion headed by the late Earle of Marr in favour of a Popish Pretender had the entire management of this countrey; Ministers for their safety were obliged to retire South so that we had no sermon by our own Minister (Mr. William Elphistoun, Episcopal Preacher intruding then into the Church) untill the first Sabbath of February ensueing when his Majestie King George his forces under the command of His Grace the Duke of Argile dispersed the rebels and reduced this Countrey to its former liberties."

Six years before, Elphistoun had officiated as Episcopal minister at Longforan. Things generally were in a disturbed condition in the parish. Mr. Hodge was strict to a fault. But his character told, and the inrush of evil was checked.

During the rising in 1715-16, the tension was great at Collace. Happily for the parish, it was ministered to by one who had gained the affections of its people in a high degree. Mr. Ramsay was accounted a godly man, and above most a man of prayer. He used to pray much in the old Session Room. It is said that once at least the beadle could scarcely get him into the church, he was so occupied wrestling in prayer with God.

On the outbreak of the rebellion, Mr. Ramsay was in considerable hazard by reason of the numerous parties of rebels that came from and went to Perth. After consultation with the Session and prayer "for this corner of the country now under the rebels'

feet and for this poor distressed congregation in particular," he retired for a time to Redstone. But for the fidelity and spirit of the people, he must have suffered considerable loss. The tradition is that when the rebels came (which they did the day after Mr. Ramsay left) the people rose by night and recovered the articles carried off from the manse. (MSS. of A. Bonar).

When the rebellion was quenched, a thanksgiving service was held—the people, it is quaintly said, "convened in a throng assembly; the minister preached forenoon and afternoon; and so this solemn work was decently gone about." "Decently" was a favourite word among those worthies.

In 1717, the Communion service began at eight o'clock in the morning. But the people found a welcome at an earlier hour. In some places the churches were open long before. It is said, for example, in the Session records of Kilmarnock that the hours of service would be "at 8th of the clock precisely, the kirk doors not being opened until six of the clock."

At Collace, in 1717, there were eight tables full and a ninth half-filled, "the people behaving all the while, to outward appearance, very seriously and devoutly." The record concludes: "And thus this great and solemn work was *decently* concluded."

There is in the same year a curious reference to an appointment of elders—"the Session made up a list of the most *knowing* persons, whom they

might get to be made elders." Next year, James Smith was delated for winnowing corn on Sabbath morning. "He did acknowledge with shame and grief his abominable breach of the Lord's Day, adding withal that he had forgot that it was the Lord's Day; and what he did was not out of contempt thereof, but purely the effect of his forgetfulness."

Equally quaint is an allusion in 1720 to a proposal anent meeting for prayer and privy censures. "The Session, hearing what the Minister proposed, did easily condescend to the proposal." The meeting was held, and "nothing found censurable in any of them." On one Sabbath in 1738 the collection was given to a man who had had a finger cut off and had nothing to pay the doctor.

In the extra services at Collace large help was given by the ministers of the Carse, by Mackintosh of Errol, Milne of Kinnaird, Coventry of Kilspindie.

In 1774-75, Mr. Kilgour dropped the custom of having two lectures in the forenoon. Some of the people carried the matter to the Presbytery, which advised him to divide his lecture into two.

Latterly for a time the appointments to the parish were less fortunate. One man took his child to his master's bedside to be baptized, the minister being dead drunk. Between 1800 and 1820 very unworthy scenes might sometimes be observed on the Perth Road after the meeting of the Dundee Presbytery. In one, at least, of the parishes of the Carse, it was common for the younger portion of

the population to gather when the minister was expected to arrive to see whether he could dismount. The results of such ways were disastrous. Happily a better tone prevails.

During the time of Dr. Bonar's predecessor at Collace, it was common to gather the people into the vestry on Sabbath and arrange work for the next week.

The Independents held services at Whitelea, a village where many old soldiers used to stay. Dr. Malan often preached at Kinrossie.

XVIII

GLAS OF TEALING IN GOWRIE

OF the life and the peculiar tenets of Mr. Glas of Tealing we do not propose to speak, save in so far as these touch the history of the Carse. But the heretic of Tealing crosses its life at several points. Through his education at Perth and his marriage to Catherine Black, the eldest daughter of one of the ministers of that city, he was thrown naturally into contact with those impulses which culminated in the movement of which Wilson and Moncrieff were leaders. His ministerial life in the national Church was spent at Tealing, and it was with the Presbytery of Dundee, which embraces the Carse congregations up to Kinnaird, and with the Synod of Angus, that his conflict lay.

After his deposition he removed to Dundee, thence to Edinburgh and Perth, whence he returned to Dundee, where he died in 1773, at the age of 78.

Glas was uncle to Mr. Lyon, who was minister of Longforgan from 1738 to 1793; and Lyon's father was one of those who dissented from the deposition of Mr. Glas in 1730. One of the heretic's sons was Alexander Glas, author of the poem "The Tay."

At the commencement of his career Mr. Glas's outlook allied him most closely with the more evangelical men of the Church, men like Willison of Dundee, Hodge of Longforgan, and Fleming of Fowlis. Notably amongst those who sought to win him was Mr. Willison. But finally failing in this, he took pains, according to Glas, to give his friends "odd impressions" of him, though at the same time, Glas adds, he, as a friend, desired them to use their influence with me. Glas had no more eager critic than Adams of Kinnaird, whilst Mackintosh of Errol may be named amongst those who sought to gain him.

One of his sermons which excited a considerable commotion in the neighbourhood of Dundee was preached at Fowlis in the summer of 1726. It was upon his favourite subject—the kingdom of Christ. Several of his explications of Scripture were, he tells us, new to Mr. Willison, who at first was far from condemning the sermon. But the noise about it grew. Willison became less satisfied, and took occasion, Glas says, to tell some ministers, sometime after, that I was for a *Limbus Patrum*; so that one of them inquired at me if it was indeed so.

The same summer, Glas preached a sermon at Longforgan which increased the fury of the storm. He was speaking of the access of the Gentiles to fellowship with God, in his worship, in the glorious heavenly sanctuary, the seat of the New Testament worship. "I told, it was by Christ's

doing away in his death, the old covenant the wall of partition, with the ordinances of divine service, and the worldly sanctuary belonging to it, and by the new testament in his blood now brought into that sanctuary; besides which new covenant, there is no other covenant in the New Testament church. Hereupon the professors in Dundee, as I was informed, were addressed by some nearly concerned in Mr. Willison after this manner, 'What is this he is doing with us now? Is he going to bring the blood of the martyrs on our heads? Does he not know the godly through the nation are offended with him, and can he be any longer borne with at this rate?'

From the date of the sermon in Longforan, feeling ran very high. Some stayed away from the sacrament in Dundee if Mr. Glas was to be there; and he was preached and prayed against by men like Willison, who thought it their duty in this way to make a stand for the truth.

The unhappy business grew till it passed into the hands of the Church court leaders. Glas was suspended. On appeal to the highest court of the Church, a committee was appointed to converse with him, one of their number being Lachlan Mackintosh, minister of Errol.

The case dragged slowly on till finally he was libelled by the Presbytery for "contemning and contravening" the sentences of suspension by preaching, administering the sacraments, and performing other acts of the ministerial office in the

parish church of Tealing, "and likewise by preaching in the manor-place of Foulis, possessed by Patrick Murray of Ayton, upon one or other of the days of May last. As also in the said place upon the Thursday before and the Monday after the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the united parishes of Lundie and Foulis, being one or other of the days in July last," etc.

When the Presbytery met to hear evidence, only one of the witnesses, Andrew Brown, cordiner in Dundee, appeared, and the intervention of the Lord Provost was invoked to cause the witnesses to appear. This was duly done. Some of the incidents of the trial are of sufficient local interest to justify their mention. Two witnesses were brought forward about an alleged offence at Fowlis.

"As also compeared Andrew Brown, cordiner in Dundee, married, and aged thirty-seven years and upwards, who being solemnly sworn, purged and examined as above, depones, that he heard Mr. Glas preach in the House of Foulis, upon the Thursday before the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the united parishes of Lundie and Foulis in July last; and declares, that he knew nothing of Mr. Glas's being to preach that day when he went from Dundee, in order to hear sermons at the church of Foulis. And this is the truth as he shall answer to God, sic sub. Andrew Brown, James Ogilvie, moderator, P.T. Thereafter, the said James Halyburton being called,

deponed as follows: As also compeared James Halyburton, merchant in Dundee, unmarried, and aged twenty-four years or thereby, who being solemnly sworn, purged and examined as above, depones, that having been been at Foulis on Thursday being the fast day before the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the united parishes of Lundie and Foulis in July last, he heard there that Mr. Glas was to have exercise that night in the House of Foulis, he went there, thinking his time could not be better spent, and heard him upon a piece of scripture; which is the truth as he shall answer to God."

Two, at least, of the witnesses came from the Carse, George Mitchell in Fowlis, and Andrew Wood in Little Benvie. But nothing was drawn from them. When Mitchell was called, it was objected that there were two of that name in Fowlis, and that no distinction was made. The Presbytery sustained the objection and dismissed him. When Andrew Wood, in Little Benvie, was called to depone, he refused to do it, not having clearness in his conscience, as he said.

Many of the witnesses gave the same excuse. Bailie Lyon, for example, said that he was straitened in conscience to depone, because he thought he would thereby have a hand in quenching a great light in the corner, and one, who to his uptaking, the Lord had signally owned in his ministry. His wife took the same line, and several others also till the Presbytery felt straitened how to proceed with them.

In the upshot the case went against Mr. Glas, and he was deposed by the Synod. Amongst those who dissented from the finding appear the names of Mr. Lyon, Mr. Fleming of Fowlis, and the minister of Strathmartine. It must be said that their reasons of dissent are somewhat startling, and detract seriously from the moral sanction of the sentence. In the face of the facts, it cannot seem wonderful that, after the lapse of some years, the sentence of deposition from the ministry was removed, and that he was restored to the character of a minister of the gospel of Christ.

Through all his struggle, Glas had a very considerable following in Dundee, Lundie, Fowlis, Benvie, Mains, Guthrie; and the elders of Tealing made a strong protestation against the judgment of the Church Courts.

XIX

THE SECESSION : GEORGE WHITEFIELD

THE Carse has taken its part in the great national movements of the land. Its leaders fought with Wallace and Bruce. They struggled and intrigued in the days of the Reformation and of the Covenant, and some of its notables were amongst the foremost in Jacobite times.

It need not surprise us to find the Evangelical Movement touching its life at many points. Here, as elsewhere in Scotland, the first half of the eighteenth century was troubled and anxious. The controversies associated with Campbell, Glas, and the Marrow men were hotly waged, and from these and other causes many were disaffected to the Church, if not to religion. The truth, however, vindicated its own greatness, and able as well as true men stood forth as its witnesses. Two events, one of them of national importance, helped the life of Gowrie.

(1) The Secession Movement both focussed the awaking, quivering life of Scotland, and gave powerful expression to the ambitions of evangelic zeal. With most of its leaders, Wilson, Moncrieff, Fisher, Nairne, the Carse has many links.

One of the keenest opponents of Erskine over his famous Synod sermon was Craigie, the Laird of Glendoick. Mackintosh of Errol was one of the fourteen who protested against Erskine being rebuked.

No man did more to check the deistical principles that were prevalent in and about Perth than Wilson, and he was one of the foremost in fighting the hoary but degrading debauchery associated with the Dragon Hole. Wilson was a rallying point for the Evangelicals in the district. At first, at least, Willison of Dundee, Mackintosh of Errol, Drummond of St. Madoes, were his allies. We had, Wilson says of them, "much satisfaction in our meetings and conversing and praying."

Moncrieff of Culfargie is linked with its life by still closer ties. In the parish church of Longforgan there is a monument to Mr. Lyon, minister there from 1738 to 1793. Lyon's daughter married Principal Playfair, and became the mother of illustrious sons. Castle Huntly was then known as Castle Lyon. The Lyons in the manse were a branch of the house of Lyon—the Strathmores. Lyon's father was the minister of Airlie. Two facts may be recalled about his father. When Glas of Tealing was deposed for teaching independent principles, Lyon opposed the sentence. Lyon married Glas's sister, so Glas was uncle to the Longforgan minister. As Culfargie's wife was a sister of Lyon of Longforgan, the Secession leader had many a close tie with the district, which is

proud to have numbered amongst its devout people some of his descendants. Moncrieff was, in a supreme degree, devoted to religion and marked by prayerfulness. "Culfargie is away to heaven," it was once observed, "and has left us all sitting there." He did much to stimulate Praying Societies, in which the better life of the district was nursed.

The influence of Abernethy in those times was immense, and its communion became a rallying ground for eager throngs. The tradition lingered long. The Rev. James Hall, the traveller, in 1806 has drawn the following picture of the sacramental season at Abernethy:—

"Meanwhile the news of the approaching Occasion at Abernethy spreads far and wide. Travellers, in every direction, east, west, south, and north, inquire at the inns where they stop into the cause of so many people, men and women, trudging along the roads for the space of 10 or 20 miles. Even the ferry boat between Stratherne and the Carse of Gowrie, is unusually busy. The glen of Abernethy, hearing the tread of unusual feet, is astonished at this invasion of his solitary grandeur." But Hall, it should be added, does not seem to have been impressed by the life of the Carse. "It is," he says, "remarkable that the Carse of Gowrie, so little tinctured with religious zeal, should be flanked at each end by two of the greatest garrisons for zeal of this kind in all Scotland."

Fisher of Kinclaven, the distinguished leader, spent his early life in Rhynd, which is almost a bit

of Gowrie, not far from Culfargie, and within a stone's throw of the Carse. Becoming interested in the struggle, he, in 1731, met with Wilson and Mackintosh of Errol and Moncrieff to consider what should be done, and subscribed his name with their names and those of Coventrie of Kilspindie and Nairne in appealing to the Assembly. His communion at Kinclaven was attended by throngs from Gowrie, Perth, Dundee, and other parts of Scotland. In Glasgow, to which he latterly moved, there were sometimes seventeen or eighteen tables. The service began at nine in the morning, and ended between nine and ten at night.

Fisher's *Explication of the Shorter Catechism*, or, as it was called, the *Bawbee Bible*, was used widely in the district, and proved fruitful.

(2) In 1741, George Whitefield made the first of his memorable visits to Scotland. These did much to awaken interest in religion, and to give impetus to the new force. The story of Cambuslang is historic.

Whitefield's influence was not directly felt in the Carse, but in some of the neighbouring parishes good was done through his visit. The night before he preached in Coupar-Angus much prayer was made by a few earnest people, and on the following day several persons were gathered in as the fruit of his preaching.

In 1741, Lundie was deeply stirred. Mr. Thomas Davidson, who was his fellow-traveller, says: "In several places the Lord, I thought, countenanced

him in a very convincing manner, particularly at a place called Lundie, five miles from Dundee, where there is a considerable number of serious Christians, who, hearing that he was to come that way, spent most part of the preceding night in prayer. It was betwixt three and four o'clock ere he reached, and he had still to go to Dundee. Yet scarcely had he begun, when the presence of divine power was very discernible. Never did I see such melting in any congregation."

For long, the memory of the visit lingered in the parish; and one hundred years later, when a great upheaval in Scottish life took place, there was a relatively large band of earnest Evangelicals in Lundie, some of them, as one described them, noblemen in their way.

The same year Dundee received a quickening under his preaching, and parts of Perthshire were visited by revival in 1742-43.

THE FOUNDER OF THE REFORMED
PRESBYTERY

IN 1692, Mr. Samuel Nairne was settled at Errol, and he died in 1720. A student of St. Andrews, he was in the neighbourhood when Archbishop Sharp was killed at Magus Moor. John Wellwood, the son of an old Errol schoolmaster, was, time and again, in the district, and, once at least, about this period, had preached at a great conventicle in Fife.

The young St. Andrews' graduate — a lad of eighteen—was perhaps present. For on the 27th of February 1679, Samuel Nairne, brother to the Laird of Sandford, along with several others were cited before the council "to answer to the charge of being at house and field conventicles since the year 1674." Not comparing, they were all denounced and put to the horn.

Both the laird and the future Errol minister were in sympathy with conventicles, and the laird, at least, had to pay heavily for his liking.

Before he came to the Carse, Samuel Nairne had been minister for a brief period in Lothian, and in the parish of Moonzie.

The Errol people were enthusiastic in seeking Mr. Nairne. Yet, curiously, though a petition was given

in stating how he had "preached in the Kirk of Errol to the great satisfaction of the hail congregation there assembled, who are longing to have him admitted there," his settlement was effected with difficulty. Mr. Reid, who was to serve the edict, was prevented from doing so by a rabble, and he had to report to the Presbytery that "he being stopped to enter within the church in Errol, did preach publicly standing within a door near the entrie to the kirkyard, and in the hearing of the hail congregation there assembled, did serve Mr. Samuel Nairne's edict," etc. (Cf. p. 168.)

This was judged to be sufficient, and "the Laird of Megginch for himself, and in name of the Paroch of Errol, asked and took instruments in the hands of the Clerk to the Presbytery, which they ordered to be recorded."

Of Nairne's ministry we do not propose to write. He was accounted a faithful, prudent man, who esteemed it "his greatest comfort to serve God in the gospel of his Son."

Nairne married a daughter of Bruce of Earlshall, and had six of a family. He left two guineas to the poor, which reads somewhat pathetically in the light of after events. His son David is described as "a broken gentleman," and we read of him receiving half a crown from the kirk-session of Beath. His other sons we find equally impecunious; but of this anon.

His son Thomas, whom we have called the founder of the Reformed Presbytery, cut a curious, if an interesting, figure in history. Born and bred in

a manse, he was ordained minister of Abbotshall in 1710. A quarter of a century later he seceded from the Church, and in 1737 was received into the Associate Presbytery.

The impelling cause, according to Brown of Haddington, was the reading of the Porteous Act. If this be so, it is interesting to recall the feeling produced in Errol by that offensive proceeding.

In 1740, in the good company of the Erskines, Moncrieff, Wilson of Perth, Thomson, and Fisher, Nairne was deposed by the Assembly for following divisive courses—copies of the sentence being sent to the magistrates of the burghs concerned.

So strong was the hold which Erskine and Thomson had on their people that they were allowed to remain for two years; and, to remove them, there was needed a strong letter from the Moderator of the Assembly exhorting the magistrates "to give no longer countenance to such disorders, but to perform their duty by debarring the deposed persons from access to officiate in the parish churches."

Nairne continued to occupy his church till October, and then the heritors "locked the doors of the church, and of the churchyard, and nailed plates of iron upon the key holes, to prevent either minister or people from getting access."

Within a couple of years, Nairne had a sharp difference with his brethren in reference to an act for renewing Covenants, and in 1743 seceded from them. In a curious pamphlet published by Nairne in 1743, we have an account of it. The pamphlet

is entitled, *A Short Account of Mr. Thomas Nairn, Minister of the Gospel in Linktown of Arnot, formerly Abbotshall, his Secession from the Associate Presbytery; with the Grounds and Reasons for his so doing.*

“I was always,” he says, “even from my younger Years, inclinable to the Opinion of these who differed from this established Church of Scotland in some Particulars, on Account of the covenanted Work of Reformation, which they did not assert and contend for: But not having examined these Matters fully, I was ordained a Minister of the said Church, in the Year 1710.

“After that I was a Minister, I observed with Grief, that the Church Judicatories committed several wrong Steps, and that Error and Defections from our covenanted Cause daily increased; so that when some Ministers at last broke off from this established Church, I joined with them, after they had erected themselves into a new Presbytery, under the name of the *Associate Presbytery*, being then perswaded that they were resolved to carry on a covenanted Work of Reformation in thir Lands; and for some Time I thought I saw a great Profession and Inclination in them that Way; but through Time, I began to discover, that they had not so much at Heart to carry on that Reformation to that Height, which by our Sacred Covenants, and the Pattern cast by our Ancestors, we are bound to aspire after, as I formerly observed of them” (pp. 3-4, *Short Account of Mr. Thomas Nairn's Secession from Associate Presbytery*).

Nairne's first cause of offence against his brethren was that they inveighed against the old Dissenters. "These Things gave me great Trouble, for I had a good opinion of the Dissenters, as being the truest Presbyterian" (p. 6). The final cause of rupture was the attitude taken by the Associate Presbytery on the subject of Covenanting. The question took this form: Was it consistent with the National Covenants to recognise an uncovenanted King as having a right to reign over a covenanted land. The Cameronians held that George II. not having the qualifications which rulers ought to have under the National Covenant, was not entitled to formal allegiance. They were not, as some have urged, unfriendly to civil government, or forgetful to be subject to the higher power. What they claimed was that the terms on which rulers and magistrates were to be admitted to places of trust should be observed, and these were in the National Covenant.

Several conferences, one lasting from four in the afternoon till midnight, were held between Nairne and his brethren. Adam Gib used all his skill to bring him to their view. But it was fruitless. Then the Presbytery threatened him, whereupon, as we have said, Nairne left them, appealing to the "first free and faithful Judicatory of our Lord Jesus Christ" (p. 33).

A committee of which Moncrieff was a member was appointed to meet him in Kirkcaldy. This he declined in a letter of some dignity. Several

painful steps followed. In 1747 he was libelled; and after what Dr. Small has well described as several scenes of ludicrous confusion, he was in 1750 laid under the sentence of excommunication. Throughout the business there was a good share of human infirmity. But, probably, Nairne was difficult to deal with.

On leaving the Associate Presbytery, Nairne allied himself with Mr. M'Millan of Balmaghie, who nearly half a century before had left the Established Church for the ranks of the Old Covenanters. This body is sometimes known as the Cameronians, called so after Richard Cameron—Mountaineers, Cargillites, and frequently as M'Millanites. Amongst their number may be reckoned Cameron and Renwick and Linning and Shields. As the eighteenth century advanced, their numbers became small, and for a time M'Millan of Balmaghie was their sole representative. At this crisis the accession of Nairne was an event of importance. In 1743 he and M'Millan constituted "The Reformed Presbytery." This enabled students to be licensed, and ministers were sent out to occupy promising fields.

The movement grew, and has had an honourable part in Scottish life.

Nairne was destined to make another change. He rejoined the Established Church—sentence of deposition was removed, and, finally, he was restored. The following colloquy took place when he appeared before his old Presbytery at Kirkcaldy.

“*Moderator.*—Why did you commit the disorder of leaving the communion of the Church?

“*Mr. Nairne.*—I thought her chargeable with various corruptions.

“*Moderator.*—But are we better now, brother?

“*Nairne.*—I think you are.

“*Moderator.*—No, not one bit; I rebuke you for having followed divisive courses from the Church of Scotland.”

This incident in Nairne’s life became the subject of a squib: *News from Abbotshall; the several Times that Mr. Nairn has turned his Coat.*

Nairne died in 1764. It would appear that the fortune of the Nairnes had sunk low. In 1750 the Errol kirk-session gave half a guinea to Mr. Alexander Nairne, son of Mr. Samuel Nairne. Nor was this their first gift. For in 1727, under the kindly guidance of Mr. Mackintosh, Samuel Nairne’s successor, the session did something for Alexander, who according to the record had lost his money “by his folly and ill Management of his Patrimony left him by his Worthy Father.”

But still more pathetic is what we read of Thomas Nairne, the Founder of the Reformed Presbytery. A minute runs: “February 9th, 1755. The Kirk Session being convened after Sermon, the Moderator represented that Mr. Thomas Nairn, late minister at Abbotshall and son to the Rev. Mr. Samuel Nairn, sometime minister in this parish, being now reduced to great hardships by reason of age and infirmities and want of the necessary

comforts of Life to support himself and his family, is earnestly intreating for some supply from this parish."

The session gave through their Boxmaster a collection amounting to £3, 5s.

XXI

DISSENTERS

JAWBOXERS! Scuttlehole people! The meanest of the mean! Thus, in times of passion and conflict, Dissenters have been assailed. But it will be found by the dispassionate observer that some of the most heroic life of the Carse has been represented by the religious communities of the Secession.

In earlier times, especially, it was no easy thing to adopt their position. For a short time in 1792 and 1793, Mr. W. Lindsay (after whom Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander was named), latterly minister of Letham, had charge of a school in the Carse of Gowrie. In addition to this work, he opened a Sabbath school. But he felt so cramped by being prohibited from explaining the Scriptural lessons, that he resigned his post. It is one of many proofs that might be given of how dead religion was, and of how much was done to thwart the Christian effort of Dissenters.

M'Kerrow in his *History of the Secession* has described with fulness the rise of this movement, whose first centre was Perth, while Mackelvie has sketched in his *Annals and Statistics* its growth in the country. Dr. Small has retold the tale with ampler knowledge.

We propose to cull from these and such other sources as are available the story of the movement in the Carse.

I

One of the features, if not the misfortune of the Secession, was its tendency to divide. And in the Carse, three streams of the common life have flowed.

The centre of the movement was the parish of Errol, and round it and Pitrodie in Kilspindie the interest of the story gathers. The first church was built in Errol parish in 1758. But many years before this a good deal was done from Perth to maintain and to disseminate its principles. The Secession took place in 1733, when Messrs. Wilson of Perth, Moncrieff of Abernethy, Erskine of Stirling, and Fisher of Kinclaven formed themselves into a Presbytery separated from the national establishment. In the meetings held still earlier, in 1731-32, to consider what course should be followed in the unhappy position of the Scottish Church, one of the active sympathisers was Mr. Lachlan Mackintosh, the minister of Errol. He was one of the little group who agreed to make a representation and a petition to the General Assembly of 1732 anent the grievances of the Church.¹ He was a party,

¹ This was signed at Perth, Feb. 22, 1732. Amongst the signatures are William Wilson of Perth, La. Mackintosh of Errol, Robert Coventrie of Kilspindie, John Drummond of Crieff, formerly of St. Madoes, and Thomas Nairne of Abbotshall, son of Samuel Nairne of Errol. It did not receive a hearing. Lyon of Longforgan was one of those who attested and adhered to Willison's Testimony in 1744.

further, to all the steps that led to the secession of the four brethren, but before the crisis he withdrew and held by the Establishment. Not unnaturally his espousal of these principles had led to their adoption by many of his parishioners, whose wrath was hot at his surrender. For some time, however, the fire was held in check, for Mackintosh was a stalwart witness against patronage and the grievances of the Kirk.

As an able man who had defected, Mackintosh seems to have been flattered by the powers that be. It was to secure him and Willison and one or two others who were favourable to Wilson and his friends that the Assembly of 1734 empowered the Synod of Perth and Stirling to take the case of the four brethren under consideration, with a view to uniting them to the communion of the Church, and restoring them to their charges. By virtue of this authority, the Synod took off the sentence pronounced by the Commission of the Assembly of 1733, and it recommended to Mackintosh to acquaint Mr. Wilson with their judgment.

The same year, along with Willison of Dundee, another defector, Mackintosh was sent by the Commission of Assembly to address the King for "obtaining relief from the grievances of patronage." Two years later, he was elected Moderator of the Assembly, being invited to stand as a candidate again in 1743.

But matters came to a crisis at Errol in 1737. In this year the ministers of Scotland were enjoined

to read from the pulpit the offensive Porteous Act. This Mackintosh did to the indignation of many of his people, who left his ministry to join that of Mr. Wilson of Perth. The same cause led to a breach in the congregation of Mr. Coventry of Kilspindie; and, elsewhere, the grievances of the Church had alienated little groups who connected themselves likewise with the Perth Secession congregation. In the first minute of the Wilson Church, dated 23rd Dec. 1739, the Session is designated "The Associate Session of Kinnoul, Kinfauns," etc.

At the rise of the movement, the old territorial divisions were recognised by the Seceders of Perth. Country members, therefore, while not denied the sacrament, were not at first regarded as members in the same sense as those of Perth. The country elders who had left the parish session were known after 1746 as the country session, and rural members as Acceders in the Correspondence of Perth. That the movement was pretty wide may be judged by the fact that, in four years, there were children baptized in the North Church from every parish between Dunkeld and Errol.

During its earlier years, those who dissented were wont to travel from Errol and Kilspindie to Perth, a distance of ten miles. Those long journeys were felt to be no hardship by those who could make them, and the Seceders knew how to use them in profitable, and sometimes unprofitable, discussions on theology. With a bannock or a

little oatcake, many a one would set out for Perth in the quiet of the fresh Sabbath morning, not returning to his home till the day was beginning to fall. In the nature of things, however, this could not continue always, for the country contingent was large. Indeed, a change would have been made early but for the Breach which unfortunately divided the Seceders of the Carse as elsewhere. Accordingly it was not until 1753 that preaching was established in Errol; but for six years later its members continued connected with the anti-Burgher Congregation of Perth. The first venture was made at Westown, now a decayed hamlet about three miles from Errol. Thence it was transferred to Inchcoonans, and finally to Errol, where a service was commenced in 1758. In 1755 the Perth Session gave £7 to "assist in building a house for public worship."

Since then, more than a hundred and fifty years have run. The present minister is but the fourth (the third is still active elsewhere), witnessing to a notable longevity. This, however, has been a feature in the ministers of Errol. The first minister of the Secession died in the fifty-third year of his ministry, the second in the fifty-sixth year of his ministry. Mr. Russell of the Relief Church died in the fifty-seventh year of his ministry; Dr. Grierson of the Free Church in his fifty-fifth, and the last occupant of the Established Church celebrated his ministerial jubilee. Both of the ministers of the Secession who have died were capable men.

Mr. Robert Watson laboured from 1760 to 1813. He was pre-eminently a man of prayer, and left a fragrant memory, and an example of saintliness. Two or three minor productions came from his pen.

1. *The reply of faith to the enemies of Zion, considered.* A sermon on Neh. ii. 20, preached at the opening of the Associate Provincial Synod of Perth, March 17, 1789. It is 12mo., pages 45. It is built on old-fashioned lines, with many divisions and subdivisions. The tract is crammed with Scripture, and its thought is devout, instructive, practical. But it is not marked by any striking sentences.

2. *The Warfare accomplished.* This booklet (12mo, pp. 103) contains four sermons on Rev. xv. 2, 3. Watson had a certain fondness for prophetic teaching. The fourth sermon on ver. 3, "They sing the song of the Lamb," was an Errol Communion sermon. It is the best of the four, and is very rich, what our sermon tasters would call sappy.

A stronger man was his successor, Mr. Lamb, who was minister from 1814 to 1870. Mr. George Gilfillan had a high admiration for his fine large, liberal mind and his good taste and style. At his jubilee in 1864, a great meeting was held in the Established Church, at which Gilfillan and several of the mighties of the Secession were present. That Errol parish has had distinguished ministers may be judged from the fact that at one and the same time

Mr. Caird (latterly Principal Caird), Dr. Grierson, Mr. Lamb, and Mr. Russell occupied its pulpits. Of these, two, Mr. Lamb and Dr. Grierson, were both Moderators of the chief courts of their Churches. Modesty and other equally honourable reasons prevented Mr. Russell from accepting the same position in his own Church.

Mr. Lamb made various contributions to literature. In 1833 he preached at the opening of the Associate Presbytery of Perth a sermon which was published.

The text is Acts i. 8; the subject, The power of the Holy Ghost coming upon the Church. It is 12mo, pp. 31. It is full of felicitous phrases. While not blind to actual facts ("in our own highly favoured land it is but a fraction of the population that is truly Christian," p. 5), he was inclined to take a sanguine view of the progress of religion. The sermon is marked by dignity, strong doctrinal statement, and a missionary spirit.

In 1846 he preached the Synod sermon of the Secession Church from Matt. xvii. 20, on *The true secret of success in Christian enterprise*. It is 8vo, pp. 22.

It is a good sermon on the power of faith in removing difficulties, and is marked by width of view and a certain eloquence.

In addition to these, Mr. Lamb published a lecture, *On the power, wisdom, and goodness of God displayed in the sea*; and, further, the sketch of Dr. Newlands prefixed to his sermons.

Towards the close of the century, in 1796, another split of a serious kind occurred in the Established Church of Errol. In 1796, Mr. Dow was presented to the vacant charge by the patron. No small opposition was offered to his settlement, but in vain. Accordingly, those dissenting applied to the Relief Presbytery of Dysart to be taken under their care. This was done, the Presbytery being "persuaded that the people had been deprived of their just rights, and stand in need of the Gospel." To this congregation only two, Mr. Cumming and Mr. Russell, have ministered, it being, during the life of Mr. Russell, united with the Secession. As an illustration of the fluctuation of population with which such rural communities had to contend, it may be mentioned that in one year three hundred weavers left Errol.

Of Mr. Russell, more than a passing word must be said. Better known than he, is his distinguished son, Mr. John Scott Russell, the well-known engineer. But something more than filial piety prompted the testimony of that son, that although he had travelled far, and met many men, his father was the most perfect man whom he had crossed. It is impossible to look at his portrait, taken when he was eighty-one, without feeling that he was a prince of men. A man of fine countenance and noble bearing, with a touch of the soldier in his look, he bore his years so well that until he became very white he was sometimes taken for the brother of the great engineer.

A rare modesty and unswerving allegiance to Christian principle kept him from the public distinction which was due to one so highly equipped, and which time after time was pressed upon him with urgency by those who knew his worth.

Brought up in the Established Church, he declined on more than one occasion remunerative positions that were offered him both in England and Scotland, and cheerfully accepted the quiet sphere and the modest stipend of the Relief Church of Errol.

It is a life which, if fully told, would captivate by its nobility and admonish by its Christliness. But this Mr. Russell himself forbade resolutely. (An Errol worthy told me that he pelted his people with the paraphrases.)

Regard to the same feeling has prevented the issue, urged by more than one leading publisher, of an adequate biography of his illustrious son.

But known to all are his genius and capacity; his original scientific expositions and his triumphs in engineering; his connection with the Exhibition of 1851, and with the mammoth ship of its time, the *Great Eastern*; the esteem in which he was held by Prince Albert, Sir Stafford Northcote (latterly Earl of Iddesleigh), and other celebrities of the day. Less known to the public, yet for ourselves more interesting, are the circumstances that connect him with Errol. The old Relief manse still stands. A plate on the gate bears the name: Rev. D. Russell. Though born in Glasgow, Scott Russell passed his

early life here, and some of his most fruitful experiments were made in Errol, and in the old Relief manse. Sixty years before motor cars traversed our roads, he had designed a steam carriage which ran between Glasgow and Paisley. The model was made in the manse, and the boiler was a kettle. Russell was likewise amongst the first to go in for iron ships, and in this also his first experiments were made on a pond at Errol. He and his brother had long debates as to whether the model would be borne over the pond. He maintained that it would, and he was right. At the outset, many were sceptical about the matter, but he pursued it, and ere long iron vessels went on the Clyde faster than the wooden boats.

The late occupant of what was the manse, a brother of the engineer, published from the manuscript which he possessed a volume of Samuel Rutherford's Choice Sermons.

II

The story of Pitrodie has much that is noble in it. Its leaders fought a good fight. No one can read the minutes that remain without feeling so, and without wishing that an ampler treasury had been theirs. It is pathetic to read the struggles that had to be made at times to find ways and means for the movement. They were not extravagant. At the close of the 18th century, the stipend was under £40. With that and a clay church, who

could call them extravagant? Perhaps they were like their neighbours, less generous than they should have been. But between 1820 and 1830 they were giving at the rate of over £1 a head, which was high considering the time and the place. The snare of those worthies was to be narrow. But it is easy to criticise. When every penny counts, who can afford to despise them? The marvel is that they did so much. But the Church was like many a lowly Scottish home, inventive with its pence. Of it, it may be said, "Thy pound hath gained ten pounds."

Pitrodie is an offshoot from the Errol church. Originally those who clung to dissenting principles in the district of Pitrodie went to Errol. But the division of the Church into Burgher and anti-Burgher led to the formation of a church at Pitrodie, the people of Errol being anti-Burgher, the people of Pitrodie being Burgher. Mr. John Hunter, one of the ministers of the church, has left a graphic account of the founding of Pitrodie. It was, he tells us, originated in the following way: "Mr. Andrew Buist, farmer in Megginch, was a member in the church at Errol, but having differed (2) from the Session, he left its communion, and for some time heard sermon in Perth. Being nine miles from Perth, he was anxious to obtain sermon without going so far for it; and the means of procuring it were furnished in this way: an unpopular settlement having taken place in the neighbouring parish of Kilspindie, some of the members of the Church were disposed to

withdraw from its communion and to join the seceders. At this time of excitement the parish minister of Errol (Mr. —) came to Kilspindie, and delivered a violent discourse against the malcontents. This procedure so exasperated one of the most respectable farmers belonging to the Church, that he, along with his family, left the communion, and used all his influence to induce others to do the same. He, along with Mr. Andrew Buist and their friends, resolved to apply to the Burgher Presbytery for sermon, and their application was received. Preachers were sent them, and they assembled for worship, sometimes in a house in the village of Pitrodie, and at other times in the Den when the weather permitted. These meetings being well attended, they began to inquire after a piece of ground on which to build a church and manse for their future minister. They would have obtained a piece of ground for these purposes a little to the west of the parish manse of Kilspindie, but as they did not wish to appear so openly a rival to the Establishment, they refrained from accepting this offer. In January 1789, they obtained half an acre of ground on the farm of Mireside from John Stewart, Esq., of Balnakelly, for a church, a manse, and a garden for the minister. The laird's brother measured it off, and said that he wished that his brother had all Mireside land let at the same price. It is but justice to say that both the laird at that time and his descendants since have treated the congregation with great kindness. In the spring of

the year 1789, upon a beautiful evening, seven young men met where the west gate of the present church is, with spades over their shoulders, to begin to build a clay church. And after they had cut drains to carry off the surface water from the useless miry ground, they proceeded to build their humble sanctuary. By voluntary labour these noble men and some of their friends had finished their humble church before the summer of the year 1791."

Seven ministers in all have laboured here, men of good minds and grace. Their names are: John Kyle, William Proudfoot, Thomas Nicol, John Hunter, Charles Naismith, Alexander Burr, Walter White. Mr. Kyle was inducted in 1791 and laboured eight years. The membership varied from 40 to 50. The stipend was £38, 10s., with a manse and garden. Like the church, the manse was of clay. Mr. Kyle has handed down a name for piety, but he was not popular as a preacher. Of this, one cause was the length of his sermons. He preached frequently for four hours, in length surpassing Barrow's famous sermon at Westminster.

