
THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT IN THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND FROM 1688 TO 1800.

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Abbreviations.

R.B.: Royal Bounty (Minutes)
F.E.: Forfeited Estates (Papers)
S.H.S.: Scottish History Society Publications.
S.H.R.: Scottish Historical Review.
S.C.H.S.: Scottish Church History Society (Transactions)
T.G.S.I.: Trans. of Gaelic Society of Inverness.
O.S.A.: Old Statistical Account of Scotland.


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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION: THE CHURCH IN THE HIGHLANDS UNDER THE RESTORATION EPISCOPACY, 1660-1690.
In this introductory sketch, it will be sufficient to indicate certain salient aspects of pre-Revolution Highland Episcopacy so as to enable us to a certain extent to visualise the task to which re-established Presbytery was summoned. The practical disappearance of Episcopacy as a popular religion, during a period in which Catholicism suffered far more grievous penal disabILITIES and nevertheless increased rather than diminished, can only be explained by reference to elements of weakness in its spirit and administration while it was in power. One must have every sympathy with the Episcopal clergy, some of them men of piety and talent, in their often heartbreaking difficult task. But there was a lack of confidence, vigour and spiritual aggressiveness which goes far to explain the subsequent decline and fall of their church. We shall notice a few of the more important features and topics.

1. Administration. The combination of Episcopal and Presbyterian features which is a unique characteristic of the Restoration church in Scotland ought to have been an efficient organ of administration and government. It appears to unite the virtues, and to avoid the weaknesses of both systems. Under happier national circumstances, it might well have succeeded in becoming both popular and efficient. In the Highlands, it could not have been called unpopular, but only a biassed judgement could call it efficient. This will sufficiently appear.

2. The clergy. It would be improper to apply Bishop Burnet's famous description of the northern curates who received preferment in the Lowland parishes vacated by the Nonconformist ministers in 1661 'the dregs and refuse of the northern parts' to the Highland parochial clergy. Presbytery records are not lacking in charges against certain
ministers of "preferring private business to their public duties; neglecting Communion and family prayer; celebration of mock and irregular marriages, and the disorderly giving of baptism; drunkenness and swearing; malignancy; worshipping with excommunicated persons; and breaches of the seventh commandment". (1) But we must remember that, with a judicious selection of evidence, one could present a similar picture of 18th century Presbytery. Dr William MacKay, who knew the period well, has estimated that "the great majority (of the incumbents) were Christian gentlemen who strove to be a pattern to their people, and who did what they could to keep alive the light of the Gospel during days that were, spiritually somewhat dark". (2) Certain of the Bishops did what they could to provoke zeal for good works among their clergy. In 1682, Bishop Wood of Caithness submitted a programme of fourteen points to the diocesan Synod, and it was accepted by the brethren as a rule for pastoral diligence. It included the yearly celebration of the Lord's Supper, public prayers for the powers that be in church and state, the annual catechising of the parishioners, the recitation of the Decalogue and Apostle's Creed during divine service on the Sabbath, the use of the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology in worship, the repair of ruinous church fabrics, the planting of schools, the collection of fines, the "privity censure" of ministers by each other at the meeting of Presbytery preceding the Synod, and, finally, a strict injunction to be diligent in attending the meetings of the church courts. (3) But, like other programmes of fourteen points, it remained largely unfulfilled in the essential particulars of sacramental observance, education, catechising and repair of church

fabrics. One important cause of ministerial ineffectiveness was the lack of sympathetic cooperation on the part of leading heritors. Their behaviour was often harsh and, indeed, conscienceless. Not seldom was resort had to the simple brutality of starving the minister out. "Mr Murdoch MacKenzie, Minr at Lochoroome, regrates that he is constrained to leave his ministry for want of maintenance and therefor did desyre to be advysed with the Presbyterie what course to take heeranent". (1) Mr Rorie MacKenzie of Gairloch was unable to attend the Presbytery in Dingwall lest he be arrested for debt. (2) The excuse was accepted as adequate by sympathetic brethren. James Smith of Dores "regrates to the Presbrie that he had neyr countenance nor maintenence amongst his hard-hearted parishioners", whereupon the Presbytery undertook to deal with that "crabbed people". (3) The same sad tale of starvation and indignity comes from Urquhart, Boleskine and other parishes. (4) In 1728, a responsible committee of the General Assembly passed the following judgement on the Highland Episcopal clergy. It is ooth well-informed and sympathetic. "One reason of the great Ignorance in those places (in the disaffected Highlands) seems to be that the Episcopal incumbents in some of them had no settled stipends but only Tacks of land of about 500 merks yearly value at the will of the clans or heritors, the labouring of which Land took up the most part of these poor men's time so that they could do little more than Marry people and Baptize and preach now and then from place to place through their parishes; few of them had roofed churches and there could be no execution of the Laws in these parts against Heritors, for Decrees,

Horning, or Captions do not signify much there. These poor incumbents and the people were made tools of to serve against their own interests. (1)

And yet, despite their generally discouraging circumstances, there were some men amongst the Highland clergy who would have adorned the annals of the church at any period. James Fraser of Kirkhill, the author of the Wardlaw MS, was distinguished both for his pastoral diligence and for his varied learning. Colin Campbell of Ardchattan was a "profound mathematician, an astronomer, a correspondent of Leibnitz and Sir Isaac Newton, the latter of whom said of him, 'I see that were he amongst us, he would make children of us all' " (2) He wrote the "Frequent and Devout Communicant" and "A Demonstration of the Existence of God". In the latter book, he is said to have anticipated the arguments of Dr Samuel Clarke. He conformed to Presbytery after the Revolution. But of all the Episcopal clergy, the good Robert Kirk of Aberfoyle left the most enduring mark on Highland religion in the following century. He was solely responsible for the Gaelic metrical Psalter called after his name. He transliterated Bedell's Bible into roman character and in the process made many changes in translation and idiom in order to bring the version nearer to Scottish Gaelic use. He afterwards went to London to supervise the printing. Though chiefly remembered now for his interest in fairy lore, (3) he was a man of the most devout temper. Here is one of his prayers: "O strike all within my little family and the good parish I take inspection of with a dart of divine love from heaven, that they may find themselves inspired and all in a flame after

holy things; that since death requires great preparations we may all be girded about and ready, hourly attending for every good word and work and utterly detest what is vicious and base, still looking on the benign Jesus who pardoneth our inadvertances and perfecteth our souls". (1)

His laborious life is evidence that he lived daily in the spirit of that prayer. As for the laity, the religious poetry of the Fernaig MS discloses the existence of an instructed piety among the people of Kintail and the Rough Bounds. (2) How widely it was diffused is another question.

