
Rev. Walter Macleod: a wise penman

NORMAN CAMPBELL

The fragmented remnants of the Original Secession Church in Edinburgh in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were marked by occasional bouts of rancour followed by long spells of peace during which useful public witnessing to the nation on the side of truth was vigorously carried out. The leading figure in this cluster of Anti-Burgher splinter groups in that period was Rev. Walter Macleod (*c.* 1832-1912) of Lauriston Street, Edinburgh.¹ Macleod had an able pen, like his predecessor Rev. James Wright; but, unlike Wright, he seldom employed it in public.²

This short article highlights two occasions on which Macleod did use his pen wisely in the public cause of Christ, and looks also at a very different example in which he addressed a family and congregational division in a private letter to his brother. It is hoped that a longer biographical article about Walter Macleod will appear in a future issue of the *Journal*.

1. Lecture on the Free Church case, 1904

In 1904 Walter Macleod gave a lecture on the success of the 1900 minority in the Free Church in their court case against the new United Free (UF) Church denomination, claiming the assets of the old Free

¹ See Archibald MacWhirter, "The Last Anti-Burghers: A Footnote to Secession History", *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal (SRSHJ)*, Vol. 4 (2014), pp. 275-340.

² For James Wright, see N. Campbell, "Rev. James Wright of Infirmity Street and Lauriston Street, Edinburgh", *SRSHJ*, Vol. 5 (2015), pp. 145-209.

Church.³ Macleod's lecture, "The Church Case", is in many ways remarkable. Not only did it avoid analysis of the issue through a clearly Original Secession prism, but it was a critique of the UF position on the ground that they took up as their ideological basis, led by Principal Robert Rainy.⁴ It was a robust outline of the main faults that Macleod saw in the arguments made in court, and of the reaction by the UF leadership and support-base among the general public to their defeat.⁵

Macleod opposed Rainy and his colleagues in the three themes that they promoted in defending their united Church which was built on legislation allowing a departure from previously held positions. The three arguments that such Free Church men used were: spiritual independence; their consciences; and the claim that the Holy Spirit was continually leading them into new views.

Macleod gave it as his own view that the court case "was indeed a struggle for the temporalities, and not properly for anything else". However, he recognised that many of the defenders of the UF position saw it "as a great moral victory because, by the process, they have vindicated what they have all along professed to claim, that is 'spiritual independence'".⁶ He added: "it is not for us to decide as to the validity or the vanity of this boast; but it is worthwhile and indeed, it is high time, to inquire what is spiritual independence."⁷

Macleod then argued that, while the term ought to have been "a matter that admits of very easy description and comprehension", nevertheless in all the printed material about the case, whether in the court or outwith it, no "plain statement or definition of the phrase" had been given. He added that it had not appeared in use until the 1880s in public print or speech. While the judges in the court case had asked for it, and much had been said by the defendants, "it was not explained, either to the satisfaction of the court or to the satisfaction of the public –

³ The House of Lords had ruled on 1st August 1904 that the minority 1900 Free Church were the true Free Church and entitled to the property. See K. R. Ross, "The Free Church Case", in *The Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (hereafter *DSCHT*) (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 336-7. See also A. Stewart and J. K. Cameron, *The Free Church of Scotland: The Crisis of 1900* (Knox Press, 1989 reprint of original 1910 edition), pp. 209-240.

⁴ For Rainy, see K. R. Ross, "Rainy, Robert", in *DSCHT*, pp. 690-691.

⁵ MS. "The Church Case", in the Wright-Macleod archive (see Campbell, "Rev. James Wright of Infirmary Street and Lauriston Street, Edinburgh", p. 145, n. 2).

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 2.

none of whom seem to know what it means, so far as their printed utterances go”.⁸

Macleod then critiques the attempt of the Rainy party to conflate their theory of spiritual independence with their ecclesiastical fathers’ slogan in the 1830s and 1840s. “There is no such ambiguity,” he said, “in the old cry – both before and after the Disruption – of ecclesiastical freedom; that is, that the Church is not subject to the State in matters pertaining to her own jurisdiction, which include matters of doctrine, discipline and worship; but these intelligible terms have, within the last twenty-five years, been superseded gradually by the modern high-sounding claim of spiritual independence – a matter which we are bound to say those who led the Church in the Disruption period never heard of or dreamed of.”⁹

