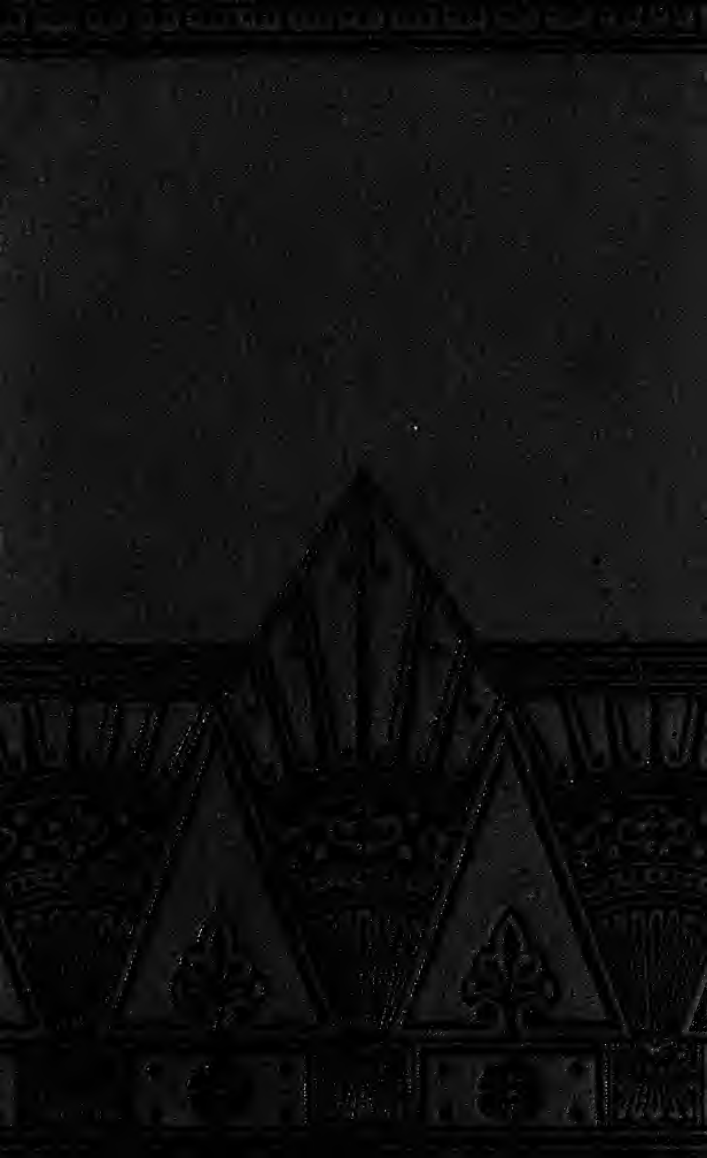

SCOTLAND'S INFLUENCE

ON

CIVILIZATION.

BY THE

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SCOTLAND'S INFLUENCE

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CHAPTER I.

SCOTLAND'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

THE land of the thistle and the heather, the castle and the crag, is at best but a narrow land—two hundred and eighty-eight miles between extremes from north to south, and fifty-two from east to west. Its place in history, however, is well assured, and its influence is wide as the world. Its physical aspect is exceedingly diversified and picturesque. The sky bends in beauty, the soil teems with verdure, the air rings in elastic tension, the waters sparkle with life and health. It is a land where youth may drink in exhilaration with every breath, manhood find food for high endeavor in every battle of life, and old age flourish like the evergreen pine. With a coast-line of twenty-five hundred miles so deeply indenting the main land on three sides as to bring

every foot of it within forty-five miles of the sea, with nearly eight hundred islands closely environing it and furnishing many a quiet inlet and many a bold outlook to the ocean, and with an alternating panorama of highland and lowland, of lake, river and mountain, through all its borders,—Scotland would seem to be the spot of all the earth ordained by Providence for the dwelling-place of a hardy, athletic, gallant race.

Such, in fact, have been its destiny and its history. It is not the country, but the heroic people inhabiting it, that has given Scotland its name in history and its influence on the world's civilization. And the object of this monograph is to sketch in briefest outline a few salient points in the character of the people, the work they have done and the influence they have exerted.

Who has not admired the genius and gloried in the heroism of that long line of "Scottish worthies" who fought as if they were fighting the battles of all mankind and gave their names to history as an everlasting remembrance? Who has not followed them down from century to century and often felt his indignation ablaze at the recital of their wrongs and their sacrifices for truth and for conscience' sake? What associations crowd upon us, what memories awake, what inspirations kindle, at the mention of such names as Bruce and Wallace, Knox and Melville, Argyle and Murray, Gillespie and Henderson,

Erskine and Chalmers, Scott and Burns, Livingstone and Alexander Duff!

It is instructive to notice the part which the little nationalities of the earth have played in the grand drama of civilization. We hear much about the "great powers" and how they shape the destiny of the world. History, both ancient and modern, has much to tell us of their majesty, their broad domain, their almost omnipotent sway. The old world powers of the Orient—Assyria, Chaldea, Egypt, Medo-Persia, Macedonia, Rome—all figure largely on the pages of the past, each claiming in its turn the mastery of the world. In more recent times the great races of Germany, France, Spain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Turkey, England, have almost monopolized the map of Europe, where they still struggle for the balance of power. Is this the sum of the old-world civilized history? The whole tale is not told until we have looked at the little nationalities—Palestine, Greece, Venetia, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Scotland—each on its narrow strip of soil and with its wide influence on the world. Where has the human race risen to higher glory in the prowess of the individual man or in the achievements of the body politic than in these "pent-up Uticas" of the rocks or seas? Here is a belt of once-independent states, small isolated nations, stretching diagonally across the very heart of the civilized world from south-east to north-west,

on the very line of march which civilization followed when it left the East and made the history of modern Europe. There is something sublime in the influence which has gone out over all time from these apparently insignificant corners of the earth. There is something which seems to point to an invisible and almighty hand that can work alike by many or by few, and that often with the smallest means accomplishes its greatest works.

Strike from history these five or six lesser nationalities, and who then could tell the whole story of arts and arms, of literature and philosophy, of national independence, of civil and religious liberty? The Maccabean deliverers of Palestine, the Greeks at Marathon, the Venetian masters of the seas, the Swiss compatriots of William Tell, the heroes of the Dutch republic, the Scots of Stirling Bridge and Bannockburn, belong to all nations and to all time. They have done much to make the larger nations what they were, and to make the world what it is. Palestine gave the world a religion—the first, the last, the best, the only divine, religion. Greece gave it art, literature, philosophy, the highest which human genius unassisted ever attained. Venice gave it the earliest essays in that skill of finance and commerce which has since ruled all civilized nations. Switzerland and Holland gave it the earliest practical demonstration of those re-

publican institutions which to-day constitute the civic glory of the American national Union. Scotland, besides other great gifts, has bequeathed to it the finest example to be found in all Christendom of a thoroughly-educated, law-abiding, free and Christianized people.

In some respects there is a marked parallel between Scotland and Greece—the one at the extreme north-west, the other at the extreme south-east, of Europe; the one jutting out high upon the Atlantic, the other overlooking the Mediterranean waters—Scotland being somewhat the larger of the two. Both are peninsular terminations of a larger territory and deeply interpenetrated by surrounding seas. They are wholly different in climatic influences, the one looking southward over sunny and pacific seas which greatly modify the conditions of all animal and vegetative life, the other facing northward over wild and tempest-tossed waters with no protecting barrier against the storms of the frozen ocean. Each alike, however, is marvelously beautified by every changing mood of hill and valley, forest and mountain-chain. Each alike is, or was, the native home of a race of heroes, the birthplace of a long and glorious history in the days of its independence. Europe had but one Greece, the abode of the Muses, the battle-ground of the giants, the *alma mater* of science, philosophy and literature. And Europe has had but one Scot-

land for that older realm of beauty. Byron perhaps sang too sad a requiem in the line,

"Tis Greece, but living Greece no more;"

for when the iron yoke of the Turk shall be broken—as broken it will be—Greece is yet to awake to a new and nobler destiny. Scotland, however, needs no requiem. Her separate nationality is indeed gone, but no iron yoke has ever crushed her spirit. 'Tis Scotland—living Scotland—still; and the later glory outshines the earlier.

The sceptre of dominion has passed from the old capital and passed into other hands, but the heroic race is still there in all its pristine vigor, undegenerated, unconquered, well worthy of the national emblem, and now as ever ready to make good its old motto: "Nemo me impune lacesset." The rugged hills and granite rocks that had so often given it shelter in the hour of disaster were not more indestructible than was the hardy life-blood which flowed through Scottish veins during all those years of conflict. That persistent purpose of a brave and united people who loved liberty as they loved life itself, that undefeated and unconquerable national spirit which had showed itself so strong in Wallace and Bruce, at last asserted its power and its right to the soil in the just and equal terms of the national compact with England. This compact of incorporation

healed all past breaches and made the larger and the smaller kingdoms one and inseparable for all time. Nothing of honor, nothing of independence, nothing of true national glory, was lost to the Scot in becoming a North Briton: it was an alliance of equals for the common weal and the common defence of Britain. Unlike other regions of the Old World when smaller nationalities have been crushed under the heel of despotic power, the traveler of to-day in Scotland finds no memorials there of subjection and degeneracy: all there is life and freedom. The same glorious race that existed a thousand years ago is still at home upon its soil, only more advanced in all the elements of true national greatness, and the nobler, too, because of all the fiery trials of the past.

CHAPTER II.

THE LONG STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY.

THE most impressive spectacle in history is not the march of mighty armies led by a conqueror and treading down all opposition under the iron heel of War, but a gallant people standing on the line of right within its own borders and there heroically defending its firesides and its institutions of civil and religious freedom against overwhelming numbers. Such was the attitude of Scotland, and such the sublime spectacle of her intrepid race, through the long wasting wars that reddened all her southern borders and at times extinguished many of her noblest families. In all history it would be difficult to find a more enduring and heroic people.

The present population of Scotland is upward of three millions. At the date of the final reunion and incorporation with England, near the opening of the eighteenth century, the whole Scottish people did not exceed one million. In all probability there had been no preceding period during the long eventful history in which the number of inhabitants was not considerably less than a million.

Ten centuries of bloody, desolating warfare had often decimated the race and cut short illustrious lines. Less than two centuries of peaceful agriculture, manufacture and commerce, under the genial sway of science, literature, religion, rudimental education, artistic culture, philosophical research and free constitutional government, have been sufficient to treble the home-population even while an adventurous foreign emigration has been carrying its uncounted myriads abroad to people every continent and every island of the ocean with Scotsmen. The grandest lesson of modern history—that peace, not war, is the true policy of nations, the *ars artium* of all human progress—was never more strikingly illustrated than it has been in the history of Scotland.

Since the Union of 1707, Scotland has constituted an integral portion of the British empire, having voluntarily yielded up her separate nationality after defending it with gallant success for more than a thousand years. In the early spring of 1603, on the death of Queen Elizabeth, James VI. of Scotland, uniting in himself the royal titles to the crowns of both kingdoms, had quietly ascended the English throne. Edinburgh lost her royal court, but for a hundred years longer Scotland was still in possession of her Parliament and her independence, the joint-sovereign reigning over the two still separate kingdoms. But in the year 1706 the Scottish Parlia-

ment met for the last time. The members, at the opening, rode, as was the custom, in slow and solemn procession up the old Canongate of Edinburgh from Holyrood Palace to the Parliament-house. The act of union was passed by the two Parliaments, and on the 1st of May in the year following the two rival kingdoms became one; the court was transferred to London, and the government merged into the one Parliament of Great Britain. The two nations in the long course of their history had met each other in three hundred and fourteen pitched battles, and had sacrificed more than a million of men as brave as ever wielded claymore, sword or battle-axe. Against superior numbers and amidst unparalleled disasters the lesser realm had fearlessly maintained its independence from the days of Kenneth MacAlpine to those of Robert Bruce, and from Bruce down to the last of the Stuart pretenders. When, however, the Scottish people at last yielded to the inexorable logic of events and accepted the situation, they went into the Union with a brilliant record and an unsullied escutcheon. They had covered themselves with glory (at times nothing else had been left to cover with), and they carried with them as the best prestige for the future the grandest of all remembrances—the remembrance of a heroic national history. The Scot had now become a North Briton, but Scotland was living Scotland still.

> "Deep-graven on her breast she wore
> The names of all her valiant dead,
> And with the great inscription felt
> As Douglas with De Bruce's heart—
> That she was still a conqueror."

The fundamental principle of the union with England was that of a complete incorporation of the two nationalities in one government under one sovereign head and one representative Parliament, with equal rights and privileges for the people and a proportionate burden of the common taxation. The conditions of the problem then settled and the greatness of that settlement are well stated in the following sentences from Charles Knight's *History of England:* "The complete union of two independent nations, to be brought about by common consent and the terms to be settled as in a commercial partnership, was an event which seems natural and easy when we look to the geographical position of the two nations and to the circumstance that they had been partially united for a century under six sovereigns wearing the crown of each kingdom. But when we look to the long-standing jealousies of the two nations, their sensitive assertion of ancient superiority, the usual haughty condescension of the wealthier country, the sturdy pride of the poorer, the ignorance of the bulk of each people of the true character of the other, the differences of the prevailing forms of religion, the more essential

differences of laws and their modes of administration,—we may consider the completion of this union as one of the greatest achievements of statesmanship."

It was, in fact, an admirable adjustment of all the old grievances and a fitting close to the feuds and animosities, inherited from generation to generation, which had kept the neighboring kingdoms in perpetual strife. If they had continued to fight each other to the present day, they could not have received an adjustment more honorable and advantageous to both parties. The weaker kingdom lost nothing by becoming an integral part of a greater kingdom, and the greater lost nothing, but gained much, by uniting its destiny with a powerful race that should henceforward contribute its full share to the national greatness. The Scot only relinquished a smaller for a more enlarged and permanent independence. He found a more solid and enduring basis for that national independence and that constitutional liberty in defence of which he had so often drawn the sword. There could have been no better, nobler termination of the long and bloody conflict. He had, indeed, gained all for which he had ever fought. The royal race of his native land—that race which in the person of Bruce had struggled so hard to retain its independent throne—was now upon a greater throne, the throne of United Britain. That small and often turbulent Parliament of his

ancient capital had ceased only to give place to another and more powerful Parliament of the united nation, of which he was to be a constituent member, and of which the Scottish people, like the English, were to be independent electors. The lesser nationality was not lost, but merged into the greater. The people who could look back through a long line of heroes never quailing before the face of battle surrendered no dignity by a voluntary union into which they carried such a history.

It was a union not easily effected. In all probability, it could never have been accomplished except by those peculiar circumstances which gradually prepared and at last reconciled the two divergent and conflicting nationalities. The cost of the preparation had been immense. To the last there were those in the smaller realm who stoutly resisted what seemed an unnatural connection. They felt that the knell of Scotland's glory had sounded. The union, however, once effected, soon demonstrated the wisdom of its policy. The success of it was its magnificent vindication. The problem was plain enough when the overruling providence of God had once solved it by showing how much better it was for two powerful races shut up on a narrow island, with no natural boundary between them, to dwell in the close and peaceful bonds of a great national compact than to be for ever wasting each other's

strength by interminable bloody wars. Under such circumstances the good of the one was the highest good of the other, and whatever glory either could have attained alone was far more than doubled by the higher glory of one great united nation. Probably no union in all history has proved more beneficial to the contracting parties or become more close and indissoluble.

CHAPTER III.

HER GREAT HISTORIC NAMES.

NOT a little of the heroic and romantic mingles in the long story of Scotland's struggle for civil and religious liberty, giving rise to an illustrious roll known as the "Scottish chiefs" and the "Scottish worthies." Who are best entitled to stand as the representative heroes of that history? Unquestionably, the three greatest names are those of William Wallace, Robert Bruce and John Knox—Bruce, the noblest of her warrior-kings; Wallace, the most renowned of her people and gentry; and Knox, the grandest champion of her Reformed Church.

There are two notable epochs in the Scottish history, each having all the elements of a magnificent picture. One of these belongs to the sixteenth century, with Knox and Queen Mary in the foreground; the other carries us back to the days of Bruce and Wallace and the great house of Douglas, at the close of the thirteenth and the opening of the fourteenth century. A stern and lofty grandeur gathers around the brow of Knox. It is not surprising that Carlyle in his

Hero-Worship sets up the great Reformer as a veritable king of men, the highest type and embodiment of a nation, a man created for the times, the foster-child of divine Providence, "one of the few immortal names that were not born to die."

"John Knox," says Carlyle, "is the one Scotsman to whom, of all others, his country and the world owe a debt." "The life of Knox," says one of our own countrymen, Prof. Samuel J. Wilson, "was one of the grandest ever lived on this footstool of God. He has been dead these three hundred years. During all this time history has been busy with his life and character. These have been fiercely assailed and eloquently defended. For three centuries his work has been speaking for him with ever-increasing volume of meaning and eloquence. He needs no other monument. He needs no other apology." John Knox at St. Andrews, or in his pulpit of St. Giles at Edinburgh, or summoned into the presence of Mary Stuart at Holyrood Palace, is a figure as grand as Martin Luther before the Diet of Worms. When standing before the imperious young queen for the fifth time, alike unawed by her threats and unmoved by her tears, and confronted with angry, indignant questions, "Who are you in this commonwealth, and what have you to do with my marriage?" what could exceed the calm dignity and heroism of the Reformer's reply? "I am a subject born within the same,

madam; and, albeit I am neither earl, lord nor baron within it, yet has God made me, how abject soever I am in your eyes, a profitable member within the same. Yea, madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the nobility."

It was not in vain that during the dark period of ten years' civil strife the voice of Knox had been heard ringing like a clarion in St. Giles's pulpit at Edinburgh, and that his words had been echoed in all the pulpits of the land. "His was the voice," says Professor Wilson, "that taught the peasant of the Lothians that he was a freeman, the equal in the sight of God with the proudest peer or prelate that had trampled on his forefathers. During the trying vicissitudes of civil war, Knox was the one pillar of strength upon which Scotland leaned with her whole weight. Wise in counsel, utterly fearless in action, mighty in the resistless torrents of his eloquence, the nation turned to him instinctively as its God-given leader. With a price upon his head, with hired assassins waylaying his path, ever at the post of duty and of danger, careless of his own life, thinking only of his dear Scotland in the darkest extremities of perilous times, waking the expiring courage of heroes with the trumpet-peals of his eloquence,—he fought the good fight bravely through until peace was proclaimed,

popery was abolished by act of Parliament, and a Confession prepared principally by himself was adopted. There never was a nobler fight, or one that was more signal in its achievements."

The names of Sir William Wallace and King Robert Bruce, from the earlier period of Scottish history in the close of the thirteenth and opening of the fourteenth century, have been the loved themes of the poet, the historian, the orator and the statesman through all the succeeding ages. They have been the laurel-crowned heroes not only of their own country, but in all lands where the love of freedom has burned brightly in the hearts of the people. They have been the synonyms for natural independence, manly courage, heroic daring and perseverance unto death. They are the very watchwords of liberty for every oppressed race and nation, in every battle of the weak against the strong, of the right against the wrong. Though one of them, Wallace, after winning one great battle, was crushed by treachery and superior numbers in a second, and at last shamefully executed as a traitor, his name has yet come down through history as one of the honored and immortal names that can never perish. Bruce a few years later took up the same battle of his country, and after almost unparalleled disasters and the most heroic energy was at last crowned with victory in the memorable battle of Bannockburn. He lived to show by one great example

how freedom's cause may at last be won. If little Scotland had done no more than produce her Wallace and her Bruce, she would thereby have gained the lasting gratitude and admiration of the world, and sent down an influence and a prestige to be felt as long as independence and liberty are appreciated among men.

In this connection must be briefly mentioned two other illustrious names on the roll of Scotland's canonized heroes. They stand as the pioneers and the representatives of her noble army of Christian champions in the cause of truth. These are Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart, the precursors of the great Reformation—the first a young man of twenty-three with the blood of earls and dukes in his veins and a brilliant future opening before him; the other, the learned and eloquent evangelist whose voice rang like a trumpet over Scotland, and whose powerful preaching, whether in churches or in the open air, drew crowds of admiring people to hear him. By order of the papal hierarchy each was arrested, condemned and burned at the stake before the doors of the University of St. Andrews, which in better times they might have adorned by their learning and their eloquence. The worthy predecessors of Knox, and endued with his heroic spirit, they bravely met the issue, and nobly died for the rights of conscience and the word of God. From their ashes was kindled the flame of ref-

ormation that soon spread over all Scotland and prepared the way for the work of Knox. In them, truly, the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the Church. Cardinal Beaton sought to cover their names with infamy and to extinguish their influence for ever. All generations have delighted to do them honor. The influence of their example has gone out over all the earth. It has become an inspiration of zeal and courage to the champions of truth and liberty in every civilized land. It is one of Scotland's precious contributions to the world's history.

While to the thoughtful student all the elements of moral sublimity will ever gather thickest around the later period, with Knox as its pioneer and leader, still in the popular estimation probably the highest heroic interest of the Scottish history culminates, in the earlier period, around the names of Wallace and Bruce. The men of all free and civilized nations, the very boys and girls at school to the end of time, will read and be thrilled by that story. It was the era of the troubadour and the tournament, when Europe rang with the fame of the crusader and Christendom bowed at the mention of the cross. It was the noonday of romance and chivalry—the apotheosis of manly honor, of womanly beauty, of gallant prowess, of martial glory. There were indeed giants on earth in those days, and Scotland's heroes were among them.

With all its glory, it was an age of iron, an age of blood. It is not the purpose of this sketch to dwell on its great characters or its cruel conflicts; it is enough now simply to point out influences and results. Was all that gallant blood, of both the earlier and the later period, shed in vain? Assuredly not. It was the price of independence, of self-government, of civil and religious liberty. Costly as was the sacrifice, long and terrible as was the conflict, it was not too dear a cost at which to purchase such a boon. When it was won, it was not won for Scotland alone, but for posterity, for mankind. All that Scotland is today, all that she holds precious in the arts of peaceful industry and in the possession of civil and religious freedom, she owes, under God, to her own deathless struggle for independence, renewed from century to century until it had reddened her fields with blood and filled her land with ruins and monuments. No portion of the earth's surface is perhaps more thickly strewn with the ashes of martyred heroes and the bones of the slaughtered champions of truth and right. The seed was long sowing, but the harvest has been abundant and glorious. Victoria reigns today as truly Scotland's queen as she is England's —fifty-fourth sovereign of the Scottish royal line from Kenneth MacAlpine, and fifty-first of the English from Alfred the Great.

It has been finely said that a land without

ruins is a land without memories, and a land without memories is a land without liberty. "The land that wears a laurel crown may be fair to look upon, but twine a few sad cypress-leaves around the brow of some bleak and barren land (it may be dark and lonely as Montenegro) and it becomes lovely in its coronet of sorrow. It wins the sympathies of the heart and of history. Crowns of roses fade; crowns of thorns endure. Calvaries and crosses take deepest hold of humanity."

"Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

Byron's strong line might be taken as the text and the key to a large portion of the Scottish history. In the struggle for national independence and constitutional liberty the soil of Scotland was made not only a battlefield, but a crowded cemetery. No equal portion of the earth's surface could better illustrate the sentiment of a living American bard:

"Give me a land where the ruins are spread,
And the living tread light on the hearts of the dead;
Ay, give me a land that is blest by the dust
And bright with the deeds of the down-trodden just.
I honor the land that hath legend and lays
Enshrining the memory of long-vanished days;
I honor the land that hath story and song
To tell of the strife of the right with the wrong.
Yes, give me the land with a grave in each spot,
And names in the graves that shall not be forgot:
There's a grandeur in graves, there's a glory in gloom,

For out of the gloom future brightness is born,
And after the night looms the sunrise of morn;
And the graves of the dead, with the grass overgrown,
May yet form the footstool of Liberty's throne,
And each single wreck in the warpath of might
Shall yet be a rock in the temple of Right."

Every part of Scotland is crowded with such memorials of the past—venerable ruins where "the living tread light on the hearts of the dead," battlefields that "tell of the strife of the right with the wrong," sacred enclosures "with a grave in every spot" and "names in the graves that shall not be forgot." Most of all do these grand monuments of the past cluster around Edinburgh, the unique and classic capital enthroned among crags where the new and the old so strangely meet. There a thousand associations of the past chain the antiquarian, a thousand beauties of the present make it to the eye of the artist the most picturesque city in Europe,

"Where splendor falls on castle-walls
And snowy summits old in story."

Upon the splendid city of to-day the old castle looks down out of history. Within or close around it were transacted many of the most memorable scenes in the life of the nation. A mile from the castle, at the eastern termination of the Canongate, still remains in antique splendor the famous Holyrood Palace, flanked on one side by the monument-crowned Calton Hill, and

on the other by the loftier Salisbury Crag and Arthur's Seat, that stand like sentinels to guard the enchanted spot. Just on the outside of the city, in the Greyfriars' churchyard, the National Covenant—the Magna Charta of Scottish freedom—was signed in the presence of sixty thousand persons. Close at hand, in what was then the open space of the Grass Market, hundreds who had signed that Covenant suffered death at the stake rather than abjure the rights of conscience. Thousands all over Scotland shared the same fate.

> "They lived unknown
> Till persecution dragged them into fame
> And chased them up to heaven. Their ashes flew
> No mortal tells us whither."

Their heroic virtues, however, survived fresh and green in the memory of succeeding ages. The influence of their example became the heritage of Christendom. Not only Scotland, but England and America, became the richer for the legacy. All lands where history is read, where civil and religious liberty is prized, have felt the inspiring influence of that example. It is a part of the history of modern civilization. Our Christian institutions in America are to-day in large measure indebted to that moral power of truth and right and freedom which Scotland's martyrs for conscience' sake so nobly illustrated on the scaffold and at the stake.

CHAPTER IV.

GRAND RESULTS OF THE CONFLICT FOR LIBERTY.

IT is easy enough for us now, after several centuries of uninterrupted progress in Scotland, to look back into her heroic ages, to see the meaning of the great principles then so fiercely contested, and to trace the results which have flowed from the vindication of those principles. In no part of the world is the true philosophy of history more easily discerned than in the history of Scotland. And in no part of Scottish history have her gallant people given to mankind a more important and impressive lesson for all ages than in the heroic times of Wallace, Bruce and Knox, and their successors of the Solemn League and Covenant. Through all the dark pages God's hand is clearly seen protecting his true Church and establishing the right.

It must never be forgotten that Scotland had a double battle to fight—first, that of national independence and constitutional liberty against her more powerful neighbor, and then the harder, nobler battle for conscience and a pure Church,

against both papal and prelatical domination. There are few sublimer chapters in history than those which recount the deeds of the Scotch Reformers of the sixteenth century, the Presbyterian Covenanters of the seventeenth century, and the never-to-be-forgotten founders of the Free Church in the nineteenth century. The time was long, the causes of the conflicts were different, but the battle was substantially the same. The rights, liberties and principles of an evangelical Christianity and a pure spiritual Church, preached in Scotland by the martyred Wishart and Hamilton, heroically defended before kings, queens and nobles by Knox and Melville, vindicated and established by Henderson, Gillespie, Rutherford and their compeers, solemnly sworn to by the whole people in their national League and Covenant, cemented with the blood and attested by the last breath of thousands of martyrs in the "killing-time" of the bloody Claverhouse, —these grand principles of a Reformed religion and an evangelical Presbyterianism, for ever asserting Christ's cross and crown and covenant in a free State and a free Church, we have lived to see carried to their consummation and establishment under the leadership of Thomas Chalmers and his five hundred coadjutors in the memorable Free-Church movement of 1843, the deed and the day of Scotland's greatest ecclesiastical glory.

It was in vindication of these principles that John Knox had dared to tell Mary Stuart the truth even at the cost of her queenly anger and her woman's tears. At a time when men were beheaded or driven into exile for their sentiments, and when kings had power to send a subject to the scaffold for a word, it required courage of the highest order to stand up as Andrew Melville did before James VI. and utter these memorable words: "Sir, we will always reverence Your Majesty in public; but since we have this occasion to be with Your Majesty in private, and since you are brought into extreme danger of your life and crown, and along with you the Church of God are alike to go to wreck for not telling you the truth and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Therefore, sir, as divers times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James, the head of the commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus, the King of the Church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. Sir, those whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over his Church have power and authority from him to govern his spiritual kingdom, both jointly and severally; the which no Christian king or prince should control

and discharge, but fortify and assert, otherwise they are not faithful subjects of Christ and members of his Church. We will yield to you your place and give you all due obedience, but again I say you are not the head of the Church: you cannot give us that eternal life which we seek for even in this world, and you cannot deprive us of it. Sir, when you were in your swaddling-clothes, Christ Jesus reigned freely in this land, in spite of all his enemies. Permit me, then, freely to meet in the name of Christ and attend to the interests of that Church of which you are the chief member."

Well and nobly said, brave Melville! Well and nobly done! Never was a grander truth more manfully stated and more stoutly stood by through all Old Scotia's battlefields by all her truest sons and daughters. That granite truth so nobly wrought out of Scottish quarries is to-day the very corner-stone in our glorious temple of civil and religious liberty. The struggle had been long and fearful; it had lasted a hundred years; it had cost the sacrifice of generations of suffering men and women driven into exile or wafted to heaven in a winding-sheet of flame; but the triumph was glorious at last.

The result was a free Church and a free State, corelated to God and to the people, but each independent of the other in the proper sphere of its jurisdiction. The result was a vindication in

a manner never before understood in any land of the true spiritual import of those memorable words uttered by Christ before Pilate's bar: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." That great truth incorporated in the Westminster Confession is the basis of all religious liberty and of all the Presbyterian Churches in the world: "God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in any thing contrary to his word, or beside it in matters of faith or worship. So that to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commandments out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience; and the requiring of an implicit faith, and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also."

This grand deliverance of scriptural truth, so clearly formulated in the Presbyterian Standards and so bravely maintained at every cost in Scotland through the centuries following the Reformation, may be regarded as the essential article of all true ecclesiastical polity and of all religious liberty. To maintain it intact and to hand it down to posterity was well worth the blood and the treasure which it cost the heroic founders of the Scotch churches. Certainly there is not a Presbyterian church in the world to-day which does not thank God for this glorious in-

heritance of Christian liberty, and rejoice that our Scottish forefathers were able to stand up for it in the hour of peril and bring it safely with them through the fiery ordeal. If the Scottish heroes who suffered unto death for Christ's covenant and crown had rendered no other service to mankind, this sacrifice alone in behalf of freedom of conscience had been enough to immortalize the service and entitle them to the gratitude of the latest posterity.

It was strikingly appropriate that a service to freedom and to mankind so great and inestimable should find honorable mention at the First General Presbyterian Alliance, held in 1877 at Edinburgh, the very seat and centre of the memorable conflict. That great council, gathered from the Presbyterian Churches of all lands, in the bosom of this venerable mother-Church of the widely-dispersed family, was itself a demonstration of what Scotland had done for Christendom by the long struggle for civil and religious liberty. It was one of the many results of the conflict, and no inconsiderable one at that; for the men there assembled from so many widely-separated Christian lands were themselves representatives of the very principles for which the Scottish forefathers had so long and so bravely battled. One of the delegates from the United States, Archibald A. Hodge, D. D., of Princeton, New Jersey, speaking of this priceless Presbyterian birthright of

civil and religious freedom, in pertinent and truthful words thus called to remembrance the place and the period from which it came: "In the original conflict these principles were brought into antagonism with absolutism both in Church and State. They first, though at the sacrifice of countless martyrs, especially in France, Holland and Scotland, broke the power of the hierarchy and conquered liberty in the sphere of religious faith and practice. More gradually, but by inevitable consequence, they secured popular liberty in the sphere of civil and political life. The conditions of modern times, to the wants and tendencies of which it is our duty to adjust and apply Presbyterian principles, are largely the outcome of the influence exerted during the past three hundred years upon the life of European nations by those Presbyterian principles themselves."