Public Worship. There is no trace of Carswell's version of The Book of Common Order having been in use during this period. In the Highlands, as in the Lowlands, the general rule was that "ministers either prayed extempore or compiled a kind of service for themselves". (3) "We have no Liturgy nor Form of Prayer" says an apologist for Episcopacy, "no not in our Cathedrals, the only difference on this point is, our Clergy are not so overbold nor fulsome as the others (Presbyterians) are". (4)

T. Morer notes that the only distinguishing mark between Episcopal and Presbyterian worship is the use in the former of the doxology and the Lord's Prayer. (5) In 1663, "the brethren of Caithness, Sutherland and Strathnaver declared that they had obeyed the ordinance prescribing the publick reading of two chapters every Lord's day, the saying of the doxologie, and the concluding the last prayer with the Lord's Prayer". (6) There was no Gaelic manual of praise till 1659, when the Synod of Argyle published their version of the first fifty Psalms (An ceud chaogadh). Kirk published his version of the complete Psalter in 1684. (7)

For a century after the Reformation, therefore, praise occupied no part in Gaelic worship; for another half century, its exercise was very restricted. Yet the northern Highlands produced their own characteristic Psalm tunes. Two theories have been advanced as to the origin of the 'long tunes' of Ross and Sutherland. The one traces them to the music of the pre-Reformation church. (1) The other ascribes them to Lutheran sources. They were brought over from Germany by the Highland soldiers of Gustavus Adolphus. (2)

Endeavours, largely fruitless, were made to reduce the people to a more reverent deportment during worship. "Their most undecent sitting at prayer", often with their hats on, is particularly reprobated. (3) "To kneel or to stand as conveniently they may" is duly commended. (4) The Session of Kenmore, in 1673 complains of those who "in time and of divine service, lie about without the church, and will not come in to hear sermon". (5) We get glimpses of this habit in 18th century Presbyterianism. (6) But in the Records of the Presbyteries of Inverness and Dingwall we have occasional references to far graver breaches of the decorum of worship. Violent altercation, or even fighting, more than once disturbed the devotions. For this, the general proximity of the changehouse, which was open Sabbath and weekday, to the parish church must be regarded as responsible.

18th century evangelicalism, and, in a more liturgical setting, the Scoto-Catholicism of the non-juring 'Usagers' drew a great deal of their spiritual strength from their profound reverence for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Under the Restoration Episcopacy, infrequent and

(2) Taylor, Memorials of C. C. MacIntosh, p. 7.
(3) Wilson, Register of Synod of Dunblane, p. 34.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Gillies, W. In Famed Breadalbane, p. 268
(6) MacGillivray, A. Sketches of Religion... in the North Highlands, p. 16f.
and irregular celebration was the rule rather than the exception. It
must, however, in fairness be admitted that it had inherited a legacy of
neglect. In the Assembly of 1608, it was "regretted that in many of them
(the kirks of Caithness and Ross) the holy communion was never cele-
brate". (1) Even in Edinburgh and district, there had been no celebration
of the sacrament for six years prior to 1655. (2) The general rule, as in
Caithness and Sutherland, (3) was that the Communion should be observed annually, and that it should be preceded by a catechising of the
whole parish. One excuse for the neglect of the annual Communion was the
great labour involved in the parochial catechising. Let us take a few
examples. In 1665, it was reported that there had been no Communion in
Fodderty (Strathpeffer) for 12 years. (4) Some members of the Dunblane
Presbytery admitted in 1678 that they had not observed the Sacrament
for some years. (5) In 1679, the majority of the members of Inverness
Presbytery, in making a similar admission, professed as excuse "the frequent charges yet ther people gott to be in armes against the MacDonalds".
(6) There was no Communion in Weem between 1664 and 1684, (7) in Moy be-
tween 1665 and 1673. (8) In 1675, the elders of Dores stated that their
minister had never celebrated the Sacrament in the parish. (9) Latheron
under Neil Beaton, (10) and Killin under Robert Stewart (alias 'Curam an
t-saoghail') had not witnessed a Communion for a space of 20 years. (11)
Bishops made rules, (12) but discipline came tardily to the transgressors. It is pleasant, therefore, to learn that in 1671 the minister of

(1) Book of the Universall Kirk, ed. Peterkin, p. 585. (2) Hunter, Diocese and
Presb. of Dunkeld, Vol. II, p. 69, quoting Nicoll's Diary, p. 155. (3) Craven,
Diocese of Caithness, p. 164; Register of Synod of Dunblane, p. 15. (4) Record
of Pr. of Inverness and Dingwall, p. 312. (5) Dioc. & Presb. of Dunkeld, II, 70
(6) Inverness and Dingwall Pres. Rec. p. 95. (7) Dunkeld Records, II, 70. (8)
Inverness & Dingwall Pres. Rec. p. 52. (9) Ibid. (10) Beaton, Ecclesiastical
Craven, Diocese of Caithness, p. 139; Reg. of Synod of Dunblane, p. 15.
was absent from a meeting of the Presbytery of Lorn on account of his "being in the remote parts of his parish about ye examination of his people and fitting them for receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. By the late floods, the rivers were so overflown that he could not possibly travel". (1) Doubtless there were many others, perhaps a majority who preferred their duty to their comfort. There seems little doubt but that these infrequent Communions attracted considerable crowds. In Thurso, the only Communion of which there is any record during the Episcopal period, very probably the only one that was held, as the Session records are complete, took place on 12th June, 1679. Preparatory and thanksgiving services were held on Thursday, Saturday, and Monday. The total collections amounted to £84/9 (Scots) and £16 were expended on communion elements. The ordinary collections for the whole year were not appreciably larger. After the Monday service there was "a charitable distribution and giving of supply to those indigent members of Christ's mysticall bodie". (2) As under the Presbyterian regime, it was customary to have ministerial assistance. On 28th August, 1670, there was neither sermon nor session in Thurso, "the minister being absent on a work of charitie, in aiding a brother at the celebran of the holie ordinance of the ComUion." (3) It will be evident that Dr William MacKay's dictum that "Sacramental fast-days were unknown" needs qualification. (4)