Macleod went on to claim that the words “spiritual” and “independence” were inappropriate and inaccurate respectively, in the case made by the UF leadership. The independence they really sought was from “the obligation to adhere to their own Church standards”.¹⁰ Their desire to become free of the Confession of Faith, written two hundred and fifty years before, was in effect a desire to forget history. “We say, they cry out against the bondage of being tied to doctrines then formulated and adopted by the Church, in the Confession of Faith – forgetting not only that the doctrines so confessed have been in the Church of God since the Head of the Church ascended up on high, but – what might be easily remembered – that those who were regarded as the leaders of the Free Church in 1843 and onwards were exuberant in their profession of reverence and love to these very doctrines.”¹¹ In contrast to this, the present generation of Free Church leaders proclaimed “their independence of what their fathers believed and professed”.¹²

That Macleod did not highly regard the latest theological thinking in Germany was evident in his description of the priority given to it by the Rainy party: “now the pabulum upon which the future clergy of the Church are fed comes from Continental sources – is ‘made in Germany’ or some such place; and they have laboriously to study . . . the writings

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 5.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 5.

of infidels and apostates, to be well up in what they have said, on what opinions they have expressed; while, as to the noble minds of our own land, from the Reformation onwards, their writings are not referred to, not even looked at.”¹³

He then painted a poignant picture of young Scottish men “devoting themselves to the ministry, almost in boyhood” and being raised in pious homes, but who in Divinity halls were “instructed in such a way as to shatter all their reverence for the doctrines they have been taught and trained in from childhood” and were moulded to respect German theology more “than the standards of the Church or any other theological work on this side of the border”. He concludes of this approach that it is “simply lawlessness” and not independence, whether of the spiritual, intellectual, or any other variety.¹⁴

Macleod’s main defence of the Confession of Faith on this occasion was not only the utilitarian argument of a creed being a clear statement of belief, or being a banner to gather round. Rather, his strongest statement was in making the case for a creed being required by Christ as a rational and necessary response to the testimony that the Saviour gives to the Church in the Bible. So-called independence from the Confession in favour of a changing and developing view of Scripture was “a fallacy and delusion”. The truth of Christ in Scripture would make them free: “free from the errors of men, from the devices of men.”¹⁵ True Christian freedom was “entire dependence upon the Head of the Church himself and upon his gracious manifestations by his Spirit – not to lead us into new ideas, but to instruct us in the right understanding of the Holy Scriptures – of what he has already revealed”.¹⁶

As well as spiritual independence, the losing side in the Free Church case had claimed that they were independent on the grounds of conscience: “they claim that their conscience impels them to take a position independent not only of the civil power, but of the standards of the Church which have been held through generations,” he said.¹⁷ Macleod’s first response was that “those on the opposite side of the street plead conscience but they do not plead conscience alone”.¹⁸ This was a

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 10.

clear reference to the Roman Catholic chapel in Lauriston Street which worshippers coming out of Macleod's church would see immediately on leaving the alley which led to their own building. Macleod also countered the UF conscience plea by saying that conscience was a monitor of right and wrong in the moral sense. It basically knew nothing of Church government, or of doctrine, or of ecclesiastical Establishment and Disestablishment, or of public worship. However, an honest conscience would "feel itself bound to accept" the doctrines of revelation if brought into contact with them.¹⁹

Walter Macleod's most scathing criticism, however, was reserved for the third UF defence: that changes to doctrine came as they followed where Christ and his Spirit were leading them. This he described as "presumptuous if not blasphemous".²⁰ He added: "it will not do then to say, as one of the ministers pleads, even in the pulpit, that the Spirit of Christ is leading the Church into new views, new lights and new principles; that his impulses are directing them to the discovery of other truths which supersede those that are in the Confession; indeed, although he does not say so, to supersede the doctrines of the Word of God. But all the commands of Christ and of his apostles are to the very opposite effect – for there is not a word in the whole of the Scriptures about the duty of the Church or any individual member of it changing the profession of the faith, or of any part of that faith."²¹

In contrast to his text, which enjoined believers to "hold fast the profession of [their] faith without wavering" (Hebrews 10:23), the revising and remodelling of the Confession, with obsolete matter "purged" every few years, was "wavering with a vengeance".²² The Lauriston Street minister branded as "a new heresy" the idea that the teachings of Scripture "in course of time grow old and obsolete".²³ He also exposed the subtlety of Church leaders in not publishing a creed that itself attacked the Word of God but in accepting and praising academics who did.

