

EARLY GLIMMERS

BIBLE STUDENTS IN SCOTLAND,

1881 to the 1920s

Collected and Edited by

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EARLY GLIMMERS

BIBLE STUDENTS IN SCOTLAND, 1881 TO THE 1920s

PREFACE

It would be impossible to produce a complete and definitive written record of all the activities of the Bible Students, sometimes termed the International Bible Students, in Scotland in the period before the First World War. However, this account will do its best to give a fairly detailed outline.

When the message of Truth first arrived in Scotland is not known for certain. The first issue of Zion's Watchtower in July 1879 marks a good place to start as the nascent body of people who became the Bible Students can be traced to that event. Eventually, through time, they began to solidify into an organisation that was blessed by Jehovah in the United States of America and around the world. Within weeks of the 6,000 copies of ZWT being distributed around the North American continent, by mail, coast to coast, (the intercontinental railroad was completed in 1869) and by other means, the good news spread quickly to many states and to Canada by 1880 for sure. There were also large movements of immigrants from Europe and Britain who were in regular contact with their families back home and by this means many Bible Students spread the word. Swedish and German versions of the ZWT were produced within a few years. But in 1881 there was already correspondence from an appreciative interested person in London and his letter was in the ZWT in October 1881. There may have been more letters received before that which we know nothing about. This person wanted more literature to give to others. This was a good sign.

Scotland and especially the Glasgow area seems to have spawned an especially large group of Bible Students by the time of the First World War. A Glaswegian brother even wrote his own books for distribution, with the blessing of the headquarters in the USA. Charles Russell made a good number of trips to Scotland and it seems he gave it quite a lot of attention. The Glasgow congregation grew to rival the ecclesias or congregations of London and New York by 1919. And Scotland was to export quite a number of colporteurs and zealous brothers sisters to other lands at this time and afterwards. Some were sent abroad, some simply moved to the colonies.

Was Scotland really such a powerhouse of theocratic activity at that time? Various religious and social conditions at the end of the 19th century may have contributed to this extraordinary response to Kingdom interests. [Interestingly both the Christadelphians and the Mormons also relate that in the mid to late 19th century their churches also had a large response from Scotland, much more than in England.]

The appendixes were added so as not to interrupt the flow of the narrative. Some information in them may seem to be less relevant to the topic of this book but will put things into context.

PART ONE

EARLY GLIMMERS

THE LATE 19TH CENTURY

Although some literature had been circulating in Britain in the period up to the key events of October 1881, the arrival of two representatives of the Bible Students organization based in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, marks the beginning of organized activity. We can imagine the excitement and enthusiasm of the two brothers, Joseph Jacob Bender and John Corbin Sunderlin, who came to Britain to spread the message internationally, apart from Canada, for the first time. This was in October and November 1881. They had instructions to print in London 300,000 copies of what was termed a ‘tract’ called ‘Food for Thinking Christians’. In fact it was a paperbound book of 165 pages and outlined a number of basic truths the Bible Students had come to understand. It had already been printed in the USA and circulated in a massive campaign. For its time it was an unusually clear and concise explanation of truth and Jehovah’s name was used in many places. Even today it sounds, in places, very close to the truth we preach today. At the end of the publication there is the offer of more free literature for those would distribute it ‘judiciously’. No asking for money, which was a refreshing change from Christendom’s approach at that time.

While it was being printed in London the brothers got ready to find agencies to distribute them by means of messenger boys outside churches on Sunday as people were leaving. This was a service sometimes inimitable to the times, offered by the National Messenger Service and others for more commercial purposes. It cost two thousand pounds in total to print and distribute them, about 70,000 pounds sterling in today’s money. One brother stayed in London and organized things there. But brother Sunderlin fell ill and had to leave Britain, sailing from Liverpool back to America. Undaunted, Joseph Bender carried on north to Scotland.

London was to have 100,000 copies distributed. At the time the largest city in the British Empire, the epicentre of political and religious influence on a worldwide scale, it had about four million people. A very sensible place to start the work and things would emanate outwards to other parts of England, indeed the British Empire and beyond.

Scotland at the time had about three and a half million people and it was to receive 65,000 copies of ‘Food’. Glasgow was to get 30,000, although a city of only half a million, Edinburgh got 20,000 for its 280,000 inhabitants. Dundee got 10,000 for its 145,000 citizens and Aberdeen in the far north got 5,000 for a population of 110,000. So Dundee got more tracts than its smaller neighbour. (Now these cities have changed positions and Dundee is in fourth place and Aberdeen is Scotland’s third biggest city.) So Scotland got a lion’s share of the project with 65,000 copies while the whole of England, outside of London got 135,000 for its 26 million people. Brother Russell’s parents were from a mixture of Irish and Ulster Scot’s heritage. We don’t know if he had a special fondness for the Scots but the statistics are fascinating in any case. The Food for Thinking Christians was given out near churches after their evening services by messenger boys. About 73 churches in Glasgow alone were covered as well as dozens in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee. Certainly a novel approach for the time.

Brother Bender wrote in the ZWT on October 1st 1881, ‘I arrived in Glasgow and tried to find a party but could find none. Advertised my wants in a newspaper and then went to Edinburgh.’ [This ‘party’ he speaks of was an agent to distribute the booklet.] This would have been by rail and the 44 miles journey would have taken under an hour by steam train. Most likely he would have gone from Glasgow Queen Street to Waverley Station in Edinburgh, little realizing that the central congregation there would later be named Waverley, after the station. ‘I then went on to Dundee.’ The Tay Bridge had been destroyed in a storm about two years previously so he would have gone by train via the Queensferry route as the Forth Rail Bridge wasn’t yet built. Via Perth and onto Dundee he went and then to Aberdeen. ‘I succeeded

without delay [in finding agencies for distribution] in those cities and returned in the night to Glasgow.’ Unceasing in his task. ‘I got 18 replies to my advert and made a contract with the first agency.’ So he got matters rolling for the 30,000 copies in Glasgow. He didn’t go directly to London but ‘went by train via Carlisle then Newcastle. Then I went on to Liverpool, Manchester, Hull and Leeds and other places in England’ arranging for their 135,000 copies to be handed out. A man of action. What was the response from these enormous distributions in various English cities?

See Appendix 1, Page 66

Now, there was a letter that brother Joseph Bender wrote on October 1st 1881 and which was published in the November 1881 Zion’s Watchtower, detailing the various distributions of the Food. It has an especially interesting paragraph about a meeting in Edinburgh with Scotsman, Robert Young, Bible translator.

See Appendix 2 , Page 70

After more activity in London brother Bender left Britain from Liverpool and one can visualize how satisfied he felt on getting home and relating how the whole campaign had gone. The response wasn’t long in coming.

A few weeks later in the January 1882 letters page of ZWT, just a short time after the November distribution in Scotland’s fair capital, a letter from a certain student at Edinburgh University was printed.

It read, ‘Dear Sir, I have perused your little book, ‘Food for Thinking Christians’, with very great interest and also with profit. I am a missionary and divinity student in the last session of my course. I am very desirous of preaching on these glorious themes so well handled in your little volume,’ (A 165 page book he calls a little volume!) ‘and will ever be much indebted to you if you will supply me with more copies, say 40. I shall certainly distribute them with judicious care and sincerely trust they will be blessed by those who read them. I will also be glad to receive some copies of ‘The Tabernacle and its Teachings’. I remain, my dear sir, yours ever yours, most sincerely....’

Tantalisingly, there is no name. (For several years letters appeared in ZWT without with a name. But then from 1885 or so they gave names, sometimes.) We have no idea who the correspondent was but if he ‘judiciously’ distributed the 40 copies of ‘Food for Thinking Christians’ it would have made many hearts rejoice as well as perhaps causing religious discussions, some heated and some leading to controversy at Edinburgh University in the 1880s. Perhaps this led to the first informal ecclesia in Edinburgh.

It serves as a fascinating glimpse into what responses there were to this large campaign. [On November 25th 1881 in the satire column of a North Wales newspaper, there was mention of ‘Food for Thinking Christians’ where it jokes that a tramp received a copy of it, one of 400,000 copies, [sic], and the hungry tramp was disappointed there was no meat in it. So this gives an indication of how far public consciousness extended. Remote North Wales. Intriguing.] Many people, of course, didn’t write to the Pittsburgh office but appreciated what they had read and eventually found a way to come into the truth. In fact what happened was that a certain brother was assigned, a brother Boyer in Pittsburgh, to join together all those from the Watchtower subscription list who lived in the same town. In the USA, Canada and now Britain. In 1885 he connected together subscribers who wished to meet others into five groups in London, though a good number had somehow been meeting in various locations before that.

The earliest indicator of a group of fledgling Bible Students meeting together in Scotland or even in Britain is in a poor, run down area of Glasgow, perhaps Gorbals or the city’s East End. This was in June 1882. About 12 people were meeting, mostly men, and they met in a dingy hall somewhere, hired weekly for Bible study and consideration of the ZWT materials. They would have had ‘Food’, ‘The Tabernacle

and its Teachings', (a publication of about 80 pages containing deep prophetic materials), the current ZWT as well back copies of the magazine which were offered for free, to use as study resources. The Millennial Dawn series of books didn't appear until 1886 so you see how relatively small their foundation of knowledge of the truth was. How keenly they would await the post from across the Atlantic! In later years the branch in London arranged for printing literature in the UK.

More letters were sent from other British cities to Pittsburgh in 1882 and 1883 and onwards and soon the subscribers too had formed early prototype ecclesias or congregations dotted all over the country.

In Glasgow there were reports of 7 people attending the memorial in 1884 and the following year there were 12 attending and four were baptised. Letters appeared from Hamilton, near Glasgow in 1883 and from Ayrshire, to the south west of Glasgow in 1884. In 1887 a correspondent is named for the first time, called John McLean, from Glasgow. At the time there were actually several groups meeting in Glasgow it seems, so in the early days things were organized on an ad hoc basis but that was only to be expected. The truth was acting on people's lives. But other interested ones, sometimes called 'in sympathy with the truth' were also gathering in other Scottish cities. Greenock was likely where the second congregation was formed. Sarah Ferrie, 1857-1925, and Marion Greenlees, 1858-1942, known as Minnie Greenlees, with roots in the nearby town of Gourock were involved in the truth from the early period. Minnie Greenlees from the late 1880s and Sarah Ferrie, from 1897, helped very much in the preaching work in Glasgow for decades. By 1891 in Dundee, Dumfries and Edinburgh were to be found 'ecclesias' also, making four for Scotland that we know of but there may well have been other unofficial groups in other towns. It is somewhat surprising to see the small provincial town of Dumfries on the list of 'ecclesias' as it had only 20,000 or so people at that time. It's not known if that connection to the organization lasted or not and if any of the brothers and sisters in today's Dumfries area, three congregations, have any connection to those who were involved back in the 1880s. But there were two Bible Students from Dumfries who registered their conscientious objection to war in 1915 or so, both from Dumfries. So it seems there was at least a group of them meeting even that many years later.

By 1891 three volumes of the Millennial Dawn series had been printed. (Later called 'Studies in the Scriptures'.) So the Bible students had larger resources to refine their beliefs and use at meetings, not just the monthly Zion's Watchtower. They also avidly collected their ZWT copies and kept them safe. In Britain the number of subscribers grew constantly and in Scotland there may well have been 200 or more at that time. (But subscriptions as a means of receiving magazines was not as common as it was the vast USA where there were tens of thousands of subscribers by 1914.) Letters from Scotland appeared from time to time in ZWT. My over-ripe imagination makes me think that whenever a letter came from Scotland to the office, Charles Russell would say to the staff to be sure to print it in the next edition of Zion's Watchtower. He had some Scottish roots, though fairly distant.

A milestone was reached when Charles Russell visited the British Isles in 1891. First visiting Ireland, perhaps seeing long lost relatives and interested ones there in more than five places. So literature had reached there by that date. A group was later formed in Dublin, the most Protestant part of the south of Ireland and therefore more responsive and by 1895 an ecclesia (congregation) was formed in Belfast and a group in Londonderry a little later.

Another important event was the establishing of a literature depot during his visit in North London supervised by a brother Thomas Hart, who had been involved in the truth since 1882. He is one who can be said with certainty to be amongst the very first true advocates for the Kingdom and remained faithful the rest of his life and his daughter, Alice Hart, served in the London Bethel from before the First World War until her death in the 1960s.

Charles Russell's visit to Scotland in 1891 was brief but he did visit Glasgow and Edinburgh and met with brothers and sisters there. The beginnings of a more solid organization were now clear to see. Books and tracts were now going to be printed in London and the colporteur work was strengthened. There were a number of them now going around Scotland covering an astonishing number of its towns and villages. There are indications that several groups were still meeting in Glasgow and in Edinburgh. Russell kindly advised cooperating together and by 1897 there was just one congregation in Glasgow, though they met sometimes in different locations and had 'parlour meetings' in people's homes. One of the main halls used one seems to have been the Masonic Halls. More mature ones, who had been 'in the truth' since 1882 took the lead. Eventually, it became one of the biggest congregations in the world. But who would prove to be real 'consecrated' ones? Some would preach in campaigns and attend regularly but things were left to the local brothers to decide many things. They were in support of the organization more or less but time would tell how they would respond to changes.

Russell's visits in the next few years led to a real solidifying of the ecclesias and by the time the branch was established in London in 1900 there were several ecclesias or congregations in Scotland. Glasgow, Edinburgh, Greenock and Dundee, to name a few. In 1906 70 attended the Memorial in Glasgow. These would be the more 'consecrated' ones. Then, just a few years later the Glasgow congregation was said to have 300 regular attenders and 200 taking part in 'volunteer' work, giving out leaflets. And also several dozen colporteurs. As they were using various criteria to determine those really 'consecrated' we can't know who was genuine and really accepted the Truth in practice.

Russell's visits also resulted in a big shout of praise through large public meetings. Thousands turned up and the Glasgow City Halls, the St Andrew's Hall, and Edinburgh's Synod Hall had attendances ranging from 2,500 up to 5,000. A local Glasgow brother Dr John Edgar also gave a talk on the condition of the dead to a crowd of 4,500. Dozens of Scottish newspapers carried Charles Russell's sermons.

Just how much of an effect was the Bible Students' preaching having? Here is a telling example. There is a letter from a colporteur, from Wick in Caithness, Charles N. Houston, in the April 15th Zion's Watchtower 1896. He was a draper by trade and seemed to own his own business. He had been a member of the Free Church of Scotland. This is a strict church which was solidly based on Calvinism and they believe in the Sabbath strongly, eschew Christmas and only sing hymns based on the Psalms. He was born in Wick in 1854 and became a lay preacher in the church in 1887. He went to the United States in about 1893 and came in touch with the Bible Students. He read the first volume of Studies in the Scriptures, which was issued in 1886, and was convinced it was the truth. He was in contact with the ecclesias in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

He had covered territory in Caithness in the very far north of Scotland and some had objected to the Studies in the Scriptures volume he was distributing. A public debate took place in Canisbay, a little to the west of John O'Groats. (A suitable place which forms a metaphor for how extensive the Bible Students preaching was. 'From Land's End to John O'Groats,' comes to mind. There were also letters from Cornwall appearing round about that time, where Land's End is located.) He was involved in a religious debate by members of the Free Church of Scotland. The message had provoked a controversy even in the press. Here is his letter.

'This brother's activity soon aroused opposition, when he spread these volumes. MILLENNIAL DAWN was attacked through the public press, especially by a minister named Davidson, who endeavored to prejudice the people so that they would not read the DAWN. After several newspaper battles Mr. Davidson evidently thought his tongue would be mightier than his pen, and challenged Bro. H. to a public debate of the questions at issue. His challenge was accepted, and below we give a report of the discussion, by an unknown correspondent, clipped from one of the local papers. Bro. H. wrote us that it was his first

experience in a debate, but that he felt it to be his duty to defend the Lord's cause, and that he was relying on help from on high.'

The newspaper article was favourable to the Millennial Dawn and suggested it would be useful for anyone interested in Bible study. (Actually, he covered an area near Caithness, Sutherland, about a year previously. How he travelled around is not known. The railway opened to Caithness in 1874 but Canisbay is far from the terminal. Horse and cart perhaps?)

[Details of the actual debate were published in a local newspaper and can be found here: <https://jeromehistory.blogspot.com/search?q=Houston>.]

So, although very few in number the Bible Students were very effective at reaching many corners. In **Appendix 1** details are given of the literature distributed before 1914 and it was a colossal amount, literally two million bound volumes and 74 million free leaflets and booklets in Britain. A good percentage of them were distributed in Scotland. So they certainly had a presence.

The Photodrama of Creation arrived in 1914 and over 300,000 people saw it in Scotland, about one quarter of the British total. Some 4,919 people left their addresses to be contacted further. The task of watering this interest took the brothers and sisters a long time and many came right along into the truth. It was a potent tool. It had the result of bringing in many more people into the Truth. I can actually remember some very old people in the field ministry in the 1960s in Edinburgh who remembered it. Another result was that congregations had to work closely with each other to coordinate its showing in five cities and towns simultaneously. That was excellent for the drawing closer of the brothers for future theocratic projects. They could now see themselves more as a united people and submitting to instructions from London would be very practical. It was shown in 45 Scottish cities and towns. The total for Britain was 98 cities and towns. So almost half of the total places visited was north of the border. Some groups eventually sprouted from such showings so it was very effective as a means for spreading the message.

SOME CHARACTERS FROM THE EARLY DAYS

Sarah Ferrie

In the period before the First World War, even in the late 19th century there were many fine characters who played a great role in the preaching work. Let's look at one of them, Sarah Ferrie, called affectionately 'Aunt Sarah'.

Born in Glasgow in 1857 she became a 'consecrated' Bible student in 1897. She served as a colporteur from 1911 to 1915 in the south of Wales. Her sister, Marion Hodge, much older than her, had become involved with one of the Glasgow groups from 1887. She tried to persuade her sister Sarah but only after quite some time did she accept it. Sarah had a bedding shop at Cowcaddens then moved to 228 Great Western Road, quite an upper class part of the city. Her sister's husband, Mitchell, also was involved in bedding manufacture, employing quite a few workers.

Sarah Ferrie had been in the Church of Scotland, the 'Mother Church' of all the Presbyterian churches in the world. Established along Calvinistic lines in the 1560s, it failed to satisfy her spiritual needs. She spent many years on a search for truth. She only found it when she was in her 40s. She had tried the Plymouth Brethren to no avail. She described them as 'a best bit of Babylon'. (Presbyterian Protestants were of the belief that Babylon the Great mostly applied to the Roman Catholic church.) She gave money to a fund to convert the world's Jews to Christianity. She gave money to the Scottish foreign missionary and tract fund, which was one of the world's leading organisations for the 'promulgation' of the Christian message. She read Spurgeon's weekly sermons. (He was an evangelical preacher and popular in the mid to late 1800s. Zion's Watchtower sometimes commented on them, often critically.) She regularly sold her

jewelry for her causes and helped the poor in orphanages and hospitals. But her search for truth continued.

Her sister, Marion Hodge, had already known the truth for several years. She was born in 1834, some 23 years before Sarah and lived in Glasgow and also for some years she lived in the small town of Gourrock, 30 miles from the city. It is a pretty resort place with magnificent views to the Cowal Peninsula. In 1886, at the age of 52 she had a nurse looking after her after a long illness and she had somehow come into possession of the book, *Divine Plan of the Ages*, which had just been published, and *Food for Thinking Christians*. A friend from the USA had sent them to the nurse. The nurse thought that Marion would find comfort in them after some family tragedies. She did indeed and was soon actively preaching and associating with the ecclesia in Glasgow and also was instrumental in forming an ecclesia in Greenock, near Gourrock, in the 1890s.

Marion Hodge went down to Manchester to see her son James and he at once also responded. His business was affected by his new found devotion to the truth but he carried on. He met someone called Jesse Hemery in Eccles, Manchester, a master baker and confectioner, and he later on became branch overseer in London for decades. (He lived to 99 years old but fell away at the age of 88. Perhaps senility was responsible.) James Hodge went on to marry and have a son who was a conscientious objector in the First World War. A friend of mine found a copy of *The Harp of God* in a second hand shop in Greenock. Published in 1921, signed 'With much love from Aunt Sarah [Sarah Ferrie] and Aunt Minnie [Marion Greenlees]'. So Aunt and niece were still spreading the word decades after first hearing it. (More on Minnie Greenlees further down the narrative.)

Anyway, Marion Hodge decided to invite her sister Sarah Ferrie to Gourrock for a little break in 1897, near the town of Greenock where there was by now a congregation of Bible Students. Jesse Hemery, from Manchester, was visiting Greenock nearby on a pilgrim visit, like a circuit overseer does today. He had come to know the truth through James Hodge (who was still faithfully serving in Manchester many years later, helping out the friends financially) in about 1886 and he and his wife suffered from being ostracised by ex-church members. People would even cross to road to avoid them. He managed to skillfully witness to her and finally she began to realise she had been blind to the truth. After some time she got baptised and became so zealous that she spent her life promoting the truth she had found.

Some of her friends began to get worried about her zeal and although they had seen her change course religiously before they were so concerned about her mental health that they contacted a doctor, Dr John Edgar, born 1858 in Glasgow. He was said to be a specialist in women's illnesses and nervous conditions. (He had initials after his name, M.A., B.Sc., C.M., F.R.F.P.S.G.) She agreed to see him. He was also a good choice as his sister, Eva and his father, James had all become Bible Students in the recent past, having heard it from Sarah Ferrie in Glasgow. So he knew something about the message though personally was uncommitted at that stage. This was in 1899.

After some sessions with her he declared her to be mentally balanced. Sarah arranged for Jesse Hemery from Manchester, to meet him. Also Charles Houston, a colporteur from Caithness in the far north of Scotland met with him. John Edgar had been so impressed had he been with sister Ferrie's unwavering conviction, but it was not enough. As a man of science he wanted to examine what the Bible Students said in his own methodical way.

He left Glasgow on a long train journey to a medical consultation in Caithness. Perhaps connected to Charles Houston being from there. He took the book '*Millennial Dawn*' with him for the journey and as he passed through Stirling, Perth and Inverness he got so absorbed in the book, comparing it with his Bible. Even a group of several young ruffians who entered his carriage and made a lot of noise didn't distract him. He now embraced the truth. He offered the biggest room in his Glasgow house on the city's South

Side for meetings. But it soon proved too small for the growing ecclesia. His brother too embraced the truth.

He went on to give public talks to audiences in various parts of Britain, of up to 4,500, and at conventions in 1906-1909 to other large audiences. He also gave lectures in Norway, Sweden and in Denmark twice, translated into local languages. This demonstrates that there was a rather early form of contact internationally between Bible Students in Northern Europe well before the First World War. He was used at conventions early on. [Those conventions consisted of 'locally' produced material it seems, generated by the London branch or even by the speakers themselves. The talks were then put into booklet form and printed in the hundreds for those who wished to review the talks.] He published books, with Russell's approval, on a variety of Biblical subjects on both sides of the Atlantic. 'Where are the Dead?' reached a circulation of over 40,000. One large booklet, published in 1908, called 'What do the Scriptures Say about Hell?' led F.W. Franz to accept the truth. Sixteen year old Paul Smit, who lived on the border of Transvaal and Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, was sent a copy of this booklet through the post in 1915, came into the truth, and served Jehovah faithfully until his death in the 1980s.

John Edgar's brother and sister did not remain in the truth. Brother Edgar visited Palestine where he gave lectures in Jerusalem. He went also to Egypt in the early days of the 20th century and was a personal friend of Charles Russell. Many of his letters appeared in Zion's Watchtower and some were so long and on spiritual topics they were really like Watchtower articles. [In Charles Russell's will, made in 1908, he suggested that John Edgar be invited to join the editorial committee of Zion's Watchtower after his death.] He accompanied brother Russell in 1910, just weeks before his death. They went to Glasgow, Edinburgh, Ayr and twice to Dundee. John Edgar even went to Lochranza, on the island of Arran to visit two Bible Students who were living there temporarily. He was also travelling around Britain as a pilgrim, an early form of circuit overseer. Sadly, John Edgar died prematurely after an operation, faithful to the end, in 1910.

Now back to Sarah Ferrie. Once Sarah Ferrie accepted the truth she put her organizing talents to work. She invited many people from her large acquaintanceship to hear a public talk by a visiting pilgrim brother on his next visit to Glasgow. She hired a hall and he delivered a talk. About 30 people came, among them two ministers of the Church of Scotland. But none would be persuaded that she'd found the truth. But she was undaunted. Her bedding shop was used for informal Bible meetings and thousands of leaflets were stamped with her bedding shop's address so people would arrive there for more literature and be surprised to be met with cups of tea and a discussion of the Bible. Wednesday and Saturday afternoons the shop was shut just so she could give attention to their spiritual needs. Sometimes she'd be disappointed when someone actually wanted to inquire about bedding.