A long vacancy occurred from 1800 to 1813. During the time, the membership rose to 92, and a stone and lime manse was built. But the little congregation was beset with difficulties in maintaining itself. There were proposals to abandon the field. On one memorable occasion they had met to review the situation. The meeting was very prolonged. No decision had been reached, and all

had gone save two, John Rodger, preses, and Andrew Buist, clerk. "The clerk had provided paper, and dipped his pen in the ink to request the Presbytery to send no more preachers, and thus to extinguish the church; but the preses entreated him to try it for another month, and to this he assented. The trial was made, and it proved successful."

The Rev. William Proudfoot was settled in 1813. Of this able and gifted man, a sketch appears in the Schaff-Herzog *Cyclopædia*, 1891, from the pen of Dr. Ormiston. Born in 1788, he was trained under Dr. Lawson, and settled at Pitrodie when twenty-five. He laboured here for nearly twenty years with much success. Crowds flocked to hear him, and times of power and quickened interest followed. A new church was built, costing £700, and much besides was done to consolidate the congregation, whose membership reached at one point 200. The minutes of Pitrodie witness to the force of Mr. Proudfoot. He was a man who was willing to give up cheerfully a large part of his income when duty called for it, but he was resolute in resisting arrears to himself. There is something pathetic in the story of the way in which this great man dealt with the littleness that hampered them all. But it was the training ground for larger endeavours in another land.

This distinguished man was lost to the Carse in 1832. In that year the Secession resolved to establish a mission in Canada, and he was chosen

as one of the pioneers. His zeal and power there remind us of what another Carse man, Dr. Cairns, did twenty years later for Melbourne. On arriving in Canada, he went to London. Things, there, were in their infancy, the country was only being opened. But besides organising his own church in London, he founded other four within a district of ten miles, preaching to them until others came to his help. Moreover, in visiting different parts of the country, often through all but impassable roads, he "laid the foundations of many congregations that have since developed into flourishing bodies."

One honour after another came to him. In 1844 he was chosen the first Professor of Theology in the Church. He died in 1851.

Mr. Proudfoot left a large family, five sons and five daughters, one of the sons being the late Dr. Proudfoot of Knox College, Toronto, and another a judge of the Supreme Court of Ontario for sixteen years. It is but fair in reckoning the influence of Pitrodie to remember the men who have laboured there, and the men who may truly be said to have gone forth from its homes. And this is not the only such testimony that may be paid to the minister of Pitrodie; for one of his much impressed hearers was William Ross, who carried the Gospel to the heart of Africa.

Mr. Proudfoot was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Nicol, a man of considerable ability and originality. During his ministry the ranks of the congregation were sadly thinned through the emigration of a goodly

number of its more capable members to Canada. This, not the fault of Nicol, but in some degree the trial of every country minister and the tragedy of some congregations, hampered his work, and eventually so told on Nicol's sensitive nature that it broke down. For five years he was confined to his room. For pastor and people it was a difficult position. The story of these days is pathetic. Happily for Mr. Nicol, it ended by his death in 1846.

Mr. George Gillfillan had a very warm side to Nicol, and used often to go to Pitrodie in the "old Tom Nicol days." In *The History of a Man*, he speaks with wonderful feeling of the dignity and patience with which many of the Scottish ministry have borne the anxiety and the suffering which their too often narrow circumstances have entailed. "I could give," he writes, "a number of special proofs in point, but shall confine myself at present to one,—the case of a man I knew well and loved warmly; a man of eccentricity and many foibles, but of worth and of genius." Then follows his beautiful photograph of Nicholas Thom, whose true name is Thomas Nicol of Pitrodie.

"Nicholas Thom came from the south of Scotland. He had, as a preacher, excited a great sensation, for even those who did not admire were compelled to wonder at him. He was a man of middle size, but well built and sinewy; his head and face strongly resembled those of a New Zealander. In his eye, as I sometimes told him, you saw the grey gleam of the partition between genius and madness.

In the pulpit he was animated in the extreme, and often indulged in lofty flights of imagination, although too fond of abstruse and learned disquisitions to be generally popular. In conversation he was rich and powerful, if somewhat reckless and daring. He was ambitious, but got only a small church in a rural district, where he was diligent, and, for a time, prospered considerably. Bad times, however, arrived, and a large portion of his flock were compelled to emigrate to America. He came into the seaport along with thirty of his members, and bade them farewell on board the ship in which they had taken their passage, amidst fervent prayer on his part and bursting tears on theirs. He called on me immediately after, and told me, in the quiet but gloomy tones of despair, that his congregation was ruined. I accompanied him home, and tried to cheer him. The iron, however, had entered into his soul. Living much alone, immersed constantly in Hebraic and Oriental studies,—keenly alive to his own merits and to the neglect he experienced,—burdened with poverty, and latterly with debt, his mind became soured almost to frenzy, and a cloud of fierce hypochondria began to gather over his gifted soul. The tone of his conversation, when I visited him, changed from the joyous and fanciful to the sombre and misanthropic, and I was reminded of the talk of Bethlem Gabor, so powerfully described in Godwin's *St. Leon*, when—as he became in his darker mood an accuser of God and man—‘a supernatural eloquence seemed to inspire and en-

shroud him.' I never listened to such torrents of burning misery, beautified sometimes, as they came forth from his lips, by the light of genius, like streams of lava bathed in moonlight. It became, by and by, positively painful to listen to his eloquent complainings and terrible invectives. 'He was one of God's eagles chained to a barren rock, chattered at by magpies, who were free, while he was a prisoner, fed on garbage, and forced to stare helplessly at the distant sky, instead of soaring towards the sun.' Such was the tenor of his language about himself. At last he fell ill, and, owing to poverty, had to be removed to the infirmary of a neighbouring city, and in one of its wards died, in the prime of his days; a man who, in happier circumstances, might have been a distinguished ornament either of the world or of the Church. Poor Nicholas Thom! when I sometimes pass through the beautiful Strath where thy obscure and unhappy career was run, and see the church and manse which were once thine standing in the midst of the tall hedge, and shadowed by the fruit trees in which thou didst so pride thyself, and remember the *noctes cœnæque Deum* I have enjoyed under thy hospitable roof, and the glowing talks in which the summer's dawning sometimes surprised us;—when I think how little thou wert recognised while alive, and in what lamentable circumstances thou wert prematurely removed, I am tempted to weep like a child, and to cry out 'Surely man is vanity, and life a dream.'"

A fine passage follows this, describing a service held by Nicholas Thom in the Orkney Islands. It was a glorious evening. "Thom's blood rose, and his wild eye caught inspiration from the sea and the sun. He dropped the theme he had intended to handle, and, opening the Bible, selected for his text, 'The sea gave up the dead that were in it'; and poured out an extempore prose-poem, which made the vast assembly as breathless as the sea, and their hearts to glow as warmly as the sun. 'If ever man was poetically inspired,' he said, 'I that evening was that man.' There is still, I believe, a traditionary recollection of that evening, and that sermon in these islands, at the distance of thirty years" (p. 228).

Nicol was succeeded by the Rev. John Hunter, the author of *A Brief Account of the United Presbyterian Congregation of Pitrodie*, a tract of eight pages. But of him and his successors we need not speak. The congregation has now united with Kinfauns.

III

So early as 1739, there was a slight movement in the parish of Liff. In that year, ten persons applied to the Associate Presbytery of Dundee to be taken under their care. This movement led, in part, to the formation of the historic congregation of School Wynd, and about forty years later to the planting of a church at Mireside, in Liff. The latter congregation had a short and unhappy existence.

Mr. Auchinloss, its first minister, was deposed for immorality, which proved a blow to its life from which it never rallied. He had a certain literary taste, and wrote on *The Divine Origin of the Scriptures*. Indirectly, he may be said to have rendered a service to the Church. On deposition being pronounced, he carried an action against his brethren for defamation of character to the Court of Session. Lord Braxfield's interlocutor was finally sustained. It runs: "The Lord Ordinary does not consider it competent for this Court to review the proceedings of the Associate Congregations, commonly called Burghers, when sentences are pronounced by them in their ecclesiastical character; therefore sustains the defences, assoilzies the defenders," etc.

It was within the parish of Liff that Mair and Fisher observed a Fast in 1739, the earliest service of the kind in the neighbourhood, held under the auspices of the Associate Presbytery.

IV

In all the parishes of the Carse, there were little groups who clung to the principles of the Secession. In 1819, a petition from thirty-seven persons in Longforgan, Inchtute, and Abernyte was presented to the Presbytery of Perth, setting forth the great need of the gospel in these parishes, and their dissatisfaction with the judicatories of the Established Church. The request for preaching was granted.

“On 30th May 1820, the two members of Presbytery nearest them retired after sermon to separate houses, where between them they examined twenty candidates for admission to Church fellowship.” Nine more followed. Next year the congregation purchased the meeting-house at Balfour erected by Mr. Haldane when a heritor of Abernyte. All told, there were about a hundred connected with the movement, and Mr. Smith, latterly the well-known minister of Biggar, was invited to take charge of it. This, however, fell through. For about a quarter of a century the little cause struggled on till, in 1845, the Free Church congregation rendered it unnecessary. But it had helped to keep the light burning, and many blessed it.

V

Great difficulties were often experienced in providing preachers. Mr. Lindsay tells how one Saturday in June 1785, he received a letter informing him that the preacher for Lochee could not come. It was Saturday. There was, of course, no telegraph. As Lochee was a great centre, and there was no time to advise the people who crowded there to worship, Lindsay rode to Perth. Shortly after eight o'clock on Sabbath he found a preacher. He gave him his horse, dispatched him down the Carse as fast as he could, following himself shortly after. They reached the field where a vast assembly was gathered about a quarter past eleven. Lindsay,

who had a miraculous escape on the way near Errol, concludes an exciting description thus: "The horses were carefully walked about till they were cooled. We had a good day of the gospel; many hundreds heard the words of eternal life; and neither man nor beast the worst for the fatigue! O Lord, thou preservest man and beast!" These difficulties were partly overcome by prayer and fellowship with one another. Here, indeed, as elsewhere, religious life owes much to those fellowship meetings. These, again, were helped by visits from trusted ministers, who in passing through the country, from place to place, were wont to put up for a night in some friendly home. By this means, news of the churches as well as of public events was spread, and godly impressions made upon the old who loved the truth, and upon the young who were seeking it.

NOTES

I

Longevity in the Carse

Dr. Ritchie of Longforgan died in the sixty-first year of his ministry; Dr. Honey of Inchtute had completed his sixty-second year; Dr. Grierson of Errol died in the fifty-fifth year of his ministry; Mr. Lamb of the U.P. Church, Errol, in the fifty-sixth; Mr. Russell of the Relief Church, Errol, in the sixtieth. Dr. Graham passed his jubilee.

Retired Farmer recollects a Fast Day at Errol

where the services were conducted by three ministers who had passed their jubilee.

II

A farmer of Pitrodie in a moment of exasperation on the harvest field let slip a word which was reckoned to be unseemly, if not swearing. Said farmer was an elder in Errol, whose session, moved by the talk of the district, took up the matter, and proposed to censure their brother. Conscious of innocence or stubborn, he refused to accept their rebuke. People took sides—some sympathising with the session, some with the offending farmer. The spirit of division spread, a section severed from Errol, and on application being made to the proper quarter, supply was given, and eventually a minister was settled at Pitrodie.

III

There were people who regularly walked to Pitrodie from Collace, as at an earlier time some would go regularly to St. Madoes to hear Mr. Black and afterwards Mr. Kennedy.

Mr. Badenoch of St. Martins used to make his young communicants pray in his presence.

XXII

THE BEREANS.

WHO are the Bereans? The question introduces us to an almost forgotten bit of history, and to a curious chapter in the story of the Carse and of Errol.

The number of sects in Great Britain may be said to be legion. In the list of to-day the name "Berean" is not to be found. Not a hundred years ago there were Berean congregations in Dundee, Arbroath, Brechin, Montrose, Sauchieburn, Kirkcaldy, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Newcastle, Stirling, London, Bristol, etc. At places like¹ Crieff and Leuchars, adherents might be met, and some of them were teaching their tenets in America. People yet living in Dundee remember the Berean congregation there. The entrance to their place of meeting was by what was known as the Methodist Close, Overgate. The room in which they met is supposed to have been a part of the Franciscan Nunnery. Their name occurs in the Directory with more or less regularity down to the year 1846, in which year their ministers are

¹ In 1823, Glasgow reckoned 96 adherents. Still earlier Stirling had 33 adherents, Crieff 8, Leuchars 1. Cf. Sinclair's *Stat.*

described as "various." After this time it disappears, and in the Census returns of 1851 no mention is made of them on either side of the Tweed.

In the MSS. of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, edited by Allardyce and issued under the title *Scotland and Scotsmen*, a passing reference is made to the Bereans. "Among the other religious excrescences of this period may be reckoned the Bereans, who are high-flying Antinomians. In point of government they are Independents, their ministers being mostly tradesmen, generally illiterate. They are mostly of the very dregs of the people, who, after having lived loosely, took at last a serious turn. For their tenets we refer to the printed books of Barclay their founder, performances the wildest and most extravagant that ever disgraced the sacred name of religion. This sect had no connection with the Church or the sectaries. Nor were they even very dangerous or numerous." This is an ill-natured reference. Their founder was a respectable man, his enthusiasm considerable, and his teaching, if fantastic, was serious, and helped perhaps to draw attention to points which were forgotten. But they filled a small place. Yet Wardlaw thought it worth to criticise Barclay's views.

It may bring us to the spring of the movement if we carry our thoughts back to St. Andrews one hundred and fifty years ago. At that time St Andrews was dominated by two distinguished men. One of these two was Tullideph, Principal of St. Leonard, and afterwards of the United College. By the time of

the Rebellion in 1745, he was in much repute. He had a certain vigour of mind which study had strengthened and conversation made fruitful. As a preacher he was distinguished, "matter and language being much superior to the ordinary run of those times." Carlyle of Inveresk speaks of Tullideph in the highest terms. He describes him as "the clergyman of this period who far outshone the rest in eloquence." He seldom spoke in the Assembly, "but when he did he far excelled every other speaker." "I am not certain if even Lord Chatham in his glory had more dignity of manner or more command of his audience than he had." He was "the most powerful speaker ever I heard." Tullideph had a strong dash of the conservative in him. It used to be the custom in the General Assembly for the Moderator to ask the older men to give their views first. This ceased in 1753, when Dr. Webster was Moderator. "I never," says Carlyle, "saw the practice revived of calling upon members to speak except once or twice, when Principal Tullideph attended, whom everybody wished to hear, but who would not rise without having that piece of respect paid to him." By all accounts, Tullideph was frequently betrayed into passion. This hurt his influence somewhat. One other thing operated against his popularity in St. Andrews. According to Ramsay, "though a number of young men were warmly attached to him, a great proportion of the students looked on him as proud and selfish, and unlucky in his favourites,

who were supposed to have gained his favour by flattery."

Tullideph's rival was Archibald Campbell, the Professor of Church History in St. Mary's. He had a keen mind, and stood high for his excellent qualities. Ramsay says that he and Tullideph "were unquestionably the two ablest and most eloquent men in the university," and he contrasts them thus: "Tullideph might be compared to a torrent which carries all before it, and astonishes the imagination without interesting the affections. Campbell resembled a gentle, copious stream, of which one never tires, whilst it assumes different forms, all of them engaging and appropriate. If the former was the more masculine and forcible speaker, the other was the more polished and pathetic. He was exceedingly admired as a professor by the students, who regretted that he only lectured once or twice a week. When in the very height of his reputation as a Christian philosopher, he was prosecuted for making self-love the spring of human actions; but he defended himself with so much eloquence and argument, that the process ended in nothing. It made him, however, break off all communication with most of his brethren, who were no match for him, though worthy, well-intentioned men. He afterwards lived chiefly at a little distance from St. Andrews, from which he came sometimes to do his duty. He was by far the most popular man in the university among the young divines, who looked up to him with an

affection which bordered on enthusiasm. This was the natural consequence of his kindness and condescension to them; for he constantly befriended and encouraged every student who gave early indications of genius and taste. He was always accounted an able and strenuous advocate for revealed religion. It is a trite observation, that men's theory and practice are sometimes at variance. Spite of his system of selfishness, in private life he was generous and benevolent. On the whole, this gentleman was doubtless the first who gave a new turn to the taste and studies of the young men bred at St. Andrews." The following incident illustrates the feeling at St. Andrews. Dr. Doig tells us that when he was at the university, a stiff contest for the Rectorship took place between Tullideph and Campbell. Campbell won, on which the students lit a bonfire at St. Leonard's gate, into which they threw "some of the Calvinistic systems which they were enjoined to read."

Among the students who came to St. Andrews when the rivalry between Tullideph and Campbell was keen, was a young man from Muthill of fair, florid complexion. Here his father, Ludovic Barclay, had a farm. Two of the Barclay clan, for there was more than one family of the name in Muthill, attained some distinction, John, the young man who joined St. Andrews in the middle of last century; and his nephew, also John Barclay, who rose to be a leader in the Edinburgh Medical School, and who is still remembered for his contri-

butions to the study of anatomy, his literary work, his theory of left-handedness, and for the gift of his valuable museum to the College of Surgeons in that city. Dr. Barclay used often to say that he lacked both the sense of taste and smell.

John Barclay, Ludovic's son, was born in 1734. He was brought up in the parish school, where he, and a quarter of a century later the future anatomist, laid the foundation of that classical learning for which both of them were distinguished. When the Rebellion burst the boy had little more than reached his teens, and may have seen the country in flames. A few years later he entered St. Andrews with a view to be a minister. Here his career was in no way remarkable. He was studious and careful. After receiving his degree of A.M. he took a full course of divinity. Two of the St. Andrews' professors seem to have influenced him much, Mackintosh and Campbell, whose rivalry with Tullideph was then sharp. It so happened that about this time Dr. Campbell had published certain views which were held to be dangerous. One of his positions was that the knowledge of the existence of God was derived from Revelation, not from Nature. This was generally held to be Socinian, though it was taught by him in order to emphasise the necessity of revelation. A good deal of discussion followed. One effect of it was to enlist the sympathy of the students with Campbell, and among the keenest of his partisans was young Barclay. It may be added that he never departed

from this view, which he advocated in one of his larger works, *Without Faith, without God*, published in 1769, though his teaching in other things differed from Dr. Campbell's.

Barclay acted for a time as a private tutor in the parish of Crieff. He was licensed as a preacher in 1759 by the Presbytery of Auchterarder. By the time he was ready, Mr. Jobson of Errol was needing an assistant; and Barclay, as one of the best and most popular preachers, was chosen for the post. Jobson had been at Abernyte for a time, and was only translated to Errol in 1759, the year before Barclay came. He was not an old man, being under forty. But Errol is a large parish. Its people are scattered; and, apart from age or sickness, it would need two men to work it. Jobson is said to have been "drenched in the system of the Marrow of Modern Divinity," and "was what may be called, of the old school." Seven years after Barclay was settled as assistant, Mr. Jobson married Principal Tullideph's daughter. The interest of the fact lies in this, that it suggests that Jobson, who was also a St. Andrews man, was more in sympathy with Tullideph's view than with Campbell's. His assistant Barclay was a hot partisan of Campbell. The difficulty at St. Andrews was about to be reproduced on a miniature scale at Errol.

From various causes the parish of Errol had been considerably disturbed, and its people were in a sensitive condition. Moreover, when Barclay was settled at Errol the public life of Scotland

was agitated with controversy, past and present. It will be enough to name the case of Glas of Tealing, the Marrow Controversy, the origin of the Secession, Mr. Gillespie's deposition, and the rise of the Relief Church. Barclay felt in these things all the interest of an intelligent mind and the perplexity of a serious one. He was led by what he saw to study the Bible more closely for himself. This brought him to adopt a good many of the views of Mr. Glas on the doctrines of the gospel, while it parted him from the minister of Tealing on other points. Even by this time Barclay was beginning to work out a system of his own. To Mr. Jobson this was distasteful. Many a discussion took place in private between the minister and the assistant. But the more he was opposed, the keener Barclay grew, and the discussion passed swiftly from the manse to the pulpit. Things came to a crisis in a somewhat curious way. On one occasion Barclay had prepared a sermon to be delivered at the Communion. By mistake he forgot to take it with him to the pulpit. This he did not observe till the service had begun, and, through his mistake, he was thrown upon himself in an unexpected way. Accordingly he took for his subject a text upon which he had thought much. The text was Rom x. 9: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." In the course of his sermon, Barclay

said a good many things which were more or less opposed to Mr. Jobson's teaching. The latter thought it needful to deal with the subject in the pulpit, and from little to little the matter grew till there was a wide chasm between the minister and his assistant. This was a painful state of things, and more or less hopeless. For Barclay's mind was of that nature that opposition only tended to confirm him in his views.

Barclay was unable to form a Berean congregation at Errol. "There seems," writes the Rev. James Hall in his *Travels*, "to be something in the air of the Carse of Gowrie, the Bœotia of Scotland, inimical to religious innovation; which is more easily introduced on the south and west banks of the Tay. All the masculine powers and fervid eloquence of John Knox were unable at first to cross the Tay. Gowrie, and the Carse of Gowrie, lay in a state of torpor for many years, after the flame of reformation had spread in a south-westerly direction from Perth to Stirling and Glasgow" (p. 221).

At Newburgh, however, he heard more of the Bereans than of any other section. He has a good deal about Barclay (p. 217).

Barclay's next appointment was as assistant to Mr. Dow at Fettercairn. He went there in 1763. It was Mr. Dow's son Anthony, an old fellow-student of Barclay, who suggested his name. He knew his powers and his worth, the cause of his removal from Errol, and he shared, besides, many

of his views. By a strange coincidence, Anthony Dow's son succeeded Mr. Jobson at Errol. Barclay had not been long in the parish before his power was felt. Considerable feeling was stirred against him, but Mr. Dow stuck to him so long as he lived. Barclay was nine years in Fettercairn. Quite a movement took place under his ministry. People came in numbers from the parishes round about, and it was not uncommon to see them perched on window-sills and rafters. He was, according to one who heard him preach in Edinburgh towards the close of his life, "vehement, passionate, and impetuous to an uncommon degree." Scotch country folk were unaccustomed to such a thing, and it fairly took them by storm. Fruits, too, of good appeared. "A taste for religious knowledge, or what is the same, the reading and study of the Bible, began to prevail to a great extent; the morals of the people were improved, and vice and profaneness, as ashamed, were made to hide their heads. Temperance, sobriety, and regularity of behaviour sensibly discovered themselves throughout all ranks."

The years spent at Fettercairn were busy years. Several of his works were published at this time. It may be interesting to give a list of his chief works at this point—

- (1) *Rejoice Evermore; or, Christ All in All.*
- (2) *Without Faith, without God.* Pub. 1769.
- (3) *Letter on the Eternal Generation of the Son of God.* Pub. 1769.

(4) *On the Assurance of Faith.* Pub. 1771.

(5) *A Letter on Prayer.* Pub. 1771.

(6) *Treatise on the Sin against the Holy Ghost.*
Pub. 1776.

(7) *The Epistle to the Hebrews Paraphrased, with a collection of Psalms and Songs from his other works, accompanied with a close examination into the truth of several received principles,* pub. 1783, for the use of the Berean churches.

His work, *Rejoice Evermore*, was published in 1766. It is described on the title-page as an "Original Publication, consisting of Spiritual Songs, collected from the Holy Scriptures; and several of the Psalms, together with the 'Whole Song of Solomon' paraphrased, to which also are prefixed three Discourses relative to those subjects; with a letter concerning the Assurance of Faith." This is a volume of between five and six hundred pages. It contains 197 songs, paraphrases of between 30 and 40 Psalms, a paraphrase of the "Song of Solomon," and, besides a letter on Assurance, a discourse on the Spiritual songs, a second on the Psalms, and a third on the "Song of Solomon." These discourses are dated Fettercairn, 19th Oct. 1766. The closing paragraph of the discourse on the Psalms may be quoted as a witness of his affection for the people of Errol. "Now my dear friends, and greatly beloved in the bowels of the Lord Jesus Christ, for whom this book and preface are wholly designed, to you among whom my endeavours in the work and fellowship of the

gospel have been mostly employed, even to you in the parishes and neighbourhoods of Fettercairn and Errol who are of the true circumcision, and worship God in the Spirit rejoicing in Christ Jesus, who is that Spirit and that Truth, having no confidence in the flesh; and to every reader who is of the same spirit and fellowship in the gospel, wheresoever you sojourn, in testimony of his immortal love and esteem this present pledge which he could afford, is most affectionately devoted and dedicated, by your humble servant for Christ's sake, who bids you heartily farewell in the Lord. Amen."

Barclay printed several thousands of verses on religious themes. His aim was laudable. Noticing how eagerly the common people took to singing, he determined to wed words moral and evangelical to tunes which had been consecrated too often to demoralising sentiments. These he gave away in his visitation. *The Spiritual Songs* are Scripture-paraphrases, and were designed as a "humble mite of gratitude to God." "For the poetry, he makes no apology, regarding it as only "a commodious vehicle or method of conveyance to those truths which he judges himself bound to propagate." It is fair to remember this in criticising his songs.

It may be said at once that there is little pretence to literary merit in them. Few of them are marked by much fancy, and many of them have the grotesqueness that characterises much of such writing.

We may give as an example the "Mill-Wheel," a song on the words, "They ground the Manna in Mills, and made Cakes."

- 1 Like the wheel of water-mill,
Yielding to the water's will,
Round, and round, and round it wheels,
As the gushing weight it feels ;
- 2 So obedient be my soul,
To the Holy Ghost's control,
Ever moving by his will,
Never, never standing still.
- 3 Let thy grinding milstones bring
To subjection everything ;
Grind away my rough and harsh ;
Grind my flesh, though bones should crash.
- 4 Grind me o'er, and o'er, and o'er,
Till I fall thy finest flower ;
Lay me down a mellowy heap,
Make me thro' thy bolters sweep.
- 5 Sift me, sift me, sift me well,
Sift me to approven meal,
Give my dust unto the wind
Leaving all the pure behind.
- 6 Stow we up in thy own vessel,
That no thief thy store embezzle.
Make me, thou, and make with speed,
Pleasant, pure, unleavened bread.
- 7 A sweet consecrated cake,
Make me, thou, for Jesus' sake ;
That I be not like Ephraim,
O forbid, thou great I Am !
- 8 Ephraim was but singly turn'd
Ephraim therefore doubly mourned.
Lest I burn me in the oven,
Draw me soon, O God, to heaven."

Equally grotesque is "A Child's Dream," which seems to have suggested the well-known piece, "The Infant's Dream." We give two verses.

"She took me in her snow-white hand,
Then led me thro' the air, Mamma,
Far higher above sea and land,
Than ever eagles were, Mamma!
The sea and land, with all their stores,
Of rivers, woods, and hills, Mamma,
Indeed they do appear no more
Than five of doctor's pills, Mamma.

I saw my sister Anna shine,
A virgin in her prime, Mamma;
Not such as with you sometimes dine;
But like the angels fine, Mamma;
Her robe was all a flowing stream
Of silver dipt in light, Mamma;
But, ah! it wak'd me from my dream,
It shin'd so strong and bright, Mamma."

Some of his pieces have a good deal of vigour in them, like—

"Blow the trumpet, blow it high;
Sound the Gospel far and nigh";

or,

"Now we, thy saints, O God, confess
Our sins, and base unrighteousness";

or,

"How highly bless'd are all the seed
Of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Head!"

We subjoin two other specimens of his poetry.

A

"God, my Father, guide my youth,
Fill my heart, and fill my mouth,
With that holy Word of thine,
Till I all in glory shine;

Shine in glory, like the sun,
When my race is fully run,
Race of faith, and race of love,
In thy purest light above."

B

"Though waves of tribulation roll
(Why shouldest thou, my soul, be moved?),
And rock the earth from pole to pole,
My God is pleased in his Beloved.

Though stormy wars around thee blow
(Why shouldest thou, my soul, be moved?),
And thousands to the sword should go,
My God is pleas'd in his Beloved.

Though famine should thy life assail;
(Why shouldest thou, my soul, be moved?),
And all the world begin to wail,
My God is pleas'd in his Beloved.

Though bitter troubles on thee seize
(Why shouldest thou, my soul, be moved?),
Death, death will put an end to these ;
My God is pleas'd in his Beloved."

Though Barclay's songs cannot lay claim to much poetical merit, it is impossible to read them without being conscious of a certain power.

It is time now to say something of Barclay's version of the Psalms. A part of it was issued in 1766 along with the *Spiritual Songs*. It consists of a paraphrase of the first 34 Psalms and of the 149th. Little praise can be given to his work, the interest of which arises from the view he took of their meaning. In a lengthy discourse on the Psalms, dedicated to his friends in the parishes and neighbourhoods of Fettercairn and Errol, Barclay

enunciated the view that the Psalms do not speak of the penmen, but only of Christ—in other words, that they are to be “considered as spoken by the Prophet, not of himself, but of, or in the Person of, Messiah the Lord.” “Where,” he asks, “has the Holy Ghost, in the whole public interpretation of the Old Testament writings by the Apostles, given any one hint for applying any one of the Psalms, or any one part of a Psalm, to David? or any one of the penmen, concerning whom we hear so much, whosoever they were? Is not a dead silence observed on this head throughout the whole New Testament? A shrewd hint that, whoever was employed, the Holy Ghost had no hand in any such applications.” Barclay accuses, in no measured way, those who, “in opposition to the apostles, apply upon occasions to the saints and faithful in Christ Jesus all such passages in the Psalms as the following: My soul is sore vexed—The sorrow of death compassed me—The pains of hell got hold upon me—Their arrows stick fast in me—Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts: all thy waves and thy billows are gone over me—Horror hath overwhelmed me, etc. What ideas have those men of the power and operation of the Comforter upon the spirits of the saints, when they think that their state, even at any juncture, may be described in the very same language which describes the power and operation of God’s wrath upon the spirit and body of their Redeemer, when standing in their room, and drinking up for them

that cup of bitterness, which the Father had put into his hand, that they, in place thereof, might have a cup of salvation, thanksgiving, and eternal consolation, put into theirs? . . . According to the softest thing that can be said, they have inadvertently made all they maintain of the truth in so far of none effect, by pouring into the hearts of God's children the vinegar, wormwood, and gall of God's wrath which their Surety drank wholly up to their immortal consolation. Wherefore, to ascribe to them any part of the expiatory sufferings of their Lord, as described in the words of the Holy Ghost, what is it, let candour say, but implicit blasphemy? designed, or undesigned, does not alter the case of those who are wounded, when they ought to be healed."

Barclay's paraphrase of the Psalms was written from this point of view. His teaching gave much offence, and his tone, which was bitter, increased it.

Another point in his teaching to which objection was taken was, that he maintained that assurance was of the essence of faith. He published a letter in 1771, *On the Assurance of Faith*, but several years before he had advocated it strongly in his *Dissertation on the Book of Psalms*. He says: "Those people who say they believe there is salvation for others, according to the gospel, and say they doubt of their own interest therein, do evidently lie; they do not understand what they pretend to believe: for no person can believe, without being conscious or certain, that he himself in particular

believes. They ask you, Is assurance of the essence of faith? They might as well ask you if the sun be of the essence of the sun?"

Bishop Horsley was interested in his teaching. And in his *Life of Wardlaw*, Dr. Lindsay Alexander describes Barclay as the Coryphæus of the modern advocates of the doctrine that we have the very same evidence that we are justified as we have that God raised up Jesus. He further draws an interesting parallel between the views of Barclay on this subject and those of Erskine of Linlathen, pointing out how, while on other matters wide as the poles asunder, both agree that we are called upon not to believe in order that we may be justified, but to believe that we are justified or pardoned—with this momentous difference, however, that the one restricts this privilege to the elect, while the other extends it to all men (p. 285).

Barclay was called before the Presbytery, and a manifesto was drawn up and ordered to be read at Fettercairn condemning him for the way in which he had spoken of public teachers, and for teaching the following doctrines: (1) That believers have, in the word of God, assurance given them of their salvation, and that they enjoy this assurance at all times. (2) That Christians should be equally holy in all places and at all times. (3) That the Psalms do not speak of the penmen, but only of Christ and his Church, and predict the destruction of his and its enemies.

The Fettercairn people, however, stuck by Mr.

Barclay, and nothing further was done during Mr. Dow's life. On the death of the latter gentleman, in 1772, the congregation was anxious to secure Mr. Barclay as his successor. To this both the Presbytery and the Heritors were opposed, and eventually Mr. Foote was presented by the Crown. One fact will indicate the state of feeling at Fettercairn when it is mentioned that only three people signed the call to Mr. Foote.

Barclay was refused a certificate by the Presbytery, a line which the Assembly sustained upon appeal. In consequence he withdrew from the Church of Scotland. During his visit to Edinburgh, he had several opportunities of preaching. He was as popular in the metropolis as he had been in the north. Hundreds professed to have received the truth as he taught it, and having formed themselves into a congregation invited him to be their pastor. Barclay went north for a time and preached to several thousands at Fettercairn. Here he was pressed to stay; but as there was no church for worship, and judging that the capital offered a larger sphere, he determined to settle there. Such, however, was the zeal of the Fettercairn people that a large church was built, not far off, at Sauchieburn, in less than four months. It is said to have had over a thousand members in 1774.

Edinburgh and Sauchieburn may be called the mother churches of the Berean Sect, or, as they are sometimes known from the name of their founder, Barclayans. From the beginning of his ministry

at Errol, Barclay had insisted strongly on the duty of testing every statement by a direct appeal to Scripture. One of his favourite passages was the commendation of the Bereans in Acts xvii., where they are spoken of as being "more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so." And it was to emphasise this duty as well as to distinguish them that they took voluntarily the title "Bereans."

It is impossible in this sketch to trace the history of the church at Sauchieburn. The building, a commodious but plain structure, still stands, and is used, occasionally, for services by the ministers of the neighbourhood. Twelve hundred people were wont to worship in it just a little more than a hundred years ago. In those days, James Macrae was its minister, a descendant of the "wild Macraes" of Ross-shire. He was a popular preacher, as well as an earnest man. He did a great deal by his Sabbath school, one of the first in Scotland, and by itinerating through the Mearns, to spread the truth, and to prepare the way there for the larger life of our century. But we must return to Barclay.

Having been ordained,¹ in October 1773, in Newcastle, by Mr. Murray, author of the somewhat curious work, *Sermons to Asses*, he began work in Edinburgh. He stayed there about three years, where he ministered to a pretty large congregation.

¹ The Bereans were neither Independents nor Presbyterians.

Barclay had only £18 as minister. Anxious to make the truth known in other places, he left his people in Edinburgh under the charge of his deacons, and went to England. He preached in a good many of the towns—at Bristol, for example, where he formed a congregation. His largest effort was made in London, where another Berean church was established. It had at one time two ministers. One of his more interesting experiments was a week-day meeting, where any one might go to discuss his teaching. It was a kind of debating society. One of his ablest colleagues was convinced at this meeting, Mr. Nelson, a surgeon; and by it we are told “useful labourers were raised up to supply those extensive fields which Mr. Barclay had opened.” Meantime things were not prospering under the deacons in Edinburgh. Barclay sent Nelson to take his place, and later, as the divisions were not healed, returned himself. It was, however, too late to prevent the troubles that were brewing. One of the weaknesses of the movement was its tendency to disintegrate. Some of his disciples, too, pressed matters so far as to incur with reason the charge which was made against himself of Antinomianism.

Reference may be made here to some of the literary efforts to discredit the Bereans. Amongst these may be mentioned “Satan,” a poem in dialogue. This piece appeared in 1774. Two years later a pamphlet was issued in Edinburgh, entitled, *Christ the true Rest, or the Jewish Sabbath a type of Christ.*

This pamphlet, a letter of 52 pages, professes to be an impartial inquiry into the nature of that supposed Scripture authority whereby the first day of the week is said to be an instituted Sabbath in place of the seventh. It is addressed in letter form to Mr. John Barclay, in answer to an Essay lately published by him on the first day of the week, and is subscribed by a Christian Church in Edinburgh. This pamphlet is one of the attempts made to hurt him by members who had fretted under the rules of the Society, and been excluded "from eating what he called the Lord's Supper." It is less interesting for its argument than as quite a rare specimen of fierce polemic. A few sentences may be quoted illustrating its spirit. "But now, Sir, after all we have said on the subject, allowing it were so, as you insist, that the first day of the week is a Sabbath day, which we find is not the case; would not other sins be as heinous in the sight of God, seeing he that offendeth in one point is guilty of all? Most certainly. However, we find other crimes are of far less account in your sight, such as drunkards—liars—thieves—smugglers—prophane swearers, etc. Persons of these characters, you take no notice of; but, on the contrary, they are caressed, received into your bosom, and stand high in your favour. . . . But so soon as we hinted that there is no command of God for observing the first day of the week more than another, immediately you sounded the alarm-bell, crying, Keep aloof from these wicked men—lest the earth—not only the earth—but hell

open her mouth and swallow you up! Mark the persons, say you. Before it was only avoid the action; now it is avoid the persons; keep no company with them, neither receive them into your houses, kiss them, and what more. . . . You call yourself a Berean: you have blasted out your anthemas against us for being Berean-like, searching the scriptures to see whether these things you vended were true or not. . . . For shame! you so zealous for keeping a first-day Sabbath! One would think it looks rather like a fair day, and your meeting-house rather like a stationer's shop than a house set apart for public worship. . . . Alas! how you are condemned of yourselves—our very hearts bleed for you, when we reflect how purely you hold forth the word of life, anent a sinner's justification by faith, before God; and yet to prevent other scriptures to serve your own ends. . . . As you are fond of antiquity, we shall lend you still a lift further back than even his Holiness; for, with an uninterrupted succession, you may be traced as far back as Balaam the son of Beor." In this strain Mr. Barclay's "sincere and affectionate" well-wishers write through 52 pages.