4. Catechising. In 1662, Bishop Patrick Forbes of Caithness ordaines "that each minister imploy themselves one day in the (week ?) catechising of his people". (5) This appears to have been a general rule throughout the country. In 1664, and again in 1667, the Synod of St Andrews enjions a

(1) Craven, Dioc. of Argyle and Isles, p. 124. (2) MS Thurso Session Records. (3) Ibid. under above dates. (4) Inverness and Dingwall Pres. records, p. xxii. (5) Beaton, D. Ecclesiastical History of Caithness, p. 130
weekly catechising "save in seedtime and harvest". (1) "In this work", says Dr MacKay, "judging from the Records, the Highland minister failed. "Frequently he wholly neglected the duty". (2) For this, there are more or less valid excuses. Attendance at Presbytery meetings occupied a disproportionate amount of the pastor's time. There were as yet no lay catechists. Voluntary lay assistance, such as evangelical ministers later received from their 'Men' was wholly lacking. There was no Gaelic Bible; the Gaelic Shorter Catechism, two editions of which (in all 2400 copies) (3) were published during the Commonwealth period, was not republished. For the lack of catechising and devotional manuals, the Bishops must be blamed. The work of translation, which had been so well begun by the Presbyterian Synod of Argyle, was wholly suspended under Episcopacy. But the lack of books and the general illiteracy made catechising even more necessary. Nowhere is the want of imagination and energy more striking than in this matter of extra-pulpit teaching. In chapter we shall notice the methods devised by the early evangelical ministers to deal with a similar problem.

5. The Sabbath. While Evangelicalism has made the solemn observance of the Sabbath peculiarly its own, the Puritan doctrine and discipline with regard to the holy day was equally accepted by Episcopacy. The Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1663, required all ministers to take action against those who "much prophaned the Lord's Day by travelling thereon". (4) Among the last acts of the Diocesan Synod of Caithness, met in Thurso in 1688 was to ordain that "Sabbath breakers, habituall drunkards, and swearers

be process by the minrs and yr sessions, as well as fornicators". (1) The Session of Fearn drew up the following table of fines (c.1674), apparently in order of demerit: - Fornication and relapse into fornication, £5 and £7; scandalising, £5; failure to answer a sessional summons, £4; Sabbath-breaking, £2, £1, and 13s 4d (all Scots money). (2) The minister of Dores neglected catechising, never celebrated Communion, failed to hold a second service "in the long day of summer", and even omitted to recognise the anniversary of the 'Happy Restoration' on the 29th of May. Yet he zealously punished Sabbath-breaking, as also "pypeing, violating, and dancing at Lykwaks". (3) There was therefore a considerable strain of Sabbatarianism among the clergy, even in unexpected quarters. But many of them were not over strict. On the contrary, they often assisted at bridals and funerals, with their inevitable roystering, on the Sabbath, sometimes deserting the pulpit for these functions. (4) The young men indulged in shinty, putting the stone, and throwing the hammer after church service. (5) Fishing, distilling, driving cattle, buying and selling carrying burdens, baking, are some of the Sabbath breaches of which their elders were guilty. (6) Dr MacKay declares that "not until after the spread of Puritanism after Culloden" did the people acquire "the Sabbatarian spirit which characterised, and still characterises them". (7) In the Celtic Church, the Sabbath (Saboit) was always our Saturday, (8) though it is probable that no 'sabbatical' ideas were attached to it. (9) Saturday evening was 'nox dominica' (10) and had a quasi-sacred character which has persisted, probably without intermission, up to recent times.

Sunday was 'dies dominica', in modern Gaelic 'Di-Domhnaich'. According to the Cain Domnaig, an Old Irish document which received its present form probably as early as the 9th century, and is apparently based on earlier material, the Celtic Churchmen observed the Lord's Day with a sabbatarian rigour which, in some particulars, exceeds the Puritan discipline at its severest. (1) Both codes prohibited shaving; but the Cain Domnaig laid its ban on washing. While the 17th century Highlanders received the Episcopal and Presbyterial Sabbatarian legislation with an obvious lack of conviction, it is just possible that racial reminiscence may in some degree account for the fervour with which it was embraced after the middle of the 18th century. While it is not claimed that evangelic (or Puritan) Sabbatarianism is the final expression of the mind of Christ on the observance of the Lord's Day, yet it may be asserted that the evangelicals proved that it could be an unrivalled instrument for reducing an unruly people to an obedient reverence for the laws of God. The Episcopal Church, professing the same Sabbatarian doctrine, failed effectively to use it.

6. The elders. Martin Martin's rather bald note may be quoted: "Every parish in the Western Isles has a church judicature, called the consistory or kirk-session, where the minister presides, and a competent number of laymen, called elders, meet with him. They take cognisance of scandals, censure faulty persons, and with that strictness, as to give an oath to those who are suspected of adultery or fornication; for which they are to be proceeded against according to the custom of the country. They meet after divine service; the chief heritor of the parish is present.

(1) MacLean, D. The Law of the Lord's Day in the Celtic Church, p. 3ff. (Edin. 1926).
to concur with them and enforce their acts by his authority, which is
irresistible within the bounds of his jurisdiction". (1) The elders "were
chosen on account of their social position and influence among the
people; and while they were helpful in bringing delinquents to justice,
they were utterly unable to assist in purely spiritual things". (2)
Hog of Kiltearn, while still parish minister, had endeavoured to select
his elders for their piety. Munro of Lumlair utterly reproached him for
"slighting several gentlemen who might have been useful in his session"
and introducing "a company of wallsters and tailors". (3) But one must
beware of too facile generalisation. On November 30, 1682, the Bishop of
Caithness presided over a meeting of the Thurso Session for the purpose
of admitting new elders, twenty in number. Of these, four were small lairds,
seven were merchants, two were bailies, calling unspecified, and
seven were tenants. (4) For a half burghal, half rural parish, it would
not be called unrepresentative today. But partly for doctrinal reasons,
and partly on account of the part which the eldership had played in
the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, it was the general tendency of Episcopacy
to depreciate the spiritual status of the elder. While a large section,
probably a majority, and that the more aggressively evangelical, of Pres­
bysterians, recognised in the elder the New Testament presbyter, restrict­
ed by ecclesiastical discipline to the sphere of 'rule', the Episcopal­
ians regarded him as the representative of the people "concurring with
the minister in the exercise of discipline". (5) "Our seniores pleDis, or
elders of the people", says Bishop Leighton. (6)