Another representative from America on that occasion, Moses D. Hoge, D. D., of Richmond, Virginia, also called to remembrance the principles and the heroes of the great conflict in the following impressive words: "The saddest, and yet the brightest, pages of our ecclesiastical history are those which recount the struggles of our fathers in behalf of the sacred rights of conscience. I need not speak of the practical power of our principles as they have been so often illustrated in the heroic conflicts for the right and the true, whether in the glens of Scotland, or in the

villages of France, or on the northern coast of Ireland, or among the mountains of Switzerland. A portion of the people of my native State trace their ancestry back to the noble race of men who were compelled by Bourbon tyranny to flee from their once happy homes on the fertile plains of Languedoc or in the delightful valleys of the Loire, and who found an asylum on the high banks of the James River in Virginia or on the lowlands of the Cooper and Santee Rivers of South Carolina. Others of my Virginia people are the descendants of the men who contended for Christ's crown and covenant at the foot of the heath-clad Grampians, or who fought the dragoons under Claverhouse at Bothwell Bridge, or who at the siege of Londonderry held out to the bitter end against James himself. There is yet in a branch of my own family the old family Bible which their Huguenot ancestors carried with them first to Holland and then to Virginia. Its covers are worn, its leaves are yellow and faded; they have often been wet with the salt spray of the sea and the salt tears of the sorrowing exiles; but, though the names are growing dim on the family register, I trust they are bright in the book of life; and now, thank God! the descendants of the Huguenot and Covenanter, and of the noble martyrs of the North of Ireland, are found dwelling together in one happy ecclesiastical household on our peaceful Virginia shores, with none to mo-

lest or make them afraid, yet ready, as I trust in God—ready once more, if need be—to brave and peril all for the testimony of Jesus and for the defence of the faith once delivered to the saints."

One of the grand results secured by the long and bitter conflicts in Scotland was the settlement on a permanent basis of the true scriptural doctrine of religious tolerance. Clear as was the teaching of Christ on the subject, the princes and rulers of this world, and even his profound followers in the Churches established by law, were slow to learn the great truth. It is a truth which the papal Church never learned, being one diametrically opposed to its whole doctrinal and political system. Nor has it been always fully understood and practiced even in Protestant lands where the Erastian principle of state supremacy in matters of religion has been asserted. But from the dawn of the Reformation it was fully understood by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and for ages maintained at every cost, even when there were some within her bosom who coveted alliance with the State and stood ready to sacrifice the independence of the Church and the rights of conscience at the bidding of lordly power. The great doctrine of a broad universal toleration—so strongly maintained, and at last secured, by the Presbyterians of Scotland—was but the necessary logical sequence of the funda-

mental article of their ecclesiastical creed that God alone is Lord of the conscience in all matters of religious opinion. Where there is no authority to bind the conscience except God and his inspired word, every man is necessarily free to exercise his own private judgment in ascertaining what the truth is, and his own conscience in accepting and following the truth. This is true religious liberty, and this the basis of religious toleration.

It was the true moral glory of the Scottish Reformers, and of their successors through the ages that followed, that they understood these essential principles of Presbyterianism and dared to maintain them in the face of all opposition. It is true that they did not always live up to them with an absolute consistency, for in ages of intolerance and persecution and Erastian interference on the part of the civil power they were sometimes driven to the wall and compelled, in self-defence, to strike back the iron hand that showed no toleration and sought only to crush them. Still, through all oppressions from without and amid all the feuds and divisions within, they did maintain to the last, and they brought unscathed through the conflict, that glorious heritage of a free Church and a free State, with equal rights of conscience for all classes of men, in which not only Scotland, but the whole Presbyterian world, rejoices to-day. The distinction is as just

as it is honorable that through all its history the Presbyterian Church of Scotland has been a liberty-loving, a conscience-asserting and a tolerant Church. The Presbyterian Church has never been, either in Scotland or in any other land, an intolerant or a persecuting Church. It could never have persecuted without violating the fundamental principles of its divine constitution.

It was no empty boast, but the truth of history, when the Right Honorable Lord Moncrief, one of the chairmen of the Edinburgh council, said, "The Presbyterian polity has been the cradle of toleration, and it has always been the stronghold of civil liberty. I do not know a better test of the efficiency and purity of a Church than these two features. A Church which is the enemy of toleration and a Church that is the intimate companion of political oppression I do not think by any possibility can be an apostolic Church. But the Presbyterian Church was the cradle of toleration. I am far from saying that in days when religious opinions were really the politics of the times, and when men's lives hung by a thread, political or religious toleration was much in vogue; but this I do say—that where Presbyterian principles have prevailed there toleration has sprung and flourished, and that in the quarters where the principles of the early Reformers and Presbyterians first acquired strength the

principles of toleration followed in their wake. The Presbyterians of the North have had a large part in establishing civil and religious liberty in this country, and I am quite certain that where the Presbyterian polity prevails there will toleration, there will liberty, flourish."

CHAPTER V.

THE TWO PRINCIPAL CITIES.

LET us now turn for a moment to survey the two principal cities of this historic Northland, Edinburgh—or Edinboro', as the Scots call it—overlooking the Forth from an elevation of several hundred feet, the most picturesque city in Europe, and Glasgow, the city of the Clyde, the great metropolis of manufacture and commerce, the one commanding the eastern, and the other the western, waters. These two great cities, some forty miles apart, may be called the eyes of Scotland—organs of vision and high intelligence through which she gives expression to the thought of her people and holds daily communication with all the world.

Glasgow, the grand commercial emporium, far surpasses the sister-city in wealth and trade, and also in population, which now reaches about half a million, while Edinburgh has less than a quarter of a million. But for what is lacking in wealth and power Edinburgh is fully compensated in splendor of situation, in glorious memories of the past, and in the magnificence of her education-

al and religious institutions. Glasgow, the queenly city of the Clyde, with her ocean-steamers, her iron-clad ships of war, her vast cotton-mills, her merchant-princes and her colossal fortunes, that has in recent times grown to be one of the chief builders of the British navy, is not, indeed, without historic associations linking her to the memorable past. Tracing her foundations back into the sixth century—even earlier than those of Edinburgh—she bore her full share in all the terrific conflicts that wrought out the deliverance of Scotland. She can to-day point with just pride not only to her marts of trade and the palatial residences of her citizens, but to her ancient and magnificent cathedral, that survived the disasters of centuries—perhaps the most perfect entire specimen of Gothic architecture now in the realm. She can point, also, with equal satisfaction to her churches, ancient and modern, to her educational and benevolent institutions, and to her great university, rivaling in learning and number of students the more famous city of the Forth.

Edinburgh—or Edwin's Burg, so called from the Saxon king of England who laid its foundations in the seventh century—now covers those parallel ridges and the deep valleys between which extend east and west along the Firth of Forth about a mile's distance from the water. The old city was built on the middle and high-

est of the ridges. The ground gradually rises toward the west until it culminates in the great massive rock on which the castle stands, commanding the whole city and its environs. Along the summit of the ridge for about a mile, from Holyrood Palace at the east up to Castle Rock, forming, as it were, the backbone of the town, was thickly built the old Canongate, or high street, lined with the residences of nobility and gentry. On this street stood the famous cathedral of St. Giles, the Tron church, John Knox's house, and other notable edifices. Here dwelt the lordly Stuart kings in the palace of Holyrood. Here the young and beautiful queen of Scots held her court until she wantonly threw away her crown. Here the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met, in 1560, in the little Magdalen chapel, deep down in the ravine to the north of the street. It was a sort of Thermopylæ where this band of heroes pledged themselves to maintain against all the world of papal power the divine rights of Presbytery. Here, on the hill, in old St. Giles church, John Knox—a man whom his enemies hated while living, and of whom they said when dead, "Here lies one who never feared the face of man"—poured forth his fiery eloquence. Here are the spots where Rizzio fell, where the ill-fated Darnley was blown up, where the daring Montrose was dragged to execution, frowning defiance on his foes, and not far off is

the place where the great regent Murray was assassinated. And here stood the scaffold on which the noble Morton, and the still nobler statesman the marquis of Argyle, were beheaded.

Edinburgh is full of such memorials. The past confronts us at every step. The castle looks down upon us out of history. To the poet, the historian and the artist almost every foot of Scotland is classic ground. The traveler is scarcely ever out of sight of places of historic interest or scenes of surpassing beauty—battlefields like Bannockburn, Falkirk, Bothwell Bridge and Culloden, that once shook under the fierce onset of opposing hosts; venerable abbeys like Melrose, Dryburgh and Dunfermline, fast crumbling to decay; castles once impregnable, like those of Stirling, Berwick, Roslin, Dumbarton and Loch Levin; mountain-peaks and highland lakes: Ben Lomond, Ben Lide and Ben Nevis rising in solitary grandeur to the clouds, Loch Katrine, Loch Lomond and Loch Ness with banks of sylvan beauty mirrored in their crystal depths,—all new-daguerrotyped for the world and made immortal for ever by the pen of the great enchanter Walter Scott, in this respect the Scot of all the Scots.

After all, it is in and around Edinburgh that these precious and sacred memorabilia cluster the thickest. Here it is that the history of a thousand years has been fossilized without losing its living interest—written on the very streets

of a crowding population, graven as with an iron pen on rocks and crags and castle-walls. In this respect there is no city in Europe except Rome or Athens that can be compared with Edinburgh. Edinburgh is to Scotland what Rome is to Italy, what Athens was to Greece, what Jerusalem was to Palestine.

The splendid modern city, with its magnificent Prince's street and its classical monument to Walter Scott, is chiefly built on the northern ridge, nearest the Forth, while the southern ridge is largely given up to great manufacturing establishments. Along the bottom of the south valley runs the old Cowgate street, once famous in history, now crowded with the humble tenements of the poor. Through the corresponding north ravine extend the great railways connecting the city at the west end with Glasgow and at the east with London. These deep valleys are now bridged over with solid masonry and crossed by streets running north and south at the summit-level of the ridges, some hanging high in air on stone arches, and the one nearest the castle built on an artificial mound constructed for the purpose. Edinburgh thus presents the unique spectacle not only of an old city and a new looking each other in the face from opposite hills, but of an upper and a lower city—one bright and beautiful on her airy elevations, the other dark and damp in the gloom of her sunken valleys.

Take now a picture of the city as viewed from Calton Hill and drawn by the graphic pen of a Scotsman, Alexander Smith:

"Straight before the mound crosses the valley, leaving the white academy buildings; beyond, the castle lifts from grassy slopes and billows of summer foliage its weather-stained towers and fortifications, the Half-Moon battery giving the folds of its standard to the wind. Living in Edinburgh, there abides among all things a sense of its beauty. Hill, crag, castle, rock, blue stretch of sea, the picturesque ridge of the Old Town, the squares and terraces of the New,—these things, seen once, are not to be forgotten. The quick life of to-day, sounding around the relics of antiquity and overshadowed by the august traditions of a kingdom, makes residence in Edinburgh more impressive than residence in any other British city. What a poem is that Prince's street! The puppets of the busy many-colored hour move about on its pavements, while across the ravine Time has piled up the Old Town, ridge on ridge, gray as a rocky coast washed and worn by the foam of centuries, peaked and jagged by gable and roof, windowed from basement to cope, the whole surmounted by St. Giles's airy crown.

"The New is there looking at the Old. Two periods are brought face to face, and are yet separated by a thousand years. Wonderful on winter nights, when the gulley is filled with darkness

and out of it rises against the sombre blue and the frosty stars that mass and bulwark of gloom pierced and quivering with innumerable lights. There is nothing in Europe to match it. Could you but roll a river down the valley, it would be sublime. That ridged and chimneyed bulk of blackness with splendor bursting out at every pore is the wonderful Old Town, where Scottish history mainly transacted itself, while, opposite, the modern Prince's street is blazing throughout its length. During the day the castle looks down upon the city as out of another world, stern with all its peacefulness, its garniture of trees, its slopes of grass. The rock is dingy enough in color, but after a shower its lichens laugh out greenly in the returning sun while the rainbow is brightening on the lowering cloud beyond. How deep the shadow which the castle throws at noon over the gardens at its feet where the children play! How grand where giant bulk and towery crown blacken against the sunset!

"Fair, too, the New Town, sloping to the sea. From George's street, which crowns the ridge, the eye is led down sweeping streets of stately architecture to villas and woods that fill the lower ground and fringe the shore; to the bright azure belt of the Forth, with its smoking steamer or its creeping sail; beyond, to the shores of Fife, soft, blue and flecked with fleeting shadows in the keen, clear light of spring, dark purple in

the summer heat, tarnished gold in the autumn haze; and farther away still, just distinguishable on the paler sky, the crest of some distant peak, carrying the imagination into the illimitable world. Residence in Edinburgh is an education in itself. It is perennial, like a play of Shakespeare. Nothing can stale its infinite variety. Its beauty refreshes one like being in love."

Such is the estimate of one who had felt the poetic inspiration of this scene of varied loveliness. It is a glowing picture, indeed, not unlike that drawn by a greater master, the author of *Marmion* and *Waverley*, whose genius was nurtured amid its scenes, and who rejoiced to call Dun Edin "mine own romantic town." Here Art and Nature conspire with all the glorious history to give the world assurance of a finished city. Not inappropriately may the lines of Tennyson be applied to this romantic spot:

> "The Past and Present here unite
> Beneath Time's rolling tide,
> As footprints hidden by a brook
> Are seen on either side."

CHAPTER VI.

THE PULPIT OF SCOTLAND.

OF the Scottish pulpit, in the wide fields of its influence upon the national character and upon the world's civilization, it is difficult to speak here with that fullness which the intrinsic importance of the theme demands. Of the manifold agencies which had their share in working out the historic destiny of Scotland, forming the character of her people and giving them a strong hold upon the attention of other nations, far from being the least potential was her Christian pulpit. In truth, it is not going too far to say that in all these respects the bold, fearless, educated and evangelical ministry of Scotland, faithful to truth, to duty and to God, can be regarded as holding no second place. The history of Scotland and her influence upon the march of civilization could not have been what they were without such a ministry. No man can read or faithfully write that history without recognizing on every page the powerful guiding hand of the pulpit.

For more than three hundred years it has been

a throne of power in the land. It has attained an excellence and it has gained an influence over the whole home-population, and at the same time commanded a respect abroad, not often equaled, and certainly never excelled, in other Christian countries. It has moulded the national character of Scotland and controlled public opinion among an intelligent reading people whom it largely, more than any other single agency, helped to educate. It has for generations made its voice heard as an authority in the exposition of God's word, in every family of the land, and in the daily lives of the people. It has also made that voice heard through all the ramifications of private business, through the halls of literature, science and philosophy, as well as in all the departments of the public service. It has been, and it still is, one of the essential factors in all the practical problems of popular education. Its influence has been felt for good not alone within the narrow boundaries of her eastern and western shores, but in all lands where the Anglo-Saxon tongue has been. Scotland could not exist without her pulpit: she would no more be Scotland.

From John Knox down to Alexander Duff, not to speak of the living, it is a long and illustrious succession which in all the greatest elements of evangelical preaching will compare favorably with the ablest ministry of any age or of any nation. It has been a ministry distin-

guished for self-sacrificing zeal, conscientious loyalty to truth, strong common sense, energy and decision of character, unshrinking devotion to principle in the discharge of duty, and not unfrequently in the case of its leaders possessed of learning, culture, philosophy and eloquence fully equal to any in the world. It has been eminently wise and conservative, and at the same time eminently practical and aggressive. It has through all the ages felt itself in possession of the true word of God and entrusted by divine appointment with a true mission to man; nor has it ever shrunk, through fear or favor, from declaring to men what it conceived to be the whole counsel of God, whether men would hear or forbear to hear. John Knox, with his majestic intellect, his heart of energy, his will of adamant, his tongue of fire, may be regarded as the very founder and model of its peculiar style. He was himself, both in character and in action, the most fitting representative of its earlier period. He was the man for the times, and no man less highly endowed in all the attributes of intellectual and spiritual manhood could have stood in his place and accomplished his work. No man ever more thoroughly impressed his own character upon a people and upon a ministry than did Knox upon the pulpit and the people of Scotland. The Presbyterian Church of to-day in every part of Christendom is proud to acknowl-

edge Knox as a leader and a champion of the truth who performed for Scotland a work not inferior to that accomplished by the great Reformers on the Continent.

As a body, the Scottish clergy throughout the succession have been characterized not so much for the graces of a finished oratory as for the greater gifts of profound thought, massive learning, sound doctrine, evangelical zeal and impassioned energy. As a class, they have been marked by what was called "*ingenium perfervidum Scotorum.*" They have been earnest, thoughtful, conscientious men—men who felt that they had a mission from God, a work to do, and they were "straitened till it was accomplished." They have aimed to make their mark upon the men of their times, nor have they failed to do so. The grand distinction of the Scottish pulpit through every epoch has been "truth before beauty"—what to say rather than how to say it. Solid matter has been everything; method, a thing of minor consequence. The preaching has therefore been at all times instructive, practical, scriptural, experimental, discriminating, theological, and not unfrequently logical, philosophical and learned. This all-important attribute of strength and power shone forth in all the great preachers of the early period, who seemed to catch their inspiration from the heroic example of Knox. It was exemplified in the preaching of the learned

and noble John Erskine of Dun; in James and Andrew Melville, the heroic compeers of Knox; in the eloquent Alexander Henderson, the gifted young George Gillespie, the saintly Samuel Rutherford—the three commissioners of the Scottish Church at the famous Westminster Assembly of 1643. It was illustrated in the preaching of the earnest John Welch and Robert Bruce, in David Dickson of Irvine and John Livingstone of Shotts, a single sermon of the latter being instrumental in converting five hundred souls. The same lofty style of spiritual power was manifested in the pulpits of the noble martyrs James Guthrie and James Renwick.

It would be tedious to recount the shining list of their successors of a later day—to tell of Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, of John McLaurin and Robert Walker, of Thomas McCree and Andrew Thompson, the accomplished John Logan, the elegant Hugh Blair, of James Hamilton of London and John Witherspoon of our own Revolutionary period. Each of these memorable names was a tower of strength in its day. The pulpit of Hamilton in London and the presidency of Witherspoon in America may be taken as types of a large class of distinguished men, who, after winning a just renown in the land that gave them birth, were enabled to carry the influence of that land abroad and to accomplish a still grander mission in the countries of their adop-

tion. And how shall we describe the learning, the scholarly culture, the Christian philosophy, the statesmanship and sagacity, the burning eloquence and zeal, of Candlish and Cunningham, Buchanan and Bonar, Guthrie and Chalmers, the leaders of that memorable disruption of 1843 that gave to Scotland a free Church for ever delivered from State intrusion, and to the world one of the most impressive examples of moral heroism in all history—that of five hundred ministers of the gospel in a body, representing the Christian people of half the realm, choosing to renounce all the honors and the incomes of a Church Establishment rather than swerve a hair'sbreadth from the clear line of conscience. The olden days of allegiance to "Christ's crown and covenant" had witnessed nothing sublimer than this modern spectacle of the Assembly of 1843 at Edinburgh.

Who was Thomas Chalmers, the leader of this great movement, but another and nobler Knox brought to the front by the stern exigences of those recent times, only melted by love, refined by wider culture, expanded by the larger liberty, the broader science, the warmer sympathies, the more catholic spirit and the higher civilization of the nineteenth century? We venerate the name and the work of Knox and all the worthies of his day, but in the lofty grandeur of his character, in the world-wide sweep of his charity and in

the soul-earnestness of his beseeching eloquence no pulpit of any age or of any country since apostolic times has probably produced a greater name and a higher type of preacher than Thomas Chalmers.

Where in the annals of modern missions can be found higher examples of heroic devotion to the cause of Christ and of philanthropic self-surrender to the good of men than those which shine forth in the lives of the Scottish missionaries of the last fifty years, Robert Moffat and David Livingstone in Africa, John Wilson and Alexander Duff in India, fitting representatives of the noble band? If their names do not appear on the bright roll of the pulpit in the home-field, it is only because with apostolic zeal they had chosen to carry the gospel to the perishing and to spend their lives on foreign shores. But in influence and in power it was the Scottish pulpit still, only transplanted to distant climes. Their glorious record is on high: they have rested from their labors, and their works do follow them. They have impressed their characters on the people for whom they toiled nevermore to be effaced. Their names are precious as household memories among the tribes of the Dark Continent and among the converts of Calcutta and Bombay. All the world knows how well they toiled and how nobly they died for the people of those distant regions. They were pioneers,

and they laid foundations that shall be the basis of civilizations yet to follow. In learning, culture, philosophy and burning eloquence some of them—as Alexander Duff—would have graced any pulpit or any university chair in the mother-country. Indeed, the General Assembly of the Free Church in Edinburgh never honored itself more than when, in 1851, on one of his visits to his native land, the venerable Alexander Duff, with all the scars of veteran service upon him, though still enthusiastic and eloquent as ever, was elected by acclamation to the moderatorship of that august body. The next year he visited the United States and electrified our churches by the splendor of his eloquence.

At the opening of the present century Claudius Buchanan, a native of Glasgow, was already in Bengal, where he spent a long and active life exploring the country, translating the Scriptures into the language of Hindostan and laying the foundations of Christian missions. It was in 1829 that Dr. Duff was sent to Calcutta by the Church of Scotland, being the first Protestant missionary ever appointed by any national Established Church. His advent in that great capital formed a new departure in the missionary work. He lived to see the great college for the education through the English tongue of the higher classes of Hindoo youth which he established there attended by thousands of pupils

and forming a landmark in the conduct of missions to the more civilized heathen. Perhaps no Scotsman of this century has done a grander work in any land than this great man did at Calcutta. And almost equal commendation may be accorded to the similar career at Bombay of John Wilson—a man of kindred spirit and attainments, who was also made moderator of the Free Church General Assembly on one of his return-visits to Scotland.

Thus has the Scottish pulpit through its great missionaries been sending its influence around the globe. In the vast populations of paganism it has kindled the lights of education, of high culture, of free thought, of science and liberty—in a word, of Christian civilization, the noblest civilization known to mankind. These lights can no more be extinguished than can the onward progress of the race be arrested. What has been done in Asia has also been done in Australia, in New Zealand and in Africa. The name of David Livingstone has been written across the centre of the Dark Continent as was that of his predecessor and father-in-law, Robert Moffat, over South Africa. Livingstone must henceforth stand among the greatest discoverers of the century, as he is one of its most daring and heroic missionaries. In philanthropy and in all that constitutes the true missionary spirit he will hold equal rank with Vanderkemp and Moffat in Africa, with

Henry Martyn in Persia, and Judson in Burmah, with Gutzlaff and Morrison in China. And he has written his name also amid the stars of modern geographical service. Scotland has given many names to science; his is one which belongs alike to philanthropy. His long and toilsome career in Central Africa, surrounded by savages and the dangers of the most pestilential climates, shut out so long from all the sweets of home and native land, is one of the great significant facts of the age. It shows what men will dare for truth and love. It shows, too, how heroically such men can die.

CHAPTER VII.

SCOTLAND'S LITERATURE AND AUTHORSHIP.

NO account of Scotland's influence on the world in the general advance of civilization would be complete without some notice of her literature and her authorship. It is here, perhaps, that her educational and elevating influence comes most distinctly into view and is most generally appreciated. It is by her public press, not less than by her sacred pulpit, that Scotland has spread her opinions before the reading world and become to a large extent a leader of its thought and a teacher of its youth. By her books, her public presses, her world-admired authors, Scotland's influence has gone largely into the education not only of the British nation, but of the whole English-speaking race. It is at least one of the potential factors in the problem of the education and the right direction of this now most prominent and influential of all civilized races.

At this point, however, our survey widens into a field almost illimitable. Who is competent to bring into one brief sketch the literary, scientific,

political, educational and religious authorship of the last two centuries of Scottish history? In nothing has this small country been more pre-eminently distinguished than in that brilliant galaxy of authorship which stretches its starry belt across the whole literary firmament. In every department of literature, science, art, invention, philosophy, her writers have risen to the first rank and sent their influence to the ends of the earth. Her text-books of philosophy, theology, political, legal and medical science, education and reform, have found their way into the schools of all English-speaking Christendom; while the great periodical magazines and reviews have helped to form the opinions, to shape the thinking and to direct the practical administration of all nations. Scotland has thus become for generations past a "city set on a hill whose light could not be hid."

That tremendous energy of character which through all the early ages spent itself in wasting wars and carnage, as soon as the sword was sheathed at the Union of 1707, took the direction of peaceful invention, of useful industry, of practical discovery, of scientific research, of philosophical inquiry, of poetic inspiration, of historical romance, of educational reform, of political enfranchisement, of religious discussion, of elegant letters, absorbing and developing the best-cultivated intellect of the country. And now for a hundred and seventy years this highly-cultivated

and thoroughly-disciplined intellectual and moral force—equal, probably, in native ability to any that ever existed in any land—has been expending all its resources in productions and achievements that not unfrequently evince the highest triumphs of genius. Military glory has been exchanged for the civic arm and the laurel-wreath, and Scotland's pen has become mightier than the sword.

Thus modern Scotland, in place of a home of warriors, has grown to be the abode of an industrious, thriving, wealthy and happy people sending their well-trained and God-fearing sons and daughters into all the colonies of the British crown and into all new countries around the globe, there to make independent and happy homes for themselves. Scotland herself is filled with such homes, from the palatial residences of noble and gentry down to the humblest dwellings of her Christian yeomanry. It was of such Christian homes, where her humblest cottagers ply their daily toil and eat their frugal meal, that the greatest of her national bards sang:

> "From scenes like these Old Scotia's grandeur springs,
> That makes her loved at home, revered abroad;
> Princes and lords are but the breath of kings,
> An honest man's the noblest work of God."

One crowning glory of Scotland—that which gives her moral power at home and educational

influence all around the globe—is her Christian literature and her illustrious authorship. Her literature is for the most part baptized with the spirit of the gospel and consecrated at the altar of Christ. No literature of any land has been purer, more elevating, more inspiring in all its aims and influences, for none has ever been more fully pervaded with the very life and character of Christianity. The deep inspiration that comes from the Bible, alike pervading pulpit and press, is the true source of that influence which has made Scotland so potential in the education and civilization of recent times.

Hugh Miller somewhere remarks that England has reached a higher rank of authorship than Scotland ever attained—that Scotland has produced no Shakespeare, no Milton, no Bacon, no Sir Isaac Newton, no John Locke. Is not this an overstretch of candor against his own country in the honest Scotsman? With as much truth it may be said that England has produced no Burns, no Walter Scott, no James Watt, no Sir William Hamilton, no Mary Somerville. It is difficult and unfair to offset the children of genius against one another. Each has his own high and divine vocation; each is supreme in his own line of excellence. England to this day has no Hugh Miller; Scotland never had but one, and may never have another. John Knox and Thomas Chalmers, Robert Burns and Walter

Scott, Mary Somerville and Hugh Miller, David Livingstone and Alexander Duff, belong to that class of characters which we describe as *sui generis*. They cannot well be compared with others, but each is in his own order unique and supreme. As we go to England to find the highest Shakespeare and the sublimest Milton the race has produced, we go to Scotland to see the noblest Burns and the greatest Scott. Incomparable Robert Burns, as distinguished in song as Bruce was in battle; the child of poverty, the child of genius, the child of nature; the poet of humanity, the man of feeling, the interpreter of the common people, the artist of the soul; loved, honored, idolized, by all Scotsmen, at home and abroad, as no poet was ever loved before; his memory as fresh and green to-day in the hearts of his countrymen as it was three-quarters of a century ago; notwithstanding all his faults and foibles a true representative of the national heart and character, and therefore entitled to wear, as he does wear, the laureate-crown of Scotland!

No name in literature perhaps has won a more profound and cordial homage for the genius of the man, and at the same time a deeper sympathy for the errors and misfortunes that so beset and darkened his pathway. How truly he struck all the deepest and tenderest chords of feeling in his matchless songs! And how have the hearts of all civilized men who read his mother-tongue re-

sponded in loving admiration to those songs ever since he, the unfriended ploughman, first struck his inspiring lyre! As truly of him as of Byron might his countryman Pollok have said:

"He touched his harp, and nations heard entranced."

Since the close of this unhappy life there is scarcely an English or American writer of any prominence in literature who has not paid a loving tribute to the memory of Burns. His unadorned and simple verse has been an inspiration of beauty and of love to the young poets of all the generations that have followed. The humble dwelling in Ayreshire where he first saw the light and the substantial monument that overlooks the Doon have been a sort of shrine where the travelers of all lands have come to attest their homage for his genius and their appreciation of the noble sentiments of truth and goodness that adorned his verse. It was in fitting recognition of the genius which had conferred such honor upon Scotland that his countrymen long after his death erected on one of the hills of their ancient capital a stately and imposing monument to Burns. In after-years another prominent site of the city was crowned in like manner with the magnificent monument of Scott. Edinburgh wears them both proudly among her crown-jewels. Poets, orators, divines and statesmen in all civilized lands have found the name of Burns a fruitful theme, and

vied with one another in throwing a chaplet of honor on his brow. In recent times his distinguished countrymen Thomas Carlyle and Principal Shairp have written, each with clear discrimination, and yet with eminently just appreciation, loving monographs on his life and character. Nothing, perhaps, in all Mr. Carlyle's numerous writings is more admirable than this sketch of the peasant-poet.

What achievements in verse beyond those so early won might he not have reached had he but escaped those evil influences which at last overmastered his splendid powers and brought him to a premature grave ere he had passed the meridian of life! But even as it is he sang so sweetly, so truly, so gloriously, as to embalm his name for ever in the hearts of his countrymen and make that name a familiar household word in every habitation of the English-speaking race. That name is to-day one of the honored and enduring names of all literature. That name, despite the foibles of the poet, is a potential influence for humanity, for freedom, for universal brotherhood and good-will among men and nations, for right and justice, honesty and truth. It is a talisman to charm the world and make old Scotia's power felt wherever the foot of man has trod.

Who stands next among her canonized bards? Unquestionably, Walter Scott. His, however, is

a double diadem. To the laurel-crown of poesy is added the amaranthine chaplet of historical romance, and the later outshines the earlier glory. Genius is the most wonderful endowment of man. It is hard to say what genius cannot do. It is not often given to human genius to achieve the highest excellence in two departments of literature so distinct as those of poetic numbers and prose fiction, yet Walter Scott, apparently at a bound and without an effort, won them both. As the new and romantic bard of the North he sang his *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, his *Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion* in strains so sweet and joyous, and anon so martial and heroic, so true to nature and to Scotland, that the world heard entranced. And then, when he stood on these poetic heights, he purposed in his heart to take another step. As the author of *Waverley*—the "Great Unknown"—he poured forth in rapid succession that brilliant series of historical romances and life-fictions which for power of delineation, fascinating interest and universal popularity find scarcely a parallel in the annals of literature. All Scotland hailed him as the great enchanter; all the world recognized him as standing single and supreme in a department of literature which his own genius may be said to have created, and in which to this day he stands without an equal amongst his successors and imitators. He made a new era for Scotland. He opened Scotland to all the world as it had

never been opened before. He threw a new charm over Scottish history and over Scottish scenery. The world read and admired; to this day it has not ceased to read and admire. Travelers from all lands rushed in to gaze upon the scenes of grandeur and beauty depicted on his pages. In literary history no man, perhaps, has ever done so much by his pen for a country as Scott did for Scotland—so much to exalt the national character and make it known to all the world. It has been well said that Scotland is now Scott's-land. And Abbotsford is the culminating glory of it all. 'Tis a fine tribute to the character of Walter Scott which is given by Alexander Smith: "Never was an author so popular as Scott, and never was popularity worn so lightly and gracefully. In his own heart he did not value it highly, and he cared more for his plantations at Abbotsford than for his poems and his novels. He was loved by everybody. George IV. on his visit to the northern kingdom declared that Scott was the man he most wished to see. He was a great, simple, sincere, warm-hearted man. The mass of his greatness takes away from our sense of its height. He is the light in which Scotland is now seen. He has proclaimed all over the world Scottish story, Scottish humor, Scottish feeling and Scottish virtue."

There can be no doubt that the literature of Scotland took a new departure with the writings

of this gifted man. In him the North Briton became a very cosmopolitan whose teeming productions commanded the admiration of the world. The "author of *Waverley*" belonged not alone to Scotland, but to literature—to all lands, all classes, all generations, of men. When the veil of mystery that had so long concealed his identity was at length lifted, the noble character of the man was as conspicuous as the consummate genius of the author.

No writer of modern times has done more to revive and to keep alive the spirit of past ages than Sir Walter Scott. In this respect he has been the benefactor of the world. He has thrown over history a light of romance in which the young and the aged of each generation since his time have continued to read it with new interest. This he has done by both his poetry and his historical novels, in all of which, unlike many of his successors, he invariably adhered to the most exalted standard of virtue and wrote no line which the moralist could wish to blot.