Shortly after this pamphlet was published, a satirical reply to it appeared. It is entitled, *A letter from Beelzebub*, addressed to a Christian Church in Edinburgh, or a supplement to a pamphlet, entitled, *Christ the true Rest; or, the Jewish Sabbath a type of Christ*. It is signed, "Your sincere friend, Beelzebub," and is dated, "Pandemonium,

the 5780th year of our reign." This is a letter of 24 pages. It is highly ironical. There is a great deal of good statement in it. We reproduce the opening paragraphs as a specimen. "Though gratitude cannot well be reckoned in the catalogue of my virtues, yet I cannot help acknowledging my obligations to you for the notable service you have done me by your late publication, and which you have entitled, *Christ the true Rest*, with the same propriety that you style yourselves a Christian Church. The publishing your sentiments to the world shows such an inviolable attachment to my interest, such zeal and resolution in my service, as is not to be shaken by any reproaches or sufferings you may meet with on my account. I have this to boast of all my true servants, that they are disinterested in their services, which shows the purity of their love; for they have no ground to expect any reward from me here or hereafter, but on the contrary have much to fear; which is more than can be said for the followers of Jesus, for none of them serve God for nought. The keeping of the first day of the week among Christians has been a great eyesore to me, as indeed are all the institutions of the gospel, as they tend to bring to view, and rivet upon men's minds, the impressions of divine things to which I bear a mortal antipathy. I see plainly, that whilst there is a day in seven set apart from worldly business and appropriated to public worship and instruction, there will always be some face of Christianity in the world in spite of all my

endeavours. I have tried various artifices to bring this and every other ordinance of the gospel into disrepute, and if possible into disuse, and have succeeded pretty well with a great part of professors in respect of their practice; yet, even among these there are many weak brethren who cannot get rid of certain occasional qualms of conscience on account of their conduct. This weakness, I observe, arises from some remains of a superstitious regard for the Bible. It would be a glorious achievement could I prevail with men to lay aside that book altogether; but though I have had legions of infidels and Deists employed in this undertaking from the very beginning of Christianity, it is still held in some estimation among men. As, therefore, we cannot get rid of it altogether, we must make the best use of it for our purpose we can. Perhaps it would not be altogether for my advantage that the Scriptures were entirely thrown aside. You have very justly observed, that 'I never work more effectually than under the wing of the Holy Ghost'; for by handling the word of God deceitfully my schemes obtain a religious sanction, and must consequently have the greater success with those who are not entirely loosed from revelation. It, indeed, requires some skill to manage this matter properly. Such passages of Scripture as cannot easily be bended to our purpose must be darkened or rendered dubious, or others set in opposition to them to destroy their force; a criticism is of great service upon occasion, and a mystical sense is often useful to set aside plain

common sense ; we must sometimes make use of the sound of words to combat the sense ; at other times it will be necessary to explain words in one connection by the sense they bear in another. But if still the plain sense of Scripture should beam through all these artifices, we must then confront it with bold assertions, or tack to it the most ridiculous absurdities and dreadful consequences. In these arts of manufacturing Scripture you have made surprising proficiency ; but as some may not perceive, at first sight, the principles upon which you proceed, not to advert to the force of your arguments, their main drift and tendency, or the length to which they may fairly be carried, it may not be improper that I should open up the matter a little farther, in order to explain and corroborate what you have already advanced."

Barclay's teaching evoked other pamphlets, but these are some of the more typical.

The end came suddenly. Not feeling very well, one Sabbath, he took a longer round than usual on his way to church. The fresh air did not revive him. He sought shelter in the house of one of his people. A few minutes later he expired without a sound, whilst kneeling in prayer. Dr. Barclay, his nephew, pronounced his death to have been caused by apoplexy. He was buried in the Old Calton burying-ground, not far from the present entrance. A simple monument has been placed at the grave, which bears this inscription—"In memory of John Barclay, A.M., Pastor of the Berean Church, Edin-

burgh, who died 29th July 1798, in the 64th year of his age, and 39th of his ministry. Also, James Donaldson, his successor, who died 5th March 1824, in the 74th year of his age, and 44th of his ministry.

Barclay was a frank, enthusiastic man. He was beloved by his friends, who cherished his memory with affection. A good deal of information about him is to be found in a short memoir of his life prepared by a Committee of the Berean congregation in Edinburgh, and issued along with his dissertation on the Book of Psalms, etc., in 1826. But the keenest criticism and appreciation of Barclay is that of the late Rev. Dr. A. Miller, in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. In some of Barclay's statements, Dr. Miller finds a Ritschlian strain.

Barclay wrote a well-known song on Sheriffmuir. Many of the Bereans, according to Chambers, have been characterised by the profession of bold, political principles.

Mr. D. Christie Murray mentions in *Recollections* a society of earnest Wesleyans who called themselves the "Young Bereans."

The literature about Barclay is considerable. Compare his writings—various Dictionaries—also *The Law of Creeds in Scotland*. By Alexander Taylor Innes, M.A. 1867.

Interesting footnote on p. 250.

Gardner's *Faiths of the World, Scottish Notes and Queries*. 1902.

Perthshire Magazine, July 1890, article on Barclay, etc., by J. Cuthbert Hadden.

History of Independency, by Ross.

Cameron's *History of Fettercairn*.

Chambers's *Book of Scotland*.

Shearer's *Antiquities of Strathearn*.

Autobiography of Dr. Somerville of Jedburgh.
1861.

Metcalf's *Paisley*.

Article on "Bereans," by (Rev. Dr.) A. Miller, in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii. Dr. Miller had in his possession Memorials of the Berean Assembly.

Julian's *Hymnology*, and Maclagan's *Scottish Paraphrases*, *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Scott's *Fasti*.

M'Lintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*. New York, 1867-68, etc.

XXIII

JOHN WESLEY IN GOWRIE

SAMUEL JOHNSON visited Dundee in 1773; John Wesley, but not for the first time, in 1774.

Johnson describes Dundee as a dirty, despicable town. Wesley, a man of more genial spirit, felt attracted by the city. For, in 1784, he writes in his Journal: "It (Perth) is certainly the sweetest place in North Britain, unless, perhaps, Dundee." But Wesley had no high opinion of the religious alertness of the people. One or two extracts from his Journal may be cited. "31st May 1764. I rode to Dundee, and, about an hour after six, preached on the side of a meadow near the town. Poor and rich attended. Indeed, there is seldom fear of wanting a congregation in Scotland. But the misfortune is they know everything; so they learn nothing." "2nd May 1768. In the evening I preached to a large congregation at Dundee. They heard attentively, but seemed to feel nothing."

Sometimes, of course, things were more hopeful. "We had," he writes once, "an huge congregation." Another time he records: "I believe a few felt the word of God sharp as a two-edged sword."

Again: "The people of Dundee in general

behave better at public worship than any in the kingdom, except the Methodists and those at the Episcopal chapels. In all other kirks the bulk of the people are bustling to and fro, before the minister has ended his prayer. In Dundee all are quiet, and none stir at all till he has pronounced the blessing."

But, generally, the tone is one of disappointment. Thus in June 1779: "The congregation was, as usual, very large and deeply attentive. But that was all. I did not perceive that any one was affected at all. I admire this people: so decent, so serious, and so perfectly unconcerned."

We feel tempted to dwell on Wesley's impressions of Perth and Dundee; but we must desist. What rather concerns us is his impression of the Carse. In all, Wesley paid over twenty visits to Scotland, and was in Perth or Dundee about a dozen times. We have an account in his Journal of more than one visit to the Carse. In May 1768 he passed through it. "We rode through the pleasant and fruitful Carse of Gowry, a plain fifteen or sixteen miles long, between the river Tay and the mountains, very thick inhabited, to Perth." Six years later, in 1774, we have an interesting impression. "May 1774. I returned to Perth and preached in the evening to a large congregation; but I could not find the way to their hearts. The generality of the people here are so wise, that they need no more knowledge; and so good, that they need no more religion!

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“About ten I preached to a considerable number of plain, serious, country people, at Rait, a little town in the middle of that lovely valley, called the Carse of Gowry.”

Wesley was impressed with the bearing of the people of Rait, and refers to them elsewhere.

What a picturesque figure John Wesley must have made as he rode along the Carse in 1774! He was then over seventy, but a famous rider who enjoyed reading as he rode. Approaching Perth he had been busy with Dr. Gregory's *Advice to his Daughters*. After leaving Rait he spent his time reading a tract on the Gowrie conspiracy, which convinced him that the whole was a piece of statecraft, “the clumsy invention of a covetous and bloodthirsty tyrant to destroy two innocent men that he might kill and also take possession of their large fortunes.”

Ten years later, when Wesley was over eighty, he visited the district again, and has put on record his general impression.

“April 1784. We went to Perth, now but the shadow of what it was, though it begins to lift up its head. It is certainly the sweetest place in all North Britain, unless perhaps Dundee. I preached in the Tolbooth to a large and well-behaved congregation. Many of them were present again at five in the morning, May 1. I then went to Dundee, through the Carse of Gowry, the fruit-fullest valley in the kingdom; and I observe a spirit of improvement prevails in Dundee, and all

the country round about it. Handsome houses spring up on every side, trees are planted in abundance, wastes and commons are continually turned into meadows and fruitful fields. There wants only a proportionable improvement in religion, and this will be one of the happiest countries in Europe."

XXIV

WILLIAM PEEBLES OF THE ORPHAN INSTITUTION, EDINBURGH

“IF ever there was a true saint on earth, William Peebles was one.”

To inhabitants of the Carse, the name of Peebles is unknown; but, in his day and sphere, he was one of the most useful and honoured men in Edinburgh.

With two parishes in the Carse and with two of their ministers, Peebles was intimately associated—with Mr. Randall of Inchtute, and Mr. Lyon of Longforgan. On no spot connected with his youth did he look with purer delight than on the parish church of Longforgan, where he had known many seasons of spiritual refreshing under the ministry of Mr. Lyon. To those who gathered in his room he loved to descant on the life and power of godliness existing amongst those with whom he was associated both at Communion times and in religious duty, and the impressions he conveyed sufficed to make them long for the return of days when God's word seemed to be mighty in the parish.

He had a rare power of influencing young men towards the truth.

When Dr. Randall Davidson, then Mr. Randall, and Dr. Balfour of Glasgow were studying in Edinburgh, being most earnestly inclined, they wished to establish a meeting for fellowship and prayer, in which those like-minded might join. To secure a suitable place for such a meeting, they felt at a loss; and, being shy, hesitated to ask it of those who might have helped them. So their earliest meetings were held in the branches of a tree in the Meadows, then, and for long thereafter, a retired spot. In course of time they found that it was somewhat inconvenient, and plucked up courage to ask Mr. Peebles of the Orphan Institution in the city, who cheerfully gave them the use of his room for their gathering. There, in the company of their benefactor, Randall and Balfour and some other friends held weekly gatherings, greatly to their advantage and pleasure. The meeting which Randall commenced in the Meadows was carried on under happier auspices till Mr. Peebles' death in 1807.

Mindful of the help he had received, Dr. Randall Davidson always advised students of theology to seek the acquaintance of Mr. Peebles and to keep as near him as possible, because he would do them so much good.

In the Historical Account of the Orphan Institution, a sketch is given of this admirable man. Peebles was brought under the notice of the

Managers by Mr. Randall of Inchture,¹ in 1759; and partly, at least, on the strength of his recommendation he was appointed Superintendent. At the time he was schoolmaster at Strathmartine. With the children in the Orphan Institution his ways were quaint and winsome; and, during a long period of years, his room was the rendezvous of some of the most honoured citizens of Edinburgh, who were moved by his character, and attracted by his power of religious conversation. Many anecdotes are told of him in this connection, and he had a store of the pithy sayings of the ministers whom he had heard in early life.

"It was remarked by an old minister whom I used to hear, that the devil is just the believer's fencing-master; for by trials and temptations he teaches him how to fight himself."

"I remember a clergyman once preaching on a Monday after the Sacrament, who observed that it was a blessed thing that Jesus did not say to his disciples, 'Arise, go hence,' but (John xiv. 31), 'Arise, *let us* go hence.' He went with them, and so will He go with you."

During the later years of his life, Peebles suffered much, and was frequently confined to bed. So fond were the boys of their Head, that they would gather, during the play hour, in the passage off

¹ The writer has sketched the work and times of the Randalls of Inchture in his volume on *The Ancestry of Randall Thomas Davidson, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury*. Round the first of the Randalls, gather questions relating to patronage, the Lord's Supper, paraphrases, etc.

which his room was, in hope that they might be overheard and invited in to hear some of the recollections and counsels of their honoured master. To offend Mr. Peebles was a punishment, to receive his welcome was at once a relaxation and a prize.

When, by reason of sickness, breakfast was brought to his room, he required his bit of dry toast to be sent without the crusts having been taken off. Those crusts were stored in his cupboard (for he was unable to eat them), and given to boys who specially pleased him; and it came to be as much an object of competition with the boys to obtain one of the crusts as to win a costlier prize.

Older men sought his counsel, and invited his blessing on their children; and many of the foremost men in the metropolis looked to him as their guide and friend.

XXV

GLIMPSES OF PARISHES ABOUT 1790

KINFAUNS

“A REMARKABLE change has taken place within these thirty years past in the dress, manners, and cleanliness of the people; the natural consequence of the influx of money. The great rise of wages has considerably meliorated the situation of such as depend upon their labour for the support of their families. And were the houses of cottagers and of those in the inferior ranks of life better, it would be a vast addition to their comfort. Some excellent ones have been lately built by proprietors. If some instances of more straitened circumstances occur amongst the poorer people, yet they do not seem to produce discontent. It is not known that any have died of want. None for many years back have been destitute of employment, and there have been no emigrations. No person, in the memory of the oldest man alive, has been tried for any crime or banished. The people are rather above middle size; they are healthy, and of a good-looking, decent appearance. Their attendance upon public worship is regular, their ideas of religion are rational.”

The last expression is curious, but it accords well with the spirit of the writer, Mr. George Chapman, minister of Kinfauns from 1765 to 1795, in which year he died. Chapman reckoned the Seceders in the parish to number 72. He was a man of literary taste, and kept an academy for young gentlemen. Of this venture, good reports were, till far on in the nineteenth century, still current. His wife was a daughter of Patrick Yeaman of Blacklaw, provost of Dundee, the provost about whom Mr. Randall of Inchtute had some controversy. Mr. Chapman seems to have been a good specimen of the Moderate party in the Church. Upon him the following tribute has been paid. "As a minister he was faithful, attending more to the wants than to the wishes of men; as a teacher, he began by gaining the heart, and communicating honourable sentiment no less than useful knowledge. His public conduct was marked by decision on the foundation of great and established principle, and it maintained a consistent and exalted tenor in his private life, rendering him precious to society by kindness of heart, integrity of conduct, gentleness of manners, cheerfulness of temper, and liberality of spirit."

We owe, as we have indicated, to Chapman the account of Kinfauns in the *Old Statistical*. In *Discourses on Theological and Literary Subjects*, by the late Rev. Archibald Arthur, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, there are two discourses (Nos. viii. ix.) which were,

as a note on p. 341 says, formerly printed in a Collection of Essays published at Edinburgh by the late Rev. Mr. Chapman, minister of Kinfauns. The volume referred to is entitled, *Original Essays and Translations*, by different hands, and was issued in 1780.

Chapman was the editor of, and a contributor to the work. There are eleven papers. Arthur's contributions, *On the Arrangement of Ancient and Modern Languages*, and *On the Growth of the Fine Arts*, are still of interest, especially the former.

The History of Sarah Th——, translated from the French by Chapman, we understand, is an eminently readable tale.

It would appear, from internal evidence, that *The Immortality of Authors, A Vision*, is also by Chapman. Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* was, in the Carse as elsewhere, much in vogue; and in the vision he saw under the old oak, Minerva told him that "it had been deservedly handed down to immortality as the most genuine picture of rural nature ever the world had produced."

KILSPINDIE

"The vulgar in most parts of this country, and particularly here, have an utter dislike to all regular physicians and surgeons, though in general their faith in drugs, quack medicines, and old wives' nostrums is most implicit. In my attendance upon the sick, my first question has generally been when

I found the disorder dangerous, whether a physician had been called; and though I have always advised it, I do not remember that in any instance I have succeeded."

During the preceding thirty years the population had fallen from 828 to 718.

INCHTURE

"The poors fund is above £200 Sterling. There are not many poor, and none of them are allowed to travel as beggars.

"In general the people here are sober and industrious."

Longforgan had one travelling beggar.

KINNAIRD

"A new practice that is generally adopted in the Carse, may be depended upon as a solid improvement.

"Their religion may be often tinged with superstition, but is seldom heated with enthusiasm."

ERROL

"There are 7 innkeepers in the village, and 10 in other parts of the parish."

"The parish schoolmaster has 200 merks Scots of salary, 1s. 4d. on every marriage, 8d. on every baptism, and 3½d. on every certificate."

Most of the houses in the village were built of clay.

There were about 240 Seceders in Errol. With a fine touch of superiority, the writer, Rev. Mr. Herdman, says that the Established Church congregation "for numbers and genteel appearance will not be excelled or equalled by many country congregations in the kingdom."

ABERNYTE

"The chief luxuries are snuff, tobacco, and whisky. Tea and sugar are little used, but the use of whisky has become very great. The use of tobacco may almost be said to be excessive, especially among the female sex. There is scarce a young woman, by the time she has been taught to spin, but has also learned to smoke. Smoking seems to have been introduced as an antidote to rheumatism and ague; the favourable alteration, however, with respect to these diseases has produced only a greater avidity for this indulgence."

ST. MADDOES

Between 1755 and 1790 the population of St. Maddoes had risen from 189 to 300.

"One cause of this," the Rev. David Black suggests, "may be that about thirty years ago the proprietor of the estate of Pitfour (to whom the greatest part of the parish belongs), divided a

considerable portion of his estate into distinct farms, obliging every tenant to reside upon his own farm, whereas before that time they lived together in a small village, where they had not the same conveniences or comforts. The farms in general are small, not exceeding 40 or 50 acres, which is another circumstance favourable to the population of the country."

Mr. Black's suggestion is valuable, all the more that Mr. Chapman of Kinfauns, whose population was going backward, attributes that decline not to emigration, but partly to the greater success of manufactures in the towns, and partly also to the uniting of crofts in larger farms, and to the disuse of cottagers as servants, and to the substitution for these of unmarried men.

Black reckoned that there were two families of Seceders.

BOOK IV.

XXVI

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF EVANGELISM

SINCE the days of Whitefield, most of the movements of Evangelism have touched the Carse, and connect its life with the labours of men distinguished in Scotland's story.

Speaking in a general way, these men may be ranged in two groups, whose heralds or exponents they are. These may be distinguished as the Haldane and the M'Cheyne Groups.

I

THE HALDANE GROUP

introduces us to names like those of David Black of St. Madoes, Charles Simeon of Cambridge, Stewart of Moulin, James and Robert Haldane, etc., and the ramifications of their work seem to stretch everywhere. Altogether it is a fascinating tale, whose local interest is only second to its religious meaning for the land.

(I) REV. DR. ROBERT GORDON

Few men have been venerated more sincerely by their contemporaries than Dr. Gordon of the High Church, Edinburgh. In the struggle which culminated in the Disruption, he took a prominent part. For over thirty years, in the metropolis, he exercised a ministry that has been called apostolic, and did much to impress, and attach to the truth, some of the most capable champions of the evangelical cause.

It is not generally known that he began his ministry at Kinfauns, nor what manner of man he was when he entered on his work.

Gordon was born in 1786 at Glencairn, where his father was schoolmaster. Precocious and talented, he was appointed, before he was sixteen, to fill the position which his father had held. His literary course he took at Edinburgh, where his ability and, in a special way, his scientific attainment won for him the regard of Professor Playfair, one of the boys of Benvie manse. Acting on his advice he accepted a tutorship in Perthshire, when he had for one of his pupils Dr. Bannerman, latterly a professor in the New College, Edinburgh, and laird of Abernyte.

Gordon was brilliant as a latinist, and still more so as a mathematician. For a time he was master in Perth Academy, and even then so competent a man as Sir David Brewster engaged him to write the articles on Euclid, Geography, and Meteorology, for the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*. Writing of Gordon's

meteorological observations made in 1815, Dr. Anderson of St. Andrews says that his "extreme accuracy as an observer, joined to his profound knowledge of this department of physical science, gives them an authority which can be claimed for the materials of few Meteorological Journals" (Fleming's *Temperature of the Seasons*, p. 75).

It may be mentioned, further, that shortly after Gordon was settled at Kinfauns in 1816, he invented a hygrometer. He was also an authority on the currency.

The Perthshire tutorship led to Gordon taking his divinity course at Aberdeen. We know from the pen of contemporaries something of his high-toned character and of his interest in discussion.

In point of interest, however, nothing can surpass the recollections of Mr. Sage.

Principal Brown of Aberdeen (died 1830) used to invite students of theology to deliver their opinions on the discourses read. If these were in Latin the criticism had to be in Latin. It was but seldom that advantage was taken of the offer. Sage says (*Memorabilia Domestica*, p. 227): "The invitation to the students of theology to deliver their opinions in Latin, I never knew to have been complied with but once, and that was by Mr. Robert Gordon, one of the teachers of the Perth Academy, who, at once accepting the challenge, for it was little else on the part of the learned Principal, in a short, luminous, and pointed criticism, far exceeded the doctor in depth, and almost equalled him in the

elegance of his style. This Mr. Gordon also delivered a discourse,—a close and most consummate piece of reasoning,—but the most perfectly free from the slightest allusion to the gospel of anything of the kind. Afterwards he became minister of Kinfauns, in the neighbourhood of Perth; and there, through the instrumentality of his excellent wife, he experienced a thorough change of views and of heart. He is now advanced in years, and is the eminent and pious Dr. Gordon of Edinburgh.”

Gordon is sketched in a lively fashion in an article in the *Dundee, Perth, and Arbroath Weekly Magazine*, 1843. His settlement at Kinfauns came about in a curious way. Francis, Lord Gray, had a great taste for scientific investigations, in mechanics, chemistry, natural philosophy. Knowing of the attainments of Mr. Gordon, he interceded with Lord Mansfield, who was patron of the living.

The latter agreed, and Mr. Gordon, second only to Dr. Chalmers as an evangelical preacher, like Chalmers at Kilmany, owed his appointment at Kinfauns to his scientific zeal. He was a diligent minister, but was often at Kinfauns Castle engaged with Lord Gray in experimental study.

A bust of Gordon has a place in the Castle. During a visit to Kinfauns in 1884, Mr. Gladstone asked whose bust it was, and on being told, as if recalling heroes in a struggle of which he had been a part, said quietly, Dr. Robert Gordon, Dr. Andrew Thomson.

Mr. Gordon was immensely popular in Perth, and

crowds assembled to hear him. A somewhat ludicrous complaint is recorded that, on one occasion, when he was preaching for a charitable object, the seats were all taken early by-crowds of those who were less able to help, to the exclusion of those who might have helped.

In 1817 there is an interesting account of the examination of the public seminaries of Perth signed by Mr. Gordon, moderator of the Presbytery.

To sketch the after life of Dr. Gordon would carry us beyond the purpose of this book.

In 1820 he was called to Edinburgh, where he was minister, successively, of Hope Park, New North, High Church, and latterly of the Free High Church. He was Moderator of the Church in 1841, and on the death of Dr. Chalmers was offered, but declined, the principalship of the New College. He was a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts, one of Her Majesty's Master Printers for Scotland, etc.

At the Disruption he resigned an income of about £900. "But I feel now," he said, "that I am a free man."

(2) REV. DAVID BLACK OF ST. MADOES.

"The M'Cheyne of those days"—so the author of the *Pastor of Kilsyth* describes "the saintly and tenderly plaintive David Black," who was ordained minister of St. Madoes in 1785. Unlike the name of Robert M'Cheyne, the name of David Black is unfamiliar to the present inhabitants of

the Carse of Gowrie, and is slipping swiftly from the recollection of the people of Edinburgh. But if a beautiful life and a useful ministry, if fruitful association with imperishable names are any title to interest, the name of Black can never be forgotten.

A sweeter spot for a ministry than St. Madoes could hardly be. It is perhaps the loveliest spot in one of Scotland's loveliest districts—

“For what in Scotland can compare
Wi' the Carse o' Gowrie?”

The parish, it is true, is a small one, both in point of extent and of population. It covers something like 1150 acres. To-day it has a population of 359. When Black was settled in 1785, the population was about 300. He had, however, the field to himself. Since Black's time, many changes have touched the place. A new manse stands in the old garden where Charles Simeon of Cambridge and his friend James Haldane conversed with Mr. Kennedy. The church, too, is different. But the old churchyard with its Celtic monument and its graves is the same, only fuller; the great features of the landscape are unaltered, the woods of Inchyra and Pitfour, the hill of Kinnoull, the Carse and the Tay, and the eye is charmed with the same glorious sunsets and moonlit skies that Black beheld.

Black belonged to a family that has given more than one worthy name to the service of the Church. His grandfather was a man of power, and a friend of Halyburton. His father became

one of the ministers of Perth in 1737, and remained so till his death in 1771. He was colleague to Mr. Wilson, who was deposed in 1740 for following divisive courses, and who became, with Ralph Erskine and Moncrieff of Culfargie, one of the founders of the Secession. By all reports, Black's mother was a woman of unaffected piety and gentleness, and as his father died when he was a boy of nine, she had a determining influence on his character. This woman was the daughter of a somewhat remarkable man, Neil M'Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh. M'Vicar was a true Highlander, the only minister in Edinburgh who knew the Gaelic language, a circumstance which gave him a large influence with the Highland population of the city. A man of spirit, he refused to own the claims of the Pretender even after the victory of Preston and his entry into Edinburgh, "ventured to discharge his official duty, preached to a promiscuous and crowded audience, containing many who were inimical to the sentiments both of himself and his colleague, prayed earnestly for the reigning monarch as usual, and referring to the intruding Prince, petitioned the Almighty 'in regard to the young man who had recently come among them in search of an earthly crown, he might soon obtain what was far better, a heavenly one.'" He seems to have been an indefatigable worker, and "few excelled him in warmth of devotion, simplicity of manner, or sanctity of life." Jean his daughter had much of his spirit, and to

her influence may be traced the gentle piety that marked her son. Probably the death of his father helped to mould him, for even in his tenth year "he was remarked for his tenderness of conscience, and for the readiness with which he received instruction; as well as for his diligence in reading the scriptures, and his attention to the duties of secret devotion."

At an early period David determined to be a minister. He took his course in Edinburgh, where he acquitted himself well. In 1784 he was licensed as a preacher by the Presbytery of Perth. In his diary, kept regularly from his sixteenth year, the following reference to it occurs, which we quote as indicating the spirit of the man. "Wednesday, Aug. 25, 1784, a day which I hope never to forget. I have now received a new character, and entered on the discharge of a new and important office. Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. This is now the issue of many fears and hopes and prayers. Hitherto the Lord hath helped me. I have undertaken a great work; but blessed be God, he sends none a warfare on their own charges, but gives strength according to the day." Black's occasional services in his probationer days seem to have been useful to not a few, and, during his life, he had many seals of his ministry. In his diary, Nov. 1, 1801, referring to a happy Communion in his second charge, Lady Yester's, Edinburgh, he says: "Some

of those admitted gave hopeful evidences of a change having lately been wrought in them."

Black's first charge was at St. Madoes, to which he was presented in 1785 by John Richardson, Esq., of Pitfour. It was a happy sphere of labour. The population was a fairly intelligent one. Some of its ministers had been excellent men. And he had the good fortune to follow Mr. Stevenson, who was not only a godly man, but one of the ablest and most honoured men in the Church. Here for nine years Black laboured with some success, possessing the confidence and the affection of his people and his brethren.

The people of the Carse are sometimes described as phlegmatic. So far as the people of St. Madoes are concerned, Mr. Noble, who wrote the account of the parish for the *New Statistical Account*, held another opinion. He says: "Though a stranger might be ready to mistake a coolness and deliberation of manner by which they are characterised for constitutional heaviness, or a little reserve for lack of intelligence, he who comes into close and familiar intercourse with them in the ordinary matters of life, will soon discover, that while they are as much alive as men in general to what is going on in the world, they are shrewd, sensible, and calculating. In their worldly callings they are industrious; in their mode of life, frugal and provident; in their general conduct, sober and orderly, just and upright. They, as their fathers for generations past have been, are distinguished

for their regularity and decorum in attending on divine ordinances, an obvious consequence of which is to be seen in their comparative exemption from flagrant immoralities." The soil of the Carse is heavy, and there do not seem to have been the deep wide-spread movements in it which have fashioned the life of other districts. This may, in part, account for the absence of manifestations of life which we should expect, but not wholly. It was one of Black's regrets that so little fruit showed itself.

We cannot, however, doubt that good was being done. He threw his whole soul into the work, and he found it "sweet and delightful." "I would not," he wrote at a later period of his life as he looked back on the past, "exchange employments with the greatest prince or potentate on earth." It is but an incidental trace, but it is perhaps worthy of mention that amongst the subscribers to the works of Mr. Lyon of Strathmiglo, there are several names from St. Madoes beginning with the name of David Black. Four years after he was settled, the parish was struck with heavy sickness, and he himself with a dangerous illness. One of the sermons in the volume of sermons published after his death was preached on his recovery. It is on Job xxxiv. 31, 32, and the subject of it is The Improvement of Affliction. It makes mention of "my beloved and affectionate congregation whose souls the great Lord of the vineyard hath given me in special charge." It refers to the sickness that had been raging in the parish as "an awakening call in

providence to greater watchfulness and diligence." And it refers to the concern of his people as an encouraging symptom that perhaps God would bless his labours. "Should this be the case, I can truly say it would be one of the chief comforts of my life; as the little fruit that has hitherto appeared and the open scandals that have broken out amongst us have been none of the least of my trials." The following entry occurs in his diary: "October 11, 1789. Again permitted by the kind providence of God to enter the pulpit after being debarred from the privilege about four months. I preached on this occasion from Job xxxiv. 31, 32, a passage which afforded me some comfort in the time of my sickness. Life in itself, with all the cares and troubles that attend it, would hardly be desirable for its own sake, but as it is the season of usefulness, as it gives an opportunity of advancing the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, it is highly valuable, and in this view I desire chiefly to value it. O Lord, watch over my soul, that I may watch for the souls of my people. Help me to live a life of closer fellowship and communion with thee; and then in health or in sickness, serving thee or suffering from thee, I shall be satisfied, cheerful, and happy." The interest of this passage is not simply the devout spirit which it breathes, but it is his thoughts on what unconsciously to him at the time was the preparation for one of his greatest services. We refer, of course, to the help which he was permitted to give to Stewart of Moulin.

Stewart of Moulin will always be remembered, not only as the friend of Charles Simeon and Haldane, but as the spiritual father of very many. His own history is of the deepest interest. Stewart was a man of Black's standing, two years younger. In 1786 he was settled at Moulin, at the age of twenty-two. The state of the parish was far from satisfactory. With a superficial knowledge of the outlines of Christian doctrine, the people were living "without the true knowledge of God, of Christ, of the Gospel, and of their own character and state." In a narrative which he published some years later, he thus describes the condition of his people. "Very few, indeed, know the way in which the gospel informs us a sinner may be reconciled to God. The opinion of their own works recommending them to the favour of God, and procuring a reward from his bounty, was almost universal. It discovered itself in their ordinary speech, in their common remarks on more solemn occasions, and in almost every religious sentiment that was uttered. Their apprehensions of the demerit and consequences of sin were exceedingly defective. I have heard many on a sick bed, after acknowledging in common form that they were sinners, deny that they ever did any ill. And in the view of death, they have derived their hopes of future happiness from the reflection that they never had wronged any person. Very few seemed to annex any meaning to their words, when they said they expected pardon for Christ's sake. . . .

They had evidently little concern about the present or the future state of their souls. They attended church, and partook of the sacraments, and rested from their work on the Sabbath. But these outward observances were almost the only appearances of religion. There was little reading of the Scriptures at home; little religious instruction of children; hardly any family worship; no religious conversation; no *labouring* in any manner for the meat which endureth unto everlasting life. Even on the Lord's day, most of the time was spent in loitering, visiting, and worldly talk; and, on other days, religion was scarcely thought of."

During the first few years of his ministry, Mr. Stewart was as little concerned as his people about his spiritual state or theirs. His experience in this respect was like Chalmers', and the change when it came was as decided. Black of St. Madoes had the happiness of being the instrument employed to rouse his interest in divine things. As the story illustrates the character of Mr. Black, some account of it may be given. It came about in this way. At this time the Church of Scotland was rent into two parties, the Moderate and the Evangelical. Feeling was keen, and for the most part men had their friends in the party to which they belonged. Black was an Evangelical, Stewart was a Moderate, and, with the exception of Black, his friends belonged almost exclusively to that party. It was about five years after he entered the ministry at Moulin that Stewart was led, he hardly knew how,

to visit his friend at St. Madoes. Black by this time was rejoicing in the light. Stewart was only groping in the dark. Black hid nothing, but he obtruded nothing. One conversation was especially helpful to Mr. Stewart, who used to refer to it as "the commencement of his spiritual life." They were sitting one day in an arbour in the garden of the manse. The conversation led Black to describe the triumphant death of a sister. Something seemed to whisper to Stewart that a victory like that could not be explained on his principles, and it left an indelible impression on his heart. Referring to it many years later he says: "The dear name (of Mr. Black) is always associated with my first perceptions of divine truth and redeeming love. My thoughts took a long flight backwards, and the parlour and the garden at St. Madoes appeared to me like 'an upper chamber in Jerusalem, and like the garden of Gethsemane.'"

This visit of Stewart to Black was the beginning of a correspondence which lasted till the death of the latter in 1806. It may be noted that till the decisive change took place in Stewart, Black was his chief correspondent, and it was he who guided his mind in the perplexities which he had to face. Those letters are of much value. They contain interesting glimpses into the mind and work of the writers. Stewart was the broader man. He had many hobby horses, as he writes to Black, one time mathematics, another time grammar, another time statistics, and he was fond of metaphysics. Black

at the time was a deeper man, a man of conviction, of experience, a humble but loyal follower of Christ, and thus well fitted to guide the groping but now earnest mind of Stewart. The two friends exchanged for perusal and criticism some of their sermons. Black's criticisms are an admirable statement of Evangelical teaching, and did a great deal to bring about a change in Stewart's views. It was not, however, till 1796 that Stewart entered the glorious liberty of the children of God. Black was permitted providentially to contribute to this. By this time Black was settled in Edinburgh, in Lady Yester's Church. Charles Simeon happened to be in Scotland, and by "a random thought that occurred to me, I cannot tell why or how," Black was led to give him a letter of introduction to his friend at Moulin. Simeon stayed two days with Stewart, preached in his church, and by his conversation and prayers proved a father to him. Stewart used always to refer to this visit as the turning-point in his life. "I never was alive till then," he wrote shortly after to Black. "It was reserved for Mr. Simeon to be the man who should be appointed to prophesy to the wind, and say, "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon this dead body, that it may live." It was not long before the fruit of this change appeared. It showed itself in Stewart's life, in his preaching and in his parish. Few of our readers will be ignorant of the widespread revival that took place at Moulin during the closing years of last century. At one

time, scarcely a week passed in which one, two, or three were not brought under deep concern. Seventy people in his congregation gave evidence of a saving change. Many more were impressed, and the parishes around felt the quickening. But it is beyond the purpose of this sketch to trace its story. Suffice it to say that Stewart wrote an account of it which delighted "the venerable Newton" as well as many in England and America, and which was published in 1800 in the form of a letter to Black. Black was much quickened by the account of the work of God at Moulin, and was one of many who went to see it. The following entry occurs in his diary: "Aug. 24, 1800. Returned from St. Madoes, Perth, and Moulin, where I spent the last two weeks, upon the whole, I trust, profitably to my own soul, if not to the souls of others. My visit to Moulin was peculiarly gratifying. Such a revival I never witnessed before,—it is truly the doing of the Lord, and marvellous in our eyes."

Black was not without enemies during his St. Madoes ministry; and his conduct and that of Mr. Scott in connection with a proposed Chapel of Ease in Perth were angrily canvassed on the floor of the Presbytery and of the General Assembly. They were attacked as being disaffected to the government of the country, and holding suspicious political principles. Black made a strong and pointed reply to the charge at the Assembly; but the feeling was so strong that he was advised to make, next day,

a declaration of his political principles and of his unfeigned loyalty. This he did. But even then the town council which had contemplated presenting him to the vacant charge of Lady Yester's hesitated, and only proceeded when private inquiry had shown that the charges were as groundless as they were cruel.

After labouring in St. Madoes for nine years Black was, accordingly, settled in Lady Yester's. The famous Dr. Erskine conducted the service and, addressing him, said: "You have begun well, hold on to the end with persevering and increasing diligence, and be not discouraged by the difficulties of your work."

When Black was settled the religious condition of Edinburgh and of the Scottish Church was interesting and anxious. It was "the midnight of the Church of Scotland." Carlyle's *Autobiography* gives a melancholy picture of the state of religious feeling during the second half of the 18th century. The more that the principles of Moderatism triumphed, the state of the metropolis grew darker. Creech, the bookseller, printed in 1788 some sketches in which he compared the state of Edinburgh in 1763 and 1783. "The writer says that the quality of the sermons was wonderfully improved, referring evidently to their literary polish, Dr. Blair eclipsing all others. Along with this, he tells how the attendance at church had greatly diminished. Formerly, in 1763, Sunday had been observed by all ranks as a day of devotion. In 1783 the church attendance had greatly

fallen off, family worship, that had been "frequent," was now 'almost totally disused.' As to manners and conversation in company, he contrasts the modesty, decency, and reserve of 1763 with the looseness, forwardness, and freedom of 1783. In regard to morals, the change for the worse was sufficiently painful. One item it may be enough to mention. Sins against the seventh commandment were punished by a fine which went to the poor, and during these twenty years such had been the increase of immorality that the annual amount of fines had risen from £154 to £600."

It was in 1796 that one of Principal Robertson's successors at Gladsmuir, Hamilton, opposed successfully in the General Assembly the idea of Foreign Missions, and three years later the same Assembly passed an Act prohibiting the ministers of the Church from opening their pulpits to all persons who were not duly licensed, and also to "those who are from England or any other place, and who had not first been educated and licensed in Scotland." This Act was directed especially against men like Charles Simeon and Rowland Hill—men who had been so signally honoured in the conversion of souls.