carefully avoided the name elder. "The minister shall call to his assistance a competent number of grave, able, and godlie men..." (1) The point seems to be well illustrated in the case of the Thurso elders already referred to. There is no mention of their being 'ordained' or set apart by prayer, but it is expressly stated that the oath de fidei administratione was exacted. (2) In other words, the eldership was an office of public trust, but not in any special sense a spiritual office. As a court of the church, the Episcopal kirk-session, like its Presbyterian predecessor and successor, dealt with petty crime and moral lapses, and was responsible for the care of the poor. But in 18th century evangelical parishes, the kirk-session was much more than an ecclesiastical court. From its regular meetings for prayer and spiritual conference, there sprang the evangelical revivals which began in Easter Ross about 1730, and did so much to quicken the spiritual life of the Northern Highlands throughout the rest of the century. (3)

7. Care of church buildings. Canon Craven considered that "the heritors (during the Episcopal regime) appear much more willing to do their duty than in subsequent Presbyterian times". (4) This is fond fancy and not fact. Highland heritors, with a few notable exceptions, were never other than reluctant to spend money on church fabrics; and this is certainly as true of the Episcopal period as of "subsequent Presbyterian times". In 1681, the Presbytery of Dingwall "regrated that their churches were verie ruinous". (5) About the same time, in the Synod of Caithness, the need of repairing "ruinous church fabrics" was urgently

stressed. (1) Twenty years earlier (1663), "the Bishop and Synode" of Caithness were lamenting "the ruinous condition of the most part of the fabricks of Kirks within the Diocie and the slacknes of heretors to contribut to their reparation". (2) The twenty years had wrought no improvement. On 12th February, 1679, the Presbytery of Lorn took note of the fact that the kirk of Kilmaluag in Lismore was "altogether without a roof" as also without a manse. In 1731, the same Presbytery, under the Presbyterian regime, found "that the church of Lismore wants a roof to the great scandal of religion". (3) In their neglect of church fabrics, the Highland heritors betrayed a complete impartiality as between the two ecclesiastical systems. In 1700, one of the matters which engaged the anxious attention of the Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland was the derelict condition of Dornoch Cathedral where the officiating minister "was often unable to open his Bible for lecture or text, for rain and wind" and was "many a time wet from top to toe". (4) Regret was expressed at the woeful condition of "one of the most considerable cathedrals in the north". (5) James Kirkwood, himself an Episcopalian, and unlikely to exaggerate the conditions created or left unremedied under the Episcopal regime, said in 1699: "Whereas many churches in the Highlands have no roofs, whereby the poor people may be sheltered from the weather, it may be considered what may be fittest to be done to have them put into some tolerable repair that so ministers and people, when they come together may the more conveniently performe the severall religious offices which are incumbent on them". (6) While one cannot

(1) Craven, Diocese of Caithness, p. 164. (2) Ibid. (3) Craven, Diocese of Argyll & Isles, pp. 186, 194. (4) MS Record of Pres. of Ross & Sutherland. (5) Ibid. (6) MS Kirkwood Collection, C. of S. Library, 'Some hints of particulars to be proposed to the Assembly, 1699'.

absolve 18th century Presbytery from the guilt of serious neglect in the matter of church fabrics, yet they were, pace Samuel Johnson, (1) a considerable improvement on their predecessors. The bishops had considerable political power, and might, had they wished it, have brought strong pressure to bear even on recalcitrant chiefs.

8. Summary. There are certain aspects of the Episcopal establishment which call forth our respect. There was a certain kindliness and tolerance which was not to be found in the persecuting south, though one must remember that Highland Covenanting ministers were imprisoned, and that Highland Covenanting lairds paid over £100,000 in fines for recusancy. (2) Certain of its ministers, like Kirk of Aberfoyle, were imbued with a piety which rose superior to ecclesiastical boundaries. In a salutary fashion, it insisted on the public reading of Scripture as an act of worship. While it was signally wanting in evangelising fervour, and that must be reckoned its supreme failure, yet it at least avoided the errors of an uninstructed enthusiasm. Secular music, poetry, and recreation were not placed under an ecclesiastical oan. While it is idle to speculate what the Episcopal Church might have become, had its historical destiny been otherwise, the general impression from its period of ascendancy is that of a well-meaning but half-hearted ineffectiveness.

(1) Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, ed. Holmes; 1908, passim.
CHAPTER II.

MILITANT PRESBYTERIAN EVANGELICALISM: THE PERIOD OF CONFLICT AND CONSOLIDATION, 1688-1750.
During the 18th century, evangelicalism, with its distinctive personal appeal, and its characteristic type of piety, was invariably associated in the Highland mind with the Presbyterian order and polity. Not all Presbyterians were evangelicals, in the popular sense of that word, but all evangelicals were Presbyterians. There were no Highland ministers, either in the earlier or later part of the century, who held the views of such Lowland evangelicals as Gabriel Wilson of Maxton or Davidson of Galashiel. Their ecclesiastical standpoint was Congregational rather than Presbyterian. The peculiar tenets of the Glassites and the Bereans gained no foothold in the Gaelic regions; and the Baptist Independency which Sir William Sinclair of Dunbeath propagated amongst the people of Keiss and Canisbay in Caithness from 1750 onwards, can scarcely be termed an exception. The people of these districts have never thought of themselves as Highlanders. Towards the close of the century, the Haldane brothers and their missionaries affected a certain indifference to church systems, and taught ideas which, in certain localities proved favourable to Independency. But these localities, which in any case were few in number, were all situated on the Gaelic periphery. During our period, then, the rise and development of the evangelical movement in the Highlands took place almost wholly within the framework of Presbyterian as a church order. Further, unlike the evangelical movements in England and the Scottish Lowlands, Highland evangelicalism successfully maintained itself within the fold of the National Church. The Highlands proved to be sterile soil for Secession and Relief principles. Even the Separatists, who were disturbingly active in the Northern Highlands
towards the end of the 18th century and up to the time of the Disruption, professed to belong to the National Church, whose ministry and services, whether evangelical or moderate, they repudiated. And the typical Highland evangelical regarded, and spoke of, the Church as 'my Mother'. There can be few contrasts more striking than the general veneration that was accorded to the national Presbyterian Church, not only as an ideal, out in the concrete, during, say, the beginning of the 19th century, and the scornful hostility or sullen resentment which confronted it throughout the greater part of the Highlands towards the end of the 17th and the first decades of the 18th century. In the main, and making due allowance for the natural homage paid by a conservatively minded people to an established institution, rooted in the past, and for the spiritual contribution of the Moderate party within the Church, that contrast is the fruit of the labour and witness of the Highland evangelicals during the 18th century.