When a pilgrim visited again in 1906 she saw him off at Glasgow Central station. She went forward to the train driver and said to him, 'Drive carefully for you have a son of the King onboard!' The driver thought she had meant King Edward VII. She said she had meant Jesus Christ the King. She gave him a leaflet with her shop's address on it. Some time later he went to see her at her bedding shop where they held Bible classes and he became a brother.

She would informally witness on trains, preferring busy ones so she could do more good. She would carry a brightly coloured silk bag with mint imperials in them and hand them around and start witnessing. These mints were good as they didn't stain ladies' gloves. She also witnessed on trams, a little more crowded but used her acumen to good effect and often got the people's addresses and an order for a bound volume. When she was 54 years she decided to give up her shop as she wanted to become a colporteur. That was in 1911. She was worried about how literature would be kept without her storage space at the shop. The family of Dr Edgar, who had just passed away, agreed for their home to become the literature depot.

She went to Swansea as a colporteur and missed the large congregation in Glasgow which by now was several hundred strong. But she carried on, though now failing in health. After a few years she returned to Glasgow. She told of how some time before they had asked brother Russell for copies of the booklet 'The Bible Versus the Evolution Theory', a 50 page publication. (It was in the form of a conversation between a brother and a man on a train. It contains some interesting reasoning. At the end it has a message saying that if anyone wanted more copies to distribute to their friends they could order them for free.) So Sarah and her friends asked for 30,000. They got them, much to their delight. When they arrived at her bedding shop the packets had burst in transit from America so the carrier had put them into sacks. They piled them into her shop until there was no room to move. What a grand witness to Glasgow! All given away free by the brothers themselves outside dozens of Glasgow churches and other towns too. No messengers were used.

Owing to heart and pulmonary problems she stopped colportering in 1915. She had no fixed abode in Glasgow for some time but eventually found a lodging. As best she could she carried on faithful to her death in 1925 at the age of 68. Over 100 attended her graveside funeral.

Her niece and good friend, Minnie Greenlees was a companion of hers for many years and they covered many parts of Scotland before the First World War and also later on. This was despite Minnie's husband's great opposition. She was known to sell jewelry, as Sarah Ferrie had done, to help fund projects in the Glasgow ecclesia and sold a five diamond piece brooch. She witnessed extensively with pony and trap when her husband was on business trips and quite a number of her listeners came into the truth. Minnie's son, Alfred, had a preaching companion from the Highlands who was now an elder in Glasgow, Alexander MacGillivray, of whom more shall be written. Alfred went on to move the truth forward and his many descendants carried on in the truth for four more generations, serving as stalwarts in the Glasgow area to this day as well as other parts of Scotland. Some have even served in India and China.

EXPANSION UP TO THE 1920s

Charles Russell visited Britain more and more in the years leading up to 1914. Scotland was always on his agenda. He gave a talk in Motherwell Town Hall in 1911 and the local paper carried a favourable review from a local professor, David Dall. The congregation in Motherwell can be traced to 1912, perhaps as a result of the interest fostered there. This town is only 15 miles from Glasgow, a short train journey in those days, but already towns round about the city were developing their own ecclesias. In Cambuslang, not far from Glasgow, 14 people celebrated the Memorial in 1897. There were many more little groups springing up all around Scotland which we know little about. [The court case regarding exemption from military service for James Frederick Scott living in Stockbridge in Edinburgh in 1915 said that the Bible Students had 300 congregations in the UK and about 30 in Scotland.]

The Photodrama was having a great effect, dozens of newspapers were carrying Russell's sermons, and the Bible Students profile was visible. A comparison of the statistics of Photodrama attenders reveals an interesting picture. Sweden, with a population of 5,500,000 had 400,000 attenders, Australia, with 4,800,000 people had about 300,000 viewers. One can imagine the logistics of putting on the Drama in all the far flung corners of that vast land. London alone had also 425,000 attendance. [7,470 people handed in their addresses for further contact.] This means that the rest of England had 526,000 viewers for its 29 million people. So Scotland did well with its 4,600,000 population and 300,000 viewers. Logistically the task was never easy but the central belt of Scotland has all the main towns relatively close to one another, well-served by rail, and 80% of its population lives there.

The War raged on and economic difficulties abounded. The question of conscientious objection arose for many of our British brothers and from over 409 officially registered COs, conscientious objectors, about

40 or more were to be found in Scotland. This also served to solidify their position on this question and while there was not quite the same robust position maintained as there was in the Second World War, it was a pretty clear decision for the majority of the brothers.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Statistics tell a story. There was numerical growth up until 1919. There was some uncertainty among a number of brothers when Charles Russell died in 1916. After a year or two it became clear that, as the imprisonment of Joseph Rutherford and the other leading Bethel brothers didn't have such a direct impact on things in Britain, the work moved ahead. But there were rumblings of a negative spirit which led the divisions in 1919. But before that the statistics tell a positive story. Despite paper shortages literature distribution was doing well. Over 200 colporteurs (over 40 in Scotland) were now active and now 200 ecclesias were working under the London branch. (About 18 of them in Scotland but one report says 30.) Memorial figures are a better indicator of those truly 'consecrated' or at least more willing to regularly meet and to do some preaching. Huge attendances at public lectures were common but those present were not all fully or even partially committed to the organization. Some preaching was done by about 1,900 people in 1918 in Britain.

The Memorial figures for 1917 and 1919 were published in the Zion's Watchtower. They only reported attendances of over 20 people. Many smaller groups never made it onto these lists. The Scottish numbers bear up well compared to the ecclesias in the rest of the United Kingdom. The main London Tabernacle had 900 attending but there was also another congregation in East London, Forest Gate, which had 375 in attendance. This means that there were more in London, 1,285, than in New York 900, at that time. The meeting hall there was just so crowded in 1917 it was decided to ask those who lived in the suburbs of New York to meet separately. But in 1919 they were up to 1,200. (The London Tabernacle held 1,200 people so it was not overcrowded.)

Glasgow, a much smaller city than London or New York, had the astonishing figure of 770 in 1919. Maybe this also included surrounding towns congregating with them? No. By 1919 there had been ecclesias established for a number of years in many places near Glasgow. Greenock (established in the 1890s) had 38 attenders. Airdrie, 34, Paisley (established before 1910) 48 attenders. There would be groups of under 20 people in Hamilton, (established in 1915), Motherwell, (established in 1912), Dumbarton, Kilmarnock, possibly Ayr and maybe more in the Glasgow area.

Taking the rest of Scotland into account there were Memorial attendances of 187 in Edinburgh (established in 1892), Dundee 42 (established in 1893), Kirkcaldy, 31, in 1915, Falkirk, 40, in 1921. Judging from another statistical source we can say that likely there were smaller ecclesias in Perth, Dumfries, which had a small group of people gathering even in the 1880s, Aberdeen, Dunfermline, Stirling, Bathgate and maybe other towns. But they were not listed as they had fewer than 20 attenders.

What is this other statistical source? The names of the conscientious objectors (COs) in Scotland, 40 names, give us a clue as to where the Bible Students were located. Not surprisingly, Glasgow had the largest number of COs during the War. It had 11 in the city and 6 more in the area. Greenock had two brothers. Edinburgh had 11. Paisley had two. Dundee and Aberdeen, one each. A little low for Dundee considering it was a well-established ecclesia. But the three telling statistics were from smaller towns. Perth, where two were registered, showing there was a Bible Students' presence in that town before 1914. I spoke to some fourth generation brothers and they confirmed that their great grandparents were in the truth there well before then. Then Dumfries, which seemed to have had a small group of interested ones meeting back in the 1880s despite being an isolated provincial centre. They had two COs. Interesting. But the biggest surprise of all was three brothers in the Borders area of Scotland. One in Hawick, one in Galashiels and one in Berwick, on the North Sea coast. So, the truth as spread by the Bible Students had

penetrated these small towns by at least 1914 or even well before. A rather respectable record of hard work and diligence.

All these places have several well-established congregations of Jehovah's Witnesses today.

Comparisons with other countries and cities are fascinating. In the English speaking world there were quite a few cities of larger population than Glasgow but much smaller number associating with their ecclesias. London had more than Glasgow and New York too. In Manchester, the Memorial, which is a fairly good indicator of those more 'consecrated' and more than just 'associated with' or 'in sympathy with' the beliefs, the number of attenders in 1917/1919 was about 250 with almost 100 in nearby Oldham. So the whole of the Manchester metropolitan area had 350 or so. The population of the area was just under two million people at the time, far greater than Glasgow, only half that number.

The same story for Liverpool, about 250 attenders, but a larger metropolitan area than Glasgow. Nottingham, which had been a very early centre of interest in the Kingdom Message was quite good with over 200 for an area less than Glasgow's population. Birmingham, a larger population than Glasgow was only just over 100. Newcastle metropolitan area had 98 attenders, though it was larger than Glasgow's catchment area. So Glasgow does seem to have been exceptional.

In North America many cities were also having hundreds of attenders at the memorial in 1917/1919. But none, apart from Chicago and New York were bigger. (Chicago also had Polish and Ukrainian Memorials in large numbers.) Toronto had 267 at that time and mostly Roman Catholic Montreal just 67. In Australia both Sydney and Melbourne had about 300 attenders each and smaller numbers in other cities there.

On the continent of Europe about 420 attended in 6 places in France, including 68 in Paris. Many were in the north of the country and were of Polish mining background. Poland had hundreds attending in 1921, 267 in Warsaw and 68 in Krakov. Scandinavia had a total of 1,388 in 1917/1919 with 190 in Copenhagen and 220 in Stockholm. Public preaching and literature distribution had been going on in Scandinavia for about 30 years. But amazing is the Helsinki figure of 451 for the Memorial in 1919. Especially so as the truth had only really reached Finland in 1909 and organized preaching only in 1911. (However, it could be the case that the Helsinki figure was inflated by them holding a nationwide convention at the same time as the Memorial, hence many of them could be from other parts of Finland. It was essentially a country of small towns so there were perhaps too few Bible Students in many smaller places to hold the celebration so they mostly went to Helsinki.) Impressive early figures but still dwarfed by the Glasgow ones. In fact, by 1922, there were 1,250 regularly attending in Glasgow and over 500 in Edinburgh. Anointed ones in Edinburgh personally related this to me about them meeting in the Oddfellows Hall in Edinburgh and Sunday night attendances were regularly above 500 people.

But can we really say that these many attenders of the Memorial and other meetings could truly be said to be the forerunners of today's dedicated and baptized publishers in Jehovah's organization? There were various siftings and eventually the really dedicated ones stayed the course. Some drifted away, some joined other Bible Student groups. Many came back very quickly when they saw who Jehovah was really leading. Some retuned later.

By 1940 the publisher total for Scotland was almost 1,000. Real dedicated ones. About 400 from the Glasgow area booked a special convention train for the Usher Hall convention in Edinburgh and attendance was 800 on the first day at the Edinburgh Kingdom Hall at Hamilton Place, Stockbridge, where a 7-place pioneer home was located. The convention moved to the Usher Hall on Sunday where 1,500 attended the public talk which had been advertised by a massive campaign with sandwich boards and leaflets. This was under the backdrop of the Battle of Britain and opposition to our work. Also 63 were baptised at Glenogle baths.

By 1955 there were over 2,000 publishers, according to an Awake! article and by 1978 there were 5,500, according to a press release at the International convention in Edinburgh that year. Now the figure stands at 9,725 and 118 congregations.

Owing to the large numbers of Bible Students in the early days the number of anointed ones in Scotland in the 1970s was considered to be among the highest in the world. One Glasgow congregation, Cathcart, in 1979 had 13 of the anointed and other congregations in the city had a good number too. Edinburgh, Waverley, had 6 anointed ones in the 1960s and other places in Scotland could tell a similar story.

SCOTLAND'S FINEST EXPORTS

In 1914 about 30 percent of all ships built in the world were built in Clydeside, Glasgow, most for export. Also Scotland exports many bottles of whisky each year. The Gaelic word meaning 'Whisky' actually means 'Life's water', so in Isaiah 55:1 the Gaelic Bible says, 'Come and drink whisky free.' But there was an even better export to other parts of the world. Faithful Scottish brothers, sisters, pioneers, to many countries. As many had been involved in the truth for a number of years Scotland could be considered one of the more 'mature' fields in terms of experience and practice in Christian living. Even before and during the First World War, the Glasgow ecclesia was providing colporteurs to Ireland and also pilgrim speakers.

In roughly chronological order we can look at over 20 fine Scottish workers who served abroad and their brief biographies. Many ended their days serving overseas. They helped many to take 'Life's Water' for free, the real, lasting, Life's Water, that is.

The Glasgow Sisters

In 1906 two sisters, Marjory Holliday and her mother, who had been in the Glasgow congregation for some time emigrated to Durban, South Africa. It was a town of about 70,000 people, very mixed racially with Indian indentured workers there as well as the local African people and the British and Afrikaaners. They lost no time in witnessing and the outcome was that by the end of that year they had obtained over 40 subscriptions for Zion's Watchtower. They also organized congregation meetings, the second place in the country to host them. Soon they gathered together a number of their fellow Scotswomen. Mrs Arnott, Mrs Morton, sister Agnes Barrett, Marjorie's mother, sister Taylor, who was also from the Glasgow congregation and others. Some of their ancestors continue to this day in the truth in South Africa. Photographs of this congregation are to be found in our publications. One can well imagine the meetings being held and comments being given in nice, lilting Glaswegian accents. Even more so when another Glaswegian. William Johnston, arrived in 1910. (See Below). They preached on the city's beaches and had success in developing the group into a congregation in 1906-1910.

Marjory Holliday had made her stand for the truth in Glasgow at the age of 10, most likely in the 1890s, and wrote a letter of resignation to her church, the Church of Scotland. She considered it part of Babylon the Great. Obviously a girl of remarkable zeal.

Another example of how the Glasgow connection led to more fruitage. A black brother from the USA joined the group in 1906 or so. He called at a home in Durban and placed a full set of the Studies in the Scriptures with a Scottish woman but she never read them. But her daughter, Mrs. Thompson, took the books with her on a boat trip to Glasgow and read them on the voyage. During her stay in Glasgow someone providentially called at her door and left a leaflet advertising a talk to be given by Charles T. Russell. This would have been in 1908. Mrs. Thompson went, but found the place so crowded that she could not get in. However, at that moment the brothers decided to open up the orchestra box and so Mrs. Thompson got a ringside seat for the public lecture. She enjoyed it very much. One of the local sisters, very resourcefully took her address in South Africa and her address was passed to William Johnston, also from Glasgow and who was assigned to Durban in 1910. She was called on and Mrs. Thompson accepted

the truth and was baptized soon after this. She herself was a faithful and active publisher for many years, right down until 1965, when she passed away at the age of ninety-eight. Her daughter and two granddaughters also became zealous Witnesses. All because of the positive efforts of these Glasgow sisters back at the beginning of the 20th century.

William Johnston, Glasgow

Born in about 1868, he was an elder in the burgeoning Glasgow congregation and most likely had found the truth in the 1890s. He had his own business and managed to work his ministry activities around this owing to organizational skills and boundless energy. He was described as sober minded and very responsible. He gave talks at the Bible Students convention in Manchester in 1906 on the subject 'The Preciousness of Christ'. He also lectured at other conventions. He met with Russell on one of his Scottish tours in 1910 and he was asked to go to South Africa. There were throngs of brothers and sisters to say their tearful farewell to him at Glasgow Central station as he made his way via London to South Africa. He landed up in Durban in South Africa in 1910.

There were the inklings of some kind of order slowly coming to the work in South Africa, especially in Durban as seen from the above paragraphs. But he really got things going well all over the country and even travelled as far as today's Malawi, not a journey for the faint-hearted. A one-man branch was set up. It took time but things moved forward with meetings being held regularly and literature placements rocketing. The branch looked after all of Africa below the equator. He also travelled to Rhodesia and other lands to further Kingdom interests. He also had to deal with indigenous counterfeit groups who were using the Bible Students' literature and beliefs for their own ends and causing havoc with the authorities. It took a strong-minded individual to sort it out and the difficulties from these groups lasted many years. He organized the showing of the Photodrama of Creation during the First World War and travelled over 10,000 miles to set it up in many towns where tens of thousands saw it. The ecclesias there were greatly strengthened and by 1918 those associated were over 300 in number in congregations dotted all over the land.

A year or so after he arrived in South Africa he wrote this fascinating letter to brother Russell who had met him in Glasgow and asked him to go to South Africa.

'MY DEAR BROTHER RUSSELL,

'I have just returned from a Pilgrim visit to Johannesburg and am writing to supplement my reports of the work in that district by what I have learned from personal observation. In fulfillment of a long-standing promise and regarding it opportune for the advancement of the Lord's work, I arranged a ten-days' visit to Johannesburg and the Orange Free State to meet brethren in both places. Most of that time I spent in the 'Golden City'.

'As there were no regular meetings held there I did not have an opportunity to lecture, but spent a busy time visiting those who were more or less interested, seeking to strengthen and confirm their faith. I had also some interesting conversations with friends who do not quite see eye to eye with us, among whom was the President of the Natal and Transvaal Conference of Seventh Day Adventists. I had a more profitable time with some other friends I visited, and the outcome is that with the beginning of September there will be a little class meeting in Johannesburg for the study of God's great Plan. This is a small beginning, but it is a beginning, and I am hopeful of further development.

'Johannesburg is a peculiar city. Being the center of the gold industry of the world it attracts to itself from all parts people of an acquisitive type, whom we would not expect to show much interest in spiritual things. They show much interest in spiritual things. The vigorous existence of several modern religious idiosyncrasies, such as the Apostolic Faith Movement (gift of tongues), Spiritism, Christian Science, etc.,

etc., indicate, however, that, despite our expectations, there exists even in this modern Babylon a spiritual hunger, which the old errors and superstitions cannot satisfy and reveals the presence of many who, though meantime blinded by the Adversary, are nevertheless groping for the light. While in that district I took the opportunity to run down seventy miles into the Orange Free State to make the acquaintance of some Dutch brethren with whom I had been corresponding. [These are mentioned in our Yearbooks] I suggested a Chart Lecture in the little town of Parys, where they live, and they jumped at the idea. Through the courtesy of the municipality we had the free use of the Town Hall for the lecture, which was quite an event. The Mayor of Parys occupied the chair and introduced the lecturer with a few well-chosen words. The Vice-Mayor, a brother in the Truth, translated our remarks into Dutch for the benefit of the non-English-speaking portion of the audience after we had been accompanied to the platform by a prominent merchant in town, also a brother in the Lord. There were about 250 people in the audience and they listened attentively to an exposition of the Chart. [This very fine meeting was held in the Town Hall of Parys, where the mayor introduced the lecturer, the vice-mayor translated his remarks into Dutch. It is clear that Brother Johnston was busy in the class-extension work being done by God's people world wide at that time. Soon meetings were also being held in Pretoria, Balfour, Port Elizabeth and Ndwedwe.]

'I had also interesting talks with several of the Boers and found them quite ready to reason about God's Plan and very tired of the spiritual fare served out to them by the Predikants of the Dutch Reformed Church. The South African Dutch are a Bible-loving people. They are as yet free from the demoralizing influence of Higher Criticism and Evolutionary Theories and are growing restive under the continued preaching of a theory of eternal torment that is an insult to the intelligence of humanity and a libel on the character of God. Having met some of these people I feel more than ever convinced that God has a work to do among them and would earnestly recommend the proposals which I submit under other covers for their assistance.

'The Lord of the Harvest is at work. The time is short. Not a single grain of wheat will fail of being gathered. May we then be diligent in (His) business that we may gather fruit unto life eternal!

'With much Christian love, dear brother, and earnestly soliciting your prayers for the work,

William W. Johnston.'

A very articulate and dedicated worker for Jehovah. All on his own for much of the time at the beginning. He was then asked by the Society in about 1918 to continue his good work in Australia and New Zealand where there were many internal difficulties to deal with. He left and also served there for many years and was branch overseer.

Alexander MacGillivray, The Highlands

He was born in the 1880s and on arriving from the Highlands of Scotland to Glasgow he was contacted by the very active congregation there. He became a companion of Alfred Greenlees and his mother Minnie Greenlees in the period up to the First World War and during it also. They covered much territory all over Scotland, by pony and trap if they were blessed with the use of one or by bone-shaking bicycle. Scotland's railways were pretty well developed at that time so they could transport literature on the steam trains and deliver orders for the bound volumes then available.

He was an elder in the ecclesia or congregation in Glasgow by 1910. He would have associated with many more mature brothers and sister there so he was a good reliable bother. There were many ups and downs in the congregation there in 1917-1919 but he held fast to the truth and he was invited to serve in the Brooklyn headquarters of the Society in about 1920, gaining valuable experience for the 10 years he was there. In 1930 was assigned to the Australasia branch in Sydney. He became branch overseer, taking on the role which another Scotsman from Glasgow had been taking for many years, William Johnston.

The branch was responsible for a huge part of the global field in the Pacific basin and the Far East. He was enthusiastic about the possibilities and proactively encouraged many young pioneer brothers to serve in Indonesia, Vietnam and other countries. The work was banned in Australia during the Second World War and anti-Witness hysteria was at its height. There was a fracas with armed police outside the branch building in early 1942 and he was shot and wounded in his shoulder. He seemed to recover well. But in the summer of 1942 he died. It's not known if there was a connection to the shooting incident.

He was in his mid-fifties and had given his whole life to the truth and Jehovah for decades. He died never seeing Scotland again.

George Gibb, Edinburgh

From Edinburgh and born in 1898, he served in the First World War. He lost two brothers in the conflict. He was disillusioned by the churches and in 1921, when on a train journey, a Bible Student witnessed to him. He was impressed by what he heard and shortly after that he attended the public talk Millions Now Living Will Never Die. He was amazed at how many were in the packed hall. A zealous young brother insisted on getting his address to further his interest and he reluctantly agreed. They met at his lodgings and he very quickly realised it was the truth. Within a few weeks he was handed the Harp of God and they went from door to door, he started at the top and the young brother at the bottom of the stair. A baptism of fire. He got baptised and soon he and a group of six young pioneer brothers from Edinburgh were zealously cycling around the city and its environs, preaching away merrily.

In 1928 some of that group wrote to brother Rutherford and the result was he was asked to go Australia, the other side of the world. Scotland was already seen as a place with so many pioneers so they were sent there. He served in Tasmania and after some time he was asked to go into Bethel. There were now at least three Scotsmen there. He got involved in printing, under the ban and served there for decades.

The Nisbet Boys, Edinburgh

These three brothers, born before the First World War, played an amazing role in spreading the truth abroad. Mary, their mother, born in Edinburgh in about 1878, and her son William, born about 1906, were witnessed to by a resourceful tea salesman, our brother Dobson in the year 1925. They responded at once and the two other brothers, George and Robert soon followed. Interestingly, George Gibb, mentioned above, was in the same congregation at this time and perhaps these lads made up the group of six pioneers he spoke of. By 1931 George and William were off to South Africa and had some amazing experiences in so many lands. Pioneering, serving in Bethel and opening up the work in many lands. Both Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Mauritius, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, dealing with so many difficult situations external and internal problems. One also witnessed to the King of Swaziland. All served from the 1930s onward and Robert and his wife served in East Africa from 1956 to 1973. Gilead was also offered to one of them along with his wife and they then served in Japan well into their 90s.

Little did Mary Nisbet realise how finding the truth would impact on her life. She was zealous and hospitable and offered rooms to pioneer sisters in her home in Edinburgh city centre. She was faithful to her death in the 1970s, well advanced in years. I met Robert Nisbet at an International Convention and he was very self-effacing and shy.

What fine examples of self-sacrificing lives these lads were. Edinburgh can well be proud of them.

William Dey, The Highlands

Attention now turns to another Scottish Highlander, like Alexander MacGillivray, William Dey, born 1880. He came from Botriphnie, a farming community in Nairnshire, near Inverness. A lilting Highland accent he would have, most likely. His background was not poor. His father might have been termed almost a 'gentleman farmer' as he employed quite a few men and two domestic servants. He appears in the 1891 census as a school boy (a scholar he is termed) but by 1901 census is away in Aberdeen to university or elsewhere in Scotland to further his education. In the 1911 census he is now aged 31 and living in Peterborough in the Midlands of England. This is a railway town so would have likely have received Food for Thinking Christians in 1881 so perhaps some ecclesia had been formed in this town of then 60,000 people. By 1911 it is probable he had got the truth already if not there, then elsewhere. He is mentioned as being a tax inspector, the 'Irish Department'.