In the nearest that he aspired to humour in the lecture, Macleod highlighted the absurdity of affirming that Moses "never wrote anything" yet of claiming that he did write the moral law. The moral law, Macleod

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 12.

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 14.

²² *ibid.*, p. 14.

²³ *ibid.*, p. 15.

reminded his hearers, was the one thing Moses did not write. It “was written by the finger of God upon two tables of stone”. Instead of being led by the Head of the Church, the Higher Critics and their apologists were “impudently contradicting him”.²⁴

In a more solemn tone, Macleod concluded his “Church Case” lecture in the following terms: “the new claim of spiritual independence means that they are free to deny the truth, and to exalt error; but independence of this kind is claimed by none in the universe of God but by Satan and by those who are misled by him. It is a fearful position; and we must be warned ourselves and give warning to others.”²⁵

2. The West Kirk Images, 1906

Two years later Macleod was tackling another declension from Reformation principles: the placing of a Roman Catholic-style frieze in the St. Cuthbert’s Church of Scotland building in Edinburgh, and the refusal of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale of that denomination to condemn the work. The building had been known colloquially as the West Kirk until around that time. The object of dispute was a large alabaster frieze based upon Leonardo da Vinci’s representation of the Last Supper in Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan. The well-known Protestant campaigner within the Church of Scotland, Jacob Primmer, had petitioned the Synod against the frieze, but his petition was dismissed.²⁶

A pamphlet was issued by Macleod in November 1906 giving his view of the affair.²⁷ While strongly criticising the Synod’s actions, and robustly defending the principles which he felt the Synod were abandoning, Macleod did point out the positive aspects in the debate and gave an accurate assessment of the subtle nuances in the matter. The number actively opposing Primmer was small in proportion to the entire

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 15.

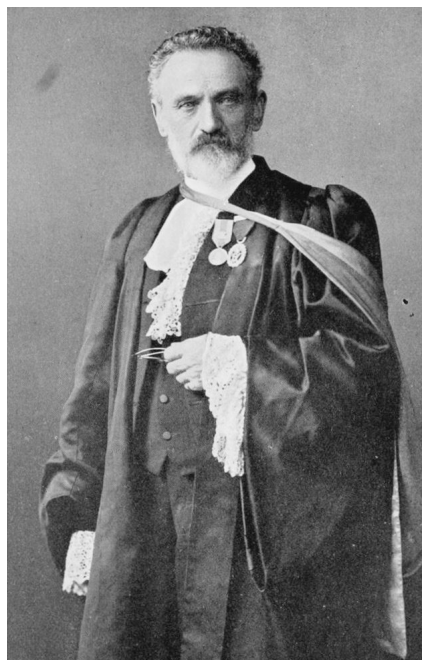
²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁶ Primmer often took direct action when he heard of changes to worship taking the Church of Scotland in a ritualistic direction, but also challenged these in the Church courts, organised public meetings, and published on Protestant issues. Chris Neale, “Primmer, Jacob (1842-1914)”, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50307>]. See also D. M. Murray, “Primmer, Jacob (1842-1914)”, in *DSCHT*, p. 677.

²⁷ “A Friend of the Church”, *The Synod and the West Kirk Images* (Edinburgh, 15th November 1906), 11 pages.

Synod (most of the members were silent); another “honest motion” was supported by four; and some ministers had subsequently written in support of the Reformed side of the argument to the press.²⁸ Macleod quoted Rev. Donald Lamont of Strath²⁹ in Skye who had challenged the Synod’s support for artistic “aids to devotion” with the question of where the Second Commandment came into their thinking.³⁰

In posing the question whether the images on the frieze were according the laws of the Church of Scotland, Macleod pointed out that one defence of the images was that a carved or painted representation of the Lord’s Supper was “purely Presbyterian from beginning to end”. This had been stated by the senior minister of St. Cuthbert’s, Dr. MacGregor, at the Synod.³¹ Macleod asked in the pamphlet if Leonardo da Vinci had “in view the purpose of decorating a Protestant Presbyterian place of worship” in “conceiving and executing his *chef-d’oeuvre*”; adding in a



Dr. James MacGregor of St. Cuthbert’s Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, was moderator of the General Assembly in 1891. Walter Macleod supported the anti-ritualism campaigner, Rev. Jacob Primmer, in his campaign against an alabaster frieze of the Last Supper being placed in MacGregor’s church.