Given the growth of a certain amount of religious toleration, even had Presbytery never been re-established in 1690 as the national religion, we may be fairly certain that there would have been a large Presbyterian Church in the Scottish Lowlands today. There is no such historical probability in the case of the Highlands. In 1690, the main stream of Lowland religious life resumed its natural channel. In the Highlands, the year 1690 was the beginning of a religious revolution. It was also, on that account, the beginning of the final phase in the process of the political, social, and spiritual unification of Scotland. It is generally recognised that the motives which actuated King William
and the Scottish Parliament in their momentous decision to re-establish Presbytery were political rather than religious. William was by upbringing a Dutch Presbyterian, but he was above all other things a statesman, and if he had been assured of their political loyalty, he would, in all probability, have supported the Episcopal hierarchy. (1) The Parliament of 1690 contained out a small minority of Presbyterian devotees; of these Lord Crawford was the most zealous. As far as Parliament acted from religious as distinct from expedient motives, its concern was fear of Romanism, rather than love of Presbytery. But the Estates of Parliament, having committed themselves to the Revolution, were constrained by the logic of the national situation to gratify the legitimate hopes of the one religious interest that was at the same time uncompromisingly Protestant and devoted to the cause of civil liberty.

At this decisive moment in the national history, the social and geographical distribution of ecclesiastical loyalties was broadly thus. The nobility and the great chiefs, in the south and in the north had generally conformed to the Episcopal establishment. The lesser landed gentry, who had been of immense service to the cause of the Covenants, had followed suit. The middle and lower classes in the Low country, with the exception of Angus, Mearns, and Averdeenshire, were Presbyterian in their sympathies. The tradition of the Covenants was strongest in the south-west. The Scottish Roman Catholics numbered some 6000, of whom 5400 lived in the Highlands. (2) Apart from these latter, who were mostly confined to a narrow strip of country stretching from the Duke of Gordon's lands in the east to the southern Hebrides in the west, there

was an apparent unanimity in the Gaelic Highlands in favour of the Episcopal establishment. Even in those districts where there had been a Puritan and Covenanting tradition, Strathnaver, Easter Ross, and Moray, there was no evident popular enthusiasm for the new order. But this anti-Presbyterian unanimity was more apparent than real. It was scarcely possible as yet to dissociate religion and politics, and there were in the Highlands certain clans, one or two of them among the most numerous and influential, who inherited a traditional Whig outlook in politics. These, with the exception of the Campbells who, in 1685, followed Archibald, the ninth earl of Argyll to his doom, remained quiescent during the reigns of Charles II and James II. But the downfall of the old order in church and state, and the rise of Presbytery in close alliance with a constitutional monarchy, immediately revealed the fact that the old line of cleavage in the Highland situation had survived. And it was inevitable that the Whig clans should begin to look with kindly eyes on the 'Whig religion.' The great House of Argyll resumed its historic mission as a steady supporter of the central government and of Reformed religion. In the far north, a similar interest led the families of Reay and Sutherland, along with their allies, the Rosses and Munros, to align themselves with the newly constituted order. Both the Laird of Culloden and the chief of the Grants had suffered for their sympathy with the oppressed Covenanters, and their family influence and interest, allied as it was with the Morayshire Covenanting houses, notably the Brodies and the Roses of Kilravock, formed a useful wedge between the Episcopalian Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and
the North-East and their Highland sympathisers. Some half-century later, a Forces of Culloden, then Lord President of the Court of Session, was to prove to the world that this loyalist and Presbyterian wedge was the decisive factor in the collapse of the last attempt of the ancient royal House to regain the throne of Britain.

Apart, however, from the semi-political, semi-religious, lead which was expected from, and was provided by, the hereditary Whig chiefs and heads of territorial families, a genuine evangelical interest had taken root amongst the people in certain localities. This interest was to provide the native evangelical stock upon which evangelical missionary propaganda was to be grafted. The Inverness mission of Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, the fruitful ministry of Alexander Munro of Durness, the labours, sufferings, and witness of John MacKillican of Fodderty, Thomas Hog of Kiltearn, Walter Denune, later of Golspie, and Angus MacBean of Inverness, not to speak of the 16 Argyll ministers who had been deprived for nonconformity at the Restoration, had not been forgotten or in vain. (1)

The little groups which these men had edified in the evangelical faith had quietly persisted, and it is a fact of eminent significance that the strongest current of the Highland evangelical movement during the 18th century had its spring in Easter Ross and the east of Sutherland. It has been asserted, even by Highlanders who had an intimate knowledge of the history and literature of their race, that "the melancholy temperament of the Celt" naturally predisposed him to welcome Calvinism, especially in its predestinarian preoccupation. (2)

It is, of course, impossible to ignore the fact that Gaelic proverbial literature does emphasise the idea of an overruling fate. 'Bha e 'an dan da.' 'It was in