By 1922 he is mentioned as being on the body of elders in the large London Tabernacle congregation. And it seems he was involved with administrative work in the British branch. Then in 1925 he retired early, at 45 years old and was considered a wealthy man. But he certainly wasn't planning to rest in his early retirement. He was then assigned as branch overseer to the Northern European branch in Copenhagen. He must obviously have been at the British branch beforehand so he knew about branch management. (Actually there were quite a knot of Scottish brothers in London Bethel at this time, at least three from Glasgow.)

This branch covered Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Several Scots brothers served in these Baltic countries so they were well represented. Likely he would have to deal with a lot of internal issues all over Scandinavia, as well as moving things forward with at least 8 languages, one or two of which he'd have to learn. No easy task in your 40s.

He travelled extensively all the time, tying in all the congregations and circuits over a vast area. There were serious difficulties with communication when Norway fell to the Nazis. Germany took over Denmark and somehow he was never found and deported. In all the reports written about him he was spoken of not as being a great organizer, though he undoubtedly was, but his cheerfulness, positivity and ability to upbuild the brothers was the main theme. He energetically seized opportunities, risked his safety for them. His visits were looked forward to with anticipation.

In 1949, at the age of 69, after 24 years of solid and heartwarming, memorable service, he did finally retire in a sense. It was only owing to a few health issues that he returned to Britain from Copenhagen, reluctantly we can be sure. A true gem of a Highlander. A farmer's son who really made good for Jehovah.

Wallace Baxter, Greenock

Now we go back down to the west of Scotland, to Greenock on the Clyde Coast. This was one of the earliest 'ecclesias' in Scotland. Wallace was born in 1896. He was from a Methodist family but not very religious so he paid no attention when his uncle, a Bible Student from Edinburgh, talked about his faith with his father. This was just before the First World War. He was called up to fight. One day his brother sent him a letter which he read in his dugout, mayhem and the horrors of modern warfare all around him. Solomon's words in 2 Chronicles about God letting himself be found by sincere seekers really touched his heart. Seeing in the trenches the appalling suffering around him he knelt in his dugout and made a vow to serve the Lord all his life if he were spared.

After the war ended and a period of rehabilitation he went to see his uncle, the Bible Student, in Edinburgh, determined to get answers and to keep his vow to the Lord. This was in the spring of 1919. After two long sessions he was convinced he'd found the truth. He made a stand for the truth despite his family being an influential one in Greenock. His father served as the city's mayor for some years in the 1920s. Back in Greenock, a brother who was a shipbuilder continued studying with him and he became an

avid reader of the Studies in the Scriptures. This anointed brother was called John MacLachlan and he lived into his 90s. Wallace was baptised in Glasgow in 1921. After some time he began to pioneer, eschewing lucrative job offers, and he and a brother who had been post office clerk were assigned to the Western Isles in the mid 1920s. They covered them, then other islands, including Skye, in 7 months. Then they were asked to cover Orkney and Shetland. There was no congregation to attend but they kept strong together. In those places today there are a number of congregations. Then he pioneered in Ireland, a tough assignment in those days. In 1928 he was assigned to Estonia and by autumn he was there.

He was branch servant for 10 years and had to learn German and Estonian. He helped facilitate radio transmissions of the message from the capital, Tallinn, which would be heard in Finland, where it was not possible to broadcast. It excited him that the broadcasts of the talks could also be heard in Leningrad, today's St Petersburg. He wondered when the message would be heard there. He facilitated the translation of literature into Estonian and they used a worldly woman to translate. She loved what she read and came into the truth. He eventually married her. He stayed on after the declaration of war in September 1939, determined not to leave his beloved brothers and sisters. Now there were over 42 publishers in several places which may not seem much but it was a land of under a million people and there was severe opposition. In 1940 the Russians took over the country and cruelly imprisoned thousands. Still he stayed on. The British consul told him to go but only when he got a message from HQ in New York did he leave his post. He went overland from Riga, across the whole length of the USSR to Vladivostok, seeing the most awful sights and cruelty. Then by ship eventually to Australia then to the Bethel. The organization of Jehovah's Witnesses was then banned there so he certainly saw a lot of things in his life.

He then served in the branch there in a variety of departments. He had the companionship of several Scottish brothers there for a time. George Gibb, Alexander MacGillivray, William Carnie and maybe some others we know nothing about. They would be a reminder of the country he'd left behind.

All because he made a vow to the Lord and kept it and was richly blessed.

Percy and Margaret Dunham, Edinburgh

Born in about 1904 her first contact with Jehovah's People was in 1914 at a showing of the Photodrama of Creation in Edinburgh, which her grandmother took her to. It's uncertain if her grandmother was a Bible Student or not but once again she took Margaret to see it and her school friends also went along. It seems likely her grandmother was 'consecrated' as she repeated the invitation. She died shortly after this. But the Bible Students found her and her mother and they both came along and attended the early Edinburgh ecclesia or congregation.

By 1923 she was baptized and after great trepidation in house to house work she got over her nerves and began to auxiliary pioneer. She joined a happy band of pioneers in the north of Scotland on several preaching campaigns and also with her friend, Janet Thompson, they covered Midlothian an area to the south of Edinburgh. This area now has three congregations. In 1925, equipped with bicycles, they pioneered together for 7 years and moved to Ireland.

She got a great overview of the organization after she attended a convention in Detroit in 1928, also managing a visit to the Society's HQ and radio station. In 1931 she attended the Paris International Convention. All of this helped her to see the large scale of the work and international scope. In 1932 she moved to Latvia and married the branch overseer, Percy Dunham, also Scottish. He had moved there from serving in Lithuania the previous year and had been in the truth since 1914 and pioneered from 1921. He was also a conscientious objector and was incarcerated for much of the First World War. He had proved his devotion to Jehovah.

Their presence in Latvia must have been fraught with uncertainty as they were only able to stay for 60 days, leaving for other countries and then returning. This they did for 8 years.

These were times of danger and opposition. Being detained by the police, attacked by priests, they held firm to their assignment. There is a glimpse of the sort of person Percy was through a mention in the yearbook. In the country to the south, Lithuania, where some very young brothers were serving, some as young as 18 or 19, and also some were Scottish, literature was being printed for Latvia. The Latvian legal situation was very harsh. They the brave brothers would go on the overnight train to Riga, hiding the boxes under their beds and using expandable suitcases they would bring it into the country. Very resourceful. They said that Percy used to take them for dinner in a restaurant in Riga after these hazardous trips across the border. A very human touch he must have had.

They were there serving there with difficulties and opposition until 1940, when, as in the case of Wallace Baxter in Estonia, the vulnerable country of Latvia was invaded by the USSR. After waiting for a cable from brother Rutherford they left, with heavy hearts on a train journey, along with Wallace Baxter and other pioneers, via Moscow and it took 11 days to get to the Pacific coast. From there they went on to Australia and served in Bethel for many years. While in their Sydney congregation they also helped encourage younger ones to pursue a pioneer life and they told of many experiences from the Latvia days.

Their spiritual heritage was from Edinburgh and they both made decisions on hearing the truth back in the 1910s and 1920s that determined their life course. They had no regrets.

William Carnie, Edinburgh

Born in Leith, the port area of Edinburgh, he had 7 brothers and sisters. Charles Russell had given a talk in 1910 or 1911 which his father, who was Methodist and a fishing trawler owner in the village of Newhaven, had attended. The lived in a three roomed house in Craighall Road, slightly posher than the rest of Newhaven. (Two ladies of 'private means' lived with them, William's two grandmothers.) The family attended a public lecture in Edinburgh in 1915 by Joseph Rutherford. The family were then involved in the Edinburgh congregation and determined to stand firm on the conscription issue. The First World War ended and they were surprised as they thought it was the prelude to Armageddon. They associated with the Bible Students in the early 1920s but although William thought about becoming a colporteur he got distracted and the family drifted away, joining one of the breakaway groups who couldn't leave behind the associations with Charles Russell. These groups were also not so focused on the ministry. One of the responsible 'brothers' in this breakaway group actually told William to get a decent job and not bother with the ministry. That was typical of those ones who fell away. After a time they also left off mixing with them.

They moved to Australia in 1923 and William and his brother, though they did think about the Bible Students from time to time, thought that they'd found some purpose in life pursuing materialism. Much later, in 1937, they heard about a crazy garage owner who instead of making much money from his business spent a lot of time preaching about the Bible. He was a real crank people said. They saw a van behind the garage painted with the name 'Jehovah's Witnesses', which was probably used for loudspeaker work. They didn't at first see the connection to the Bible Students as they hadn't known about the name change in 1931. They went along to a meeting out of curiosity and after some long argument sessions they were convinced they'd found the truth again.

They wasted no time and wanted to make up for their separation all those years ago. They travelled far to the East Coast of Australia and although the family were cold about the Good News and didn't respond the boys did all they could. In the spring of 1938 they got involved in pre-convention work and fairly threw themselves into the congregation activities. He began as a pioneer after he'd had a nasty car accident which jolted him into realizing he must value the life he had. He then served in Bethel the

following year, 1939, and the next year, 1940, he was made a circuit overseer. He served also in New Zealand in that capacity. Yes, he was making up for lost time.

After the Second World War he and his brother were invited to Gilead and William eventually ended up in Hong Kong and served there for decades. He was no Johnny-come-lately. A full and active life of devotion from the Lad from Leith. From Newhaven to Hong Kong, he'd come a long way.

The son of a fisherman went to fish for men in the Far East.

George Young, Edinburgh, Sort of

I am including him in the account of Scottish exports as he undeniably had Scottish DNA. His parents and brothers, who were also Jehovah's People, were born in Scotland. Edinburgh city centre, St James Place was where they lived in 1881. George Young was born shortly after the family moved to Canada in 1886 and he probably travelled to many countries and tens of thousands of kilometres as recorded in the annals of the Kingdom Work.

He was always spiritually inclined and while living on the British Columbian island of Vancouver he had wanted to become a Presbyterian minister, the same religion as his parents. But he found the Studies in the Scriptures and promptly left the church writing a rather robust and direct letter of resignation. In it he spoke of his determination to preach the message to all he could. That was in 1913 when he was 27 years old. And he fulfilled his promise.

He was used as a pilgrim, an early circuit overseer. He and the family had good business acumen and one of their trades was in timber and they worked in the Queen Charlotte island off the coast of Western Canada. But he gave this up and was used as a pilgrim. He gave talks in western Canada and lectured to large audiences, sometimes over 2,500. Then in 1921 he was assigned to the Caribbean area and worked in Trinidad until 1923. He was then assigned to Brazil and helped the fledgling work there. He baptized Belona Ferguson and some members of her family there. She had been a Watchtower subscriber since 1898, her sister in the USA having sent her early literature. Her sons went on to take up a role in the work in the Brazilian Bethel and served there for decades. Another family, the Greens also got baptized and they too had been in touch by mail with the organization for years.

George Young must have really felt satisfied with the effect his visits were having, fostering the early foundation of Theocratic activity there. He gave talks, organized literature in Portuguese and set up a branch office. He also experienced tragedy in his life as family members passed away back in Canada. He travelled far and wide by train in Brazil and laid the ground work for future preaching projects in many areas. Opposition was widespread but with tact and good judgment he helped to work his way around it.

He then went to the other side of the continent to Peru, where also no brothers or sisters were present. He put out 17,000 tracts in at least two cities and also went to Bolivia where an aboriginal man took 1,000 tracts to a town at the head waters of the Amazon. Then he was off to Venezuela, also with no Witnesses in 1924 and he distributed thousands of tracts there as well as facilitating talks and trying to bring interested ones together. Then he went to Costa Rica. There were congregations there and, in fact, they had reported 168 publishers there in 1919. (They had no idea about the internal problems of the organization going on elsewhere and so just carried on faithfully witnessing. It is said they had the highest number of publishers who reported at that time. Owing to the situation with the leading brothers imprisoned only 900 reports of ministry were received for a time. Being further away from the epicenter of the opposition surrounding the distribution of The Finished Mystery, which was banned in Canada and elsewhere, Britain reported even more, 1,900. But this anomaly was soon ironed out. By the following year.)

Reading the reports of his travels around Latin America, while he had companions and association with the newly associated ones in Brazil, for over a year he was on his own elsewhere. He writes blithely of moving here and there, even passing through the Magellen Straits, the southern tip of South America. He witnessed there too, adding Argentina and Chile to his list of countries visited. Did he ever get lonely? Depressed or uncertain if he going to be successful. He seems a very determined person. His undoubted Scottish DNA served him well. The tenacity, the stamina. Yes, Scottish DNA doesn't get diluted through time. He was Scottish on both sides of his family.

I was privileged to know his son back in the 1990s when he lived in the Borders of Scotland and he showed me a quite a bit of memorabilia relating to his father. It was fascinating to see the adverts for the talks he gave and photos of his various travels.

In 1925 he was then assigned to Spain and Portugal. He sailed away knowing that those countries were more darkened spiritually and also in tumult politically. He made headway there despite police threats and he gave talks, arranged for literature to be sent from Brazil in Portuguese and despite being warned to leave he stayed as long as he could, once again laying a foundation for future growth in these lands. He paved the way for brother Rutherford to give a talk there and over 2,000 attended despite hooligans breaking up chairs and causing a melee. But it was the beginning of great things later on.

Then, amazingly he was sent, in 1928, to the USSR, the east of Ukraine. Communism was in place all over the USSR. You certainly couldn't accuse the organization Jehovah was so clearly using of holding back and being timid about spreading the word. Terrible things were happening in the country but this didn't stop their bold efforts. The country was just settling down from the change of Soviet leadership. Yes there were little knots of brothers and sisters in and around Kiev and Kharhov in the east of Ukraine. This city was then the capital of Ukraine and so it was here he tried to get permission to import literature and also legal registration.

He spoke of very moving encounters with the brothers and sisters there. So poor materially but rich spiritually. They were able to get 15,000 booklets printed. Then he was on the way home, over continental Europe, across the Atlantic and then continental Canada. Such energy. Such drive.

He then got married in 1931, was on pilgrim work again in the Caribbean then assigned to this work in the USA and Canada. By 1939 he also had two children with his wife Clara. But he still actively travelled around and pioneered with his wife. He died unexpectedly of a brain tumour in Canada, aged 53. His wife outlived him by 14 years.

There is no evidence he ever visited Scotland but I am claiming him as a Scottish export in any case as he meets the criteria for being fully Scottish. Certainly an indefatigable character. I count myself blessed to have known his son and grandson.

George Phillips, Glasgow

He was born in 1898 in Glasgow and his father, George senior, came into the truth in 1902. He was a zealous preacher informally and took different rains around Glasgow to work so as to witness to different people. He was a servant in the congregation there but died in 1904 when George junior was just 6 years old. He held steadfast and was baptized at the age of 14 in 1912. He had already been a volunteer, a publisher for about 10 years. He began too pioneer in 1914, leaving school early to do so and never regretted it.

He was assigned to many places all over Britain Ireland got valuable experience early on. He helped present the Photodrama of Creation in Glasgow in 1914. He was called up for military service and spent two and a half years either in a severe prison, experiencing the zeppelin bombings of London, or in a

chemical manure factory. He cycled 70 miles round trip to attend the weekend meeting of the local congregation in England near where he was incarcerated. Then George had to work for a year in a shipbuilding yard 30 miles from Glasgow but always went to the weekend meeting. He loved the truth zealously so when in 1924 Rutherford asked if he was willing to on a one way tickets to serve in South Africa, where William Johnston from Glasgow was, he at once agreed, saying 'Here I am, send me.'

He served in many capacities there, travelled to many lands to oversee the work, later becoming branch overseer. He had 7 decades of faithful service behind him when he died in 1982. An example of the tenacity and energy of another 'Glasgow Lad'.

John Barr, Aberdeen

His grandmother, Emily Jewell, was born in about 1860 in Glasgow and in about 1906 she began to read the book 'The Divine Plan of the Ages' published by the Bible Students in 1886. Now living in Bishoptown, she may have associated with the nearby ecclesia in Paisley, 6 miles away, or the large one in Glasgow, 15 miles away. She was most moved by the revelation that hellfire does not exist. She was baptized in 1908 and her two daughters also made their stand for the truth shortly after that.

John Barr's father also lived in Bishoptown and attended the same United Free Church of Scotland church and he married Emily's daughter, also called Emily, in 1907. She got baptized thereafter but by 1912 John Barr's father, also called John Barr, was also full of doubts about hellfire. The minister gave a sermon on the subject in response to his questions to him but it had the opposite effect to what he expected. John Barr senior left the church and was baptized in 1912.

The family, mother, father and two sisters then left that part of Scotland and moved to the far north east, to Aberdeen. John junior was born in 1913 and John Barr senior was an estate factor. Was there an ecclesia there at that time? As Scotland's fourth [now third] largest city it had received the distribution of 5,000 'Food for Thinking Christians' book in 1881. Very little is said about any ecclesia being established there.

We get glimpses of the situation by two letters in Zion's Watchtower written by a William Blaikie and his wife, twice, in the 1900s and another letter also from there. They seemed to be Bible Students and keen to spread the message. There is one Bible Student in about 1915, when the Barr family were there, who applied for exemption to army service. John Stewart Moir, aged 33, from Aberdeen. There was a military camp near the city in Dyce during the First World War where dozens of Bible Students from all over Britain were incarcerated. Did they have any contact with the Barrs in the city? Were there organized meetings taking place? Interesting to note that Russell and Rutherford, apart from giving talks and attending conventions in Glasgow and Edinburgh, they also gave talks in a good number of other Scottish towns but Aberdeen was never on the list. To advertise the public lectures a local ecclesia would energetically give out invitations in advance and often over 1,000 would attend. But there is no mention of that happening in Aberdeen, one of the country's biggest city with over 150,000 people at the time.

In about 1919 his mother and grandmother were the first to take part in house to house ministry in Aberdeen. It could be that the other ones in the small ecclesia had given out tracts and witnessed informally but that was all. The number of them must have been quite small as the Memorial attendance is not recorded at places where it was less than 20. Anyway, this was a real start and his father also took up this work and John followed in 1927 at the age of 14 despite extreme shyness. How well the family did as they were really out on a limb up in the far north east of Scotland. Many circuit overseers and even Bethel representatives visited them over the years.

He experienced tragedy in the family but in the 1930s he got baptized and then was appointed overseer of the congregation of 10 publishers. His family stayed the course in the truth for decades. Aberdeen was indeed a slow growing place but now there are two congregations there and two nearby. Then he was invited to London Bethel, appointed overseer of a congregation with 200 publishers. Invited onto circuit work and then eventually he was invited to Brooklyn Bethel and became a member of the Governing Body.

He lived to a ripe old age, 97 and really endeared himself to the brothers and sisters wherever he served. He had the common touch and always had time to chat with and upbuild those he spoke to. He attended a wedding in Edinburgh in the early 1950s, a brother, a widower, got married and his daughter from his first marriage recalled him as being especially encouraging and gentle with young ones. The daughter grew up and married and has pioneered for 69 years. She and her husband visited him in Brooklyn Bethel some years ago and he invited them to his room there. He was glad to share with them his hobby, a model steam train set which he was keen on. His memory for past events and people had had met was phenomenal.

David and Olive McWhannell

Born in 1894, to Thomas and Margaret McWhannell, coachman, in a farming village, Crichton, outside Edinburgh, he served in the First World War and was invalided out after the Battle of the Somme. Most likely he saw the Photodrama and became a zealous colporteur and was baptised in 1918 in Edinburgh. He preached extensively in the East Calder area to the west of Edinburgh. Judging from his relatives and their occupations and streets where they lived in Edinburgh the extended family was well off. They included lawyers and accountants and lived in large houses in Edinburgh's New Town, classical Georgian architecture. But he was dedicated to the ministry and remained faithful to Jehovah through all the 1920s with all the sifting that went on in the organisation. In 1929 he married a colporteur, Olive Clark, 1898-1965, from the Abbeyhill area of Edinburgh, which has a long history of brothers and sisters living in the area. (On his marriage certificate it mentions his address as being 2 Leslie Place, Stockbridge. A well-known pioneer, Frederick Scott, who was involved in a conscientious objection case in 1915 also lived there. Brother Scott was granted exception as being a full-time minister, a rarity for the time. He had found the truth in 1909 in Dundee and served as a pioneer well into the 1970s.)

Also on the marriage certificate also that he was a 'book agent' and the ceremony was held in the Sherriff's office, not in a church of course, not so common in those days. He also had 7 siblings and at least one of them, Dorothy McWhannell, 1901-1992, was in the truth and of the anointed, as he and Olive both were.

They were unable to have children so devoted their lives to serving Kingdom Interests for decades. Probably between them they pioneered for 90 years or so.

It seems strange but in the early 1930s there was a call for Britain's pioneers to serve in France as there were so many pioneers in Britain. So they served in France during the 1930s until the government finally revoked permits and many pioneers, perhaps over 100, had to leave. David used to say they lived on five elements for life. Raisins, nuts, bread, French cheese and wine. This sustained them during their years of pioneer service there, rolling around the country and cities on their bicycles. They didn't always know where they would be spending the night but Jehovah provided. One wonders if he ever went into the area of the Somme. He had suffered badly from shellshock the symptoms of which he displayed for decades before he died in 1986.

In 1940 they were back in Scotland living in the Edinburgh Pioneer home, above the Kingdom Hall at Stockbridge, along with five other pioneers.

Never having children they did their best with me and my sisters and took us on the ministry and hill walks as well as telling us stories of their amazing past adventures in France. Being chased by priests and dogs and irate Roman Catholics, which we all loved to hear.

In his 70s he was asked by a sister to conduct a funeral service for an unmarried woman she was studying with who had lost her 5 month old baby. This was an unusual request for the time, the 1960s. He did so with great compassion and this was much appreciated. The woman came into the truth and has a fine daughter and grand-daughter faithfully serving both in Edinburgh.

On his death certificate his profession is noted as 'Missionary', which he was indeed. Yet another Scottish export, to France in his case.

Others who Scotland 'exported' include Richard Kinninmonth and family from Glasgow who moved to Australia in 1919 and were a great mature influence on the work there and he served there until his death in 1969. Oliver McDonald moved to Iceland in the 1940s after attending Gilead School. Andrew Jack, from near Glasgow pioneered in Lithuania in the 1920s and 30s then, as a printer he was asked to go South Africa to the branch there in 1937. So many more could be mentioned. Many Scots in general have moved abroad, like the Irish, and are to be found in dozens of lands, and those of Jehovah's people serve faithfully wherever they go.

Hendry Carmichael

Details of his life and his personal memoirs are given later on page 83.

ENLIGHTENING EXERPTS AND VIGNETTES

AN EARLY COLPORTEUR GIVES AN ABSORBING REPORT

Here is another letter from a colporteur, Charles Houston from November 1895.

'Dear brother Russell,

'I was out for a fortnight colporteur, just as an experiment, and I liked it well. I got on splendidly. I took a return ticket to Edinburgh, with liberty to stop at every station. I took the 8 A.M. train to Helmsdale. At the very first house I got an order for Vol. I. I called on every house on one side of the street and down the other, also hailing men who might be standing in little groups. I got orders for 35 volumes. Strange to say, the first order I took was cancelled, as well as some more, but in delivering I made some further sales, and so made up for all that were cancelled.

'I left Helmsdale next morning for Brora, where I sold and delivered about the same quality. I had to stay here over the Sabbath. Was called upon by the Y.M.C.A. to take their meeting (a public one) on Sabbath night, and the Lord helped me to declare very fully the glorious gospel, with which they all seemed refreshed. I few of the leaders came with me to my lodging, to whom I declared more freely the truth of God.

'On Monday morning I left for Golspie, where I sold and delivered about 60 volumes. About one-fourth of those who bought took all three volumes, which helped up the sales wonderfully. Golspie is one long street, very easy to work. I took the orders the one day and delivered them the next. Here my No. I books ran out and not having any more I passed on to Inverness, as I did not wish to canvass the towns nearby

until I had the books to deliver. In this work above all works, I find it is true, that ‘Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might.’

‘I started again at Buckie and thoroughly canvassed every house. Buckie is a very dead sort of place, about half the population being Roman Catholic; hence the spiritual and mental deadness. Got about three dozen orders. Next day I went to Cullen, a very bright little town, where I got about 40 orders.

‘I passed on to Aberdeen, where I knew a commercial gentleman to whom I had loaned Vol. I. At his house I met a few friends, one from London, a notable evolutionist. We entered into friendly debate and very soon got into the thick of all the great questions of the day. From the knowledge of ‘The Plan of the Ages,’ I was enabled to not only confute the wrong theories, but to point out the true, and introduce M.D., all of which helped to confirm my commercial friend and his wife in the truth. Left Aberdeen next morning for Edinburgh, saw the friends there. Passed on to Glasgow and saw a number of friends there.