²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

²⁹ Donald Macleod Lamont was translated to Strath from Waternish in July 1904; ten years later he was translated to North Knapdale, and finished his career in Prince Edward Island. H. Scott (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. 7 (2nd edn., Edinburgh, 1928), pp. 184, 720. Lamont was the author of several books.

³⁰ *The Synod and the West Kirk Images*, p. 7.

³¹ James MacGregor (1832-1910) had been licensed by the presbytery of Perth in 1855, going on to serve in a number of charges before being appointed senior minister in St. Cuthbert’s in 1873. Awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of St. Andrews in 1870, he had been noted for his strong opposition to the Disestablishment campaign. He was appointed Moderator of the Church of Scotland General Assembly in 1891. Lionel Alexander Ritchie, “MacGregor, James (1832-1910)”, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34729>].

footnote that “the original was actually painted on the chamber wall of a convent”. He continued: “The speech of the reverend doctor throughout, and especially in this sentence of it, stands out in painful contrast with the solemn and eloquent address which he delivered from the Moderator’s chair of the General Assembly some years ago. How are the mighty fallen!”³²

Macleod then cited a long list of Acts of Parliament and of the Assembly from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century forbidding idolatry. These included the 1581 Act of Parliament against “pilgrimages to some chapels, wells, crosses and such other monuments of idolatry” and “the observance of festival days of saints”, on the ground that all these things were “the dregs of idolatry”. The Formula to be signed by ministers and licentiates as a result of the 1711 Act of Assembly solemnly bound them to renounce everything inconsistent with the worship of the Church of Scotland. In 1645 the General Assembly had forbidden artwork in churches such as “the hanging of pensiles or boards, to affix honours or arms, or to make any such like monuments to the honour or remembrance of any deceased person, upon the walls or other places within the kirk, where the public worship of God is exercised”.³³

Macleod was particularly aggrieved that Dr. MacGregor had defended the presence of a carving of “the figure of the Son of God” in stone. He wrote:

What an outrage on the Head of the Church. To speak of *Him* as one who can be figured or painted by mortals! The Synod and their erring brother must be aware that *that* is impossible. The artist may, indeed, limn the figure of a man, actual or ideal, but never of Him who is “fairer than the sons of men, chief among ten thousand and altogether lovely”. . . . To attempt a material representation of such a being is profane and daring presumption. . . . To have such a pretended representation of the crucifixion is anti-Christian. . . . Away with the very thought! The Lord of glory portrayed in chalk, or paint, or stone! Even Israel in the childhood of the Church, and carnal in their ideas after so long a captivity on idolatrous Egypt, were again and again warned against any attempt to make a likeness of Deity. . . . It is truly mournful to every friend of the Church and every lover of the truth as it is in Jesus, that in such a

³² *The Synod and the West Kirk Images*, p. 3.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 4.

time as this, when tens of thousands are in perplexity, and as sheep without a shepherd, utterly bewildered by the multitude of under-shepherds all giving out discordant and contradictory statements about doctrine and duty! – in such a time, alas!, instead of leading them to the spiritual and divinely authorised revelation of Christ for life eternal, to point them to a stone slab, with the carnal device of a Popish medieval painter. Is this to be allowed?³⁴

3. Letter to a brother, 1873

Of a very different nature is the letter that Walter Macleod wrote to his brother James at the time of the Lauriston Street split in 1873.³⁵ James was one of the leaders of those separating from the ministry of Rev. James Wright, while Walter remained resolutely loyal. James had written to Walter raising a number of matters and Walter responded point by point to these concerns.³⁶

Before the step-by-step response, Walter expressed his appreciation for “the general air of brotherly regard” in James’s initial letter; he also stated that he was “troubled” to learn of his brother having “heart disease” and reassured James that he had no intention of doing anything “that would excite or aggravate any tendency to that serious affection [*sic*]”.³⁷

James appears to have mentioned his grief at the division, as Walter stated: “I sympathise with your grief about the matter at present

³⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

³⁵ For the 1873 Lauriston Street split, see MacWhirter, “The Last Anti-Burghers: A Footnote to Secession History”, pp. 297-9; 324-334. A copy of Walter Macleod’s letter to James is found in a MS. “Secession Notebook” in the Free Presbyterian Church Library in Glasgow (Item 5, pp. 5-7). The “Secession Notebook” has forty-four numbered pages and contains forty items - mainly extracts copied from books, and mainly relating to the history of the Secession Church in the eighteenth century. Five of the items, however, are connected with James Wright, Andrew Lambie, and Walter Macleod (nos. 3, 4, 5, 10, 30). Item 30, for example, is a copy of the “Act of Public Fast”, published by Wright and Lambie in December 1842, soon after they had separated from the Associate Synod of Original Seceders (see MacWhirter, p. 281). The compiler of the MS. notebook presumably belonged to Walter Macleod’s circle; and judging from the dates of some of the books from which he was copying, he was probably writing soon after 1880. Who he was, however; and how he had access to the private letter from Walter Macleod; and how his notebook comes to be in the Free Presbyterian Church Library, remains a mystery.