(2) MacKay, J. Church in the Highlands 1400-163, etc.
the incantation to him'. But this strain represents the survival of a very widespread primitive and pre-Christian idea, rather than a peculiarly Celtic attitude. And apart from the fact that the Highland people are not racially homogeneous, the popular conception of their "melancholy temperament" is largely the product of the grandiose and artificial gloom of MacPherson's Ossian. It is instructive to compare this famous literary forgery with the genuine 'Ossianic' ballads, the true folk literature of the people, with their matter of fact heroism, and occasional rough humour. (1) Actually, perhaps the most striking characteristic of the Highlanders till at least the middle of the 19th century was an irrepressible gaiety of spirit, which neither hardship or want could effectually quench. A people that danced at its 'lykewakes' could scarcely be called 'melancholy'. The economic calamities that overwhelmed the Highlands during the hundred years after Culloden certainly left a permanent mark on the spirit of the race. To them, as much as to the Puritanism that followed in the wake of the evangelical revivals, must be ascribed the new note of demure seriousness and even of sadness. In any case, as far as we can judge, it was not the determinism of Calvinism, so much as the 'Gospel' note that was so earnestly stressed by the Marrow' theologians and preachers, that won the allegiance of the people. All we can assuredly assert is that, in the painful transition from a mediaeval to a modern order of society, in which the loved and familiar foundations of Highland life were visibly passing away, the evangelical message met and fulfilled a clamant need, and propagated itself by demonstrating its inherent power of moulding a worthy and

(1) Leabhar na Feinne, ed. J. F. Campbell, Reliquae Celticae, ed. A. Cameron, passim.
and God-fearing character, and of providing a stable principle of soc-

While the auspicious factors, which we have just enumerated, appear suffi-
ciently luminous in retrospect, it must be acknowledged that, to the
men who were charged with the task of rebuilding Scottish Presbytery-
ism in 1690, the Highland prospect must have appeared deeply discourag-
ing. Apart from the strong hold which Episcopacy, or, what amounts to the
same thing, anti-Presbyterianism, had even in the traditional Whig areas,
the great tract of country which extended from the Seaforth lands in
the north to the Atholl territory in the southern Highlands, was actively hostile or sullenly resentful. While the Jacobite risings of 1689, 1715, and 1719 were not primarily inspired by religious inter-
ests, except perhaps, in so far as they were the fruit of foreign Roman
Catholic intrigue, yet it is certain that the Episcopal clergy played
an important part in each of them, and that the clans which took part
in these several incidents were unfriendly to the 'Whig religion'.

There is one important caution, however, which has to be observed when
we refer to the hostility of the Jacobite clans to the Revolution
settlement in church and state. For practical purposes, the chief, and we
may include his council of chieftains, was the clan. In 1690, and for a
good many years thereafter, the clan was a very closely integrated en-
tity. It was a definite sign of the approaching break-up of the clan
when different parties within the same clan, out of real conviction
and not as a friendly arrangement to preserve the clan lands whichever
side failed, took opposed decisions on crucial questions of public
policy. This happened in the case of the men of Atholl in 1715. It was
strikingly more evident in 1745, when MacIntoshes, MacKenzie, MacDonals, MacLeods, and Grants were in opposite camps.

But in 1690, when the Presbyterian Church set forth to win the Highlands the ability of the chiefs to control and direct the opinions of their people was undoubtedly great. Not all, but many, of the raublings of newly inducted Presbyterian clergy, and much of the passive or active obstruction of their ministry, bear all the marks of having been organised from above; and this policy of organised obstruction was motivated quite as powerfully by antipathy to the political, as to the religious propaganda of the 'Whig' ministers. Highland Jacobitism, to the end of its course, possessed a large element of disinterested idealism. It had also, like its Whig counterpart, its darker aspects. In some cases, we can discern a distinct combination of these motives, the fervour of romantic loyalty being reinforced by the urgent need of solving the embarrassing problem of family debts. (1) The temporal and spiritual welfare of the mass of the people was not a primary consideration. "Personal advantage or personal quarrels swayed the least worthy of the Highland chiefs, altruistic loyalty to a dynasty governed the noblest of them. But a conception of duty, which implied the subordination equally of personal ambition for themselves, and unselfish loyalty to the Stuarts, to the happiness and prosperity of the clans whose welfare was a sacred trust committed to their charge, does not appear to have presented itself even to the worst of them". (2) Not that the people themselves regarded this as other than natural. In any case, the personal affability of the chiefs even to the humblest member of the clan counted for much. Ancient consuetude, pride in the name, social suggestion, the

economic argument of tenancy at will, not to speak of hereditary juris-
diction in a country in which there were not as yet judges or justices
appointed directly by the Crown, all combined to make personal decisions
which were unpleasing to the mind of the clan chief, difficult and
momentous. Thus, the Presbyterian Church was necessarily committed to
the formidable task of breaking the ideological unity of clan life.
This necessity helps to explain certain features of Highland evangel­
cicalism; for instance, its hostility to the ancient folk culture, which
so powerfully bound the people to the past of their race, and its ag­
gressive modernism. "One of the greatest factors," says Dr Alexander
MacBain, "in the change of the Highlands from mediaeval to modern
habits of thought was the inflow of Presbyterian ideals in religion".
(1) Broadly speaking, then, the task of Presbyterianism in the Highlands
up to the middle of the century may be summed up in the two words,
conflict and consolidation.

On 22nd July 1689, the Scottish Parliament, following King William's
lead, abolished 'Prelacy and all superiority of office' in the
Church in this Kingdom above Presbyters'. On 25th April, 1690, it was
further ordained that 'all those Presbyterian ministers, yet alive, who
were thrust from their charges since the first day of January 1661, or
vanished for nonconformity to prelacy... have forthwith free access to
their churches; the present incumbents to remove within and Whitsunday
next to come'. The Act of Supremacy was next rescinded, and on 7th June
1690, Parliament ratified the Westminster Confession of Faith and
declared Presbytery to be "the only government of Christ's Church
(1) Skene's Highlanders of Scotland, ed. A. MacBain, p. 405 (editor's note)
within the kingdom". The direction of ecclesiastical affairs was committed to the sixty restored ministers "and such ministers and elders only as they have admitted, or received, or shall hereafter receive". "In all former crises in the history of the Reformed Church, ministers who had not declared their dissent from the new order were assumed to have conformed; out on the present occasion... every minister who had not been... received into communion, was understood to be outside the pale". (1) Lay patronage having been abolished, the heritors and elders of each parish were empowered, on the occurrence of a vacancy, to make choice of a minister and propose him to the congregation for approval or disapproval. This concession to Presbyterian feeling was balanced by certain measures designed to curb ecclesiastical extremism. The Covenants were not only ignored, but the Act of 1662 which pronounced them unlawful was not repealed. Religious tests for civil offices were replaced by the oath of allegiance. The sentence of excommunication was deprived of its serious civil consequences. The Estates did not explicitly admit, indeed ignored, the principle enunciated by the General Assembly of 1647 in its Act approving of the Confession of Faith, that where a church is fully constituted, "it is free to assemble together synodically, as well pro re nata as at the ordinary times upon delegation from the churches, by the intrinsicall power received from Christ". (2) But only in 1692 and 1693 was there any serious danger of a clash between church and state on the right of calling Assemblies. Firmness on the part of the Church and the moderating counsels of William Carstaires to Church and King alike resulted in a working compromise which lasted

up to 1929.