‘Left Glasgow again on Monday and came back to Edinburgh. Began with brother Montgomery to try what could be done. For the day we got 10 orders. Bother Montgomery was well pleased; he sold fully more than I did, and this gave him confidence. He is to spend one day in the week canvassing systematically over Edinburgh. Mr Ballingall, an excellent young man, is to help him. Although larger towns are stiffer, one gets over the ground easily, and you come in contact with a number of precious souls in a very short space of time; and a tract or a word of truth might get in and do good eventually.’

He left for Perth and got orders there from booksellers. His average placement was about 30 per day over a two week period, meaning over 400 copies of the Millennial Dawn volumes. He finishes his letter,

‘Yours, seeking to serve our blessed master more fully than ever, yours ever, Charles N. Houston.’

Notes on his letter: He says he went two weeks ‘colporteur’, so in those days one could just do it as long as one wanted not like pioneers today who ‘sign up’, as it were for a more definite commitment. He placed or ‘sold’ volumes of Studies in the Scriptures, of which three were then available. The books were available for 7 pence. In these Highland towns, like Helmsdale and Golspie, both under 2,000 inhabitants, he placed many. Possibly, there were few bookshops nearby and so people were glad to have him come to their houses. People were religious and liked such literature. All the towns he mentions are on a railway line. So he would take boxes of the volumes with him, leave the boxes at the station and get orders and then bring them to people the next day. Many goods were transported in this way so each station would have storage space for this purpose.

The price of these hardback books was really pretty good. Although colporteurs lived off a margin they made from sales, the price was not prohibitive. A cursory glance at book prices at that time in Britain shows us there were books being sold for under 7 pence, mostly what we’d call ‘pulp fiction’ or very down market stuff. Many, better quality literature, were sold for much more, 10 pence or even more. Millennial Dawns were hard-backed and of good quality. The idea of these sincere colporteurs was to get the message spread and in days before radio, films and television, people read a phenomenal amount. Over the years the seven books in this series were distributed to the tune of 9,400,000 copies in several languages.

Regarding Buckie, it would have had a smaller population then than the 9,000 it has today but still quite substantial. Local average households had 4.5 inhabitants, so it would have had under 2,000 dwellings for him to cover. Unusually, the number of Roman Catholics was really high in the town after the Reformation, owing to the local Lord insisting on his way. So the ‘deadness’ the brother speaks of would be due to those Catholics being reluctant to read anything not connected to their faith. Many Roman Catholics never had a Bible, as elsewhere in the world, so he was less successful in interesting them in the message. Interestingly, William Dey, who is mentioned above, lived inland from Buckie a few miles and

would have been in his teens when a colporteur preached around there in 1896. But they probably never met.

We can see that far from being just a bookseller he was also keen to take advantage of the offer to lead a meeting in the Y.M.C.A. In Aberdeen he met a 'commercial friend', an indicator that he was a businessman himself, based mostly in Glasgow. He witnessed informally when he could. Interestingly, the topic of evolution was discussed, at that time the churches were coming to terms with the subject and were, as usual, mealy mouthed about it. In the early 1900s the Watchtower produced a large booklet on the subject and gave it wide free distribution. Interestingly, he mentions seeing 'The friends' in Edinburgh. This term is used today to talk of our brotherhood. It is/was not so common in Britain but we see that there were 'the friends' in Edinburgh, where the message of truth had gone in 1881 and by 1891/2 an ecclesia had been formed.

His love for the truth moved him to travel extensively, including taking part in a debate on Scotland's far north coast in Canisbay as written of earlier in this book. He also was keen to help brothers Montgomery and Ballingall in Edinburgh to distribute the message there. It's humorous to see he described Edinburgh and larger towns as 'stiffer'. To this day the city has a great need as the response there is not so good. I tried to find out more about brothers Montgomery and Ballingall but as no first names were given and their names are not so uncommon it was impossible. Even Ballingall, which I hadn't heard of before, had so many occurrences in ancestry sites as to make it impossible to work out any biographical details of him. However, there are some older ones who do recall hearing about him, active in the truth from the 1890s up to the Second World War.

Charles Houston had several more letters printed in Zion's Watchtower. He remained zealous until his early death, in Wick, in 1902. He died from pulmonary causes which were very difficult to treat in the days before antibiotics. He blazed a trail in many parts of Scotland and used his resources for the spreading of the Good News.

MORE LETTERS FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Written in 1898.

'Dear brother,

'Brother ----- and myself frequently call upon each other, and have much good fellowship in the truths of the MILLENNIAL DAWN. Many a time I feel overjoyed and thankful to the Lord for the clear light which you so well show us on God's own Word. My only regret is that being so busily occupied with my daily duties I am able to do so little in cooperation with this brother and friend to make known the truth. In this town, however, the views are fairly well known to most church leaders but their prejudice is great and their opposition most bitter.' So we see that early on the effect of the Bible Students was being felt by the negative responses of the mainstream churches.

He goes on to say that they are pushing the message as far as they can. He seems to be still using his connection to a church of some kind as he witnessed to the Young Men's Guild and interested many. He talks of setting up a 'Dawn Circle' with this brother. This did take place and soon they amalgamated with the larger Glasgow ecclesia having several hundred 'associated' by 1914.

Written in 1899.

‘Dear brother Russell,

Enclosed find money order for two pounds, 10 shillings expenses incurred by bringing a pilgrim brother to our October conference. [Held in Scotland] He handed this back to us as a donation to the Tract Fund, to help defray the cost of ‘Bible vs Evolution’ The remainder is from the Church in Glasgow.

‘Sister Ferrie will tell you about our method of carrying on the Volunteer movement. Up to date we have given the books at 73 churches and distributed 10,093 copies [of the 30,000 received] being an average of 138. [at each church in Glasgow] We have been greatly surprised at the smallness of the [church attendance]. We distribute only at the forenoon service, which in most cases has the smallest attendance, but it invariably includes the more earnest of church goers.’

The other copies were also distributed soon afterwards. We can see that apart from colporteurs brothers and sisters could volunteer for special campaigns. We have no way today assess how many took part in them and could be considered as forerunners of today’s publishers. Many were associated with and ‘in sympathy with’ the organization to differing degrees. The criteria bore less similarity to today’s structure.

A letter written in 1899.

‘Dear brother Russell,

‘We wish you a very bright, happy and prosperous new year. Enclosed please find a money order for four pounds three shillings. We think possibly your own comforts are not sufficiently attended to and we think that you should take two pounds of the enclosed for your own special wants. It is a small thing to us, the recipients of so many spiritual blessings through you to repay you with material things.’ This was from Scottish brothers, thus giving proof that Scots are not the mean people they are thought to be. (Joke.)

This kind gesture from the brother was tactfully but firmly deal with and brother Russell told him he would not keep this money for his ‘wants’ but would put it to the Tract Fund. At this time the Tract Fund was a separate fund for donations to the free distribution of ‘tracts’. In fact, some of these tracts were really booklets or even like books, soft back, but with from 52 to 165 pages. The booklet, ‘The Bible versus Evolution’, over 50 pages long, was produced in 1900. There were 30,000 sent to Glasgow and many more to the British field. But in the USA over 500,000 were distributed outside churches. The brothers leading the work were right on the ball as regards the current trends of thinking in Christendom. Evolution was beginning to take hold. ‘Higher Criticism’ was rendering people skeptical of the Bible as the literal truth. So this shows that the forerunners of Jehovah’s Witnesses made a bold stand against these tendencies.

By way of comparison, in 1900 in Washington D.C. over 10,000 copies were distributed. In Massachusetts, over 4,900 outside dozen of churches the same year. The church leaders were so angry they tried to involve the police in banning its dissemination, but to no avail. These are just two examples of what happened at that time.

A researcher determined, after research into all the Bible tract and literature societies in the English speaking world, that the Bible students, before 1914, was not just the largest of these disseminators but actually put out more literature than all these organization *combined*. After 1914 till the present the same is true for Jehovah’s Witnesses.

Written in 1900.

‘Dear brother Russell, words would fail me to express how thankful I feel to our dear Lord for sending the message of ‘present truth’ and revealing unto me the great award that awaits those who earnestly seek both to know and to do his will.

‘It is now three and a half years since I began to study Millennial Dawn and to me these few years have been more real importance to me than all the other 22 years of my life put together. Our meetings for the last 12 months have been very helpful to the study of the word and all testify to receiving great blessings from them except a few who went out from us when the truth began to get strong. We have also had occasional visits from brother Hemery, [from Manchester but now serving as branch overseer in the new branch in London] and another Glasgow brother, which have been highly appreciated. I have been thinking to colporteur Dawn [the bound books]. I tried it for a month some time ago and met with a measure of success. I am entirely free from worldly cares. Brother Anderson and I are thinking of trying it together. Yours in the master’s service, William Crawford.’

It seems that this brother was being used as a pilgrim at this time as brother Hemery certainly was. Brother Crawford ended up serving as a colporteur and later served in one of the two London ecclesias during the First World War. He also faced the question of military service.

More colporteurs letters. From 1905.

‘Dear brother, we are now settled in D_____. We have been spying out the land and, well if it isn’t flowing with milk and honey altogether, we think there should be some good work done here. We should like to serve the churches here with ‘Food’ [Food for Thinking Christians] on the Sundays. There is a considerable number of them, and we shall require a large supply. Brother C. will be the ‘captain’ and I will be one of the ‘volunteers’, meantime, and perhaps the Lord will send recruits.

‘With Christian love and kind regards, we are, Yours in His service, (Colporteurs), C. & C. ,Scotland.’

It is really tantalizing that they don’t give the name of the town they are serving in. Dumfries, Dundee, Dumbarton and Dunfermline most likely had ecclesias at that time, small but meeting regularly. You can really sense the zeal and strong desire to spread the message. ‘Volunteers’ at that time worked on special campaigns and were sent ‘ammunition’ from the branch, mostly free literature to distribute. The group of volunteers chose a ‘captain’ to oversee the work and ‘lieutenants’ were for sub-groups. Even sisters could be ‘captains’.

One sister in Toledo, Ohio, organized a large campaign outside churches in over a dozen towns in her area of America which involved almost 200 volunteers and they disseminated thousands upon thousands of free pieces of literature. They were given instructions to stand 100 feet away from the church door. Generally, they were asked to be extra careful outside Roman Catholic churches or not ‘serve’ them at all because of the aggressive responses they sometimes had. This method of distribution outside churches became fairly well known on both sides of the Atlantic. In Scotland, one large town was ‘served’ with ‘Food’ and it created a lot of controversy and opposition. And negative articles in the local press.

Another instruction given was to give only one piece of literature to couple or family as it said that when people leave ‘Babylon the Great’ they usually do so as couples or as a family. They were to distribute them ‘Judiciously’.

Many letters from Scotland appeared in Zion’s Watchtower right from 1881 until the First World War, almost as many as came from England despite Scotland’s much smaller population. A Maggie Oliver

writes in 1900 about how she appreciates the Present truth and desires to spread the word. Mary Drummond, aged 67, says how long she had searched for truth and now the direction of her whole life had been altered. George Taubman, from Glasgow, 1876-1926, started colporteur and wrote in grateful thanks to brother Russell. He was able only to serve in Glasgow but was desirous of more and more literature to spread around. He seems to have been from a Jewish background. Many more letters can be found in a similar vein. One letter writer, John Keague, who seemed to be 'in sympathy with' the teachings of the Bible Students, commended brother Russell over a series of debates with a minister Dr Eaton, in the USA, which he says he won conclusively. He mentioned being from an Episcopalian background, one of the minority of protestants in Ireland. Very few Roman Catholics there accepted the truth at that time. [The purpose of these public debates in front of thousands of people was not just to prove points. People directly came to a knowledge of the truth because of them. There were debates between Rutherford and someone called Troy in 1915. Three thousand observed them and several hundred gave their addresses for further contact and literature and some accepted the truth.]

In 1904 letters mention a bad reaction to the distribution of literature in the Scottish town of R____. Many were refusing to accept anything, having been forewarned by the ministers. Also in Scotland there was mention of a few who were persecuted for accepting the Bible Students' faith and opposed by their families. The message was indeed having an effect.

EARLY CONVENTIONS IN SCOTLAND

Glasgow was certainly the one of the leading centres of the Bible Students activity at this time in Britain. The branch overseer described Scotland as being always 'in the vanguard' of the work in 1905. There were conventions held in Glasgow a number of times in those years.

The 1905 convention in Glasgow.

This was not the first one held but the first one reported upon. About 180 from outside the Glasgow area needed accommodation and the Glasgow brothers and sisters put up 140 of them. This figure show that outside of Glasgow there were growing numbers of the friends in various towns of Scotland. Maybe to that number could be added the ones from Edinburgh who may have travelled by train every day as it was only under an hour each way. Edinburgh had over 30 associating at that time. At the meetings for the brothers at the convention over 400 attended daily on average. The public talk was attended by over 800, in another hall hired nearby.

There were 33 baptised, including a very elderly man who had been stubborn but eventually saw the truth. There was an interesting experience related. Three young brothers, one aged 16, attended the meetings regularly in Glasgow. [It seems this could be the three sons of Minnie Greenlees, James, George and Alfred. The last of these was very zealous and preached with his mother and Alexander MacGillivray for many years. He was born in 1893 so was too young to be the lad mentioned so it must refer to James, born 1889.]

This young lad must have been serving as a colporteur at the time, or at least a volunteer, and he says he was in a railway station contemplating what to do as he had run out of Millennial Dawn books to offer to people. He wondered if he could ask a sister if he could get some from her 'on credit'. At that moment he bumped into a slight acquaintance who he had not seen for 10 months or so. The person asked how he was off for money at the moment. The 16 year old replied he was 'not exactly flush.' The person at once placed five pounds into his hand and said just to keep it. He man rushed off to catch his train and disappeared. Our brother was then able to get more books for placing into the hands of people. To get matters in context, five pounds was the equivalent of a month's pay for a manual worker at the time, maybe even more. Millennial Dawn volumes cost considerably less than a pound so he was able to supply

himself with dozens of copies to spread the message far and wide. He and his brother in a few short years were conscientious objectors and suffered the military punishment that most of them experienced.

The 1906 convention in Glasgow.

The report was from brother Russell. 'We left Liverpool at 2 a.m. and arrived in Glasgow at 10 a.m. and were surrounded by about 40 brothers and sisters on the railway platform. Some had waited for three hours. Some said we had promised in 1903 to return last year so had waited three years for us in total. Brother Edgar claimed us as his guest and we were warmly welcomed by his wife and others awaiting our arrival.' The opening sessions were at the Victoria Chambers, a place of rooms and halls of varying sizes.

Various talks were given by the branch overseer, brother Edgar and Russell himself, mostly for the brothers. They were attended by several hundred. Next day, Russell visited the homes of some of those too sick to attend in person, very much showing he had the personal touch. [This reminds us of the Memorial held in Glasgow round about that time when 263 people attended. But brothers and sisters unable to attend through illness or infirmity were not forgotten. A report tells that 27 of them had the emblems taken to them. The total Memorial attendance was then 290 people, the third highest of any ecclesia in the world.]

Russell reports that 78 were then baptized that day and in the afternoon a talk was given for the brothers. The public talk was held in the evening in the city's St Andrew's Hall. Many brothers had dreamed of the day when they could hold a public talk there. Over 4,500 attended the talk entitled 'The Return from Hell' given by brother Edgar. It was supposed to hold only 4,000 people but somehow they squeezed in 500 more. There was also an overflow meeting held in the nearby Victoria Chambers where 500 heard the talk delivered by the branch servant. The tens of thousands of invitations put out beforehand had indeed worked.

Interestingly, brother Edgar had been approached some time before to deliver the talk and had been overwhelmed with nerves but eventually Sarah Ferrie had persuaded him to deliver it. One can only imagine how she felt as she sat there, her dream fulfilled of having such a gigantic meeting which shook up the city, and here was her friend delivering the talk. He was the one who had been sent to check on her mental health and emotional balance and he had now accepted the truth and had served unstintingly for over 8 years.

'The audience was an extremely intelligent one and gave profound attention for two hours. At the door free literature was taken with avidity.' Names were also handed in for further contact.

An hour later Russell was at the railway station on his way to Liverpool and 200 of the friends lined the platform and sang and waved handkerchiefs. The following day the convention continued in the Victoria Chambers with attention given to other topics and over 800 attended.

The Edinburgh Convention 1908.

A report from the branch servant states the following. 'We left Manchester (a convention) but there were no sleeping car places on the train but the Lord gave us enough rest for next day's activities. At Edinburgh, the beautiful, we were met at the station by brother Robertson (and others), who took us in a (horse drawn) cab to his hospitable home for breakfast. Then there was a two hour talk (in a hired hall) to the friends, numbering about 140.' There had just been a Glasgow convention a short time before and maybe some were there from that city but this would seem to be mostly for the friends from the East of

Scotland where there were ecclesias in Edinburgh, Dundee and other towns. The topic was based on John 13:34, 35. They then had dinner, or lunch, and another two hour talk, this time on 'Order in the Christian' congregation attended by 300. Not necessarily for the public. There was a question and answer session about how brothers and sisters should deal with each other. Then tea and an evening public meeting attended by more than 600 which would have been advertised in advance in the city for days beforehand. The topic was 'The Return from Hell'. There were two attempts to interrupt the meeting but the opposers didn't succeed in breaking it up.

'Brothers Watson and McDonald took us in a cab to a hot supper and to the station, [Waverley, most likely though the Caledonian station was operational then too] and a zealous band of 35 waved us off, waving handkerchiefs to the singing crowd.' They got a sleeping car this time and went on to Luton overnight.

I tried to trace who the three named brothers could be but with such names and the distance of time it was impossible.

A report from 1909

GLASGOW ON THURSDAY

'A good night's rest prepared us for further service. The Manchester friends gave us a hearty 'God-be-with-you and come-again-soon.' We reached Glasgow at 3 p.m., just in time for the 3:30 meeting, to which we were at once escorted by our enthusiastic Scotch friends, Dr. Edgar and family and others to the number of about 25.

'The attendance at the afternoon meeting was about 400 to 500, excellent for a mid-week afternoon. By request it was a Question Meeting. It lasted nearly two hours. Then came tea. Then at Glasgow City Hall at 7:30 we had an audience of about 2,000 very intelligent looking people, including, it was said, about twenty ministers. [Russell often referred to his Scottish audiences as 'intelligent-looking'. Maybe he was partial as he had Scots blood in him, though distant through the Ulster Scots.]

'Our topic was 'The Thief in Paradise, The Rich Man in Hell, and Lazarus in Abraham's Bosom.' The meeting lasted about an hour and a half. We had excellent attention and trust that some were blessed.

'Brother (Dr.) Edgar and Sister Edgar entertained us and made us glad, both by words and deeds. They with a party of about twenty went on to Edinburgh.'

THE EDINBURGH MEETING

'Again we were welcomed. About twenty of the Edinburgh friends met us and escorted us. We had a semi-private talk in the forenoon, a Question Meeting and the queries were chiefly along the lines of the Covenants and the Church's share in the sufferings of Christ.

'The evening meeting was in Synod Hall, one of Edinburgh's largest auditoriums. [At the city's West End. Now demolished but an architectural wonder in its day, dating from 1875.] Nearly 2,500 people were present, including probably twenty ministers of various churches. Excellent attention was given for an hour and a half to our discourse on the same subject as in Glasgow. The friends must have done valiant work to secure so large and so intelligent a hearing for the Truth. There was quite a demand for free

literature [Well, the Scots love something for nothing] and some books and pamphlets were sold at the door.

‘We were entertained most comfortably by dear old Sister Allen, now in her 78th year. She and Brother Montgomery were practically the only ones in the Truth on the occasion of our first visit, in 1891. [In fact, there were several ‘associated’ and in ‘sympathy’ at that time in Edinburgh but they were not really organized as an ecclesia till the following year. Brother Montgomery served as a colporteur at times.] We were so glad to find them both steadfast and rejoicing. [It speaks volumes for Russell that despite the passing of 18 years he remembered them. How many thousands of people he came into contact with on his travels around North America we cannot say but he certainly had the common touch. This ‘dear old sister’ was most likely Margaret Allen (nee Kay), born 1832 in Edinburgh, her father a gunsmith. She married a William Allen, a blacksmith, in 1856, accepted the truth sometime in the 1880s and died in 1913, aged 81. She had been widowed a number of years before. She lived in the city centre in a quite humble area, Upper Viewcraig Row. And it seems Charles Russell shared a meal with her in her modest dwelling. Interestingly, she was married in a ceremony, not in a church but in a rather upmarket house in Edinburgh’s Great King Street. She was described as a servant or a charwoman, a very common profession at that time. One possibility is that the owners of the grand house were her employers and they were fond of her and so decided to have her married there. A minister of the Church of Scotland officiated.]

‘A goodly crowd met us Saturday morning at the railway station [Waverley] to bid us goodbye, and come soon again. We realized afresh the oneness of the Body of Christ.’

1910

A letter from Glasgow.

‘DEAR BROTHER:-- On Sunday morning thirty Sisters and fourteen Brothers symbolized their consecration into Christ’s death by water immersion, and on the following Friday evening partook of the Memorial Supper here in Glasgow; 287 in the Berkeley Hall, and 18 in their homes. [Once again they were lovingly supported.] As the time draws so near when the last of these Suppers will be partaken of by us, and when we shall ‘drink the wine anew’ with our dear Lord in his Kingdom, we feel solemnized; but at the same time we are enabled by the Lord’s grace to lift up our heads and rejoice, knowing that the time of our deliverance draweth nigh.

‘While we were partaking of the Supper, we called to mind that several of our number had already passed beyond the veil [*sic*] since the last occasion. We remembered also many of our dear brothers and sisters who have emigrated from Scotland during the past year, [William Johnston and others], and we prayed that the Lord would keep them faithful and continue to use them in his glorious service. We remembered also that a few of our number have ceased to meet with us because they differ, and we are praying that the Lord may open their eyes. [There was a small sifting out in Glasgow, Liverpool and other cities in 1907 and 1908.]

‘We are looking forward with glad anticipation to the near visit of our beloved Pastor, and are preparing to distribute 100,000 of the PEOPLES PULPIT issue, from door to door, in order to advertise the public meeting which he will address here on May 17.’

Indeed it was a resounding success and several thousand came to hear his talk.

A report by Charles Russell from 1910.

‘The night express brought us to Glasgow, [From a convention in Liverpool] Tuesday morning early--not too early, however, for our dear Glasgow friends. About thirty-five of them met us at the railway station with cordial greetings. Doctor Edgar took us off to his home. [This was weeks before his untimely death.] We were greatly refreshed, not only with natural food, but by spiritual fellowship. The City Hall had been secured for both the afternoon and evening meetings. In the afternoon the congregation consisted, as you may suppose, of the interested only, the number being estimated at 375. We had close attention while we endeavored to portray what constitutes covenant-relationship with God, and how the Church attains to this in this age; and how differently the world will be privileged to attain to it in the Millennium.

‘AT THE Edinburgh railway station [Waverley] we were met by a delegation of friends; indeed some came to Dundee to meet us. [That year 28 had attended the memorial in that city about one hour away by train.] We had a very enjoyable season. Brother John Edgar, M.D., addressed the Edinburgh friends in the forenoon on the ‘Ransom and Sin-Offering.’ We were not privileged to hear the address, but through others learned that it was both interesting and instructive. [Russell went off on some personal business, family matters perhaps.]

‘In the afternoon we addressed the interested, about 140, and endeavored to point out how the Church enters into covenant relationship with God. The evening session for the public was in ‘Queen’s Rooms’, In Edinburgh’s New Town. Again the weather was unfavorable, [Typical Edinburgh weather which Robert Louis Stevenson called ‘The vilest climate under heaven.’] But notwithstanding there was a good attendance of about 600. [The local Edinburgh ecclesia had handed out thousands of invitations.] We had excellent attention; our topic was, ‘Where are the Dead?’ On account of King Edward VII’s funeral transport was a problem so the attendance was excellent, despite that.]

Another visit from Charles Russell in 1910.

He certainly liked Scotland.

‘We gave Glasgow, Scotland, also two days of two meetings each. The regular meetings of Bible Students at Glasgow, we understand, number about 500 every Sunday. They seemed to be in good spiritual health. The programme at Glasgow was practically a repetition of the one at Manchester. The second of the meetings for the interested was a Question Meeting. The questions were extremely good ones and indicated thoughtfulness and deep penetration in the knowledge of the Truth.