Able critics like Professor Shairp have pointed out the striking resemblance between his longer romantic poems, such as the *Lay*, *Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion*, and the heroic poems of Homer. In these national ballads of Scott there is not a little of the life and fire as well as of the descriptive energy of the highest epic poetry, and the true Homeric spirit of the *Iliad* is breathed

forth in all his battle-scenes, such as that of "Flodden Field," in the last canto of *Marmion*, or that of "Bannockburn" in the *Lord of the Isles*, or even that of "Fitzjames and Roderick D'hu," in the *Lady of the Lake*. Leaving out of view the supernatural machinery of the old pagan mythology which Homer delighted to introduce, these spirited pieces of Sir Walter would not suffer in comparison with the descriptions of the very prince of poets.

In Professor Shairp's fine little volume on the *Aspects of Poetry*, in speaking of Scott's influence on the world, and especially of his wonderful power to delight the heart of childhood and youth almost beyond any other writer, the author gives us the following very suggestive remarks: "Moralists before now have asked, 'What has Scott done by all his singing about battles and knights and chivalry but merely amuse his fellow-men? Has he in any way really elevated and improved them?' It might be enough to answer this question by saying that of all writers, in verse or prose, he has done most to make us understand history, to let in light and sympathy upon a wide range of ages which had become dumb and meaningless to men, and which but for him might have continued so still. There must be something high or noble in that which can so take unsophisticated hearts. In his later days Scott is reported to have asked Laidlaw what he thought the moral influ-

ence of his writings had been. 'Laidlaw well replied that his works were the delight of the young, and that to have so reached their hearts was surely a good work to have done.' Scott was affected almost to tears, as well he might be. Again, not the young only, but the old, those who have kept themselves most childlike, who have carried the boy's heart farthest with them into life,—they have loved Scott's poetry even to the end. Something of this, no doubt, may be attributed to the pleasure of reverting in age to the things that have delighted our boyhood. But would the best and purest men have cared to do this if the things which delighted their boyhood had not been worthy? It is the great virtue of Scott's poetry, and of his novels also, that, quite forgetting self, they describe man and outward nature broadly, truly, genially as they are. All contemporary poetry—indeed, all contemporary literature—goes to work in the exactly opposite direction, shaping men and things after patterns self-originated from within, describing and probing human feelings and motives with an analysis so searching that all manly impulse withers before it and single-hearted straightforwardness becomes a thing impossible. Against this whole tendency of modern poetry and fiction, so weakening, so morbidly self-conscious, so unhealthily introspective, what more effective antidote than the bracing atmosphere of Homer and Shakespeare and Scott?"

This able and accomplished writer closes his justly-appreciative criticism upon his gifted countryman with the following passage, which may be commended not only to Scotsmen, but to all admirers of the character and genius of Scott throughout the world: "To have awakened and kept alive in an artificial and too money-loving age that character of mind which we call 'romantic,' which by transformation can become something so much beyond itself, is, even from the severest moral point of view, no mean merit. To higher than this few poets can lay claim. But let the critics praise him, or let them blame. It matters not: his reputation will not wane, but will grow with time. Therefore we do well to make much of Walter Scott. He is the only Homer who has been vouchsafed to Scotland—I might almost say, to modern Europe. He came at the latest hour when it was possible for a great epic minstrel to be born, and the altered condition of the world will not admit of another."

We can scarcely agree with so sweeping a vatication. There are yet more things in heaven and earth than are known to our philosophy or sung by any minstrelsy. The writer forgets that there is a great Western world, with its teeming millions and its rising civilizations and its unfathomed capacities, that as yet has had but little history, still less philosophy, and is only collecting the materials for its epics. The possibilities of

the future on this side of the Atlantic are still large.

After Burns and Scott, there is a brilliant array of poets and literary writers whose names are household words with all who speak the English tongue—Smollett and Falconer; MacPherson, Boswell and Beattie; Thomson, sweet singer of the *Seasons;* Campbell, author of the *Pleasures of Hope;* Graham, the bard of the *Sabbath;* Mackenzie, the Scottish Addison, author of the *Man of Feeling;* Professor Wilson, of the *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life;* Robert Pollok, of the *Course of Time;* James Montgomery, the sweet psalmist of the Church; Motherwell and Aytoun: Jane Porter, Joanna Baillie, Allan Ramsay, George Macdonald, John Lockhart, Lord Jeffrey and the great reviewers.

Nor has the Muse of History withheld her wreath from Scottish brows. The historical writers of Scotland, in the fullness of their research and in the splendor of their diction, hold a rank not excelled by any of the great historians of modern times. High on the rolls of fame stand the great names of George Buchanan, William Robertson, David Hume, Sir Archibald Alison, Thomas Carlyle and Sir James Mackintosh, the latter to his brilliant genius as a profound philosophical historian adding the still more brilliant reputation of the jurist, the statesman and the orator. As an advocate at the bar and as a de-

bater in the British Parliament, like his countrymen and predecessors on the same field, Lord Erskine and Chief-Justice Mansfield, he won his way to the foremost rank of greatness in an age of great men. This distinguished trio—Erskine, Mansfield and Mackintosh—may be taken as the representatives of a class of North Britons who, finding Edinburgh too small for their genius, have pressed their way to the metropolis of the empire, and from the high seats of power in Parliament, on the bench and in the Cabinet have made their names and their influence felt as far as Britain's power is felt. In eloquence, learning and statesmanship there are no greater names than those of the Scotch trio—Erskine, Mansfield and Mackintosh. They are the full-grown compeers and equals of Chatham, Fox and Burke, and on this high ground of eloquence Scotland stands side by side with England.

Of the writers just named, some might almost be called the oracles of literary opinion, so great was the reputation they gained at home and so wide their celebrity abroad through their varied productions. Such was the case with the learned and at that time popular historians Hume, Robertson and Alison, read all over England and America. So was it with the eloquent and brilliant Sir James Mackintosh, always the advocate of popular rights. Equally popular and fascinating in their day were the writings of John Wilson

("Christopher North") and the critics of the *Edinburgh Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, and a host of young writers, some of Scotch and some of English birth, like Lord Jeffrey, Henry Brougham, Sydney Smith, Thomas de Quincey, Thomas Macaulay, John Lockhart and Mackintosh, who either in person gathered around Edinburgh as their literary metropolis or through the pages of the great *Reviews* held periodical communication with the reading public of the world.

In this connection one distinguished name deserves a more distinct notice as filling a large space in the world's thought during much of the present century. It is that of Thomas Carlyle, a Scotchman by birth and education, who spent the larger portion of his protracted life at Chelsea, near London, where by his numerous writings he achieved the widest literary renown as a profound and original thinker. He lived in a circle of men of letters of the highest order, where his brilliant genius was fully appreciated, and probably no one of them all during his whole career obtained a stronger hold upon the world's attention. His first important work, the *Sartor Resartus* of some fifty years ago, introduced him to the public as a remarkable writer, and his succeeding volumes—*Heroes and Hero-Worship*, *The Life and Letters of Cromwell*, *The French Revolution*, *Frederick the Great*, *Miscellanies* and *Latter-*

Day Pamphlets—but served to confirm the public estimate of his great ability. His writings have been read around the globe. They have been a power among all civilized men of our times, and it may be questioned whether any single writer of the century has exerted a wider and deeper influence over the minds of men, especially of young men. Some of these writings have become a part of the permanent literature of the age, and, though there has come a reaction against his influence as an oracle of opinion, they will no doubt long continue to be read with interest.

Carlyle wrote no poems; he rather held the verse-makers in contempt, as he did so many other classes. Still, his writings have some of the noblest elements of poetry. He has been styled a great prose-poet, though he is far from being a fine prose-writer. He sets all the laws of good English at defiance and sacrifices every element of grace and beauty on the altar of giant strength. In vigor and impassioned fervor no one ever went beyond him. His countryman Professor Shairp, in an admirable critique on his genius, says: "Carlyle's book on the French Revolution has been called the great modern epic; and so it is—an epic as true and germane to this age as Homer's was to his." As to religious opinion, it is difficult to say what Mr. Carlyle held—if, indeed, he held anything firmly.

One of his contemporaries not unaptly describes him as "a Puritan who had lost his religion." He would appear, however, never to have given up the two fundamental beliefs in God and immortality. Unquestionably, his writings inculcate throughout a stern and high morality as set forth in the Christian Scriptures. Professor Shairp says: "Though the superstructure of Puritanism had disappeared, the original superstructure remained: the stern, stoical Calvinism of his nature was the foundation on which all his views were built. His religious faith, if we may venture to trace it, would seem to be the result of three things—his own strong, stern nature, his early Calvinistic training, and these two transformed by the after-influx of German transcendentalism tempered by Goethism."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY OF SCOTLAND.

IT is in the two closely-affiliated realms of science and philosophy that the intellectual education and development of a nation may be said to attain its higher levels. To this needs only to be added the equally important moral and religious development to make the education complete and the work of advancement satisfactory and perfect. Without claiming for the Scottish people any superior excellence over other civilized communities in these respects, it is enough now to say that during the past two centuries their progress has been manifest, and they have now reached these higher levels of modern cultivated thought.

In the wide fields of invention and discovery and of the natural and physical sciences the sons of Scotland have ever marched with the vanguard in the grand army of human progress. From James Watt, the constructor of the steam-engine, and John Napier, the inventor of logarithms, and Colin Maclaurin's great treatise *On Fluxions*, down to Sir David Brewster the astronomer,

Playfair the geometrician, Sir Roderic Murchison the geographer, Sir Charles Lyell and Hugh Miller the geologists, and from the early African travelers Mungo Park and Clapperton down to her great missionaries Robert Moffat and David Livingstone in Africa, Claudius Buchanan and Alexander Duff in India,—little Scotland has borne her full share in the great work of scientific investigation and discovery, and in the still greater work of the world's evangelization. Her sons of science, her Christian civilizers, her heroic missionaries, have "stood before kings; they have not stood before mean men."

In the advancement of the inductive sciences, as well as in that of intellectual and moral philosophy, in Scotland, her great universities bore no inconsiderable part. These ancient and honored seats of learning, though never so richly endowed as those of England, were from their early foundations the radiating centres of light and influence to the whole Scottish people. Around them gathered the most learned and noted men of the times. In them were educated the young men who devoted themselves to scientific research or philosophic inquiry, and who in after-life were called back, crowned with honors, to fill the professor's chair in their alma mater, and from these centres of learning to send forth to the world the matured results of their investigations. Scotland has been highly favored

with such seats of learning, having had four of them from early times—the two principal ones in the two chief cities of the realm, the renowned universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the other two in the ancient cities of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, not so widely known, but still ancient, honorable and influential in their share of the scientific, classical, philosophical, literary and theological training of the successive generations of her youth. Nor has she from the foundation of these great schools ever been without an influence, both direct and indirect, upon the world at large. Through these schools, back to their origin, Scotland has been to a large extent the educator of the youth of other Christian lands. Into their academic halls from year to year have come the sons of the wealthy, from England, from Ireland, from America, from all the British dependencies abroad, and even from the Continent, to receive the higher culture of science, theology, law, medicine, philosophy. Especially in the earlier history of our own country, when institutions of learning were in comparative infancy here, was this educational influence of Scotland manifest in our pulpits and in all the learned professions. Here, from the lips of the most eminent professors, did many of our youth go to receive the finishing instructions of their life-work. And thither still do some of them go.

One of the distinguished men first named, the

celebrated mathematician and philosopher Colin Maclaurin, was successively connected with three of these noted schools. He studied at Glasgow, where he took the degree of Master of Arts at the age of fifteen. He then obtained the mathematical chair at Marischal College, Aberdeen, at the age of seventeen. At nineteen he was made a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1725, at the age of twenty-seven, he was elected professor of mathematics at Edinburgh, where his lectures contributed much to raise the character of that university as a school of science. A controversy with Bishop Berkely led to the publication of his *Treatise on Fluxions.*

Of all the Scottish savans of the last century, the one who has probably acquired the widest and most enduring fame was Adam Smith, the author of the celebrated treatise on *The Wealth of Nations.* Before this book appeared he had already won a high reputation as an acute thinker in his chair of logic, and afterward of moral philosophy, at the University of Glasgow, having published two important works—*The Theory of the Moral Sentiments* and a *Dissertation on Languages.* The appearance of his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* at once established his higher fame. It constituted a new departure in economical science. It revolutionized the public opinion of the world on many questions of trade and commerce. It broke down

a thousand ancient prejudices and gave a new impulse to thought and a new direction to commercial enterprise. It demonstrated how both individuals and nations could grow rich without despoiling or interfering with each other. It entitled the author to rank as a pioneer—if not, indeed, the very founder—of political economy as a separate branch of human knowledge. He raised it to a position which it has never lost—of being one of the most important of all the modern sciences. His profound treatise became a text-book of instruction in many of the higher schools and colleges of all lands. It gave to the doctrine of free trade a prominence which it has held to this day among the deep problems of political economy. After all the advances of a century, the name of Adam Smith still stands as an authority among the greatest thinkers of the world.

The mathematical and physical sciences in Scotland during the same century were well represented at her universities by the distinguished names of Robert Simson, James Hutton and John Playfair, whose learned researches, given to the public in many forms of publication, contributed not a little to the general advancement of knowledge at home and abroad.

The present century has furnished a bright cluster of scientific names in Scotland, contributing their full share to that exalted estimation in

which scientific pursuits are now held in all civilized nations. Of these was Hugh Miller, a self-taught man from the stone-quarries and a master of pure English diction, author of the *Old Red Sandstone* and the *Testimony of the Rocks*, the devotee and the martyr of scientific investigation. He brought to the elucidation of these studies a fresh and brilliant literary ability almost as untutored and spontaneous as that of his immortal countryman Robert Burns. Seldom has science in any country been made so clear, and so attractive to the popular mind as in his learned yet fascinating pages. Another eminent scientist of Scotland contemporary with Hugh Miller was Sir Charles Lyell, whose popular geological writings and extended geological tours in many lands did much to develop his favorite science. The honor of knighthood was conferred upon him in recognition of the great services he had rendered to the cause of scientific knowledge.

In this honored class stand the great names of Sir David Brewster and Sir Roderic Murchison of Edinburgh, well worthy, in the value and extent of their scientific labors, to be associated with the illustrious names of Michael Faraday and Sir John Herschel of the same period in London. Perhaps no two men of the times have conferred greater lustre upon British science than these two distinguished North Britons. Sir David Brewster—inventor of the kaleidoscope, editor of the

Edinburgh Encyclopædia and the *Philosophical Journal*, author of numerous scientific volumes covering a wide range of knowledge—lived long to adorn his native land by his rare virtues of character and by his contributions to science. "We love to think of him," says a contemporary, "as the experimental philosopher who combined in so extraordinary a degree the strictest severity of scientific argument and form with a freedom of fancy and imagination which lent picturesqueness to all his illustrations and invested his later writings especially with an indefinable charm." While he lived no intelligent visitor of Edinburgh from abroad missed seeing the genial and accomplished Sir David Brewster. Scarcely less distinguished is the far-famed geologist and geographer Sir Roderic Murchison, the friend of Livingstone, president of the Royal Geographical Society and of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. No man living, perhaps, has contributed more by his studies and his personal exertions to promote geographical science in Great Britain and to enkindle a spirit of adventure among the scientific explorers in distant lands.

Another distinguished representative of the most recent Scottish science is Professor William Thomson of the University of Glasgow, one of the ablest of living mathematicians and natural philosophers. He is the author of many learned works and of some brilliant discoveries in sub-

marine telegraphy, to which he has devoted much research. His name is intimately associated with the successful solution of the great and once-difficult problem of connecting the two continents by the Atlantic cable. By his long-continued experiments and investigations he contributed—perhaps more than any other one man—to the ultimate accomplishment of that great scheme of interoceanic communication which now so wonderfully binds the world together in thought, and so magnificently illustrates the triumph of modern science. Whatever of good this practical realization of one of the great ideas of our most recent science may yet bring to the final triumph of Christian civilization among all nations, it is not without significance that Scotland, through her ancient university and her learned professor, has labored in the problem. In the coming glory Scotland, though small among the world's great potentates and dominions, will be entitled to her share.

In the recent authorship of Scotland the duke of Argyle has won a distinguished position by several popular works which have been greatly admired on both sides of the Atlantic. His *Reign of Law* and his *Primeval Man*—mainly contributions to science, but written in a profound philosophic spirit—have passed through many editions, and certainly take rank with the ablest works of our times on subjects of this kind.

He is a thinker and a scholar, showing on every page a thorough mastery of the intricate and important subjects he discusses. His volumes are replete with strong, sound, discriminating thought presented in a style of great clearness, reminding one of the lucid pages of his countryman Hugh Miller. It is refreshing to find the broadest scientific culture of the age thus combined in an author who at every step fills us with a conviction of his deep earnestness in the quest of truth and of his judiciousness in the statement of his opinions. The noble author deserves well of his country, and by these volumes has made rich contributions to the cause of popular science and philosophic truth. At its first appearance a competent critic pronounced *Primeval Man* "the most clear, graceful, pointed and precise piece of ethical reasoning which had been published for a quarter of a century." "Its great end is to show that it is impossible to pursue any investigation of man's history from the purely physical side. Its reasoning seems to us absolutely conclusive against the upholders of the natural-selection theory."

In his work on the *Reign of Law* the accomplished author has discussed some of the most abstruse and perplexing problems which divide the ablest speculative thinkers of our times. The great aim of the volume is to show that, while law reigns supreme in all the universe through-

out mind and matter, its supremacy does not exclude a divine Lawgiver: "Creation by law, evolution by law, development by law—or, as including all these kindred ideas, the reign of law—is nothing but the reign of creative force, directed by creative knowledge, worked under the control of creative power and in fulfillment of creative purpose."

We scarcely know a finer passage in our recent literature than that which occurs at the close of this able discussion, where the author vindicates the presence and agency of God in all parts of this law-governed universe. He says:

"The superstition which saw in all natural phenomena the action of capricious deities was not more irrational than the superstition which sees in them nothing but the action of invariable law. Men have been right, and not wrong, when they saw in the facts of nature the *variability of adjustment* even more surely than they saw the *constancy of force*. They were right when they identified these phenomena with the phenomena of mind. They were right when they regarded their own faculty of contrivance as the nearest and truest analogy by which the construction of the universe can be conceived and its order understood. They were right when they regarded its arrangements as susceptible of change, and when they looked upon a change of will as the efficient cause of other changes without number

and without end. It was well to feel this by the force of instinct; it is better still to be sure of it in the light of reason. It is an immense satisfaction to know that the result of logical analysis does but confirm the testimony of consciousness and run parallel with the primeval traditions of belief. It is an unspeakable comfort that when we come to close quarters with this vision of invariable law seated on the throne of Nature we find it a phantom and a dream—a mere nightmare of ill-digested thought and of God's great gift of speech abused. We are, after all, what we thought ourselves to be. Our freedom is a reality, and not a name. Our faculties have, in truth, the relations which they seem to have to the economy of nature. Their action is a real and substantial action on the constitution and course of things. The laws of nature were not appointed by the great Lawgiver to baffle his creatures in the sphere of conduct, still less to confound them in the region of belief. As parts of an order of things too vast to be more than partly understood they present, indeed, some difficulties which perplex the intellect, and a few also, it cannot be denied, which wring the heart. But, on the whole, they stand in harmonious relations with the human spirit. They come visibly from one pervading Mind and express the authority of one enduring kingdom. As regards the moral ends they serve, this too can be clearly seen—that the pur-

pose of all natural laws is best fulfilled when they are made, as they can be made, the instruments of intelligent will and the servants of enlightened conscience."

These able contributions to natural science are the more important as coming from one who has thus made good his position both as a scientist and as a philosopher. They inspire us with confidence both by their research and by their conservatism. They illustrate how the widest scientific culture of the age is still consistent and harmonious with all those fundamental ethical principles that underlie the Christian system, and that distinguish the Scottish philosophy as a philosophy of sound reason and common sense. While the noble writer is at home in the fields of physical science and does not shrink from discussing the deepest ethical and philosophical problems, yet, true to the genius of his country, he ever stands on solid ground and is never carried off to the dreamlands of an uncertain metaphysical speculation. He can look back upon an illustrious ancestry of stern, heroic, fighting men. He has here fought a higher and better battle.

Let us turn now to survey another field of Scotland's authorship and influence, closely allied to that of the natural sciences. It is that of the higher intellectual and moral philosophy, or, as it may be called, metaphysical speculation. This

elevated region of abstract logical thought, which the educated men of all civilized ages and races have cultivated just in proportion as they have advanced in knowledge, has not lacked attraction for the Scotch. If knowledge is power, then thought is power, philosophy is power; for philosophy has to deal with thought and with knowledge as its essential elements. If, as has been said, the world is governed by ideas, then philosophy governs the world of thinking men; for it is philosophy that classifies our ideas, systematizes our science and gives direction to all the great energies and enterprises of educated men. In this realm of pure reason, this wide domain of intellectual, moral and metaphysical philosophy, Scotland may be said to have created an independent school of her own whose power, almost omnipotent at home, has extended its modifying influences over all other Christian lands.

In the olden times, as we have seen, the Scots were great fighters and dealt hard blows; in more recent times they have been content to fight the higher battles of the mind. They have been great thinkers, deep thinkers, hard thinkers. They have well cultivated the reasoning faculties and sharpened them by use. They are dialecticians and logicians of the first order. In no country in the world has its dominant philosophy had more to do with the living thought of its people. It

has stamped itself upon their character. It has been a potential factor in their education. It has given a coloring to their whole literature. It has gone into the ministrations of the pulpit as no other philosophy ever did. In all her history Scotland has probably produced no one thing which is more distinctly her own, which has exerted a stronger influence over her leading minds or contributed more to make her influence felt and respected abroad, than her indigenous, strongly-marked and solid philosophy. It has never been a philosophy of dreams and fancies, but a philosophy resting on the fundamental experience and axioms of intuition and common sense, the observed facts of human experience and the clear deductions of enlightened reason. This philosophy, the matured growth of ages, has been taught from generation to generation in the four great universities, especially in the law and divinity schools, and has been promulgated to the world not only by the leading reviews and magazines, but in many profound systematic treatises.

By this philosophy, both at home and in foreign lands, Scotland has spoken in a voice as potential as it has been decided. There has never been much ambiguity in her teaching. With a few exceptions like David Hume, the Scottish philosophers have in the main uttered but one voice and taught one great system. By it they have become educators to mankind, and they have

largely led the thinking of the English-speaking race both in the Old World and in the New. There can be no question that they led it through all the colonial period of our own history, and that they still lead it both here and in Canada, notwithstanding the large influx, during the present century, of the more pretentious schools of German and French philosophy. So far as this New World can be said to have any one philosophy which it can claim as its own and call "American," it is certainly in its fundamental principles much more closely allied to Scotland than to Germany or to France. Philosophy, like all other departments of human knowledge, is progressive and changes both its teachers and its text-books from age to age, the old and imperfect systems giving place to the new and improved methods. So has it been in Scotland. Still, there is to-day no sounder philosophy in the world than that which has been expounded in the writings of Reid and Brown, Abercrombie and Dugald Stewart, the brilliant Sir William Hamilton and our honored James McCosh. Many errors have from time to time been exploded and cast off: the true philosophy is in the substantial residuum of truth that remains.

Dr. McCosh is at this time probably the ablest living representative of the Scottish philosophy. No man is better qualified to expound it. His own contributions to its elucidation have not

been inconsiderable. In himself he well illustrates that strong and sound educational influence which we have been tracing in these pages, and which has gone out from his native land over all the earth. He may well be called a missionary not only of gospel truths, but of philosophical thought. Since he came among us, and even before, he has been doing in America that kind of educational work which his great countryman Witherspoon did a hundred years ago. His *Method of the Divine Government*, which gave him his early and world-wide reputation, his *Typical Forms*, *Intuitions of the Mind* and *Fundamental Truth*, are all thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Scottish philosophy, as they are with sound Christian doctrine. These works form a part of the best literature of the age, have been studied in many colleges, have been read by the leading scholars of many lands, and their principles have been inculcated from many pulpits.

In his volume entitled *The Scottish Philosophy, Biographical, Expository, Critical, from Hutcheson to Hamilton*, Dr. McCosh has given an interesting sketch of the leading thinkers and writers of the school for a period of about two hundred years. He has introduced the work with a chapter on the characteristics of this philosophy, singling out its three most prominent points. He styles it the philosophy of observation, the philosophy of self-consciousness and the philosophy

of intuitive principles, of fundamental laws of the mind, or of the principles of common sense. These three combined constitute its great distinction by which, on one side or on the other, it is differentiated from all other schools of philosophy. "These three characters," he says, "are found in a more or less decided form in the works of the great masters of the school." "The great merit of the Scottish philosophy," he adds, "lies in the large body of truth which it has, if not discovered, at least settled on a foundation which can never be moved. It possesses a unity not only in the circumstance that its expounders have been Scotchmen, but also, and more specially, in its method, its doctrines and its spirit."

Dr. McCosh gives a review of the lives and opinions of more than fifty of the leading writers who through this long period contributed to swell the stream of Scottish philosophical literature and give character to the system. Among the more distinguished names on the list are Thomas Reid, Henry Home (Lord Kames), David Hume, Adam Smith, George Campbell, Dugald Stewart, Thomas Brown, Henry Lord Brougham, Francis Jeffrey, Thomas Chalmers, Sir James Mackintosh and Sir William Hamilton. David Hume, however, is no true representative of the Scottish philosophy. He was far more distinguished as a historian and a skeptic than as a philosopher, although he was anxious to be appointed professor of moral phil-

osophy in the University of Edinburgh. His subtle and ingenious arguments against Christianity were satisfactorily answered in his own day by many able writers both in Scotland and in England, and they have since been answered a thousand times. Still, it is not to be denied that by his writings he has for more than a hundred years wielded an influence which has been as widely spread as it has been pernicious. His example is an illustration of the indestructible power of philosophic thought even when the philosophy has been false and its teachings have been baneful. His writings unquestionably had much to do in creating that skeptical and anti-Christian public sentiment in France which brought in the Revolution of 1789 with all its terrific results. To this day there is scarcely a writer of former times who has done more to unsettle all fundamental beliefs in Christian truth than David Hume. In this case it is most sadly true that the influence of Scotland has been enduring and as wide as the world. But in the great skeptic the philosophy of Scotland is not to be held responsible for what one of her gifted sons has done in her name.

It is not the purpose of the present brief survey to describe the character and the work of these eminent philosophers—not even of those who may be regarded as the greater lights of the school. Reid, Stewart, Brown and Hamilton may perhaps be taken as the truest representatives

of the school. If not the founders (for they followed a considerable line of earlier writers), they certainly may be considered as the ablest expounders of the Scottish philosophy. Dr. McCosh pronounces a just eulogium on each of these great masters of the school, especially on Dugald Stewart and Sir William Hamilton. Of the former he says: "I have noticed that in many cases Stewart hides his originality as carefully as others boast of theirs. Often have I found, after going the round of philosophers in seeking light on some absolute subject, that in turning to Stewart his doctrine is, after all, the most profound, as it is the most judicious." He tells us that at the time when the metropolis of Scotland was the residence of many of the principal Scottish families, and of persons of high literary and social distinction, the house of Dugald Stewart became the centre and bond of an accomplished circle, himself the chief attraction. Young men of rank and fortune became inmates of his family, and received impressions from his teaching and society which they carried through life." "In his classes of moral philosophy and political economy he had under him a greater body of young men who afterward distinguished themselves than any other teacher that I can think of. Among them we have to place Lord Brougham, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Francis Horner, Lord Landsdowne, Francis Jeffrey, Walter Scott, Sydney

Smith, Thomas Brown, Thomas Chalmers, James Mill, Archibald Alison, and many others who have risen to great eminence in politics, in literature or philosophy. Most of them have acknowledged the good they received from his lectures, while some of them have carried out in practical measures the principles which he inculcated."

In the brilliant Sir William Hamilton the two centuries of Scottish philosophy may be said to have reached the flower. Not that he was nearer the truth than his predecessors—perhaps he was not so near as some of them—but because of his originality and his learning. He had a genius for philosophy and was certainly one of the greatest thinkers of his own or any other age. In his thorough acquaintance with the philosophical writers of all ages, ancient and modern, it would be difficult to find his equal. Dr. McCosh speaks of him as the most learned of all the Scottish metaphysicians. "When he was alive," says he, "he could always be pointed to as redeeming Scotland from the reproach of being without high scholarship. Oxford had no man to put on the same level. Germany had not a profounder scholar or one whose judgment in a disputed point could be so relied on. No man has ever done more in cleansing the literature of philosophy of commonplace mistakes, of thefts and impostures. For years to come ordinary authors will seem learned

by drawing from his stores. For scholarship in the technical sense of the term, and in particular for the scholarship of philosophy, they (his predecessors) were all inferior to Hamilton, who was equal to any of them in the knowledge of Greek and Roman systems and of the earlier philosophies of modern Europe, and vastly above them in a comprehensive acquaintance with all schools, standing alone in his knowledge of the more philosophic fathers, such as Tertullian and Augustine; of the more illustrious schoolmen, such as Thomas Aquinas and Scotus; of the writers of the Revival, such as the elder Scaliger; and of the ponderous systems of Kant and the schools which ramified from him in Germany."

The influence of the Scottish philosophy, regarded as a whole, both upon Scotland and upon other countries, is admirably stated in the following striking passage from Dr. McCosh's volume: "The Scottish metaphysicians and moralists have left their impress on their own land—not only on the ministers of religion, and through them upon the body of the people, but also on the whole thinking mind of the country. The chairs of mental science in the Scottish colleges have had more influence than any others in germinating thought in the minds of Scottish youth and in giving a permanent bias and direction to their intellectual growth. We have the express testimony of a succession of illustrious men for more

than a century to the effect that it was Hutcheson, or Smith, or Reid, or Beattie, or Stewart, or Jardine, or Mylne, or Brown, or Chalmers, or Wilson, or Hamilton, who first made them feel that they had a mind and stimulated them to independent thought. We owe it to the lectures and writings of the professors of mental science —acting always along with the theological training and preaching of the country—that men of ability in Scotland have commonly been more distinguished by their tendency to inward reflection than inclination to sensuous observation. Nor is it to be omitted that the Scottish metaphysicians have written the English language, if not with absolute purity, yet with propriety and taste—some of them, indeed, with elegance and eloquence—and have thus helped to advance the literary cultivation of the country. All of them have not been men of learning in the technical sense of the term, but they have all been well informed in various branches of knowledge (it is to a Scottish metaphysician we owe the *Wealth of Nations*). Several of them have had very accurate scholarship, and the last great man among them was not surpassed in erudition by any scholar of his age. Nor has the influence of Scottish philosophy been confined to its native soil. The Irish province of Ulster has felt it quite as much as Scotland, in consequence of so many youths from the North of Ireland having been

educated at Glasgow University. Though Scottish metaphysicians are often spoken of with contempt in the southern part of Great Britain, yet they have had their share in fashioning the thought of England, and in particular did much good in preserving it, for two or three ages toward the close of the last century and the beginning of this, from falling altogether into low materialistic and utilitarian views; and in the last age Mr. J. S. Mill got some of his views through his father from Hume, Stewart and Brown, and an active philosophic school at Oxford has built on the foundation laid by Hamilton. The United States of America, especially the writers connected with the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, have felt pleasure in acknowledging their obligations to the Scottish thinkers. It is a most interesting circumstance that when the higher metaphysicians of France undertook, in the beginning of this century, the laborious work of throwing back the tide of materialism, skepticism and atheism which had swept over the land, they called to their aid the sober and well-grounded philosophy of Scotland. Nor is it an unimportant fact in the history of philosophy that the great German metaphysician Emmanuel Kant was roused, as he acknowledges, from his dogmatic slumbers by the skepticism of David Hume."

CHAPTER IX.

THE WOMEN OF SCOTLAND.

IN tracing the influence of any one country upon the general civilization of the world, the view would scarcely be complete without some mention of its women. The present survey of Scotland thus far has brought to notice only the part borne by her sons. What now shall be said of her daughters? Theirs, too, is a glorious record of woman's sufferings, of heroic endeavor and patient endurance unto death.