³⁶ James’s letter is not extant, and Walter’s reply is undated. It must have been written after James Wright’s solemn oath of 10th November 1873, to which it refers, but probably before the final split of 14th December, of which there is no mention. It was written on a Monday, and a likely date would be 8th December, just a few days before the split.

³⁷ MS. “Secession Notebook”, p. 5.

distracting us. I hope you will not suppose that I am destitute of feeling in that way. What suffering it has cost me and mine, night and day, is not to be expressed.”³⁸

Walter summarised his attitude to two of the complaints James cited in his letter by claiming the complainants had acted unjustly. “You know as well as I do that I have no call to judge either one way or another about that matter – neither will I consent to violate every law by condemning any man untried – neither will I take any active steps as some have rashly done to get up or encourage the getting up of a written sentence of deposition against an ordained witness of Christ, simply upon reports, although the accusers should be thirty times thirty. No law, divine or human, will sanction such conduct.”³⁹

Walter Macleod then attempted to address the central problem: that there was no functioning Presbyterian court above the level of Mr. Wright’s own Kirk Session at Lauriston Street, and therefore no court to which parties might appeal from decisions of the Session. He wrote: “It may be said ‘What then is to be done?’. I can only answer this – don’t do what is unlawful. For a lawful end cannot be reached by means which the law condemns. This is beyond any reasonable dispute.”⁴⁰

James seems to have been under the impression that Walter had claimed that some of the charges had been withdrawn. Such a claim may have added to the tensions, had it in fact been made. Walter, however, stated in his letter to James that he had said that some of them had been “disproved”. He said that this had been effected “on the solemn declaration of eye-witnesses”. He added: “I myself was an eye-witness in two of the charges which were very scandalous, and I am ready to swear in the sight of God that they are utterly false.”⁴¹

Walter Macleod’s attempts to resolve the situation were unavailing, but it is clear from his letter to James that he felt that there was common ground. He was able to express sympathy to James as a brother by blood as well as by faith. He responded positively to an opponent who was trying to keep the lines of communication open. He also accepted in principle that there was indeed a procedural problem in the Lauriston Street congregation’s situation, while strongly disagreeing as to the proposed solution.

³⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 5-6

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 6.

Conclusion

Walter Macleod showed in a number of contexts that he knew how to speak “a word in season”: a penetrating analysis of a nationally discussed court case; a pamphlet against ritualism in the established Church in Scotland; a firm but kindly letter to a sibling who found himself on the opposite side of a Church dispute. If he had had the time and the resources to edit his own religious periodical, it seems reasonable to think that Macleod could have matched the literary productivity of his predecessor, Rev. James Wright. However, as we hope to see in future articles, Macleod and his fellow ministers among the Anti-Burgher splinter groups had to earn a living; and they chose to do so in historical research and publishing on behalf of others.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

SRSJ Volume 4

p. 48. In his *Disputation* (1581), the Roman Catholic controversialist Nicol Burne refers to the Protestant ministers “Brebbenner and Paul Mephuen” as examples of uneducated ministers who were “bot neu cummit fra keiping of the scheip or the geise”.¹ The second minister referred to is evidently the well-known Paul Methven but the identity of the first was unclear to the editor, T. G. Law, who tentatively suggested Andrew Brabaner, minister of Farnua in 1569. The quotation from the Laird of Panmure, however (*SRSJ*, Vol. 4, p. 48), shows that the first minister was John Brabaner; and Nicol Burne’s reference to him is a further indication of John Brabaner’s importance as a Protestant preacher just before the Reformation.