The General Assembly which met on 16th October 1690 and continued its labours till the 13th November following had 116 ministers and 66 ruling elders on its roll. These, of course, included the 60 'antedeluvians'. The northern representation was meagre, but not, as has been claimed, non-existent. The Synod of Argyll sent six ministers and two elders. Moray sent four ministers and four elders, none of them, however, from the Highland parishes of the Synod. Ross and Sutherland sent two ministers, one of them the redoubtable Thomas Hog of Kiltearn. Caithness sent Walter Denoon, distinguished as a field preacher, and admitted minister of Golspie in 1690, along with the Earl of Sutherland as ruling elder. (1) The Synod of Glenelg shared with Angus and Mearns, and Orkney and Shetland the distinction of not being represented. The Assembly passed a number of useful measures, but the most important practical step was the appointment of two commissions to assist the skeleton Presbyteries to reorganise the Church on a Presbyterian basis. To the one was granted responsibility for the country to the south, to the other for the country to the north, of the River Tay. The northern Commission included the names of Thomas Hog, Walter Denoon, William MacKay, John Stewart, George Meldrum, ministers, and the Earl of Sutherland, Brodie of Brodie, Grant of Grant, Forbes of Culloden; Sir John Munro, Sir George Munro, Sir Robert Gordon of Embo, John Campbell of Moy, and Munro of Drummond, elders. They were instructed to "give their opinion to all Presbyteries and Synods who shall apply to them for the same in difficult cases; and though Presbyteries shall not apply, yet, (1) MacKay, J. The Church in the Highlands, p. 170.
if the commission shall be informed of any precipitant or unwarrantable procedure of Presbyteries in processes...the commission shall interpose their advice to such Presbyteries...". In the following counsels, the Assembly endeavours to strike the proper balance between zeal and caution. The commissioners are to be "careful that none shall be admitted by them to ministerial communion, or to a share of the government, but such as, upon due trial...shall be found to be orthodox in their doctrine, of competent abilities, having a pious, godly, loyal, and peaceable conversation, as becometh a minister of the Gospel, of an edifying gift...all who shall be admitted to the ministry or shall be received to a share in the government, shall be obliged to own and subscribe the Confession of Faith, and profess their submission to and willingness to join and concur with the Presbyterian Church government". At the same time they must be "very cautious of receiving informations against the late incumbents and that they proceed in the matter of censure very deliberately, so as none may have just cause to complain of their rigidity; ...and that they shall not proceed to censure, but upon relevant reasons and sufficient provation". (1)

Obviously, very much depended on how these instructions were to be interpreted by the men on the spot. It may be asserted that, on the whole, Presbyteries and Commissioners carried out their painful and difficult duties with commendable impartiality. (2) Their work was made simpler when, in 1693, the Scottish Parliament required from all who had taken the oath of allegiance, subscription to a further oath of assurance. The oath of 1690 ran: "I, A.B., do sincerely promise and swear that I

will be faithfull and bear true Allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God." (1) It was no difficult matter for Jacobite casuists to discover a field for mental reservation in these words. The more stringent terms of the oath of assurance compelled subscribers to recognise William and Mary as "the only lawfull undoubted sovereigns of this Realm as well de jure, that is, of right, King and Queen, as de facto, that is, in possession and exercise of the government, and that they would maintain their Majesties' title against the late King James". (2) These terms were too explicit for any firm believer in divine right, and the consequence was that a great number of the Highland incumbents declined to take the oath. It, however, drove a fatal wedge into the ranks of the Episcopal clergy. These political differences were, in a short time, to be accentuated by the doctrinal and ritualistic controversy over the 'Usages'.

The result was that the incumbents became separated into three groups. There were the non-jurors, who refused to take the oath of allegiance and whose parishes were consequently declared vacant, though it was not always possible to give effect to the sentence. These were the spiritual ancestors of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Secondly, there were those who took the oath of allegiance and the 'assurance', and, when not judged by the Presbyterian courts to be "insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous", were protected by law in the possession of their benefices. Some of them still held parochial cures some forty years after the Revolution settlement. And, lastly, a number professed conversion to Presbyterianism, and, being judged sound in the faith, they

were received into full communion and took their seats in the Presbyteries. Among these were one or two very able men, notably the scholarly Colin Campbell of Ardchattan, and the very militant Kenneth Morrison of Stornoway.

Before proceeding to discuss the course of the conflict between the ever advancing forces of Presbytery and the retreating adherents of Episcopacy, it were well to advert to the measures taken by successive General Assemblies to provide temporary or permanent ministerial supply for the parishes which were being deserted by the incumbents or rendered vacant by judicial action. It was hopeless to rely on the orthodox Presbyterian procedure for the filling of vacancies. Congregations and sessions willing to extend a call to Presbyterian ministers did not, in many parishes, exist even in nucleus. So the whole of the country north of the Tay was, so to speak, delimited as a mission area.