High on that list stand the noble Isabella, countess of Buchan, who set the crown on the head of Robert Bruce; Catherine Douglas, who sacrificed her right arm to save her king; Agnes of Dunbar, who defended her castle to the last extremity; Flora McDonald, who saved the life of the Young Pretender—styled by one "the fairest flower that ever bloomed in the rough pathway of a prince's hard fortune;" the noble martyrs Margaret Wilson and Margaret McLaughlan, who were bound on the seashore and drowned by the rising tide; and, in later times, those two bright examples of woman in her lofty

sphere of home influence and Christian philanthropy, the accomplished Lady Janet Colquhoun, and Elizabeth, last duchess of Gordon, distinguished alike for their beauty and their beneficence. Still later, even in our own times, we have seen Mary Somerville, daughter of a distinguished naval officer, by the simple force of her own wonderful genius and industry, achieve a distinction in the higher walks of mathematics and astronomy which placed her in the foremost ranks of the savans and scientists of this advanced nineteenth century, and will send her name down through all time as one of the most remarkable women in the world's history—remarkable for an eminence in scientific attainments which but few men have surpassed, combined with that grace of character which is the crowning glory of womanhood.

By far the most famous woman of Scotland was Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, celebrated for her beauty, her accomplishments, her errors and her misfortunes. No name of her country has gone more fully into history and into the general literature of the world than hers. The sad story of her life and her tragical end has been the undying theme of all the generations that have followed, and to this day it has never lost its attraction to the young and the imaginative. It has been the prolific theme of the historian, the poet, the romancer, the artist, the dram-

atist, in many lands, who have all sought to embody in different forms the striking features of her eventful career and to impersonate the young and beautiful queen. As to her personal attractions, her rare physical beauty and her high intellectual powers there can be no question; unfortunately, there has never been a like unanimity as to her moral character. From the first, through all the ages following, there has been, and there is still, a widely-contested and yet-unsettled controversy on this point. With all her fine endowments of intellect and person, there is to this day a cloud of uncertainty which, to say the least, mars the picture, and which not all our interest in her misfortunes and her cruel fate can remove. It is not that we have aught to say in extenuation of the part enacted by her powerful rival, Queen Elizabeth: that was bad enough; but what most darkens the picture is the strangely reckless course pursued by Mary toward her once loyal and admiring people of Scotland before she fell into the hands of the queen of England. Did ever sovereign so spurn all her wisest counselors, so set at defiance all public sentiment, or so despise the plainest conventionalities of life?

Sir Walter Scott has taken Mary Stuart as the heroine of one of his historical romances, *The Abbot*, and has thus thrown around her youth and beauty the spell of his matchless genius. Yet even he, with all the strong predilections of na-

tionality and chivalry in her favor, is compelled, in his *History of Scotland*, to give the following cautious estimate of her character: "No inquiry has been able to bring us to that clear opinion upon the guilt of Mary which is expressed by many authors, or to guide us to that triumphant conclusion in favor of her innocence of all accession, direct or tacit, to the death of her husband which others have maintained with the same obstinacy. The great error of marrying Bothwell, stained as he was by universal suspicion of Darnley's murder, is a blot upon her character for which we in vain seek an apology. What excuse she is to derive from the brutal ingratitude of Darnley, what from the perfidy and cruelty of the fiercest set of nobles who existed in any age, what from the manners of a time in which assassination was often esteemed a virtue and revenge the discharge of a debt of honor,—must be left to the charity of the reader." While her true character must remain an enigma unsolved, there can be no doubt that she was a sincere and devout believer in the Roman Catholic faith. The serene composure with which she received her last sentence and met the hour of her execution was worthy of the heroic race from which she had sprung, and did much to embalm her memory even with those who had never approved her life. On the accession of her son, James I., to the throne of England, her body, which had been interred with

great pomp in the cathedral of Peterborough, near the castle of Fotheringay, where she had been so long confined, was by his order removed to the chapel of Henry VII., at Westminster, where a magnificent monument was erected to her memory.

Mary Stuart, however, is no true representative of the women of Scotland. Her education had been in France, where she was trained in all the principles of the papal Church. On her return to Scotland she set herself in bitter antagonism to the growing Protestant Reformation, and she was ready to sacrifice the welfare of the nation to the ascendency of Rome. Far truer representatives of the people were those heroic women, among both the nobles and the lower classes, who stood firmly with Knox, and were ready to endure privations and persecution unto death for the rights of conscience and a pure Church. Such was the heroic wife of John Welsh, daughter of John Knox. Such, too, in the following century, under the bloody persecutions of Claverhouse, was the equally heroic wife of John Brown. The annals of Church history contain few more pathetic pages than those which recount the heroic deaths of Margaret McLaughlan and Margaret Wilson—the one an aged widow, the other a maiden of eighteen—who, bound to stakes in the sea, perished together in the rising tide, humble martyrs for ever ennobled in death and wor-

thy to be associated with Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart, of the former century.

The humble name of Jenny Geddes must not be omitted in any account, however brief, of Scottish women. But little is known about her, and some have even questioned her identity with the real woman whose famous stool, hurled at the head of the dean of Edinburgh in 1637, was the signal of a great uprising among the people, ending in a memorable revolution. The act, insignificant in itself, and even ludicrous, may be forgiven on the score of its unwomanly violence when we consider that it lifted her obscure name into history, that it was provoked by an insult almost unbearable, that it gave expression to the universal indignation of the people and led to results of unspeakable importance to the Scottish Church and to the whole nation. In its far-reaching effects it was not unlike that famous shot first fired at Concord in later days in our own land, which, Emerson tells us, was "heard round the world."

In their insane folly, ambition and treachery King James and his successor, Charles I., had persistently set themselves to the task of forcing a hated ritualistic service on the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The occasion on which this poor woman of a brave heart and a true Scottish conscience comes to the front with her wooden stool and her strong arm is de-

scribed by the historian Hetherington in the following words:

"The 23d of July, 1637, was the day on which the perilous experiment was to be made whether the people of Scotland would tamely submit to see the institutions of their fathers wantonly violated and overthrown for the gratification of a despotic monarch and a lordly hierarchy. Several of the prelates were in the capital to grace the innovation with their presence. The attention of the public was directed chiefly to the cathedral church of St. Giles. There the dean of Edinburgh prepared to commence the intended outrage on the national Church and the most sacred feelings of the people. A deep, melancholy calm brooded over the congregation, all apparently anticipating some display of mingled wrath and sorrow, but none aware what form it might assume or what might be its intent. At length, when their feelings, wound up to the highest pitch, were become too tremulously painful much longer to be endured, the dean, attired in his surplice, began to read the service of the day. At that moment an old woman named Jenny Geddes, unable longer to restrain her indignation, exclaimed, 'Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug?' and, seizing the stool on which she had been sitting, hurled it at the dean's head. Instantly all was tumultuous uproar and confusion. Missiles of every kind were flying from all direc-

tions, aimed at the luckless leader of the forlorn hope of prelacy, and several of the most vehement rushed toward the desk to seize upon the object of their indignation. The dean, terrified by this outburst of popular fury, tore himself out of their hands and fled, glad to escape, though with the loss of his sacerdotal vestments. The bishop of Edinburgh then entered the pulpit and endeavored to allay the wild tumult, but in vain. He was instantly assailed with equal fury, and was with difficulty rescued by the interference of the magistrates."

But the fire thus kindled could no more be quenched. Through forty years of oppression the public mind of Scotland had been preparing for that memorable day. "It was," says Dr. Breed, "the very crisis of a great national revolution." "It was the first formidable outbreak against the tyranny of the Stuarts, and Jenny Geddes' stool was the first shell sent screaming through the air at those merciless oppressors of the two realms; and the echoes of that shell are reverberating to-day among the hills." The very next year the great National Covenant of Scotland was signed in the old Greyfriars church of Edinburgh, which covenant secured not only the religious liberties of Scotland, but, in the end, those of England herself. In its more remote results it overthrew the Stuart dynasty and secured the civil and religious liberties of

all English-speaking people. "That tumult in the high church of Edinburgh," says Carlyle, "spread into a universal battle and struggle over all these realms; there came out, after fifty years' struggling, what we call the glorious revolution, a *habeas corpus* act, free Parliaments and much else."

The women of Scotland who have won a place in literature are not numerous. In the heroic ages, before woman in any land had come to wield the pen as a part of her rightful vocation, there was, of course, no opening in Scotland for her genius or talent in this direction. In all that part of the history it was her province to suffer, to make sacrifices, to sustain by her companionship, her counsel and her heroism those who battled bravely for the right. And through all the long eventful struggles for national independence and for civil and religious liberty no country was ever blest with a nobler succession of mothers, wives and daughters than Scotland. In all that has been achieved by her heroic sons the gentler sex have been entitled to a full share of commendation. But in the general advance of woman in many new spheres of usefulness which has taken place in all parts of Christendom during the present century and a portion of the last, Scotland has not been without her female writers who have won an honorable place in poetry, art, science and general literature.

Prominent on the list of those who have gained a reputation beyond their own age and country is the name of Joanna Baillie, who, born in Bothwell, Scotland, of an honorable and affluent family, passed the larger portion of a long life at Hampshire, near London. Her *Plays of the Passions*—a series of dramatic representations written with the view of elevating the drama—made her famous among her contemporaries and secured for her a permanent place among British poets. Though her plays attained no great success on the stage and failed of their design in reforming it, they evinced a deep knowledge of the human heart and revealed in the author a high degree of poetic genius. Whatever place may be accorded to her now, she was certainly in advance of any of the dramatic poets of her own sex who had preceded her. She was contemporaneous with Sir Walter Scott, who greatly admired her productions and spoke of them as containing passages not unworthy of being written by Shakespeare. "They form," says a critic of our own times, "a mine of genius from which many more recent writers of note have drawn to enrich their own stores. In such compositions (her dramas) she is unrivaled by any female writer, and she is the only woman whose genius, as displayed in her works, appears competent to the production of an epic poem. This she never attempted." As a woman Miss Baillie was mod-

est, dignified, genuine and lovely, without a trace of vanity or ostentation. "After the publication of her *Plays*," says Mrs. Oliphant, "for many years her house at Hampstead was an object of pilgrimage to many, and the best of the age resorted to it with a respect which was almost allegiance. Sir Walter Scott declared that if he wanted to give an intelligent stranger the best idea possible of an English (he should have said Scots) gentlewoman, he would send him to Joanna Baillie. It would be hard to find higher praise." Her poems have had their day, and they are now seldom read. Few readers of our day could appreciate Scott's enthusiastic admiration in comparing her to the Bard of Avon. It will, however, serve to show the estimate placed upon her genius by at least some of her contemporaries to give the passage cited from Sir Walter by Mrs. Oliphant, who regards it herself as out of all proportion: "A woman might well think much of her work of whom he had said 'that the harp had been silent by silver Avon's holy shore for two hundred years' until

> "'She, the bold enchantress came
> With fearless hand and heart on flame,
> From the pale willow snatched the treasure,
> And swept it with a kindred measure,
> Till Avon's Swan, while rang the grove
> With Montfort's hate and Basil's love,
> Awakening at the inspirèd strain,
> Dreamed their own Shakespeare lived again.'"

A different order of genius was illustrated in the remarkable career of Mrs. Mary Somerville. In the higher walks of science few women of any age have been so distinguished. When we consider the obstacles she had to surmount and the extent of her attainments, it is obvious that nothing less than an intellect of the first order and an indomitable energy of purpose could have raised her to the position she occupied in the world of science. Certainly no other woman of the century has reached a place so exalted and been so widely honored by the leading scientific associations of Great Britain and the Continent. In reading the record of her long and honored life, as published by her daughter, one scarcely knows which is most to be admired—the persistent self-education by which she pressed her way into the realms of the higher mathematics, the great results thus accomplished, the quiet ease with which it was all done, or the unassuming, beautiful, womanly character which crowned her career to the end.

Mary Somerville's maiden-name was Fairfax. She was born in 1780, at Jedburgh, Scotland, the daughter of Sir William George Fairfax, a gallant gentleman who won his title to knighthood, and also to a vice-admiralty in the British navy, by his distinguished services at the victory of Camperdoun over the Dutch fleet. Her only education, except that which she afterward acquired by private

studies, was obtained at a school in Musselburgh, near Edinburgh. This early training was so incomplete that she had grown to womanhood without ever having seen a book on algebra or ever knowing what the word meant. It seemed a mere accident which at last attracted her attention to those mathematical studies in which so much of her life was to be spent. But, the clue having been once found and the taste formed for such work, the path was easy, and nothing could turn her from it. She was twice married—first in 1804 to Mr. Samuel Greig, a cousin, who died after three years at his residence, in London. Returning to Edinburgh after his death, she there pursued with great success her scientific studies, and was married again in 1812 to another cousin, William Somerville, a gentleman of congenial tastes and studies with her own, who by his constant encouragement and companionship contributed not a little to that eminence which she attained. This happy union was long continued, he dying in his ninety-first year and she in her ninety-second, both in in Italy, where for years they had resided.

Mrs. Somerville first attracted the attention of men of science by some experiments on the magnetic influence of the violet rays of the solar spectrum. Her scientific attainments soon procured for her the acquaintance of Lord Brougham. At his earnest solicitation, she undertook

to produce for the *Library of Useful Knowledge* a summary in popular form of the great work of Laplace, the *Mécanique Céleste*. This work, however, when completed—an octavo volume of six hundred pages—was found too large for the society's publications. It was published in a separate form in 1831, with a dedication to Lord Brougham. It at once established her reputation among the cultivators of physical science as one of the most accomplished writers of the period, and letters of congratulation and admiration for the successful accomplishment of her difficult task poured upon her from many of the leading scientists of Great Britain and the Continent. When, afterward, she met with Laplace in Paris, in conversation he remarked that she was the only woman who seemed to take the trouble to understand his *Mécanique Céleste* except one in England who had translated it. At the moment he did not know the translator was Mrs. Somerville herself.

This first work was followed by another in 1834—a treatise on the *Connection of the Physical Sciences*, an independent and original work of great merit, admirably written and dedicated to the queen. It elicited the most flattering notices from the leading reviews of the time. It has since passed through nine editions in English. In 1861 it was translated into Italian and published at Florence. Mrs. Somerville's next work

was her treatise on *Physical Geography*, in two volumes, published in 1848, with a dedication of Sir John Herschel. This won the special admiration of Alexander von Humboldt, and has also passed through several editions and been translated and published in Italian.

From the time these important works appeared Mrs. Somerville's name became intimately associated by friendly correspondence with many of the most distinguished scientific men of her times, who are delighted to do full honor to her genius. Highly appreciated by Queen Victoria and her successive ministers, Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell, through whose agency she received pensions from the government, she was the friend and correspondent of Henry Brougham, Professors Playfair, Whewell, Sedgwick, Peacock, of the universities; Sir Roderick Murchison, Sir David Brewster, Michael Faraday, Sir John Herschel, Astronomer Airy, John Stuart Mill, of her own country; M. Biot, M. Arago, M. Puisson, the marquis de Laplace, of France; Humboldt of Germany; and others on the Continent. She may well be styled by Mrs. Hale, author of the *Woman's Record*, "the most learned lady of the age, distinguished alike for great scientific knowledge and all womanly virtues, an honor to England, to her native land, and the glory of her sex throughout the world."

Amid all the honors and the scientific associa-

tions which crowned her advancing years, though she may have lost the impress of some parts of her early Scotch training, she never wavered on the two fundamental beliefs in God and the future life. Her faculties remained unimpaired to the very day of her death. She took the keenest interest in all that was passing in the world around, especially in science and discovery, and delighted that she was still able to read and solve the intricate problems of the higher mathematics, as in her earlier years. She had long kept a record of her life, and the following striking words—the last from her pen—closed the narrative, only a little before her departure: "The blue peter has been long flying at my foremast, and, now that I am in my ninety-second year, I must soon expect the signal for sailing. It is a solemn voyage, but it does not disturb my tranquillity. Deeply sensible of my utter unworthiness and profoundly grateful for the innumerable blessings I have received, I trust in the infinite mercy of my almighty Creator. I have every reason to be thankful that my intellect is still unimpaired, and, though my strength is weakness, my daughters support my tottering steps, and by incessant care and help make the infirmities of age so light to me that I am perfectly happy."

Speaking of her *Physical Geography*, and of the great service which by her pen and by her example Mrs. Somerville has rendered to the cause of

Christian science, Mrs. Hale says: "This work—the history of the earth in its whole material organization—is worthy to be classed among the greatest efforts of the human mind, directing its energies to the philosophy of science conjoined with moral advancement. Mrs. Somerville has done more by her writings to Christianize the sciences than any living author; nor do we recollect one, except it be Sir Isaac Newton, among departed philosophers, who has approached her standard of sublime speculation on the visible creation united with childlike faith in the divine Creator."

This eminent woman took the liveliest interest in all efforts throughout the world to ameliorate the condition of her sex and to extend to woman high-class education, both classical and scientific. Toward the close of life she said, "Age has not abated my zeal for the emancipation of my sex from the unreasonable prejudice too prevalent in Great Britain against a literary and scientific education for women." Her own life was a noble vindication of the truth of her opinions on this subject. No one ever filled woman's sphere of duty more completely. Well might her intimate friend, Maria Edgeworth, write of her. "She draws beautifully, and, while her head is among the stars, her feet are firm upon the earth."

Nor have the daughters of Scotland lacked worthy representatives of their own sex in the

fair fields of historical, educational, fictitious and religious literature. Among this class may be mentioned Susan E. Ferrier of Edinburgh, styled the "Scottish Maria Edgeworth," author of the *Inheritance* and other novels, a popular writer of the time of Sir Walter Scott, much admired by him and commended by Robert Chambers; Catherine Sinclair, author of *Modern Accomplishments* and many other interesting works of a moral and elevating character; Lady Janet Colquhoun—a daughter of Sir John Sinclair—whose life was much devoted to philanthropic beneficence toward the lower classes, and whose admirable writings did much to commend a pure Christianity to all classes. To these may be added the brilliant wife of Thomas Carlyle, Jane Welsh, whose self-sacrificing devotion to her unappreciative husband (one of a class), and whose remarkable correspondence, published by Mr. Froude, reveal a character of the first order, and at the same time but too sadly indicate what she might have accomplished under better auspices.

Without enumerating further examples, it may be proper to remark in this connection that these eminent Scottish writers may be taken as an illustration of that general advance of women in all the higher realms of thought and of popular authorship which has taken place during the last hundred years, not only in the British isles, but on the Continent and in America. This new de-

parture in the education, and in the consequent influence, of woman has, in fact, become one of the most important and significant characteristics of the age in which we live. It is one of the hopeful signs of promise which the nineteenth century is about to send forward into those which are to follow. The movement dates back, indeed, into the closing decades of the preceding century, where its early precursors, Miss Frances Burney (Madame d'Arblay), Mrs. Anna Letitia Barbauld, Madame de Staël, Mrs. Elizabeth Inchbald, Mrs. Ann Radcliff, Joanna Baillie, Jane Austen and Hannah More, by the charm of brilliant genius, combined in most of them with the charm of personal beauty, won their way to popular favor despite the prejudices of the age. This first great success was followed through all the years of the present century, even down to our own day, by the still more brilliant triumphs of a host of writers, English, Irish and Scotch, such as Maria Edgeworth, Anna Maria Porter and Jane Porter, author of *Thaddeus of Warsaw* and the *Scottish Chiefs*, the very pioneers and models of the historical romance, which has since become so popular.

"These lofty romances," says Mrs. Oliphant, "delighted the primitive and simple-minded public which as yet knew nothing of *Waverley*." The sisters Anna Maria and Jane Porter, during their residence in Edinburgh, had become intimately

acquainted with Sir Walter Scott while a youth at college. To the writings of Maria Edgeworth, and especially to the *Scottish Chiefs* of Miss Jane Porter, he acknowledged himself indebted for the first suggestion of the Waverley novels—a series constituting one of the most marked epochs of English literature.

Since that day, so nearly synchronizing with the opening of our century, and thus so clearly allied to the genius of Scotland, how wide and how fruitful has been the influence of woman's pen not only in the line of thought, but in all the walks of literature! Where is the department which she has not touched and adorned? And where is the Christian home-circle in any civilized land to which the genial influence of her authorship has not extended! What a galaxy of familiar honored names does her record contain!—Felicia Hemans, Letitia E. Landon, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Mary Russell Mitford, Mrs. Jameson, Mrs. Opie, Mary Howitt, Charlotte Brontë, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Gaskill, Jean Ingelow, Dinah Mulock, George Eliot, Mrs. Alexander, Frances Power Cobb, Frederika Bremer, Margaret Fuller, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Oliphant.

CHAPTER X.

THE INFLUENCE OF SCOTTISH SONG.

WORTHY of distinct mention as a factor in the great problem of human civilization is the influence of music and song. Every student of ancient history knows how conspicuous was that element in all the literature of Greece, and in moulding the national character of her people. That land of beauty would scarcely have sent its influence adown the ages as the classic of all lands without the living lyre to voice forth in song the martial melodies of its Homer, the inspiring odes of its Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho, and the solemn choruses of its great dramatists. Who could adequately write the history of the Christian Church, and tell of its triumphs in all lands over individual hearts and over mighty nations, without taking into account that potent spell which is felt from heart to heart in all our holy sanctuaries when great congregations are lifted heavenward as on the wings of devotion by hymns of lofty praise, anthems of rapture and songs of salvation? Could there be a gospel of true power without music and song? A

singing people, when they sing the sentiments of God and of Nature, are always an influential and an advancing people.

Scarcely less potential than her literature, her science or her philosophy has been Scotland's influence upon the world by the magic melody of her songs. In this instance, at least, the ballads of a nation have proved mightier than its laws. A wreath of evergreens and immortelles is the fitting chaplet of the Muse of Scottish Song, and she has flung it in living beauty over the heart of the world. Who has not heard—and, hearing, who can ever forget—that witching minstrelsy of the North which in childhood's hour waked all the chords of feeling in our hearts, and even down to old age has power to make us young again? Who has not been melted into tenderness by the plaintive pathos of "Annie Laurie" or "Roslyn Castle," of "Bonnie Doon" or "Auld Lang Syne"? And who has not been thrilled by the wild warbling measures of "Bruce's Address" or "Bonnie Dundee" or "McGregor's Gathering"? The French soldier will rush to glory or the grave under the martial inspiration of the Marseillaise Hymn; the Swiss exiled from his mountain-home is overpowered with emotion at the rehearsal of the national airs of Helvetia; but all around the globe where there are tongues to speak our language there are not wanting hearts to feel the

omnipotent charm of nature, love and beauty in the Scottish song.

No claim is here set up for Scotland as a producer of what is called "artistic," or classical, music; her lyric genius did not lie in that direction. She has originated no great school of the opera or oratorio, like Germany, Austria, France and Italy; she has produced no great composers, such as Handel and Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Rossini and Wagner. Her music and her song have been of a simpler order. Still, they have not been less real or less potential in their influence on the Scottish people and on the world than these celebrated schools of the great continental nations. From a high antiquity Scotland gave birth to a class of national airs of a peculiar style and structure, possessing a wild, dignified, strongly-marked and expressive character. These were put into songs by her wandering minstrels and sung from border to border over all the land, and from age to age, until at last they found permanent and deathless expression in the greatest of her lyric poets.

Long before the days of Robert Burns or Allan Ramsay or William Dunbar the Scottish people were essentially a musical and song-loving race. Scotland was the native home of the minstrel and the ballad, and her very atmosphere had become vocal with the inspiring national melodies, the music of nature in its deepest hu-

man emotions. In such a land, and under such influences, was born Robert Burns, destined to become, notwithstanding the most untoward surroundings, not only the greatest lyric poet of his own land, but one of the great canonized bards of all ages and all climes. "He was," says a recent critic, "a son of the soil; without education, without culture, without friends, all he had in the world, save a well-knit frame and arms strong to work, was genius, against which there was every possible obstacle placed that it should not be able to do itself justice."

Yet how resplendently did that genius triumph over all its narrow environments! What a flood of song did it pour forth, unheard before in Scotland, to be heard thenceforth by all the world! Incomparable Robert Burns! as distinguished in song as Bruce was in battle, the child of poverty, the child of Nature, the man of feeling, the bard of humanity, the interpreter of the common people, the artist of the soul! How loved, honored, idolized by all Scotsmen, at home and abroad, his memory as fresh and green in the hearts of his country to-day as it was nearly a century ago! Notwithstanding all his foibles and his faults, was ever poet so beloved before? The true representative he stands of the national heart and the Scottish character, and therefore entitled to wear—as he confessedly does wear—the laureate crown of Scotland. His genius, his history, his deep sym-

pathy with humanity, his tenderness, his misfortunes, his sad end,—all added to the picture and combined to endear to his countrymen both the poet and the man.

Principal Shairp tells us that two chief factors met to make Burns what he was. The first of these was the "great background of national melody and antique verse coming down to him from remote ages and sounding through his heart from childhood." Cradled in the very atmosphere of melody, he owed much to the old forgotten song-writers of his country, dead for ages before he lived and lying in their unknown graves all over Scotland. This is the one form of literature he had mastered. Reviewing the ordinary method of other poets, by which the song is first composed and the music afterward set to it, Burns made the music the very inspiration of his song. The tune, as he expressed it, was *sowthed* over and over in his mind till the words came spontaneously. The words of his songs were inspired by the pre-existing popular tunes of his country. But all this love and study of the ancient songs and outward melody would have gone for nothing but for the second element—that is, "the inward melody, born in the poet's deepest heart, which received into itself the whole body of national song, and then, when it had passed through his soul, sent it forth ennobled and glorified by his own genius."

To this must be added, as this able critic suggests, that Burns had the good sense to choose as the subjects of his verse those great fundamental and permanent emotions of our common humanity which alike belong to all climes and which time can never antiquate. He has given ultimate and consummate expression "in thoughts that breathe and words that burn" to the truest, the tenderest and the deepest sentiments of love, friendship, patriotism, philanthropy, charity, courage, equality, liberty and manly independence in all their varying phases and relations. When, for example, he takes the theme of friendship rooted in the past, it is for all time that he sings in the familiar lines, "Should auld acquaintance be forgot?" In the pathos of undying love what can be more perfect than his "Mary in Heaven"? or what more thrilling in heroic devotion to country than "Bruce's Address at Bannockburn"? or what more admirable as an expression of honest poverty and true manhood than the lines,

> "A man's a man for a' that.
> The rank is but the guinea's stamp:
> The man's the goud for a' that"?

"This powerful song," says Professor Shairp, "speaks out a sentiment that through all his life had been dear to the heart of Burns. It has been quoted, they say, by Beranger in France and by Goethe in Germany, and is the word which springs

up in the mind of all foreigners when they think of Burns. It was inspired, no doubt, by his keen sense of social oppression, quickened to white heat by influences that had lately come from France, and by what he had suffered for his sympathy with that cause. It has since become the watchword of all who fancy that they have secured less, and others more, of this world's good than their respective merit deserves. Stronger words he never wrote. That is a word for all time."

Burns did not often try his Muse on warlike themes; but when he did, it was to some purpose. He was all-alive to the heroic character of Wallace and to the achievements of Bruce, which some day he purposed to dramatize. The national deliverance wrought by Bruce at Bannockburn was a theme worthy of his genius. With it he produced a song that has gone around the globe and fired the heroes of a thousand battles. Scotland has no grander national air. In many a hard-fought conflict it has been to both British and American no less than to Scottish soldiers all the "Marseillaise Hymn of Liberty" has been to the French. Its terse energy of expression, its lyric power, its fervid glow of patriotism, its lofty spirit of self-immolation, have never been exceeded since the inspired Muse of Hebrew Poetry penned the sublime battle-song of Barak and Deborah, recorded in the book of Judges. Thomas Carlyle tells us that Burns composed it

mentally while riding with a single fellow-traveler across one of the desolate moors of his country in a driving storm of snow and hail. He remained in deep silence while the elements were raging around him, but the working of his features seemed in harmony with the outward war, as indicating that sterner conflict of thought which was going on within. The result of the day's ride was this great ode of independence and victory—as worthy of study, certainly, as anything that has come down to us from classical antiquity. Like all the songs of Burns, it has a Scottish dialect of its own and is set to a slow and stately national music befitting the mighty thought and the solemn rhythm of its stanzas; but it loses none of its grandeur or its fire by being translated into modern English. Its words of power and pathos are those of Bruce addressed to the veteran soldiers of his army on the eve of battle. "As long as there is warm blood in the heart of Scotchmen or of man," says Carlyle, "it will move in fierce thrills under this war-song—the best, I believe, that was ever written by any pen:"

"Scots who have with Wallace bled,
Scots whom Bruce has often led,
Welcome to your gory bed,
Or to victory!

"Now's the day and now's the hour:
See the front of battle lower!
See approach proud Edward's power—
Chains and slavery.

"Who will be a traitor knave,
Who can fill a coward's grave,
Who so base as be a slave,
Let him turn and flee!

"Who for Scotland's king and law
Freedom's sword will strongly draw,
Freeman stand or freeman fa',
Let him follow me!

"By oppression's woes and pains,
By your sons in servile chains,
We will drain our dearest veins
But they shall be free!

"Lay the proud usurpers low:
Tyrants fall in every foe;
Liberty's in every blow:
Let us do or die!"

This sublime little ode—which can never be recited or sung without emotion, and which so depicts a nation's history and a hero's triumph that it strikes a responsive chord in every human breast—well illustrates the mood in which Burns composed his songs. He threw his very soul into them; he lived over again the scenes he described; he impersonated their characters and caught the very inspiration of their mighty deeds and their ennobling sentiments. Save the battle itself, there was no better preparation for the production of this song of the ages than the fierce storm in which he composed it. While he was a true child of Nature, in full sympathy with her wildest and her softest moods, and while he was

an intense Scotchman, he was not a narrow one. His brotherhood was as wide as the world; his sympathies extended to man and brute; and hence, while speaking out his own heart's experience, he never failed to touch the deepest and strongest chords of human nature.

One great merit of Burns was that he became the reformer and purifier of Scottish song. Before his day it had been exceedingly sensual and debasing; he breathed a new and nobler life into it. With some few exceptions, his songs inculcated sentiments of morality, virtue and all pure and generous affections, and thereby became fitted for their mission around the globe as the teacher of youth in the myriads of home circles where they have now been sung for more than a century, to cheer the heart, inspire generous emotions and bind mankind in the ties of brotherhood. Who is the poet that has had a wider influence in this respect than Robert Burns?

Most fittingly has Professor Shairp closed his brief but appreciative monograph on Burns with the following just estimate of the character and influence of his songs: "So purified and ennobled by Burns, these songs embody human emotion in its most condensed and sweetest essence. They appeal to all ranks, they touch all ages, they cheer toil-worn men under every clime. Wherever the English tongue is heard—beneath the suns of India, amid African deserts, on the Western prai-

ries of America, among the squatters of Australia—whenever men of British blood would give vent to their deepest, kindliest, most genial feelings, it is to the songs of Burns they spontaneously turn, and find in them at once a perfect utterance and a fresh tie of brotherhood. It is this which forms Burns's most enduring claim on the world's gratitude."

The service rendered by Burns to the ballad literature of Scotland by taking its old familiar airs and clothing them in a diction of poetic beauty and elevated sentiment was soon followed by other brilliant writers of kindred spirit and exquisite taste; such were Sir Walter Scott, William Motherwell, author of *Jeannie Morrison*, James Hogg, the "Ettrick Shepherd," and William Edmondstone Aytoun, son-in-law of Professor John Wilson and author of the *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*.

Some of the most famous of the Scottish songs that have come down from the earlier period are, so far as we know, the only things of the kind produced by their comparatively unknown authors; as, for example, "Auld Robin Gray," by Lady Anne Lindsay, and "Annie Laurie," by Douglas of Fingland, the unsuccessful suitor of the lady of Maxwelton, of whom he sings so sweetly. Perhaps we could not find a more striking illustration of the character and wide influence of this ballad literature than in the

last-named familiar song, which was written prior to 1688, and which has been sung for nearly two centuries by the English-speaking race in all parts of the world.

This song need not be repeated here, but its deep pathos and power may be well illustrated by the following little poem of one of our own gifted bards, Bayard Taylor. It is entitled "The Camp-Song," and is descriptive of the terrible scenes before Sebastopol, in the Crimean war, where English, Scotch and Irish soldiers stood shoulder to shoulder and died as brothers:

"'Give us a song!' the soldier cried,
The outer trenches guarding,
When the heated guns of the camps allied
Grew weary of bombarding.

"The dark Redan in silent scoff
Lay grim and threatening under,
And the tawny mound of the Malakoff
No longer belched its thunder.