Nicol Burne’s statement about “the sheep and the geese” would seem to be inconsistent with the identification of John Brabaner as the Aberdeen friar of the same name, but Burne frequently threw out unfounded slanders, so his statement is no strong reason for doubting this identification. Contrary to Burne’s statement, Paul Methven was, in fact, a baker by trade and had studied under Miles Coverdale in England.²

Very little is known about the early life of Nicol Burne, but he was probably born in the late 1550s, was brought up a Protestant “from his tender age”, and matriculated at St. Andrews University (St. Leonard’s College) in 1574.³ His reference to Brabaner and Methven may suggest that he was from Angus, the centre of their preaching activity, and that he had known their names from his childhood. Angus was one of the strongholds of Protestantism before 1560, and thus was a likely place of origin for Burne if his Protestant upbringing predated 1560, as it may well have done.

¹ T. G. Law (ed.), *Catholic Tractates, 1573-1600* (Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1901), p. 151.

² Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, (ed.) A. E. J. Mackay (3 vols., Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1899-1911), Vol. 2, p. 136; J. Bain (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603* (Edinburgh, 1898), Vol. 1, p. 680.

³ J. H. Burns, “Nicol Burne: ‘plane disputation bayth at libertie and in presone’”, *Innes Review*, Vol. 50 (Autumn, 1999), pp. 102-126 (pp. 104-5).

SRSJ Volume 5

p. 10. J. K. Hewison thinks that it was probably on this occasion, Thursday 29th June 1559, when the Congregation passed through Linlithgow, that John Knox had a public debate with Ninian Winzet, the Roman Catholic master of the grammar school; see N. Winzet, *Certain Tractates*, (ed.) J. K. Hewison (2 vols., Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1888-90), Vol. 1, pp. xxvii-xxix.

The events of the day can thus be reconstructed in considerable detail. The Congregation would have left Stirling and arrived in Linlithgow probably in the early afternoon. A party would have been dispatched to destroy the Carmelite friary and another party to reform the parish church. The palace would have been held for the Queen Regent by a small garrison and would have been ignored. The Lords of the Congregation would have been welcomed by the Sheriff of Linlithgow, James Hamilton of Kincavil (brother of the martyred Patrick Hamilton),⁴ and may have heard a debate between Knox and Winzet, presumably in the Town House. There, too, they would have received the deputation from the Edinburgh Council. Knox, as we have suggested, may have returned with the deputation to Edinburgh and preached that evening in St. Giles, while the bulk of the Congregation came behind and reached Edinburgh at 3 o'clock the following morning. During the afternoon of the 29th, the Queen Regent left Edinburgh for Dunbar, and it was probably also on that day that the Glasgow and Edinburgh friaries were destroyed.

pp. 25-32. The sixth section of the article, entitled "The Magdalen Chapel in 1559", was relying on the records of the Edinburgh Hammermen as transcribed in J. Smith, *The Hammermen of Edinburgh and Their Altar in St. Giles Church* (Edinburgh, [1906]). This transcription is, in fact, somewhat inaccurate, but also omits highly significant material relating to the years 1559 and 1560. The author would therefore like to withdraw this entire section, and also to apologise to Professor Michael Lynch for the criticisms of his work. The rest of the article is unaffected by this change. The author is grateful to Henry Stuart Fotheringham for discussions on this matter.

⁴ D. Shaw (ed.), *The Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, 1560-1618* (3 vols., Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 2004), Vol. 3, p. 152. Shaw mentions that James Hamilton was also the hereditary keeper of Blackness Castle. This makes it less likely that the valuables of Glasgow cathedral were smuggled through to Leith by way of Blackness Castle; see *SRSJ*, Vol. 5, p. 24, fn. 94.

SRSJ Volume 6

p. 15. It was suggested that the account of the exposure of the Loretto miracle was written by someone in the family of Robert Colville (c. 1540-1584),⁵ the son of the hero of the occasion (also Robert, d. 1560). One of the sons of this second Robert, David, followed his uncle, John Colville, into the Church of Rome and moved to France about 1606 and then to Spain where he became an eminent oriental scholar; see J. Durkan, “Three manuscripts with Fife associations: and David Colville of Fife”, *Innes Review*, Vol. 20 (1969), pp. 47-58; “David Colville: an appendix”, *ibid.*, pp. 138-149. The Colvilles were evidently a literary family, which would support the conjecture that one of them was the author of the account.

p. 127. Mention is made of Alexander Wright, pewterer in Edinburgh, who was probably responsible for publishing the second part of James Fraser of Brea’s *Treatise on Justifying Faith* in 1749, and who twice interrupted the proceedings of the R e f o r m e d Presbytery in April 1753. Wright was active as an Edin-



Communion flagon made by Alexander Wright and (right) showing the pewterer’s marks on the St. John’s Kirk flagon.