‘The meeting for the public in Glasgow was well attended. The audience was estimated at 3,200. The Glasgow meeting for the Jews was our last in Great Britain, the attendance being about 1,400. They listened with keen interest, and on our conclusion gave us very great satisfaction. [Glasgow has a relatively large Jewish community and the Bible Students believed in them having a special place in God’s plan.]

‘I have been north for a short tour and stayed a little to rest my body through the kindness of Brother and Sister Tait, of the Glasgow Church. They have the use of a country house about 40 miles from Glasgow. We had some meetings in the neighborhood, one for the public in Rothesay, which seemed to arouse some interest. The work in the country goes on well, and the friends generally are quick to seize opportunities of service.’

This house is on the island or Rothesay and was possibly owned by Sarah Ferrie or her relatives. There is a photograph of the house with brothers on the website for the Glasgow Special Convention 2025.

There is a congregation on the island today. When you look at the itinerary that Charles Russell maintained on his tours it is as amazing to see the stamina he had. On this trip he visited over 20 towns in Britain and he was aged about 60 years old.

A report from 1911.

‘This Convention was every way a success. The attendance ranged from 700 to 800 at the ordinary sessions, and the meeting advertised for the public [in Glasgow] ran up to 5,000, of whom about 500 stood, while about 200 failed to gain admission. And such attention from so vast an audience! You could have heard a pin drop. For nearly two hours they studied with us ‘Which Is the True Gospel?’ Together we considered what has been presented as the Gospel by various denominations, and then came to the one preached in advance to Abraham, and finally announced ‘in due Time’ by Jesus, who brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel. The audience saw a vast difference between the creeds of the Dark Ages and the Gospel of Divine grace, of which St. Paul was not ashamed and in which we, too, may well rejoice.

‘We had three delightful days of spiritual refreshment at this Convention. Friends attended from England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland. Our goodbye greetings were at the railway platform, where about 300 tried to shake hands with us; they all waved and sang us away, using ‘Blest be the tie that binds our hearts in Christian love’. Our visit amongst the Scotch [nothing to do with whisky] Bible students was extremely interesting and encouraging, in the smaller places as well as in Glasgow. Everywhere we had the best halls obtainable, and correspondingly large and intelligent audiences. [He often mentions how intelligent the Scottish audiences were, something I totally concur with.]

‘Our weekly sermons in some of the newspapers affected our audiences favorably, and we trust that the oral presentations will make the printed discourses more popular and more profitable. [There were dozens of Scottish newspapers carrying Russell’s sermons, reaching hundreds of thousands of avid readers.]

‘It was our first visit to Perth, but the friends had advertised our coming thoroughly. [This indicates there was indeed an ecclesia there at the time.] The City Hall, of 2,000 capacity, was crowded in the evening with the public, while we gave an afternoon talk to the interested students of God’s Word.’ [There were two Bible students from Perth who were registered as conscientious objectors in 1915-16, showing there was an ecclesia there. Today the Perth area has five congregations.] ‘Ten thousand copies of PEOPLES PULPIT were distributed to announce the service.

‘Dundee we visited some years ago, and amongst those who helped arrange for this visit were some interested then. Our afternoon session was for the interested in Masonic Hall. Nearly one hundred were present, their faces beaming out the joy within, the joy the world can neither give nor take away. Gilfillan Hall, 1,600 capacity, was well filled by the public at night to hear respecting ‘The Great Hereafter.’ We believe the Lord’s blessing was upon the meeting and that good was accomplished.

‘Paisley we visited for the first time. [Scotland’s fifth biggest city where today there are two good-sized congregations.] We had a splendid hearing of intelligent middle-class people. Although the night was stormy, Good Templar Hall (capacity 1,000) was nearly full, although there were several public functions to divert. The message of God’s Word respecting the ‘Hereafter’ was presented.

‘Greenock we visited for the first time. We had a splendid reception. The Town Hall, holding 3,000, was crowded. Here as elsewhere on this tour the intelligence of our hearers impressed us.’ This town was perhaps the third place to have an ecclesia established in the late 1890s. In 1914, 39 attended the Memorial here and there are now three congregations in this area.

More interesting sketches.

ANOTHER INTRIGUING CONNECTION WITH EDINBURGH

PROFESSOR CHARLES PIAZZI SMYTH'S LETTER OF COMMENDATION

Brother William M. Wright, of Pittsburgh, learning that Pastor Russell was preparing a chapter of one of his books treating the Great Pyramid of Egypt, procured a copy of the typed manuscript and mailed it to Professor C. Piazza Smyth, F. R. S. E., F. R. A. S., ex-Astronomer Royal of Scotland. [He had been the Astronomer Royal of Scotland from 1846 until 1888.]

Professor Smyth's reply follows and is self-explanatory:

Clova, Ripon, England, Dec. 21, 1890,

Wm. M. Wright, Esq.,

'Dear Sir: — I have been rather longer than I could have wished in looking over the MS, of your friend, C. T. Russell, of Allegheny, Pa., but I have now completed a pretty careful examination, word by word. And that was the least I could do, when you so kindly took the pains to send it with such care between boards by registered parcel, with every page flat, and indited [composed] by the typewriter in place of the hand.

'At first I could only find slips of the said typewriter, but as I progressed through the pages the powers, the specialties and the originalities of the Author came out magnificently; and there were not a few passages I should have been glad to take a copy of for quotation, with name, in the next possible edition of my own Pyramid book. But, of course, I did nothing of that sort, and shall wait with perfect patience and in most thankful mood of mind for when the author of Millennial Dawn shall choose his own time for publishing.

'So I merely remark here that he is both good and new in much that he says on the chronology of various parts of the Pyramid, especially the First Ascending Passage and its granite plug; on the Grand Gallery, as illustrating the Lord's life; on the parallelisms between the King's Chamber and its granite, against the Tabernacle and its gold; and generally on the confirmations or close agreements between Scripture and the Great Pyramid, well commented on.

'In the meanwhile, it seems that I am indebted to you for your kind gift long ago of the first two volumes of Millennial Dawn. I did not at the time get further than the first half of the first volume, finding the matter, as I thought, not quite so new as I had expected. But after having profited, as I hope, so much by a thorough reading, of this advanced Pyramid chapter of the third volume, I must take up the first two volumes again, de novo.

'The parcel will go back between its boards, registered. I remain, with many thanks,

Yours respectfully, C. Piazza Smyth.'

It was quite a common theme for the time to have people write about newly discovered archaeological remains in the Middle East. Many writers did so after the huge growth in travel to that area in the period 1800-1850. So Pyramidology was latched onto by many writers, religious and non-religious. Piazza Smyth himself was obviously flattered by the use of Charles Russell of some of his materials and opinions in his writings. (The ideas expressed were gradually debunked and by 1927 the Bible Students

rejected them.) But Piazzi Smyth himself also was interested in eschatology, the study of the last days and the coming of Christ. He had actually predicted the end of the world several times in the 1870s and 1880s.

He was a well-known, respected scientist of the day. He lived from 1819 to 1900. He is considered by some to be a later manifestation of the Scottish Enlightenment, though he wasn't Scottish. The Scots are very open-minded and so he'll be allowed in owing to the generous spirit shown by Scots to clever sassenachs. (This word is a Scots term for anyone not blessed enough to be born Scottish.) He had invented quite a number of things and is revered by astronomers all over the world. His interest in eschatology was something in common with the Bible students and so his reading of Millennial Dawn books makes sense, though he didn't seem to be too impressed by some of them. He may have had Adventist leanings. He lived in One Hillside Crescent, Edinburgh from the 1860s onwards, very near the National Observatory where he worked. Charles Russell visited Edinburgh in 1891 but by then Piazzi Smyth had retired to the north of England. There is no evidence they ever met. But they were briefly in correspondence.

The following is an odd little vignette I've slipped in, but it does illustrate a point.

'BIRDIE BOWERS', AN INTRIGUING STORY

There was a certain resident of Greenock, in the west of Scotland, called Henry Bowers, 1883-1912. He, his mother and sister were all 'involved' with the International Bible Students Association and were contacted by people from the Greenock congregation at the turn of the century. They moved to London and they continued their 'association' with the teachings. They attended talks but they didn't necessarily become 'consecrated'. Like many at the time, they had access to Russell's sermons in the newspapers and got hold of some literature which was being distributed in massive amounts before the First World War. He was a great reader of the Studies in the Scriptures and was very much 'in sympathy' with Charles Russell. In parallel to this he was also interested in travel and scientific expeditions, especially to polar climates. He was, according to extant letters to his family, thrilled by the Watchtower's exposition of the Bible and the Emphatic Diaglott, which he read voraciously. (This was not a publication of the WTBS but they printed it and distributed it.)

From 1907-1909 he was at his most active, attending meetings and mixing with the brothers. He fervently read the Watchtower too. But, he seems to have got distracted and waned in his interest maybe because he was now actively pursuing exploration projects. He was chosen for the British Antarctic trip to the South Pole, not so much for his scientific knowledge, but his practical abilities, his stamina and very cheerful disposition. His nickname was 'Birdie', owing to his beaklike nose. Sadly, he died on the return journey from the South Pole in March 1912. It is known that he was a keen Bible reader and most likely carried one with him on the trip. He did share his views a little but was mostly reticent to do so.

We don't actually know if he carried our literature with him on the trip. It has never been ascertained. Three times in letters from the Antarctic he mentions his faith. His mother and sister, later Lady Maxwell, seem to have been avid readers but nothing is known about whether they continued and made spiritual progress. But it is intriguing that an early 'associate' of the IBSA was there in Antarctica.

Appendix 1

DEVELOPMENT OF THE KINGDOM WORK SOUTH OF THE BORDER

English cities were covered by brother Bender from the north of the country, zigzagging down south by train. In the next few years a number of letters appeared in ZWT from Britain and it seems almost half of them were from Scotland despite it having a small population compared to England. Many letters came from people who endeavoured to spread the word. In 1885 there were over 300 regular subscribers to ZWT from Britain, which now had a printing of 10,000 monthly in total, all printed in the USA.

(There was disappointment at this relatively small number subscribers but it should be remembered that from a social and cultural point of view magazine subscribing had never been a big thing in Britain. For over 30 years the rapid development of railways in Britain meant that post and newspapers could be delivered all over the country practically to 90% of the population within 24 hours of printing. In many cases much less time. In America newspapers were delivered to the larger cities in a day or so but magazines would mostly be obtained by subscription as the huge size of the country needed this system.)

Informal groups developed outside London in Nottingham and the surroundings, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Middlesbrough, Sunderland, (about 1884 several were gathering there), Darlington, on a main railway route, and several smaller groups in Kent. By 1891 there were little groups or ecclesias in 40 places, 6 of them in London. During subsequent visits of Charles Russell decisions were made to facilitate the preaching of the Good News. Gradually, in the years up to the First World War the solidifying of the organization took place. It has to be said that many matters were decided by the local ecclesias or groups which became the forerunners of today's congregations in the UK. But they were quite autonomous and did things a lot more independently.

In 1890 there was a subscriber, who would now be considered a brother, who ordered and paid for many copies of bound volumes. He said there was an inter-confessional church conference in the Lakeland town of Keswick coming up and many ministers and 'Christian' minded people would attend. He was going to use the chance to give them the message along with his brother. Very resourceful. Another 'brother', called Richard Marston, in 1890, ordered and paid 15 pounds (75 dollars) for 500 Millennial Dawn volumes for him to distribute. He also requested as many tracts as the Society felt they could send him. What a self-sacrificing spirit he showed.

In speaking to Brothers from Ireland it is often heard that the response to the message was very slow from those in the Roman Catholic community, especially in the south of Ireland. It was generally the case that the first reports of a Catholic accepting the truth in the republic, the south, were well after the Second World War. Yes, there were 'ecclesias' in Dublin and Belfast and even in two more places in the north in the 1910s but they were almost exclusively formed from Protestant believers. (Although Dublin is in the south it does have a certain percentage of non-Catholics.) So it was interesting to read that in 1890 a young man wrote to the ZWT and said he had accepted the truth and loved the Studies in the Scriptures. He had obtained it while visiting the USA. He stated he had now left the Catholic faith. So, somehow sincere ones found the truth way back then even though the light of truth shone very dimly in Ireland at the time.

A branch was set up in London in 1900 and the results were gratifying. Ecclesias voluntarily joined forces if they wanted and most did but not always following the same guidelines. A tighter structure came much later on. Within the first 6 months alone after the setting up of the branch, over 3,000 copies of the books 'Studies in the Scriptures' had been distributed, there being several volumes now. Over a quarter of a million booklets were placed, 50,000 of them in London alone. The following year 70,000 bound volumes were placed and 750,000 pieces of literature were spread far and wide. About 40 new towns and cities were reached. The number of 'congregations' was about 60 in 1902. It was reckoned that the truly 'consecrated' ones numbered about 1,500 at that time, and they were publicly preaching. But it's hard to state for certain that all would today be considered 'in the truth'. Many people were 'in sympathy with'

the Bible Students' teaching. Quite a few thousand would attend large advertised talks all over the country but the number of committed real believers is hard to estimate.

Charles Russell visited Britain in 1903 and he met with the two London congregations together for an extended convention. This was not something advertised to the public but the main congregation there of 400 'members' and the one in the east of the city at Forest Gate, 125 'members', managed to have from 500 attending on the first session up to 800 on the fifth one. It is more than likely that 'brothers and sisters' from around Britain came along to attend. These were more 'consecrated' ones. He visited seven other cities and audiences of up to 600 attended. He also visited Glasgow where over 1,000 attended a public lecture. Various figures were given after that time that said the number of regular attenders in Glasgow was about 250 or so at that time, the second biggest 'congregation' in the UK. Edinburgh had about 70 or so 'consecrated' attenders, also a good amount and only Liverpool, Manchester and Nottingham were larger in number.

An early form of circuit visiting was then instituted and in 1905 some 48 of the then 70 'congregations' in Britain had a visit. The organization was unifying nicely. By 1911 there were over 120 'congregations' or maybe we can now view them as more or less 'proper' congregations. During the previous 8 years they had distributed 27,000 bound books and 20 million four page leaflets. There were now about 3,500 involved in this work all over Britain but there are no figures to show how regular they were in it and if some just took part from time to time. But still, a great witness was being given. From 1910 to 1915 750,000 bound volumes were placed and 54 million leaflets were also given away for free. There were 93 colporteurs active all over the land.

From 1906 onwards conventions were held in London and Glasgow, which had now the second largest concentration of Bible Students, almost rivaling London with its much bigger population. Manchester was added to the list of convention sites as it had over 300 'consecrated' ones in its area.

Charles Russell visited Britain again in 1908 and gave public talks which were attended by over 8,000 in total in many cities. Bristol over 1,000. Manchester had 3,000 after 150,000 leaflets promoted the lecture. In Glasgow, 5,000 in 1908. Two years before that a local Glasgow brother had given a talk to 4,500 there. Edinburgh, 2,500 in its Synod Hall, and 1,200 in London. He visited again that year and held meetings in the Royal Albert Hall ranging from 4,000 to 7,600 attenders as well as several thousand more in five other locations in London. Over 700 newspapers carried news of these events and 300 regularly carried Russell's sermons.

By 1914 there were 180 congregations in touch with and cooperating with the London branch and 4,100 at the Memorial. Various reports say that there were about 5,000 more or less 'consecrated' ones. Over 500 in both London and Glasgow. The arrival of the Photodrama of Creation, apart from being a wonderful instrument to draw people to the truth, was a real game-changer in cementing the international work. Brothers came from the USA to help the London branch organize the technical aspects of its presentation. Also brothers came from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Switzerland, Germany and Ireland and Scotland for training. Theocratic procedures were being built. Unity was strengthened. In the British field 1,226,650 watched the Photodrama over several years. About 300,000 of them in Scotland. The Bible Students were really getting noticed. [Other sources say 1,700,000 attended it but the official figure is the lower one.]

A comparison of the statistics of Photodrama attenders reveals an interesting picture. Sweden, with population of 5,500,000 had 400,000 attenders, Australia, with 4,800,000 people had also about 300,000 viewers. One can imagine the logistics of putting on the Drama in all the far flung corners of that vast land. London alone had also 425,000 attendance. [7,470 people handed in their addresses for further contact.] This means that the rest of England had 526,000 viewers for its 29 million people. So Scotland

did well with its 4,600,000 population and 300,000 viewers. Logistically the task was never easy but the central belt of Scotland has all the main towns relatively close to one another, well-served by rail, and 80% of its population lives there.

It was not held without incident in some areas. A report in 1914 Says 'In East London people actively opposed in the Ilford area where the meetings had overflow attendances, as elsewhere. The first hint of trouble was apparent early Sunday morning (when we arrived to rig up the booth, screen, etc., for the afternoon presentation) by the appearance of well-written warnings in yellow chalk on the pavement outside, admonishing the passers-by to 'Beware of Pastor Russell's lie,' etc., but as the expected passers-by were all more or less in bed the 'early Birds' demolished the 'worms' with a duster. By the time the afternoon presentation started several energetic opponents were at the entrance supplying everyone with opposition literature. We asked one mild looking friend whether he thought he was exhibiting the Master's Spirit.

'He said, 'My Master is the Lord Jesus Christ; Mr. Russell's master is the Devil.'

'We had the opportunity at intermission time to give time to think over his words.' He seems to have responded well and calmed down.'

So the Bible Students' work was certainly having an effect with opposers, church leader, actually going to the trouble of publishing literature against them. There were a number of incidents all over Britain like this one.

Appendix 2

SCOTLAND'S ROLE IN DISSEMINATING BIBLE KNOWLEDGE

To get things into context, the early Bible Students, even well before the pivotal year of 1879, which was the year of ZWT appearing, were using various Bible translations and concordances. There were some available to them in the 1870s, but they were not so orderly and were awkward and slow to use.

Alexander Cruden

However, there was one which was regarded as the best and its layout was emulated by later concordances. This came well before the second half of the 19th century when many people were doing as prophesied in Daniel 12, 'Rove about and the true knowledge will become abundant.' As early as 1737 Alexander Cruden, from Aberdeen had produced a fine Bible concordance. It was unique at the time as it not only listed all the occurrences of a certain word in the Bible but it gave a short context for the word. So instead of writing the 17 places where a word appeared he would put a few words before and after it so the reader could see if this was a suitable verse for their research. A real step forward. There were several editions printed in his lifetime and it is still in print today.

Some sources say that without any assistants and any technology he produced probably the largest body of work manually of anyone in history. He spent little more than a year on the basic project with two year more on proofreading and correcting. It contains over 311,000 references which he collected on paper files in his little flat in London. He also had a job in a bookshop at the time which got badly neglected. His sincerity in is not in doubt and he revered the Bible all his life, 1699-1770. He used the name Jehovah and also included additional research into Hebrew and Greek languages as well as other useful gems of knowledge. And, important for the Bible Students he recognized that 'parousia' meant 'presence' not

‘coming’. (Sir Isaac Newton also understood this point several decades before Alexander Cruden.) He also had a concordance of the Apocrypha, but made it plain that it was not inspired of God. He rallied against these writings which ‘Never once alluded to the coming glorious messiah.’

The period of time Alexander Cruden lived in was called the ‘Scottish Enlightenment’, a significant part of the European Enlightenment which appeared after the Reformation freed mankind from the shackles of the control of knowledge and education by the Roman Catholic church. Scotland had, in 1755, merely 1,255,000 people, according to a census taken. (This itself was practically a first in human history, a comprehensive census of that scale was a novelty and could also demonstrate one of the advancements of the Scottish Enlightenment.) That such a small nation of the outer edge of Europe could produce such marvels in the world of science, art, culture, literature, mathematics, philosophy and other fields of knowledge shows it was kicking well above its height. Officially speaking the Scottish Enlightenment is defined as being an 18th century phenomena but this period of brightness and invention lasted well into the 19th century too.

So, the early Bible Students used his concordance, as testified to it being mentioned in early Watchtower publications.

Robert Young

Another connection to Scotland was the endorsement in the early Watchtower publications of Young’s Literal Translation of the Bible. This was published in Edinburgh in 1862 by Robert Young, and as he was from a publishing and printing family he made it also freely available across the Atlantic soon thereafter. He lived from 1822 to 1888 and spoke several languages, Greek, Hebrew and also Gujarati as he served as a kind of missionary in India where several of his children were born.

As well as his Bible containing Jehovah’s name throughout, very out of the ordinary for the period, he also produced a Bible Concordance in 1879-81 the use of which was encouraged by Zion’s Watchtower as being an ‘Invaluable aid’. He had a printing business and shop in North Bank Street, Edinburgh, in a building dating from 1724. The building is still extant.

Joseph Bender actually sought him out in 1881, just shortly after his Concordance was being issued and refined. In the midst of the campaign to distribute Food for Thinking Christians, he found time to meet with him, possibly in his shop in a street just above Waverley Station in Edinburgh as told in a letter he sent to Pittsburgh on October 1st, 1881.

‘I had time to call on Mr. Robert Young, critical translator of the Bible and author of ‘Young’s Analytical Hebrew and Greek Concordance,’ and I asked his opinion of the text in 2 John 7, in regard to the Coming of Christ in the flesh, and he says that there is no doubt about the passage referring only to Christ’s first Coming. I mentioned the quibble regarding the Rochester phase of it, and he said: ‘O no, no, it means only the first Coming.’

Robert Young also translated ‘Parousia’ as ‘Presence.’ So, critics who claim that only Adventists and the Bible Students held onto this version of the word ‘Parousia’ are wrong to claim this. This mainstream publication, highly circulated, well-regarded and still in print today, used it in this way. Nothing remotely distorted or obscure about how Jehovah’s People have understood it.

He concluded his letter, ‘Am enjoying good health, of which you may inform any inquiring friends and trust you are enjoying the same. Working in hope that the labor bestowed will fall upon good ground, and produce many fold to the glory of God.’

Yours truly,

J. J. BENDER'

So, this prominent Bible scholar, Robert Young, met with an early Bible Student and had the opportunity to learn the truth. It seems impossible that Joseph Bender didn't leave him with a copy of Food for Thinking Christians. Once again Scotland was the location of some fascinating events in theocratic history. Some years later, in about 1900 the Watchtower had adjusted its thinking on this Bible version, saying that its very literal translation of certain Hebrew idioms could perplex students of the Bible. However, they were not denigrating it. By that time other Bible translations, The American Standard for example, were now more commonly used by the Watchtower Society.

It fires up one's imagination to think that men of letters, living in Edinburgh at that time, like Arthur Conan Doyle, Robert Louis Stevenson and others could have rubbed shoulders with our brother Bender in 1881/1882. There were 20,000 copies of the book Food for Thinking Christians spread around the city at that time, not to mention even more given out in Glasgow nearby. They could well have come across it.

PART TWO

ADDITIONAL GLANCES

A very detailed report from Glasgow 1912

Our meetings are as follows:

(1) Seven Sunday morning meetings in different districts of the city; aggregate attendance about 253. Two Sunday morning meetings outside the city boundaries, for which chairmen are provided from Glasgow; attendance about 40. [This could mean Paisley, Motherwell, Cambuslang, Clydebank or Airdrie, some of which soon became separate ecclesias.]

(2) A united meeting on Sunday evenings, well-advertised, for the Church and all interested; attendance varying from 400 to 700. [By 1921, despite some sifting, this reached 1,250.]

(3) Eleven Wednesday evening meetings in homes of the brethren; aggregate attendance, 146. [Sometimes called 'Parlour meetings'.]

(4) Eight Berean Studies on Fridays, and one on Sunday afternoon; total number of students, about 180.

(5) One week-night united Church meeting on Monday evenings, for the study of 'Tabernacle Shadows'; average attendance, about 90. [Study of deeper materials.]

Monthly Question Meetings are held about the last Saturday of the month, and questions are answered by the Elder brethren (who take the meeting in turn), or by a Pilgrim, when the Question Meeting fits in with his visit. A 'Harvest Work Meeting' is held quarterly, on a Sunday afternoon, to hear and give experiences, and also to exhort one another, in the different branches of the work; average attendance, about 150.

Visitation.--There are now 50 visitors (9 brothers and 41 sisters) engaged in this work. It is intended that the visits should be monthly, and in case of sickness or distress, oftener.

The Volunteer Work [Like publishers work today] is now divided into two sections; viz., extended Glasgow (being designated, 'The Inner Circle'), and the 30 miles radius around Glasgow (being called 'The Outer Circle'). The number of Peoples Pulpits [Four page leaflets] distributed from distributed from January 1 to December 31, 1912, is 510,230 for regular volunteer work, including special distribution in July; and the number of Everybody's Paper, for Class Extension work, is 291,600, making a total of 801,830. About 200 Volunteers take part in this work. [This reflects the percentage of volunteer workers in other parts of the world where from 60-80% of the consecrated ones took part in this work.]