"There was a pause. A guardsman said,
'We storm the forts to-morrow;
Sing while we may: another day
Will bring enough of sorrow.'

"They lay along the battery's side,
Below the smoking cannon—
Brave hearts from Severn and from Clyde,
And from the banks of Shannon.

"They sang of love, and not of fame:
Forgot was Britain's glory;

Each heart recalled a different name,
But all sang 'Annie Laurie.'

"Voice after voice caught up the song,
Until its tender passion
Rose like an anthem rich and strong,
Their battle-eve confession.

"Dear girl! her name he dared not speak,
But as the song grew louder
Something upon the soldier's cheek
Washed off the stains of powder.

"Beyond the darkening ocean burned
The bloody sunset's embers,
While the Crimean valleys learned
How English love remembers.

"And once again a fire of hell
Rained on the Russian quarters
With scream and shot, and burst of shell,
And bellowing of the mortars;

"And Irish Nora's eyes are dim
For a singer dumb and gory,
And English Mary mourns for him
Who sang of Annie Laurie.

"Sleep, soldiers, still in honored rest
Your truth and valor wearing:
The bravest are the tenderest,
The loving are the daring."

Sir Walter Scott contributed not a little to the ballad literature of Scotland, ennobling it so as to make its influence felt over the world. He seemed to have caught the very inspiration of the old minstrelsy of his country, and he was

himself the soul of the mediæval chivalry and romance revived. His rich poetic genius, with its lofty enthusiasm and its creative imagination, breathes forth not only in all his fascinating poems, but in all his more fascinating and wonderful historical romances, whether Scottish, English or continental. His first important poem, the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, gave the keynote of his poetry, which was soon heard again in *Marmion*, *The Lady of the Lake*, and in *The Lord of the Isles*, and never ceased to be heard and admired as long as he wrote. When, at last, seemingly dissatisfied with his poems because, as he modestly expressed it, "Byron *bate* him," he bent his versatile and prolific mind to the new task of prose fiction, it was curious to see how his lyric Muse was ever and anon bursting forth in song. Every reader of those wonderful productions well knows that when he did not have an "old song" at hand to suit his purpose he easily made one just as good, or even better. Even the hymnology of our churches has been enriched with a few choice pieces drawn from this source, such as "The day of wrath, that dreadful day."

Scott was not, like Burns, a man of the people, in deep sympathy with the poorer classes. He had, however, much of that sense of human brotherhood, that deep tenderness of feeling for every thing that breathes, which found such hearty expression in Burns and voiced itself in almost

everything he wrote. But, like Burns, he was a lover of Scotland, was proud of its romantic and heroic history and gloried in the wealth of its magnificent scenery. The traditions of Wallace, the wanderings and the prowess of Bruce, filled his young heart with admiration and fired him with that intense patriotic ardor which had always haunted the imagination of Burns as with the spell of a passion. Though so unlike in character and genius, they may be well classed together in that irresistible charm which their writings threw over their native land and over all the world. "If Scotchmen to-day," says Professor Shairp, "love and cherish their country with a pride unknown to their ancestors of the last century; if strangers of all countries look on Scotland as a land of romance,—this we owe in great measure to Burns, who first turned the tide which Scott afterward carried to full flood. All that Scotland had done and suffered, her romantic history, the manhood of her people, the beauty of her scenery, would have disappeared in modern commonplace and manufacturing ugliness if she had been left without her two sacred poets."

The ballad poetry of Scott is, for the most part, exceedingly spirited and martial. All his poetry is animated in the highest degree, but this is always full of life, breathing the high ambition, with the "pomp and circumstance, of glorious war." No doubt he has pushed this martial spirit to a

point not in accord with the peaceful spirit of Christianity, but this very element has taken strong hold upon the educated youth of all English-speaking lands, and this makes his poetry as popular to-day as when it first appeared. No boy can read it without catching something of its high heroic enthusiasm and military ardor. What inspiring music has he not breathed in the famous "Boat-Song" in *The Lady of the Lake*, "Hail to the chief who in triumph advances," and what martial enthusiasm in the following "Border ballad" from the *Monastery*, which may be instanced as a specimen of all the rest:

"March, march, Ettrick and Teviotdale!
Why, my lads, dinna ye march forward in order?
March, march, Eskdale and Liddisdale!
All the Blue Bonnets are bound for the Border.
Many a banner spread
Flutters above your head,
Many a crest that is famous in story;
Mount and make ready, then,
Sons of the mountain-glen:
Fight for the queen and our old Scottish glory.

"Come from the hills where your horses are grazing,
Come from the glen of the buck and the roe;
Come to the crag where the beacon is blazing,
Come with the buckle, the lance and the bow.
Trumpets are sounding,
War-steeds are bounding;
Stand to your arms and march in good order:
England shall many a day
Tell of the bloody fray
When the Blue Bonnets came over the Border."

Some of the most popular and widely known ballads of recent times are from the pen of Thomas Campbell, author of *The Pleasures of Hope*. He was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1777, and died in 1844. His lyric pieces were not numerous, but what he wrote was finished to a high degree of perfection. Sir Walter Scott greatly admired the terse energy and fire of his inspiring verse, and thought it far superior to his own. His longer poems have been widely read, and they have found many admirers; but his poetic fame rests mainly on his ballads and shorter pieces, which have been sung around the world. His "Hohenlinden," "Battle of the Baltic," "Ye Mariners of England," "Lord Ullin's Daughter" and "Lochiel's Warning" have found a place in all collections of English literature and in all handbooks of rhetoric and oratory, where they have never ceased to furnish the subjects for juvenile declamation in our schools and academies. His description of the night-attack—

> "On Linden's hills of blood-stained snow
> Where furious Frank and fiery Hun
> Shout in their sulphurous canopy"—

in its vivid imagery, its brevity, its shifting scenery and its rushing movement till all is still and "every turf beneath their feet becomes a soldier's sepulchre," is not unworthy of the genius of Scott or of Homer.

But Scotland's heath-clad hills and valleys green through all her borders rang with music of a different order in the days of fierce persecution unto death, when her heroic sons, driven from the public sanctuaries, were compelled to take the open fields or the dense forests, and worship God in Nature's own sanctuaries at the risk of their lives. In that long and dreary period of the Stuart misrule there was not much call for the softer influences of the lyric Muse or the artistic worship of the grand overarching cathedral, though these had not been unknown in the peaceful days of Scottish history. But in that "killing-time," as this reign of terror has been not inaptly called, when the truest and the best men in the realm were not safe either in their own castles or within their most secret hiding-places of the mountains, Scotia's bards not less than her preachers assumed a loftier vocation and uttered a sterner voice. No class of people—not even our own New England Puritans—has been more unjustly assailed or more frequently misrepresented than the Presbyterian heroes of the Scottish Covenant. If they needed any apology, their justification might be found in the times in which they lived, the wrongs they suffered and the battle for liberty and very existence they were called to fight. The following stanzas may be taken as an illustration of the spirit and character, the lofty bearing, the heroic endeavor and the sacrifice unto death of these old

martyrs of the covenant, the end of whose labors we now enjoy in every Christian land. The stanzas are entitled "The Cameronian's Dream." They were written by James Hyslop, a young Scotch poet who, like Robert Pollok, was cut off in early youth. He depicts the fierce conflict of 1681, in which, at the head of a small band, the brave Richard Cameron and his brother fell side by side, overpowered by numbers, but contending for those principles of civil and religious liberty in defence of which Hampden, Russell and Sidney suffered in England. The description, however, would well answer to that greater and more disastrous battle at Bothwell Bridge, two years earlier, where the blood of the Covenanters flowed mingling with the waters of the Clyde—a libation to the wrath of Claverhouse. The little poem is given in full because of its intrinsic merit as a remembrancer of the days that "tried men's souls." In it there is a ring of lyric power not unworthy to find a place in Scotia's best Border minstrelsy, and to be associated with Byron's famous ode on the "Destruction of Sennacherib's Army."

"In a dream of the night I was wafted away
To the muirland of mist where the martyrs lay—
Where Cameron's sword and his Bible are seen
Engraved on the stone where the heather grows green.

"'Twas a dream of those ages of darkness and blood
When the minister's home was the mountain and wood—

When in Wellwood's dark valley the standard of Zion
All bloody and torn in the heather was lying.

"'Twas morning, and summer's young sun from the east
Lay in loving repose on the green mountain's breast;
On Wardlaw and Cairnstable the clear-shining dew
Glistened there 'mong the heathbells and flowers of blue.

"And far up in heaven, near the white sunny cloud,
The song of the lark was melodious and loud,
And in Glenmuir's wild solitude, lengthened and deep,
Were the whistling of plovers and bleating of sheep.

"And Wellwood's sweet valley breathed music and gladness,
The fresh meadow-blooms hung in beauty and redness;
Its daughters were happy to hail the returning
And drink the delight of July's sweet morning.

"But oh, there were hearts filled with far other feelings,
Illumed by the light of prophetic revealings,
Who drank from the scenery of beauty but sorrow;
For they knew that their blood would bedew it to-morrow.

"'Twas the few faithful ones who with Cameron were lying
Concealed in the mist where the heath-fowl was crying,
For the horsemen of Earshall around them were hovering,
And their bridle-reins rung through the thin misty covering.

"Their faces grew pale and their swords were unsheathed,
But the vengeance that darkened their brow was unbreathed;
With eyes turned to heaven in calm resignation,
They sang their last song to the God of salvation.

"The hills with the deep mournful music were ringing,
The curlew and plover in concert were singing;
But the melody died 'mid derision and laughter,
As the host of the ungodly rushed on to the slaughter.

"In mist and in darkness and fire they were shrouded,
Yet the souls of the righteous were calm and unclouded;

Their dark eyes flashed lightning as, firm and unbending,
They stood like the rock which the thunder is rending.

"The muskets were flashing, the blue swords were gleaming,
The helmets were cleft and the red blood was streaming,
The heavens grew dark and the thunder was rolling,
When in Wellwood's dark muirlands the mighty were falling.

"When the righteous had fallen and the combat was ended,
A chariot of fire through the dark cloud ascended;
Its drivers were angels on horses of whiteness,
And its burning wheels turned upon axles of brightness.

"A seraph unfolded its doors, bright and shining,
All dazzling like gold of the seventh refining,
And the souls that came forth out of great tribulation
Have mounted the chariots and steeds of salvation.

"On the arch of the rainbow the chariot is gliding;
Through the path of the thunder the horsemen are riding:
Glide swiftly, bright spirits! the prize is before ye—
A crown never fading, a kingdom of glory."

In this connection must be mentioned yet another class of Scotia's bards whose minstrelsy has been heard in many lands. These are the writers of sacred song, who from time to time have enriched the hymnology of the ages and contributed to swell the volume of public praise in all Christian sanctuaries. There are critics who look with indifference, or perhaps contempt, upon this unpretentious style of literature. Such condemnation is uncalled for. Is it a great thing to produce the ballads of a nation, and yet a thing too small for recognition to produce those inspir-

ing hymns of the Christian Church which shall be sung in the morning and evening devotions of the family and in the Sabbath worship of assembled multitudes as far as the gospel is preached? Unquestionably, the sacred psalmist (though no canonized laureate) has done something for his generation and for the world when he has produced a song for the Church which can stand the test of time and be sung by millions: such as Bishop Heber's "Missionary Hymn," "From Greenland's icy mountains," and Duncan's "Coronation Hymn," "All hail the power of Jesus' name."

Some of the most popular, and to all appearance permanent, of our Christian hymns are of Scottish authorship, and they breathe the essential spirit of the gospel. Two prominent hymn-writers of this evangelical class may be instanced in illustration—James Montgomery and Horatius Bonar. The extent to which these two Scottish authors have enriched our existing hymnology is illustrated by the fact that in one of the most widely-used collections of our American churches there are twenty-four admirable hymns by Dr. Bonar, and not less than sixty from the prolific pen of Montgomery. Most of Montgomery's hymns are of great lyrical beauty, having much originality of both thought and expression, striking imagery and the very essence of a deep Christian experience. They have found a place in the

hymnals of all denominations of evangelical Christians, have been sung for a large part of the present century in all Christian countries, and have become familiar as household words to the aged and the young. To myriads of Christian hearts all around the globe no sacred songs of Zion are better known, and none more precious, than those of this sweet singer beginning, "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire;" "Oh, where shall rest be found?" "Daughter of Zion, from the dust;" "Hail to the Lord's Anointed!" "People of the living God;" "Sow in the morn thy seed;" "Who are these in bright array?" and his beautiful communion hymn of six stanzas, beginning "According to thy gracious word."

One little ode in particular is worthy, for its pathos and power, to stand among the best productions of the sacred Muse:

"There is a calm for those who weep,
A rest for weary pilgrims found;
They softly lie and sweetly sleep
Low in the ground.

"The storm that racks the wintry sky
No more disturbs their deep repose
Than summer evening's latest sigh,
That shuts the rose.

"I long to lay this painful head
And aching heart beneath the soil—
To slumber in that dreamless bed
From all my toil.

"The soul, of origin divine,
God's glorious image freed from clay,
In heaven's eternal sphere shall shine,
A star of day.

"The sun is but a spark of fire,
A transient meteor in the sky;
The soul, immortal as its Sire,
Shall never die."

A similar service to the Church universal has been rendered by Dr. Bonar in many evangelical songs of exquisite beauty and tenderness full of love and of true spiritual unction. These, too, have gone into all our Church hymnals to swell the vast volume of rhythmic praise which for ages Christianity has been collecting in all lands. Many a tender chord has he struck in the heart of the Church, and in the heart of the oppressed and heavy-laden, by such songs as "Beyond the smiling and the weeping" and "Only remembered by what I have done." To-day the gospel songs of the evangelists Moody and Sankey, incorporating these beautiful gems of Christian thought with hundreds like them, gathered from other gifted bards of Zion, are carrying the glad news of our common salvation to the ends of the earth, and thus with other Christian agencies preparing the way for that glad day of final triumph described by Cowper: "When earth with her ten thousand tongues shall roll the rapturous hosannas round."

CHAPTER XI.

THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES AND REVIEWS.

OUR retrospect of Scotland would not be complete without a more distinct notice than has yet been given of her ancient universities and her great periodical reviews and magazines. The two channels of influence may be appropriately brought together into one view by reason of their intimate connection, and also of their important bearing on the intellectual and moral development of the people. As sources of knowledge and as exponents of public opinion, scarcely anything can be more essential to the growth and advancement of an educated people than its schools of the higher culture and its public press for the utterance of opinion. The one is the institute of the young from generation to generation to secure for them all the advantages of discipline in virtue and culture in science and literature; the other is the institute of adult minds to give them a vehicle of public thought and bring them into contact with all other educated minds of the period. As centres of intellectual and moral light, and as the mould-

ing, and even creative, agencies of public opinion and national character, the university and the press in every free land have had an important history through all modern times, and, in the present condition of the world, they hold a position of supreme importance.

Scotland has had the full benefit of each agency —the periodical press in its higher forms for nearly a century, the university in its various departments of science and the humanities, or of theology, the arts, law and medicine, for about four centuries. Of her four great universities, which from the first were fashioned on a plan not unlike those of Germany and Holland, the three most ancient, St. Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen, date back to about the middle of the fifteenth century, whilst that of Edinburgh, the youngest, owes its foundation to James VI. The three elder institutions were founded during the times of the Roman Catholic ascendency. One of them, Glasgow, was nearly annihilated during the Reformation period, but it was restored by the exertions of Queen Mary and James VI. The University of Edinburgh, founded after the Reformation, had but little of the ancient university character, being a professorial seminary on a royal foundation rather than a society of graduates or students. The royal charter of foundation placed it in the hands of the magistrates of the city of Edinburgh, who remained its patrons till 1858.

Each of these universities has its bursaries, or scholarships, though with much smaller endowments than those of England.

In no part of the world has the value of university education been more thoroughly tested and more strikingly illustrated than in Scotland. Through all the centuries of their existence there have been found gathered into these schools the very *élite* of Scottish youth from every class of rich and poor, sons of the nobility, the gentry and the common people. In a large degree they have had the training of the people and the formation of that public sentiment, even among the laboring classes, which has made the Scottish parent look upon scholarship with respect and desire it for his sons as the highest passport to distinction, usefulness and honor. The universities have thus been an open door through which successive generations of talented and aspiring young men have pressed their way to the highest positions in the service of the country, and have perpetually filled up the ranks of law, divinity, medicine, teaching and successful authorship. The brightest lights of the Scottish pulpit have been those at every epoch that were kindled at the universities. The result has been that through all its history the Church in Scotland has been eminently blest with a learned and godly ministry fully abreast with the advancing science and literature of the age. A large proportion of the

best British authorship, not only in theology but in science and literature, has been connected with the Scottish pulpit and has come of the fostering influences of the Scottish universities. This has been abundantly illustrated in the annals of the American churches in all the earlier periods, when our pulpits and our college-halls were adorned by eminent divines—like Charles Nisbet and John Witherspoon, John Glendy of Irish birth, John Mason, and his still more distinguished son John M. Mason, of New York—born or educated in Scotland.

What is true of the universities in Scotland as the source of a highly-educated and influential clergy is equally true as it regards all the other learned professions. In an eminent degree the leaders of the people have been trained to thought and activity in these ancient and renowned schools Much of the intellectual and moral power that has given life and character to her home-population, and then gone forth to make that influence felt in other lands, may be traced back to the universities as the primal well-spring. Statesmen, jurists, orators, divines, physicians, educators, discoverers, eminent scientists, great merchants, bankers, publishers, manufacturers and engineers, as well as soldiers and artisans, have caught that inspiration which useful knowledge gives to the mind and prepared themselves for their life-work at these great seats of learning and religion. Chris-

tianity is the world's greatest civilizer. Christianity can do nothing better for a country after it has once converted its inhabitants to Christ than when it founds and opens for youth its permanent institutions of the higher learning. This it did in Scotland at an early day, and thereby gave the guarantee of progress and set the seal of its power over an educated people for all time to come. The Scottish universities have been the centres of light and influence not only to the educated youth of Scotland, but in an unusual degree to the young men of England, Ireland and America. Even to this day, when universities and colleges have been so multiplied in our own land, it is no uncommon thing for our talented young men of wealthy families to obtain a part of their educational finish as students at these universities, especially that of Edinburgh.

It is certain that the universities may claim the honor of having trained in almost every branch of literature and science the men who have made Scotland illustrious. At these seats of learning they have been educated, and here, in maturer life, they have lived and taught and carried forward their profound investigations. The literary, scientific, philosophical, and even religious, life of Scotland has gathered around these schools. There could be no complete history of the Scottish people without taking them into the account.

The periodical literature of Scotland, as rep-

resented by the leading reviews and magazines, belongs to the present century. Through them Scotland, and especially her little capital, Edinburgh, has uttered a voice on all the high themes of criticism, philosophy, art, education, religion, politics and general literature which has been heard with respect around the globe. In Great Britain there had been periodical literature of various types during the preceding century, even back to the times of Johnson and Addison. It was reserved to the opening years of the nineteenth century, and to the Scottish metropolis, to inaugurate a new order of publication. The first of the great organs of opinion made its appearance at Edinburgh in October, 1802, in the form of the *Edinburgh Review*. It was the beginning of that brilliant and popular school of writing which has gone on increasing its volume and widening its channel of influence to the present day. Fifteen years later, in the same city, it was followed by *Blackwood's Magazine*, the most important of modern monthly magazines as being, like the *Review*, the precursor of a long and famous line. The *Review* owed its origin to a little coterie of young men of brilliant genius, some of Scottish and some of English birth, but mostly lawyers who were then residing at the Scottish metropolis, where they had pursued their classical and legal studies.

Prominent in the number were Henry Brough-

am, who became lord chancellor of England, James Grahame, poet of the Sabbath, Mr. Horner, Lords Seymour and Cockburn, Sydney Smith, the famous wit, a clergyman of the English Church, who was the first to propose the setting up of the *Review* and wrote a large number of its earlier articles, and Francis Jeffrey, who became identified with it as its chief editor and its "arch-critic." The first number of the *Review* startled the public by its originality, its ability, its vigor and its tone of independence. "It is impossible," says Lord Cockburn, "for those who did not live at the time and in the heart of the scene to feel or understand the impression made by the new luminary or the anxiety with which its motions were observed. It was an entire and instant change of everything that the public had been used to in that sort of composition. The learning of the new journal, its talent, its spirit, its writing and its independence, were all new; and the surprise was increased by a work so full of public life springing up suddenly in a remote part of the kingdom." No one of its originators, or any one else at that day, could have foreseen or imagined its long continuance, or the immense results in the progress of public opinion and the diffusion of intelligence which were destined to flow from such a publication. It was the unconscious inauguration of that full, free and fearless discussion of all matters worthy of inquiry and affecting the

public interests which has now become one of the essential institutes of the nineteenth century.

The brilliant monthly magazine originated by William Blackwood of Edinburgh in 1817, and bearing his name, was as remarkable in its early issues, and created as profound a sensation on the public mind, as its precursor, the *Review*. Its great success, both financial and literary, was largely due to its versatile and sagacious publisher, Blackwood, who took the whole risk of the new venture in literature. But his remarkable powers were fully equal to his task. Never did proprietor and editor hold the reins with a bolder and a steadier hand, and never did any publication more surely win its way to popular favor until it became a living power in the land. Like its great predecessor, it was also the joint-product of a band of highly-gifted and brilliant young men, who thus, under the masterly direction of Blackwood, found a fitting organ for the expression of their original and powerful thinking. Of this number were John Gibson Lockhart, son-in-law of Walter Scott, Professor John Wilson, author of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* and *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life*, and Sir William Hamilton. A more brilliant band of critics and writers could not have been found in the British isles. They at once by their wit and genius gave character to the magazine. "Its success," says Mrs. Oliphant, "was immediate.

Four thousand copies of the witty organ were sold in a month. Thus Edinburgh was once more the scene of one of the great events of modern literary history. All the magazines of more recent days are the followers and offspring of this periodical, so audacious in its beginning, so persistent and permanent in its influence and power."

This writer, in her recent work *The Literary History of England*, has given an admirable account of the origin and success of these two great Scottish periodicals. Though they had to contest the field ere long with many able successors and rivals in England, such as the *London Quarterly* and *Westminster Review*, and the yet abler monthlies of our own time, they have still maintained their ground in the ancient capital, and to this day exert no inconsiderable influence on the opinions of men in both Great Britain and America.

The whole story, however, is not yet told. In 1844 still another of these great organs made its appearance in the scholarly and elegant pages of the *North British Review*. It grew out of the demands of public opinion created by the memorable disruption of the Church of Scotland and the inauguration of the Free Church the year preceding. It became to a certain extent, though not exclusively, the exponent of the opinions of the Free Church party, and ranked among its con-

tributors and supporters the many eminent men, divines and civilians, who had taken part in the movement. No great review ever sprang into being under more auspicious circumstances or was sustained by abler men. From the first it commanded public attention by its weighty matter and by its moderation and fairness in the discussion of all important questions. It was learned, dignified, racy and discriminating, conservatively liberal in opinion, independent in tone, and yet unreservedly Christian in principle. It became the exponent of sound philosophy, and the staunch defender of the Christian faith as held by the Presbyterians of the Free Church of Scotland. After a brilliant course of more than a quarter of a century, it gave way in 1871 to the *British Quarterly* of London, an able periodical dating from 1845 and advocating substantially the great Christian principles which had been maintained by the *North British.*

These widely-read periodicals, especially the first two, have unquestionably played a conspicuous part in the literature of our century. They have been almost oracular in their influence. While they have contributed much to give intellectual life and character to Scotland, they have perhaps contributed still more to awaken the thought, stimulate the inquiry and form the opinions of thousands of young men in other lands. They have been the medium through which many

of the ablest writers of the age have addressed the great reading public, and their utterances, coming from men of thorough scholarship and clothed in attractive style, have not been in vain. As organs of the educated thought of our century, and as exponents of that influential public opinion which in modern times has so much to do with the practical administration of the world's affairs, it would be difficult to name any three great journals which have had a wider reading and a more potential and decisive influence on English-speaking men. Through the wide domains of Britain and America they have never ceased to find thoughtful readers, not only among intelligent youth, but among representative men in all the higher classes of society. Nor is it any hesitating and uncertain voice on the momentous questions of the times which the Scottish capital has thus sent around the globe.

Before closing this account of the Edinburgh periodical literature, it is proper to add that for more than a century the Scottish capital has been the publishing centre of several of the most widely-known encyclopædias of modern times. By its encyclopædic literature this classic city of the North has been almost or quite as much a pioneer and a leader in the advancement and diffusion of useful knowledge as in the higher criticism it was a guide to open the road and blaze the way by its reviews and magazines. The uni-

versal encyclopædia, which aims to condense, classify and publish to the world all that man knows on every subject, is one of the latest, as it is one of the most important, forms of literature. It belongs mainly to the latter centuries of modern history. It has reached its maturity within the last hundred and fifty years. Though Scotland was not the first to enter this field, and must yield the precedence here to Germany and France, still the Scots were early in the field, and Edinburgh in advance of all other British cities. The first editions of the famous *Encyclopædia Britannica* were brought out in ten volumes at Edinburgh as early as 1776–1783, followed by nine successive editions to the present day, in which it has grown to twenty-two volumes. From first to last, this encyclopædia has been executed and published in Edinburgh, the literary reputation of which it has helped in no small degree to increase.

This important work, which still holds its place in all libraries, public and private, was followed by the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, edited by the distinguished scientist Sir David Brewster, which appeared in 1810, and was finished in 1830 in eighteen volumes. In all departments of the physical sciences it was more complete than any preceding work of the kind. Following this, in 1841–1850, there was also published in Edinburgh *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, in ten volumes,

founded on the German *Conversations-Lexicon* of F. A. Brockhaus, though substantially a new work. This has been received with favor throughout Great Britain and America, and in our own country is found in nearly all libraries.

It is impossible to estimate, from an educational point of view, the value of this encyclopædic literature. No library is now complete without these compendiums of universal knowledge. By them the world has been filled with the treasured wisdom of all ages. In them is illustrated the fine sentiment of Tennyson:

> "Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
> And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

Whatever of good has come to the world by the accumulated stores of learning, Edinburgh has certainly had much to do in the publication and dissemination of it by means of the great encyclopædias. Nor have these been the only means. Her enterprising publishing-houses have long been known to the reading world as standing side by side with those of London, Leipsic and other great centres of literary production, and during the century the teeming presses of the Ballantynes, Constables, Nelsons and Clarks of Edinburgh have stood among the foremost in sending forth in book-form a pure and elevated literature of the first order. One generation can

scarcely leave a better legacy to another than the written and published thoughts of its ablest authors. When the great publishing-house has put these thoughts into the permanent form of books and given them the widest possible diffusion, it has done for mankind a service not to be forgotten. Such a service many of the Edinburgh publishing-houses did for our own country through much of our earlier history. In science, philosophy, history, theology and general literature many of our ablest and most enduring works have emanated from the Scottish press, and still stand in all their substantial dignity on the shelves of our libraries.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CHURCHES OF SCOTLAND.

IN setting forth the influence exerted by Christianity upon the people of Scotland, and through them upon the general advance of civilization throughout the world, it will not be necessary to dwell long on the earlier periods of the history. The precise point of time when the gospel first found its way among the warlike and intractable tribes inhabiting the region has never been clearly ascertained. The strong probability, as stated by the historian of the Church, Hetherington, is that the "religion of Christ had penetrated to the mountains of Caledonia before the close of the second century." During the succeeding centuries, down to the middle of the sixth, it gained an increasing hold upon the people of the land, as seen in the widely-diffused worship of the Culdees and the permanent institutions founded by Columba at Iona. After the sixth century, however, this simple and primitive style of Christianity gradually gave way to the more ambitious and imposing ritualism of the Church of Rome; so that during the Middle Ages, down to the era of

the Protestant Reformation, Scotland had become to all intents and purposes a papal country wholly subject to the Roman domination and intensely devoted to its interests.

In the sixteenth century, under the masterly leadership of Knox and his heroic band of Reformers, lay and clerical, that ascendency was after many conflicts broken for ever, and the great mass of the Scottish people became as intensely Protestant and Presbyterian as it had before been Roman Catholic. The relics and the monuments of that protracted ascendency may be seen to this day all over Scotland in the crumbling walls and the ruined splendor of many an ancient castle, cathedral and abbey, which still linger on the scene to tell how terrible was the struggle that delivered the Scottish people from a foreign and despotic sway.

From the thorough reformation of the sixteenth century, the true spiritual glory of the Scottish Church begins. Our purpose, accordingly, in this brief chapter, is to speak only of those influences, evangelical, educational and civilizing, which belong to this last period of the history, and which have gone forth from the combined labors of the several Reformed Churches of Scotland. Of these there have been four distinct and important bodies.

The first and smallest of these, the Episcopal, or Anglican, Church, has never had any strong

hold on the Scottish people, and, although its history dates back almost to the period of the Reformation, it represents a very small portion of the population. Its history during the earlier periods, under the Stuart dynasty, was a record of tyranny, usurpation and bloody persecution not exceeded by the worst times of the papal domination, and it fully justified the remark which grew into a proverb—that "Episcopacy never appeared on Scotch soil except as a persecutor." Introduced at first by the treachery of James VI. of Scotland, a man of some book-learning, of much pretension and of small practical statesmanship, who had become recreant to his own early professions, it was always an exotic and never flourished. His successor strove in vain to force the system upon people who abhorred its prelatical orders and its ritualistic forms of worship. Its forcible introduction at the first only served to illustrate the extreme folly of the would-be Solomon who attempted it, and its absolute failure to take root in the land, despite the fostering care and the persecuting protection of successive monarchs, only showed how deeply and ineradicably attached were the Presbyterian people of Scotland to their own simpler and purer ecclesiastical polity and worship.

It would not be right, however, to hold the Scottish Episcopal Church of the present day responsible for the intolerant bigotry of its royal

supporters and its unwise prelates of the persecuting ages. Presbyterianism itself, though it suffered so much and came so near being crushed under the iron heel of oppression during that long reign of terror, was not entirely free from the intolerant spirit of the times. When the day of deliverance came with the Revolution of 1688 and the Hanoverian succession, Episcopacy in turn had to suffer many disabilities during the following century. Still, it held its ground in Scotland, and, though small, is to-day an intelligent and influential body within the limited sphere of its operations. Both in polity and in the form of worship it has become far more assimilated to the character of Anglican Episcopacy than in its earlier career. It now has seven dioceses in Scotland, with as many bishops, and a clergy numbering two hundred and thirty.

The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland is of about equal strength, having one archbishop and a clergy of two hundred and sixty. It, however, draws its ministers and its membership not so much from the Scottish people as from the Irish population resident in the cities. Catholicism does not flourish in the land of Knox.

It is through the Presbyterian churches that Christianity has gained its enduring influence over the Scottish mind and made that influence felt around the globe. It may be questioned whether in any other country Christianity has ever gained

a hold so strong and so general over all the deepest affections of a united people. With the small exceptions first named—the remnants of the papal and Episcopal Churches—Scotland is to-day, and has been for three centuries, as decidedly Presbyterian as it is intensely Protestant and Christian. The reformation from the beginning was thorough and complete, and it wrought into the inmost convictions of the Scottish people a system of doctrine, worship and polity grounded on the word of God and the rights of private conscience. This system proclaimed as its distinctive fundamental principle the supreme headship of Jesus Christ as sole Lord of the conscience and Sovereign of the Church. This in essence was Presbyterianism as understood by Knox, and by Calvin at Geneva before him. This, through all its reformations and divisions in Scotland, and in every other land is Presbyterianism still, and this the Scottish people received with all their hearts when they renounced the sacramental system of Rome and threw off the papal yoke.

While the potential influence of Christianity over the Scottish population has remained for centuries an incontestable fact, it is easy to see how Christianity, having once gained that ascendency, has never lost it. Even down to our own times the faith of the children remains substantially the same as was the faith of their fathers. They have neither renounced it at the demands

of a rationalistic infidelity on the one hand, nor on the other surrendered it for some more pretentious and plausible form of ecclesiastical order. Why is this, and what is the secret of the strong hold which Presbyterian Christianity has had from the first, and still has, in Scotland? The true answer is to be found partly in the method of public instruction adopted by the Scottish clergy, and partly in that universal system of biblical and catechetical instruction in which every Scottish family was required to indoctrinate its children. The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, was the basis of all Scottish preaching, and the people, from the period of the Reformation down through all the history, were Bible-readers, had the Bible in their hands even in the public sanctuaries, as in their own houses, and would not tolerate any preaching except as it was scriptural. The first and highest element of all pulpit ministration was that it should expound the word of God, inculcate its essential doctrines and apply its precepts to life and conduct. The Scottish preacher was nothing except as he was a student, an expounder, a teacher, of the word of God. A ministry thus biblical, doctrinal and expository made an intelligent Christian people thoroughly grounded in the faith and in the knowledge of the Bible. And in time such a people demanded such a ministry.