One thing, however, the Assembly could not compel—that was the support of the people. And so it came that, as a matter of policy, men were presented to the pulpits of Edinburgh who, though opposed to Robertson and Blair, Hill and Carlyle, were acceptable to the people. At the end of the century there were a good many evan-

getical preachers in Edinburgh. John Erskine, described by Bishop Hurd as next to Warburton, the deepest divine he had known, was in Greyfriar's, Sir Henry Moncreiff-Wellwood was in St. Cuthbert's, William Paul was his colleague, Walter Buchanan was in the Canongate, Thomas Jones was in Lady Glenorchy's, Randall Davidson, formerly of Inchtūre, was in the Tolbooth, and David Black, formerly of St. Madoes, was in Lady Yester's. These were all men of lofty character; some of them were men of commanding power. During a time of declension they held their banner high, with manfulness and hope, and paved the way for the still more influential activities of Andrew Thomson and Chalmers.

Lady Yester's, where Black had been settled, served the south-eastern side of Edinburgh. It was an old and rather decayed building. During his time it had to be pulled down and a new church was opened in 1805, about two months before his death. Throughout its history Lady Yester's had had ministers of eminence. Hugh Blair was inducted in 1754. He was succeeded by Robertson—the famous Principal. Macknight was appointed to it in 1772, Randall six years later, and in 1794 David Black of St. Madoes. Though repeatedly offered a change, Black preferred to stay in Lady Yester's till the close of his life. His ministry was an earnest one. He preached well and usefully. Black published little. During his lifetime the only things that came from him were two single sermons and an account of St. Madoes, in

Sinclair's *Statistical Account*. In 1808, however, a volume of *Sermons on Important Subjects* was published, with a short sketch of his life. There are fifteen sermons in the volume, on such subjects as—"The Deceitfulness of the Heart," "The Gospel Invitation," "The Christian Character," "Christ's Little Flock." From it, as well as from what he published during his life, and from the testimony of other men like Stewart of Moulin and Bonar of Cramond, we can form a pretty good idea both of the man and his preaching. Black's preaching was distinctly evangelical. One extract from his diary on the twentieth anniversary of his ordination may be given as illustrative of the steadiness of his tone: "I can truly say I have found Christ to be a good master, and his work sweet and delightful, so that I would not exchange employments with the greatest prince or potentate on earth. No material change of sentiment has taken place since I began to preach; only, if the Lord spare me, I would study to be more practical, more particular in the delineation of character, and more faithful in dealing with the consciences of men." The following is a critique of his preaching: "His sermons, it must be remarked, derived peculiar advantage from his elocution and delivery. His manner was solemn and affectionate, earnest and persuasive. When expostulating with sinners, or unfolding to Christians the consolations of the gospel, there was often an animation in his address, a sacred fervour, a divine unction, which powerfully impressed the auditory. He evidently

felt the truths he was delivering, and spake as one standing in the presence of God, animated with a pure zeal for the glory of the Redeemer and the salvation of immortal souls."

As at St. Madoes, so in Edinburgh, much of Black's influence sprang out of his beautiful character. His piety was shining. No one can read his letters or his sermons without perceiving his power. He had a well-balanced mind, and was able to state a truth or weigh an objection well. And though far from being a robust man, he was capable of grappling with questions with a certain force. But his greatest power was his life. His prominent feature was his godly fear, which was life-long and deep and beautiful. According to one, his manner was distinguished "by an uncommon degree of sweetness and gentleness." Humility "shed a pleasing lustre" over all his other qualities. "In him, indeed, was exemplified in an eminent degree that sublime view of the Christian life which is given by the Apostle Paul—a life hid with Christ in God." It is not surprising that one so saintly and loving should have gathered round his ministry many of the really earnest hearts of Edinburgh. It was no uncommon thing about the time of his letters to Black describing his conversion and the work of grace at Moulin, to see Stewart in the elders' seat listening to the teaching of his old St. Madoes' friend. And here and there through the chapel were students whose keen countenance betokened their calling, and whose wistful looks bespoke their thirst for God.

Burns, in the life of the Pastor of Kilsyth, refers to the influence of Black and one or two others upon his father. It is a beautiful description, and may be quoted here as a tribute, not only to the influence of Black, but also of Randall Davidson, formerly of Inchtute, in moulding the life of some of the best men of this time. "But there were influences and scenes outside the hall to which he recurred in after years with still livelier satisfaction, and which contributed in a much higher degree to form the character of the future pastor and watcher for souls. The holy fire was kindled, not by the lessons of the schools, but by a live coal from the altar of God. Amid the hallowing and soul-quickenings atmosphere of Sabbaths spent in Lady Glenorchy's or Lady Yester's Church—the one under the ministry of the lively and fervent Thomas Jones, the other, of the saintly and tenderly plaintive David Black—the M'Cheyne of those days—or in kindly personal colloquy in the study or at the breakfast-table of such benignant fathers in the faith as Walter Buchanan and Thomas Randall Davidson, the smoking flax in his young heart, as in many others besides, was fanned into a flame of holy decision and courage which burned on through life." But perhaps the most interesting fact in Black's Edinburgh ministry relates to his connection with James Haldane. When Haldane went to Edinburgh shortly after he left the naval service, he was led to attend the ministry of Dr. Buchanan, of whom Charles Simeon said that he was "a

Scotch minister whom I think it one of the greatest blessings of my life ever to have known." Just about the same time he and Mrs. Haldane were introduced to Mr. Black. Their minds were then in an anxious state. But the light dawned gradually, and before 1795 closed a change had taken place both in Robert and James Haldane, whose results reach out into eternity. Black was one of those who were permitted to guide the mind of James Haldane, and it was through association with Buchanan, Black, and Erskine, and others like minded, that the sympathies of Haldane were so quickly and so enthusiastically drawn out towards the objects of Christian activity. Next year it was that Simeon of Cambridge happened to visit Scotland, and in view of his tour received an introduction from Black to Stewart of Moulin. Simeon had on that tour a companion. That companion was James Haldane. On their way north they went by St. Madoes, and from thence to Perth and Moulin. The result of this visit to Moulin we know. Stewart was made alive, and on that memorable Saturday when Simeon's words came home as the message of God, long after Simeon had retired, Haldane and Stewart talked together of that gospel which had so recently been felt in all its majesty and grace by Simeon's companion in travel, and now by his host.

One of Black's first steps in Edinburgh was to start a meeting where a few earnest Christians used to gather for prayer for the spread of the gospel

and the promotion of the glory of Christ. These meetings were held in Black's house in North Richmond Street. Nowadays North Richmond Street is somewhat stripped of its earlier glory. Its houses are grey and grimy with the touch of time and the smoke of the surrounding city. But it stands well, and its houses have peeps towards the sea which are charming. In Black's day North Richmond Street was a choice home. Near the university and the heart of the city, it lay on the outskirts. The ground on which the south side of Edinburgh is built was then green fields, and Arthur Seat and Salisbury Crag were just at hand. Good men and true have lived in it, but not its least honourable memory gathers round the home of David Black. Here a prayer meeting was held on Friday evening and on Sabbath morning. It was conducted so as not to interfere with the duties of home. The meeting began at seven o'clock on Sabbath morning; it lasted about an hour and a half. A psalm was sung, a portion of Scripture read, and three or four members prayed. Before 1795 closed it had increased. One of the most eager members of the meeting was James Haldane. Several references to it occur in his life, which are not more significant in relation to his own character than they are to Mr. Black's. The night before Haldane started on his first tour, in 1797, a special meeting was held at Black's house where he and Aikman were "recommended by the brethren to the grace of God for the work in which

they were about to engage." "When Mr. James Haldane and Mr. Aikman commenced their first preaching tour through the North of Scotland, they took their commission from the obligation imposed on every believer to proclaim to others the gospel of salvation, and from the prayers with which they were solemnly commended to the grace of God in the house of their pastor, the much-honoured David Black, the Minister of Lady Yester's Church." Haldane's affection for Black was great, and during his first journey his mind used often to recur to the meeting in North Richmond Street as one of the gracious influences by which he was sustained. Writing in 1797 from Banff he says to Mr. Campbell: "We have, I am persuaded, experienced the benefit of their prayers. It is now past five. You will soon, I suppose, meet at Mr. Black's. May the Lord meet with you. I know you will remember us. . . . Remember us most kindly to Mr. and Mrs. Black and all our friends." All this is interesting in view of the wonderful blessing which crowned Haldane's work in 1797.

The other glimpses that we get of Black's life in Edinburgh are not less pleasing if perhaps they are less memorable. He was staunch to his Church and her standards. A man who preferred to do his work unobtrusively, he rather shrank from sharing in the debates of ecclesiastical courts. He was ready, however, when loyalty to Christ and the gospel seemed to call for it, to give his counsel and his testimony, and he resisted stoutly any

thing like laxity, believing with the illustrious author of *A Practical View*, etc., William Wilberforce, that the chief cause of the impotence of the Church and the backward state of religious feeling was the neglect of the "peculiar doctrines of the gospel." Black was one of those who took part in the formation of the Edinburgh Missionary Society. His other activities—catechising, visiting the sick and the poor—were manifold. And when it is recollected that during the latter years of his ministry his life had been precarious, and his strength greatly reduced through a long and severe illness, it will appear all the more wonderful that he kept his heart sympathies so fresh, and discharged with such commendable fidelity the work that belonged to a large city congregation. The end came comparatively early and somewhat unexpectedly. In February 1806 he took fever. By the twentieth of the month his state was very critical. In the forenoon of that day, "in the course of an interesting conversation with a Christian friend, he expressed, in strong terms, his confidence toward God through Jesus Christ, and his assurance of his personal interest in the salvation of the gospel." That was his latest witness. For five days the fever raged high, and then he fell asleep. Black was not forty-four when he died, and had completed only a little more than twenty years of service in the Church. His own description, in 1791, of Mr. Sheriff, the first minister of Lady Glenorchy's, may not inaptly be used of himself:

“He died a young man, in the midst of his years and usefulness, but not before he had given a very full and comfortable testimony to the truth of those doctrines which are derided by the world under the name of Methodism and Enthusiasm.”

(3) THE HALDANES

There were two brothers—Robert, born in London in 1764, James, born in Dundee in 1768. Their father was Captain James Haldane. To profane swearing he was very opposed. Once he compelled an unfortunate midshipman who swore to carry a clog round his ankle for the rest of the watch. He died at Lundie House in 1768. His latest words were, “I have full confidence in Jesus.” A fortnight afterwards James Haldane was born in Dundee in an old house on the banks of the river.

Mrs. Haldane, the captain's wife, was his first cousin. She was the daughter of Duncan of Lundie and of (by courtesy) Lady Lundie. The Duncans were a Dundee family which had become also, through a scion of the house who purchased Seaside, Inchtute, a Carse family.

A narrative still exists in the handwriting of W. Duncan of Seaside, detailing the story of his preservation from shipwreck in the North Sea, in 1631, after being tossed about in a small boat for forty days. Throughout it there is a strain of sincere devotion, and it was written, Duncan

says, to teach his successors to be humble and thankful.

Mrs. Haldane's father supported warmly the Protestant succession and the House of Hanover. As Provost of Dundee he helped the Government effectively in 1745. Towards the close of his days he left Lundie Castle and came to Gourdie House, known as Lundie House in his time and later as Camperdown—Camperdown being given to the new house gifted by the nation to Viscount Duncan.

Mrs. Haldane was a devout woman. Her son, James, says: "My mother died when I was very young, I believe under six, yet I am convinced that the early impression made on my mind by her care was never entirely effaced." It was common for the boys to overhear her praying for them. She died near Crieff in 1774. Dr. Willison, son of the famous Willison, himself an unbeliever, said that such a deathbed was enough to make one in love with death. She was buried in Lundie in the burial-place of the Duncans, near where her brother, the admiral, was laid.

Mrs. Haldane had two brothers—uncles, therefore, of Robert and James. The elder, Colonel Duncan, was a man of great resource, who had served in Flanders and Canada.

At a riot near Dundee, and at the Mylnefield Meal Mob Riot, in 1773, he showed both tact and courage.

The colonel discharged an uncle's part nobly. It was he who brought Robert and James to Dr.

Bogue at Gosport, thus commencing a friendship of great value, and his unvarying kindness was cherished by his nephews with grateful remembrance. During the minority of Robert he managed his estate, and bought Lochton in Abernyte and Keithock out of the savings. Colonel Duncan lived to see both his nephews at mission work, and he died at Lundie House in 1796.

The colonel's brother, Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, is a man of renown. His life has been so fully told by the present Earl of Camperdown that we need not dwell upon it. Bold, resourceful, resolute in discipline, his character was dignified by a strong sense of duty and by the unaffected practice of Christian piety. His Bible was well thumbed. Before the fateful engagement at Camperdown he summoned the men on deck, and, in a simple service, all were committed to the care of God. At home, his biographer, writing of his distinguished ancestor, says that he was "rather strict in requiring attendance at Church, family prayers, and other religious observances, to all of which he himself paid most earnest and devout attention" (p. 377).

The bell of the *Vryheid*, one of the ships taken at Camperdown, was hung on the church at Lundie, and till recently called the people to the worship of God (p. 343).

After Mrs. Haldane's death the future viscount stayed for a long time with his mother, Lady Lundie, in Mrs. Haldane's house, and managed their affairs.

He taught his young nephew a bit of Addison's *Cato*—

“My voice is still for war!
What! can a Roman Senate long debate
Which of the two to choose—
Slavery or death!”

It is related of James Haldane that when his uncle came to see him during an illness he at once started off in his delirium—

“My voice is still for war.”

In 1776 a fresh sorrow darkened the lot of the boys. Their only sister died. Their two uncles stood with them at the funeral.

In 1777 the boys were sent to the High School of Edinburgh. But they were constantly at Lundie House, which was like a second home, and were worshippers in Liff Church.

Robert Haldane used to gather the servants in the hall and preach to them. He wished to study for the Church, but his prospects were counted too good for such a profession. Both brothers went to sea—Robert in 1780, James in 1785. In 1782 Robert saw the *Royal George* sink. He received the highest praise for bravery, and renown was predicted. Next year, however, he left the Navy. In 1785 he married, and shortly thereafter settled at Airthrey.

During the next ten years he lived as a county gentleman, ornamenting the grounds of his fine estate. Amongst other things he was deeply interested in the transplanted of trees. Indeed it became a saying that he was to transplant his

house. When the Botanic Gardens in Edinburgh were changed, Haldane helped Professor Graham in transplanting large trees, thirty to forty feet high. One, at least, was removed two miles. A letter exists, dated June 1788, addressed to John Allen of Errol, about transplanting trees, offering to help him and to come along the Carse from Lundie House to do so.

This was all honourable work, but to be a country squire was not his destiny. In 1792 we find him attending Church history lectures in Edinburgh along with Sir Ralph Abercromby.

James, his younger brother, also went to sea. Fearless as a lad and youth, he made one narrow escape and, amongst other rough adventures, fought a duel.

But the influence of his mother and of Lundie House remained with him.

In 1793 he married a pious lady, Miss Joass. To the sorrow of his uncles, for his command was worth £3000 a voyage, he left the sea and settled at Airthrey. On leaving Stirling they went to Edinburgh, where they attended the ministries of Dr. Buchanan and Mr. Black, lately of St. Madoes, and, little by little, James Haldane came to the light. Robert Haldane was longer in finding the truth, and perhaps the man who helped him most was a mason at Menstrie. By 1795 both brothers were in Christ, and henceforth everything was to be ruled by Him. "Christianity is everything or nothing," Robert Haldane said,

The Haldanes had connections with India, and Robert was anxious to go there to promote the truth. But in this he was thwarted. Perhaps it was well. So much work was waiting elsewhere in Scotland and in the world. As for James, within three years of his conversion he was an itinerating evangelist. Before he set out for the north, in 1797, a special meeting for prayer was held in Mr. Black's house, and there, by a former St. Madoes minister, the boy from Lundie House, an old Liff worshipper we might call him, was recommended to the grace of God.

The fruit of his work was abundant. Dr. M'Crie, the biographer of Knox, visited Kirkwall in 1798, and was profoundly struck with the results. Curiously, on the day when the victory was won at Camperdown, James Haldane preached twice. Though little thinking of what was taking place, private letters show how earnestly he had been praying for his distinguished uncle. Both brothers, of course, were the subject of many a sneer. They were said to have sent the admiral a sermon by way of congratulation. On the contrary, Lord Duncan wrote that of all the letters he received, none gratified him more than Robert Haldane's,—“it had a grip of the situation.” When the admiral died, James wrote Lady Duncan a beautiful letter recalling his disinterested kindness to him, and Robert was a trustee for the admiral's children.

During James Haldane's second tour in 1799, he preached in the Relief Church in Dundee to over-

flowing congregations. On the following Sabbath, by request, he preached at Inchtute, near Rossie Priory and not far from Lochton. The parish minister was opposed to the service; but in a farm-yard near the village not less than a thousand assembled to hear the Word. And there, as at Dundee, lasting good was done.

It would be hopeless even to outline the crowded activities of these brothers. Of Robert's labour mention may be made of his meetings in Geneva, through which that splendid galaxy of men—Merle d'Aubigné, Malan, etc. etc.—was brought to the knowledge of the truth.

Of more local interest reference may be made to the tabernacle (now St. David's Church) which he opened in Dundee in 1800; the tabernacle he built at Abernyte, the work at Myrekirk, and the training of students and catechists in Dundee.

Amongst those trained for the ministry under the schemes of Robert Haldane, were Dr. Russell of Dundee, Angel James of Birmingham, and Principal Dewar of Aberdeen. Dewar was Laird of Durdie. At his death the estate passed to his daughters, one of whom was married to Professor Clerk Maxwell of Cambridge.

Sage of Resolis, in his *Memorabilia Domestica*, gives a brief account of the rather remarkable career of Dewar.

The Principal vacillated sadly at the Disruption. After speaking vehemently on the Non-intrusion side, and appearing on the platform of the Free

Church Assembly, he settled down quietly within the walls of the Establishment. The rather sorrowful letter printed by M'Cosh was written at Durdie.

These movements and methods excited a widespread dislike which deepened into opposition, and a purpose was formed to exclude such men from the pulpits of the Church. In 1799 the Synod of Angus and Mearns transmitted an overture to the Assembly against vagrant teachers,¹ Sunday-school Religion, and Anarchy. As a result, a pastoral was issued by the Assembly; but it seemed only to help the gospel. Rowland Hill, James Haldane's friend and companion in travel, arrived in Edinburgh next day. The city was amazed at the action of the Assembly. Said Rowland Hill: "We shall shine all the brighter for the scrubbing we have got from the Assembly."

The nineteenth century had not gone far before Sunday-school religion was being welcomed and commended in the Carse.

In 1817 large quantities of cheese were stolen again and again from gentlemen's dairies in the Carse of Gowrie, not far from Perth. It is curious to read how it was hoped to cure the evil, namely, "by the establishment and liberal support of the Sabbath schools for the religious instruction and moral discipline of youth, which are now happily spreading over the country, the principle of honesty

¹ "Thae orra craiturs," as an old woman once described such to me.

in the great body of our population will be eminently promoted."

Without question their work has been beneficent. Dr. Chalmers' minister, Mr. Tasker, did fine work at Balthayock, and he stands as a representative of the great volunteer force in the Church that has helped for a century to leaven the minds of the young.

II

THE M'CHEYNE GROUP

(I) THE SITUATION

If one were to draw a line from Dundee to Collace, from Collace to Errol, from Errol to Dundee, he would form a triangle which would enclose what, in the years 1838-43, was an electric spot in the country. M'Cheyne was in Dundee, Bonar was in Collace, Grierson was in Errol, and, during part of the time, the apostolic Burns and James Hamilton were working in the district.

In other parts of the land men of still greater calibre were serving Christ and His Church. The imperial Chalmers, the versatile, lion-hearted Candlish, the mighty Cunningham, were in Edinburgh, and with them were comrades of eloquence and spiritual power.

But as it happened, the city and district of Dundee gathered around them a quite unusual interest. M'Cheyne, then minister of St. Peter's,

was the most representative man of the school that bears his name, while at Collace, twelve miles away, was Andrew Bonar—a man greatly beloved and honoured above most. Macdonald was at Blairgowrie, Grierson at Errol, Milne at Perth, William Burns and James Hamilton were their allies, and not far away were others living in constant touch with them. In the metropolis was Moody-Stuart, reckoned by Dr. Taylor Innes the most original preacher of the Edinburgh pulpit. Somerville, a prince of evangelists, was in Glasgow.

M'Cheyne took a severe view of the state of religion in Dundee, "a city given to idolatry and hardness of heart." Bonar drew a sombre picture of the condition of Collace and of the countryside; Burns reckoned Longforgan to be slumbering. In Inchturre the situation was disastrous. Abernyte was needing to be shaken.

Bonar was a brilliant scholar. M'Cheyne, if less distinguished, was a man of many, varied gifts. But reckoning every ambition save that of glorifying Christ to be nought, they threw themselves with whole-hearted enthusiasm into the work of preaching His grace. By these and other hands the fire was kindled, till Dundee and the countryside were aglow.

That large gains accrued to Scotland and to Gowrie through their labour cannot be gainsaid. There was a widespread disposition to hear the Word of God. Impulses were stirred in connection with missions which had never been felt before. In

many hearts there arose something like a hunger for holiness. A great multitude was added to the faith. The momentum of those days was felt for long.

But it is easy to exaggerate. Many who have described those times have done so under the glow of their own awakening, or have read them through the amber spectacles of hallowed recollections. *The Cottar's Saturday Night* is without doubt drawn from life, and it would not be hard to multiply pictures like those which White of St. Madoes has drawn of the days of his childhood in Gowrie. But we must supplement the one picture by the story of Robert Burns' own life, and the other by the often unsavoury tales of session and similar records.

One would sometimes think from what has been written that, in the period before the Victorian days, and from 1838 onwards, the people of Scotland were a carefully religious and church-going people. But against any such sweeping conclusion we must put the frequent laments that were uttered; we must put the testimony and the remarkable experiences of Hugh Miller; we must put the statements of Dr. Chalmers on the spiritual needs of Glasgow and Scotland about 1820, and of the Westport in Edinburgh in 1844; we must put the recorded facts about the metropolis prior to the passing of the Forbes Mackenzie Act; and, in reference to Dundee and district, the witness of men like M'Cheyne, Bonar, and Hamilton. It is easy to

generalise. And there is always a temptation to draw conclusions from too narrow an induction of facts. Statements are frequently made which are so qualified as to tell little. When it is said, for example, that "divine service is generally well attended in the summer season," what is one to infer? Were such and other kindred statements—official, personal, incidental—sifted and weighed, conclusions, unexpected and sometimes startling, would be reached. Unquestionably, between 1830 and 1840 the tide of spiritual life was rising in Scotland. Great questions were stirring, and great men were working at them. M'Cheyne and his comrades, not to mention others, made a strong appeal to their fellows, and wherever they laboured crowds gathered to hear. But the spiritual destitution and neglect were equally clamant. Dr. Bonar has left amongst his papers statistics of the attendances at Collace in 1851. Including children these ranged from 298 to about 400. The figures undoubtedly seem high. But they do not represent what was general. In part it was due to a redistribution of the church-going population, more than one of the neighbouring established churches having been seriously weakened. Then Bonar's own audience was drawn from far and near. Moreover, opportunities have multiplied since those days. At Collace that is so. Bonar mentions how the opening of the church at Burrelton, about 1851, took away at least fifteen members. In Longforgan parish, which, in 1838, was served by one church, pronounced by the writer of

the *New Statistical Account* too large for the number of the people, there are to-day four large churches and a small mission hall. Yet since 1881 the population has only increased by 143; and since 1811 by 188.

Further, in the rural districts, the population goes down steadily. At Martinmas, Bonar writes that one year there were twenty-five removals; another year twenty, "and on both occasions very few comers-in." In 1851 the population of Collace was reckoned to be 581. Next year it began to fall; to-day (1911) it is 366. In 1841 the total population of the eight parishes of the Carse was 7786, to-day (1911) it is 6434—a drop of 1352. Inchturre parish had 1000 in 1790, 720 in 1841, 545 in 1911. Errol has fallen from 2835 in 1841 to 2083 in 1911; Kinnaird from 458 to 172.

The village of Pitmiddle, on the Braes of the Carse, occupied to-day by seven or eight people, was once a fairly flourishing place with six times the number. A short distance from it, in the low Carse, stands the ample farmhouse and steading of Middlebank. To-day one man is working where but a few years ago there were thirteen pair of horses.

So it has been elsewhere.

I propose to tell the story of those days in a chapter on James Hamilton of Abernyte, and in a series of brief reminiscences of M'Cheyne, Andrew Bonar, William Burns, and A. Moody-Stuart.

NOTES

I

Hugh Miller says: "I must in justice add, that all the religion of our party was to be found among its Seceders. Our other workmen were really wild fellows, most of whom never entered a church. . . . The working men of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood, at this time, were in large part either non-religious, or included within the Independent or Secession pale. . . . Demand and supply were admirably well balanced in the village of Niddry; there was no religious instruction, and no wish or desire for it. . . . Meanwhile, this course of degradation is going on, in all our larger towns, in an ever-increasing ratio; and all that philanthropy and the churches are doing to counteract it is but as the discharge of a few squirts on a conflagration . . . the ever-growing masses of our large towns, broken loose from the sanction of religion and morals." (Cf. *My Schools and Schoolmasters.*)

II

According to a census taken by Chalmers in 1819 the parish of St John's in Glasgow contained 10,304 souls. "It had deeply degenerated, and needed to be reclaimed. Of the 2161 families of which it was composed, there were so many as 845 families who had no seats in any place of worship whatever, and even that proportion gave no adequate idea of the extent to which church-going habits had been relinquished. The number of sitters in their own

parish church scarcely amounted to a hundredth part of the whole population." (Cf. Hanna's *Life of Chalmers*, ii. p. 280.)

In the Westport, Edinburgh, 1844, the population amounted to 400 families, of whom 300 had no connection with any church. Of 411 children of school age 290 were growing up without any education.

III

Lord Balfour of Burleigh, in his *Historical Account of the Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland* (1911) says—

"That the Churches still maintain their hold on the people is evidenced by indisputable facts. In 1843, before the Disruption, the communicants of the Church of Scotland did not number more than 14 per cent. of the population. In 1908 they numbered nearly 15 per cent., and those of the United Free Church over 10 per cent.; taken together they amounted to 25 per cent. Their activities and their contributions have increased in a still greater proportion."

(2) HAMILTON OF ABERNYTE

In 1839 the Laird of Dunsinane, Mr. Nairne, was unofficially commissioned to look out for an assistant to the minister of Abernyte. He went to Edinburgh to make inquiry. Sabbath found him in St. George's. Instead of Dr. Candlish, its illustrious minister, "a youth entered the pulpit, slender in form, and somewhat awkward in gait and gesture." His accent, also, was rather pronounced. But "by the opening prayer the Christian country gentleman was carried into the holy of holies. As soon as the devotions were closed, and he had regained his sight—for he was blind with weeping—he ejaculated, "This is the minister for Abernyte." Who was the slender youth? He was the son of Dr. William Hamilton, minister of Strathblane.

Dr. Hamilton was a remarkable man. In his *Autobiography* he tells in a sentence the great forces that moulded him in boyhood. "The Bible was my class book. My mother was my tutor."

The biographer of the Pastor of Kilsyth refers to him thus: "To two other valued friends of those early days, living at a greater distance, but frequent visitants at Dun, he used often to recur in after years—William Hamilton of St. Andrew's Chapel, Dundee, afterwards of Strathblane; and Walter Tait, then of Tealing, and subsequently of Trinity College Church, Edinburgh. Both were frequent and ever welcome assistants at communion seasons;

and by their fervent spirit and earnest words, far above the average tone even of the evangelicals of that day, created quite a sensation in the little rustic flock. The image of Mr. Hamilton's tall, impressive form pacing up and down the manse parlour, and declaiming aloud the Olney Hymns, which were then first finding their way into Scotland, was long a cherished tradition in our family." Dr. Hamilton's wife was scarcely less remarkable. She was the daughter of a Paisley cotton-spinner, the first to erect a factory in Scotland, and was as eminent as her father for God-fearing ways. To this pair were born six of a family. The eldest of these was James, the slender youth of whom the Laird of Dunsinane said, in 1839, "This is the minister for Abernyste."

Few men of his time lived more usefully or exerted a more gracious influence. According to his biographer his preaching was good, his books were better, his life was best. His preaching was, under God, the means of bringing not a few to Christ, and it did much to consolidate the Presbyterianism of England. Some of his books, which number very many, have a world-wide reputation, whilst the influence of his life is felt still.

James Hamilton was born at Paisley in 1814. As an infant he had, literally, to swim for his life. He was fragile as a boy, rather delicate as a youth, and died after a life of toil, manfully followed, in the midst of much weakness, at the comparatively early age of fifty-three. The Pastor of Kilsyth

describes the Strathblane Manse as "the holiest and most blessed Christian home I ever knew." James carried through life the most tender recollections of his home—the old manse, the grass paths of the garden, the readings in the nursery, the spinning-wheel, the library. But no memory was more vivid, and none was so sacred as that of his father in the rustic pulpit of Strathblane, "with its green baize drapery and the westering sun shining in through the plane-trees surrounding the little sanctuary, whilst with eyes suffused and a countenance radiant with unutterable rapture, he expatiated on the love of God and the glories of the great redemption." James owed much to his father. He learned from him the value of time, and it was he who inspired him with a passion for books. Dr. Hamilton used to give his boys permission to sit and read in his library whilst he was working, on one condition—silence. James hailed the opportunity, and it was, as he tells us, in the introduction to *Our Christian Classics*, handling old-time tomes, and poring over works like those of Manton and Hopkins that his literary tastes were formed, and impressions acquired which lasted through his life. He was a voracious reader. He read widely, and he read carefully. His memory was like a savings bank, where he stored what he gathered, and from which he could draw as he needed. To his mother he did not owe less. She had that sympathy with lofty things which is itself the mark of superiority; and besides, her whole being seemed to be transfigured with

the beauty of the Lord. She was the animating presence of the home. "Never," says her son, "was there a more benignant, self-denying, beautiful life." "Her whole existence was spent in taking thought for the comfort and welfare of others." "To the last the well-spring of her loving-kindness never dried, and the sunshine of her cheerfulness never shaded. . . . Very rare was the union, as it existed in her, of good sense and deep feeling, of frugality and generosity. Her affinity was for superior minds, but such was her kind-heartedness and her dread of hurting others that she would sit hour after hour listening to the long stories of very uninteresting people, and making them happy by her cordial sympathy. I never knew one with so little malevolence. She seemed sometimes to be provoked at herself because she could not be angry. Though her turn was not literary, she was a great admirer of sublime or beautiful writing; but her book was the Bible." We quote these words not merely as a son's tribute of love, but as more or less a description of hundreds of women who, as wives and mothers, have been the brightness of Scottish manses, and whose lives have shed a hallowing influence over Scotland's life and thought.

As for himself, James regarded it as the greatest mercy of his life to have sprung from parents of pronounced piety. In 1865 he wrote: "Life has been full of God's goodness. A kinder mother, a father of loftier worth and nobler ways of thinking, no one ever had."

And then a good deal came to him from the lovely surroundings of his home. The memories of Strathblane were sweet and holy, "with the perpetual Sabbath of the hills smiling down on its industrious valley, and with its bright little river trotting cheerily on towards Loch Lomond," with its soft breezes and its long lingering summer, and its spots far up amongst the hills that seemed to be "suffused with constant sunshine." There is a dash of poetry in Hamilton's writings, and it was by the side of the "trotting river," plucking flowers which he knew and loved as friends, and wandering over the hills charmed by their expanse, and not less by their changing lights, that he found it first.

Young Hamilton was not fourteen when he entered Glasgow University. His life there was not undistinguished: He made several warm friendships, he read hard, he planned and wrote papers on all sorts of subjects, one on Richard Baxter being published. Of Hamilton's contemporaries three were pre-eminent in scholarship—Smith of Jordanhill, Tait, a late Archbishop of Canterbury, and James Halley, the most distinguished of the three. Hamilton himself was a younger man, but he was no unworthy follower. His diligence was untiring, and his friends remembered him when he was gone as one of the most zealous of students, one of the most delightful of companions—a man whose sympathies were as healthful as they were wide. He took all through his life a keen interest in men and things, and his

criticisms on both are full of insight and appreciation. More than one sorrow marked those days. His sister Elizabeth died in 1831; four years later his father passed away—two events which helped to deepen those serious impressions which the memories of home, and a certain constitutional delicacy that reminded him of the possibility of an early removal, had stirred in his breast. A Covenant exists, made in 1832, in which he dedicated himself to God and His service, and his great ambition was to glorify Christ. Part of his divinity course was taken in Glasgow and part in Edinburgh under Welsh and Chalmers. He was licensed in 1838, and shortly after became Dr. Candlish's missionary. It was then that the Laird of Dunsinane heard him, and said, "This is the minister for Abernyte."

Abernyte is one of the smallest parishes in Scotland, but it is not the least lovely. The King's Seat commands a prospect as far as Schiehallion, and there are half a dozen spots where the eye is enchanted. The woods of Rossie skirt it, some of its homes peep down on the Carse and the Braes of Kinnaird, while here and there are glimpses through the trees towards Dundee and the Tay, which can never be forgotten by one who has seen them. It has a sweet den with a lovely cascade, and the Nyte glides as cheerily to the Tay as the stream at Strathblane "trots" to Loch Lomond. Let James Hamilton give his own impressions. "You are fond of fine scenery: we look down on the rich Carse of Gowrie, the Firth

of Tay, and the coast of Fife. . . . There are some pleasant walks, and some sweetly retired spots. To-day I sat a long while at the foot of a cascade which tumbles from the most romantic hill I ever saw, and I could have sat half the day, the sound of the water 'devalling into a pool profound' was so soothing; and it was amusement enough to watch the waterfall itself." The village of Abernyte is but a hamlet, and the people are pretty scattered. Abernyte, perhaps, has not had any outstanding ministers, but it can lay claim to some whose names are not forgotten. John Miniman was one of those who were denounced and put to the horn in 1674 for holding conventicles; George Blair became Rector of the Grammar School of Dundee. In the early part of last century the tone of Abernyte does not seem to have been high. There is an old rhyme which runs:—

"Grace and peace cam' by Collace
And by the doors o' Dron;
But the caup and stoup o' Abernyte
Mak' mony a merrie man."

Abernyte had at one time as many as four public-houses, despite the fact that it is one of the smallest parishes in Scotland, and there was a market, too, "where drinking abounded."

Robert Haldane was for a time a heritor in the parish, and built a tabernacle for the missionaries, which stood at Balfour. Haldane's Tabernacle was the home of the few burghers of the parish. After the Disruption in 1843 the Free Church

congregation worshipped in it for some time. It was eventually taken down, the stones, so far as possible, being used in the new Free Church at Abernyte.

In 1839 Mr. James Wilson was minister of the parish. Naturally he was a man of some power—a good classical scholar. He published in 1834 *A Few Dissertations on Prophecies*, and wrote the *Account of the Parish* for the New Statistical Account. He died in 1850, in the eighty-fifth year of his age and the forty-second of his ministry. In 1839 he had passed, by a couple of years, the allotted span. Years were telling on his work. It was somewhat languishing, and it was to give it a fresh impulse that an assistant was being sought. Hamilton was accordingly invited by the Laird of Dunsinane to preach at Abernyte that Mr. Wilson and his congregation might have an opportunity of knowing his gifts, and in a short time he was installed as assistant. We do not know whether it had any large effect in determining Hamilton's mind to go, but he had a warm side towards Dundee. His father had been minister of St. Andrews for years, and Hamilton had but recently experienced the kindness of its people. Only six months before, he had visited the good city, and writes: "At Dundee we were overwhelmed with kindness, which was all the more welcome that it was conferred not for our own sakes. I scarcely thought that so much feeling could have outlived thirty years; and when I saw the church and people I understood

how my father had found it hard to leave them." Another thing may be mentioned, which would be of deepest interest to Hamilton. If the religious life of the Carse and of Abernyte could not be called very active, there was great activity near and choice kindred spirits. Andrew Bonar was settled in the adjoining parish of Collace, and doing good work for the Master whom he so tenderly loved, while in Dundee M'Cheyne was proclaiming, with a quite wonderful power, the unsearchable riches of Christ, and William Burns about to fulfil his apostolic ministry of repentance. Then his "delightful friend," Mr. Macdonald, was not far off at Blairgowrie, so that altogether it was a happy prospect for Hamilton. In due time Hamilton was installed in the church as Mr. Wilson's assistant, and in the manse as his companion. The manse stands on the roadside on the high ground of the parish. It looks like a country inn from behind, but the view from the front windows and from the garden is surpassingly fine. Near by is the church—a simple, chaste building — sweeter because Hamilton, Bonar, M'Cheyne, and Burns have preached in it. Round it lies the little well-kept churchyard, with its quaint stones and tender memories. It is altogether a lovely spot, and to Hamilton, not over strong but delighting in Nature, it seemed like a little paradise, with its gentle life, its lovely woods, its pleasant walks, its romantic hills and sunsets.

Old Mr. Wilson was a quaint character. He wore "an old-fashioned spencer above his coat, and an

old-fashioned wig on his head." Mr. Arnot gives some droll stories of him. When Mr. Wilson, who was a nervous man, had learned to trust Hamilton, he said one day to him in a confidential way, pointing to his sermons: "My dear, these are my sermons; I give them to you; I have no further use for them; make what use of them you please; they will be of use to you." He championed his opinions with "extraordinary pertinacity. At one time he holds a spoonful of porridge between the dish and his mouth for a full half-hour, until he has finished a dispute on the doctrine of reprobation. At another, he consumes ten minutes in the process of pouring out a cup of tea for his thirsty helper, because that helper will not concede to him that the moon has nothing to do with the tides." Hamilton was quite like a son to the old man, who, with tears in his eyes, would tell of his "numberless qualities, the great comfort he had in him, his condescending kindness to himself, and his shining piety and talents."