Occasional Colporteur. --Thirty-six brethren are taking part in this branch, compared with twenty last year--an increase of sixteen. The number of books sold is close to 1,000. Besides these thirty-six, there are sixteen sisters and one brother from the Glasgow Church giving all their time to this work, and several other brethren, who are in readiness for another branch of the work, are devoting a good deal of time to colporteur at present.

Book-lending. --Thirty-one brethren are taking part in this Department. At present there are 225 books in the work. Each one has 6 books, but some wish 12. This work seems to be opening up and we anticipate more will be done in this way.

Local Pilgrim Service. --Twelve Churches are served, monthly visits being provided on request. [This means that Glasgow, as the oldest, largest and most mature ecclesia was entrusted with sending out the equivalent of circuit overseers to 12 locations in Scotland, which correlates to the number of known ecclesias at the time in Scotland which was probably 18 or so. Ecclesias requested these visits; they were not mandatory.]

Class Extension. --This work has increased rapidly during the past year. [Interested ones were gathered together in small groups to hear a talk, then they would meet again and again and some of the groups cemented together and joined the main ecclesia.] There have been 17 series held, which, which comprises 15 series of 6 meetings, one of 3 meetings, one of 2 meetings; and there have also been three single meetings; total number of meetings 98. Tracts distributed, 291,600; attendance averaging one person per 100 tracts distributed. The attention at all the meetings has been most marked. New classes have been formed in four places and existing classes strengthened in three places.

The total expenditure has been approximately 190 pounds (\$950), averaging barely 2 pounds (\$10) per single meeting. [It seems the Edgar family's flat had a room in it dedicated to literature store, which was needed as we see a vast amount being distributed. It was also like an office it seems, the closest thing Scotland ever had to a branch office.]

Edinburgh had a similarly organized congregation but on a much smaller scale and much overshadowed by Glasgow but better than many British cities of the time. In 1910 there were about 70 at their Memorial, almost 100 in 1914 and 187 in 1917. Several parts of the city held parlour meetings and later they formed the nucleus of today's congregations.

The organizing of the Photodrama of creation was also done with great zeal and personal expense to the local brothers and sisters. They provided usher and usherette services for the public in various cinemas, the sisters even having little lacy 'V' shaped pinafores for it. The attendance for Glasgow, if we include its metropolitan area of one and a half million people, could well have been 100,000 and Edinburgh maybe 30,000-40,000. Some older ones recall it was the means of them knowing the truth. I even remember in the field ministry in the 1960s people mentioning it. In second hand bookshops and junk shops in Scotland one could find old memorabilia and Scenarios relating to the Photodrama.

Much of Edinburgh's theocratic history is lost to us but there are still faithful serving ones in the city, and elsewhere who are descended from some of the early ones in the city. The Skinners are one example

and Ebenezer, 1865-1930 and his wife, Elizabeth, 1872-1958, who were anointed before 1910 and served the congregation for decades. He was a master watchmaker. Their daughter became a special pioneer and one son was a zealous elder. They have left grandchildren and great grandchildren in the city.

Also another anointed brother, George Ritchie, senior, 1875-1950, found the truth in an unusual way. He was already married and living in Ladybank, Fife and was looking for the truth. He was in a secondhand bookshop under the arches of George IV Bridge in Edinburgh's Old Town in 1909 and came across a copy of 'Studies in the Scriptures'. He went home and read it and was convinced it was that truth. He crossed the Tay to Dundee and he and Frederick Scott, mentioned elsewhere, studied it together exhaustively. He then moved to Edinburgh, his wife accepted the truth, though she was never anointed. None of their children or grandchildren were anointed but he zealously preached and used the phonograph door to door. He would place it at the bottom floor and put on the records and many neighbours would also hear it and come out. A very bold form of witnessing.

Despite his modesty, as he thought he wasn't much of a speaker, he was used to give public lectures in various Edinburgh venues, including 'Millions Now Living Will Never Die'. His descendants include a number of pioneers who helped bring young ones along in the truth and five great grandsons served at the same time as elders.

Another convention report from 1912.

'Convention.--The outstanding feature of the past year was the General Scotch [Nothing to do with whisky we hope] Convention, held July 25-28, and the presence of you, our dear Pastor, with us for three whole days. The number attending the Convention ranged from 500 to 800.

'We appreciated very much, and benefited greatly by, your presence with us at that time. The Convention finished with a Love Feast in the Convention Hall, and a large public meeting in St. Andrew's Grand Hall, filled to overflowing, the attendance being about 5,000 and many being turned away.

'Baptisms at Glasgow, during 1912, numbered 81, and the number at the Memorial Supper in March was 363.

'And we wish to say how much we appreciate those from Ireland and England. We always enjoy our visits to Glasgow. Our Scotch brethren and sisters manifest a warmth and zeal of Christian love, which is impressive and inspiring. We addressed the Convention four times on things pertaining to the Kingdom--how we shall make our calling and election sure to a share therein; also respecting the value of Bible Study as an aid to character-building,

'There were 759 addresses handed in after the public talk in the main hall and 69 at the overflow meeting. There were 5,900 in attendance in total. [These addresses were used in the class extension work.]

'Following the Glasgow Convention, we visited Stirling, [about 30 minutes away by train] there addressing an audience estimated at one thousand. Two hundred and two requests for literature were handed in. [There are two good-sized congregations in this area today.] Next came Coatbridge, [within the Glasgow metropolitan area] with an audience of about one thousand, and one hundred and seventy-eight requested literature. [There is a congregation there in this town. They had 34 at the Memorial in 1919.]

‘Thursday, August 28, found us at Kilmarnock, with twelve hundred in attendance and one hundred and eighty-two requests for literature.’ [This town is located 25 miles south west of Glasgow and today has three congregations in and around it.]

THE WESTERN ISLES RECEIVE THE GOOD NEWS

A thin red line of publishers has existed since 1931. As related by Anna Duncan, Cumbernauld congregation.

Where it all began. The 20th Century opened with my grandpa, Duncan Munro, (1854-1935), married to Mary Mackenzie Munro, (1866-1957), and their family of 14 children. They lived in Glasgow in the late 19th century.

He was a sincere and spiritual man, and a part-time Methodist Minister. His talented musical family made up almost the entire Church choir.

On leaving a Sunday morning service, he was approached by a humble little man, outside the gate, who offered a Booklet, possibly ‘Food for Thinking Christians’. Grandpa, a kind and courteous gentleman, thanked him, took it home, and read it for the rest of the day, cover to cover. He checked every scripture, every explanation, after which, at the dinner table he announced ‘I have found the Truth’. That night he went back to Church and withdrew their entire membership. That was in Glasgow in 1907.

Jehovah’s servants were not so numerous as today, and so had no well-known and permanent place of worship in the city, though they were pretty active everywhere. Enthusiastically, he set up his own family worship, and set out to find associates. They soon were in contact with the Bible Students and offered their home for ‘parlour meetings’. Soon after, he and Mary, also a very enthusiastic worshipper, were privileged to know they had been ‘anointed’. Grandma’s witnessing was legendary – her daughters would complain, ‘Mother, do we HAVE to approach everyone, at every single Tram-stop.’ I loved that they were in my early life. She reached the age of 91, faithful to the end.

Forward to World War One and the romantic story of Anna’s Mum and Dad. Murdina is the female version of the name Murdoch and as was customary Anna’s mother was called Ina all her life. Born in 1897, Murdina MacLeod, travelled from the Hebrides for work and was worked in trams as a conductress in Glasgow. (Glasgow had over 1,000 of them at this time.) This was 1914 and she was only 17. She met Jack Munro while in the city and he was smitten. They started ‘going steady’ for a short time. At this time the Bible Students had gone to her door. ‘A lady came to my door, offered me a printed Testimony Card and an invitation to a Bible Study Group. I was determined to follow it up, and I went there twice and loved it. It was held in a two-up tenement flat. I was nervous, but warmly received. In the parlour, there was a big table, with a red chenille cover, Bibles on it, and chairs all round. I was a person of faith, but I had been brought up in strict Christendom teachings, from a church in the Western Isles, but with little knowledge or scriptural understanding. So this Group was an eye-opener, and became really important to me.’ So, she couldn’t contemplate going out with Jack anymore and decided to break the budding relationship off.

He demanded to know why. ‘Is there another fellow?’ he asked, suspiciously. She said there wasn’t. But Jack pressurized her more, to get to the bottom of this. She started to tell him about the Bible Students group she was attending and all the things she was learning. He couldn’t ‘hud his wheesht’ for long. He greatly surprised and no doubt pleased her when he said the very same people held meetings in his parents’ house. ‘You must come to our meeting!’ She was taken aback. For her, oh dear no, in those days you just did not meet your boy’s parents so soon. It seems she misunderstood his invitation.

But, he got his way and took charge – and what a joy for his parents, Duncan and Mary Munro. She was the best possible girlfriend. Interested in the Millennial Dawn and so forth. And how they loved her. Her beauty was not just physical but she had fine inner qualities, spirituality, humility and courage all of which would stand her in good stead in future decades on the windswept isolated Western Isles. My Grandparents took her under their wing and taught her so thoroughly, and even with her humble education, made her a zealous Minister. She accompanied them wherever they went. The Bible Students met in many places, Masonic Halls, and also near the Kelvin Hall. Grandpa, helped bros like Alfred Greenlees, to set up the showing of the Photodrama of Creation in Glasgow. This greatly advanced her knowledge and progress and she was baptized in 1915. She could recall the queues to see it as she drove her tram, many men drivers now at war. People queued twice round the Coliseum cinema to watch it. She was present when Joseph Rutherford gave lectures and this led to some sifting out of those whom were serving men and their own interests. She held firm to the truth. She personally witnessed the dreadful Spanish Flu, as scripture had foretold. Perilous times as the war ended.

It seems that Highlanders, unlike Lady Bracknell, don't believe in short engagements. They waited until 1929 to marry. It seems her health was failing and her family up in Stornoway needed her help too. He was galvanized into action and proposed, they married and they left for the edge of Europe, the Western Isles. By then her mother had died. It was a financial wrench but he was able to use his experience as a master electrician in Stornoway. It was a really successful, warm marriage. By 1931 they were living there, the only Witnesses as far as they knew for many miles around and the only ones in the islands. There had been colporteurs covering the islands in the 1920s.

Ina was so much missing her friends, association, meetings in Glasgow, and depending on the wee brown post of the Watchtower and the Consolation – and the Bulletin/Informant. This is one time when subscriptions came into their own in Britain, for such isolated ones. People whom she knew there, were aghast at what she witnessed to them, steeped in the views of the 'Wee Frees' of False Religion. The rural territory was vast, the town small, and Gaelic was the lingua franca. And using her Gaelic Bible, which Anna still has. Where she scored was in her photographic memory of so many scriptures and their understanding. The clergy hated her, when she tied them in knots, which gave her courage. But persecution followed, when she embarked solo, house to house. The people themselves were respectful of 'faith' and were prepared to engage in dialogue. But she did love feisty discussions with the clergy – them, not so much. They would think 'Who WAS this 'wee woman' to come and flummox them?' No one dared to challenge the clergy, they were viewed as demi-gods.

Friends always wrote, and the lovely Agnew Family from Glasgow, Bill, Chrissie and their sister (all anointed) said they were coming to do a pioneer assignment on the Island – on their bicycles, with a box of books on the back. What joy there was while on their preaching at the northernmost point of the islands at Ness, about 1,000 population today, they found a family, in a remote spot, Angus and Lena Macleod who believed the Truth and were isolated Bible Students. It was 24 miles from Stornoway. They too received literature by subscription. All were delighted on making contact and the family upped-sticks and moved to be nearer to Ina in Stornoway, and for many long years, it was just the two families. Meeting in their living room. There was little organisational direction, just doing their best 'as the spirit moved them'. Brother Angus, being a builder, built a small Kingdom Hall above his property, adding a small flat, (should CO's come). Her Dad did all the electrical work. It was dedicated in October 1958.

Visiting CO's got a shock – clergy opposition, different language, little organisation, a tiny congregation. The Hall would have seated 30 at most, and they, being less than 12, only took up the two front rows. But, build it on the principle 'They WILL come', and slowly they did. A family, Angie and Lorna MacNeil, and others came, in dribs and drabs – for locals, so hard to defy the religion there. But incomers came as well. Sometimes people were baptised on a quiet sea beach. In retrospect, Anna says that the men-folk were less bold, and she well understood the climate, whereas Ina and Lena were the bold

stalwarts. Anna wrote, ‘A lovely thought occurs to me, to be able to tell my Mum that I stood on the Stornoway Town Hall steps with a Gaelic Cart, and that I was privileged to tell, about her, at the Dedication of the new quick build Hall, just up the road from her house. In fact, so much are JW’s now viewed as part of the Island scene that when groups of brothers arrived at the Airport to assist the build in recent years, staff would ask them ‘Are you here for the Hall?’ How things have changed.’

As told by Anna Duncan, aged 94, Cumbernauld congregation. She is the daughter of Jack and Ina Macleod. Ina served faithfully for 72 years, the majority of which, 56 years, in isolated Stornoway. She died in 1987.

And it all started with two Bible Students in Glasgow inviting them to a ‘parlour’ meeting back in 1914.

BIOGRAPHY OF HENDRY CARMICHAEL

He was born in the Gorbals area of central Glasgow in 1916 and lived until 2006. Here follow his own memoirs, dictated and recorded some years ago.

Hendry Carmichael, Highgate Congregation, London.

My family was traditional members of the Church of Scotland consisting of my father, James Magnus Carmichael and my mother Mary Hendry Carmichael (nee Drummond). I was born in the Gorbals area in central Glasgow in 1916. There were five boys, I was the youngest and there were two sisters. Mary was the youngest I was especially fond of her. I had a voracious appetite for knowledge. On the one hand I loved science and my Albert Road Academy, where I was educated, had an excellent laboratory and on the roof of the school an observatory. I would get books by Sir James Jeans on the universe from the library. Then on my own I built up a chemistry laboratory in the basement of the block of flats where I lived and with an audience of five or six peers experimented with producing oxygen, hydrogen gas and explosives, much to their interest and fascination. However, my greatest hunger was for Bible knowledge. I used to open the Bible at Genesis with a sense of awe and say to myself, ‘This is where it all started, Life and our Earth.’

My father was a ‘sail maker’ and sailed in four-masted schooners all around the world. He explained that a chief ‘Sail Maker’ was the equivalent of a chief engineer in modern steam or oil driven vessels and could commandeer sailors to work under his direction in emergencies. In our library there was a book called, ‘The Divine Plan of the Ages’, [Published in 1886], which I had often noticed but never read. One day I took it down when I was about fourteen years, in 1930 or so and in its inside cover was a stamp with ‘Perth, Australia’ on it. So I presume someone must have boarded his ship with literature and my father had taken it. [Perth in Western Australia was a real stronghold of the Bible Students even on the 1890s.]

I started to read it and found it so absorbing that I bought a note book and began to write Bible texts under various headings, subjects like ‘Only one God, No Trinity’, ‘Soul’, that we don’t possess one. One heading was about God’s purpose over the ‘ages’ to reconcile men to himself and restore the earth to paradise by means of the ‘ransom’ sacrifice of his only begotten son Jesus Christ if people would rest their faith in him’. Often on wintry nights, besides a blazing coal fire I plodded page by page through that book and made notes. I was unaware of any organisation where people could meet and learn. But in 1936 a talk was advertised to be given by Judge Rutherford to be held in the Coliseum Cinema in Glasgow’s city centre. I went to it but was turned away because it was packed but directed to an overflow place in a nearby New Bedford Cinema tied in by wire and I managed to hear the talk there. I also joined in with others when a resolution was passed and all were invited to say ‘AYE’. [Likely had had little idea what it was all about.]

My father's finances were used up in training my oldest brother Tom in steam and oil marine engineering aided by his joining the British India Steam Navigation Company and he became chief engineer in both fields out in India and coasts off Asia. Hugh, the third oldest son was trained in being a Chartered Accountant. Jim suffered from polio in his left leg but was set up in his own business as a cobbler. But with the after-effects of WW1 and the General Strike of 1926 in order to help run the house, I terminated my education early and got a job in a nearby shipyard building small wooden craft and lifeboats. This small yard was a subsidiary of a big yard on the Clyde, Meechan's. [This is a reflection of Glasgow's great role in shipbuilding. About 30% of the world's ships were built here in 1914.] Also whilst still at school I often helped my older brother Jim in his cobbler shop. I learned to operate his machine by standing on a soap box trimming the edges of the shoe soles on the cutter and sanding the wheels the soles and the heels then blacking and polishing them on the brushes until the repaired shoes or boots were as good as new. From the shipyard job I would turn over my entire wage packet to mum and let her decide how much I could have for myself. All of this was good training for me in self-sacrifice and self-control.

However, as earlier stated my religious urges were so strong that I became a Sunday school teacher and around the age of eighteen I was chairman of the branch of the Religious Foundry Boys' Society founded by Mr Sanderson, a missionary to the Outer and Inner Hebrides, islands off the North-West Coast of Scotland. The branch was in Weir Street in the Tradeston district of Glasgow. After work I often visited the parents of the children that attended and encouraged Bible reading. At those meetings I used knowledge from the 'Divine Plan of the Ages' to do some teaching. But an interesting development was that I also shared this knowledge to my workmates in the shipyard. Gradually, they nicknamed me 'Samuel the prophet' shortened to 'Sammy'. Then someone said, 'You love the Bible and there are books on the Bible in our house I never read. Would you like to have it?' I urged them to give them to me. Soon I had built up a library of books by Judge Rutherford such as Light 1 and 2, on Revelation, Vindication 1 on Ezekiel, Creation, and Prophecy and I devoured all their contents and made copious notes. But I still never realised there was an Organisation with meetings available. My activities meant that I never met any Witnesses of Jehovah personally. But contacts were there. On the way to Church in Pollock Street a black car with 'This Gospel of The Kingdom shall be preached' in its window gave loudspeaker talks. I would tell Mary, my little sister, 'Listen, we don't get this in our church!' We'd listen but Mary was not impressed. We'd carry on to church.

One day in the house I found a coloured booklet my mother had obtained at the door. I realised it was the same as the books I had. Inside was an invitation to Eglinton Street Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses with the timings of meetings. I realised that this booklet tuned in with the 'Divine plan of the Ages,' I had been studying. I never knew that they had an organisation and that there were meeting places. So I planned to attend Tuesday.

Now, basically, I was painfully shy in those days, so I went along and looked across from the opposite side of the road and watched people going in but couldn't pluck up enough courage to go in. Finally I went home. But that night I was troubled and could hardly sleep. Somehow I sensed that once I stepped through the door it was going to change my whole life. I prayed and prayed.

Thursday night I again went with my Bible tucked under my arm and this time I didn't hesitate I plunged into the hall. There were great maps with coloured flags on it and a great Chart discussing getting a 10% increase and full of figures with the months down the left hand side of the chart. It looked very efficient and business like.

I sat at the back row and a woman just in front, turned round and smiled and asked my name and if I had been before. I explained that this was the first meeting. Next 'Do you attend a church?' 'Yes. Pollock Street Church of England.' Kindly she said, 'You may hear things very different from what you usually

hear. For example your church teaches the trinity doctrine.’ I got my Bible opened and said, ‘But that isn’t a true teaching,’ and used John 17:3, ‘The only true God, and there is no third person,’ and read to her Luke 10:22, ‘No man knoweth who the Son is, but the Father, and who the Father is, but the Son and he to whom the Son will reveal him. So there are only two the Father and the Son.’ ‘Oh, you know that already do you?’ she said, so looking puzzled she turned back in her seat.

The whole meeting fascinated me. I listened intently and enjoyed every minute. Brother Ian Greenlees was chairman. [He must have been quite young then and continued faithful for decades thereafter, into the 21st century.] At the end they asked for volunteers to go in the Sound Car to Giffnock on the outskirts of Glasgow to witness to that neighbourhood. The time - Saturday 2 p.m. at the Kingdom Hall. I put up my hand. [So much for being extremely shy.] Later brothers confided that they were all astonished for I arrived that night looking somewhat sanctimonious with my Bible under my arm, but knew truths already and wanted to witness.

That Saturday I went along and met about 10 in the Sound Car. We drove out to Giffnock and pointed the two speakers down a street and played a record on some doctrine. Then we were asked to witness to the same street. The young brother in charge was Jack Sharp. [Also only a teenager then who later left Glasgow to head the work in Ayr where he served for over 60 years.] He told me they were offering the ‘Cure’ booklet but that they had to be paid for. So I paid him the money for 20 booklets. Then without any more ado he told me to cross the street and work my way down that street offering the ‘CURE’ booklet. I went up to my first door wondering what to say but seeing that the title was ‘Cure’ I realised it must be spiritual curing it was talking about so I spoke to the lady about a ‘morally and spiritually sick world’. What the people needed was how to cure its ills, and this booklet would do just that if she read it. She readily took it and paid one Penny. I slowly worked my way for an hour or so and placed 20 booklets. When we met in the van to go back to the Kingdom Hall I expressed my joy in the service. So Jack handed me a report slip and showed me how to fill it in. Then I asked ‘When can we go out again?’ He said on Sunday. I explained that I had Sunday Schools and a Branch meeting of the Foundry Boys Society to attend to. ‘I can’t come on Sundays. When will be the next chance?’ He said that on Monday, Wednesday and Friday nights they meet at Paisley Road Toll and worked with the Phonographs and literature. But I said I don’t have any phonograph. ‘If you come I’ll bring a phonogram and record for you to use,’ he said. I agreed to come.

Monday I turned up at 7 p.m. Jack gave me a small portable green phonograph and a record and again I bought some booklets. He gave me a few tips on how to use the phonograph and he gave me a block of tenement flats to do. I faithfully did what he said. I wound it up, opened it and put on the record, knocked the door and when the householder came I invited the householder to listen to a speech on the phonograph and, without waiting for confirmation, set the record going. Soon about four persons in the house came and all listened while I focused my attention on the record as I was told to do as an example to them. Afterwards I offered the booklet and they took it and paid a contribution. I had a few mishaps such as forgetting to wind the machine up after playing it, but I got into the swing and spent two hours and had a great and most uplifting time and noted on the report slip the number of door step set ups, the number of persons who attended each and the booklets placed. That month I spent around 40 hours in the service on the top of a 45 hour working week, and thanked Jehovah God in prayer for sharing in Kingdom Witnessing. But each night I was getting more and more troubled. I prayed earnestly for help. I can’t go on like this. ‘I have to break away from the Church of Scotland and the Foundry Boy’s Society,’ I cried out in anguish. But how to do it? This all happened in April 1938.

The next month the Church of Scotland planned a great campaign called ‘The Call to Religion’. Pollock Street Church was to be one of the centres of that campaign. Several church congregations came together that Sunday, around 500 members or more. The Reverend Bowie opened the meeting and then flung it open for discussion. I prayed to Jehovah. ‘This is my chance to identify where I stand. Give me strength

to speak the truth.’ So I stood up. I was well-known for my religious activities and I could see they were all expectant, including my mother and Mary who was also there.

I started by saying, ‘Before we ask people to come back to church we must ask ourselves what have we to offer them to renew their faith in God. I have been born in this church but I have heard sermons that tended to undermine faith such as that prophecies were written AFTER the events foretold. Have we ever heard about the ‘Seed’ promised at Genesis 3:15 and clarified in the covenant with Abraham that the ‘Seed’ is not merely a saving from sin but is also a governmental ‘seed’ a KINGDOM and that the time has come to preach the ‘Gospel of that Kingdom seed? Have you ever heard our minister,’ turning to him sitting angrily now on the platform, ‘discuss these things?’ By now interruptions arose and I knew time was running out, so I had to get across my own position clearly. I said, repeating phrases that I heard Brother Rutherford using, ‘Divine Judgements are against this church and all who support it and in due time this church will be destroyed by God himself. Therefore, rather than inviting people back to that fate the time has come for all lovers of truth to get out!’ At that point several rushed on me and thumped me and beat me on the head. I left the church to escape the commotion.

My mother felt disgraced. I felt bad for her for I loved my mum very much, but I had to get out of false religion. I walked the streets for a while before going home, to let the family cool down. Whilst walking I recalled how when I had a bad accident and smashed my left elbow when I was about five and how she tramped around hospitals to get me attended to. All were full but finally the Royal Infirmary did an X-Ray on me. It was a most frightening experience back in around 1921. There was a serious risk of amputation but after a year almost in hospital they managed to use some system of wiring parts together and finally the bones knit so till this day I have a scarred and somewhat misshapen left arm. But it works thanks to the medical ingenuity at that early time. I was ever grateful to my mum and dad. But that could not come in between me and my love for God and the Truth.