Along with this public instruction of the Sab-

bath-day and the house of worship was the equally potential method of training the Scottish children and youth in the home circle under the faithful discipline and instruction of their parents. Both at home and in their schools the Bible was faithfully taught, as were also the Westminster Catechisms and Confession of Faith. The result was that every Presbyterian child in Scotland, always under the double instruction of the Christian home and the Christian Church, was early indoctrinated in all the essential truths of the Bible, and grew up with a knowledge of God and of salvation which he could nevermore forget. It may, indeed, be questioned whether the youth of any Christian land ever received a more thorough and valuable acquaintance with the saving truths of the gospel than did the youth of Scotland under this vigilant and wise discipline, unless the exception be in our own Presbyterian and New England churches of a hundred years ago, where, in fact, they obtained precisely the same kind of education, both biblical and catechetical, under the wise usages established by those mighty men of old, the Pilgrim and Puritan Fathers. The system in each case was the same, with the same result.

It has become the fashion in our day to criticise and disparage this early method of biblical and Christian training for the young as lacking in breadth and culture, but, with all our wider culture and more artistic methods, it may well be

doubted whether we have yet discovered any system of education better adapted to fortify the mind in habits of virtue and form a really great character than the one so long tried and so thoroughly tested by the Presbyterian churches of Scotland, and after them by the early Congregational and Presbyterian churches of our own country. We well know what this system of biblical and catechetical instruction of the pulpit and the fireside did for the people of Scotland and of America through all the earlier history, and what it is still doing both there and here so far as it is maintained. It made Scotland and it made New England Bible-reading and Sabbath-observing lands; it made great individual characters; it made flourishing and intelligent communities whose type and whose influence to this day have not died out. Whether the more popular methods that are now supplanting them will do as much remains to be seen.

The chief growth of Presbyterianism in Scotland, however, has been during the last two centuries, or since the memorable Revolution of 1688. Prior to that event, as already stated, it had to struggle for existence, and it had been brought so low under the reign of the Stuarts that the General Assembly which met for the first time under William and Mary, in 1690, had not met before for thirty-seven years. "If the Revolution," says Macaulay, "had produced no other effect than that of freeing the Scotch from the yoke of an

establishment which they detested and giving them one to which they were attached, it would have been one of the happiest events in our history." Low as the Church was brought by these bitter and persistent persecutions, the truth itself had not been crushed; the people had not lost their martyr-spirit nor renounced their allegiance to Christ's cross and covenant and crown.

Leaving out of view some minor ecclesiastical communions that still exist as the mere fragments of larger divisions, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland of our day is comprised in three separate bodies, each having its own organization, all holding substantially the same doctrinal and ecclesiastical standards or confession of faith, and all together representing the great bulk of the Scottish population. The first of these, and the most ancient, dating from the formation of the First General Assembly, in 1560, in the time of Knox, but distinctly connected with the British government at the Revolution of 1688, is the Established Church, now consisting of about fourteen hundred parishes, or congregations, and nearly fourteen hundred ministers. The second is the United Presbyterians, a body formed in 1847 by the union of two distinct secessions from the old Established Church—one in 1733, called the Associate, or Secession, Synod, under Ebenezer Erskine; the other, called the Relief Synod, in 1761. This united body now consists of five hundred and

twenty-six parishes and five hundred and sixty-four ministers. The third is the Free Church of Scotland, the result of what Hetherington calls the third reformation and the third secession, formed in 1843 under the lead of Dr. Chalmers. This Church now comprises ten hundred and nine pastoral charges and ten hundred and sixty-eight ministers. This will suffice to show the relative strength of the three principal Scottish Churches. Besides these, some small remnants of the Original Seceders and the Reformed Presbyterians are still found.

It has been remarked by its enemies, and sometimes conceded by its friends, that the weak point of Scottish Presbyterianism is its tendency to disintegration, as seen in its numerous divisions. Possibly its whole influence on the people and on the outside world would have been stronger and the work of Christ more effectually accomplished had there been no divisions, and had the Church been a unit presenting always an unbroken front to the world. But any one who has attentively read the history knows that this bitter experience of conflict and division has never been a thing left to the Church's option. The division at every great crisis has been unavoidable. It has not sprung from within, but has forced itself upon the Church from without. It has been the sad price paid for being connected by law with the civil state. Every single secession in the long

history of the Scottish churches has arisen from some attempt of the dominant civil power to intrude into and control the spiritual functions that belong exclusively to the spiritual sphere of the Church. The civil government, either on the part of the Crown or through the legislative body and the courts of law, has in every case intruded into purely spiritual matters where it had no right to intrude, and could not intrude without violating sacred compacts. This Erastian principle of the English government has from time to time been asserted in one way or another, and this usurped authority in spiritual matters the people of Scotland have always resisted. This alone has made the divisions and disruptions of the Scottish Church. But for this the three existing Churches of Scotland might have always formed one unbroken body. If this one great stumbling-block of division were out of the way, who will say that the Churches of Scotland might not now speedily come together in one great national Church?

There are worse things than divisions, and these the Churches of Scotland have so far avoided. However much they have been divided, and are still divided, they have all been substantially agreed on the great doctrines of the faith once delivered to the saints; they all stand firmly by the essentials of the Westminster Confession; they all contend earnestly to-day, as in former ages, for the fundamental principles of the Chris-

tianity of Knox, of Calvin and Luther, of Augustine and Paul. They have not gone to pieces, as in some nominally Christian lands, on the deceptive rocks of rationalism, nor, as in others, on the equally dangerous sands and shoals of a sacramental ritualism. They stand to-day where they have stood from the first, like a rampart of adamant forming a tempest-beaten but indestructible breakwater of sound doctrine against that wild ocean of doubt and skepticism which has engulfed other Churches and threatens at times to carry everything before it. Divided on the subordinate points of ecclesiastical and political allegiance, they stand to-day, as they have always stood, a unit on the grand old doctrines of the Protestant Reformation.

It is at this point that we are brought face to face with the essential element of the entire Scottish civilization and with the real strength of the Scottish character. It lies in its religion, in the theology of the people. The fundamental fact of Scottish civilization as developed in all the history of the country is Christianity. But for Christianity, Scotland, shut up within bleak and narrow borders, would scarcely have been heard of in the world's affairs. Christianity has made the Scottish character. Still more: the fundamental fact in Scottish Christianity through all the ages has been its uncompromising adherence to the word of God. No people were ever more thor-

oughly indoctrinated into the very letter and spirit of the Scriptures. The true Scotsman—at least, since the time of Knox—has known nothing so well as his Bible. That he has read from his youth up, and in large measure committed to memory; that has been his life's catechism. Of the nation it might be said, as it was of Timothy, "From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation." That knowledge has been like a fire in the bones of the Scottish people. It has taken possession of them and controlled them. Scottish Christianity from the beginning has been a living faith. It has been both a life and a doctrine moulding the entire character of the people. In other words, it has been a theology grounding itself on the word of God and on the sound philosophy of experience and common sense.

This element of Scottish character has been strikingly presented by Hugh Miller in his fine volume *First Impressions of England and its People*. After contrasting the strong characteristics of the common people of the two countries, he says: "It was religion alone that strengthened the character of the Scotch where it most needed strength, and enabled them to struggle against their native monarch and the aristocracy of the country, backed by all the power of the state, for more than a hundred years." To the question of an Englishman whom he met, and with whom he

discussed the subject, "What good does all your theology do you?" he replied, "Independently altogether of religious considerations, it has done for our people what all your societies for the diffusion of useful knowledge and all your *Penny Magazines* will never do for yours: it has awakened their intellects and taught them how to think. The development of the popular mind in Scotland is a result of its theology." The deeply-significant fact is that Christian theology, through its Sabbath worship, its pulpit ministrations, its weekly expositions of the word of God, its Church catechisms and its various schools of learning, has been, and is, the chief civilizing element of Scotland—the one great educational influence over the young and the adult mind of its people. Scotland is to-day a standing demonstration to the world of what Christianity can do for a people, and can accomplish through them, when it is permitted to gain a complete ascendency in the land.

The successive periods and movements in the Scottish Church during the whole three hundred years since the Reformation are well represented by their prominent leaders as given by Dr. W. M. Blackburn in his *Church History*. John Knox represents the Reformation, 1525–1575; Andrew Melville, the introduction of a purer Presbyterianism, 1575–1638; Alexander Henderson and Samuel Rutherford, the Solemn League and Covenant

and the Westminster Confession, 1638–1660; Archbishops Robert Leighton and Sharpe, the enforcement of Episcopacy upon Scotland, 1660–1688; William Carstares, the Restoration of Presbyterianism, 1690; Ebenezer Erskine, the tendencies to disruption, 1734; William Robertson, the moderation of the Established Church, 1750–1840; Alexander Duff, the spirit of missions, 1800–1843; Thomas Chalmers, the Free Church, 1843.

The controversy which led to this last disruption of the old Establishment was of ten years' continuance, from 1833 to 1843. It grew out of the abuse of patronage and the interference of the civil courts, intruding a minister into a pastoral charge contrary to the will of the people, even when the presbytery had refused to install him. With singular infatuation the English government persisted in forcing this issue, so that all efforts to compromise the difficulties at last became fruitless. The great result is graphically set forth in the following paragraph from Dr. Blackburn's *History:*

"The final issue came in 1843, in the General Assembly at Edinburgh, when that old city was full of excitement on one great question: Will these four hundred non-intrusionists secede from the Established Church? Some said that not forty of them would go out. Dr. Welsh, the moderator, took the chair, invoked the divine Presence, and calmly said that the Assembly

could not be properly constituted without violating the terms of union between Church and State. He read a protest against any further proceedings, bowed to the representative of the Crown, stepped down into the aisle and walked toward the door. To follow him was to forsake the old Church, its livings, salaries, manses, pulpits and parishes. Dr. Chalmers had seemed like a lion in a reverie, and all eyes were turned upon him. Would he give up his chair of theology? He seized his hat and took the new departure. After him went Gordon and Buchanan, Macfarlane and MacDonald, Guthrie, Candlish and Cunningham, and more than four hundred ministers, with a host of elders. A cheer burst from the galleries. In the street the expectant crowd parted and admired the heroic procession as it passed. Jeffrey was sitting in his room quietly reading, when some one rushed in saying, 'What do you think? More than four hundred of them have gone out.' Springing to his feet, he exclaimed, 'I am proud of my country. There is not another land on earth where such a deed could have been done.'"

The deed was in keeping with scenes that had often been witnessed in Scotland in the olden times, but for the nineteenth century it was certainly a spectacle of sublime import, as demonstrating that spiritual Christianity was still a living power amongst men, and not an empty name. No stronger proof short of actual martyrdom could

have been given that the Christianity of our day, as embodied in one of the leading Churches of Christendom, was more than an abstract theory, more than a genteel profession. Men saw that it was a grand principle of right and duty which could lead hundreds and thousands of educated people to sacrifice all earthly interests for truth's and conscience' sake. It was an argument and a vindication which even ungodly and worldly men could not fail to understand and profoundly respect. Both the Church and the world needed such a demonstration, and unquestionably the moral influence of it was felt to the ends of the earth. What Scotland thus did was not done in a corner: it was in the full light of the sun; it was at the noontide of our century; it was an act and a lesson for all mankind and for all coming history. The future alone can estimate its true dignity and its inestimable worth.

The ministers of the British Crown just forty years ago stood powerless to prevent that great disruption or repair the injustice which their own egregious folly had forced upon an intelligent and conscientious Christian body, but since their day a far abler minister than Lord Aberdeen—Mr. Gladstone, one of the greatest statesmen of any age or nation—has taken occasion in the British Parliament publicly to vindicate the principles and the character of the band of Christian heroes who, with Welsh and Chalmers at their head, made the

eighteenth day of May, 1843, memorable and glorious in the annals of Scotland.

What followed this impressive separation from the old Church and inauguration of the Free Church of Scotland is thus briefly told by Dr. Hetherington:

"On the Sabbath after the termination of the first General Assembly the ministers of the Free Church abstained from using their former places of worship, and preached in halls or barns or in the open air to audiences many times more numerous and unspeakably more intensely attentive than had ever before attended their ministrations. There were in their own devotions and instructions a fervor, a pathos and a spirituality to which they had rarely or never before attained, and their people gazed on them and listened to them with an earnest, sympathizing and admiring love which rendered every word precious and its impression deep and lasting. It may be safely said that the gospel was that day preached in Scotland to a greater number of eager and attentive auditors than had ever before listened to its hallowed message. And yet that was but the beginning. From Sabbath to Sabbath and almost every week-day evening the people sought to hear, and the ministers of the Free Church hastened to proclaim, the glad tidings of salvation. Nor did the remarkable avidity of the people to hear and willingness of the ministers to preach bear almost any reference

to the recent controversy and its result, but both ministers and people felt themselves at last free, and they used that freedom in the service of their divine Lord and Master. Within two months after the disruption upward of two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling had been subscribed, and nearly eight hundred associations formed. Churches in all directions began to be erected; every minister and probationer was constrained to discharge double or threefold duty; and still the demand continued to increase."

From that day onward until now this last and freest of the Scottish Reformed Churches has had a steady increase, and has sent its evangelical influences into every Christian land and into the dark regions of paganism. Nor in this has it stood alone. The other two great Scottish communions, the Established Church and the United Presbyterian Church, have been awakened to new life and activity in all the departments of Christian work.

CHAPTER XIII.

SCOTTISH ART AND INDUSTRY.

THE civilization of a nation is accurately measured by its advancement in the useful arts and economic industries of life. Upon these largely depend the production and diffusion of wealth among its people, their trade and commerce with other nations, and much of that needful comfort and that higher refinement which make life at once enjoyable and desirable. It is also through this channel—this attainment and advance in useful art and industry—that a nation sends its creative influences far away to other nations and contributes powerfully to the general progress and civilization of the race. Of this potential influence of art and industry, both at home and abroad, no better illustration can be found in modern history than that furnished by the working and industrial classes of Scotland. During the present century at least, and for a large part of the preceding one, Scotland has been a busy working-hive of industry, and of useful invention in many of the most important arts. Vast coal-fields have been discovered and

the mineral resources of the country developed to an extent unknown to former ages.

The growth of these great industries to their present immense proportions has been very gradual from their small beginnings nearly two centuries ago. They have, however, afforded scope for the practical and inventive genius of the Scottish people, and at the same time a wide field of employment for large numbers of the laboring classes. While thousands of Scotsmen during these centuries, finding their native land too narrow, have been going abroad to seek useful occupation, other thousands have found new doors for remunerative toil constantly opening before them at home in coal- and iron-mining, in the manufacture of iron and steel, and that vast development of steamship building which has made Scotland to a good degree the builder of the navies of Great Britain and the world. It is an interesting history that traces this development from its early inception on the banks of the Forth and the Clyde and among the rugged Highland hills. It is one which strongly suggests that those picturesque scenes of beauty or of wild grandeur were not created alone for the pencil of the artist and the pen of poet and novelist, but with a deeper design, as being the inexhaustible deposition of a material wealth that should give employment to millions and send its richness around the globe.

In a valuable volume published by Mr. Samuel

Smiles in 1864, entitled *Industrial Biography; or, Iron-Workers and Tool-Makers,* we have a sketch of the prominent men, both English and Scottish, to whose genius and energy our present civilization is largely indebted for the development of these great sources of wealth and power. Many of them became from necessity inventors of improved instruments of mining, manufacture and shipbuilding. As such they are among the world's benefactors. Their implements and improved machinery were no sooner tested by experiment than they became the property of other nations, and became the factors of useful industry in other lands. "The true epic of our time," says Carlyle, "is not *Arms and the Man,* but *Tools and the Man*—an infinitely wider kind of epic."

In the manufacture of Scottish iron John Roebuck may be placed first on the list of pioneers and discoverers. He was not a native of Scotland, but of Sheffield, England, where his father preceded him as a manufacturer of cutlery. He was, however, educated in part at the University of Edinburgh, where he applied himself to the study of medicine, and especially of chemistry; and after graduating as a physician at Leyden, on the Continent, he determined to devote his life to industrial pursuits and to make Scotland the field of his operations. He first settled at Birmingham, England, where for a while he pursued his medical profession and also made some important

inventions in the methods of smelting iron and refining gold and silver, and then removed to the neighborhood of Edinburgh, near which place he established works for the preparation of vitriol on a large scale. There he also struck out new branches of industry with much success. Having determined to engage in the manufacture of iron, he formed a company for that purpose, in which he was joined by a number of his friends, and made choice of a suitable site for his works on the banks of the river Carron, in Stirlingshire, where there was an abundant supply of water and an inexhaustible supply of iron, coal and limestone in the immediate neighborhood. There Dr. Roebuck planted the first iron-works in Scotland. He brought from England a large number of skilled workmen, who formed a nucleus of industry at Carron, where their example and improved methods of working served to train the native laborers in their art; and thus the business has been handed down to the present day.

"The first furnace," says Mr. Smiles, "was blown at Carron on the first day of January, 1760, and in the course of the same year the Carron Iron-Works turned out fifteen hundred tons of iron, then the whole annual produce of Scotland. Other furnaces shortly after were erected on improved plans, and the production steadily increased." Out of this successful enterprise of the Carron works, Mr. Smiles tells us, "sprang,

in a great measure, the Forth and Clyde Canal, the first artificial navigation in Scotland."

While this Carron foundry was pursuing its career of safe prosperity Dr. Roebuck's enterprise led him to embark in coal-mining with the object of securing an improved supply of fuel for his iron-works. Finding all existing machinery inadequate for his purposes, Dr. Roebuck in 1768 became associated with James Watt, a young mathematical-instrument maker of Glasgow, who had just invented a steam-engine of great power. The latter, at Dr. Roebuck's request, joined him at the extensive coal-mines at Boroughstones and set about the construction of the engines. Dr. Roebuck, however, having sunk his whole fortune and that of his wife in these public-spirited ventures, was compelled to abandon all further schemes of improvement. "He lived, however," says Mr. Smiles, "to witness the success of the steam-engine, the opening of the Boroughstones coal, and the rapid extension of the Scotch iron trade, though he shared in the prosperity of neither of those branches of industry. He had been working ahead of his age, and he suffered for it. He fell in the breach at the critical moment, and more fortunate men marched over his body into the fortress which his enterprise and valor had mainly contributed to win. Before his great undertaking of the Carron works, Scotland was entirely dependent upon other countries for its supply of iron; in 1760, the

first year of its operations, the whole produce was fifteen hundred tons. In course of time other iron-works were erected at Clyde, Cleugh-Muirkirk and Devon, the managers and overseers of which, as well as the workmen, had mostly received their training and experience at Carron, until at length the iron trade of Scotland has assumed such a magnitude that its manufacturers are enabled to export to England and other countries upward of five hundred thousand tons a year. How different this state of things from the time when raids were made across the Border for the purpose of obtaining a store of iron plunder to be carried back into Scotland!"

These great mining and manufacturing enterprises, which had been so nobly undertaken and developed by this indefatigable man during the last century, were carried to still greater perfection by the inventive and mechanical genius of three worthy successors, all Scotsmen, who rose to eminence in their respective spheres during the present century. These were David Mushet, born at Dalkeith, near Edinburgh, in 1772; James Beaumont Neilson, born at Shettlestone, near Glasgow, in 1792; and James Nasmyth, born in Edinburgh in 1808. To these, indeed, may be added a fourth name equally distinguished for inventive genius and important contributions not only to the manufacture of iron, but to bridge and railway structures and to the building of

iron-clad steamships. This is William Fairbairn, who was born at Kelso in 1787.

Mr. Smiles says, "The extraordinary expansion of the Scotch iron trade of late years has been mainly due to the discovery by David Mushet of the black-band iron-stone in 1801, and the invention of the hot blast by James Beaumont Neilson in 1828." Mr. Mushet commenced his investigations and experiments at an early age, while connected with the Clyde Iron-Works, near Glasgow. It was while engaged in erecting for himself and partners the Calder Iron-Works, in the same vicinity, that he made the discovery (unsuspected before him) that the black-band stone was rich in mineral, containing more than fifty per cent. of protoxide of iron. "Yet that discovery," says Mr. Mushet, "has elevated Scotland to a considerable rank among the iron-making nations of Europe, with revenues still in store that may be considered inexhaustible." He made many useful discoveries in connection with the hot-blast furnace, the smelting of iron and manufacture of steel, and while he lived was regarded as a leading authority on these subjects.

It was during his connection with the Glasgow gas-works that Mr. Neilson made his first experiments in the smelting of iron, and in 1828 he brought his wonderful discovery of the hot-air process to perfection. Its success was extraordinary. Mr. Mushet regarded it as one of the

"most novel and beautiful improvements of the age." Others spoke of it as being "of as great advantage in the iron trade as Arkwright's machinery was in the cotton-spinning trade." Mr. Fairbairn, in his article "Iron" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, says, "It has effected an entire revolution in the iron industry of Great Britain, and forms the last era in the history of this material." "The first trials of the process," says Mr. Smiles, "were made at the blast-furnaces of Clyde and Calder, from whence the use of the hot blast gradually extended to other iron mining districts. In the course of a few years every furnace in Scotland, with one exception (that of Carron), had adopted the improvement; while it was also employed in half the furnaces of England and Wales, and in many of the furnaces on the Continent and in America."

The utility of this valuable invention, both to Scotland and to the world, is well illustrated by the following paragraph from Mr. Smiles's volume: "The invention of the hot blast in conjunction with the discovery of the black-band ironstone has had an extraordinary effect upon the development of the iron manufacture of Scotland. The coals of that country are generally unfit for coking, and lose as much as fifty per cent. in the process. But by using the hot blast the coal could be sent to the blast-furnace in its raw state, by which a large saving of fuel is effected. Even

coals of an inferior quality were by its means available for the manufacture of iron. But one of the peculiar qualities of the black-band ironstone is that in many cases it contains sufficient coaly matter for purposes of calcination without any admixture of coal whatever. Before its discovery all the iron manufactured in Scotland was made from clay-band, but the use of the latter has in a great measure been discontinued wherever a sufficient supply of black-band can be obtained. And it is found to exist very extensively in most of the midland Scotch counties, the coal and iron measures stretching in a broad belt from the Firth of Forth to the Irish Channel at the Firth of Clyde. At the time when the hot blast was invented the fortunes of many of the older works were at a low ebb, and several of them had been discontinued; but they were speedily brought to life again wherever black-band could be found. In 1829, the year Neilson's patent was taken out, the total make of Scotland was twenty-nine thousand tons. As fresh discoveries of the mineral were made in Ayrshire and Lanarkshire new works were erected, until in 1845 the production of Scottish pig-iron had increased to four hundred and seventy-five thousand tons. It has since increased to upward of a million of tons, nineteen-twentieths of which are made from band ironstone. An immense additional value has been given to all land in which it is found. Employ-

ment has thus been given to vast numbers of our industrial population, and the wealth and resources of the Scotch iron districts have been increased to an extraordinary extent. During the last year (1862) there were one hundred and twenty-five furnaces in blast throughout Scotland, each employing about four hundred men in making an average of two hundred tons a week; and the money distributed amongst the workmen may readily be computed from the fact that under the most favorable circumstances the cost of making iron in wages alone amounts to thirty-six shillings a ton."

The third of these successful workers in iron, James Nasmyth, belonged to a Scottish family several of whose members were highly distinguished as artists. His father, Alexander Nasmyth of Edinburgh, was a landscape-painter of great eminence. His elder brother was an admirable portrait-painter. His sisters, following the line of the father's genius, became highly distinguished as landscape-painters, and their works were much prized. James Nasmyth was himself an excellent painter. He had received a sound and liberal education at the Edinburgh high school. His taste for the mechanic arts was so strong, however, even from early boyhood, that he determined to give himself to that line of industry. By the time he was fifteen he could work and turn out respectable jobs in wood, brass,

iron and steel. At that age he made a real working steam-engine, one three-fourths inch diameter and eight-inch stroke, which not only could act, but did some useful work, for he made it grind the oil-colors which his father required for his painting. He found it both delightful and profitable at that early age to make model steam-engines, which he sold at a good price, and thus purchased tickets of admission to the course of lectures on philosophy and chemistry at the university of his native city.

Mr. Nasmyth was a man of profound intellect, and his useful inventions in the iron manufacture were all suggested to his original inquiring mind by the practical necessities of the business. When an obstacle hitherto insurmountable met him, he at once set himself to overcome it by creating a more powerful instrument. Such was the history of his great steam-hammer.

Mr. Smiles says: "If Mr. Nasmyth had accomplished nothing more than the invention of the steam-hammer, it would have been enough to found a reputation. This invention is described by Professor Tomlinson, in the *Cyclopedia of Useful Arts*, as 'one of the most perfect of artificial machines, and one of the noblest triumphs of mind over matter that modern English engineers have yet developed.' When the use of iron extended and larger iron-work came to be forged, for cannon, tools and machinery, the ordinary hand hammer

was found insufficient, and the helve or forge hammer was invented. This was usually driven by a waterwheel or by oxen or horses. The tilt-hammer was another form in which it was used, the smaller kinds being worked by the foot. Among Watt's various inventions was a tilt-hammer of considerable power, which he at first worked by means of a waterwheel and afterward by a steam-engine regulated by a fly-wheel. His first hammer of this kind was a hundred and twenty pounds in weight; it was raised eight inches before making each blow. Watt afterward made a tilt-hammer for Mr. Wilkinson of Bradley Forge of seven and a half hundredweight, and it made three hundred blows a minute. Other improvements were made in the hammer from time to time, but no material alteration was made in the power by which it was worked until Mr. Nasmyth took it in hand, and, applying to it the force of steam, at once provided the worker in iron with one of the most formidable of machine tools."

Farther on in his interesting volume Mr. Smiles describes the inauguration of this wonder-working instrument whose mighty tread has now been heard in all iron-producing countries: "The first hammer of thirty hundredweight was made for Patricott Works with the consent of the partners, and in the course of a few weeks it was in full work. The precision and beauty of its action, the perfect ease with which it was managed and the

untiring force of its percussive blows were the admiration of all who saw it, and from that moment the steam-hammer became a recognized power in modern mechanics. The variety and gradation of its blows were such that it was found practicable to manipulate a hammer of ten tons as easily as if it had only been of ten ounces weight. It was under such complete control that while descending with its greatest momentum it could be arrested at any point with even greater ease than any instrument used by hand. While capable of forging an Armstrong hundred pounder or the sheet anchor for a ship-of-the-line, it could hammer a nail, or crack a nut without bruising the kernel. Its advantages were so obvious that its adoption soon became general, and in the course of a few years Nasmyth steam-hammers were to be found in every well-appointed workshop, both at home and abroad."

Mr. Nasmyth, after making an adequate fortune by his industry and inventions in the iron manufacture, retired from active business in 1856, and devoted his later years to the study of astronomy and other branches of science. He was a practical discoverer in this new field, and became almost as much distinguished as an astronomer as he had been as an engineer and inventor. By new telescopes of great power, constructed by himself, he instituted a series of observations on the crater of the moon, and also on the surface and spots of

the sun, which resulted in some remarkable discoveries. These, when first published in the scientific journals of the time, seemed almost incredible, but they were afterward confirmed by the observations of other scientists and fully recognized by Sir John Herschel and other eminent astronomers.

An interesting story is related by the author from whom most of these facts are taken as to the origin of the unusual name of this Scottish family. It goes back to the time of the old feuds between the kings of Scotland and their powerful subjects the earls of Douglas. On one occasion a rencounter took place near a border village, in which the king's adherents were worsted. Taking refuge in the village smithy, one of them hastily disguised himself and, donning a spare leathern apron, pretended to be engaged in assisting the smith at his work. A party of the Douglas men soon rushed in, and, glancing at the pretended workman at the anvil, they saw him strike a blow so unskillfully that the hammer-shaft broke in his hand. On this one of the Douglas followers rushed at him, calling out, "Ye're nae smyth." The assailed man, seizing his sword, which lay conveniently near, defended himself so vigorously that he soon killed his assailant, while the smith brained another with his hammer. A party of the king's men having come to their help, the rest were speedily overpowered. The royal forces then rallied, and their temporary

defeat was converted into a victory. The king bestowed a grant of land on his follower "nae-smyth," who assumed for his arms a sword between two hammers with broken shafts, and the motto, "Non Arte sed Marte," as if to disclaim the art of the smith, in which he had failed, and to emphasize the superiority of the warrior, in which capacity he had excelled.

"Such," adds Mr. Smiles, "is said to be the traditional origin of the family of Naesmyth of Posso, in Peeblesshire, who continue to bear the same name and arms. It is remarkable that the inventor of the steam-hammer should have so effectually contradicted the name he bears and reversed the motto of his family; for, so far from being 'nae smyth,' he may not inappropriately be designated the very Vulcan of the nineteenth century. His hammer is a tool of immense power and pliancy but for which we must have stopped short in many of those gigantic engineering works which are among the marvels of the age we live in. It possesses so much precision and delicacy that it will clip the end of an egg resting in a glass on the anvil without breaking it, while it delivers a blow of ten tons with such a force as to be felt shaking the parish. It is therefore with a high degree of appropriateness that Mr. Nasmyth has discarded the feckless hammer with the broken shaft, and assumed for his emblem his own magnificent steam-hammer, at the same time re-

versing the family motto, which he has converted into 'Non Marte sed Arte.'"

The author closes his fine sketch of this gifted man and truly representative North Briton of our period by telling us that some two hundred years ago a member of the Nasmyth family, Jean Nasmyth of Hamilton, was burnt for a witch—one of the last martyrs to ignorance and superstition in Scotland—because she read her Bible with two pairs of spectacles. "Had Mr. Nasmyth himself lived then, he might with his two telescopes of his own making, which bring the sun and the moon into his chamber for him to examine and paint, have been taken for a sorcerer; but, fortunately for him, and still more so for us, Mr. Nasmyth stands before the public of this age as not only one of its ablest mechanics, but as one of the most accomplished and original of scientific observers."

One of the most influential and successful of the mechanical engineers of the present century was William Fairbairn, who from humble beginnings worked his way up to the highest distinction. He was of Scottish birth and training and to a great degree self-educated, but, like many of his countrymen, his life was largely spent in England, where many of his useful experiments and improvements were made. Finding no opening for employment in his native land, he tried in turn to gain a foothold in London, Dublin, New Castle and other places, and at last established himself at

Manchester, where he spent his life. Here he became the head of a business firm for the construction of bridges, mills, iron buildings, and iron machinery in general, which eventually became known all over the civilized world. He was the builder of the first iron house erected in England, and his wonderful improvements in the structure of mills and water-wheels led to an entire revolution in that line of industry. "His improvements formed an era in the history of mill-machinery, and exercised the most important influence on the development of the cotton, flax, silk and other branches of manufacture."

"His labors," says Mr. Smiles, "were not, however, confined to his own particular calling as a mill-engineer, but were shortly directed to other equally important branches of the constructive art. He was among the first to direct his attention to iron-ship building as a special branch of business." Having satisfied himself by experiments, Mr. Fairbairn in 1831 proceeded to construct at his works, at Manchester, an iron vessel, which went to sea the same year. "Its success was such as to induce him to begin iron-ship building on a large scale at the same time as the Messrs. Laird did at Birkenhead, and, in 1835, Mr. Fairbairn established extensive works at Millwall, on the Thames—afterward occupied by Mr. Scott Russell, in whose yard the Great Eastern steamship was erected—where, in the course of

some fourteen years, he built more than a hundred and twenty iron ships, some of them above two thousand tons burden. It was, in fact, the first great iron-ship building yard in Britain, and led the way in a branch of the business which has since become of first-rate magnitude and importance. Mr. Fairbairn was a most laborious experimenter in iron, and investigated in great detail the subject of its strength, the value of different kinds of riveted joints compared with the solid plates, and the distribution of the material throughout the structure, as well as the form of the vessel itself. It would, indeed, be difficult to overestimate the value of his investigations on these points in the earlier stages of this now highly important branch of the national industry."