The parish of Abernyte is, as we have said, a small one. Its population in 1841 was 280; the average attendance at the church in 1837 was about 130, but it had dwindled away since then till it was very low. Hamilton had not been long there before a considerable change took place, and it was quite a common thing to see the church full. This was not only due to the element of novelty. He had a fresh mind, a certain originality, a plainness which spoke to the humblest, an enthusiasm

and an evangelical fervour which were kindling: He delighted in preaching. It was "chosen employment." The first token of good showed itself in the Bible Class. Such a class as Hamilton conducted was unknown in the parish. One of its results is especially honourable. "I have got hold of all the unmarried farm-servants except three, and these I hope to secure in time." But there were other and higher. More than one learned at it to love the Bible. His pastoral work—visiting the sick—was carried on with conscientiousness and not without evidence of good:

Another thing that he established was a weekly prayer-meeting. "It has had the effect of letting me see that there are more seriously disposed people in the countryside than I would have thought, but most of them come from without the parish." M'Cheyne, Burns, Bonar, and others used to come and address it frequently, and did much to deepen the interest in divine things which had sprung up. The great aim of Hamilton's ministry was to bring glory to God in the salvation of souls. Next to this was his desire to illuminate the Bible. Everything was pressed into this service. He would bring the leaves and the flowers that he plucked by the wayside to illustrate some fact, and he always had a regret that he could not carry out in full the plans which he had for imparting knowledge. As it was, he found himself time after time in collision with prejudice and custom. One of the parishioners, who used to go to Collace to church,

apologised to him, saying: "It's because Mr. Bonar is no sae learned as you." Arnot tells the following tale: "Visiting on one occasion at the house of a neighbouring proprietor, he espied a fig tree in the garden, and begged a branch. Having borne his treasure home in triumph on his shoulder, and prepared his discourse for the evening meeting, he took it with him to the church. In due time, when the prelection had advanced to the proper point, the fig branch was displayed from the desk, and bore its part in the demonstration. At that time a great spiritual awakening was spreading in the neighbouring town of Dundee. A plain woman, whose spirit had been stirred in that movement, was present in the prayer-meeting at Abernyte, thirsting mightily for the word, and longing to draw water from the wells of salvation. Amazed at the strange phenomenon of a young minister partly preaching a gospel which her quickened heart recognised as the truth, and partly flourishing over the side of the pulpit the branch of a tree covered with huge green leaves, accompanied by discourse not perfectly comprehensible, Janet succeeded in restraining her spirit and holding her peace until the meeting closed; but as soon as the last utterances of prayer were over, she made her way up to the minister, and exclaimed, "Oh, Maister Hamilton, hoo do you gie them fig leaves when they are hungerin' for the bread o' life." Some, too, were grieved over his love for paraphrases and hymns,¹ but the best of them

¹ One of his elders, a notable figure in the district, held

interpreted their minister loyally, and did what they could to aid the work. And it steadily grew.

"You will find," Hamilton wrote in 1840, "a delightful little congregation of two or three hundred people, on whom your discourses will be well bestowed." He calls Wilson "a kind old gentleman." "It will do you good for a month after to inhale Abernyste air for two days." (Cf. Hamilton to Carment, 1840.)

And in what was almost his last letter from Abernyste, he wrote: "God has been working in this place. There are some beautiful instances of transforming grace and many inquiries. Yesterday I had visits from thirteen people wishing to converse with me. The greater part of them give Scriptural evidence of being created anew." And in another place, speaking of the awakening when it was spent, he says: "It has left many peaceful fruits behind it." And we ourselves have seen those who recalled, with something like a sacred affection, the ministry of Hamilton.

The parish work was not the only work which Hamilton touched. He was studious as ever. The

that it was wrong to sing anything but psalms in public worship. He was a good singer and ready to serve. On one occasion, when a stranger gave out a paraphrase, and no other precentor was present, he led the praise of the congregation rather than have none. Many years after, this Scottish worthy was staying with Hamilton in London. When family worship was as usual about to begin with a hymn, Hamilton, remembering the feeling of his friend, dropped the book, saying: "We shall omit the hymn to-night and sing one of the psalms of David."

critical state of the Scottish Church in 1840 had a good deal of his thought. He was one of those who were sent to preach in Strathbogie when the now famous interdicts were served, and he was one of a little band who were toiling and praying for the highest good of their threatened Church. In addition to this, he was deeply interested in the revival work in Dundee. M'Cheyne and Burns were well-loved friends, and none gave a more willing help than he. Hamilton's testimony was clear that not only in Dundee and Perth, but in all the parishes around, there was, as the result of the movement, a great increase of vital godliness.

Burns and Hamilton made a memorable visit to St. Andrews in 1839. Many were affected.

"On our way James H. and I both prayed and had much conversation about the glorious work in which we are engaged—the hopeful symptoms of an approaching revival in St. Andrews—and the necessity of making *full* proof of our ministry, taking up our cross and following Jesus whithersoever He goeth."

Hamilton's next sphere was in Roxburgh Church, Edinburgh. But his ministry there was a short one. After labouring for five months, he was inducted to the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, London. This church has been for the last seventy years the representative congregation of Presbyterianism in England. For nearly ten years, before he fell into the vagaries which eclipsed his usefulness, Edward Irving was its minister, and addressed a congre-

gation which was not the least remarkable in the land. In 1841 the congregation was in quest of a minister. Hamilton was induced to preach to it; and in July of that year was introduced as minister by Dr. Gordon of Edinburgh. Here he continued to labour till his death in 1867. London proved a sphere which called out Hamilton's powers to the utmost. Its mighty tide of life fascinated him, and he had that freshness of spirit which could sympathise with its movements. Then he was supported by capable as well as godly men, and his talents and position gave him an access to all classes, and an influence with them which he was as ready to use as he was to appreciate. One event that moved him deeply at an early stage in his London ministry was the death of his friend, Mr. M'Cheyne. It seemed to awe his spirit as it did others, and his preaching reflected the impression. The Disruption of the Scottish Church roused him also strongly, and his ministry seemed to grow more earnest than ever.

As at Abernyte, a good many testified to their having been led by the preaching of Hamilton into the saving knowledge of Christ. And it is quite interesting to observe the enthusiasm with which he gave himself to everything that could add to his power in the pulpit. More than fifteen years after he was settled in London, he was taking elocution lessons with a view to improve his articulation and his modulation, which were both deficient. But not all understood him in London. He used sometimes

to treat subjects in the pulpit which some of his godly hearers grieved over. Speaking of one course on the Evidences, he says: "I could read discontent on the face of the congregation, and though I worked at them as hard as I could, the complaints and murmurings which daily reached me made it uphill work. Some of the most pious hearers absented themselves from church till this heathenish course should be ended, and I was told that if I persisted I should disperse the congregation." It would have been better, perhaps, had Hamilton treated those subjects at a special opportunity. But, on the other hand, it would have been well had all his hearers shown the forbearance and the prayerfulness which he craved. "Those who have been led into some knowledge of the truth have no patience for the process by which their minister seeks to lead others into it." Yet several of his young communicants at a subsequent communion were fruits of this series, and it brought under his teaching "some intelligent families."

The power of Regent Square pulpit steadily grew; and in spite of some worries Hamilton held to the last a congregation of active and attached members. One extract from a congregational report of 1862 may be given, which will show how his office-bearers judged him: "We honour ourselves by rendering appropriate homage to a mind so rarely endowed with gifts and graces; to a man pervaded by so excellent a spirit as is found in him; to a life so much in earnest and so winsome, of which so large

a part has been spent with ourselves ; to so living and loving an epistle, so capable of wooing us to the Saviour; to a mind so fully furnished with knowledge, so capable of transmuting into gold—beyond the dreams of alchemy—whatsoever it touches, so capable of impressing every fact, and almost every fancy, into his Master's service. Let us rejoice that a mind so sanctified, and so fully charged with things new and old, so capable of compelling tributaries from almost every region to illustrate and enforce the truth, was led to devote itself to the ministry of the Gospel."

Partly as a result of methodical habit, partly as the result of untiring diligence, and partly as the result of a natural gift, Hamilton had the power of putting through his hands a great quantity of work. He was quite as conscientious as his father on the subject of time. In this respect his life has been a second conscience to many. In 1861 he was writing letters to the number of about 2000 a year. Those letters were addressed to all sorts of men on all sorts of subjects. Many of them are of considerable length, and they are written in a simple, graceful style. He preached eighty-one times in Regent Square in 1861, and "gave fifty sermons or lectures elsewhere." He had no end of Committees, Presbyteries, Synods to attend to, and "in visits and talking to visitors I have spent (he writes in 1855) as many hours as, at the rate of twelve hours to the day, would make up two months." His literary activity, too, was notable.

From the time that he settled in London more than a dozen works came from his pen. Some of these were tracts like—*The Church in the House, An Address on Family Worship, and The Vine, the Cedar, and the Palm*; some were biographical, like *The Memoir of Lady Colquhoun* and *The Memoir of Richard Williams*; some were scriptural studies like *The Mount of Olives, The Royal Preacher, and The Prodigal Son*; some, like *Excelsior* and *Our Christian Classics*, were more literary. Dr. Hamilton had long a wish to write the life of Erasmus. This was to be the *magnum opus* of his life. He accumulated matter patiently for years. He left behind him a book filled with extracts, jottings, thoughts, and references to the subject. But it had at length to be abandoned. There is deep pathos in the passage in which he records his conclusion: "Owing to a secluded boyhood and unlimited youthful leisure, without ever attaining accurate scholarship, I have read in these departments more than most people; and, after an abstinence of a quarter of a century, a strange longing for these books returns. Like the daisies and dandelions that come up in October, it is the feeble revival of an impossible spring. For, after giving to the work the spare hours and the autumn holiday of the last two or three years, I am constrained to abandon the task. This last winter had no leisure, and in the congregation a childish feud about the hymn-book was so conducted as to rob me of rest by night and peace by day, and perhaps as a consequence of this, I find my elasti-

city a good deal impaired. So this day, with a certain touch of tenderness I restored the eleven tall folios to the shelf, and tied up my memoranda, and took leave of a project which has sometimes cheered the hours of exhaustion, and the mere thought of which has always been enough to overcome my natural indolence."

Few writers of the day were permitted to rejoice more abundantly in the success of their writings than Hamilton, whether we judge it by their circulation or their fruit.

But a yet higher success was his. The object of *The Church in the House* was to recommend the practice of family worship, and its publication "won many families over to the practice of private social worship." His little volume, *Life in Earnest*, proved a message of life to many. Two examples may be given: "Coming in afterwards with Mr. Henderson of Claremont Chapel," he writes to his wife, "he mentioned an instance of the usefulness of *Life in Earnest*, which I was very thankful to hear. When it first came out he was acquainted with a very clever young lady, a Miss G——, at K——, in Ireland; but she was quite careless and thoughtless. She was a great reader of novels. Mr. Henderson asked her if she would not read a religious book, if he were to lend her one? She said, No, she could not read such books; they were so dull. He said that she was quite mistaken; that some of them contained a great deal of the poetry and description that she was so fond of; and he repeated to her two

passages which he had committed to memory out of the first lecture in *Life in Earnest*. She said at once that if he would lend it she would read that book. She did read it, and from one thing to another there came an entire change over her pursuits. She became a decided Christian, and is now married to a husband like-minded; she has written a number of attractive papers in *Household Words* and other periodicals. In another place he tells how an Independent minister had mentioned having admitted two members, "one of whom had been converted by reading *The Mount of Olives*, and the other by *Life in Earnest*. Testimonies of this kind frequently came to cheer him, and he had the happiness of knowing that his works were speaking in translations to many peoples.

Dr. Hamilton's gifts were many and his interests were varied. Fond of science from his boyhood, he found time to occupy himself with it amid the endless engagements of his life. One day he would go down to Burlington House to hear a paper on "Vegetable Monstrosities," then on to the Royal Society with as much zest as if it were his special subject to hear a paper on "the funny behaviour of atoms in leucate of zinc, and certain compounds whose very names I never heard tell of," and be as enthusiastic over everything as the most enthusiastic of his brother "Fellows." One of the principles which Dr. Hamilton tried to observe was to be "all things to all men," and each of his pursuits was followed not only with a desire to cultivate his mind, but

to commend Christ and His truth by the exhibition of healthy instincts and a Christlike bearing. For none can read his life without feeling that it was to be consecrated to Christ and to lead men to God that was his highest aim. He had this in view in his preaching. He had this in view in his writing, and in all the schemes which passed through his busy brain. And in the large circle of friends who welcomed him on account of his lovable disposition and his great acquirements it was the same. He was a lover of good men, loved them while he differed from them, and was a foremost champion of every well-devised plan for bringing together the people of God. As minister of Regent Square he had a large opportunity (and he used it well) of commending Presbyterianism in England, and Hamilton's name will never cease to be associated with the fresh activity which has secured for Presbyterianism the place it holds in large centres like London.

The close of his ministry came rather unexpectedly. His last sermon, on "The Tree of Life," was preached on the 26th of May 1867, and six months later he fell asleep in Jesus. His illness was a long one, but it was borne with Christian resignation. One of his last messages to the congregation closes with this gem: "There is room for us all in the grace of God, and in the provisions of the great Atonement. If any inquire the ground of my confidence, it is not that I have been a minister of the Gospel, or have been kept from

some sins, for I feel utterly unworthy. My hope is in the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, and in that blood which cleanseth from all sin, and I wish to go into God's presence as the rest have gone—a sinner saved by grace—a sinner saved by grace."

III. REMINISCENCES

(a) *M'Cheyne and the Carse*

M'Cheyne had many links with Gowrie; with Rait and Moody-Stuart, with Grierson and Errol, with Abernyte, with Collace, Inchtute, Invergowrie, and Longforgan. He was a fine horseman, and dearly loved what he called a scamper up the Carse.

M'Cheyne spent the night before his ordination in Dundee, under the roof of his friend, Mr. Grierson of Errol. Ere leaving the manse next morning, his mind was occupied with three passages of Scripture:

1. *Thou shalt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on Thee, because he trusteth in Thee.* This verse, his biographer tells us, was seasonable; for, as he sat meditating on the solemn duties of the day, his heart trembled.

2. *Give thyself wholly to these things.* May that word, he prayed, sink deep into my heart.

3. *Here am I, send me.* "To go or to stay—to be here till death, or to visit foreign

shores—whatsoever, wheresoever, whensoever Thou pleasest.”

Prior to the Disruption Dr. Guthrie made a tour on behalf of Church Extension. Amongst other places he visited Errol; of which visit he tells the following:—

“It was then that Robert M'Cheyne met with an accident which began the illness that terminated in his death. He accompanied me on my tour to Errol, full of buoyant spirits and heavenly conversation. After breakfast we strolled into the garden, where there stood some gymnastic poles and apparatus set up for the use of Mr. Grierson's family. No ascetic, no stiff and formal man, but ready for any innocent and healthful amusement, these no sooner caught M'Cheyne's eye than, challenging me to do the like, he rushed at a horizontal pole resting on the forks of two upright ones, and went through a lot of athletic manœuvres. I was buttoning up to succeed, and try if I could not out-do him, when, as he hung by his heels and hands some five or six feet above the ground, all of a sudden the pole snapped asunder, and he came down with his back on the ground with a tremendous *thud*. He sickened, was borne into the manse, lay there for days, and was never the same man again.”

In his life of M'Cheyne Dr. Bonar mentions that two or three of them, whose lot was cast within a convenient distance, would sometimes meet together “to spend a whole day in confession of ministerial

and personal sins, with prayer for grace, guiding ourselves by the reading of the Word." The custom was to meet in the evening with the congregation of the minister in whose house they had met, to pray with one accord for the grace of the Holy Spirit. "The first time we held such a meeting," he writes, "there were tokens of blessing observed by several of us."

M'Cheyne paid occasional visits to Abernyte during the brief ministry of Mr. Hamilton and of Mr. Manson. Those visits were looked forward to as times of refreshing.

He was at Errol communion in December 1838. "Heard Mr. Grierson preach on Christ's entry into Jerusalem. Served two tables. Evening—preached to a large congregation, on 'Unto you, O men, I call,' etc. The free invitation of the Saviour. May some find Him this day."

When preaching once for Mr. Manson at Abernyte, M'Cheyne said, "If we only saw the whole, we should see that the Father is doing little else in the world but *training His vines*."

"During his first years in Dundee he often rode out in an afternoon to the ruined Church of Invergowrie to enjoy an hour's perfect solitude; for he felt meditation and prayer to be the very sinews of his work."

Hamilton of Abernyte was one of those who helped in the great revival work in St. Peter's during M'Cheyne's absence. He loved Hamilton dearly. Here is his first invitation to him:—

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—Will you excuse lack of ceremony, and come down to-morrow and preach to us the unsearchable riches of Christ? We have the Communion on Sabbath. We have no fast-day, but only a meeting in the evening at a quarter past seven. Come, my dear sir, if you can, and refresh us with your company. Bring the fragrance of ‘the bundle of myrrh’ along with you, and may grace be poured into your lips.—Yours ever,

“15th January 1840.”

When riding one day from Abernyte to Dundee with Hamilton, M’Cheyne relates how they were led to speak of the best method of dividing sermons. “I used,” he said, “to despise Dr. Welsh’s rules at the time I heard him, but now I feel I must use them, for nothing is more needful for making a sermon memorable and impressive than a logical arrangement.”

While preparing the *Narrative* of their mission, M’Cheyne and Bonar changed pulpits for some weeks. His biographer says of M’Cheyne, “Though intent on accomplishing his work, he kept by his rule, ‘that he must first see the face of God before he could undertake any duty.’ Often would he wander in the mornings among the pleasant woods of Dunsinnan till he had drunk in refreshment to his soul by meditation on the Word of God; and then he took up the pen.”

Of a man in Longforgan the following is told:—

While he and another man were working in a quarry a stranger approached, and, dismounting from his pony, began to speak to them seriously about their souls. "Ye're nae common man," observed one of the two men. "Oh, yes," was the reply, "just a common man." One of the men recognised M'Cheyne, and resolved to go and hear him. He became a changed man, and was wont to go regularly from Longforgan to St. Peter's.

Grierson of Errol was a frequent correspondent. Extracts from some of his letters occur in his *Memoir*.

We reproduce a letter, hitherto unpublished, anent the Mission of Inquiry. M'Cheyne was evidently, in a mild way, a wirepuller.

"EDINBURGH, 8th March 1839.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I wish to write you a few lines in order to let you know what has been going on here during these few weeks, and also to ask of you your kind and considerate assistance. I have been very slowly getting better since you heard from me last. I cannot say that my palpitation or sleepless nights have altogether left me, but I am greatly better. A proposal has been made to me, which I would like to know your mind upon, and of which the rumour may perhaps have reached you. The Committee of Assembly for the Jews have come to the resolution of sending forth a Deputation to make personal enquiries into the numbers, state, character, and feelings of the Jewish nation. The places proposed to be visited are France, North

Africa, Syria, Constantinople, Poland, Germany, Holland. I believe it was my delicate state of health which first suggested the idea, but so happy an idea has it seemed that both the Committees have unanimously approved it, and Dr. Black of Aberdeen, Andrew Bonar of Collace, and myself have been formally appointed to this work. A separate fund has been opened for the Expenses, and nearly £200 collected already without any effort.

“You know how serious and painful a step leaving my people for so many months must be to me. But I have the most complete conviction that it is my duty to go—the declaration of my medical man and my own feelings both assuring me that I shall be unable for the work of a parish minister for a long time to come.

“In two matters I have now to request your kind assistance. First, with regard to Mr. Bonar. His going is of vital importance to the success of the expedition. His acquaintance with Hebrew, German, and Latin is most extensive, and he has already been in great measure the means of the conversion of several Jews in Edinburgh. We are deeply anxious that the Presbytery should forward and not throw any obstacle in the way of his departing for a season. A *pro re nata* meeting is to be called, and Dr. Thomson and, if needful, a minister from Edinburgh will lay the cause before you. Mr. Bonar has been instructed privately not to communicate with Mr. R. in the first instance at all, but to come up to the Presbytery. It is hoped that you will consent to his being loosed from his charge for a season, *upon the condition that he provide a qualified substitute to fill his place.* To this he will gladly consent, and so will have the

authority of the Presbytery to put an assistant in his place whether Mr. R. will or not. The thing to be feared and deprecated is that Mr. R. may consent to Mr. Bonar's going, but refuse to have any assistant during his absence. This would leave the parish in the same wilderness state in which Mr. Bonar found it, and Mr. Bonar would never consent to go on these conditions. Now, my Dear Sir, you will see at once that the interests of Christ in that parish demand that the Presbytery should take some such steps as I have hinted at.

“Please to think it over in your own mind, and, if you can make it convenient, be present at the meeting of Presbytery.—Believe me, yours ever,

“ROBT. MURRAY M'CHEYNE.”

(b) *Dr. Andrew Bonar and the Carse*

Drawn from Diary	.	.	.	.	D.
„ „ Reminiscences	.	.	.	.	R.
„ „ Private Papers	.	.	.	.	P. P.

(1839), Wednesday 16.—“Greatly grieved at discovering that many people of Collace, even many of whom I had hopes, were quite intoxicated on Monday (Handsel Monday—always kept as a holiday); and I find that they scarcely thought it a sin upon that day. This led me to speak most solemnly to them at night upon the subject” (D. 79).

In 1841 it passed “in perfect quiet, and we had a crowded attendance at night” (D. 92).

Writing to his brother Horace in 1840, he says: "Pray for Collace. We have no more than a few drops as yet, and I believe I am to blame. I *work* more than I *pray*" (D. 86).

1841.—"My brother John has been assisting me, and Mr. Manson (of Abernyte). I never heard John preach so plain, and powerful, and pure Gospel truth" (D. 94).

While preparing the *Narrative*, A. Bonar took M'Cheyne's pulpit for four weeks, M'Cheyne going to Collace. Amongst other places which Mr. Bonar visited and where he preached, was Fowlis (D. 96).

1842, July.—"The Communion at Abernyte has been very solemn and remarkable. One soul was awakened at the Table" (D. 98).

Hamilton, who was at Abernyte, and a dear friend of Bonar, used to say of his preaching: "Andrew Bonar is *provokingly* natural" (D. 120).

Manson was a great friend of Bonar's. When the former was ill, in 1846, Bonar preached the Action Sermon at Abernyte (D. 127).

1849, September 18.—"Yesterday was our ministerial prayer-meeting. Met at Abernyte. Several solemn thoughts raised, and a season of near, very near prayer, when speaking to God about our ministry" (D. 143).

1851, September 11.—"Meeting at Rait with four of the brethren fitted to give a deep sense of responsibility as to our living near God daily. The 'Spirit of Might,' as well as the 'Spirit of Counsel,' is a blessed name of the Comforter, and this we need

that we may carry into effect what we desire. We agreed that we should seek guidance in our public prayer; then, that in private prayer we should ask and put up petitions, even if we felt not in the spirit" (D. 151).

When preaching at Abernyte, in 1856, Bonar was suddenly attacked with a strange pain. "You will smile and say," he writes to his friend, Mr. Manson, 'Does he know what he has to be thankful for? Only *once*? What mercy he has had all his days!' Yes, brother, and this mercy has followed me, in spite of all my sin! I try to sing Ps. ciii., but am bad at it with my *heart* as with my *voice*!" (D. 177).

1861, February 2.—"Have been this week at Abernyte. Heard of some remarkable conversions in that neighbourhood, and some few connected with Collace. What thoughts I had when visiting the flock at Collace!" (D. 213).

1866.—"Returned from Collace and Abernyte; preaching in both places with some solemnity" (D. 254).

1866, Abernyte.—"In the quiet and bright sunshine, in the freshness and beauty of the earth all round, in the sweet message of the birds, in the busy life of all creation the voice of my God spoke. He seemed to tell me that thus He was willing to lavish upon me new mercies, and so I must not think hardly of His ways in bereaving me, for that was a stroke that could not be spared" (D. 258).

1870.—"Having come to Abernyte on my way to the opening of the M'Cheyne Memorial Church

(Dundee), I was left alone all day, and spent some hours in prayer, part of the time in the little church, and then with Mr. Wilson. Felt deep, deep sorrow at the thought of the past. What gales of the Spirit have blown, and yet my sails have been ill set, and caught little of the breezes in these great awakening times" (D. 283).

1872.—"Before the Communion at Abernyte, I thought the other night, in the quiet around, that I was bidden, in a manner, review my ministry and life. I did so, and one terrible failure confronted me everywhere, namely, 'Ye have asked nothing in My name. Want of prayer, in right measure and manner.' But for this, instead of the thirtyfold might have been a hundred, in myself personally, and, in gathering in souls, there might have been the thousand instead of the hundred. It was a humiliating, saddening view. 'My comeliness was turned into corruption'" (D. 293).

Saturday, 13.—"To-day in a retired spot by the side of a wood near Southlatch, Abernyte, was enabled to cry for the Holy Spirit with much desire, and to plead for His blessing for the young, and for this place as well as Collace, where I am to preach once more to-morrow" (D. 294).

1873.—"To-night the very unexpected tidings came of the death of our dear friend, Joseph Wilson, at Abernyte. He is as great a loss to our Church as any one I can name; so devout, single-minded, full of grace and truth" (D. 298).

Bonar, when at Collace, used frequently to speak

at Rait. Returning home one night he lost his way in the hills. "Can I give thanks for this?" he asked himself. He had not gone far when he came to a house. Making for it to get direction, he was met by a girl, who exclaimed as she saw him, "Mr. Bonar! you're the very person I want to see."

The poor girl was in deep distress of soul, and Mr. Bonar was permitted to guide her into the way of peace. It was by a timely providence that he had lost his path among the lonely hills (R. 25).

One day a widow from Kinnaird wanted to speak to him at the close of the service at Collace. Her story was this: As he was walking one winter evening to Scone to preach, he overtook a woman to whom, in parting, he gave a tract. The incident passed from his mind, till at Collace Kirk she said to him, "I am the woman you spoke to that dark night on the way to Scone, and never saw. You gave me a tract. My son at home, long ill, had been troubled about himself, and that tract was the very one for him, and brought light to his soul. He made me come over from Kinnaird to tell you" (D. 25, 26).

Some one who heard him in Regent Square, and shortly afterwards at Rait, was struck by finding that his address to the simple, rustic audience at Rait was as able and earnest as was his sermon to the people of Regent Square (D. 152).

Asked by Mr. Nairne if he would leave Dundee and come to Collace, M'Cheyne said, "No; but I will tell you of a better man," naming Andrew

Bonar. It was he who introduced him to Errol Communion (R. 6).

When Bonar went to Palestine, an old woman said: "Oh, then, we'll no see him again for forty years" (D. 82).

Mr. Nairne of Dunsinane had three of Bonar's pastoral letters printed, and the old precentor used to sit on a grassy knoll in the village and read them aloud to the people on the Sabbath day (D. 82).

There is a fine series of letters from Dr. Bonar, written at Collace (R. 183-202).

Mr. Nairne brought to Collace from Moulin two people to tell of the revival there. There was a spirit of inquiry abroad. Some would go to St. Madoes, others to Kinclaven or Pitrodie, in their eagerness to hear the Word of God. In Dr. Bonar's day at Collace there were some who, as children, remembered the revival, and how people used to go very gay and come back very thoughtful (P. P).

Of the revival at Collace (1839-41) Dr. Bonar has left a frank account, which he prepared for the Presbytery of Perth in 1841. Describing the parish as he found it, he says: "There was not much of open or gross vice among the people, but there had been a silent and perpetual flow of worldliness, secret vice, and lax morality, in which each countenanced his neighbour. Many who belonged to the Parish Church had good acquaintance with Scripture doctrine, but their religion was

decency and formality. The season of Handsel Monday was a day of unchecked and open sin, and many really believed that drunkenness, riot, and folly at that time were no way sinful. . . . The Dissenters kept up the orthodoxy of the truth, but had almost totally lost its vitality, most of them resting contented with knowledge and intelligence, even denying that it was the duty of a believer to be sure of his conversion, and attain to a full assurance of his interest in Christ. During the first eight months of my settlement among them the people began to manifest a great relish for ordinances, and a great anxiety to be visited and catechised. The attendance at church became very regular and full, and Sabbath profanation very rare. A Sabbath school held in the church for younger children, and a morning class for those above fifteen, were both attended by almost all in the parish of the specified ages. I began a weekly prayer-meeting, which I conducted without any formality or system, expounding Scripture and familiarly laying before them topics connected with Revivals and the spread of religion, or similar subjects. To this the people flocked in crowds, even during the severest nights of winter. Still I saw nothing of a real work of the Spirit. During these eight months I knew of no soul converted. . . . The general state of feeling might be accurately expressed by the saying of an elderly woman, who stated her mind thus to a neighbour: "If Mr. B. goes away now, he will leave us worse

than he found us ; for we are halting between two opinions" (P. P.).

On his return from Palestine the meetings were resumed with more hope of blessing. At a meeting in April 1840, preceded by earnest prayer, when his brother was speaking on the woman of Samaria, many were deeply affected. "From this date onwards I found the hearts of anxious people in a manner burst open."

All classes and persons of all ages were moved, many, also, in the neighbouring parishes. When at Collace Dr. Bonar was a great believer in cottage meetings. John Drummond, the famous minister of Crieff, who began his ministry at St. Madoes, was another strong advocate of such work. Quite recently, at a religious gathering in the Carse, Mr. F. B. Meyer pled strongly for a fresh development of those meetings.

(c) William Burns and the Carse

It was during the absence of M'Cheyne in the East that William Burns came to Dundee to fill the pulpit of St. Peter's.

He was a great preacher of repentance. But even above his passion for souls was his longing for the glory of God. His ministry in Dundee was signally honoured. He was frequently in the Carse. In November 1839 he paid a visit to Abernyte, where his endeared friend, James Hamilton, was assistant, and preached to a crowded audience from

the words, "God so loved the world." "The people seemed much solemnised, and at the close a few were shedding silent tears. Mr. Wilson, the old minister, stayed till near the end (about twelve o'clock), and seemed much interested; and dear James Hamilton, who I think is decidedly growing in grace, spoke to the people a little towards the end, in a very close and affecting way."

Longforgan was not so deeply stirred, but Burns and M'Cheyne could tell of anxious souls in the parish. One who drove William Burns to Abernyte told me how stirred he was with concern for Longforgan, and how he stopped on the road to pray for it.

Another of Burns' notable services in the Carse was at Kinfauns in March 1840. The meeting lasted three hours and a half, Burns preaching from Matthew (xi. 28) with great power. Quite a number of the people had received help at their meetings in Perth, and the passion of his appeal to one and all to fly to Jesus was thrilling.

In 1842 he made four evangelistic tours, and preached at Collace, Abernyte, and Kilspindie.

Burns was a man of many moods. Once at Errol, where he was announced to preach, he firmly declined being "let." Dr. Grierson stepped into the breach, and preached with wonderful comfort and help to many.

Few men have influenced so many as Burns. Mr. Hudson Taylor attributed to Burns much of his interest in China, and Kenneth Mackenzie

testified the same. We feel thankful for a link with one of the apostles to China.

Burns' life deserves study, and, like that of his comrades, is a wonderful witness to the power of prayer.

(d) *Dr. Moody-Stuart and the Carse*

While M'Cheyne has given his name to the group, Dr. Moody-Stuart was really its originator. The first of the band, he outlived its most venerable members, and was not the least remarkable. "Unique and alone," Dr. Whyte describes him, "supreme in his pulpit; kind; with no fellow; with no one to come second to him." A many-sided man—a scholar, a linguist, evangelist, pastor, teacher. His ministry at Holy Island was scarcely less memorable than his ministry in Edinburgh. He travelled widely, and was equally beloved by high and low. The Jewish Mission owes more to him than to almost any other. He was the friend of Hungary. At Kuttenberg, in Bohemia, a tablet describes him "truest friend of our country and our Church." Few have left behind them more memorable sayings, none exerted a deeper influence on the ministry. No subject lay nearer his heart than the progress of the gospel, and in movements directed to the deepening of spiritual life he was looked to as a natural leader.

Dr. Moody-Stuart had a connection of the closest with Gowrie, and his interest and influence in its

life were profound. A charming chapter in his biography is entitled "Summers at Annat."

It were well-nigh impossible to exaggerate the beauty of the Braes of Gowrie. Nothing but the difficulty of reaching them rapidly could prevent them being the favourite home of the people of Dundee.

On a lovely knoll not far from Rait, and across the glen from the romantic Jacobite home of Fingask, stands Annat. Here Dr. Moody-Stuart built a cottage which, with the additions since made to it, forms one of the sweetest homes imaginable. The roof is thatched with reeds from the Tay, and the workmanship within, and the wooding without, all but make vocal the poem of gracious lives.

Once on a time these knolls were the scene of fire worship. In the days we speak of Annat was a centre of spiritual influence. Dr. Moody-Stuart took a serious view of life and of destiny, and was deeply exercised where he saw indifference. He once gave considerable offence by praying at a meeting that the grace of God might descend even on the Carse of Gowrie. But while others might object, he was working. At the Disruption his like-minded wife turned a cottage in Rait into a place of worship; and ever since then, in some form or other, a public witness for Christ has been maintained in the hamlet of Rait. Dr. Bonar would cross the hills from Dunsinane to preach in it, Professor Bannerman would come from Abernyte,

Dr. Grierson from Errol, and, during his own vacation, Dr. Moody-Stuart found pleasure in pointing the inhabitants of the glen to Christ and the path of the redeemed. One who used to worship there writes of the "dear old church at Rait and the wonderful services that seemed to bring us so near to heaven."

Milne of Perth mentions in a letter that "there has been a little ingathering at Rait through Moody and his sons, and when he went to India memories of Glendoick crowded to Milne."

Mr. Brownlow North held meetings at Rait, which were largely attended and very impressive. But there was no marked result. In Longforgan in 1860 there was a considerable ingathering.

In later years, Dr. Moody-Stuart lived for some time at Annat. There, some of the reminiscences which give so much zest to his *Memoir* were written; there, some of the most tender letters to the afflicted were penned; there he wrestled over questions affecting Christ's Word and Church, which weighted his soul.

But possibly the highest service he rendered the district was through his habit of prayer. One thinks of him as a great intercessor in Scotland. If there are sacred spots in the country, the Kirk of Invergowrie is one; the wood of Ziph at Dunsinane is another; the garden at St. Madoes another; and the garden at Annat still another. And three of them hallowed by the M'Cheyne men.

Dr. Moody-Stuart writes:—

“Two or three days ago, on the garden-seat, I recalled the forenoon, fifty-five years ago, when M'Cheyne and Andrew Bonar sat with me there in holy meditation and, I think, in prayer together, and the thought was very pleasing to me that at that same hour they might also be recalling our hallowed converse in the earthly garden and expecting me, though greatly less worthy, soon to join them in the heavenly paradise.”

That prayer was the breath of his life his family knew. But wider circles recognised it, and craved the prayers of this man of God. Young children were impressed by them. It is told of a boy at Rait who had recovered from serious sickness, that, to the remark of a friend—“Well, the doctor has managed to make you well again”—he replied, “Na, it was Dr. Moody-Stuart's prayer made me well.”

When in 1860 the first meeting was held which grew into the Perth Conference, much of the planning which preceded it, and much of the prayerfulness that surrounded it, was associated with Annat. But long before, to the Bonars, to Somerville, and Moody-Stuart, the garden at Rait was like the upper room where heaven's remembrancers kept solemn tryst with Christ.

Dr. Moody-Stuart was, above most, a believer in prayer, and fearless in his witness of its power. In 1895 at Rait he writes in his diary as follows: “There has been a long continuance of drought, which has been becoming serious, withering the pastures and injuring the crops. This forenoon

the heat was greater than ever, under a cloudless sky. I had a sense of guilt in not having prayed more earnestly for rain, and now it seemed further off than ever. This set me to seek 'the effectual fervent prayer that availeth much,' and I pleaded with much earnestness, remembering that even for temporal blessings there is only good in intense supplication if it is with childlike submission to the will of God, and if we resign not only the object prayed for but likewise the prayer itself to the will of our heavenly Father. I quite hoped that in due time, it might be after a day or two, and more prayer, there might be an answer, but, to my surprise and thanksgiving, since four in the afternoon there has come a copious rain with a magnificent thunderstorm, the God of glory thundering and His voice upon the waters. The thunder has not yet ceased, and the rain has come in such an uncommon downpour, mingled with very large hailstones, that already it must have brought a great refreshing to the dry earth. O for another such shower on the souls of many, and the God of heaven who sendeth rain upon the earth desireth much more to pour out His Spirit upon us, and is '*waiting* to be gracious' till He is entreated by us."

Dr. Moody-Stuart's family have been and are helpful in the Carse in many forms of Christian service. Two of his sons have made contributions to religious literature. Of the many writings of the late Mr. Kenneth Moody-Stuart, the cultured minister of Moffat, reference may be made here to

the life of his father—a well-drawn portrait, and with delightful pictures and reminiscences of Annat and the Carse.

His brother's works are an attempt to put the stories of the gospel and the central truths of revelation in the language of the people. They are notably fresh, full of suggestion and surprises, with fine patches of colour, quaint, reverent, sure in touch, and marked by insight. *Sabbath Nights at Pitcoonans* has a local sparkle in the very title, and *Sandy Scott's Bible Class* and *The Better Country* have the breeziness of the Braes.

Still another brother, who died early, published an address on *The Christian Race*.

XXVII

THE DAYS OF THE DISRUPTION

THIS volume would be incomplete without a brief chapter on the Disruption in the Carse. For, whilst the Disruption has an ecclesiastical side, and was precipitated through the folly of the political leaders of the time, it was, first and foremost, a religious movement. With scarcely an exception, the champions of the struggle were the leaders in the aggressive work of the Church, and in its spiritual enterprise. M'Cheyne of Dundee, Bonar of Collace, Hamilton of Abernyte, M'Lagan of Kinfauns, Grierson of Errol, to name only a few, were in the front of the great evangelical and revival movement, and also amongst the most fearless and successful exponents of the principles which compelled the Disruption.

The parochial system, which was devised as, and was so well fitted to be, an instrument of effectiveness, had in many places come to be an instrument of oppression and bondage. Under it the gospel, instead of being brought to the people, was in many a parish being denied to them. In connection with his proposed visit to the East, perhaps Dr.

Bonar's chief anxiety was lest the homes and pulpit of Collace should become closed again to the sunny influences of Evangelism.

Few men knew better the value of the old parochial system than Dr. Grierson. His notebooks, stretching back to 1819, exhibit a true pastoral care for the people of Errol. To him the Disruption meant much in the loss of income, prestige, and social respect among the wealthier classes of the community. "In one instance," he writes, "I have been explicitly and absolutely refused admittance under the roof of one of the principal families, whom I have frequently visited in affliction, although my known and acknowledged object was to meet with one or two of the servants who belonged to my congregation, and to whom it was my duty to pay a ministerial visit." On the other hand, it brought him the joy of increased facilities for doing good to the souls of his people. His conclusion was that the "Gospel has been fully and energetically proclaimed in many a neighbourhood and many a house to which it had been practically denied."