The many operations had weakened me so I made determined goals to walk and strengthen my muscles. At around 13 years I walked to Ayr on the coast from Glasgow, played on the sandy beach and, exhausted, walked back almost to Glasgow before what little money I had enabled me to finish by tram. Around 35 or more miles. Thus I developed good walking stamina that helped me later in life, especially in India. However this recall of mum's sacrifice for me was not going to come in between me and my relationship with Jehovah God in true worship.

Next I wrote a letter to Dr. Sanderson and told him I was resigning from the Weir Street Branch and that I was now a Witness of Jehovah preaching the Good News. He sent me a nice letter back wishing me well in my new vocation. With these two actions I was now free in my conscience to worship Jehovah with all my heart with his earthly organisation.

The next big event was when brother Agnew, who operated the sound car, asked me if I would like to attend a convention in Birmingham in July. [This brother is mentioned in the section about the Western Isles.] Now my mother usually hired a flat for the school holidays in July in some seaside resort in the Clyde and I always enjoyed that time with my family. I now had a choice to make. Holiday with mum and the family and dad or to go to a convention of Jehovah's Witnesses? With a bit of headache I decided to go to the convention. We all went in the van, Jack and Angus Sharpe and brother Agnew. We visited the Sharpe family home in England. At the Convention Brother Schroeder handled a Bible discussion by playing records on doctrines and inviting questions from the audience. Thrilling. But the hall that had been hired had a baptism pool. So we all went to the baptism talk and as I listened I said to brother Agnew, ‘Can't I be baptised?’

He said, ‘If you want to.’

‘Very much so,’ I said. So I hurried back stage, had no towel or costume but one being baptised said to use his. So after he was baptised I slipped into his wet costume and was baptized. Jim Barr did the immersing, Thus on 28th July I was now a dedicated and baptized minister of Jehovah God. What great joy.

A zone servant George Saltmarsh was sent from the London to various places in the UK to encourage pioneering. The July ‘Informant’ that year also encouraged pioneering. I responded and was accepted and assigned to Perthshire. This meant resigning from my work to take up pioneering. My father, concerned about the decision, and who viewed Brother Rutherford as a ‘Quack’, forbade me to take that course. He made it clear. ‘Either you give up this decision or you leave this house immediately.’ I prayed and got packing and left the house. A brother, Willie Maine, anointed and who had totally remained neutral in World War I, being sent to Wormwood Scrubs prison for refusing military service, and his wife ‘Jenny’ also anointed, had befriended me in the congregation and knew that I was facing issues over the truth. They had told me, ‘Come and stay with us if ever you are in trouble.’ So now I went to 16 Springfield Gardens across from Queen’s Park, Glasgow and when they saw me standing on the doorstep they embraced me and readily took me in. Deep down, I was very sad at the way things were turning out with the family but I could not let anything separate me from the love of God.

I cycled to Perthshire with another companion Jim Bacon and we headed for Crieff. At Crieff we went from house to house with the ‘Enemy’ book but at the same time as preaching we asked about a place to stay in which we could cook for ourselves. That same day of our arrival, tired and inexperienced, God opened up the way for us to get a nice room and other facilities for 10 shillings a week. I had three pounds with me, which is all I had in the world.

After a good night’s sleep we had porridge and planned from an ordinance map that we would leave the towns to the winter but now do all the open country places such as the Sma’ Glen and other places. We climbed up to remote houses. On going to one house on top of a hill as I left my bike and climbed up the hillside, I saw a woman come to the door from time to time watching my progress. Finally I made it. She welcomed me in, offered me a feast of tea and treacle and soda scones, freshly made. She listened to the recording from my Phonograph, by now the modern upright model. She took three volumes and paid me by fruit and vegetables., So I went downhill heavier than when I went up. We had a great time. In two weeks, we had placed 12 Bibles and 100 volumes. But at the end of that two weeks an urgent call by letter from the Zone Servant George Saltmarsh asked us to return to Glasgow. A convention was being arranged on the subject ‘Face the Facts’.

He put me in charge of Construction and also had recommended to the Society to have me appointed as Overseer of the East Congregation in Glasgow which met in Castle street. He wanted to intensify the advertising of the talk. I suggested and built what we called ‘The Ark’ style in advertising in which two four feet by four feet frames with posters on each were hinged at the top then like the ark long handles extended out from each end so that brothers could carry them through the streets. Soon Glasgow was amazed to find parades of brothers wearing placards and also holding up signs saving ‘Serve God and Christ the King’ and ‘Religion is a Snare and Racket’ interspersed with ‘Arks’ also advertising ‘Face the Facts’ talk. The sound car had a superstructure shaped like the Watchtower out of which the horns spouted out ‘Attention! Attention!’ People would ask, ‘Who are these coming down the street? It is Jehovah’s Witnesses on parade once again!’ This was followed by a verbal invitation to the talk. Glasgow was all astir. When Isaiah said at Isaiah 60:22, ‘The little one himself will become a thousand,’ that seemed to become true in 1938. The parade functioned in the busy junctions of Glasgow. Traffic was held up as some crossed one way and were intersected by others crossing another way. You could hear people saying, ‘Look there are thousands of them.’ But maybe only a couple of hundred were actually on parade. It was a thrilling convention with also the stirring talk on the divine mandate in the talk ‘Fill the earth’ given at the same assembly, on September 10 and 11.

But storm clouds were looming over the European scene leading to other tests that pressured me to separate me from God's love. What were these?

The Society was aware that the threat by the Nazi 'Brown shirt' expansion in Germany was being highly supported by the Roman Catholic church and this was exposed in both the Consolation and Watchtower magazines. Von Papen, the previous German Chancellor, had opened the way for Hitler to gain power and was behind the Catholic Action movement to set up men in advantageous positions, like editorial and radio newscasters to soften public opinion. This caused ugly scenes to develop in both the house ministry and broadcasting by electrical transmission machines in vans and cars of talks by Brother Rutherford on the Bible. Thus in Clydebanks in South Bank Street at the Holy Redeemer's Chapel a priest from there incited a mob to attack a car giving a recorded delivery over the loudspeaker nearby. They threatened to burn the car with the brothers inside. Twice, on 5th February and March 5th 1939, this had happened.

Brother Schroeder, who directed the work in Britain, communicated with the Society in Brooklyn and it was agreed to put on an exhibition of spiritual strength to show that Jehovah's Witnesses could not be chased off the public witness work. The method used was as follows. Brother Schroeder, along with George Saltmarsh, visited each of the congregations in Glasgow and said that an organised witness was to be given in Clydebanks on Sunday 30th April 1939. They warned that there may be bloodshed but no one should go if afraid or didn't want to go. Over 200 volunteered to brave the danger as a witness to the truth. Five buses met at the West Glasgow Kingdom Hall. We were given instructions to do a brief witness in their assignment and go back to where they were dropped off and re-board the bus they had been on. On boarding the bus each party was given sealed instructions not to be opened until they started on the journey. They would be dropped off at intervals then the buses would swing round and pick them up afterwards, in half an hour.

When I opened my instructions I knew the worst. South Bank Street, where the trouble had all started outside the Holy Redeemer's Chapel. The full details of what happened were reported in the Consolation Magazine of June 14th 1939 under the title, 'Destruction of Scotland under Way'. I was beaten up and knocked out and may have been killed had not a couple of men charged in and dragged me from the middle of the mob and dropped me in the middle of the road with the raging crowd still around. I recovered enough to get up and pouring with blood staggered to the nearest police station where both brother Schroeder and George Saltmarsh were. One sister fainted on seeing me. The police doctor examined me. My heavy tweed coat had saved a lot of the damage to my body but my face was covered with boot marks of iron studs and metal clips.

But no one knew then that the real damage was internal. Some time later I was sent to Dundee to pioneer. One day I got up with agonising pains in the abdomen. I managed to get to brother Charles Robb, who had a business in Dundee and he decided to drive me to the hospital. On examining me they asked, 'What on earth have you done with yourself? Have you fallen down a flight of stairs?' I said that no, nothing unusual had happened recently. But, puzzled, they asked, 'Something seriously wrong has happened. Did you get kicked or something?' When they said that, I recalled the mob action in Clydebanks and told them what had happened. 'That's it,' they explained. 'You are full of internal injuries, and big abscesses have developed but fortunately for you they all point outward, otherwise these injuries could have killed you.' I had a long spell of pains till my system got cleared of boils and numerous abscesses, because I healed up too soon for them to clean out the main abscesses. As a result they had burst out all over my body and head.

Then a month after the Clydebanks affair I was in another mob action in Glasgow. A German refugee sister called Elizabeth Moechel had been rescued from a threat to be sent to a concentration camp and brother Greenlees had offered her work in his home. But she preferred to pioneer. Since her English was limited I had arranged to take her with me on Friday 19th May in a meeting with 12 others at Castle Street

and Garngad Road and we worked Cobden Street and Bright Street. As I took her with me in Cobden Street a woman ran down the stairs after me yelling, 'Get out of here quickly. I can see a huge mob gathering and they are after you.' She had seen this from her window on the top floor. We thanked her and wondered what to do. I slowly explained to Lizel that we were in danger but to trust in Jehovah God. I still had bruises front the previous Clydebank mob action on my face. The rest of that terrifying day is fully reported in the Consolation Magazine, June 28th 1939, page 5, the main title, 'Fascism in Britain'.

We thank God for a remarkable deliverance from a mob that totaled over 2,000 but we escaped in a tramway car from the violence and I took Lizel home to brother Ian Greenlees in Giffnock.

Every day now I was being confronted with violence where I worked in the Bridgeton Cross area of East Glasgow Congregation. Either chased by mobs as soon as we witnessed or being trapped on landings in blocks of flats, and then being asked to worship a statue of the Virgin Mary. Out of all these trials somehow God's spirit brought amazing escapes.

For example, later that same summer when the Fascism or Freedom Booklet came out a group of us were in Dumbarton not far from Clydebank. We had huge placards with the name 'Fascism or Freedom' posters on them and using the booklets in our hands a group of us were doing street witnessing. This may have been about June 1939. Suddenly, I noticed people on my side of the road, a main thoroughfare, looking across to something happening on the other side. I looked across and was horrified to see a giant Irish docker type of man battering brother Ian Kilgour, a very dapper, small gentlemanly kind of brother, against the railings of a building. I immediately charged across and jumped on this man's back and pulled him away from Ian. A huge crowd began to assemble blocking the main road in the process.

This man snarled and turned his attention on me as he rained blows in my direction. I retreated into the middle of the road and then he made a big mistake. He drew back his boot and lashed out with a vicious kick but from my work in the yards I was agile. I dodged the kick and grabbed him under his heel and tossed his leg in the air he fell down so heavily the ground shook. He got up raging more furious than ever I cried out to Jehovah in my heart, 'Help me bring this to an end! I can't carry on!' and just then like a wind on each side of me two men rushed up, each grabbed an arm and twisted it up behind his back so that one moment he was mouthing curses and bearing down on me and the next minute he was being swept away with an amazed look on his face. It appeared that they were two plain-clothes policemen, maybe sent to watch what Jehovah's Witnesses were doing with the advertising subject 'Fascism or Freedom,' and at the right moment they had come to my rescue. The crowd gave me pats on the back and quickly dispersed whilst I went home with Ian Kilgour and met his wife Martha. We had refreshments and went over the day's events and played violins and had music. [This couple served faithfully for decades thereafter and their grandson is still on the go and their daughter in law lives on well into her 90s.]

Reflecting on things, the move to Theocratic Organisation came on time as war clouds gathered and was to brace us for speedy and timely action in our spiritual warfare. About this time a pioneer home arrangement had sprung up in various parts of the world so I said a tearful cheerio to Willie Main and Jenny and moved to the pioneer home in Westminster Terrace, Glasgow.

Brother Bob Gough and his wife Miriam, a pioneer couple from Birmingham became our guardians and a group of single pioneers moved into this large and well equipped house in which we shared cooking, cleaning and other chores and had united Watchtower studies, and witnessed in groups in nearby areas and altogether found the arrangement upbuilding.

George Saltmarsh prior to this had been most uplifting. In his Zone [Circuit] work he would call for me and take me with him to give encouraging talks to young ones in places like Coatbridge, Lanark and Motherwell and also to work with them in the house to house work and build them up in the ministry. But

in view of all the action that had surrounded me with violence George thought that perhaps I had become a marked man. So, in consultation, I think, with the branch, I got a letter from the Society giving me a rail voucher and a fresh assignment to Dundee just about the time that war was declared on 3rd August 1939. That same day whilst in the pioneer home we saw blimps rise from various parts of Glasgow into the blue sky that evening and we all felt the ominous threat of air raids that might be at hand. When I arrived in Dundee I again found a small room for 10 shillings a week and started pioneering there. Dundee was a big submarine base and had just been the centre of a huge Nazi spy ring scare and a house on the outskirts was found equipped with radios and other communication systems so this caused a great stir just when I was going from house to house. [The Jessie Jordan case.] At the outbreak of war the branch asked that we all register when called up as 'Conscientious Objectors' but when the time came I registered as an 'Ordained Minister' and there was some communication back and forth but finally they issued me with a card saying that I was 'Exempted from military service.' This proved helpful.

Since I was the only pioneer in Dundee, as I went from house to house and war actions were stepping up my going around as a young man was noticeable. So sometimes people would call the police after I left and, with the spy scare in everyone's mind, would say, 'There's a spy going around pretending to preach the Bible. He looks German.' So, soon a police patrol car would scream up and police would come to me at the doors and accost me. But when I showed my exemption card they went away. This happened so often wherever I witnessed that finally they wouldn't get out of the car because all the police must have been notified so they would just draw up near where I was witnessing and call out, 'Are you Mr Carmichael?' When I replied in the affirmative, they would just wave and go off.

On November 1st Watchtower 1939 an article on neutrality was issued. We all made a careful study of the principles. Later when the booklet form of the article was issued it was taken to various officials and religious leaders all over the United Kingdom and I had a good share in that work.

However, the time was drawing near when my stand on neutrality would be put to the test. There was a famous five day assembly in the De Montfort Hall in Leicester, which I attended on a Theocratic Express from Glasgow that I had joined from Dundee and it had a huge banner alongside the train to advertise the public talk. It roared all the way to Leicester full of Jehovah's Witnesses. This caused outrage in Parliament as to how, in wartime, a train could be used for such a purpose. During the convention as we witnessed in a specific assignment each day, we met mounting opposition so that we didn't dare to go to the doors towards the end of that week. Then on Sunday the gates were mobbed, including action by soldiers, as they tried to lift the huge gates off their hinges but we managed to keep the assembly grounds intact.

It was at that assembly that the book Children was released and amid tears we saw over a thousand children stand up to vow to use that book to teach others the truth. The talk Comfort for all that Mourn discussed the end of the axis powers as then understood in Daniel chapter 11 and reassured us that after the war a great work lay ahead.

When I got back to Dundee, now staying with a sister Brew and her two children, Edwin and Rose, she told me that the police had called whilst I was away at the convention. Also she said that plain clothes police had been watching the house all week. I was braced in my mind as to what this was all about. True enough whilst still asleep the next morning, after the long trip from Leicester to Dundee, a thunderous banging on the door woke us all up and when they came in they handed me a summons to appear in court. I notified the brothers and went to court to find out what it was all about. The court called me to account as to why I wasn't in the army. I explained that I was exempt but the employment labour office said my exemption was not valid. I contested that. So a court case was fixed that month of September.

Using the booklet *Defending and Legally Establishing the Good News* I worked out my own defense. The day arrived and I was kindly helped by the judge on court procedures. The employment exchange accused me of ignoring directions in the call up age that linked with my age. Then I produced my trump card, the card exempting me from military service. I was told to hand the card to the Employment Officer and he was asked to read it out aloud and he was embarrassed. The judge ordered him to hand the card to him and he read it too.

Then I called witnesses such as brother Charles Robb and Tom Reid, to testify as to my role as overseer and that whilst all are ministers ordained by God my position of oversight as spiritual shepherds and were therefore entitled to special recognition by the government.

The Judge asked for time to weigh up the whole issue so the court was adjourned for a couple of days.

I carried on witnessing and had an exciting time in the day in-between the day before the final hearing. With me was another pioneer, Albert Bacon just visiting Dundee. When at a call, a clergyman appeared and accused me of stealing his flock. He accused us of being false teachers but he put his foot in it when he said we didn't believe in hell fire and he used the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. So in front of the householder I said let us look at that account and get to the truth of what it that Jesus was teaching and prophesying. I sat on a stool between the clergyman and Albert Bacon on chairs and the woman was in the corner. I explained that the torment in the parable is describing the very reaction to our ministry that the clergy have towards us by exposing false teaching and our teaching the truth that the flock belong to God as he bought them by the blood of Christ. They don't belong to the clergy. He leapt across and grabbed me by the throat and we sprawled on the floor. Pandemonium broke out. But Albert got the priest off me and he fled behind a settee. I then told the priest, 'We are not violent men we are peaceable men and true ministers so you have nothing to fear physically from us.'

The next day the court hearing decided that I was not an ordained minister so I was ordered under police escort to the recruitment centre in Dundee. There I refused before the military personnel to join the army. I was escorted back and put in prison that night. The next day the court reassembled and the judge said most sympathetically, 'I can understand your stand but by law I have to sentence you and he pronounced a sentence of four months, plus another month. I was led down to the cells. Later I was transferred to Perth prison. There I had new issues to face. The governor, a Scottish church traditionalist wanted to convert me and ordered me to attend church on Sunday. I said I could not compromise with false religion so I wouldn't be attending. Enraged, he yelled, 'Carmichael! You will attend church on Sunday!' Sunday came and I wondered what would happen.

True enough the door was swung open and a squad of warders were lined up. Then I recalled Jesus' words at Matthew 5:41. They were expecting a fight but I meekly went with them. On the way I resolved never to compromise my worship but like Naaman of 2 Kings 5:18,19 I decided to steer a course of wisdom. When they stood up to sing and pray I remained seated so the warders would jump behind me and make me stand. I would sing Kingdom songs to myself and whisper my own prayer but when the others sat down I remained standing in prayer. They would push me down and this went on for the whole service. I worshipped Jehovah and read my own texts throughout. Then I peaceably went back under escort to my cell. I was called to the governor and, fuming, he yelled, 'Alright Carmichael you will not be asked to attend church again but this week there is a concert in the prison you will not be allowed to attend.'

The concert day arrived and I learned the next morning when all the prisoners were assembled for a special talk by the governor that there had been a riot and we were all put on bread and water for that day as a punishment. Inside I said, 'Deserves you right.' I didn't mind the punishment for I thought of Peter's words at I Peter 3: 16,17. The next issue was literature. I had asked for my own Bible rather than just the

prison Bible. Although we used the King James version main text we had a concordance and other aids printed together in one volume. I planned to use my prison sentence as a time for prayer and research. The governor refused but I had heard that other prisons allowed it so I asked for pen and paper as I wanted to write to the Secretary of State. He could not refuse me that right. I then wrote about the issue to the Secretary of State. Some time later my own Bible lay on the prison corner table. This didn't improve relations with the governor. I had a great time reading the Bible and pondering on and tying up together various truths that the Faithful and Discreet Slave had revealed. Also I carried on various studies with prisoners. How? We were not allowed to talk in the workshop which was presided over by a very fine prison workshop foreman called Mr Campbell. He was famed for his exploits in the Highland Games tossing the caber etc.

But when on parade times I had discussions, usually starting with someone asking, 'What are you in for?' And when I explained, sometimes interest was aroused as I walked with criminals and murderers of all sorts. 'Where is that in the Bible?' they would ask. I asked them to read a certain passage. Next time, 'I've read it. But I don't still understand why.' So I'd give them another passage. So like that I had, in due time, several studies going. One day the prison foreman, Campbell, spoke to me as I worked near him. Kindly he asked, 'What will you do when this sentence is finished? Will you then join the army?' When I explained the full meaning of Christian neutrality in line with 'We are not part of the world,' he wondered and said, 'I know you are talking about the Bible. Please don't let me know or see you doing this for it's against the rules. But you are having a fine effect on the prisoners since you have come. The men are better behaved, so keep it up, but discreetly.'

At that point in time another test came. At prison mealtimes, which we ate in solitude in own cells, work was often handed in to do, usually of a menial kind, like cleaning pots. The day after my my talk with Mr Campbell war work was put in the cell, making camouflage nets for guns and tanks. I looked at it but didn't touch it. When the warder came to check the work I explained why I didn't do that work but he erupted in fury and battered me with a barrage of fists that sent me flying across my cell, bleeding. He charged off, shouting he would report me. Whilst sitting somewhat shaken but gaining my composure, an angry rattling at the door warned me trouble was brewing so I stood up as the door was angrily flung open and there was Mr Campbell and he stammered in amazement, 'Mr Carmichael, what's this? You're refusing work! I don't believe this!'

But when I explained, saying, 'You know Mr Cambell that I am in prison as an ordained minister of the Good News of Peace. I cannot do war work. It's against my principles of neutrality to the world and its wars so...' He interrupted angrily. 'Do you mean to say they gave YOU war work to do? It's unbelievable, of course, you can't do that kind of work.' Then with a roar down the prison corridor he called the warder to account. 'Never, never give war work again to Mr Carmichael. Do you hear me?!' He bellowed and made the warden take the work away which he did sheepishly. Then he looked at me with a changed expression of kindness. He said, 'I am sorry about this it won't happen again.' And with that he went and the incident closed with my relationship with the God of love through Jesus Christ intact.

I was due out from the four month sentence around Friday 6th December but the question of the one month sentence was on my mind. I had thought it was to be served concurrently. I was changed into civilian clothes. Many prisoners wished me the best as I left and went to the gate. I understood that a brother Yule a faithful brother from Perth was to meet me. [He was a conscientious objector in the First World War.] As I stepped over the threshold of a narrow gate in the large metal gates I saw brother Yule outside in the yard but also a burly policeman was waiting and he came up and in a stentorian voice read out a proclamation to me. 'Do you Mr Carmichael, Prison Number 686 of Dundee etc,' then ordered me to pay a fine for he read out the offence dealing with the court case but I can't recall all the words. I listened but said, 'I do not acknowledge any offence contrary to Christian living, therefore I refuse to pay any fine.'

With that he gave me a big shove through the narrow gate back into prison. As I stumbled back over the threshold I caught a glimpse of Brother Yule's look of astonishment. The prisoners gave a cheer when they saw me back in for I had made many friends and there I was again in prison and the governor's expression was a sight to see. I completed that second sentence. Time went quickly with good behaviour and when I reached Dundee the only clue I have as to the time when I was free that same month was a letter I have from the branch dated December 18th, 1941 saying they were glad I was free and that they were assigning me to the Perth Congregation. So far, nothing had separated me from 'God's love that is in Christ Jesus my lord'.

In Perth my assignment also covered Methven, Crieff and Auchterarder so I widened out and began to get groups going in all these places and the brothers were a treat to work with. The Kinghorns, brother and sister Broom and the Rattray family were very supportive and experiences in that assignment could fill a book. But the time came when another military call up came. This time the issue was much more direct, military service or not. I was firmly rejecting any such move but I argued again on not only neutrality but that I was an ordained minister and that all my recent activities proved this. One experience in the field at this time took place whilst witnessing in a village near St Fillans, Loch Earn where Prince Charles Stewart raised the 1794 rebellion. I met a woman at a cottage door right on the roadside and as I witnessed she said something that made me prick up my ears. 'I saw a couple of you Witnesses being beaten to death in Garngad, Glasgow.' I asked where she had been living at that time. She replied, 'On the Corner of Charles Road and Springburn Road and they stopped all the traffic and policemen were all over the place for I saw this from a top floor window overlooking it and tramway cars were all stopped. They were beaten to death. A man and woman were swallowed up by this crowd hammering at them.'

Then I said quietly, 'You may have thought that but actually I am the man you saw and the woman you saw also survived that mob with me. Neither of us was killed.' She gave such a cry of delight and invited me in and gave me a feast and took literature. She was really delighted that we had escaped. So I left her name and address with the local congregation.

But now back to the court case. They sentenced me again, this time to six months. Now, by this time the Watchtower magazine had been banned by the government but we produced in London our own Watchtower Study Series from copies that got through the censors from personal letters our brothers in the USA. They had been given various addresses to send copies to. So when I appeared again before the same governor in Perth prison he showed the same enmity as before. He howled, 'YOU again Mr Carmichael!' I respectfully asked for my own Bible like the last time and my copy of the Watchtower as part of my personal effects. He gleefully seized on this. 'Carmichael, you dare to contravene the ban!' When I explained the position he refused to listen. 'I'll report this to the authorities!' he roared. But I said again, 'Please let me have pen and paper. I want to raise this with the Secretary of State.' He glowered at me and dismissed me but I wrote again. Not long after that my Bible and my latest copy of the Watchtower Study Series was on my corner table.