Mr. Fairbairn's practical and experimental knowledge of all matters connected with the qualities and strength of iron, and his great authority derived from many successful discoveries and inventions in the manufacture and use of it, led the British government to seek information from his inquiries as to the construction of iron-plated vessels of war. His thorough knowledge of wrought iron in all its applications naturally led to his being called in as a counselor by Robert Stevenson when it was proposed to span the estuary of the Conway and the Straits of Menai by an iron structure. The results were the world-renowned Conway and Britannia tubular

bridges. "There is no reason to doubt," says Mr. Smiles, "that by far the largest share of the merit of working out the practical details of those structures, and thus realizing Robert Stevenson's magnificent idea of the tubular bridge, belonged to Mr. Fairbairn."

There can be no question that iron has played an important part in the progress of civilization, and it is easy to see from these and other records that Scotsmen have played no inconsiderable part in that progress, whether it regards the discovery, the manufacture or the application of iron to the great industrial arts. "The mechanical operations of the present day," says Mr. Fairbairn, "could not have been accomplished at any cost thirty years ago, and what was then considered impossible is now performed with an exactitude that never fails to accomplish the end in view." "We are daily producing from the bowels of the earth," says Mr. Stevenson, "a raw material in its crude state apparently of no worth, but which when converted into a locomotive-engine flies over bridges of the same material with a speed exceeding that of the bird, advancing wealth and comfort throughout the country. Such are the powers of that all-civilizing instrument iron." One of the marvels of the age in which we live is this diversified and almost universal application of iron to the industries and the arts of life. Since the advent of these great iron discoverers and inventors the world has

assumed a new aspect unknown to former history, unimagined in poetry or fiction. The continents are belted by railroad iron. The surface of every ocean is ploughed by iron-clad steamers, and their silent ocean-beds feel the pressure of electric wires carrying intelligence from shore to shore. "Since then," wrote Mr. Smiles twenty years ago, "iron structures of all kinds have been erected—iron lighthouses, iron-and-crystal palaces, iron churches and iron bridges. Iron roads have long been worked by iron locomotives, and before many years have passed a telegraph of iron wire will probably be found circling the globe. We now use iron roofs, iron bedsteads, iron ropes and iron pavement, and even the famous wooden walls of England are rapidly becoming reconstructed of iron. In short, we are in the midst of what Mr. Worsaae has characterized as the Age of Iron."

Another great industry of Scotland, which during the present century has grown into national importance and sent its influences around the globe, is that of shipbuilding and steam-navigation. It may be ranked next to the earlier and more widely ramified industries of coal and iron, with which, in fact, it is closely connected. It has its principal centre of operation on the river Clyde, near and below Glasgow. It has contributed largely to the development of this Western metropolis and made it, along with other influences, one of the chief commercial and industrial

centres of Great Britain. "Situated in a district rich in coal and iron, Nature gave to Glasgow splendid opportunities for wealth and power, and its energetic inhabitants have known how to use them. In 1871 the city had reached a population of five hundred and forty-seven thousand five hundred and forty-eight, with two millions of spindles in its great cotton-mills and an annual consumption of a hundred and twenty thousand bales of cotton. In addition to its extensive manufactories for iron, cotton, glass and chemicals, it is the centre of the tobacco trade, the sugar trade and the cotton trade, while its vast industry, expended in the construction of steam- and iron-clad ships for Great Britain and other nations, has raised it to an industrial position surpassed by that of no other city in the world. It has been appropriately styled the metropolis of industry and commerce, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth."

In 1811 the first steam-vessel was built on the Clyde by Henry Bell, and the next year began to run on that river between Glasgow and Greenock at the rate of five miles an hour against a strong head-wind. Although our own countryman Robert Fulton had antedated this a few years by his successful navigation of the Hudson between New York and Albany in 1807, yet the Clyde may well be regarded as the cradle of steam-navigation. The Clyde, if it did not take the lead in

point of time, has unquestionably done more for marine architecture than any other river in the world. This once tortuous little stream, "full of rock-beds, fords and shallows," has been deepened and widened by an outlay of energy, and capital and engineering skill bestowed on no other river, until it has become "one of the noblest highways of commerce in the world, adapted to all the exigences and ends of navigation." Here since 1811 have been completed all those important practical inventions and improvements which have brought the art of shipbuilding to its present vast proportions and its almost perfect facilities. Says Mr. J. S. Jeans, writing for the *Practical Magazine* of 1874: "No inventions connected with or affecting marine architecture are at all comparable with those of the initial application of steam to navigation, the construction of ships of iron, the use of the screw-propeller, and the substitution of compound for other engines. In each of these leading and essential stages of improvement the Clyde stands out more conspicuously than any other river. The 'Clyde clippers' are known all over the world. The value of the vessels built on the Clyde in the last ten years is the colossal sum of forty millions of pounds sterling. At the present time there are upward of thirty separate shipbuilding establishments on the Clyde between Rutherglen and Greenock, both inclusive. The largest and oldest of these are the yards of John Elder,

Robert Napier, Barcklay & Carle, Tod & Macgregor, Alexander Stephenson & Son."

The time when the first steamship crossed the Atlantic was in 1819. It was the Savannah, built on the Clyde, and took twenty-six days for the voyage. In 1835, Dr. Lardner in a public scientific lecture proclaimed the impossibility of Atlantic navigation by steam in consequence of its too costly consumption of fuel. Yet in 1839 the Great Western—another vessel built on the Clyde—had made the outward and the home voyages so successfully as to time and cost as to demonstrate the feasibility of ocean steam-navigation by practically inaugurating it. Now great lines of steamers are ploughing every ocean and connecting all the continents. While steam-vessels are now constructed on the Mersey and at other places in Great Britain and Continental Europe, and also in our own country, the Clyde still holds its supremacy in shipbuilding. In 1874 there were nine hundred vessels belonging to the port of Glasgow, with a tonnage of five hundred thousand tons. All the largest steamers of the old Cunard company, ranging from two thousand to four thousand tons burden, are built on the Clyde, and all the leading ship companies in the world have many of their best vessels built here. For many miles the Clyde is a great forest of masts and smokestacks, while both banks of the river form continuous lines of workshops, forges,

furnaces, ship-docks and yards, giving employment to not less than fifty thousand operatives.

Mr. Jeans, from whose valuable article in the *Practical Magazine* most of these facts are taken, gives us the following description of the busy scene which greets the eye of a visitor to the Clyde: "There is no more interesting sight to one impressed with the importance of the industrial arts than a voyage down the Clyde. Strangers, as a rule, are totally unprepared for the wonderful display of industrial activity which they witness on all sides in their course between Glasgow and Greenock. Immediately after leaving the Broomielaw the thud of the ponderous steam-hammer, the clang of the ship- and boiler-plates under manipulation, the quick and intermittent noise of the riveters, the harsh and grating sound of the sawyers, and many other forms and combinations of the music of labor, strike upon the ear. A little farther down and the Babel of sound becomes still louder, harsher and more confusing. In quick succession the *voyageur* passes on the one side the works of the London and Glasgow Shipbuilding Company, of R. Napier & Sons, of John Elder & Co. and of Alexander Stephenson & Sons, while on the other are the works of Barclay, Carle & Co., Messrs. A. & J. Inglis, Tod & Macgregor, Thomas Wingate, Charles Connel & Co. and Messrs. Aitkin & Mansel. After having run the gauntlet of these establishments, there is an in-

terval of green fields and finely-timbered *haughts*, in passing through which a grateful repose is enjoyed, although it is still possible to hear, fainter and yet more faint, the cadences of the busy scene through which we have just passed. A little farther on and we reach Renfrew, where Messrs. W. Simons & Co. and Messrs. Henderson & Coulborn carry on large works; and on the opposite shore we next reach Dumbarton, famous in the days of yore for its wooden argosies, but now rivaling any port on the Clyde with the extensive and well-equipped shipbuilding works of Messrs. Denny Brothers and Messrs. A. McMillan & Co. From this point the charming beauties of the Clyde begin to unfold themselves, and serve to fascinate the mind and lead contemplation into other channels, until once again the indulgence of æsthetic taste is diverted by the industrial aspects of Port Glasgow and Greenock, where some of the oldest shipbuilding yards on the Clyde may be seen in active operation. The whole journey is fraught with bewilderment and wonder. Strangers are not always prepared for the fact that the Clyde, which is known far and near as one of the most beautiful of rivers, should at the same time be so distinguished for active and prosperous industry."

The man to whose mechanical genius and public spirit all these vast works on the Clyde are probably more indebted for their present stage of advancement than to any one else was Rob-

ert Napier. There were earlier engineers and discoverers, as Watt, Bell and Wilson, who opened the way by their inventive skill for what was to follow. In more recent times no one has done more to develop resources and lead the way to success in new paths than Mr. Napier. He was born at Dumbarton, twelve miles from Glasgow, in 1791. His father was a blacksmith and he served his apprenticeship in the father's shop, showing early such aptness for the trade that it was pithily remarked that the boy was "born with a hammer in his hand." He acquired in early life both a practical and a theoretical knowledge of everything connected with shipbuilding, and his name is intimately associated with all those great improvements which have given to the Clyde its pre-eminence in that line of industry. Besides his mechanical and constructive ability, Mr. Napier showed through his successful career an organizing and administrative capacity which made him the worthy compeer of such eminent architects and builders as Mr. Reed, the chief constructor of the navy, and Mr. John Laird, the greatest constructor of iron vessels in the world. As early as 1818, Mr. Robert Wilson had built a small vessel of iron to run as a passenger-boat in the Forth and Clyde Canal, and this was probably the first iron vessel constructed. In 1829, Mr. John Laird of Birkenhead constructed at his works on the Mersey, near Liverpool, the

first iron ship—the precursor of more than four hundred great iron ships which he lived to see finished at those famous works. To Mr. Laird's remarkable genius must be accorded the distinction of introducing that important change from wood to iron in the art of shipbuilding which in our time has turned the wooden walls of Britain into walls of iron and steel, and has remodeled to an indefinite degree the navies of all the great nations of the world.

Mr. Napier's work on the Clyde was different, but certainly not less useful and important in its influence on the arts of peaceful industry and the progress of human civilization. In the year 1840 he projected and built at his works on the Clyde, for Sir Samuel Cunard, the first four steamers of the now famous Cunard line. These were the Britannica, the Arcadia, the Caledonia and the Columbia, all ranging between one and two thousand tons burden. They crossed the Atlantic in a voyage of about two weeks, and thus inaugurated those regular lines of steamers which have since become numerous on all the great seas and oceans. For some years Mr. Napier supplied all the vessels of this Cunard line, though in more recent times the chief contractors of this line have been James & G. Thompson at Dumbarton.

During the last ten years great advances have been made in the construction of these floating palaces of the ocean, some of them reaching a

capacity of six thousand tons and a velocity that impels them across the Atlantic in seven or eight days. But the influence of Mr. Napier's successful pioneering on the first great line is well illustrated by the following paragraph from a sketch of his life in the *Practical Magazine* of 1874: "It is now conceded on all hands that the Cunard steam fleet is the finest in the world, and the operations of the company have been successful beyond all precedent. The company possesses at the present time between forty and fifty vessels afloat or in process of construction. Some of their ships are over four thousand tons burden, and the aggregate of the whole is about ninety thousand tons. Some idea of the capital invested in this magnificent fleet may be gathered from the fact that the average cost of the construction and equipment of a Cunard liner is one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The exemption of this line from misadventure is not only beyond all precedent, but is also among the greatest phenomena of the shipping trade. For upward of thirty years a Cunard liner has sailed from Liverpool to New York, at first once a week, then twice a week, and more recently three times a week, while the same number have been run from New York to Liverpool. But the Cunard captains appear to have mastered the domain of old Neptune, for during all that long period they have never lost either a life or a letter."

Mr. Napier received from time to time high honors, from both Great Britain and other countries, in recognition of the eminent services he had rendered to steam-navigation. He had won them fairly, and no man of our day deserves them better. At the Paris Exhibition of 1855 he received the prize of a great gold medal and was made "chevalier of the Legion of Honor." In 1862 and 1865 similar prizes were awarded him in London and Paris. In 1869 he received from the king of Denmark the honor of a "commander of the Most Ancient Order of the Danneborg." In 1874, Mr. Napier had retired from active business and was living in comfort and elegance in his noble residence on the banks of the Garelock.

The facts brought to view in this chapter are sufficient to illustrate what part Scotland has borne in the development of some of the most important arts and industries in the world. The Scottish people have been no laggards in the chase for wealth and fortune, no mere spectators in the race of improvement and distinction. Their lot has been cast in a small and comparatively rugged land, where nothing less than hard work and untiring industry could win the prizes of affluence and honor. But such as it was they have accepted it and made the most of the situation. They have made many a forbidding nook and corner to yield its hidden riches and to blossom as the rose. When hard work and industry could make those

talents productive, they have never been content to lay up in a napkin the one talent or the five talents that God has given. Nor have they been content with simply improving their own country and increasing their own stores: much that they have done has contributed largely to the increase of other lands and to the general advancement of our highest civilization. They have not been slow to follow others when others have first found a better way, but, as we have seen in these pages, they have themselves oftentimes been the earliest pioneers of progress. In the great industries of coal-mining, iron-manufacture, shipbuilding and steam-navigation, from the days of Watt and Roebuck to those of Bell, Wilson, Nasmyth and Napier, they have been the *avant couriers* that led the march of the whole world's progress. The sound of their great hammers of industry has gone out through all the nations, and their globe-encircling lines of ocean-steamers are helping to fulfill the ancient prophecy—that "many shall run to and fro and knowledge shall be increased."

In working out the problem of national greatness, and the wider problem of Christian civilization, art and industry are factors not to be despised. They have always held an essential place, and they hold it still. Every great improvement achieved by art and industry, wherever made, is a gain for the gospel of truth and a step in advance toward the final triumph of Christianity. By these

labor becomes power and wages become productive capital. Skilled labor in the hands of thrifty, competent, industrious artisans is one of the unfailing sources of national prosperity and one of the surest indications of an advancing civilization. "Our strength, wealth and commerce," said Mr. Cobden, "grow out of the skilled labor of the men working in metals." Estimated by the standard of this eminent statesman, it is easy to see that the fifty thousand skilled laborers on the Clyde, and the uncounted thousands of equally skilled artisans in all other departments of Scottish industry in every part of the land, are not laboring in vain, but contributing their full share of influence toward the complete and final consummation. As we speed the plough and speed the hammer, speed the steam-car and speed the steamship, in every clime, beneath every sky, by night and by day, we are but speeding the gospel with the sun and preparing for that long-expected time when the tabernacle of God shall be with men and the whole world be filled with the glory of the Lord even as the waters cover the great deep. No true service is in vain, no productive energy is wasted, no step of progress is lost. All great and true work everywhere is so much gained for God and man, and goes to form the coming time and the coming world—that "new heavens and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SCOT ABROAD; OR, INFLUENCE OF SCOTLAND ON AMERICA AND OTHER LANDS.

THE picture of what the Scotsman has been and of what he has done on his native soil would not be quite complete without some description, however brief, of his achievements abroad. It would be a curious chapter indeed which should tell us of all his doings and all his migrations—his adventurous wanderings over sea and land, his daring inquests after fortune wherever fortune might be found, his enterprising industries in all civilized nations and his thriving colonies on many an inhospitable and savage shore. It would be difficult to say where the Scotsman has not gone, and wherever he has gone, as a general rule, he has gone to stay—at least, until he was able to return full-handed. He has acted on the principle that our planet was made to be possessed and improved by civilized men, and there are not many climes, however uninviting at first, in which he has not found a lodgment and taken root, and which he has not made the better by reason of his being there.

The whole story of what Scotsmen have done abroad would, in fact, widen itself out into the colonial, political, missionary and commercial history of modern times; for there are not many trading-posts in British America, or missionary stations on continent and island, or flourishing colonies within the wide migrations of the English-speaking race, where the bold and hardy sons of Scotland have not lent a helping hand. They are to be found in all parts of India; they have pushed their exploring way through and through the Dark Continent and founded missionary stations on its eastern and southern coasts. They have built up flourishing communities and churches in Tasmania, Victoria, Queensland, New South Wales and other provinces of Australia, and have borne a part in the civilization and colonization of New Zealand and the scattered Polynesian world. From an early period they have formed a constituent element in the settlement and development of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and the Canadas. In the whole history and growth of the United States no European nationality has contributed a more important part than the Scotch and their nearest kindred, the Scotch-Irish.

Of course, Scotland could never have held within its narrow bounds an athletic and enterprising race like this when once it had tasted the tree of knowledge and gotten hold of that intellectual and moral power which fitted it for a wider

sphere. It was inevitable that so confined a territory should lose its educated sons and daughters, and that they should find their way to all parts of the earth where fortune was to be made by industry, or battles won by valor, or where power and distinction were to be gained by intelligence and character. A hive so full of life and active energy could not help swarming.

One of the most prominent characteristics of the Scotch emigrant in every land is that he has always carried his Christian principles with him. They were too deeply inwrought by the home-training into every fibre of his being to be easily laid aside. Hence, in every country where he has made his dwelling-place, he has sought to plant his own ideas and to build up his own institutions of religion and education. By the law of his being he has been a propagandist, a teacher, a missionary, as well as a worker. From his youth he has been a believer in the Bible, the church, the school, the college. What was good for Scotland he has held to be good for other lands. Hence, among heathen tribes, to the extent of his influence and example, he has always appeared in the character of a teacher and civilizer. And the civilization introduced by him has not been more distinctly Scottish than it has been Christian.

Nothing could better illustrate the Christian and educational influences carried by Scottish

emigrants and missionaries to the ends of the earth than the history of the British colonies in the great island-continent of Australia. There a grand Christian empire, whose geographical area is nearly equal to Europe, has been rising within the southern hemisphere since the opening of the present century. Its principal growth has been by English-speaking colonists and missionaries of Christian churches in the British isles, and in that colonization Scotland has borne no inconsiderable part. "One hundred years ago," said a delegate from Australia to the Edinburgh Pan-Presbyterian Council of 1877, the Rev. Alexander J. Campbell, "when the American States were separating themselves and their destinies from Great Britain, God put into Scotland's hands the continent of Australia. 'Go there,' he seemed to say to her, 'to that vast habitable land; fill it with men, and, instructed by the experience of the past, rear there a Christian nation self-controlled and free.'" The first Presbyterian minister who made a permanent settlement in the country, in 1823, was from the Church of Scotland, and he for many years stood alone. This was the Rev. John Dunmore Lang, D. D., an eminent scholar and divine, who by his faithful toil and repeated visits to the mother-country did much to place the new colony on a career of successful development.

Since that day Australia has been explored, settled with emigrants and divided into seven or

eight great provinces with an aggregate population of more than a million of souls. After the progress of about half a century, as shown by reports made to the Presbyterian Council of 1883, the Presbyterian population alone, aside from the Episcopal, Wesleyan and other communions, had increased to two hundred thousand, with organized congregations, settled ministers, schools and colleges, active evangelists and good church edifices in each province. The older of these provinces, as Victoria and New South Wales, not only have their flourishing and self-sustaining churches, but their colleges and theological halls for the training of ministers, and their boards of foreign and domestic missions for the once pagan islands of the New Hebrides and for the aboriginal inhabitants of Australia. All these churches, presbyteries and synods, with their schools of learning, are modeled after those of the mother-country, and are in thorough sympathy with the doctrinal and ecclesiastical standards of the Scottish Churches. So great has been the influence of Scotland over the people of the country that Australia, with its Bibles, its Sabbaths, its churches and its schools, might be styled the Scotland of the southern hemisphere.

It was an interesting circumstance, as illustrating the progress of civilization around the globe, that representatives should be sent from the churches of this far-off ocean-world to the first

cosmopolitan council of the scattered Presbyterian family. And it seemed eminently fitting that this gathering of all the Presbyterian descendants from the original stock should celebrate the reunion by a first session at the old St. Giles church, Edinburgh, the venerable mother of all the family. How glorious did it fulfill and verify the ancient prophecy that the "Messiah should have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth," and that the "uttermost parts of the earth should be given to him for his possession." When those children from southern skies and recently unknown lands left their distant antipodal homes to meet at the old hearthstone of the Covenant, and there mingle their songs and their thanksgivings with their brethren of the North and the Western States and of old European nations, what an illustration was it of Isaiah's inspired words, "The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God"!

The western continent, through its wide domains of British America, the United States and the West Indies, bears the impress of Scottish names and Scottish character. Not only has the Nova Scotia of the West, but all parts of our own country have likewise, had the benefit in their early settlement, as in later years, of a steady influx of thrifty, intelligent and hardy immigrants from Scotland, some-

times forming small local colonies of their own, but more frequently mingling as constituent elements in the English-speaking population of the country. The Dominion of Canada, now comprising seven provinces and stretching entirely across the continent from the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to the Pacific coast, drew a large part of its original colonists from France; and of its population to-day of three millions and three-quarters about one-half are Roman Catholics. As reported to the Edinburgh Council of 1877 by James Croil, Esq., of Montreal, the Presbyterian, Episcopal and Methodist Churches in Canada claim altogether a population of one million and three-quarters in nearly equal proportions, the Baptists one-quarter of a million, leaving another quarter of a million to Congregationalists, Lutherans and other denominations. This Presbyterian population was at the first chiefly from Scotland and the North of Ireland. The Presbyterian Church of Canada in its earlier history obtained its chief supply of ministers from Scotland and the North of Ireland. Hence the Canadian Presbyterianism has always been of the Scottish type. Until recently, however, it has had its shades of difference and all the divisions that appeared in the mother-countries.

In process of time the Scottish Presbyterianism, both of the Establishment, the United Presbyterian and the Free Church, found a congenial home and

took deep root in several of the provinces of Canada. In 1867 the political confederation of all the provinces which now constitute the Dominion of Canada was happily brought about. There sprung up at once, in unison with that important event, a strong desire for a closer alliance among the Presbyterian organizations. In 1861 two of the churches—the United Presbyterian and the Free Church—were united under one synod, and in 1870 this united body constituted the First General Assembly of the Canadian Presbyterian Church. This first union was soon followed by a still wider one. Formal negotiations for a complete ecclesiastical union were begun in 1870, and in 1875 culminated in an organization which happily united under one General Assembly all the scattered Presbyterians in all the Canadian provinces.

It will thus be seen that in the important matter of healing old divisions and coming together in the bonds of Christian unity the Presbyterians of Canada are far in advance of those of our own country and those of Scotland. No such happy blending of differences and closing up of the ranks has yet taken place with us or with the mother-churches of Scotland. When these distant daughters of the old Kirk—one amid the snows of Canada, the other almost under the tropical suns of Australia—can find a way to meet in common Christian brotherhood without any compromise

of doctrinal principle or ecclesiastical order, one would hope that the day is near at hand when the three venerable Assemblies of the mother-land and the five full-grown daughters of our land, besides a few little sisters of uncertain age, might be induced to imitate the magnanimous example.

This united Church of all the Canadian provinces, with its schools of learning and its boards of foreign and domestic missions, has now entered upon its new departure with every element of success. According to the reports made at the Edinburgh council, it then numbered 928 ministers, probationers, missionaries and catechists, 3656 ruling elders, 1450 congregations and preaching stations, 99,653 communicants, 5 colleges and divinity-halls, 600,000 population, and an annual contribution to church and missionary work of $1,000,000. Besides its work of home-evangelization in Canada, this united Church has four important foreign missions—in Trinidad, in India, in Formosa and in the New Hebrides—most of them established by the churches before their union. The earliest of them, New Hebrides, begun in 1848 by the Rev. John Geddie, D. D., of the United Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, has been crowned with one of the most remarkable successes of modern missions. Between that day and this some twenty-three faithful laborers have entered the field, some to fall victims in the cause. "The names of George N. Gordon, Ellen C. Gordon, his wife, and James

D. Gordon, his brother, are enrolled among the missionary martyrs of Erromanga." But few missionaries have been more successful than their heroic predecessor, Dr. Geddie, whose high encomium stands to-day on a tablet in the chapel of Ancityum, where he was accustomed to preach, for ever associated with the words, "When he came here, there were no Christians; and when he went away, there were no heathens."

The pulpit of the Canadian Church has been adorned by many men of distinguished ability, some of whom have been eminent as instructors of youth in the colleges, and some in different fields of authorship as well as in the pastoral office.

Even before the union of the several churches the Canadian Presbyterians had been highly successful in laying the solid foundations of a number of colleges and theological schools for the thorough training of their ministry. Of these they have five in successful operation in different parts of the United Kingdom. Of these the oldest is Queen's University and College, at Kingston, founded in 1840 by the branch of the Church in connection with the Established Church of Scotland. It combines the faculties of both arts and theology and has the power of conferring degrees. It has seven professors—five in arts and two in theology—and has a large endowment. Besides other classes of students, it has since its

establishment educated more than a hundred ministers for the Presbyterian Church. The next is Knox College, at Toronto, which is altogether a theological institution, having three divinity professors and one lecturer. This was founded in 1844 by the branch of the Church then known as the Free Church, in sympathy with that of the same name in the mother-country. Connected with it is a preparatory department with two classical teachers and one teacher of elocution. This institution is also largely endowed and has capacious and elegant buildings, with a large library and a large attendance of young men preparing for the ministry. At Quebec is Morrin College, founded in 1860, with a large bequest by Dr. Morrin of that city, for the instruction of youth in the higher branches of learning, and especially of young men for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. It has two professors in divinity and one of mathematics, with lectures in science and philosophy. Its literary department is affiliated with McGill University, at Montreal. The Presbyterian College of Montreal, founded in 1867, has a staff of two professors in divinity and several lecturers. A special feature of this institution is the education of French students for missionary and evangelical work among the French-speaking Roman Catholic population in the province of Quebec and elsewhere. It has an endowment of $40,000 and property valued at $60,000. In

Halifax, Nova Scotia, there was in 1860 a union of the Presbyterians of the province, and the two then existing theological halls were merged into one in that city in connection with Dalhousie College, in which the Presbyterians have a joint-interest. The theological hall has three professors in divinity, with a large endowment. These five institutions annually give to the Church from twenty to thirty educated ministers. In addition to these, there is also a collegiate institute at Winnipeg, in Manitoba, with three instructors.

Among the more prominent ministers, pastors and instructors of the Presbyterian Church of Canada may be mentioned Principal William Caven, D. D., and Professors William McLaren, D. D., and William Gregg, D. D., of Knox College, and William Reed, D. D., Toronto; Principal G. M. Grant, D. D., John Leitch, D. D., and Professor William Snodgrass, D. D., of Queen's University, Kingston; Principal D. H. McVicar, LL.D., and Professor J. W. Dawson, LL.D., of McGill University, and J. C. Murray, LL.D., Montreal; Principal Cook, D. D., of Morrin College, George D. Matthews, D. D., Quebec; Principal McKnight of the Presbyterian College and Professor Currie of Halifax; Principal King of the College of Manitoba; Professor Robert C. Campbell and Rev. John Jenkins, LL.D., Montreal; Rev. J. J. Proudfoot, D. D., pastor, and Professor Loudon; Professor Mouat of Queen's University; Rev.

James Fleck and Rev. James S. Black, Montreal; Rev. D. M. Gordon of Winnipeg and W. C. Cochran of Brantford.

In our own country, from an early period, the element of Scottish influence has been widespread and potential. Many distinct European nationalities have had a share in the growth and development of our great republic, each in turn leaving its peculiar impress on the history and the national character. English Puritans, French Huguenots, German and Dutch Reformers, Irish Catholics, Scotch and Irish Presbyterians,—all helped to swell the original stock of colonization, and all took part, more or less, in settling the country, founding its institutions and achieving its independence. To this day the influence of each of these nationalities is distinctly felt throughout the nation. "Next to the Puritans of England," says Dr. Robert Baird in his work *Religion in America*, "we must unquestionably rank the Scotch as having largely contributed to form the religious character of the United States." From the period of the English Revolution of 1688 down to the time of our national Declaration of Independence there was a continual current of Presbyterian emigrants into the colonies from Scotland and the North of Ireland, all bringing with them their religious customs and doctrines, and frequently their educated ministers. These Scotch and Irish Presbyterians filled up in large

measure portions of Eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey and Virginia. As the country increased in population this Presbyterian stream flowed south and west and spread itself over Western Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, and at a later period extended into Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and Georgia, in all which regions its influence is distinctly felt to this day.

"The Presbyterian Church of the United States," says Dr. William B. Sprague in his *Annals of the American Pulpit*, "must undoubtedly be considered of Scottish origin." The names of prominent ministers and churches brought to view in the *Annals*, especially through all the earlier periods, furnish abundant illustrations of this fact. In many cases the early churches of Presbyterians in this country were called Scottish churches, as mostly, if not exclusively, composed of settlers from Scotland. New York, Philadelphia, and even Boston, had each its Scotch church. "Scarcely a prominent city in the land, from Boston to Chicago—the youngest of the cities—has been without its Scotch Presbyterian church." A large proportion, also, of the educated ministry, in all the earlier history, was of Scottish birth or of Scottish descent and education. Where this was not the case, the early ministry was mostly from the Presbyterian churches and colleges of the North of Ireland, substantially the same as the Scotch.

This Scottish and Scotch-Irish element, which showed its presence so largely in the early colonization of our country, and which in all our subsequent history has made its influence felt in both our civil and our ecclesiastical affairs, belongs to all the separate Presbyterian bodies in our land except those of Huguenot or Dutch Reformed ancestry. With these exceptions, our whole Presbyterian family of churches—the Northern, the Southern, the United Presbyterian, with the small remnants of the old Swedes and Associated Reformed, and the more recent large body of Cumberland Presbyterians—may trace its honorable pedigree back to Scotland and the North of Ireland; so that whatever of public and private good has come to our great country, whatever of moral, religious and educational training, whatever of individual prosperity or national greatness, by reason of the presence and influence of nearly one million of Presbyterian church-members, with their schools, colleges, churches, asylums for the poor and the orphan, and diversified benevolent and missionary boards and agencies,—must all be attributed to that grand Presbyterian and Christian civilization which, reared to manly vigor on Scotch and Irish soil, ere long found in America its truer and more congenial home.

In the Presbyterian General Council of 1877, at Edinburgh, it was abundantly shown how far the influence of Presbyterian principles had been

extended over the earth, and how that influence had emanated largely from the mother churches of Geneva and Edinburgh. Dr. Archibald Alexander Hodge, one of the delegates from the United States, said: "It is an historical fact, acknowledged by such impartial witnesses as Sir James Macintosh, Froude and Bancroft, that these Presbyterian principles revolutionized Western Europe and her populations and inaugurated modern history. As to their influence upon civil as well as religious liberty, and upon national education, it is only necessary to cite the post-Reformation history of Geneva, Holland, the history of the Huguenots of France, the Puritans of England, the Presbyterians of Scotland and the founders of the American republic, where for the first two hundred years of its history almost every college and seminary of learning, and every academy and common school, was built and sustained by Calvinists, and where the federal Constitution, providing for local self-government with national union, is evidently an historical growth from the same root which bore the ecclesiastical constitution elaborated by the Westminster Assembly."

It is not easy to say, or even to imagine, what our great country, with its noble institutions of civil and religious liberty, would be to-day had there been here from the beginning no Scottish influence, no Scotch-Irish character. No man can now tell what our history or destiny would

have been had this one factor in the problem of our national greatness been stricken out. Every one must feel that it would have been an irreparable loss. We are safe in saying that, whatever our country is to-day, the sturdy Presbyterian, whether from Scotland or the North of Ireland, both in the earlier and in the later periods, has contributed his full share of intelligence, of patriotism, of thrift and of toil to the making of it such as it is. Certainly a large proportion of our ablest ministers, our efficient school- and college-teachers, our faithful ruling elders and members in every branch of the Presbyterian Church, has been of Scotch or Scotch-Irish birth or extraction. During the struggle for national independence from 1776 to 1783 their influence, almost to a man, was on the side of the country. Whether as pastors of the churches, presidents and professors of the colleges and academies, members of Congress or of the provincial legislatures, as counselors in the Cabinet or as commissioned officers or private soldiers in the army, they shrank not from the responsibility of maintaining the justice of the war and the common cause of the country.