Bonar of Collace, who set little store on the ecclesiastical and much on the spiritual, has pointed out that one incidental effect of the Disruption was to free the Communion roll from those who had been communicants in former days, and who had not even the form of religion in their families. All this was for the good of religion.

Any one who tries to compare the Carse in 1811 with the Carse in 1911 must feel that, however

deficient it may be in tone and in spiritual life to-day, it is yet sweeter and cleaner than it was then. The tone of the ministry is better; the office-bearers of the church are more zealous; the conditions of life are vastly improved.

In spite of much that is fitted to depress one's view, it may be asserted that godlessness is less coarse. But in 1911 as in 1811 the main cause of rags and vice in the countryside is drink. No one can live in a district for a quarter of a century and watch the fortunes of families without seeing this; indeed, were it not for drink we should have neither rags nor hopeless poverty in our strath or braes. It is the parent and ally of vice and godlessness as truly as judges proclaim it to be the parent and ally of crime.

The Disruption was not carried through without anxiety, pain, and sometimes disappointment. One of the lairds is credited with saying that if it had not been for that wasp Candlish, the whole affair would have soon blown over. Men so ignorant of what was stirring in Scottish hearts were sure to make mistakes, and there was not a parish where the engines of tyranny and ridicule were not used to check a movement which brought home so seriously the claims of personal religion, and shook to its foundations the Church establishment of the realm.

When Mr. M'Lagan of Kinfauns announced a meeting in the parish church for the purpose of forming a Church Defence Association, two of the

heritors, Mr. Hunter of Glencarse and Mr. Neil Fergusson Blair, presented an application to the sheriff, craving to have the meeting interdicted on the ground that it would constitute a misappropriation of the church from its proper and legitimate purposes. Sheriff-substitute Barclay declined; but, on appeal, Sheriff Whigham, a violent partisan, reversed the judgment, mainly on the ground that "the church and schoolhouse of a parish are the property of the heritors." The *Witness* (15th January 1842) has a forcible article on it.

The proceedings were altogether ignoble. Immediately after Sheriff Barclay's refusal, Mr. Hunter called on Mr. M'Lagan to inform him that he regretted the action, and that it had been done without his authority. On the bill of costs being presented, the people of Kinfauns stepped forward and relieved Mr. M'Lagan.

On the strength of Mr. Whigham's judgment, a successful application was made for interdict at St. Madoes.

Those interdicts did not, however, prevent meetings being held in these parishes. Dr. Beith, in his volume, *Memories of Disruption Times*, describes visits which he made to Rait, "encouraging and pleasant," to Errol and to the people of Kinfauns and St. Madoes. The meeting for Kinfauns and St. Madoes was arranged by Mr. Craigie of Glendoick, one of the eminent layman of the Church, generous and unselfish. Though not young, Mr. Craigie was full of vigour, and, as Dr.

Beith puts it, filled with great love to the cause of truth for which the Church of his fathers was contending. When the Disruption actually took place, the Laird of Glendoick took off his coat, helped to mix the lime for the new church, and lent his carriage horses to drive stones.

The meeting was held in a large barn at the Hole of Plean. "The barn was fitted up with forms, chairs, resting-places of every sort, gathered principally from the mansion-house, but contributed cheerfully by all the neighbours round about. The young ladies at Glendoick House were the governing, as well as the most laborious, agents on this memorable evening. Their kind efforts and encouraging patronage of us in our work cheered me. I have never forgotten the occasion. It has always presented itself to my mind as a sunny episode in the history of this fortnight of incessant and pleasurable labour. Mr. Craigie's descendants have followed in the footsteps of their sire. *O! si sic omnes!*"

Beith has a pathetic picture of Mr. Noble of St. Madoes, who acted as chairman. He was a man of many gifts, interested in Church, law, and agriculture, and no mean authority on geology.

Hugh Miller refers to him in *The Old Red Sandstone*: "At this stage, however (Agassiz had referred a specimen to the genus *Gyrolepis*), an almost entire specimen of the creature was discovered in the sandstones of Clashbennie, by the Rev. James Noble of St. Madoes, a gentleman,

who, by devoting his leisure hours to geology, has extended the knowledge of this upper formation, and whose name has been attached by Agassiz to its characteristic fossil, now designated the *Holoptychus Nobilissimus*. His specimen at once decided that the creature had been no *Gyrolepis*. (Cf. pp. 176–86.)

In the work of the parish he was enthusiastic. In 1836 he started a Religious Library. The people were orderly and churchgoing, and comparatively free from flagrant immoralities. He was held in high esteem by those who knew him. Great, accordingly, was their grief when, notwithstanding his professions and votes, he drew back in the valley of decision. Nerve, courage, or faith seemed to fail. Before many years were past he died—a sadly disappointed if not a broken-hearted man.

This vacillation has unhappily been too common in the religious history of the Carse, and has retarded the progress of the Evangel. Again and again its leaders have deserted their colours at the critical time, with disastrous results to religious life. It was so at the Reformation, at the Covenant, and at the Revolution; it was so, again, at the Secession, and it was so, notoriously, at the Disruption. Nothing did more to check the spiritual fervour of those times than the lamentable retreat of more than one of the people's guides from the platform they had taken.

Many cases of hardship had to be faced. Dr.

Grierson of Errol, Mr. M'Lagan of Kinfauns, Mr. Walker of Longforgan, gave up their emoluments and manses. Others were subjected to indignity and wrong. In some cases at Errol, private gratuities, distributed to the poor at Christmas, were withheld from those who, however destitute, attended the ministry of Dr. Grierson. Such meanness was met by the brave reply: "Well, poor as we are, we will not sell our consciences for a peck of meal or a firlot of coals."

In one parish, two inoffensive ladies—teachers—were thrust from their homes; in another, the mean policy of pin-prick was successfully practised, also on a teacher. In more than one instance, sites were refused by those who should have been forward to help. Several years passed before a site could be obtained for a manse for the Free Church minister of Longforgan. Year in, year out, summer and winter, in storm or sunshine, Mr. Walker had to walk from Dundee. Mr. Walker's lot was a sore trial of faith. By nature quiet and retiring, he took no conspicuous part in the struggle of the time. All he would say was, "If the crisis come, I hope I will be enabled to stand true to my convictions." When the blow fell, and when others who had been more pronounced than he, and who urged him to come out, stayed in, he went forth. But he did not complain. To one who asked him, as they were passing the Glebe, if he did not feel a good deal at leaving the old home, he made the quiet reply: "Yes, I do; but I am much happier in

my mind now, than I could have been had I remained in the Church.'”

It is pleasant to remember the honourable feeling and highminded action of men who took another course. At the time of the Disruption, Mr. George Davidson (minister of the Established Church of Kinfauns from 1853 to 1901) was a probationer and on the outlook for a post. “As to my own path of duty,” he wrote, “I was quite clear that, as a matter of conscience and principle, there was nothing requiring me to leave the Church or to prevent me going into one of the numerous vacancies; still, as a matter of feeling, I thought it a small thing that I should at least try myself, and that my action should be free of any mercenary motive, so I resolved not to go into any post that had been vacated for conscience’ sake.”

In some of the parishes, worship had for a time to be conducted in the open air, or in a tent. Worshippers were thus exposed to the uncertainties of Scotland’s climate. But, strange to tell, the weather was perfect, there was not a wet Sabbath—indeed, it was so remarkable that it was made a matter of public thanksgiving. The year 1844 was as unfortunate as 1843 had been delightful.

Dr. Grierson of Errol has left in manuscript, part of which has been printed in the *Annals of the Disruption*, a vivid account of his experiences and, particularly, of his farewell to the Establishment and of his first service in connection with the Free Church (vol. i. p. 106, p. 117).

His ministry at Errol was a long one, and at times signally honoured by God. The impression he made on the reapers, who used to pour into the Carse from the north for harvest, was profound. "I remember," writes one, "hearing, in early life, in my native place, some . . . speak of sermons by Mr. Grierson of Errol, in 1821 and 1822, of which they had carried away fragrant memories, and which had been enshrined in the hearts of pious friends then no more." In 1826, in 1839-43, there were considerable stirrings. Others have borne witness that those who came from Dr. Grierson's congregation in the time of his strength were exceptionally well grounded in Scripture knowledge. Mr. Kenneth Moody-Stuart has pointed out that all the published writings of Dr. Grierson circle closely round the Person of the Lord Jesus, and asks, "May not the reverent and loving familiarity with his Lord, implied in the preparation and production of such works, go a good way to account for even what seemed *special* in the close intercourse and happy confidence which characterised the closing weeks and last hours upon earth of their author?"

Lieutenant-General James Moncrieff Grierson, C.V.O., R.A., is a grandson of Dr. Grierson.

XXVIII

TOM ALEXANDER

MR. WILLIAM ALEXANDER was teacher at Fowlis for more than fifty-five years. He died in 1854, aged 74. His son Thomas was a man of note, a friend of Carlyle and of the Earls of Dalhousie and Camperdown. His career was varied, if not erratic. Commencing life as a seedsman in Dundee, he died, in 1872, minister of Belgrave Presbyterian Church in London. Before entering the Church he tried several occupations. For a time he was a country bookseller. Tiring of that, and being passionately fond of amusement and adventure, he ran off to London, where for a season he maintained himself as a violinist. Not long after, he joined a ship on which he went to the west coast of Africa. On his return he betook himself to Dundee, where he became interested in, and took an active share in, revival work.

About this time, also, he opened an adventure school in Invergowrie. The school was on an unpretentious scale. It met in the garret of a humble house. Few were the scholars and small were the fees. But Alexander is still remembered

in the village as a man of alert mind and apt to teach.

It was when thus engaged that he was brought into contact with Professor Scott of Aberdeen, by all reputed a large-hearted if somewhat eccentric man. Scott not only encouraged him in study but personally gave him lessons in oriental languages. In course of time Alexander took his M.A. degree at St. Andrews. Thereafter he studied in Edinburgh in connection with the Free Church. After assisting Dr. Candlish for a time, he was ordained minister of Belgrave Square, London, in 1850. Here he won a wide popularity. In addition to his pulpit work he made several contributions to religious literature. Of these, the chief are volumes on Christ's *Intercessory Prayer* and a *Commentary on the Fifty-First Psalm*. Along with such a writer as William Jay, he contributed to the Chelsea Tracts. His tract, *The Busy Death-Bed*, is reckoned a good specimen of solemn appeal.

Carlyle, as has been mentioned, was a friend of "Tom" Alexander, and made many a ramble in his company.

At the sale of Mr. Alexander's effects, in 1872, there was disposed of a small frame enclosing a sheet of notepaper on which Carlyle had written a few lines and inscribed them as presented to the Rev. T. Alexander "with many regards." The lines began—

"There was a Piper had a Coo
And he had nocht to give her."

(Cf. *Notes and Queries*, July 1876.)

Alexander was one of those who was profoundly influenced by M'Cheyne when he came to Dundee, and he was a prominent figure in the evangelistic effort led by M'Cheyne. Mr. J. C. Smith, in his volume (1910), *Robert Murray M'Cheyne*, has some interesting details about Alexander (pp. 108-9).

XXIX

WILLIAM ROSS : STORY OF A CARSE PLOUGHBOY

A VISITOR to the quiet kirkyard of Abernyte will observe on the left, not far from the gate where he enters, a simple stone with this inscription :

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

and of their eldest Son

The Reverend WILLIAM ROSS

Agent of the London Missionary Society in Central South
Africa.

He was a Plough Boy (first class), then a Joiner. At the age of thirty-eight, after a full course at College, he was ordained a Minister, and entered the foreign service. Ere long, the same tools with which he did the finest of the wood work of the Parish Church of Errol he used at Taung, a stronghold of the Prince of Darkness, in building a temple to the Living God, and filled it with worshippers. He laboured amidst abounding perils in the vast desert for above twenty-three years without rest, and died at Likatlong, July 30, 1863—deeply regretted by the Bechuanas, the Society, and friends of Missions. He left 731 Church members, 85 anxious Inquirers after Salvation, 9 Day Schools, with 370 scholars, and 11 native fellow-teachers.

“ Not unto me, O God, not unto me, but unto
Thy name give glory.”

In brief outline this tells the story of the Carse ploughboy.

William Ross was born in the parish of Errol, in August 1802. He belonged to the humbler ranks of Scottish life, a class that has given more than one outstanding missionary to the service of Christ and the Church. David Livingstone was the son of a tea dealer, Robert Moffat was the son of a gardener, and William Ross was a son of the soil. His father had aspirations, and, once, took a small farm on the Braes of the Carse, but, on account of the expense, he had to give it up. The early influences that played round William were healthy. His mother was a good woman, his father was a capable man. The home training supported the teaching of the school and of the church. When William was still a child, his father removed to Fife, but it was not very long before he recrossed the Tay, and settled in Abernyte, as the overseer of a farm. Nothing delighted William more than to help his father, and there was nothing that he touched in which he did not excel. About this time influences began to work strongly in William's mind that were destined to change his life. He was now a lad of about fifteen. His parents belonged to the Secession, in which communion so much of the earnest life of Scotland was then to be found. Mr. Watson of Errol, who baptized him, was known as a prayerful man. The quaint but serious conversation of the God-fearing Seceders of Newburgh on their way to the Abernethy Church

made an indelible impression on his mind, even when a child of four. But now the preaching of Mr. Proudfoot of Pitrodie and others of his spirit moved him mightily, and prepared him for receiving the truth as it is in Jesus. One day, when he happened to be working in the field, "he became overpowered at the thought of the love of Jesus to him." It was the hour of decision. He accepted the Saviour. "I came to the Saviour at sixteen," he wrote more than forty years afterwards from Africa, "and I do not remember of ever since having doubted my interest in His atoning blood, and I am now, through God's infinite mercy, sixty years of age."

Not long after this crisis, William formed a purpose to become a minister of the gospel. Most men would have been daunted by the difficulty. His education had been limited, the home resources were scanty, and he was away from the opportunity of study. But William was not a man to be turned by a difficulty. A few years later, when the time came for going to college, he was strongly dissuaded from beginning a course which his friends apprehended would lead to disappointment. But nothing could turn him. The first thing he had to do was to find ways and means. William thought that if he learnt a trade he might save enough in time to pay his way. He was now twenty-one, but he left the plough and apprenticed himself in Perth as a joiner. One fact may be mentioned to show the sort of work he gave. Every one who has

travelled between Perth and Dundee recalls the handsome Parish Church of Errol. Not every one who remembers its tower and its noble site has seen the panel work inside, and not every one who has, knows that it is the work of a Carse plough-boy. But it was to William that the most careful work was entrusted. And it is impossible not to admire the wisdom of that Providence which guided him from the plough to the plane. By and by, when Ross was in Africa, his knowledge of farm work, of sowing and ploughing, were of the utmost advantage, and it is not too much to say that his knowledge of carpenter work was invaluable. He delighted to tell that his church at Taung in Africa was entirely built by himself, and with tools he had used at Errol Church. "Little did I think, when helping at the erection of the Parish Church of Errol, in the Carse of Gowrie, Perthshire, being then a journeyman wright, that some of the same tools would be employed by me in building a house for the worship of the God of our fathers in the very midst of heathen darkness." By this time his thoughts had been turning to the mission field; but he was not impatient at the slow progress he made towards his goal, for every field was to him a mission field. He was anxious to help his fellow-workmen. He took his place as a Sabbath-school teacher and gave his help at prayer-meetings. One of the things that marked him also was his love of nature. Returning to his home on the Braes, as he loved to do at the close of every week's

work, he had splendid opportunity of studying the visible works of the invisible God. Ross' letters from Africa are full of intelligent observations on flowers and animals, on the wonders of the heavens, and on the treasures of the earth. One moment he speaks of some fossil remains he has found; another he talks about locusts; next moment his pen grows eloquent about flowers; the next about the wanderings of a comet through the skies. It was on the Braes of the Carse that this habit was formed and cultivated.

His next step was to become a teacher. His friend and biographer thus tells of the start: "One day in 1831, when I had just entered on my duties in a parish school, I heard a knock at the door, and, having opened it, I saw before me a tidy, respectful, quick-eyed, cheerful tradesman, of stoutish build, of perhaps 5 feet 10 or 11 inches in height, and of at least twenty-nine years. This was our friend William Ross, who, having heard of my being newly from college, had come to request that I would, in extra hours, teach him Latin and Greek, and in return he would teach all day among my numerous young flock. Pleased with his appearance, his intelligence, and training, at once I agreed. William began and carried on as one in earnest, and progressed rapidly." Other ventures were made later to provide the means for completing his college course. Along with a fellow-student, he opened an academy in Inverness and taught it for two years. It was not unsuccessful. "We managed,"

he says, "to defray expenses in a respectable and honourable way. I think our yearly income of £70 each was creditable. With that and the £100 I had stored in the bank from my hard-won earnings previously, and a small bursary I received during my third year at St. Andrews, I have not come on my kind parents for my training, but have been able, I am thankful to say, to pay all myself."

Ross was now ready to go to college. The most of his relatives and friends tried to dissuade him. He was thirty. He had lacked advantages that others had enjoyed. It would be more difficult for him to master languages. And then the college course was a long one. He would be thirty-eight before he was ready for his life-work. He was not, however, to be daunted, and, along with a friend who was going from the district, he entered at St. Andrews. The venerable university town was then in an interesting condition. In 1823, Dr. Chalmers had been inducted to the chair of Moral Philosophy.

It was only a short time before he made his influence to be felt. Dr. Duff tells us that, previously to the advent of Dr. Chalmers, the St. Andrews students were "a singularly Godless, Christless class. At the United College there was only one who was reputed to be pious, and who dared to face the derision and scorn of being so reputed. He was the butt and the joke of every one, under the familiar nickname of 'The Bishop.' Nor was St. Mary's or the Divinity College much better. Indeed, some

of the Divinity students were even more notorious for their impiety, immorality, and riotous revellings, than any in the Philosophy College." And he adds that those who could compare what St. Andrews was immediately before Dr. Chalmers' residence there, with what it was two or three years after his arrival, were constrained to feel that no language could more appropriately express the greatness of the change than that of the prophet Isaiah: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them: and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

St. Andrews speedily became a centre, not only of learning, but also of earnest Christian life and activity. One thing that Dr. Chalmers championed with all the power and eloquence he could command, was the missionary cause. When it was first proposed by some of the more earnest students to form a missionary society, it was found impossible to get a room for its meetings in the college. But the enthusiasm of Chalmers, and of the little band of students who started it, triumphed. Principal Haldane became more than friendly; some of his colleagues openly helped, and a place for meeting was granted.

Some of the students of those years deserve more than a passing mention. Men like John Urquhart, "the pious, the devoted, the heavenly minded Urquhart," W. Lindsay Alexander, and the illustrious Duff, Nesbit of Bombay, John Adam—these were the kind of men who were passing through

St. Andrews and helping to mould its life. St. Andrews, indeed, had become the missionary university of the day. Chalmers had left for Edinburgh before Ross matriculated; but it was into the warm life he had helped to create that William Ross was now introduced.

There is an indescribable charm about St. Andrews which must appeal to every susceptible mind. Its lovely situation, with its long stretches of sand and grassy bents, and its walls of rocks commanding its grand but unquiet sea, its stately hoary ruins, its venerable halls of learning, its churchyard where so many of Scotland's great and holy dead lie, and its memories of reformers, and martyrs, and confessors, of so much that is great and so much that is awful in Scotland's life and history—all these have given it the charm of a favourite shrine. But with his passion for souls the glory of St. Andrews to Ross was its life. He worked hard during the three years he attended the Arts classes, and acquitted himself well. He seized every opportunity of adding to his knowledge of missions, and was not a little influenced by the addresses he heard.

Leaving St. Andrews, he went to the Divinity Hall of the United Secession, where he completed a five years' course, and after a "fourth Arts' session at University College, London, presented himself for licence before his Presbytery there. This was in 1840. He preached his first sermon at Greenwich from the words: 'I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me.'" It

was, he says, with "very great pleasure," and there was a ring of joyfulness in his ministry of which this is but the first note.

Whilst Ross was in London, a circumstance occurred which was destined to have a decisive influence on his life. Robert Moffat happened to be at home at the time, and was announced to give an account of his work in Africa. Ross went to hear him. He was thrilled by Moffat's tale of need, and, shortly after, offered him his service. The offer was accepted by the London Missionary Society, and Ross prepared at once to leave for South Africa. He came north to bid farewell to his friends. It was a painful parting, for a good deal of pressure was put upon him to reconsider his decision. But his love to Christ carried him triumphantly through; and when any one suggested the difficulty of his acquiring, at the age of thirty-eight, a language like the Sechwana, he would brush it aside, saying, "It matters not to me; I will just put a stout heart to a stey brae, trusting to our Divine Master; why should I fear?" Old Mr. Wilson, the quaint minister of Abernyte, invited him to preach for him, and a great assembly gathered to hear the ploughboy of Pitkindie proclaim the tidings of salvation.

Ross was ordained on the 20th November 1840, in Albion Chapel, Finsbury, London. It will be of interest to mention that Dr. Livingstone was set apart the same night for the same field, and they set sail together on 8th December, to reinforce the

Lattakoo Mission in South Africa. One of the objects for which Dr. Moffat had come to England was to get his Sechwana New Testament printed; and Ross and Livingstone were the honoured bearers to that country of five hundred copies of the New Testament.

The voyage to the Cape was uneventful. It took almost a hundred days, and neither Livingstone, nor Ross nor his wife, felt sorry to put foot on the country for whose salvation they had given themselves. Both the young missionaries were tempted to remain as ministers in Cape Town. Neither would hear of it, but pushed on with such haste as they could to their goal, reaching Kuruman on the 31st of July 1841.

Kuruman had been for the last twenty years the scene of Moffat's labour. For many years he and his wife toiled with no signs of success, and the people were either hostile or utterly careless. Then a change began to take place. Interest grew, and when Moffat's new church was opened in 1838, it was crowded with an audience of nearly nine hundred, and on the Sabbath following as many as one hundred and fifty joined together at the Lord's Supper.

The first thing that Mr. and Mrs. Ross addressed themselves to was to learn the Sechwana language. He worked with untiring diligence, and in four months and a half he was able to speak to them in their own tongue. This is worthy of being noted in connection with the difficulty pointed out to him of acquiring a language like the Sechwana. He became a capital

scholar in it, and later on was appointed, by the London Missionary Society, chairman of the committee named, to revise the translation of the entire Bible, which Dr. Moffat was then preparing.

Livingstone was not long at Kuruman before the idea took hold of him that the work there was comparatively well manned, and that he ought to push farther northward with the message of the Cross. Ross had a similar feeling, and, with the permission of the directors in England, he resolved to settle at Taung, a town of six thousand souls, pleasantly situated about a hundred miles from Kuruman.

Taung has been described as a stronghold of Satan, and it was with some anxiety for his safety that Moffat and Livingstone heard of his purpose. The chief of Taung was a fierce warrior called Mahura, a brother of Mothibi, Moffat's friend. When Ross arrived, Mahura was about to start on a hunting and a hostile expedition. His people were holding a dance in his honour. It was a wild scene. About forty women were dancing "furiously," and wild cries and yells rent the air. Ross tried to approach them, but he was not allowed. Though baffled, he was not discouraged. He determined to try another day. His next attempt to speak to them was equally unsuccessful, but Mahura allowed him to visit his people in their houses. A little later, Ross asked again to be allowed to speak to them. This time Mahura consented. Ross took for his text: "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" His simple, earnest pleading was not in vain, and one

of those who were most moved was Mahura. This was the beginning of a mission whose converts might be counted by hundreds, and whose influence on African affairs was destined to be considerable.

Having built a house for himself and his wife, he began to teach the children whom he could gather. He hoped through them to influence the old. It was as he expected. One of his first scholars was Mahura's daughter. She went home and told her father how the white man had been telling of God, how He made everything, and how He loved the world so much that He had sent His Son to die for sinners. Mahura went to ask more, and it was not long before he had taken his place in the school, and was learning the alphabet, that he might know more about Christ and the love of God. The work was patiently pursued, and not without tokens of success. But it was not easy, and it had to be carried on amid countless annoyances and petty irritations. A good deal of pilfering took place. One almost ludicrous case may be mentioned. Before going to her class of girls, Mrs. Ross had put a pot on the fire with beef. On her return, she found that the beef had been stolen, and a stone of about the same size placed in its stead. The Moffats had a great deal of trouble of this kind, the Rosses had more than enough. But, notwithstanding all, the work deepened and spread, and, ere long, Ross had to face the erection of a church. It was now that his earlier training proved so useful. The few lessons in drawing he had got at Collace

School enabled him to sketch what he had conceived. His skill as a carpenter helped him in his measurements and building, and his knowledge of mechanics gave him skill with all sorts of tools. Ross got little aid from any one, except from a few women, who did a little carrying. There was neither will nor power amongst the men at Taung. But he was equal to his task. He was himself "architect, quarryman, mason, sawyer, wright, glazier, thatcher, and smith, and in an amazingly short time had completed the erection." There now awaited Ross a more difficult work even than the building of a church—the work of filling it. At the first communion celebrated in the new church, seven sat down who not very long before were naked savages. But the number steadily grew. According to Ross's judgment, many of his people were Christians who might put their more favoured brethren at home to shame. Now and again there were disappointing cases of members turning back to heathenism; some were lacking in courage to pray openly or in intelligent knowledge, but the great majority were serious and prayerful, and there were converts, like Gabosa Moffat, who were full of faith and good works.

The next six years were filled with busy, often hopeful, labour. It was then unexpectedly retarded. Mahura, the Chief of Taung, had a quarrel with a neighbouring chief, which resulted in his leaving Taung with his people. Mr. Ross went with him, and began to organise his work in Mahura's new home, Mamusa.

During these changes Mrs. Ross fell ill, and in the course of a journey which it was hoped might benefit her she died. It was a heavy trial to Ross. It meant the loss of one who had solaced and assisted him nobly; it meant the breaking up of his home, for it was judged prudent to commit the care of his three little children to the wives of three distant missionaries, and the trial was enhanced by the anxieties which he had in connection with his work. But he put a stout heart to his heavy burden, and, trusting in God, did not fear.

Mrs. Ross died at Motito, a French station where there had been some awakening. Leaving his dead and his children, he took his lonely way to Mamusa, and sought to bury his grief in endeavouring to bring comfort to others. But God was very near him, so that he felt, as he wrote to a friend—

“Alone, yet not alone am I!
Though in this solitude so drear,
I feel my Saviour ever near,
He comes my weary hours to cheer.
I am with Him, and He with me,
So here alone I cannot be!”

Mr. Ross was a man of many gifts. As a boy and as a lad he had kept his eyes open, and the faculty of observing was strongly developed in him. This made him fond of the young and popular with them. One of the things in which he excelled was writing to children, and nothing pleased him better than to answer letters which might be sent to him by children.

More delicate work found him equally capable. On one occasion Mahura had got into difficulty with Pretorius, the President of the Boers. Pretorius had right on his side, but he was, as Dr. Livingstone found, a man often "busy with the work of death and destruction." His terms to Mahura were much too exacting, and in order to seek some alleviation of the severity, Mr. Ross set out for the Transvaal. His intercession was successful, and he returned to Taung with terms very different from what Pretorius had originally imposed.

On another occasion, Mr. Ross achieved the same success, and that at a time when "perhaps no other missionary would have been received." He also had the power of writing passports in Dutch for such of the Bechuanas as might wish to enter the country of Pretorius. It may also be mentioned, as a proof of the confidence felt in him, that he was asked to become a missionary in the Boers' country. He did not do so, but it led him to make an effort for their good; indeed, everything that he attempted was made subservient to his desire to proclaim to the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ. All along, a considerable interest was shown in his work by friends at home. When the church was built at Taung, one congregation sent a bell, which, Sabbath after Sabbath, rang out the call to the people to come and praise the Lord. Another congregation supported a native teacher. His letters used to be read at the meetings of the Established Church Presbytery of Cupar, and its minutes have

expressions of their sympathy with his sorrows and joys. Friends of missions, like John Henderson of Park, used to contribute to boxes for his work, and men like Lord Kinnaird, who knew the story of the Ploughboy of Pitkindie, assisted him with gifts of seed for the use of his little community as well as with money.

Mr. Ross was married a second time, to Miss Hockley, a relative of one who had impressed him much as a lad—Dr. Pringle of Perth. She entered heartily into his labours, shared his dangers, and did noble work for Christ in Africa. One thing for which she showed conspicuous talent was letter-writing. She had something of the power that has made Mrs. Paton of the New Hebrides Mission so well known—the power of vivid description. The following letter addressed to a child will be of interest from its graphic peeps into the life and work which she shared. “Your interesting letter of February I have just received, and with very much pleasure sit down to answer your inquiries. As to my sewing-school at this station, it generally averages thirty or more; but, dear, you would wonder to see little black girls sewing and knitting, some very neatly, not dressed, but having only skins of different animals about their bodies. The first garment that the children wear in this land is a skin petticoat. But the children of the heathen do not wear even this. They are only adorned with beads about their necks, bodies, ankles, and arms. Their heads are covered with shining stones

powdered and mixed with fat, resembling quicksilver. These are the poor little heathen. I need scarcely tell you they may all, with their parents, be brought to the feet of Jesus to 'learn of Him' and to be 'clothed and in their right mind.'

"In the day school here the children sing some English pieces very well. Some read and write very well indeed; but they have not made much progress in figures. As a reading-book they have the *Pilgrim's Progress*, translated into their own Secuana language by Mr. Ashton. Nearly all the girls at the school have a baby on their backs, for they must nurse while their mothers go to work in the fields. Many of these little babies have not a garment to cover them; and they are often very hungry as well as cold. And the people in general are very poor. They have lost nearly all their cattle by a disease called the lung sickness. . . . The women get far more help from their husbands now than they were wont to do. Many take their wagons and bring home the things the females were used to carry. Many, too, now plough the fields for their wives. It is very hard work to dig as they do; not with the spade, but with an instrument more like a hoe. They first cast the seed on the surface of the earth, then pick it into the soil.

"You ask if we have cows. Yes; and make our own butter, soap, and candles. You also inquire about birds. We often see very pretty birds indeed in this country, many of them having very gay

feathers. I hope to send you soon some remarkably beautiful stones and karosses (skins), and ostrich feathers, and geological specimens, etc., when we have an opportunity. I enclose in this letter a few wild flower seeds, very common with us, but perhaps they will be new to you. They may grow in a warm place. I got the other day some small calabashes, used by the Matabele as snuff-boxes, which I also send. All the natives take snuff; even the little boys and girls. They cultivate tobacco very extensively; and this season, when every other crop has failed, that is abundant; and they will be able to buy food with the produce at some of our stations. They have yet no bell to call our meetings. We were amused, the other day, to see a man mount a ladder, with a bullock's horn in hand, to summon a meeting for worship. The horn was evidently heard in all parts of the village, and in a few minutes the people came flocking together. The later half of this was to have been filled with questions from some of our Bechuana. Owing to the coldness and bleakness of the weather, however, there has been no school to-day. Next time we write I hope to be able to send you something from them. Such things as bags, aprons, needles, cotton, etc., would be very useful to me, as rewards for the scholars.

“I must close, my dear little friend, with much love to yourself, brothers, and sisters; and commending you all to the care and the love of Jesus, the children's friend.”

By this time Mr. Ross had taken up residence at Likatlong. In his work, *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, the author, the Rev. John Mackenzie, who knew Ross well at Likatlong, thus refers to the circumstances which led to his settlement there: "In 1842 the spiritual oversight of the Batlaping residing at Taung was undertaken by Mr. Ross, who joined the Bechuana Mission at the same time as Dr. Livingstone. He then undertook what has proved a most arduous and trying mission. The same difficulties which were encountered in earlier times at Lattakoo, in connection with the opposition of the chief and headmen, were now met with by Mr. Ross. When the tribe removed from Taung to Mamusa, their missionary patiently accompanied them, beginning over again the labour of erecting another church and dwelling-house. But when it pleased the fickle chief Mahura, after a few years' residence, to return to the neighbourhood of Taung, Mr. Ross, now considerably advanced in years, took up residence first at Griqua Town and afterwards at Likatlong, while he regularly itinerated among his former charge."

Likatlong, near what are now the Diamond Fields, had for some years previously been in charge of Mr. Helmore, who, now at the head of a band of young missionaries, had started for the Makololo country. The trials which this mission encountered were very great. "From the Zonga," one of the party writes, "we travelled on pretty comfortably, till near the end of November, when

we suffered much from want of water. For more than a week every drop we used had to be walked for about thirty-five miles. Mrs. Helmore's feelings may be imagined, when one afternoon, the thermometer standing at 107 degrees in the shade, she was saving just one spoonful of water for each of the dear children for the next morning, not thinking of taking a drop herself. Mr. Helmore, with the men, was then away searching for water; and when he returned the next morning with the precious fluid, we found that he had walked full forty miles."

After seven months of great hardship, they were forced by the chief of Linyanti to settle "in the midst of his fever-generating marshes." In a week the whole party were down with fever. Two of the Helmores and the Prices' infant died at once. Mrs. Helmore followed quickly; six weeks later Mr. Helmore succumbed, and before Mr. and Mrs. Price, with the orphan children, could reach Kuruman, Mrs. Price had also fallen.

It was a great blow to the missionary band, and not least to Ross, who had worked with Mr. Helmore and now occupied his place at Likatlong. A large amount of good work had been done at Likatlong. The state of heathenism at Taung was still quite awful; and all around on an evening might be heard the sound of heathen songs and revels and dances. But it was different at Likatlong, "our dear, quiet Likatlong," as Miss Ross calls it, for the people, "even those who have not yet professed Christianity, never think

of practising the heathen rites and customs as they were wont to do."

Mr. Ross' time was taken up in preaching, in organising schools, in developing agriculture, in trying to grapple with the difficulties of famine, or the dangers of smallpox and fever. A good part of each year was spent in itinerating to the out-stations, the journey round being about 360 miles. Progress, of course, was slow. The usual speed of the ox-wagon was about two and a half miles an hour. "The wagons are four-wheeled, of considerable weight for rough roads, and the axles are generally wooden, and therefore heavy for oxen to draw. To travel at such a speed, under a vertical sun, through a waste and howling wilderness, and having sometimes to stand for days, and even for weeks, owing to breakdown and a variety of causes, requires some patience and perseverance." Now and then there were perils to be faced—perils from wars, perils from chiefs, perils from want, perils from rivers, perils from wild beasts. Then there were disappointments to be borne—difficulties to be encountered. But notwithstanding, the work grew on his hands, and God blessed it. "We cannot now," he wrote, not very long before the close of his life, "grow faint or weary, when we see around us so many fruits of the glorious Gospel. It is also very animating to meet the numerous anxious enquirers after the way of salvation at our various stations; several of which inquirers may soon be admitted into the communion of the Church.

Blessed prospect! To our Divine Master be all the praise!"

Early in 1863, Ross fell ill. His sufferings became acute, but he bore them patiently and bravely. Tidings of his illness were sent to Dr. Moffat. The year 1862 had been a heavy year for Moffat. First the news of the death of his eldest son reached him, and shortly after tidings came that his daughter Mary, the wife of Dr. Livingstone, had died. But he no sooner heard of the serious illness of his friend, William Ross, than he started for Likatlong. His skill could do nothing but alleviate the sufferer's pain. Ross died in perfect peace on the 31st July 1863, almost exactly twenty-two years after he had first put his foot in Kuruman. From the day that he touched Africa he had never left it, and his body lies there in eternal witness of his desire to see the tribes of Africa won to the love and to the knowledge of Christ.

Two short extracts may be given from the letters of Mary Moffat to show her appreciation of Ross. The first is dated November 1840, and was written before he and Livingstone sailed. "We congratulate you and brother and sister Edwards on an accession to your numbers, and we think very highly of them. Of Mr. Ross we have seen the most, and the more we saw of him the better we liked him. I am sure you will greatly enjoy the company of the two missionaries, both being Scotchmen and plain in their manners."

The second was penned a week after his death.

“His end was emphatically ‘peace.’ It is cause for devout thankfulness to me that your father was there, for besides the common debt which we all owe to each other in such circumstances, I felt I could never repay Mrs. Ross for her kind attention to our own dear departed, when we were all unconscious of what was going on. Mr. Ross has been a hardworking, plodding man in evangelistic work. Itinerating seemed to be his forte, and we calculated on his holding on for a long time to come, being in nowise feeble health; but his Master had otherwise ordered.” And her son wrote of him lately that he “was a faithful and laborious missionary, who died at the post of duty after twenty-three years’ service in Bechuanaland.”

It was not very long before Mrs. Ross followed her husband. She had started for England to recruit, but on reaching the Cape she felt so much better that she returned to the scene of her well-loved labours. There she fell, like her husband, at the post of duty, three years after he entered into rest.

In *Lion Hunting in South Africa*, page 290, Gordon Cumming refers to a visit which he paid to Ross, and going with him to the chief.

XXX

CAPTAIN PATERSON AND THOMAS ERSKINE OF LINLATHEN

THE story of the Patersons of Castle Huntly is, in its earlier movements, a veritable romance. But how their fortune was made, and how Castle Huntly passed into their hands, something, also, of the activities of later members of the family, has been told by more than one competent pen. We do not propose to repeat the tale here. Those interested in the lore of families must seek their facts under the guidance of those writers. Our purpose is simpler—to recall the alliance of one of the clan with a name of no ordinary interest in the thinking and religious life of the country.

The youngest son of Mr. Paterson, the Laird of Castle Huntly, Captain Paterson will be remembered most tenderly, as the intimate friend of Erskine of Linlathen. Trained for the army, in which he became a captain, he married, in 1821, the youngest sister of Mr. Erskine. Mrs. Paterson was born some months after her father's death at Naples, in 1791, and in consequence bore as her Christian name, David—her pet name was Davie—her father being David Erskine.