Meantime, another Witness came into prison whom I had known well. Brother Paul Baker. We encouraged one another but things were moving fast for me. One day we were all cleaning a disused section or wing of the prison on hands and knees. We scrubbed the slate floors with buckets, brooms and cloths but a warder who knew what Paul was as and he was a Roman Catholic began to abuse Paul in front of us all. He was from South Africa. He didn't know me so didn't know I was a witness. I kept quiet but as he grew angry at Paul's patient well behaved reaction to his abuse he suddenly drew back his foot to kick him. I immediately leapt in between and said, 'Before you kick him, kick me.' In a flash other prisoners who had known me from my previous spell in prison leapt in between me and the warder and said, 'If you touch Mr Carmichael we'll take care of you!' they threatened. I was aghast at this turn of events. This was a mutiny. Just then, a lookout far along the empty wing called out loudly, 'The governor is coming!' What a tense situation this was. How would it turn out?

The warden chewed over in his mind his chances of reporting this incident in view of so many eyewitnesses to his threat to kick brother Paul Baker which had sparked off the whole incident and which was illegal, or whether he would be favoured. He had a few seconds to decide. He then said, 'Alright, you men, I won't say anything about this if you men won't report the matter either. How about it?' I prayed the men would agree. Quickly the men said, to my relief, 'Alright, we agree.' Then we all leapt back to kneeling on the floor and were industriously scrubbing away at the tiles with scrubbers when the governor reached us. 'Is everything all right?' he asked the warden and he replied. 'Yes sir, all is in order and we are nearly finished the work here.' So this passed off quietly.

The next day I was in for a shock. I was told to change back into civilian gear and went through the whole process of leaving the prison again and I was puzzled. So I asked the warden when I got dressed, 'What is happening?' He said, You are being transferred to Barlinnie Prison in Glasgow. It appeared that the governor had had enough of me. But he wanted the last act of vengeance. I was handcuffed and placed between two guards and escorted to a fleet of police cars. The warden sitting next to me was a nice fellow and he whispered, 'I don't understand this at all.' At Perth Railway Station, where I was well known from all my street witnessing and house to house work over the past year, we all got out and the police drew up in marching formation in front and behind me, whilst I was escorted handcuffed with a guard on each side through the station to the waiting Glasgow train. The warden took me into an empty carriage but the other Warden and all the policemen waited outside and the warden with me whispered, 'As soon as the train goes I'll unlock your handcuffs so hide them for I hate all this. It isn't called for.'

As the train got ready to leave the police escort withdrew and the other warden. But at the last minute a woman and a little girl got into our compartment. Then the train started. He was facing me so he leant over and tried to quietly unlock my handcuffs without the woman and the girl knowing but something happened and there was a clatter as the handcuffs fell on the floor for all to see. The woman cringed into the corner and the frightened little girl clung to her so in horror and disgust. The poor warden grabbed the handcuffs and sat glum for the rest of the journey which passed uneventfully. At Glasgow a Black Maria was waiting, also a police escort, and I was handcuffed again and conducted through the station to the Black Maria and on to Barlinnie Prison.

Here there were several Witnesses and every Sunday a Watchtower study was held which was most spiritually uplifting. Again I made good witnessing contacts and some gave me addresses of families to visit when I got out. Here I had an emotionally trying experience. My dad had been advised I was in Barlinnie Prison so he came to see me. As I faced the wide gap between me and him perhaps about six feet away I could see tears in his eyes. I wonder what was in dad's mind.

His oldest son Tom was in the merchant navy. My second oldest brother Hugh was in the Highland paratroops division and Bruce was in the ground Air Force service. But me, his youngest son was in prison over the issue of 'Neutrality to the war'. I spoke reassuringly to him and comforted him as best I could under the circumstances. It was a memorable moment.

When I left prison I went home to dad and mum and Hugh happened to be on a short leave. He asked me if I would come with him to a cinema show for he was all on his own. I well knew what this would mean but I didn't tell him. I kept him company but when the National Anthem was played and the King shown on the screen I remained seated whilst all others including my brother stood up. My brother was startled he hadn't anticipated this and there were nasty remarks but the fact that my brother was in the uniform of an officer puzzled them and kept things at bay. When I went home with Hugh he said thoughtfully, 'That was something, Hendry, I could never have had the guts to make a stand like that in public.' That had impressed Hugh. The next day I was off to Perth. When this sentence ended I can't remember clearly but a letter from a sister to Barlinnie prisoner 5245 indicated that I would be out in a month's time so that letter dated 21st January 1943 would mean that by February 1943 I finished this prison sentence. Back in

Perth I was sent a letter by the branch asking if I would go to Wick in the North of Scotland. I replied in the affirmative and I have the Society's letter on that, dated 21st September 1943.

I went to Wick and got accommodation and started right away the next day with street witnessing in front of Woolworth's. What a commotion that caused. The local newspaper, the Caithness Herald, owing to war time shortages consisting of just 4 pages, issued that week had bold passages on its front page. 'THEY ARE HERE. WE SAW THEM OF THE HIGH STREET WITH MAGAZINES.' and the whole tone of the article was as if the presence of the Witnesses was like the bubonic plague had struck the town.

By now the war was getting grim and so the people acted nastily, speaking about me loudly to one another and saying, 'The likes of him should be shot.' And so forth. But I carried on and Sunday started on house to house work. The reactions varied but I stressed the Good News aspect and varied the phonograph recordings such as 'The Meek Will Inherit the Earth' and gradually many responded. It was my shopping that was the worst concern for I had to get my weekly rations and used my coupons to obtain tinned foods but in shops people would say out aloud to one another, 'Instead of winding that gramophone of his he'd be better winding a machine gun. Or, 'Why should the likes of him get rations?' . I learned to look kindly around and just ignore the remarks. The shopkeeper usually was also grumpy and sullen, but he had to serve me so I would get my rations and leave peacefully.

Daniel 11:40 was understood to mean the Nazi 'King of the North,' and the blitzkrieg method of war at the start of WW2 made sense with its horrific firepower. We would then show the last part of verse 45 'The King of the North will come to his end and there will be no helper,' and this was very comforting at the doors. I knew the death toll must be heavy for most from that area were in the Black Watch and serving in the North Africa Campaign so one would say, 'I've just lost my husband, and another, 'I've lost my son.' It was evident that heavy loss of life was going on.

I would focus on the Kingdom Good News and studies got started. When Harry Arnott arrived we had a great time together. He also was a good Bible Student and many studies got started, but he received call up papers in Wick quite quickly on the heels of his arrival so we discussed the matter and thought it better not to have a 'Neutrality' issue in courts in Wick at that stage. So he departed back to Edinburgh. By now I was conducting 28 studies a week in spite of the hostile attitude around. He left in January 1944. In due time a fine young brother Ian Fergusson arrived and by this time I had lost my accommodation due to the war-time hysteria.

But I met a lady in Wick who took my magazines on the street and it turned out she was a sister by the name of Thoroughgood and her husband was Major Thoroughgood. He had survived Dunkirk and so requisitioned a farm eight miles away and was able to invite his wife up with her baby son Michael and daughter Shirley. For a week or so she invited me and Ian to stay at the farm. This we did even though it meant cycling eight miles each way each day. Major Ted Thoroughgood often discussed the Bible and even asked me to talk to the men in his unit which was there as a safeguard for the secret airport built nearby to bomb German installations in Norway. I often wonder if any of these men ever acted after the war on the Good News of the Kingdom. One night both Ian and I saw a tremendous display of the Aurora Borealis. It was really awe inspiring. Another severely freezing night we were late leaving Wick to get back to the farm and at the start of the journey, suddenly car headlights flooded the road from the side and this alarmed us but it turned out to be Ted worried because we were late and he knew we were hated by many in the community and was concerned that something had happened, But his jeep was too small to carry us and bikes so we did a daft thing we held on at the rear on each side by a strap whilst he drove slowly along the frozen, muddy, deeply rutted pathway for eight miles. We swept into an ankle deep muddy farm yard and then he stopped and looked at us and he gasped. We were both half frozen and caked with mud from head to foot and he had to help us loosen our hands from the straps. The big old

metal bathtub was pulled out and filled with warm water and Ian and I stripped and washed off all the mud and enjoyed a relaxing warm bath and afterwards refreshments and so to bed.

Because of all our zealous activities the Society advised us that my old friend, George Saltmarsh, was being sent to see what was happening. We got busy organising a meeting place. Mrs Shephard, a very influential lady in Wick opened up her home for the special talk as she had a large well fitted house and a large lounge room. We invited all our 26 studies to attend. On the day George was to arrive we were busy with final preparations I asked Major Ted Thoroughgood if he could meet George Saltmarsh but I forgot to tell George that a military officer of the British Army was meeting him for we had got so used to uniforms being all around us where we stayed.

So when George arrived at the station where I told him he should get off, he was startled to see soldiers on the platform. Now Ted had dressed up in all his best military attire as a Major and he strode up and accosted him by saying, 'Are You George Saltmarsh?' His heart sank at the thought that somehow the army had been called into play to enforce military service. Then when Ted ordered the soldiers, 'Take his luggage,' and they stepped forward and took charge of all his stuff, he felt he was under military arrest. He was taken into the farm and shown to a room and given refreshments but he still couldn't understand what was going on till at last we arrived late that night. Then when he was enlightened he had a good laugh.

We explained the developments and worked out what to do during the next day and that that night he was to give his talk then leave back to Inverness the following day. Ted dropped him by jeep into Wick and Ian and I cycled. Then I took him to some of my studies. One of our first publishers was Barbara Lyall and her husband was on brief leave from the army. George and I met him and although he wasn't pleased with his wife's stand, he accepted the situation. That night the house was packed to the doors perhaps around 60 crammed in and George gave an uplifting talk on Zephaniah 2:1-3, to seek meekness and righteousness and encouraged all to do just that. It was a most successful visit and it was a treat to associate with dear old George again. He left by train the next morning.

We had got the interested ones together earlier by a fine strategy. They were in a close community and many wondered who else were interested in the unpopular Jehovah's Witnesses. So we decided to make a meal and invite the interested to attend. Curiosity impelled them to find out what kind of meal there would be and who else would be present from Wick? We had little money but the fishermen of Wick believed that the 'gleanings' of the sea harvest must be shared with the poor, based on the Bible. So when a catch came in a certain basket was emptied on the wharf for the poor' had a scramble and those waiting could take away what they could. Well we couldn't very well join an undignified scramble but we paid a boy a few pence and he did it for us, three or four fine fish. Ian did a fish casserole and I did potatoes in jackets and vegetables. Quite a number came and enjoyed the feast. Then we invited them to their first Watchtower Study. They agreed to have this weekly and we obtained a room for the purpose so the witness work got well organised and meetings too were held weekly. So five months after I arrived in Wick we had a congregation organised. How Jehovah had blessed our labours and we praised him with all our hearts. That was in February 1944. Only Jehovah's spirit made all this possible. After the war Major Thoroughgood became brother Thoroughgood and a servant in the congregation, and his family were all in the Truth.

Then came a letter from the Society, dated 26th March 1945, informing me that I was called to special service under the London branch. The time had come for me to leave Wick. The military authorities had meantime dropped chasing after me. From then on I was to join the first batch of Servants to the Brethren, which included Jack Barr and Harold King as an additional pool of Servants to the Brethren (today Circuit Overseers) so I said a sad farewell to Wick. I started on a long trip on trains packed with military personnel, sailors, airmen, Wrens, with standing room most of the way. First the single track to Inverness.

Then by train to Glasgow and London so that when I arrived at Craven Terrace, London I was whacked. I was given special training and then joined brother Harold King at Crook near Durham to get direct experience on this work around April 22nd, 1945 and thereafter I was on my own, encouraging brothers everywhere to serve Jehovah wholeheartedly and to develop skills in presenting the Kingdom Good News. Above all, to learn to love people of all sorts and to show compassion and a genuine interest in their needs.

I covered all around Durham and over to Newcastle where I met John Cooke, a pioneer there, and all that coastline in May. Then in June I was in the Edinburgh area then July the border towns and in August back up to Dundee area. September the Midlands but in November I was urgently asked to serve London congregations as, due to illness, these had not been served. Stepping out on to underground platforms packed with families was a new experience for me. I felt compassion for the people in such a state. It was while I served Ilford that I was giving a talk on thorough witnessing and coverage of our territory in November 1945 that Brother Knorr, who had unexpectedly arrived, was asked to pay Ilford a visit to see me in action. When I learned that brother Knorr was present I carried on with my encouragement to thoroughly witness to all in our territory assignment then invited Brother Knorr to the platform. After a warm welcome, he carried forward spontaneously on my theme using Romans 15:1,2, 7- 13 and then 23, 24 and so forth. It was amazing and very upbuilding.

Later at a meeting in Edinburgh, brother Knorr, back from Europe, invited us to Gilead School on a one way ticket, he warned. On April 29th 1946 I was invited to Gilead by letter. A letter from the Society dated 12th April asked me to train Brother Woodburn, that is Jim Woodburn, to take my place. Then I trained Rupert Bradbury. On April 17th the Society addressed a letter to the American Consul in Manchester for a visa on my behalf and finally I got there in September 1946, in South Lansing, New York State. This was the first time candidates were invited from outside of the USA, peace-time conditions now permitting this.

Looking over my years of joyful service since 1938 up to the end of World War Two I noted that Paul listed in Romans 8 verse 35, seven things that Satan might use to 'separate us from God's love. I think I have personally experienced nearly all of these tests, but God's spirit, and total dependence on his Word the Bible, reading it daily and still doing so with constant prayer and supplication and learning to be theocratic enabled me to overcome all obstacles. Yes I've come through fire and water but ended up wealthy spiritually and in peace. In my missionary assignments in India after Gilead further tests lay ahead but I can thankfully say and pray in the words of Romans 8:38 and 39 'For I am convinced that neither death nor life nor angels nor governments nor things now here nor things to come nor powers nor heights nor depths nor any other creation will be able to separate us from God's love that is in Christ Jesus our Lord.'

This ends the memoirs of this remarkable character, written before his death in 2006 in London.

Now we can see a few sketches of his life as a missionary as related in publications of the Watchtower Society.

Hendry Carmichael graduated in 1947 and after a short time in the USA he was soon on his way to India along with Richard Cotterill from his Gilead class. Richard served for many more years in India up till the 1990s, dying on a plane journey back to the UK. He professed to be of the anointed. This was a very dangerous time in India with the partition into the countries, India and Pakistan. Although the violence, involving the death of hundreds of thousands of people, took place mainly in the north-west and north-east of the country, they were terrible times with ripple affects all over the country.

They were included in a wave of post-war missionaries sent to India. This hadn't been possible owing to war-time conditions. A good number of brothers had been sent there from the mid-1920s and were still faithfully serving there. A number ended up serving there for over 50 years and one, Edwin Skinner for 70 years. It seems Richard Cotterill and Hendry Carmichael was at first assigned to the Marathi-speaking ministry in Bombay, where the branch was located. They were on hand to greet new waves of missionaries there later that year.

After a year and a half, in 1949, Hendry Carmichael took up a new assignment of traveling the length and breadth of India as the circuit overseer. Notice the word 'The'. There was only one circuit for the whole country. There were about 500 publishers in the whole country, including what became Pakistan. But very few large congregations and sometimes brothers travelled hundreds of miles to visit one isolated publisher. New destinations had opened up for visitation, including Kolar Gold Fields, where brother Ponniah, a doctor, and Robert Rushton and his family were working with the local congregation, which was very small. This was several hundred miles from Bombay by rail. This visit proved to be interesting in more ways than one. Carmichael wrote he was able to go down a mine, thousands of feet deep and, just as you could have guessed, he wanted to try mining. Despite his damaged arm he managed to use a drill. He was certainly adventurous.

On observing the situation as he travelled around the whole country it was decided to form a circuit in the south west in what is today called Kerala. This is the most 'Christian' area of India, some of the churches are as ancient as those found in Syria and Palestine and date from the third or fourth century. To this day thousands of India's brothers and sister live here among several million Christians. So they made a circuit of twelve congregations and one isolated family in what is now called Kerala. But there was another language dominant in this area, Malayalam. In August 1949, along with Brother A. J. Joseph, serving as translator to our Malayalam-speaking brothers, they covered about 600 miles by different means of transport plus eighty miles on foot. Brother Joseph was one of the first native brothers in India, going back to the 1900s. He was from Madras and as well as speaking English, Hindi and the local language, Tamil, he translated into Malayalam. He also served for decades thereafter. Hendry wrote that he could still recall a visit to Upputhara in the High Range where, after his arrival late at night, he found all the brothers waiting with oil lamps in their thatched-roof Kingdom Hall to hear the talk!

The latter part of 1949, finds our Hendry up in Bengal, many hundreds of miles away from the deep south. He writes they were visiting a new congregation in Kanchrapara, a railway junction and also literary centre, a trip was arranged to Chapra, a village about seventy-eight miles north of Calcutta. Jealous of the Witnesses' activity the clergy and missionaries of Christendom tried all they could to prevent the giving of a public talk at Chapra. But in spite this, around sixty attended one bright moonlit night in an open-air clearing, lit by an oil lamp. There were appreciative remarks from locals on what they had learned. Once again, another language was involved, Bengali, though Hindi was also common there. How agile he had to be to adapt in dealing with all these conditions.

Carmichael further wrote that going from house to house at Chapra, he had started off with two partners and ended up with about fifteen persons gathering around him. The houses were built on hard, sunbaked dirt platforms about two feet off the ground and the palm-leaf thatched roofs sloped right down, overlapping the mud platforms to stop driving rains from wetting the insides of the dwellings. When invited inside, stooping to enter, they then had to step up onto the platform. Now they sat on the floor with all the other fifteen. They keenly listened and reasoned on the Scriptures as they discussed them. In this area, many times they would sit up into the early hours of the morning explaining Bible truths. Yet, he needed to be up at dawn to spread the good news farther afield. This village obviously had a good number of Christians who were the most likely to respond to the truth. Our Hendry was tireless as usual. He was also used to opposition from his Glasgow days so the trouble from the churches there wouldn't have fazed him.

In the 1950 he was about to leave Darjeeling after a circuit visit. This was high in the Himalayas, near Nepal. This small town had a congregation even back then. A terrible cyclone tore through the area, with frighteningly heavy rains amounting to fifty inches in two days. Landslides destroyed whole regions and villages and there were many who perished. Even the house next door to where Hendry was staying was wiped away in the deluge of huge sludge and stones. He and the other pioneer were inundated with silt and filth. Fearing that Darjeeling was cut off from the world they didn't how long they would be uncontactable, Hendry Carmichael and pioneer Melroy Wells-Jansz decided to courageously try getting out. Besides, they were going to conduct a baptism at the next stage of the circuit tour. Always planning for Kingdom interests.

[This pioneer brother, Melroy Wells-Jansz, would appear to have been born on Ceylon in 1904. His name is from a group of Dutch-Ceylonese people who are similar to Anglo-Indians, and they were called Burghers and worked in commerce and administration in Ceylon. A good number of them formed the early congregation in Colombo even before 1914. This congregation in Sri Lanka operated at various times for decades and then in the 1940s missionaries arrived to expand the work. His parents, Frederick and Hortensia Wells-Jansz were born in the 1870s and may well have been involved with that early congregation in Colombo. A brother, James Wells-Jansz, somehow related to them, born 1931, was from this same background and remained in the truth, along with his wife, Ellen, into the 21st century in Livingston, Scotland.]

They climbed a thousand feet up to an old military road that skirted the mountain ridge, and they found it in shocking condition. They struggled over mounds of rubble and trees and eventually got to Ghoom. From there, dogged by hunger, they struggled wearily along the main road, which often collapsed behind them as avalanches roared down the mountains and swept it away. One avalanche fell between them, but we were able to keep together. But they had to stop abruptly. In front of them was an aching gap about forty feet across and 2,000 feet deep, with a huge, noisy flood cascading down the gap into the narrow ravine. The railway bridge had almost been washed away. Two rails held together by the sleepers was what was left of it. It wobbled eerily mid-air, close to the torrent just under it.

They slept that night in a railway hut perched precariously at the cliff-edge. Danger below and danger above from. A great mound of slippery rocks threatening to slide down on them at any moment. After a freezing, sleepless night of great hardship, they went gingerly across the pair of rails. The rains were pouring and the wind was swinging the rails, but they made it to the opposite side. But their problems continued. Soon they arrived at Sonada, where they were they were hindered by another huge chasm. Now there was no rail track at all. They climbed an overhanging ridge to a height of 3,000 feet, sometimes very carefully, backs to the cliff-face, step by cautious baby step along hazardous ledges until they had to was no foothold. Mud avalanches had swept even the ledges away, forcing them to zigzag again and again until they could find a safer way up. Finally, they scrambled over the cliff top, only to meet a thick, impervious forest, the hangout of wild bears.

They made their way down to Kurseong having traversed such wild country for two days and a night. They arrived hungry, covered with mud, with feet blistered and bleeding, but safe and otherwise sound. Hendry would have been in his late 30s at this time but Melroy would have been 12 years older, about 50 years old. A Roman Catholic priest who saw them arriving let everyone know about our intrepid brothers' epic journey. The purpose of their visit had been achieved. The baptism took place as planned. A remarkable story, all the more so when we remember that Hendry had a less than perfect arm.

In 1952 a newly arrived Canadian missionary went to an assembly in the south of India and, not knowing who Hendry Carmichael was, listened to him giving a talk. The missionary hardly understood what was being said but he did pick up an occasional word. Then he realised that it was our Hendry, actually speaking in English. His strong Glasgow accent hadn't left him. The appreciative audience gave no

indication they didn't comprehend him but showed rapt attention. Maybe they were used to his Glasgow brogue. [This Canadian brother later married a Glasgow lass with a much clearer accent I am glad to report. He was still alive at the age of 99 in 2025 and has a good-sized family still serving faithfully.]

In 1951 the brothers went to Poona, which was not an area with a Christian community. There was trouble and violence threatened but this time by Hindu fanatics. There was a large intimidating crowd. All the brothers met at the Poona Kingdom Hall, where they completed the assembly program. Afterward, Brothers Skinner and Carmichael went to the police station and registered a complaint about the threats. Then plans were made to hold another public meeting in the same hall on October 31, but this time with police protection. The brothers organized another advertising campaign and distributed 10,000 handbills in both Marathi and English. When the time came for the meeting to begin, there were two police officers and about twelve constables present. Brother Skinner had scarcely got through his introduction when trouble broke out again. The police intervened but quickly were outnumbered and soon great crowds of shouting people gathered, so that it appeared that the assembled brothers and interested persons were endangered. But a friendly neighbour had a gate that opened onto the courtyard and the brothers escaped, unharmed. Hendry may well have recalled his days in Glasgow and Clydebanks when rioters attacked him.

Although he had just had a serious operation Hendry travelled once again in the mid 1950s to the south of India, with the branch overseer. Another language, Konkani, to deal with, and many visits to isolated ones. He helped advertise and give talks in dozens of cities.

But not just going on circuit visits he also actively preached and opened up the work in small, isolated areas. The missionaries were also a stimulus to the Kingdom work at Brahmavar. On the Konkani coast of India around the Brahmavar area there are numerous estuaries dotted with small islands, on many of which were families interested in the truth. The result of ancient churches. Hendry reminisced of his activity there in circuit work. The means of communication among the backwaters was a hollowed-out tree trunk propelled by long poles. Wherever they spoke to open-air crowds of hundreds, interest was manifested.

He was assigned after Gilead School to India in 1947. After his marriage in India in 1955 to Joyce Webber, an Anglo-Indian special pioneer, he continued in circuit work all over the sub-continent. She has English, German and Indian roots on her father's side and her mother was Tibetan and was happy for her daughters to study the Bible which she respected very much. The girls had been having acting, singing and dancing lessons in Bombay, when they were contacted in house to house work by an Anglo-Indian sister in the 1940s. Their hopes of a career in Bollywood, which at that time favoured Anglo-Indian actresses as seemed more cosmopolitan, were dashed. There was opposition from the Church of England priest but they stood firm and they put the Kingdom first and got involved in pioneering. In 1958 India finally reached the 1,000 publisher mark and dozens of congregations and groups dotted the whole country. His wife, whose sister also came into the truth in the 1940s, loved all the travelling, literally from the southern tip of India to the snow-capped Himalayas. After a few years they started a family, left for England, served in the West Indies for a time. We can be certain that Hendry never lost his vitality and zest for life wherever he served. Joyce was still active in north London in 2025.

Thus ends the story of one of Scotland's truly greatest exports.