[Photos: courtesy of Peter Spencer Davies]

burgh pewterer between 1732 and 1777, having a booth in the West Bow in 1752. Some of his pewter work still survives, including a communion flagon which he made for St. John’s Kirk in Perth. See Peter Spencer Davies, *Scottish Pewter, 1600-1850* (Edinburgh, 2014), pp. 56, 73, 75, 252-4, 261.

⁵ For some information on this Robert Colville, see Shaw, *The Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, 1560-1618*, Vol. 3, p. 72.

p. 128. It is stated, regarding the year 1761, that John Howden or Halden, the founder of the Howdenites, “was probably dead by now”. Howden may indeed have died soon afterwards, but it seems likely that he was still alive in that year because in the edition of *Naphtali*, printed at Edinburgh by D. Paterson in 1761, the name “John Hadden” stands at the top of the list of subscribers with sixty copies. It is probable that this is the same man. No one else on the list subscribes for more than twelve copies.

CONTRIBUTORS

NORMAN CAMPBELL

works for the BBC in Inverness

CHRIS COLDWELL

is the general editor of *The Confessional Presbyterian* and the publisher, through Naphtali Press, of new and critical editions of seventeenth-century Puritan and Presbyterian classics

Email: editor@cpjournal.com

ROBERT DICKIE

is a medical doctor and Church historian who publishes Christian books under the imprint Reformation Press

Email: robertdickie@doctors.org.uk

REV. JOHN KEDDIE

is a retired minister of the Free Church of Scotland (Continuing)

Email: jwkeddie@yahoo.co.uk

ROY MIDDLETON

is a ruling elder in the Barnoldswick congregation of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland

Email: roy.middleton0@gmail.com

REV. DOUGLAS SOMERSET

is minister of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland congregation in Aberdeen

Email: somerset@quidinish.fsnet.co.uk

REV. JUSTIN STODGHILL

is pastor of Covenant Reformed Presbyterian Church, San Marcos, Texas, in the Reformed Presbyterian Church General Assembly

Email: justin.stodghill@gmail.com

MATTHEW VOGAN

is a media and publications manager with Reformation Scotland Trust

Email: mavogan@googlemail.com

SRSJ Volume 1 (2011)

WAS KNOX A ROYAL CHAPLAIN?	D. Hay Fleming
SAMUEL RUTHERFORD AND THE THEOLOGY AND PRACTICE OF PREACHING.....	M. Vogan
THOMAS BOSTON AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF “QUERIES TO THE FRIENDLY-ADVISER”	D. Somerset
ALEXANDER DYCE DAVIDSON, D.D. (1807-1872), FREE CHURCH MINISTER IN ABERDEEN	J. Smith
ANGUS OF THE HILLS (c. 1809-c. 1854)	D. Somerset
PROFESSOR JAMES MACGREGOR: THEOLOGICAL AND PRACTICAL WRITINGS, 1868-1881	J. Keddie
DAVID HAY FLEMING (1849-1931), SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORIAN AND ANTIQUARIAN.....	R. Middleton
GIVING OUT THE LINE: A CROSS-ATLANTIC COMPARISON OF TWO PRESBYTERIAN CULTURES.....	N. Campbell
SHORT NOTE: MISTRESS RUTHERFORD AND ULSTER IN THE SUMMER OF 1634.....	D. Somerset

SRSJ Volume 2 (2012)

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLE OF THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION: 1547-1648.....	M. Winzer
ROBERT BRUCE IN INVERNESS.....	D. Somerset
WALTER KER AND THE “SWEET SINGERS”	D. Somerset
ALEXANDER SHIELDS, THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT AND THE UNITY OF THE VISIBLE CHURCH: PART I.....	M. Vogan
NOTES ON THE LITERARY LABOURS OF THE APOSTLE OF THE NORTH	D. Somerset
ROBERT SHANKS OF BUCKIE (1798-1884).....	J. Smith
PROFESSOR JAMES MCGREGOR AND THE CASE OF WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH	J. Keddie
RESISTANCE TO THE 1892 DECLARATORY ACT IN ARGYLLSHIRE	N. Campbell
THE CHISHOLMITES OF ACHMORE	N. Campbell
SHORT NOTE: ADDITIONAL DATA ON GIVING OUT THE LINE IN ENGLISH	N. Campbell