On his marriage, Captain Paterson left the Army, the young pair settling at Linlathen, to which, five years before, Thomas Erskine had succeeded. Writers of every school, like Hanna, Butler, and Henderson, have written in glowing terms of the spiritual charm and beauty of Erskine. Necessarily he appeals to a larger circle than other members of his family. But if it is helpful to know the thoughts of a great man, it is equally so to know the loves of a good man. And surely within the pages of literature are seldom to be found the evidences of a more tender affection than bound Erskine to Captain and Mrs. Paterson. "My dear Davie," he generally addresses her in letters—but once at least, "My dear Italy"—Italy being the name she bore in the family circle, from her sunny temperament. How tightly his heart-strings were woven round Mrs. Paterson, and how strong was the common ground of their faith, scores of references tell. Writing from Milan in 1826, he says: "At this distance I may venture to say that I am acquainted with no person whose heart I believe to be more sincerely devoted to God than Davie."

The Patersons had four children. Their home being Linlathen, Mr. Erskine found no little gladness in the young love that greeted him; and, in the sorrow which in the short space of two years (1835-7) carried off three of these little ones, he knew a grief that was only second to that of Captain and Mrs. Paterson. "Davie is very delicate, and the uninterrupted watching which she has gone

through on this occasion has, I have no doubt, made a breach in her constitution. James (Capt. P.) is better than I expected. He takes his full share in all these things, you know, not only being a very loving father, but also very anxious to save Davie. They were thankful that they were left to themselves to nurse and attend Georgie; for she was so timid, that their two faces were the only faces that gave her no constraint. Dear Davie is so sweet," etc., June 1836.

A few months later the youngest child was removed. "What a heart-break the death of that sweet child is!—that son of consolation, as Davie called him—given, as it seemed, to fill up so many blanks, himself taken away. There were some very interesting particulars attending his death, dear lamb. . . . The sweetest and noblest little specimen of human nature that I ever saw . . . that loveliest infant, the most glorious thing I ever saw."

In the *Letters of Thomas Erskine* are fifteen addressed to Mrs. Paterson and four to the captain. The former are intensely interesting, as giving glimpses of the mind and activities of Erskine, and of the influences—Vinet—to name but one, which, through Erskine, were working on the Patersons.

The letters to Captain Paterson are briefer and somewhat less personal. But they breathe appreciation and love. "The sight of your hand from Paris," writes Erskine, "gave me a start; it is a hand I should like well to clasp again."

Captain Paterson died in 1856. Writing to

M'Leod Campbell on the day of his death, Erskine sketches his character in feeling language. "We knew him and had long known him as one of the most humble and faithful of our Christian brotherhood. All who knew him knew this and will feel the loss severely; but to his wife, to whom since their union he had been the most affectionate of husbands, the loss is of a character which nothing but her knowledge of the purpose of Him who made them and joined them, and who had led them through all the events of their pilgrimage, could make supportable. The first words she spoke after the spirit had escaped from the body were words of thankfulness."

To M. Cramer Mallet he wrote: "*C'était un homme d'une simplicité et loyauté de caractère parfait, tendre à sa femme et affectueux à Madame Stirling et moi, et à tous nos parents et surtout le cœur droit envers Dieu son Sauveur.*"

For a time Mr. Erskine, along with the Patersons, worshipped in the church of Mr. Russell of Dundee. Among Erskine's letters one of the more lengthy is addressed to Captain Paterson, on the Spiritual Gifts and the remarkable manifestations in the west of Scotland.

But the connection of Captain Paterson with the Row case is more interesting still. The Patersons had resided with Erskine at Row for several months in 1829 and 1830, and from the outset they went heartily with Erskine in his esteem for M'Leod Campbell, and in his sympathy with his teaching.

This famous case, which ended in the deposition of Campbell, was watched with the liveliest interest by Erskine and his friends. Among the witnesses called to give evidence were two relatives of Mr. Erskine—Captain Stirling of Glentyan and Captain Paterson. The latter was then residing at Linlathen. Having been solemnly sworn, examined, and “purged of malice and partial counsel,” he deponed that he had resided at Row for some months in 1829 and in 1830. He had heard Mr. Campbell frequently, and had taken notes of his sermons for his own use. The captain was examined at some length, his evidence occupying eleven pages in the proceedings. Captain Paterson was a friendly witness, but it cannot be said that his answers are always sharp and decisive. Probably this is due in part to the imperfect impression which his notes gave him, but more largely to a certain haziness which characterises the thinking both of Campbell and Erskine. (Cf. *Proof for the Prosecution*, pp. 96–107.)

Mrs. Paterson survived her husband about ten years. Principal Shairp has helped to reveal this tender spirit; and with exquisite pathos and feeling, a gracious hand has described her end. “She scarcely ever left her room after Mrs. Stirling’s death. Two months afterwards she became suddenly worse. A joy and brightness indescribable shone in her face and was heard in her voice, as, at the close of a week’s illness, the doctor said that she was not likely to live another day. ‘Say that again,’ she said. ‘Did he say—to-night—that I shall see my

God? Oh joy, joy! . . . Rest, did you not hear that? it was so clear. Light, did you not see that? no, you could not. Hush, hush! He is near.' Gently, very gently, she passed away."

Captain Paterson's son married Miss Macnabb, a niece of M'Leod Campbell. To Erskine this was a fresh link with a man greatly beloved, and Erskine's affection for Mrs. Paterson was only equalled by her tender ministry to him. On Mr. Erskine's death the captain's son became proprietor of Linlathen and took his name, being known as Mr. J. Erskine Erskine of Linlathen. His son is the present laird, Mr. David Erskine, formerly M.P. for West Perthshire.

It may be added that Mr. Erskine, in his *Letters*, has more than one reference to Captain Paterson's sisters; one of them he calls "a delightful example of the grace of God."

XXXI

CAIRD OF ERROL

WE have served our purpose sufficiently in linking the late Principal Caird of Glasgow University with Dr. Strang, his great predecessor in the seventeenth century, and few words need suffice.

He was born at Greenock in 1820, and died in 1898. Minister successively at Newton-on-Ayr, Lady Yester's, Edinburgh, Errol, Park Church, Glasgow, he became Professor of Divinity in 1862, and from 1873 until his death presided over the great university of the west.

His eloquence as a preacher, his distinction as a lecturer, his power as a thinker, are remembered with pride by his countrymen.

Caird was a young man of about thirty when he was called to Errol. He was at the time minister of Lady Yester's in Edinburgh, and the keenest opposition was offered to his removal. Many reasons were assigned for his action, but he gave none. When asked by the Moderator of Presbytery if he still adhered to his resolution, he answered in the affirmative, whereupon the minute of translation was passed, on which two members of the court

entered their solemn protest. It is curious that his successor in Edinburgh was a St. Madoes man, the well known Dr. W. H. Gray.

Influential as the position at Errol was, it was not a light one. It was but six years since the Disruption, feeling was keen, and the community was divided. But Caird swiftly proved himself a power, and throngs came to hear him. Round his ministry at Errol and elsewhere, cluster many anecdotes which, whether true or legendary, are amusing in the light of his great popularity. It is said that, troubled by the faulty acoustics of the church, he ventured to suggest to the beadle that, as the congregation did not fill the building, one of the aisles might be boarded up. "A' very weel for ye," said the canny beadle, to whom the remark was made; "but fat wud wi dee if a more popular preacher were to follow ye?" According to report, Caird delighted to tell this story.

On another occasion, when preaching at Bridge-of-Allan, two women who were quite unaware of the preacher's reputation were overheard thus expressing themselves: "Weel, what did ye think o' him? Isna he a clever fallow?"—"Ay, woman," replied the other; "I thocht unco weel o' him, an' I'se warrant the callant 'll no be lang o' gettin' a kirk."

I have been told by those who used to find their way to Errol Church, that his preaching was perhaps a little laboured and grand for his people. But the charm and power were felt. Gilfillan speaks of Errol Established Church, where erst Caird thun-

dered musically, and in an article in the *Scottish Review* for 1858 the same writer is full of his praise.

His earnestness was manifest. Sometimes, with tears in his eyes, he would plead with his young people to give themselves to God. One of his striking sermons was on Balaam, another on Abraham offering up Isaac. A lady who heard him in the Lady Yester days speaks of a very awakening sermon he had preached, and in his Carse ministry he was keen to arouse.

The popularity of Caird, aided by other causes, had a somewhat disastrous effect upon one of the congregations of Errol. For a long term of years, even before the settlement of Caird, the health of Mr. Russell of the Relief Church had been in a painful condition. The congregation became disheartened and resolved to dissolve itself, when many of its members fell under the spell of Caird.

In the delightful sketch of his brother, prefixed to the Principal's *Gifford Lectures*, the late Master of Balliol observes that the quiet of his life at Errol was only broken in upon by two events. One of these was the invitation, in 1855, to preach at Balmoral. How great was the impression made by the sermon of the young preacher, on the *Religion of Common Life*, is well known. The Queen expressed a desire that it should be printed, and it circulated widely. Dean Stanley regarded it as the best single sermon in the language. We remember with pleasure that it is a child of his

Errol days. Indeed, his famous volume of sermons was prepared mainly during his last year at Errol,

The other event of which the Master of Balliol thus makes mention was "the opening of a Girls' School of Industry—on the building, furnishing, and other equipment of which he spent much time and pains between 1853 and 1856. His motives in making the effort to establish this school are very well explained in the following letter to an intimate friend, who had been a member of his church in Edinburgh, dated 14th March 1854:—'The school is for the industrial training of girls. Young girls in this parish and neighbourhood, as soon as they can earn a penny, are set to work at hand-loom weaving or coarse field labour. There is no existing means of female education apart from the common parish school. The result is that girls grow up utterly ignorant of the commonest sorts of household work, are unfit for domestic service, even of the modest kind, still more unfit to manage their own houses when they marry. They have no habits of personal neatness, no taste for order, cleanliness, domestic comfort; they never aspire to anything beyond the mere eking out of their coarse, scanty, comfortless life, and their only pleasures are sensual indulgence and scandal. What a life!' . . . The funds for this school were mainly raised by my brother himself, partly by subscription, partly by appealing to congregations in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and other towns in Scotland, and partly by a bazaar in Errol. . . . He was soon able to

meet the necessary expenses, and had the pleasure of seeing the school opened and filled with scholars early in 1856. . . . The school continued to be of great interest to my brother as long as he was in Errol, and, as I hear from the present minister of the parish, is to this day 'in a most flourishing condition, and has been a very great blessing to the locality.'"

Bishop Wordsworth, on taking up residence in Perth, felt much attracted to Caird by a sermon of the latter, and wrote asking him if he had published anything else, as he should like to read it, and expressing a wish to call upon him.

Caird's reply (15th March 1855) was as follows:—

"I shall not pretend to be insensible to commendation such as yours; nor can I feel otherwise than greatly honoured in having my acquaintance sought by one occupying so eminent a position in Christ's Church. It is no light thing, forgive me for adding, in days such as ours, to find any approach to Christian sympathy manifested between those whose ecclesiastical positions and associations are so very different.

"I have not published anything besides the sermon of which you speak. Indeed, I should not say 'besides,' for this sermon was extorted from me by the London pulpit reporters, and I should never of my own accord have thought of publishing it. There is no false modesty, I hope, in saying that I shrink, without more reading and thought than I have yet had the opportunity of overtaking, from

the attempt to seek a wider scope than my own pulpit and parish afford me, being somewhat of George Herbert's opinion on this matter, 'that to take degrees *per saltum*, though of quick dispatch, is but a truant's trick.'

"Again allow me to thank you for your kindness in writing me, and permit me to subscribe myself, with much respect," etc.

Wordsworth was impressed by the letter of Caird, whose modesty and humility he commends to the notice of young men.

If less eventful outwardly, the years at Errol were momentous for Caird. He read widely, in literature and philosophy as well as in theology. Carlyle and Ruskin, Newman and Pusey, were among the influences that helped to mould him, while writers like Pascal, and the philosophers and theologians of Germany were appealing powerfully to his soul.

All this was accompanied by great searchings of mind and heart, and he felt driven to crave for a more distinct rationale of the faith that was in him. Thus it was a formative period for Caird. And so it came to pass that it was only with a great wrench that he left Errol. The Master of Balliol has preserved a letter, written by Caird on the eve of leaving, honourable to Caird and to his people. "I have," he wrote, "for weeks been going round from morning to night in the houses of my poor people here, and discovering even in the humblest of them a depth of feeling for which I had scarcely given them credit."

XXXII

JOSEPH WILSON OF ABERNYTE

IN early days the parish of Abernyte was ministered to in succession by three persons bearing the name of Haitlie. In recent times it has returned to its love of ministers with the same name. For nearly eighty years, from 1808, the pulpit was practically occupied in succession by three Wilsons—James Wilson, Joseph Wilson, John Wilson.

The first, of whom something has been said already, was a quaint character. Amongst other things he was interested in prophecy, and published, in 1834, a booklet entitled *A Few Dissertations on Prophecies*. Like most of such works, it is unsatisfying. Wilson was of opinion that the millennium would begin in 2000 A.D., "unless," he adds naïvely, "retarded by human depravity and impious perverseness. Even by the year 1910 great events may be expected. Antichrist will probably cease to reign so triumphantly anywhere." Had Wilson, who had a genuine passion for missionary enterprise, lived to see the World Conference of 1910, he would have felt, doubtless, that there was a truth in his words of which he had not dreamt.

In the law of gravitation he was no believer.

Dr. Guthrie, who paid him a visit at Abernyte, gives an amusing account in his *Autobiography* of Wilson's attempt to prove his point. The good old man was, as has been said, a firm believer in missions, and lamented to Guthrie that Dr. Duff was taking a wrong course with the Hindus in believing any such principle.

The third Wilson, Dr. John, happily still living though retired from the active ministry, is a man of spiritual insight and wide culture. Dr. John Wilson has a link with William Burns. He brought to his work in the Carse a fine poetic, as well as a strong evangelic, strain. *Rob Rorigan's Plewman Cracks* was a clever attempt to put, in good Doric, thoughts on practical religion. This little brochure was much appreciated at the time, and served its purpose well.

Since leaving Abernyte, which illness necessitated, Dr. Wilson has endeavoured to serve the one great cause with diligence and force. Amongst his writings may be named *Thomas Carlyle, the Iconoclast of Modern Times*; *Aenigma Vitæ*; *Wendt's Teaching of Jesus* (a translation of); *Carisford Tablets*; *How God has Spoken*, etc.

That two men of the mental calibre of Dr. John Wilson and Professor Allan Menzies should have been serving at one and the same time the two churches of the small parish of Abernyte, is an honourable tribute to the educational ideals of the Scottish Church.

Joseph Wilson, the second of the Wilsons of

Abernyte, was a character, loyal to the truth, eager to bring men to Christ, more than uncompromising in his tone. When the Dundee and Perth Railway was being constructed, the then Lord Kinnaird secured him for work at Magdalen Green. At the Disruption a charge was established at Abernyte, and a few years later, on joining the Free Church, Mr. Wilson was appointed its minister. Dr. Guthrie opened the church. In evangelistic work Wilson excelled, and was a leader in the revival of 1859-60. In 1860 he was preaching in Perth on the Wages of Sin. "He had not," we are told, "got half through his discourse when the whole mass was moved and agitated and great numbers weeping." (*Dundee Advertiser*, 28th March 1873.)

Sir David Davidson, who for several years was tenant of Castle Huntly, was an intimate friend and a warm admirer of Mr. Wilson. Sir David was, by Mr. Wilson's request, chief mourner at his funeral. He describes him as a man of the true Covenanter type, who might seem to have been born two hundred years behind his time. He gives, in his *Memories*, a kindly and rather beautiful sketch of him (pp. 287-9).

Mr. Wilson died, 26th March 1873, after a ministry of twenty-five years at Abernyte. "I finished," he wrote in August 1872, "my 24th year at Abernyte as a minister yesterday (18th August 1872), and you may be sure it was a very solemn day—much to make me thankful and not a little to make me sad and sorrowful. Still I tried to wear

the garment of praise through the day, but the spirit of heaviness came on me like an armed man when alone at night."

His Bible Readings in Dundee were amongst his last services. He thus refers to them: "A few ladies in Dundee, who attended two Bible Readings which we had at the Conference and Week of Prayer, have arranged for a short series. We had one two weeks ago, and it was a very great success so far as numbers and interest are concerned. We had upwards of 300. We had a second last week, and the number present was nearly 500, and the interest not abated. It is a new thing in Dundee for 400 persons in the upper and middle classes to leave their homes and business at noon to hear the Bible read, and give their thoughts on what is read and hear others give theirs" (26th February 1873).

As a testimony to the spiritual genius of Mr. Wilson, the entry is of note. It is also of value as indicating how, in parts of Scotland at least, hearts were opening to divine things. Mr. D. L. Moody commenced work in Edinburgh six months later.

Among the papers of Dr. Andrew Bonar is a tiny collection of extracts from letters, etc., of Mr. Wilson. By the kind permission of Miss Bonar I reproduce some of these.

(a)

The thought of the seed abiding alone was more awful to Him than the death. He could meet the

cup in the garden and battle with the floods of wrath coming on His soul on the cross, but He could not endure the thought of being and abiding alone.

(b)

“As the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be” (Matt. xxiv. 27). Notice—it is not “as the thunder” but “as the lightning.” If it were the thunder, you would get some warning, but it is the “lightning” which flashes on us all in a moment ere we have time to think. Be ready, then.

(c)

I deem it the greatest kindness that our Father has said, “Go, work in my vineyard.” What an *honour* to work in His vineyard, and then what a *reward* after the work, for when the Lord of the vineyard cometh, He will bring His reward with Him, so that our work will be crowned with a reward *given to Christ*, and to us by Him. To Him it will be a reward for work, to us a reward of grace.

(d)

Oh, what a blank in your home and in your heart—a blank which only one can fill; and (O thanks to God!) there is One Who can fill up every blank that death makes.

She has not gone out of the family. She has only gone to sleep a little earlier than you could wish.

You have, like Jacob, sent your wife and child over the Brook, and you are left to wrestle out the night. But the morning will come, and you shall cross after them, and join them on the other side in the bright land of Promise.

Our part is to put ourselves right with God, and He will put Himself right with us when the time for doing so arrives.

(e)

Parker says, "We often put a . (period) when God has put only a , (comma). We say she is dead, when God says only she sleepeth." I never do this. I always say with Jesus, "my friend sleepeth." The sleep may be long, but is not always; it may be *lasting*, but not *everlasting*.

(f)

I have hidden springs of joy which fill my wells; and these wells no Philistines can stop and desert-sand fill up. I got a great lift by the visit of Colonel Davidson and Captain Macgill; so I suppose it was my good rather than that of the people that the Master had in view in sending them. And perhaps He had *their* good in view in filling my own well; for it is when our own soul is full that we are fitted for the work of filling our people.

(g)

At one time I did not expect to see the end of the year, but now it is probable I may see 1871. But whether or no, I am where I like to be, in the hands of Him Who has already given me warning that my call to Himself will be both sore and sudden, and I would not have it otherwise than He wills. He *knows* my frame and *remembers* that I am dust. Many know things, but forget them when the time to act on knowledge comes, but our Father remembers what He knows. I am sure He will not try me above what I am able to bear, but will, with the trial, open up a way to escape,—not, you will see, a way of escape from the trial, for it is *with the trial*. It is a way of escape from the trial while in it, and that is,—in the arms of the loved and loving Saviour. And resting there, the affliction must be “light” however heavy, and “but for a moment” however long.

(h)

I hope in one way you will all resemble the lepers who came on the rich spoil. I trust that you will tell others about it; only I hope you will not resemble them in being too long in doing so.

(i)

I pray that he may have everlasting arms underneath, and that he may be able to let himself down till he feels himself in these arms.

And then there is this from another—

This morning that verse was sent home to me :
“ The man *that has the shield went before him.*”
How clearly did I see it to be so to me, the Lord
Jesus going on *before me.* Before me! indeed.
The Almighty condescending to go before a poor
sinner to shield off the darts of the wicked one.

XXXIII

THE AUTHOR OF *MORNING AND NIGHT WATCHES*

TWO of the most notable successes in religious literature have been *The Faithful Promiser* and *Morning and Night Watches*. The former quickly reached a circulation of several hundreds of thousands, while the circulation of the latter has been about half a million. From the fertile pen of their author other volumes issued, which in the aggregate have circulated to the extent of about three millions, while many of them have been translated into other languages. In view of this, his daughter, who edits his *Reminiscences*, not unjustly claims that he may be regarded as one of the teachers of the century. His claim to remembrance in these pages is due to the circumstance that, during a part of his career, he was minister at St. Madoes, and especially that it was there those two volumes were published and that some of his other works were planned.

Dr. J. R. Macduff was born at Bonhard, in the neighbourhood of Perth, and died at London in 1895, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He studied at Edinburgh. After being licensed to preach, he

was ordained at Kettins. Thence he was translated to St. Madoes, from which he removed to Glasgow, where he laboured till 1870, when he resigned the charge. His later years were spent in the neighbourhood of London. This bare outline can give no idea of the busy life of Dr. Macduff. But here it must suffice.

It was in the year 1849 that Mr. Macduff of Kettins received from Sir John Richardson of Pitfour the offer of St. Madoes parish. In the *Parish of Taxwood*, which, he tells us, is the ideal story of his own life, and of his first parish, Macduff reveals the affection he felt for the people of Kettins. "Nice in their way" as were the parishioners of St. Madoes, he felt to the end that they had not "the same primitive interest as those on the other side of the Sidlaws." He has preserved in his *Reminiscences* some amusing stories of the somewhat aggrieved tone of the parishioners of Kettins at his early departure. Jenny Smith, amongst others, seeing him at the gate of the manse, relieved her indignation by shouting for the benefit of minister and people, "May the counsels of Aheetophel be tirmed into fullishness!"

Jenny's prayer does not seem to have been answered; for Macduff's life at St. Madoes was in every sense fruitful.

Outwardly at least there was much in his surroundings that was congenial. His home was lovely, the people kind, the patron friendly, his birthplace and his brother were near. Caird was

at Errol, and his most constant of friends, Dr. Ritchie, was at Longforan. He was welcome at Rossie Priory, where Sir David Brewster and Sir James Simpson were to be met. George Moir would turn up at a time; Fox Maule was sometime his neighbour, and Erskine of Linlathen was not far away. Its one objection in Macduff's eyes was its circumscribed character. It was but a mile square. Even the beadle saw it. "I fancy," the minister said to him shortly after his settlement—"I fancy, William, I shall be able to visit through the entire parish in six weeks!"—"Sax weeks!" was the astonished reply; "a wee mäment some afternune!"

But, a man of restless activity, Macduff found plenty to do. He became early and keenly interested in the condition of the farm labourers and bothy lads. "Their homes—or all that passed for homes—were a blot on a civilised land and age. These consisted for the most part of one repulsive tenement, simply a barn, with rafters and clay floor and rude furniture of form and kist—a grim counterpart to the slums of our great cities. . . . The whole Carse of Gowrie, in which St. Madoes was situated, an Arcadia in other respects, had, I grieve to say, a wicked pre-eminence in these grovelling haunts."

In reply to Lord Melville, Mr. Black of Kilspindie described their houses (c. 1841) as "habitable, but not comfortable."

An old man of eighty-six (d. 1907) told me that he remembered living in a bothy, not far from Errol,

which was so open that a foot of snow would sometimes be found lying on the floor when he stepped out of bed. A wise, much trusted man, he recalled with horror the conditions in which many of the ploughmen of the Carse were compelled to live.¹

The fishermen's bothies were equally discreditable. Some years ago an outcry was made against the existing state of things, and a good deal was done to remedy it.

A considerable effort was put forth at the time by Lord Kinnaird, by Mr. Macduff, and by neighbouring ministers and landlords. Night-schools were opened, lending libraries tried. A fair measure of success followed, though the effort was sometimes resented. "We are no hired to work your work," said one, "and read your books too!" One of Macduff's contributions was *A Tract for Bothy Lads*. It circulated well, and is reckoned to have been useful.

It was also at St. Madoes that what he describes as the exceptional feature in his after life and ministry—Authorship—began. He was anxious to give the head of each family a printed souvenir

¹ The late Rev. G. Davidson of Kinfauns, writing in February 1893, gives a rather sombre view of the position. "The cottages are somewhat improved, though it is sad to mark the amount of discomfort still prevailing," etc. etc. Things, since then, are better—in some cases are admirable. But till everywhere we have water-tight roofs, dry walls, decent floors, windows that open easily, and sufficient light, we cannot say that we have attained.

in the form of a tract or small book. The upshot was *The Faithful Promiser*, which, as has been mentioned, has reached a circulation of some hundreds of thousands. This was followed by the still more successful volume, *Morning and Night Watches*, by which, in biography, he will be remembered. Belonging to the time also are—*The Woodcutter of Lebanon*, *Altar Stones*, *The Footsteps of St. Paul*, and various tracts; one, *A Tract for Soldiers*, which was recommended and circulated through the Army, by command of the Duke of Wellington.

In addition to all this, much of his later literary work was planned at St. Madoes. The title, *Palms of Elim*, was selected. *The Hart and the Waterbrooks* was “a favourite child of St. Madoes.” About 20,000 have gone of this work, and a similar number of *Grapes of Eshcol*, which was thought out and partially used at St. Madoes. Another of his most successful works (57,000), *Memories of Bethany*, was thought over, arranged, and preached there.¹

This is enough to show that the manse of St. Madoes was no Castle of Indolence, but that there was going forth from it, through the Carse and the country, a helpful Christian influence. Shortly after his settlement at St. Madoes, Macduff married a lady, in whose early home Lord Lawrence and Thirlwall were often inmates.

We reproduce from the *Parish of Taxwood* a description of one of the worthies of St. Madoes,

¹ Allibone gives a list of seventy-six publications by Macduff.

Jean Hutchison, who resided in the hamlet of Inchyra. Macduff tells us that for her work she was satisfied with a penny a day. More she would not take, and this refusal she based on Scripture.

The picture is admirably drawn.

“Jean’s sore infirmity was her deafness, a deafness so unqualified as to defy all effort of lung and voice on the part of those who crossed her threshold. It is only a platitude to say that of course one of the effects of this sore privation (but of which she herself was profoundly unconscious) was to render her innocent of all sounds; so that in going to visit her, in the wealth of delight in her bestowment of welcome, she used to pitch chairs and stools in the most vehement fashion, regardless of noise, for the accommodation of her visitors. Her infirmity had a more remarkable outcome still. She was, if ever there was in the world, a child of prayer. Her lonely hours in the day, her long hours in the night watches, were relieved and gladdened with the most fervent devotions. But in these she became so loud, with a similar self-unconsciousness, that her neighbours heard every word she uttered—this the more easily, considering the very superficial partitions which separated the tiny rooms in that cottage row. Then, worthy old soul, she was so circumstantial in all her utterances. Never a day passed but there was a prayer for the minister by name, and for each member of the manse. All her blessings or imagined blessings were turned into matters of

thankfulness and thanksgiving. No benefaction, however small, escaped recognition, and she had, moreover, a way of expressing her gratitude by repetition of every mercy acknowledged:—"Lord! the Minister gae me half a crune—he gae me half a crune. Bless the Laird. Bless him in his basket and in his store—ay, in his basket and in his store. And bless Jamie; bring Jamie a' richt—bring Jamie a' richt"—a petition which implied too plainly that Jamie, her near neighbour, had been and still was habitually guilty of some deflections from the path of sobriety and virtue.

Some months after the above was written, when accidentally turning over the pages of an old notebook for a different purpose altogether, I was interested on coming on the following characteristic saying of Jean's, which I had deemed worthy of recording at the time. It will explain itself. "The auld men wept at Solomon's dedication o' the Temple. Why? because their Warrior had been dead forty years—their Warrior had been dead forty years. Now I'm in sight o' the Temple o' the New Jerusalem. But *my* Warrior still lives—ay, *my* Warrior still lives!" etc. (Pp. 95-96.)

Jean's favourite tome was *The Pilgrim's Progress*. It is still a favourite in the district. Recently, in eighteen months, one of our colporteurs sold 300 copies.

XXXIV

PIONEERS

IF to the Carse it was given early to receive the Evangel, it has done something—albeit with tardy steps—to carry it to others.

The Haldanes were pioneers of the gospel, one brother in many an unexpected corner in Scotland, the other in France and in the city of Calvin. The M'Cheyne group were amongst the pioneers of the Church's work for Israel. William Ross was a pioneer in Africa, Proudfoot in Canada, Adam Cairns of Longforgan in Australia. (Cf. *Parish of Longforgan*, pp. 247-59.)

Nor are the children of to-day wholly forgetful of the example of their sires, or of the call of their brethren, or of the command of their Lord. Mr. Charles Greig, from Kinfauns U.F. Church, is the gifted head of the MacAll Mission in France—an expert in colloquial French and in classical music. Miss MacPherson, formerly of Kinnaird Manse, is at Beyrout. Miss Wilson, formerly of Abernyte, is at Hebron. A granddaughter of Dr. Grierson has given fine service at Jaffa. Mr.

George Bruce, from Errol, is in Calcutta in the Scottish Church College. From Longforgan have gone forth Miss Buchan, a Salvationist, to Switzerland; Miss Helen Moody-Stuart to the British Syrian School, Damascus; Mr. Peter Wynd to India; Mr. William Wynd to Japan, and Mr. Fred Henderson to the Christian College of Madras. Mr. Burnet of Blantyre has a link with the parish.

One, however, towers above all, who, if by training and by citizenship, American, is by birth, by parentage, and other ties of kindred, a son of Gowrie. We refer to the Rev. Dr. Andrew Watson of Cairo.

He was born at the east end of the moor of Durdie, a mile or two from Pitrodie. The house no longer stands, and the school where the late Principal Hutton taught him has been replaced by a dwelling-house. Writing recently, July 1910, after revisiting the scenes of his childhood and Kilspindie, where his father and other friends are buried, he says: "How beautiful that whole country is. Surely the inhabitants do not understand how beautiful are their environments."

In 1841¹ the anxieties of work led between thirty and forty of the members of Pitrodie to go to the Far West, and in 1848 young Watson left the Carse for America.

The greater part of his life has been spent in Cairo in connection with the American Mission,

¹ Eighty-four people in all left Errol, many for Australia.

and he is now the veteran leader of the work. It has been a stroke of spiritual genius on the part of the American Church to establish such commanding institutions as those of Cairo, Beyrout, and Constantinople. Dr. Watson's name ranks with the greatest of their servants, and in his volume, *The American Mission in Egypt*, and in the work recently issued by his son, Dr. Charles Watson, *In the Valley of the Nile*, a profoundly interesting account is given of the growth of the work in Cairo and Egypt. *Quorum magna pars fui*, Dr. Watson might say, but the spirit of this great pioneer is "Not unto us."

Dr. Charles Watson made a great impression at the World Missionary Conference by his address on Islam, and Dr. Watson received an ovation as the father, and one of the heroes, of that unique gathering.

It is pleasant to think of any interest that exists as the fruit of seed sown long ago. Of sermons printed by ministers of the Carse a fairly large number deal with the obligations of the Church to missionary enterprise. Mr. Randall's¹ (of Inchtute) noble sermon on Christian Benevolence, 1763; Mr. Stevenson's (of St. Madoes) on the Small Success of the Gospel, 1772; Mr. Kennedy's (of St. Madoes) on Encouragement to Missions, 1797; Mr. Lamb's (of Errol) on the

¹ Great-grandfather of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, whose address at the World Missionary Conference was so inspiring.

Power of the Holy Ghost Coming on the Church, may be mentioned by way of illustration. We may also recall that Dr. MacDuff's two hymns—"Christ is coming! Let creation" and "Hasten, Lord, that morn of glory," both good missionary hymns—were penned at St. Madoes. The Rev. James Scotland, formerly of Errol, is the author of "Lord, send the labourers forth," a hymn well known in Church Missionary Society circles.

XXXV

LADY MARY JANE KINNAIRD

THERE is no sweeter spot in the Carse than the ancient kirk of Rossie. For more than a thousand years it has been hallowed by the name of God; and around it lie the ashes of men, some of high renown. Little graves, with their simple flowers, tell of bleeding love and Christian hope. Stately columns record for wistful wayfarers names that once were great, and still are cherished in the land.

The first Lord Kinnaird was a man of no honour, and proved a ruthless foe of the Covenant; the present holder of the title bears a name that stands for what is pure and manly in public life, and is revered by men of philanthropic instinct and religion. Many men, many minds. So it has been with the owners of Rossie. One was devoted to art; another to social and agricultural experiment; another to philanthropic enterprise. Arthur, Lord Kinnaird, died in 1887, his widow, Lady Mary Jane Kinnaird, in 1888. Her last words were, "Everlasting bliss! Everlasting bliss!" Their ashes lie in Rossie.

It would be vain to try and sketch the lives of this pair. Their home in London was, for more

than a quarter of a century, a very centre of gracious activity. Here the Evangelicals of England gathered for counsel and prayer; here many a work of high beneficence was planned. Lady Kinnaird was the founder of the Bible Women's Mission. She was interested in colportage work, in emigration, in the destitute at home, in revival work, in the Evangelical Alliance, in efforts to promote unity, in the churches of the Continent, in missions to India and Africa, in Zenana Missions, in questions of administration, in the cultivation of the Christian life, and in the Young Women's Christian Association. The present peer and his sisters are enthusiastic about these causes. Lord and Lady Kinnaird succeeded to the title and estates in 1878, and till the close of their lives Rossie Priory was, as it still is, a centre for something of the same earnest purpose.

Not long after his accession, Lord Kinnaird invited the ministers of the district to Rossie, told them, in his own frank way, of his interest in their work and in the people of the district, and of his wish to further the best welfare of the Carse. Lord and Lady Kinnaird were not slow in seeking to put their words into action. A missionary was appointed to visit the ploughmen in the district; colportage work was encouraged; prayer-meetings, temperance meetings, evangelistic meetings, were fostered; and a worthy endeavour was made to promote the truth and unity. On Sabbath evening, for a few weeks in summer, services were held in the chapel of the Priory, where men, distinguished for their

earnestness and power, addressed large congregations on the claims of Christ and His kingdom. In his brother's time, who, under the inspiration of his devoted wife, developed High Church tendencies, men like Archbishop Longley, Bishop Forbes, Canon Body, might occasionally be heard in the chapel. Lord and Lady Kinnaird, while courteous to all, made no secret of their dislike of such leanings and teaching, and nothing could exceed the simplicity of the service as arranged by them and still maintained by the present holder of the title. Though undenominational, those services were not of the Plymouth Brethren type, held for a time at Inchmartine, and, during the last thirty years, they have given the people of the district an opportunity of hearing some of the well-known preachers and exponents of Scripture—Professor Henry Drummond, Bishop Taylor Smith, Principals Rainy and Forsyth, Rev. F. B. Meyer, Prebendary Webb Peplow, Ian Maclaren, Lords Overtoun and Blythswood, etc. etc.

These services were but one form of Lord and Lady Kinnaird's interest, which found expression in multitudinous ways—in little kindnesses and personal service, in secret helpfulness, in ready friendliness. But probably more valuable than anything else that they brought into the life of Gowrie was lives of faith made rich by intercessory prayer and glad by thanksgiving, and the witness they bore to the presence of God and to the goodness of religion for the soul and the home.

A life of Lady Kinnaird was published in 1890

by Dr. Donald Fraser of London. The facts are full of interest and inspiration. The story of her conversion, her counsels to her son at Eton, her views on baptism, her keenness about family worship, her zest for the Word of God; her faith in prayer, her power to rally forces and to inspire others, her manifold works—are quite notable. Of her inner life we have some fine glimpses, but we could take more, and more also of her life in Gowrie. A little more, and all well told, and Lady Kinnaird's life might well be a classic in connection with Christian enterprise.

It is not claimed that the results of the services at Rossie have been startling. It is comparatively easy for those in high position to organise successful services for a brief period in summer. Distinguished men are bound to draw. But the value of these gatherings has been real. They have been a witness to the truth. They have done something to strengthen the evangelical testimony. They have brought the old message, but in fresh tones. They have made vivid the unity of those who hold the one faith. And for every thoughtful mind their very ups and downs have helped to make impressive the supreme importance of the work which has no pause nor season, which proceeds week in, week out, through summer sunshine and winter storm, and whose seriousness calls for and claims the courageous and the self-denying support of all who love the truth.

The Rev. R. W. Barbour has left an appreciative description of a service at Inchtute and Rossie.

XXXVI

A SCOTS SABBATH IN PERTHSHIRE

WE reproduce from the columns of a local newspaper some extracts from an article, by Colonel Bannerman, I.M.S., describing a Sabbath at Abernyte in the days of his childhood.

SABBATH IN THE CARSE

It is my ambition to carry you back with me to the scenes of our childhood hours at home in Bonnie Scotland, and to picture the Scottish Sabbath as I knew it on the Braes of the Carse of Gowrie, in the summers long ago, and to see if there was anything so very dreadful in it for children, as some would have us suppose.

Were those Sabbaths long ago always sunshiny, I wonder?

“Oh, summer days so calm and still,
Long hours we never thought too slow!
O peaceful carseland, breezy hill,
And misty life of long ago!”

sings one who knew intimately that whole countryside.

The delight of wakening in the quiet of the country on a Sunday morning, and listening to

the twittering of the sparrows, and lazily watching the glistening oak leaves swaying gently in the breeze, is still a vivid memory to the writer.

After family prayers and breakfast, there were various little jobs for the bairns to do; the feeding of the pet rabbits—surely a “work of necessity and mercy”—which implied a run to the garden to gather the necessary cabbage blades, was full of delight. Then the gathering of buttonholes for the boys and girls, with a special bunch for the beloved mother, was always a joy. Then just before starting for church the learning of the Psalm to be said after dinner, and the rush to the nursery to be dressed for church by the faithful servant who spent fifty years of her life in the family, and who has only recently herself crossed the River she used to read to us about out of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Surely the Scots nurse would provide material for many a paper rich as Dean Ramsay's *Reminiscences*.

Before starting for the walk to church, each member stowed in his or her pockets the biscuits and sweeties necessary to sustain the youngsters through the double service, which was the rule in those days.

That walk to church would require the pen of Barrie to do it justice. The streams of folk moving steadily along the quiet roads, the division of the groups into two; the Auld Kirk, or 'Staiblishment division, being looked at somewhat askance by us youngsters as being yet in the bonds of iniquity. We were not in those days so far removed from the

Disruption as we are now, and youth is proverbially intolerant. How quiet and orderly are the groups as they move along, sober greetings being interchanged, as friends meet who are during the week separated by not a few miles of distance.