In the darkest hour of the struggle for national independence the Southern division of the Continental army, under General Nathaniel Greene, was largely composed of recruits from the Scotch and Scotch-Irish settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas, with not a few hardy pioneers

from the mountainous districts of Kentucky and Eastern Tennessee. The comparatively small force that won the important and decisive battle of King's Mountain, and from that day turned the fortunes of the war, was of this character, being led by officers who in a number of instances were worthy elders of the Presbyterian Church, while young men of Presbyterian families, both Scotch and Irish, to a large extent constituted the rank and the file. Dr. Thomas Smythe of Charleston, South Carolina, who drew his information from reliable authorities, says: "The battles of the Cowpens, of King's Mountain, and also the severe skirmish known as 'Huck's Defeat,' are among the most celebrated in this State as giving a turning-point to the contest of the Revolution. General Morgan, who commanded at the Cowpens, was a Presbyterian elder; General Pickens, who made all the arrangements for the battle, was also a Presbyterian elder; and nearly all under their command were Presbyterians. In the battle of King's Mountain, Colonel Campbell, Colonel James Williams, Colonel Cleaveland, Colonel Shelby and Colonel Sevier were all Presbyterian elders, and the body of their troops were collected from Presbyterian settlements. At Huck's Defeat, in York, Colonel Bratton and Major Dickson were both elders in the Presbyterian Church. Major Samuel Morrow, who was with Colonel Sumter in four engagements, and

at King's Mountain, Blackstock's and other battles, was for about fifty years a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church."

One illustrious example of patriotic devotion will ever stand in the historic annals of our country to tell coming generations of the service rendered to her cause. It is that of the venerable Dr. John Witherspoon. If Scotland had done nothing more than contribute this eminent scholar, teacher, statesman, patriot and divine to the young and suffering country at the most important crisis of its destiny, Scotland had thereby done enough to entitle herself to the nation's grateful remembrance for all time to come. Among all the great men with whom he stood associated during an eventful and hazardous war, and with whom he acted, when the war was over, in laying the foundations of our free institutions, there were but few who filled a more essential and important place than did Dr. Witherspoon. He had won a high distinction in his native land, both as a preacher and as a writer, when he was called to America in 1768, at the age of forty-six, to fill the presidency of Princeton College, New Jersey. The services he rendered to the college, both as an administrator of its affairs and as a practical instructor, were of the highest order. The institution at once entered upon a new and enlarged sphere of usefulness. He also, during the whole of this presidency, sustained the office of pastor to the Prince-

ton Presbyterian church, preaching regularly twice on the Sabbath. When the crisis of the struggle for national independence came, he threw his whole influence, as a man and as a minister of God, on the side of the country, preaching and writing in its defence. In 1776 he was elected a member of the provincial Congress of New Jersey, and then of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Soon after taking his seat in the latter body he put his signature to the Declaration of Independence, for which measure his mind had been previously fully made up.

The memorable occasion, with its far-reaching results, has been portrayed in glowing and impressive terms by Dr. John M. Krebs, as related in an interesting volume by Dr. W. P. Breed: "When the Declaration of Independence was under debate in the Continental Congress, doubts and forebodings were whispered through the hall. The Houses hesitated, wavered, and for a while the liberty and slavery of the nation appeared to hang in an even scale. It was then an aged patriarch arose, a venerable and stately form, his head white with the frost of years. Every eye went to him with the quickness of thought, and remained with the fixedness of the polar star. He cast on the assembly a look of inexpressible interest and unconquerable determination, while on his visage the hue of age was lost in the flush of a burning patriotism that fired his cheek.

'There is,' said he, 'a tide in the affairs of men, a nick of time. We perceive it now before us. To hesitate is to consent to our own slavery. That noble instrument upon your table, which ensures immortality to its author, should be subscribed this very morning by every pen in the house. He that will not respond to its accents and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions is unworthy the name of freeman. For my own part, of property I have some—of reputation, more. That reputation is staked, that property pledged, on the issue of this contest. And, although these gray hairs must soon descend into the sepulchre, I would infinitely rather they should descend there by the hand of the executioner than desert at this crisis the sacred cause of my country.' Who was it that uttered this memorable speech, potent in turning the scales of the nation's destiny and worthy to be preserved in the same imperishable record in which is registered the not more eloquent speech ascribed to John Adams on the same sublime occasion? It was John Witherspoon, at that day the most distinguished Presbyterian minister west of the Atlantic Ocean, the father of the Presbyterian Church in the United States."

These brief but weighty words, pregnant with the vitality of a young nation just struggling into existence, though uttered by one who had scarcely been a decade in the country, yet expressed

the prevailing sentiment of the whole Presbyterian population of the land. To a man the Presbyterians of every colony were for the Declaration. Through the momentous struggle the Presbyterian Church re-echoed the ardent, determined, patriotic and uncompromising sentiments of that venerated and noble leader Dr. Witherspoon. He served in this high capacity for six consecutive sessions—from 1776 to 1782—and acted a most important part not only on the floor in public debate, but on many of the most important committees. Many of the important state papers were from his pen, and some of the most prominent measures adopted by Congress had their origin with him. Says Dr. Sprague, "Neither his courage nor his confidence ever faltered in the darkest day, being sustained not only by a naturally heroic spirit, but by an undoubting conviction of the rectitude of his country's cause. During the whole period in which he was occupied in civil life he never laid aside his ministerial character, but always appeared in every relation as became an ambassador of God. The calls for the observance of days of fasting and prayer were commonly, if not always, written by him. He preached always on the Sabbath whenever opportunity offered, and when for a short period he visited his church and family at Princeton."

Besides his great services to the nation, this eminent man was called to act a leading part dur-

ing the formation period—from 1785 to 1788—when the Presbyterian Church of the country was reorganized under a General Assembly and the present standards of doctrine and polity were revised and adopted. The committee selected from our most distinguished Presbyterian fathers and entrusted with this business were Drs. Witherspoon, John Rodgers, John Woodhull, Robert Smith, Samuel Stanhope Smith, James Latta, George Duffield, Patrick Alison, Robert Cooper and Matthew Wilson. When the first General Assembly under the new organization met, in Philadelphia, in 1789—the year of the first meeting of our National Congress under the new Constitution—Dr. Witherspoon preached the opening sermon and presided until the first moderator of the body, Dr. Rodgers, was chosen. Since then we have had an unbroken succession of Assemblies and moderators every year to the present time; the Church has spread across the continent; several new organizations, with their annual Assemblies and moderators, have been formed; the oldest division of it—that under the Northern Assembly—has swelled to 24 synods, 190 presbyteries, 5516 ministers and licentiates, 19,968 ruling elders, 6287 deacons, 5973 churches and more than 615,000 communicants. To this vast development in a single line of our Presbyterian succession no one man, probably, of all the great men of a hundred years ago, contributed more

than Dr. Witherspoon. And what is true of our Northern division of the Church is equally true of the Southern Presbyterian Church, and to some extent also of all the other branches of the Presbyterian family claiming descent from the mother-churches of Scotland and the North of Ireland. The population of the United States now represented by all the branches of our Presbyterian family in the land would number several millions of people, and those amongst our most intelligent and influential classes. And who can estimate the value of the influence of these educated classes upon the life and character of the nation?

"If there is one principle," says Dr. William P. Breed, "that stands out in pre-eminent relief in the conduct of Presbyterianism in Scotland, it is that of the inherent right of the Church to govern itself without let, hindrance or interference from the State. In the long and bloody war with the state under the Stuarts, while English prelacy courted, Presbyterianism denounced and repudiated, all state dictation and control. It would allow neither king nor Parliament to give it laws, or even to convoke the General Assembly. Again and again it repudiated Assemblies which had been controlled and corrupted by state agency and influence, and pronounced all their acts null and void. It told the king to his face that he was neither monarch over nor ruler in, but only a

member and subject of, the Church. In our own country it was Presbyterianism chiefly that compelled the State to leave the Church in its native independence. Presbyterianism, says Dr. Thomas Smythe, first proclaimed this doctrine on American shores. It was opposed by Episcopacy in efforts to establish this doctrine in Virginia, and its universal establishment in our country and in the Constitution was the result of the movement made by Presbyterians."

In a passage of striking eloquence and power Dr. Smythe sums up the important and lasting obligations under which our whole American Church and the country itself must ever stand to Scottish Presbyterianism: "Who can compute the amount of obligation under which America lies to Scotland? To her we are indebted for the first example of a reformation that is a religious revolution, originated, carried on and completed by the people against the wishes and in opposition to the power of princes and nobles. To her we owe the noblest maintenance that has ever been exhibited of these principles of religious and civil freedom upon which our republic is based. To her we are indebted for Knox, Buchanan, Melville, Henderson, Guthrie, Rutherford, Gillespie, Argyle—men with genius sufficient to fathom the depths of political science, patriotism to scan the equal rights of the governed and the governor, courage to proclaim to kings their duty

and to the people their rights, fortitude to offer up themselves, their fame, their honor, their comfort and their lives upon the altar of liberty, and faith to look forward in confidence to the day when the spark of freedom they enkindled and preserved would burst forth into a universal flame:

> "'For freedom's battle, once begun,
> Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is ever won.'

"To Scotland we owe the successful issue of that eventful and long-protracted struggle for liberty of conscience, liberty of opinion and liberty of action which resulted in the downfall of the Stuarts, the glorious Commonwealth, the ever-memorable Revolution, and the acknowledgment of our American independence. Had not Scotland united her army with the English forces, the Long Parliament would have been subdued, the champions of liberty executed as felons, as were their exhumed bones, the chains of despotic power again fastened in tenfold severity upon an enslaved kingdom, and the hopes of the world crushed. To Scotland we owe the system of parish schools, the universal education of the people, the relief of the poor without laws, the establishment of universities under the guidance of religion and fully commensurate to the wants of an enlightened people. To Scotland we owe a large proportion of those ministers and people

who colonized this country, Christianized and enlightened it, diffused over it the spirit and principles of freedom and fought the battles of our Revolution. 'Many Scottish Presbyterians,' says Bancroft, 'of virtue, education and courage, blending a love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm, came over in such numbers as to give to the rising commonwealth a character which a century and a half has not effaced.' 'To the Scotch,' says Dr. Ramsay, 'and their descendants, the inhabitants of Irish Ulster, South Carolina is indebted for much of its early literature. A great proportion of its physicians, clergymen, lawyers and schoolmasters were from North Britain. Now, these, to a man, were found ranged under the banners of our young republic from the very beginning of her contest until its glorious consummation.'"

The important part enacted by the Scotch and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the early history of our country is well illustrated in a recent volume by the Rev. J. G. Craighead, D. D., entitled *Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil*, and published by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, Philadelphia. Their numerical strength, as compared with the whole population of the colonies, was not such as to give them the ascendency, but owing to their superior education, brought with them from the mother-countries or gained from the rising institutions of the adopted

land, and owing also to their inborn and inextinguishable love of liberty, both civil and religious, there was not in the country a more intelligent and potential element.

"Our Presbyterian fathers," says Dr. Craighead, "recognizing the fact that civil and religious liberty exist or perish together, were constrained to contend equally for both; and what the world enjoys to-day of both it owes very largely to the unconquerable fortitude with which they encountered the perils and endured the sufferings which cruel, persecuting and despotic rulers inflicted. With such a history, and with such a providential training, it would indeed have been strange if the descendants of these heroic defenders of the faith should not manifest a strong attachment to the Presbyterian form of doctrine and government wherever they made their homes in America. It was not only because their civil rights were imperiled, but also because their religious freedom was in danger, that our Presbyterian fathers were such steadfast, earnest patriots. As in Scotland and Ireland, so here, they recognized the fact that civil and religious liberty stood or fell together; so that, while they protested against taxation without representation, they were equally opposed to any interference with the rights of conscience. These principles and sentiments were common to the Scotch and Scotch-Irish colonists and their descendants, and sustained them through

the sacrifices and perils of a seven years' conflict for independence. So well known were the opinions and sympathies of Presbyterians (in favor of the cause of national independence) that they were subjected to all the evils the enemy was capable of visiting upon their persons or their property, and, wherever found, they were regarded and treated as arch-rebels."

While Presbyterians of these two nationalities, Scotch and Irish, in all the colonies of the middle and southern parts of the country, where they had settled in large numbers, were wonderfully harmonious and united in support of the cause, the honor of taking the initiative in a formal and public declaration of independence and of separation from the British Crown must be accorded to the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of Mechlenburg County, North Carolina. Their famous Declaration, now forming a memorable chapter in our history, was adopted by this "high-spirited people," assembled in convention at Charlotte, North Carolina, on the 20th of May, 1775, more than a year in advance of the Declaration of Independence of the Continental Congress. Nothing could be more significant and important than this action. It boldly renounced allegiance to the Crown, and unquestionably it had no inconsiderable influence in preparing the way for the decisive step taken by the Congress a year later.

Among the extraordinary and weighty deliv-

erances of that earlier document stand the words, "We do hereby dissolve the political bonds which have connected us with the mother-country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown. We hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association under the control of no power than that of our God and the general government of the Congress, to the maintenance of which we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation and our lives, our fortunes and our most sacred honor."

The important document containing these resolutions was printed and widely spread in North Carolina, was also sent to the Congress in Philadelphia, to the governor of Georgia, and by him to England, where the original paper still exists in the British State-Paper Office. Any one can see the striking resemblance, both in spirit and in diction, between its utterances and those of the national Declaration of Independence of 1776. From this strong similarity and other circumstances some able writers maintained that Mr. Jefferson, who drafted the national Declaration, had before him this earlier declaration, and incorporated some of its admirable phraseology.

On this point Dr. Craighead says: "Owing to the remarkable coincidence of language, as well as the many phrases common both to the Mechlen-

burg and the national declaration, the question has arisen which had precedence in point of time. However this may be decided, or whether they both were not indebted to some common source, such as the National Covenants of Scotland and England, it is certain that the Presbyterians of Mechlenburg were in advance of Congress, and in advance of the rest of the country, in proclaiming 'the inherent and inalienable rights of man,' and that the historian Bancroft was right in stating that 'the first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain came from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.'"

But in taking this early and decided stand in favor of civil and religious freedom it is unquestionable as a great historic fact that these Presbyterians of Mechlenburg were but fair representatives of the whole Presbyterian Church of all the colonies, who, as the opening conflict soon demonstrated, were quick to follow this heroic example of patriotic devotion to principle and to the cause of the country. How could they do otherwise, when they saw at a glance that it was but the embodiment of their own deepest convictions —that the struggle for liberty on this new soil was but a renewal of the struggle of those eternal principles of truth and justice for which their noble Presbyterian ancestors had so long contended in Scotland and the North of Ireland?

CHAPTER XV.

RETROSPECT AND CONCLUSION.

WHAT, now, is the conclusion of this whole survey?

In casting one's eye upon a geographical globe, Scotland, away up toward the north pole, looks like the most insignificant country in the world. Far removed from the beaten highway of nations, it seems a mere speck of land, a diminutive cape upon the outer edge of creation. But what an influence has gone abroad from that once remote and inaccessible corner of the earth, that ancient battle-ground of the Picts and the Scots! What a light of history, of civilization, of liberty, has shone forth with increasing brightness from that little Presbyterian country!

What has produced that strong influence, that clear light of modern civilization? It would perhaps be unphilosophical to affirm dogmatically that Presbyterianism alone has done it, for other agencies have had a foothold and for ages have been at work there. It will be enough to say what cannot in the light of history be well denied—that Christianity has done it, and that, too,

a Christianity of the Presbyterian type. A Presbyterianized Christianity has made Scotland what it is to-day—a land of Sabbaths, of Bibles and of education, the very bulwark of Protestantism, the model of a free Church and a free State, the home of an intelligent, thriving, happy people.

Still further, what are the sons and the daughters of this thoroughly Presbyterianized stock doing all around the globe to-day? for there is a Scotland abroad as well as at home. The race does not decay, though transported to the ends of the earth, nor does its religion die. It is found that the Presbyterianism which no fires of persecution could ever burn from the bones of the fathers is a type of religion so inwrought into the heart of their descendants that no exile from home, however distant that exile may be, can drive it from their memory. Wherever they go their Presbyterianism goes with them, and flourishes alike amid Canadian snows and under tropical suns. With it they are to-day laying the foundations of Christian empire in Australia; with it they are advancing the standards of a Christian civilization through the wilds of Africa; with it they are pushing the streams of emigration and colonization through British America and through India. Side by side with their Presbyterian neighbors from the North of Ireland, they are to-day helping to extend and to build up, even as their heroic fathers helped to found, republican and

Christian institutions, in every part of our own vast country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The Scotch and the Scotch-Irish—*par nobile fratrum*—have been from the beginning constituent factors in all our national greatness. They have contributed not less to the general growth of the country at large than to the growth of the Presbyterian Church within the country. The Scotch-and-Irish Presbyterian has always been devoted to his Church, but not less so to his country. By all his antecedents, and the very principles of the religion in which he was born, he has always been a patriotic citizen while being a true Churchman. There is no more glorious chapter in American history than that which tells how the heroic sons of Caledonia and Erin, after contributing their toil to the first settlement of the country in many of the thirteen colonies, gave themselves up to its service in the hour of its peril and fought under Washington and Greene, Marion and Sumter, Pickens and Anderson, through all the battles of the Revolution. Nor did they falter under the varying fortunes of the war, from Saratoga to King's Mountain, and from King's Mountain back to Yorktown, until liberty and independence were won. Through all our history and over all our institutions, civil and religious, social and educational, the influence of Scotland and Ireland has been as potential as it has been salutary. Nor can America ever forget that at the most critical

period of our history it was the Scottish statesman and philosopher Witherspoon who in the halls of legislation stood side by side with Hancock and Adams, Franklin and Jefferson, Rutledge and Middleton, and signed that immortal document, the charter of our national independence, which made him one of the fathers of our country.

There is, in fact, no stronger or more enduring type of national character in the world than the Scottish; and when upon that native stock is engrafted what is probably the strongest and most enduring religious system in the world, that of Calvinistic Presbyterianism, the combination forms a character which is wellnigh indestructible. It gives us a man who will find his way or make one through the world, and wherever he goes will leave his mark. Migrations and intermarriages will not easily wear out such a type of character, and after generations the hand of the "canny Scotsman" can still be traced in his work. And where is the work or the human avocation in which the Scotch have not excelled? Some go to foreign shores, and, though landing without a dollar, they soon find an opening in trade or handicraft, and in the end build up great mercantile houses to be carried on by sons or grandsons after they are gone. Some have or develop a taste for agriculture, and by thrifty economy add acre to acre until their wide do-

mains of the "choicest of the wheat and the corn and the vine" surpass anything ever dreamed of in the home-land. Some build up great manufacturing establishments and some aspire to the high seats of political power, becoming judges on the bench or legislators in Congress or governors of our State commonwealths. Some in our own country have risen from small beginnings until they became great grain-merchants or successful bankers and railroad-builders, controlling millions of dollars. Some, leaving their native land in early youth, have established permanent banking-houses, like that of John and Thomas Coutts in London, an institution now a hundred years old, whose present proprietor, Lady Burdett Coutts, does honor to her name and Scottish ancestry by spreading her magnificent benefactions around the globe.

Many Scotchmen at home and their descendants in other lands have risen to the highest distinction as medical practitioners or writers on medical science, as illustrated in the great names of Abercrombie, Cullen, John and William Hunter and Sir Charles Bell. As college presidents, and as writers on philosophical, educational and theological subjects, the eminent names of John Witherspoon of the earlier times, and that of James McCosh of the later, may be instanced as fitting representatives of Scottish influence in our own country. In recent popular literature it is

sufficient to mention George Macdonald and Thomas Carlyle, Scotchmen by birth and education, whose widely-read writings have made their names as household words in innumerable habitations of the English-speaking world. Probably no man of our generation has acquired a wider literary fame and more deeply impressed his thoughts upon all current literature than this grim North Briton Carlyle, a man whose idiosyncrasies of style and character would be intolerable but for the brilliant originality of his genius. He had the dye of a Scotchman deep within him, nor could his long life in London nor all his German learning wear it out.

In the United States it would not be easy to find any important town or any great city where enterprising Scotchmen and Scotch-Irishmen have not made their influence felt in one way or another. The extent to which these elements have entered into all social, commercial, professional and political life in the United States would be apparent to any one reading any large list of the names of our prominent men and families. This is especially striking in the recorded minutes of our larger ecclesiastical bodies. Scarcely less conspicuous are such names in any list of the men who have attained eminence in the United States in the medical profession, in law, in statesmanship and as educators. Amongst those who have attained to the Presidency of the United

States several belonged to this stock—as Jackson, Polk, Buchanan and Grant—whilst a review of the lists of senators, governors of States, judges and other high officials in the civil service and distinguished officials in the army and navy will show many names manifestly of the same parentage. Wherever found—whether among the original immigrants or their descendants—these names indicate an element which has constituted the very bone and muscle of the country. They have helped to form the working power and the intelligence of the nation. Nor has the nation ever had within its veins a truer and a nobler blood.

While enterprising and far-seeing Scotchmen have been winning the peaceful victories of wealth and fortune and contributing to the intellectual and moral power of our own and other nations, where can a region of the earth be found in which Scottish blood has not flowed to maintain the honor of Britain and advance the cause of Protestant civilization? "Have not the snows of Canada, the sands of Egypt, the fields of Spain and India, all drank it in like water?" The distinguished name of Sir John Moore, who fell in Spain heroically battling against the ambitious designs of Napoleon, and the still more distinguished name of his former commander, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who fell in Egypt at the head of his battalions, stand high on the rolls of British military glory. But from their Scot-

tish boyhood they had been trained to the service which they thus sealed with a hero's death. The Scottish soldiery, bravest of the brave, marched to victory or to death in the long struggle against Napoleon, and contributed their full share to win the final triumph at Waterloo. The hardy Highland regiments led by Sir Colin Campbell took part in the desperate battles of the Crimean war from Alma to Balaklava. When the gallant Havelock, in India, at the Sepoy rebellion of 1857, marched his little army to the relief of Lucknow, it was with the veteran remnants of Scottish regiments and under the martial inspiration of the Highland music that the welcome deliverer came.

As illustrating the distinction which the descendants of Scotchmen, not less than Scotchmen themselves, have won in foreign lands, one striking example may be adduced. One of the ablest generals of France during the wars of Napoleon, Marshal Macdonald, was the son of a famous Scotch Highland family, whose father, with twenty other Macdonalds, fought for Charles Edward the Pretender in 1745 in the field of Culloden, and they kept him concealed for many weeks. The son, endowed with superior military genius, entered the French service in 1784 and rapidly rose to the highest honors of war and of the state. For distinguished services rendered on many hard-fought fields he became a peer of

France, duke of Tarentum, minister of state, ambassador to foreign courts and grand chancellor of the Legion of Honor. After conducting several important campaigns and desperate marches, now victorious and now defeated by some of the greatest captains in Europe, he was present in 1809 at the decisive battle of Wagram, and by the emperor was created on the field a marshal of France with the words, "For this victory I am principally indebted to you and my artillery guards."

Some one—Bulwer, perhaps—has said that "past and present are the wings on which, harmoniously conjoined, moves the great spirit of human knowledge." The same truth is aptly expressed by Tennyson in the oft-quoted lines,

> "Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
> And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

This is the true philosophy of history. Its great spirit is the divine intelligence, and its increasing purpose is the accomplishment of man's good and God's glory. No good impulse, past or present, is ever lost. No real contribution to knowledge and goodness, small or great, can fail to help forward the general movement of the world. The individual has his place, the nation its force, in the onward march of civilization.

Our aim in this monograph has been to show the place and illustrate the force of Scotland in this movement of the ages. Both the present

and the past bear witness to her power and show the unmistakable footprints of her presence at home and abroad. Her name is graven on many a monument of the past and written with a pen of adamant on some of the most enduring institutions of the present. Though "small among the thousands of Israel," she is not forgotten before God. She has won a position of usefulness and honor which cannot be readily vacated until the whole mission is fulfilled and the high destiny achieved. She has borne her part in the brunt of the world's battle and done her best in the defence of the Lord's kingdom, and she is still in the front rank of the advancing columns of Christian civilization. She has contributed her full share to educate the race of men. She has given her influence to speed its progress, to augment its intelligence, to ennoble its virtue, to refine and dignify its enjoyment. That influence in every land has been on the side of truth, of right, of liberty, of industry and economy, of Christianity, of all public and private, social and domestic, improvement. That influence has constituted one of the most marked and essential elements of modern civilization—so essential, indeed, that we should regard an educated man as scarcely up to the highest and widest culture from whose curriculum of studies had been excluded all knowledge of the history, philosophy, science, literature and Christianity of Scotland.

Much has been said in our day about the coming man and the coming woman. Much fruitless speculation also has been suggested as to the coming destiny of our great republic. It is safest to bide our time and await the developments of the future. We may rest assured that all real progress, whether for the individual man or for the nation, will be in the direction of the lines already traced in the experience of the past and made clear in the light of the present. It is always safe to travel such well-known lines, and new ones are often dangerous. We know from all the past, as well as from the word of God, that it is religion that makes the greatest character and the greatest nation, for religion is the deepest sentiment of our nature, and religion brings us the nearest to God and to truth. Scotland stands as an ocular demonstration to the world of what Christianity in its highest Presbyterian style can do for a people and make out of a people. There can be no mistake as to what it has done in Scotland, both in the development of the individual man and in the development of the national character.

In this day of much material science and of much skepticism, of much distrust as it regards the plainest teachings of the Bible and much disposition to set aside religion altogether, the great nations of the earth, confident of their superior culture, may be in no humor to profit by the experience or to follow the example of God-fearing

and Christ-honoring Scotland, and yet for lessons of true practical wisdom it is evident that they might go farther and fare worse. It is evident that they will not much improve in either morals or manners by going back, as some of them seem inclined to do, to the old paganism of the classic Greeks and Romans. It remains historically true that the world already has widely felt and largely profited by the influence of Scotland. For its wide extent to-day, and its place among civilized nations, the British empire owes much to the potential influence of Scotland.

Scotland's place in history is well assured—as much so, perhaps, as that of any other portion of the globe. Its own history forms an integral part of the history of the world, just as its realm and its people now constitute an integral portion of the British empire. That history can never be reversed, nor can it ever be forgotten among civilized men. Its influence has gone as an important factor into the general advancement of human civilization. It is easy to see that the world is immeasurably better to-day on account of that influence than it could have been without it. The world would not be what it is to-day had there been no Scotland, no Scottish history, no Scottish civilization. The general course of civilization is the resultant of many different forces, some of them exerting their unspent influence from the distant nationalities of antiquity, and

others coming in successively from the nations and the races that figure in modern history. Of the latter class there has been no equal territory on the map of modern Europe that has for centuries exerted a more pronounced and unmistakable influence, and at the same time a more beneficial and far-reaching influence, on the progress of knowledge, the progress of education, the progress of human liberty and Christian civilization, than this little realm of Scotland.

The religious history of Scotland illustrates the great truth that the Lord can work by the few as well as by the many. He assuredly did so when he selected the narrow confines of Palestine for the abode of his chosen people. Here were unfolded the stupendous mysteries of man's redemption, and here was enacted the greatest drama of human history in the immolation of the Son of God. Here, too, were set in motion all the great forces of our Christian civilization. Who can deny that in the long struggle for Christian liberty, for the vindication of the rights of conscience, for the maintenance of the pure gospel, the open Bible and the true Church, God chose Scotland, even as he had chosen Palestine, as the spot where the truth should be asserted, the battle fought out and the victory at last won? It was not a mere accident, nor was it without a great purpose, that Christianity, originating in little Palestine, on the western verge of the Asiatic continent, after be-

ing driven across all Europe by the usurpations and the persecutions of more than ten centuries, should at last make its final stand for liberty and God's eternal truth on the rock-bound shores of Scotland—another little territory, not unlike Palestine, though washed by a larger and rougher sea. Nor was the later battle in Scotland less important in the principles at stake and in the results of good for all mankind than had been the battle of Scotland so long before. In each case the victory was decisive, and it was for all time.

The lesson derived from the whole history of Scotland is a most significant and instructive one. It shows what an energetic and intelligent people apparently shut out from the greater world, and restricted to a narrow and somewhat sterile soil, can do for themselves, and not only for themselves, but for other nations. The territory on which this history was enacted is exceedingly limited, but for that very reason it all the better serves to illustrate the great law of Christianity—that communities, like individuals, must not live for themselves alone. They can never reach the highest destiny except by sharing the common lot of humanity and contributing their full quota both of toil and of influence to swell the stock of the universal good. Not only must the light be kindled, but it must be diffused from a thousand radiating centres, in order to fill the world. It is mainly within the last two or three centuries—that is, since the

Scottish people ceased to fight one another and turned their whole energies to the arts of peaceful and productive industry—that the Scottish history has furnished for the world this impressive and memorable example of what a small population on a narrow territory can achieve for themselves and for the rest of mankind. It is in this history, especially in its sublime transition from desolating and destructive wars to the reign of peaceful and productive industry, that we find the very idea and model of modern progress and of true Christian civilization.

No one can deny the immense development of wealth and comfort in Scotland during the last two centuries. In no part of the world—except, perhaps, America—has there been a more marked progress in all that goes to make up the convenience and the enjoyment of life. On every hand the intelligent traveler discerns in Scotland the indications of growth and improvement. Now, the significant and undeniable fact in the whole history of Scottish progress, from the beginning till now, is that it has been *Christian progress.* There is no type of civilization in the world which is more emphatically and intensely Christian than that of Scotland. Agnostic philosophers and skeptics may deny its excellence or deride it if they please, but the fact of its existence and of its chief characteristic as a distinctly Christian civilization is a matter of history beyond any man's

denial. The universally recognized traits of Scottish character, the world over as well as in Scotland, stand out in proof that Scottish civilization is, and always has been, intensely Christian. What are the striking elements of that character as exemplified in all the history? They are honesty, thrift, economy, industry, moderation, patience under toil, endurance, perseverance, reliability, self-reliance, integrity, individual independence and personal courage. What has given to the Scot that character? What has endowed him with those stern, rugged and indestructible virtues? His religion, his Bible, his Christianity, his Protestantism, his Presbyterianism.

Now, it is easy to demonstrate that these sterling attributes of Christian virtue, so boldly proclaimed by Christianity at the beginning, are precisely those characteristics which, when they come to be fully incorporated in the life of any community or nation, must in time work out those great results of individual character, civil order, social comfort and national wealth which we have seen produced in Scotland. Christianity is the true light of the world. Christianity is the true life of the nation not less than of the individual. Christianity is the true civilizer of nations. Christianity contemplates mankind as a great hive of active workers and producers of wealth. Christianity not only enjoins all those great economic and industrial virtues which must create wealth,

and with it comfort, but it frowns upon every vice and every evil passion and every bad habit and every sinful indulgence which might squander and destroy wealth. It is impossible that any Christian community, large or small, should fully live up to the requirements of the gospel without in time becoming rich, virtuous, intelligent and happy.

Doubtless there are social disorders in Scotland as in all other Christian countries. Ignorance, vice, crime, intemperance, drunkenness, with their sad entailments of poverty, insanity and pauperism, are still found there in the crowded cities, as they are in all great centres of population, but they are the exception, not the rule, of social life in Scotland. They exist there, not because the Scotch are Sabbath-keeping Christian people, but in despite of Christianity. Christianity there, as everywhere else, is at war with these evils, and Christianity, if fully and universally accepted by the people, would soon abolish the evils. To a great extent it has always abolished them, and where it has not gained a complete victory it has at least held the evils in check by the authority of law and the voice of universal public opinion. In no land under heaven is law more supreme and public sentiment more pronounced and inflexible in its judgment than in Scotland. Christianity has done much for a nation when its intelligent public sentiment, embodied in the permanent forms of

law is unalterably against evil and the evil-doer. This victory of righteous law and Christian authority the Bible has certainly gained in Scotland.

After every deduction has been made for lawlessness and folly, it can still be said that the gospel not only holds its own, but is making headway, in the land of Knox. The Scot has gone abroad to the ends of the earth, but he has not thereby drained the life-blood of the stock at home nor dimmed the light that to-day shines in Christian beauty over his native soil. The reign of law, both natural and revealed, is recognized and respected in Scotland. Quietness and peace, righteousness and truth, industry and economy, social order, individual liberty and public justice, prevail among the people; while the rights of property, the rights of conscience, the security of human life, the sanctity of divine worship and the claims of the Lord's day are everywhere respected. We know not when or where the millennial reign of the Messiah shall begin; but if all the earth to-day stood as near the cross as Scotland stands, with as true a gospel, as pure a worship and as thorough a Christianity, we should think that this long-expected reign of peace and good-will among men might be near—even at the door.

THE END.