SRSJ Volume 3 (2013)

- JOHN KNOX AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE
PERTH FRIARIES IN MAY 1559..... D. Somerset
- THE COVENANTERS, UNITY IN RELIGION, AND
UNIFORMITY OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THE 1640s:
PRESBYTERY BY COERCION OR CO-OPERATION? J. Stephen
- THE SCOTS CHURCH IN ROTTERDAM –
A CHURCH FOR SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MIGRANTS
AND EXILES: PART I..... R. Dickie
- ALEXANDER SHIELDS, THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT
AND THE UNITY OF THE VISIBLE CHURCH: PART II M. Vogan
- THE ATTITUDE OF JAMES BEGG AND *THE WATCHWORD*
MAGAZINE TO THE 1872 EDUCATION ACT A. Middleton
- THE WITNESS OF THE KAMES FREE PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH, ARGYLLSHIRE..... N. Campbell
- MOVEMENTS IN THE MAIN-LINE PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCHES IN SCOTLAND IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY . J. Keddie
- SHORT NOTE: THE SABBATH PROTEST AT
STROME FERRY IN 1883..... N. Campbell

SRSJ Volume 4 (2014)

- THE “ALTERATION OF RELIGION” IN ABERDEEN IN 1559:
AN ANCIENT AND PERSISTENT HISTORICAL ERROR..... D. Somerset
- THE REFORMING OF THE ABERDEEN FRIARIES ON
4TH JANUARY 1559/60 D. Somerset
- THE COMMISSIONS FOR VISITATIONS NORTH AND
SOUTH OF THE RIVER TAY 1690-1695 J. Stephen
- JONATHAN RANKEN ANDERSON AND THE
FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND: PART I..... R. Middleton
- THE LAST ANTI-BURGHERS: A FOOTNOTE TO
SECESSION HISTORY A. MacWhirter
- SHORT NOTE: JOSEPH ROBERTSON AND THE
SCOTTISH REFORMATION D. Somerset
- SHORT NOTE: LINING OUT THE PSALM IN TIREE..... A. Boyd

SRSJ Volume 5 (2015)

- THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION IN LATE JUNE 1559:
THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FRIARIES OF STIRLING,
LINLITHGOW, GLASGOW, AND EDINBURGH D. Somerset
- SAMUEL RUTHERFORD'S EXPERIENCE AND DOCTRINE
OF CONVERSION M. Vogan
- THE NOT SO CONSERVATIVE NORTH: COVENANTING
STRENGTH IN 1638-39..... J. Stephen
- THE SCOTS CHURCH IN ROTTERDAM – A CHURCH
FOR SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MIGRANTS AND EXILES:
PART II R. Dickie
- THE AWAKENINGS IN SKYE (1812-14) J. W. Keddie
- REV. JAMES WRIGHT OF INFIRMARY STREET AND
LAURISTON STREET, EDINBURGH N. Campbell
- JONATHAN RANKEN ANDERSON AND THE
FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND: PART II R. Middleton
- JONATHAN RANKEN ANDERSON'S CRITIQUE OF THE
FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND IN THE 1850s..... R. Middleton
- MAN OF SKYE: REV. RODERICK MACCOWAN (1871-1948). J. Smith

SRSJ Volume 6 (2016)

- JOHN ROW THE REFORMER AND THE MIRACLE AT
LORETTO..... D. Somerset
- JOHN KNOX'S HOUSE AND JOHN KNOX'S GRAVE..... D. Somerset
- CONVENTICLES FROM THE FIRST TO THE SECOND
REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND M. Vogan
- NOTES ON SOME SCOTTISH COVENANTERS AND
ULTRA-COVENANTERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY –
PART I..... D. Somerset
- THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
AND THE DISRUPTION OF 1863 G. J. Keddie
- JONATHAN RANKEN ANDERSON – AN ANNOTATED
BIBLIOGRAPHY R. Middleton
- HERBERT BASTON PITT OF TROWBRIDGE –
J. R. ANDERSON'S TWENTIETH-CENTURY PUBLISHER R. Middleton

A NOTE ON JAMES WRIGHT AND ANDREW LAMBIE..... N. Campbell
and D. Somerset

BOOK REVIEW – BISHOPS AND COVENANTERS:
A MODERN EPISCOPAL VERSION OF SCOTLAND’S
GLORIOUS REVOLUTION J. Stephen