TYPES OF SCOTTISH CHARACTER

What characters among them; old Johnnie Gordon, the precentor, for instance, with bandy legs and old-fashioned, straight-sided top-hat, and black silk cravat round his neck. To the very end this picturesque, snuffy old man maintained his privilege of serving God in leading the praise of the congregation, in spite of sundry more or less broad hints conveyed by younger competitors to the honour, and securely shut himself into the precentor's box every Sunday with unflinching punctuality.

Another conspicuous figure was a shepherd from some upland farm, who walked his seven miles to church, wet or dry, clad in the old-fashioned blue tail-coat, with broad collar and brass buttons, in which costume rumour had it he was married forty years before. Then the auld wifies with their Bibles wrapped in snowy "nepkins," and sprigs of apple-ringing and roses folded between the leaves. The dressmaker, with the spangles in her bonnet and a veil, had a great fascination for us children, especially as she sat just in front of us, and kept awake by alternate applications of peppermint bools and sniffs of her bouquet.

The elder at the plate was also a source of speculation not unmixed with awe to the wee ones. Very serious and awful he looked as he stood, clothed in broadcloth, by the plate in the little porch, and kept guard over the pennies we dropped in, even though we knew him during the week as the delightful gardener who regaled us with berries when we visited him, or the forester who kept endless curious staves behind the door of his cottage, which we were free to play with while our elders paid visits of state "ben the hoose."

In those days elders were of the "straitest sect," for did not one of these very men appear in church one Sunday with one boot clean and the other covered with "glaur," because he had returned from market so late that the servant lass had time to clean one only before the clock struck twelve.

The church I allude to was a small and poor one, not able to afford even the luxury of a beadle, so the "Books" used to be taken up to the pulpit by one of the elders, who, on his return, would hold open the green baize door of the vestry while the white-haired minister passed through.

Of the style of preaching I confess I can give no account, but it was eminently direct and evangelical, though not perhaps especially attractive to children. But I can remember the feeling of peace in the place, the balmy air, laden with the scent of flowers, wafted in through the open windows, the shimmer of the leaves through the lozenge-shaped panes, and

the glimpse of the well-beloved grey crag where we climbed and played during the week.

In those days men took their religion seriously and in ample measure, for an interval of fifteen minutes only was allowed between the two solid services. These precious minutes were golden for us children, and all too soon we reached the old elm tree at the top of the brae, which marked the returning point of our walk. The bulk of the congregation remained to the second service, the few who had to go home to look after children or bestial being replaced by others who had been unable to get to morning worship.

A SCOTTISH SABBATH EVENING

The walk home was always delightful, for the way lay past the Milton, with its waterfall and mill-dam, where the ducks swam and dabbled; and by a footpath skirting a field where Tom, the fierce old bull, wandered, so that there was a feeling of relief when the party emerged safely on the public road again.

The early Sunday dinner was always a great feature of the day, for the youngsters were allowed to have dinner at the big table, with the parents and elders of the family. At dessert the Psalms learned during the week were repeated by each in turn, followed by a harmless potion of *eau sucrée*, much prized by the bairns.

Then the family scattered for the reading of such

books as *The Traditions of the Covenanters* or *The Scots Worthies*. On fine days we used to resort to favourite seats in the woods behind the house, and, when autumn came, to the "hay-sow," where we made ourselves snug among the hay with rugs to keep us warm.

Then followed supper and bed for the bairns, where, securely tucked up, they would hear the strains of "French" or "Martyrdom" or some other favourite "grave sweet melody" ascending from below, as family prayers closed the day for the elders.

Looking back on scenes like these, we seem to realise with the poet that "Heaven lies about us in our infancy," and are, I trust, strengthened in our resolve to hand on to our children the traditions of our fathers, from whom we have inherited so much.

XXXVII

NANCE FLEMING : A LATTER- DAY SAINT

THE impression is general, and it is probably correct, that "characters" are dying out of the country. The Carse has had many—men and women—whose sayings have often been striking, whose ways have been quaint, and whose slips of speech sometimes have been most amusing.

At a meeting, a worthy person once prayed that his minister's words might contaminate the whole earth.

A canty old wife rose to greet her minister and his wife after their marriage, saying, "I must congregate you," and she told them how a proprietor she knew had given a dinner "in memorandum of his wife's birthday."

Another worthy, whose son had died in the Infirmary, remarked that she did not wish the body to be brought to his home. "They had been kind to him," she said, and she wished the Infirmary to have all the honour.

Amongst ludicrous, almost painfully ludicrous experiences, was an attempt, at a meeting where I was present, to lead the praise. Six verses, I

think, of a psalm had been given out, for which the amateur leader chose a tune where every line was repeated. To have interfered would have wounded a spirit wishing to help; but it was difficult to compose one's mind when the forty-eight lines had been sung.

But it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the quiet heroism and the spiritual beauty of lives that have helped to fill the atmosphere with sweetness, as do the rose leaves and blossoms. The late Mr. G. Davidson of Kinfauns has borne a notable witness to this. "While indifference," he writes, "and mere formality plainly show themselves in many quarters, yet in going out and coming in among the people it has been pleasing to observe, in many a humble dwelling, a narrow lot borne with that contentment which is great gain; sorrow and trouble endured with patience and submission, impressively testifying the source of all consolation and grace from which they were supplied; true courtesy and kindness seldom failing."

The reader is referred, by way of illustration, to Mr. Henry Prain's admirable sketch, "Three Longforgan Worthies," in the *Parish of Longforgan*.

Of one such character we propose to tell. Her name was Agnes, or, as she was called, Nance Fleming.

A big-boned woman, with large, lustrous, and glistening eyes, clad in fish-wife flannel and a grey shawl shot through with blue, Nance Fleming was one of the picturesque figures of the place.

Her kitchen was clean and tidy, but it had little

in the way of ornament to relieve a certain sombreness. Yet it never really felt dark. The light was bright without, and it was gleaming in Nance's heart.

Of books she had few; but of these one was her steady companion—the Bible. A friend who owns it now showed it to me lately. It is well-thumbed, and tells where her treasure lay.

Early in life Nance had been deeply impressed. She was one of the fast-thinning band of women who felt cause to bless M'Cheyne. And what tales she had to tell of the old days in St. Peter's—of the prayer-meetings between services, and the mighty enthusiasm of the Communion Sabbath. Once, she said, the interest was so intense that people were only returning from the last table when the evening bells rang for worship. Nance would often start in the dewy morning, with a little oatcake in her hand, and trudge across the hill path to Collace, where M'Cheyne's friend, Andrew Bonar, was minister.

Nance was a woman of decision, and could show, if need be, the passion of her zeal for the truth. She was present once at a missionary meeting, and on some one hinting that it would not do for a certain minister to respond to a missionary appeal to go and help, Nance stepped forward from the pew, marched slowly up to the platform, and then solemnly repeated the words: "Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

By reason of much sickness in her home, Nance's life was turned from the noisier channels of everyday work into the quieter ways that engage a home-staying daughter. If this denied her some of the hopes and happiness of human life, it brought to her a tenderness, a meditateness, and a refinement, that are more beautiful than common.

There were two things about Nance's eye that were wonderful. One was its steadfastness; for, beyond the abiding sense which the mountains and the stars give, is the abiding sense that reigns in a steadfast eye. And then there was its glory; it shone sometimes as if a light had been put behind it. To this day I can see her eye shining with a splendour I have seldom witnessed, as I read in the sanctuary the words of the apostle where he speaks of waiting for the Son from heaven.

And so, in course of time, Nance came to be like a second conscience to her neighbours. There were sometimes revival meetings in the little mission hall in the village, and when any one was deeply stirred and wished guidance, it was to Nance that they would go—especially the young women. And grand teaching and sound counsel she could give. Of an evening two or three would drop in, and would hear from a heaven-born teacher the way to God. To tell the truth, Nance was no great believer in much that passed for revival. "There was too much," she would say, "of the power of man, and too little of the sovereignty of the Spirit of God." What she longed for in revivals was Reverence and Scripture

Study. Nance had a mighty grip of grace ; but she thought there was too little said of "the *fear* of the Lord."

It would be vain to try and measure Nance's influence. Small and great are terms we bandy here.

We had a public-house in the village in those days, and, what with bad traditions and much temptation, there were sometimes low enough scenes. But pass her lowly home at any hour, well on to midnight, and there was a light burning, which told you that one of the King's remembrancers was busy, praying for the coming of the King and the coming of the kingdom.

Nance had two regrets about her early education. She had not learned ancient history, and thus felt herself shut out from a great deal in the Old Testament about Babylon, Assyria, etc. Nor had she been taught geography. She asked me to teach her a little, that she might be able to follow more intelligently the movements of our Church missionaries. A lowly woman, yet thinking imperially, with sympathies wide as the world, and instinct with the passion of Paul, "I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh."

There were two texts which, to Nance, seemed the most wonderful in the Bible: "This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them," and, "If a man love Me, he will keep My words ; and My

Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him."

Nance would grow still as she said, "Sinners, and eateth with them," and then her great eye would flash with glory, as quivering lips repeated, "And make our abode with Him." "That," she would say, "is Paradise restored—Peace—Light—Love."

One of Nance's favourite thoughts was the coming of the Lord, and she hoped to live to see it. It was always something of a sorrow to her that she and her minister did not see eye to eye on this subject. But she waited and prayed, and prayed and watched.

Years rolled by, and she became feebler. Those who loved her pressed around her to cheer her. And Nance waited for the coming of the Lord. Ere she passed away, it had flashed upon her heart that perhaps it was not the Lord's will that, on earth, she should see Him come, and she bowed to that will and waited till she knew the day break, and the shadows flee away for ever.

In God's acre all that was mortal of Nance Fleming was reverently laid. Never since she left us has the old village been quite the same place.

The Scriptures speak truly: "A good understanding have all they that love Thy law." The wisest theologian might have learned at her feet. Perchance, through patience and fidelity, through watchfulness and love, she was teaching principalities

and powers the manifold wisdom of God. And what must have been the marvel of her own spirit as she became conscious that she was for ever with Christ, and exclaimed : “ Lo, this is our God ; we have waited for Him.”

XXXVIII

SUPERSTITION AND WITCHCRAFT

DESCRIBING life in a Scottish country mansion—Fingask—Dr. Robert Chambers thus refers to the prevalence of superstitious feeling in the district:—“ I doubt, indeed, if our company did not comprise two or three persons who adhered to ultra-natural views of our world, although no one decidedly made the admission. The fact is, almost every family of any distinction in that part of the country is understood to have some ghostly circumstance connected with it. It is almost as necessary for aristocratic distinction as to have a coat memorial. In one, for instance, a peculiar-looking sparrow always makes its appearance on a window-sole of the family mansion when any one is about to die. I apprehend it is a passerine new to naturalists, for it is said to appear as if it wore a coat of black velvet. One of the ladies present had been living at the mansion when this odd bird one day made its appearance; and certainly news immediately came of the death of the head of the house at Edinburgh. Over one family in the neighbourhood there hung an ancient prophecy that no third generation in

lineal succession should ever inherit the estates; another, whose ancestor had been concerned in the Massacre of Glencoe, was doomed, in consequence of the curse of a bereaved Highland widow, never to see a generation pass without a bloody deed falling on the hands of some member of the house."

Sir Stuart Threipland (died 1805) had a Celt's sympathy with the weird. Delacour, a French artist, painted Sir Stuart, in highland garb, wandering about, with the troops of the Government to the right, while a small party of Highlanders is seen moving towards the left, and a boy, naked and with wings, is standing beside him and speaking to him.

The picture is understood, Chambers says, to commemorate an incident of Sir Stuart's perilous wanderings. The story is that a strange and powerful presentiment seized him that he would meet the enemy if he continued to travel in the direction he was going. So strong was it that he turned and went another way. Here he found his friends. On learning that he had thus narrowly missed being captured, he felt as if he had been saved by his guardian angel, and then, and ever after, he was filled with thankfulness.

Curiously enough, Fingask, the ancestral home of the Threiplands, seems to have gathered around it a good deal of weird association. The Ordnance Survey Map of 1867 has marked upon it, at Fingask, "The Witches' Knowe," and round it cluster the stories of *The White Lady of Fingask*, *The Green Coach*, and *The Headless Spinner of Rait*.

A daughter of a former Lord Kinnaird was supposed to have second sight. One day, in the High Church of Edinburgh, during service she fainted. On recovering consciousness she said that when she saw Lord Lauderdale's daughter, Lady Janet Douglas, enter the pew with Miss Dundas, then a lovely young girl, Miss Dundas appeared, as it were, in a shroud gathered round her neck and upon her head. Miss Dundas died shortly after.

It is said that the last time Mr. Millar of Inchtire preached, a black cat walked several times round the pulpit before him. This was supposed to indicate how the devil had come to end his usefulness.

The cat seems to have been regarded as a mystical quadruped, and, possibly from its tenacity of life, to have been a favourite of Satan, who sometimes took its form.

There are several sayings about the Prince of Darkness and the Carse. The Paddock stone at Greystane is *A Deil's Stane*, and individuals were believed to have seen him, and corpses were thought to have been captured by him.

The Rev. J. M. Strachan of Kilspindie has collected a number of the legends and traditions of the Western Sidlaws, and issued them in pamphlet form. The stories are brief, but well told. They include *The Veiled Woman*, or *The Blood Money*; *The Headless Laird of Evelick*; *The Brownie of Port Allan*; *The White Lady of*

Fingask ; The Green Coach ; The Green Serpent of Kilspindie Castle ; etc. etc.

The stories illustrate the common belief in the power of witches and fairies.

In the *Tales of Scotland* (1845), George Hay, a denizen of Gowrie, has preserved many of the fancies and superstitions of the men of the Carse. The Witch Tree, on the moor of Longforgan, was a common trysting-place for all who lived west of the village as far as Rait. To-day, when any one is going on a journey, it is usual enough to go to a neighbour's door and cry: "Is John awa yet? Are ye ready, Margate? Is Tammas gaun to the toun the day?"—and thus a companion or companions may be found. The old way was to proceed to the Witch Tree, and to wait for company. After the sun went down it was reckoned to be a very eerie place; and those who had the misfortune to be late in their journeyings would sometimes make a circuit of miles to avoid it in the dark.

Near by the Witch Tree was a huge boulder, in these days believed to be connected with Druidical worship. A village feuar, envying it for building purposes, blasted it and used the stone for his house. According to tradition, the house was three times built, and three times thrown down. In deference to a "wylie wife," who explained the cause of the disaster, the stones were cast aside.

Many a curious story was told of Jenny Gairie, the weirdwife of Longforgan, and even the incredulous thought her uncanny.

To this must be added that the wood of Longforgan was, in earlier days, a lonely spot, and became the chosen haunt of highwaymen in the Carse.

This, however, has been changed, and the Howe of the Goat, the Wood, and the Witch Tree, are no longer names of terror.

The fairies were believed to spirit away thriving children and to leave instead gruesome bairns. When this happened a great fire was put on, and a little chair with the doubtful child in it placed in front of it. Then the mother would say—

“ If ye be my son Tam,
Fire shall no ye scan ;
If ye frae fairies come,
Flee ye up the lum.”

The effect was magical—the lost one was restored.

When married women were thus spirited away, it was less easy to recover them. The lost lady of Gasconhall was brought back—the Laird of Kilspindie is credited with never having made the attempt to recover his wife.

The story goes that when a former Lord Kinnaird had his home at Drimmie, he happened to be riding home late at night. Fancying, as he came near his home, that something unusual was going on, he listened and heard the fairies saying—

“ Mak' it neat, and mak' it sma' ;
Like the lady o' the ha',
Mak' it neat, an' mak' it tidy,
Just like Lord Kinnaird's lady.”

Lord Kinnaird leapt from his horse, rushed to her ladyship's room, held her fast, and with his riding-whip dealt out vigorous blows on the fairies. So persistent were they that they had nearly seized Lady Kinnaird, when his lordship uttered some strange words, at the sound of which the fairies fled, leaving behind them the *stock*¹ they had dressed to lay in her bed.

In 1631 there were loud rumours in Perth that women might be seen at midnight walking on the water. The good elders of the city were told off to watch them at their sorcery.

A woman related to the Presbytery of Perth, in 1626, how she had a book where she found all her cures, "which was her goodsires, her grandsires, and, as she alleged, was a thousand years old." What book it was she declared she did not know, but her son, Adam Bell, read it to her.

Ignorance on the subject of witchcraft was general, and harsh measures were taken to stop it.

In Perth and district 1597 was a disastrous year for witches.

Duncan, curate of Kinfauns, was executed for the supposed murder of a child borne by his own maidservant. The matter is referred to by C. K. Sharpe in his work on witchcraft. (Cf. Preface to *Memorialls of Rev. Robert Law*, lxxxvi., and

¹ The *Stock* was a piece of wood dressed up to resemble the lady to be carried away, and intended to deceive the friends till the prize was beyond their reach.

Kirkton's *History*, p. 187.) It is probable that Duncan was a victim to a mistake.

James Gillespie, the minister of Rhynd, was in 1662 charged, along with some others, with having obtained false confessions whereby the innocent suffered.

The Kinfauns district was presumably a witch centre. For some years after the Restoration, trials for witchcraft were common, and Carse names occur in connection with them. In 1661, William Blair of Kinfauns was appointed one of a commission for the trial of thieves and vagabonds in the prison of Perth (*P.C.R.*).

The following year, in 1662, W. Blair of Kinfauns, Sir Alexander Blair of Balthayock, John Nairn of Sagidarn were appointed, among others, a commission for the trial of a witch (*P.C.R.*). The same year we find William Blair of Kinfauns and Alexander Blair of Tarsappie charged with illegal procedure against suspected witches, "by pricking, watching, keeping of them from sleip, and other tortur have extorted from the saids persons ane confession of their guilt of the crime of witchcraft; and thereupon having procured a commission having caused the sentence of death to be executed on their person."

At Fowlis Easter, for twelve weeks the Session deliberated over the case of a woman who had been guilty of saying to a neighbour with whom she had quarrelled, "Deil tak' ye." In the end she was compelled to pay a fine and to make a public appearance on two Sabbaths.

Old Knap, a wild character of his day known as *Deil o' Carse*, was said to have sold himself to the devil. People were afraid of him. On the day of his burial the snow was thick on the ground. Those who were carrying the coffin found themselves, at one point, unable to proceed further, and left it. When they returned there was nothing in it.

When Dr. Andrew Bonar went to Collace, he found the practice of wearing horse-shoes on byre doors so prevalent there that he tried to reason the people out of the absurdity. Ford, who relates this in *Thistledown*, says that some gave up the practice, others put them inside instead of outside, the object being to keep away witches who came to take away the cows' milk.

Belief in this form of witchery was prevalent, and many were the devices to overcome it—giving a pin head first, or a piece of rowan, especially if cut between the old and new Beltane.

Chambers quotes, in his *Popular Rhymes*, the lines—

“ Meares' milk and deer's milk,
And every beast that bears milk
Between St. Johnston and Dundee,
Come a' to me, come a' to me.”

It was believed, writes Chambers anent these lines, that “some cows of uncommon sagacity knew when this process was going on and would give warning of it by lowing. An acute old woman could easily distinguish this low from any other, as it bore a peculiar expression of pain. The proper antidote was to lay a twig of rowan-tree, bound with

a scarlet thread, across the threshold of the byre, or fix a stalk of clover, having four leaves, to the stalk. To discover the witch, the goodman's breeks might be put upon the horns of the cow, one leg upon each horn, when, for certain, she being set loose, would run straight to the door of the guilty party."

" Rowan-tree and red thread
Make the witches tyne their spa."

More might be said of witches and witch stories, of brownies and kelpies—all of which entered into the imagination of the countryside and coloured its experience and life. The *Mermaid of Isla Water* by D. G. Braes of Gowrie, no doubt reflects what was thought in the Carse.

Pennant relates that, when he wrote in 1772, there was a general disinclination in Perthshire to marry in January. It was disliked. May also was avoided, and so unlucky was the day of the week on which the 14th of May fell, that it was usual to avoid commencing any serious work on that day.

It was counted most unlucky if the *Maiden*, the last cartful of corn, was reaped after sunset. This, up till the end of the eighteenth century, was thought to portend calamity.

Then it was esteemed uncanny for a girl to be baptized in church before a boy. An Errol ploughman, in 1831 (cf. Kemp's *Diary*), tells of a girl being baptized in Errol between two boys, and quotes, evidently with some concern, the popular

belief that the boy would want his beard while the girl would have it.

Many a person would shrink from being one of thirteen at table. And whilst free from superstitious feeling himself, Dr. Andrew Bonar used laughingly to say that, as the seventh son of a seventh son, he ought to have the gift of second sight.

In the Carse as elsewhere, there was both harshness and superstition in connection with the interment of suicides. The Kirk-Session Register of Perth mentions a case, in 1582, where the minister and elders of the city "answered with one voice that they would not suffer him to be brought through the town in the day light, neither yet to be buried amongst the faithful in the place appointed for their burial, but ordain that he shall be buried in the Little Inch within the water, and this to have the voice of an act to all such like persons in all time coming."

It was common to inter at the crossing of two public roads. To carry the body of a suicide through the main entrance of the churchyard was resented and opposed. Feeling was so strong even in Mr. Walker's time in Longforgan (1824), that it was necessary to bring the body through a private gate.

Mr. James Scott, the accomplished minister of Kinfauns (1759) and Perth, had an extraordinary enthusiasm for antiquarian lore, and left valuable manuscript collections (now in the Advocates' Library) relating to Perth. His description of the superstitious practices at the Dragon Hole is full and good.

Scott was presented to Kinfauns by President Craigie, who was much impressed by a sermon of Scott's in the High Church of Edinburgh. His life was written by Dr. W. Thomson of Perth. More recently, Mr. D. Smith has written a sketch of him in his volume, *The Historians of Perth*. It has a fine portrait.

XXXIX

POSTSCRIPT

ONE cannot reflect on the situation to-day without both a sense of anxiety, and also of the wonderful interest and opportunity which work presents. It is a truism to say that the conditions have changed and are changing. The drain from the country to the cities has been followed by the rush to the colonies and elsewhere. Within fifteen months the writer parted with worshippers from his congregation to China, to India, to South Africa, to Canada, to the States, and to the Argentine. On one day in the spring of this year, thirteen persons belonging to the village of Mylnefield left for Canada, and there are more to follow. If those who go forth have been seized for the truth, it is well; if they go to drift, it is hopeless. The tendency for families to separate early is increasing; and, till something is done—if anything can be done—to tempt people back to the land, and to provide reasonable opportunities for clean, honest, and aspiring men, and also hopeful outlets for the growing members of their families, it must inevitably increase, and more than is safe for our country.

But with the facts as they are, a fresh emphasis should be placed upon two things.

The *Home* is demanding work on Bible lines. A quiet dignity is native to our peasantry, and can surely be strengthened or recalled. No one can pretend that our Sabbath Schools are adequate for the religious instruction of the young. Unhappily, with not a few it is almost the only instruction they get. In other cases, by petty bribery in schools, little disloyalties are developed in the young which are only fruitful of laxness of tone and sorrow.

Something—much, it may be granted—is done by some of our School Boards. The Errol Board has a splendid syllabus of Bible instruction; and I am firmly of opinion that the overwhelming majority of the parents in our straths would welcome the fullest and the best. But even that is not sufficient. If the knowledge of God is to prevail in the land, the Bible must be read in its homes. That the difficulties in doing so are often great, no one denies; but with purpose it can be done, and most easily done, when the children are young and impressionable. Beyond a question the habit is less common than it was, while it is true that it is sometimes observed where one might not expect to find it. But the habit means life to the land.

Similarly for those who believe in the reality of religion, the place of the *Christian Church* is requiring to be proclaimed. Young and old are needing to be summoned to come together—one and all—to

the central act of homage to God—public worship. And, without returning to the sterner methods of our forefathers, there is a discipline in the House of God which it would be wholesome to press. It savours of the profane to encourage those to come to or to frequent the Lord's Supper, who disregard His day and forsake His house. And instead of being one of the great rites of the faith and one of the sublimest acts of worship, Baptism is too often, through the pressure of the careless, an unreality and a slovenly form. The old custom of giving tokens had this advantage, that it threw the responsibility on members actively to ask them.

For our homes and fatherland, for the sake of the truth, we need, above everything, consecrated lives, a true ministry, a living and united Church, and the Bible in the home. Thus, but only thus, shall the words of George Wishart at Invergowrie be, in a new sense, fulfilled, and "this realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's Apostles."

INDEX

- ABERNYTE, 143, 271, 319-21,
 403.
 ,, state of religion at,
 321-7.
 Adams, Rev. Jas., 170-83.
 Alexander, Tom, 365-7.
 ,, Rev. Dr. W. Lindsay,
 208.
 Anderson, James, 16.
 Annat, 351, 352.
 Auchinloss of Liff, 227.

 Baillie, Robert, 55.
Balaam's Asse, Vision of, 37-8.
 Balfour, Lord, quoted, 19, 313.
 Bannerman, Col., 426.
 Baptisms, etc., 65, 164, 447.
 Barclay, Dr., 235-6.
 ,, Rev. John, 232-58.
 Barclayans, 249.
 Baron Well, 15.
 Barry, Henry, 15, 16.
 Bawbee Bible, 198.
 Benvie, stones at, 63.
 Beith, Rev. Dr., 359.
 Bereans, 231-58.
 Bible Class work, 324.
 ,, readings, 406.
 Black of St. Madoes, 277-99.
 Blackader, John, 59.
 Blair, Andrew, 92-3.
 Blairs, of Balthayock, 63, 445.
 Bonar, Dr. A., 16, 341-6.
 Bonar, Dr. John, 342.
 Bothies, 413-4.
 Bruce, Rev. G., 419.
 Buchan, Miss, 419.
 Bunyan, popularity of, 417.
 Burns, William, 348-50.

 Caird, Principal, 45, 397-402,
 412.
 Cairns of Melbourne, 418.
 Calderwood's history, 12.
 Campbell, Rev. Dr., 39.
 ,, Professor, 234-6.
 Camperdown, Viscount Duncan
 of, 301.
 Canaries, Dr., 151-63.
 Carlyle of Inveresk, 233.
 ,, Thomas, 366.
 Carse, churches of, in 1574, 19,
 20.
 ,, condition of, 64-6, 144,
 147, 152-3.
 ,, importance of, 11.
 Casaubon, 37.
 Cat, black, 441.
 Catholics, Roman, 168-9.
 Chapman of Kinfauns, 268-9.
 Church accommodation, 310-1.
 ,, attendance, 259, 309-11.
 ,, Christian, 452.
 ,, discipline, 18, 19, 452.
 ,, membership, 313.
 Collace, 15, 143, 185-7, 230.

- Collace, Elizabeth, 109, 112.
 ,, Jean, 107.
 ,, Katherine, 109, 110.
 Collections, about church, 144,
 187, 207, 218.
 Communion at Abernethy, 197.
 ,, ,, Collace, 186.
Contrarietates Calvinii, 32.
 Conventicles, 42, 67-9, 83, 115,
 145, 200.
 Cooper, Professor, 56.
 Cottage meetings, 348.
 Craigie of Glendoick, 359, 360.
 Cromwell, 65.
 Covenant, days of, 60-70, 88.
- Davidson, Rev. G., 363, 414, 433.
 ,, Sir David, 405.
 Deil o' Carse, 446.
 Devotional literature, 136-7.
 Dewar, Principal, 305-6.
 Difficulties in maintaining wor-
 ship, 64, 65, 152, 153.
 Disruption, days of, 356-64.
 ,, results of, 356-7.
 Dissenters, 208-30, 347.
 Drink, 320, 347.
 ,, fruits of, 187-8, 358.
 Dron, Parish Church of, 117-8.
 Dron Chapel, 320.
 Drummond, Rev. John, 348.
 Drummond, Professor H., 424.
 Dundee, Sam Johnson on, 259.
 ,, worshippers, Wesley on,
 259-60.
 Dunsinane, Laird of, 313.
- Education, state of, 41, 95, 96.
 Educational ideals of church, 404.
 Elcho nuns, 95, 96.
 Elders, 63, 186, 358-9.
 Elphinstoun, William, 185.
 Emigration, 215, 224, 450.
 Episcopacy, 63.
 Episcopal intrusion, 184-5.
- Errol, 44, 93, 97, 237-8, 270, 400.
 ,, family of, 61, 186.
 ,, lords of, 37, 47, 97.
 ,, school board, 451.
 Erskine of Dun, 16.
 ,, ,, Linlathen, 391-6, 413.
 Evangel in Gowrie, 9-13.
 Evangelism, 273-350.
- Family worship, 83.
 Fast at Liff, 227.
 Fines, 67, 68, 117.
 Fleming, Dr. Hay, 14, 96, 113.
 ,, Nance, 432-8.
 Fowlis Easter, 445.
 Funeral of J. Wellwood, 117-8.
- Galloway, Patrick, 61, 72.
 Garden at Annat and St. Madoes,
 286, 353.
 Geneva and Haldane, 305.
 Gilfillan, Rev. Geo., 135, 213,
 223.
 Gladstone, W. E., 276.
 Glas of Tealing, 189-94.
 Glasgow University, 44, 45, 51-7.
 Glencarse, 67.
 Glendoick, 67.
Glimpse of Glory, 134-42.
 Gordon, Rev. Dr., 275-7.
 Gospel early preached in Gowrie,
 10, 11.
 Gouda, De, 22-6.
 Gourlay, the Covenanter, 148-50.
 Graham, Henry Grey, 65, 137.
 Gray, family of, 61.
 ,, master of, 21.
 Greig, Rev. Charles, 418.
 Grierson, Rev. Dr., 349, 362-4.
 ,, Miss, 418.
 Guthrie, Henry, 82-8.
 ,, James, 82.
 ,, Rev. Dr. Thos., 336,
 404.
 Guthrie's *Memoirs*, 86-8.

- Haitlie, 403.
 Haldane, James, 295, 299, 302, 303, 304.
 „ Robert, 299, 303-5.
 Haldane's students, 305.
 „ tabernacles, 228, 305, 321.
 Haldanes, the, 299-307.
 Hall, Rev. John, 65.
 „ „ James, 239.
 Halyburton, James, 15.
 „ Thomas, 42.
 Hamilton, Dr. James, 313-35.
 Handsel Monday, 341, 347.
 Harie, Mr. (Henry Guthrie), 82-8.
 Hay, Edmund, 21-32.
 „ Father, 33-5.
 „ Peter, 22.
 „ Peter, of Durdie, 36-9.
 Henderson, Alexander, 99.
 „ Frederick, 419.
 Heresy processes, 191-4, 394, 395.
 Herkless, Professor, 114.
 Home, Bible in, 451.
 Houses, 267, 271, 413.
 Howie of Lochgoin, 108.
 Hutchison, Jean, 416-7.
- Ignorance at Reformation, 17, 95.
 Impressions of Carse, 94, 260-1.
 Inchmartin, meetings at, 424.
 Inchtute, 270, 305, 308.
 Inns at Errol, 270.
 Invergowrie, 10, 337, 365, 452.
- Jacobite feeling, 171-4.
 Jesuit Mission, founder of, 21-32.
 Jewish Mission, 339-41, 346.
 Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 259.
- Kettins, 412.
 Kilsplindie, 85, 86, 87, 269, 270.
- Kinfauns, parishioners of, 359.
 Kinghorne family, 61, 63, 87.
 Kinnoull, sacrilege at, 64.
 Kinnaird, 152, 170, 270.
 „ family of, 61.
 „ Lady Mary Jane, 422-5.
 „ Lord, 441-3.
 „ religion at, 152, 175, 345.
 „ Sir George, 67, 147.
 Knox, John, 17.
- Laing Collection*, the, 108.
 Lamb of Errol, 213, 214.
 Lawrie, Robert, 61.
 Liff, 68, 302.
 Lindsay, Bishop Alex., 71-81.
 „ William, 208, 228.
 Lindsays, the, 71.
 Lithgow, 94.
 Liturgy, Laud's, 54, 61, 62.
 Livingstone, Dr., 376, 377.
 Lochee, service at, 229.
 Longevity in Carse, 212, 229.
 Longforgan, 339.
Loun Carlls, 95.
 Lundie, revival at, 199.
 Lyndsay, Sir David, 15.
 Lyon of Longforgan, 263.
- M'Cheyne, Robert M., 335-41, 367.
 Macduff, Rev. Dr., 411-7.
 M'Lagan of Kinfauns, 359.
 Manses, want of, 65.
 „ occupants of, 317.
 Marriages, unlucky, 447.
 Marrow, the, 176-7, 237.
 Mathieson, W. Law, 73.
 Megginch, 22, 25.
 „ conventicle at, 69.
 „ Laird of, fined, 67.
- Melville, James, 17, 73.
Memoirs, by Guthrie, 86-7.
 Menzies, Professor Allan, 404.

- Meyer, Mr. F. B., 328, 424.
 Mill, 10.
 Miller, Hugh, 360.
 Milne, Rev. John, 352.
 Minimans, the, 143-7.
 Ministry at St. Andrews in seven-
 teenth century, 92.
 ,, condition of, 18, 92,
 187.
 ,, lack of steadfastness in,
 62, 361.
 Missions, 418-21.
 Moffat, Dr. Robert, 376-7, 389.
 Monk, General, 65.
 Moulin, revival at, 284-8.

 Nairne, Rev. Thomas, 201-7.
 Names, growth of, 151.
Nicholas Thom, 222-4.
 Noble, Rev. Jas., 281, 360-1.
 North, Brownlow, 352.

 Omev, Alex., 92.
 Oppression at Disruption, 359-
 62.
 Ordinances, provision of, 19.

 Paraphrases, 216, 265, 326.
 Parochial system, 356-7.
 Paterson, Captain, 391-6.
 Peden, 104.
 Peebles, William, 263-6.
 Pennant's epigram, 9, 447.
 People of Carse, 9, 94, 95, 281,
 412.
 Perth articles, 49, 50.
 ,, worshippers, 260.
 Pitrodie, story of church of, 217-
 26, 230.
 Playfair, Andrew, 40-3.
 Playfairs, the, 40.
 Plean, meeting at, 360.
 Ploughboy, story of, 368-90.
 Population, decrease of, 270, 311.
 Prain, Mr. Henry, 433.

 Prayer, belief in, 185, 198, 199,
 336, 338, 352, 353,
 354.
 ,, -meetings, 113, 197, 263-
 6, 296, 324, 347.
 Privy censures, 187.
 Prophecy of Wellwood, 112, 121.
 ,, G. Wishart, 13.
 Protesters and resolutioners,
 143-4.
 Proudfoot, Rev. W., 221-2.

 Quakers, 66.
 Queen Mary, 23, 24, 25, 31.

 Rait, 352.
 ,, people, Wesley's impression
 of, 261.
 Ramsay of Collace, 185-6.
 Randall, Rev. Thos., 291.
 Readers, tribute to, 17.
 Rebellion, the, 171-3, 184.
 Recantation of Bishop Lindsay,
 79-81.
Reformation in Scotland, 14, 96.
 Reformation, causes of, 14,
 ,, helping the, 14-20.
 ,, preachers of, 17.
 Reformed Presbytery, founder of,
 200-7.
 Reid, W., field preacher, 69.
 Relief Church, the, 215.
 Religion, state of, 239, 284, 289,
 308-10, 346-8.
 Resby, James, 14.
 Revival, 198, 199, 324-6, 346-8,
 349, 352.
 ,, results of, 308, 309.
 Revolution, experiences at, 164-9.
 Rome, effect of visits to, 36, 153.
 Ross, William, 368-90.
 Rossie, Kirk of, 422.
 ,, services at, 424.
 Row Case, 394, 395.
 Russell, Rev. Mr., 215, 216, 399.

- Russell, J. Scott, 215-7.
- Sabbath, a Scots, 426-31.
 ,, Schools, 208, 306, 451.
- Sage of Resolis, 275, 305.
- Schoolmasters, 41, 89, 92, 96.
- Scone, Lord, 74, 75.
- Scott, Rev. Jas., 448.
 ,, Sir Walter, 100.
- Seceders, 268, 271, 272.
- Secession, the, 195-8, 209-12.
- Second sight, 441, 448.
- Service book, 61.
- Sharp, Archbishop, 88, 112, 113.
- Simeon of Cambridge, 284, 287.
- Smyth, Androv, 63.
- Society meetings, 113.
- St. Andrews, 92.
 ,, Madoes, 41, 271, 278, 412.
 ,, Madoes, Book of Assembly of, 72.
- Stanley, Dean, 399.
- Stewart of Moulin, 284-8, 295.
- Stock, the, 441.
- Strachan, Rev. J., 441.
- Strang, Principal John, 44-59, 397.
- Stuart, Dr. Moody, 350-55.
 ,, Miss Helen Moody, 419.
 ,, Rev. Kenneth Moody, 354, 364.
- Suicides, burial of, 448.
- Sunday School religion, 306.
- Superstition, 18, 439-49.
- Teachers, remarkable, 41, 89.
 ,, provision for, 41, 95.
 ,, qualifications, 96.
- Threiplands, the, 66.
 ,, Sir Stuart, 440.
- Tobacco, use of, 271.
- Tullideph, Principal, 233-5.
- Union of feeling, 401.
- A Vicar of Bray, 56, 151.
Vision of Balaam's Ass, 37.
- Walker, Dr. James, 56, 82, 83.
 ,, Patrick, 107, 112, 114.
 ,, Rev. R., 362.
- Watson, Dr. Andrew, 419-20.
 ,, Dr. Charles, 420.
 ,, James, 12.
 ,, Rev. Robert, 213, 369.
- Wedderburn of Liff, 68.
- Wellwood, Andrew, 131-42.
 ,, James, 91-104.
 ,, Dr. James, 122-31.
 ,, John, 104-21.
- Wellwoods, the, 89-142.
- Wesley, John, 259-62.
- Whitefield, George, 198, 199.
- Willison of Dundee, 190.
- Wilson, Miss, 418.
 ,, Rev. James, 403-4.
 ,, Rev. Dr. John, 404.
 ,, Rev. Joseph, 344, 403-10.
- Wishart, George, 11-3, 452.
- Witches, 442-7.
- Wodrow, 45, 47, 97, 106.
- Wordsworth, Bishop, 401.
- Wynd, Mr. Peter, 419.
 ,, Mr. William, 419.

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