The Assembly, determinedly mobilising its as yet scanty man-power even in the Lowlands, organised and dispatched successive missionary crusades to the northern synods. In 1694, the southern synods were compelled to send two watches of 16 ministers each to supply the vacancies in Angus and Mearns, Aberdeen, Ross, Sutherland and Caithness. (1) In 1695, a commission was appointed "to sit monthly in Edinburgh, to expedite matters connected with planting the north". (2) Its special task was to plan the transfer of 22 ministers "of some considerable standing and experience now settled in the south" to northern parishes. For this end 44 ministers from the Lowland synods, and a number of Gaelic-speaking ministers and probationers from Argyll, were appointed to go

on mission to certain allocated areas for a term of three months.
Such of these as received calls from vacant congregations were expected, indeed compelled, to accept them. (1) The dread of receiving such unwelcome favours may well be one reason why the Assembly had to "obtest and beseech" the missioners to fulfil their instructions. (2) Some made excuses and did not go. Each year up to 1700, similar large contingents of ordained ministers were sent to the English-speaking parishes, from the Mearns to Caithness. (3) At the same time, the Lowlands were comoved for Gaelic-speaking ministers, upon whom pressure was brought to accept calls to vacant Gaelic parishes. (4) Upon the Synod of Argyll, which was the first to be in an effective state to do so, devolved the main burden of providing temporary missioners to the unsettled Gaelic areas. (5) Every available probationer was pressed into the service. No Lowland Presbytery could settle a Highland probationer in their bounds, unless, after a year's trial, no Highland parish could be induced to accept of his services. To refuse a call from a vacant Highland parish involved the probationer in the risk of losing his licence. (6) The dearth of Gaelic-speaking clergy is demonstrated by the Assembly's enactment that the itinerating Lowland missioners should make use of interpreters in their catechising and that "ministers or probationers who have somewhat of the Irish language, but not a facility to preach in it, be sent to these places for the ends foresaid, that by converse they may learn more of the language, and ability to instruct therein". (7) In the same Act, Presbyteries and Universities are recommended to have a special regard in the disposal of their pursaries for 

educating such as it is hoped may be useful to preach the Gospel in the Highlands. These measures are evidence of vigour, resolution and courage; but the means at the disposal of the Presbyterian authorities was quite inadequate to the task of providing due pastoral care for all the Highland parishes. We may consider, therefore, that it was, in the main fortunate that the newly erected Presbyteries were not always able to give effect to their own, and the Privy Council's sentences of deprivation against the Episcopal clergy. Some of the incumbents who took the oaths to Government, and were thereby assured of legal protection, pursued their pastoral duties quietly and conscientiously, collaborating sometimes, as in the case of Cumming of Glen Urquhart, with the Presbyterian ministers in the moral oversight of the people and in the restraint of Roman Catholic aggression. (1) And, though they were always politically troublesome, there were gallant Christian figures among the Highland non-jurors. During the forty years that followed the re-establishment of Presbytery, we must ascribe a certain amount of the credit for preventing the lapse of multitudes of Highlanders into paganism to these representatives of a fallen regime.

In Mid and South Argyll, the ecclesiastical change-over was effected with relative speed, and was not marked by any picturesque incidents. Many of the incumbents in the Presbyteries of Inverary, Dunoon, and Kintyre, probably owing to their slight hold on the popular loyalty, possibly also owing to their proximity to Inverary Castle, quietly "deserted" their charges, and the way was at once opened to a legal settlement. Three of the "outed" Presbyterian ministers, Alexander Gordon, Inverary, John Cunison, Kiloride in Arran, and Robert Duncanson,

Campbelltown, resumed their parochial charges. (1) Apparently nine of the 'curates' were received into the ministry of the establishment, and either continued in their old parishes, or were sent to labour further afield. John Lindsay remained at Inverary, while Angus MacDonald of Killeen became minister of South Uist, David Simpson of Southend was settled in Killarrow (Islay), and William Campbell of North Knapdale found a new sphere in Kingussie. (2) With the exception of Kilmian and Kilmorie in Arran, all the parishes within these three Presbyteries were competently filled by 1694. This enabled the Assembly to make calls on these Presbyteries for much needed assistance in supplying itinerating missioners to the remoter Highlands.

In Lorn, the resistance is perceptibly stiffer. Duncan Campbell, formerly of Glenorchy, and deprived for nonconformity in 1662, came back to his old parish in 1690, and received "verie undutiful entertainment". Dugald Lindsay, the Episcopal minister, supported by the whole body of the people, retained the benefice till his death in 1728. (3) Alexander MacCalman, Dean of Argyll, continued without molestation as minister of Lismore. On 22nd August 1699, the Synod of Argyll visited the parish. MacCalman "preached on his ordinary; Luke XXI, 12. The judgement of the brethren being asked anent his discourse, there was nothing of weight found censuraole therein", but "he did not visit the families nor administer the Lord's Supper since the Revolution". (4) Duncan Campbell, inducted in 1719, was his Presbyterian successor. The ministers of Morven and Ardnamurchan were both deprived by the Privy Council in

1689, but neither took any heed of the sentence. MacCallman of Morven was reduced to some show of penitence for the exercise of an irregular ministry after he had been formally deposed in 1709, but MacDonald of Ardnamurchan, the remarkable father of a more remarkable son, quietly appropriated the Eilean Finain division of that united parish, and ministered to its people till his death in 1724. A Presbyterian minister had been settled in 1700, but in 1725, the Synod of Argyll notes that the people of Ardnamurchan are "for the most part of different principles from the Church of Scotland". (1) In 1750, "the People of Ardnamurchan and the Stuarts of Appin are the most deeply poisoned with Disaffection to our Happy Constitution in Church and State of any people I ever knew. They idolise the Non-juring clergy and can scarcely keep their temper when speaking of Presbyterians". (2) This statement was equally applicable to Morven, but while Episcopacy has persisted in the Appin and Glencoe districts of the parish of Lismore to this day, in 1790, "the whole parishioners (of Morven) are of the established church, excepting a few non-jurant episcopaliens. Of old, the bulk of the people were inclined to that form of religious worship, from political principles; but, for many years past, these prejudices have been gradually falling off, and are now almost entirely forgot." (3) At the same period, the parish of Ardnamurchan, which at the time included Moidart, Arisaig and Morar, contained only 37 Episcopaliens, while there were 2452 members of the establishment and 2053 Roman Catholics. (4) The latter had held their ground steadfastly throughout the century, but the Episcopaliens, after the disappearance of the political issues.

which separated the people, gradually transferred their allegiance to
the Church. The Argyllshire islands do not present any striking inci-
dents. John Fraser of Tiree, "a learned and good man, very beneficial to
his parishioners on account of his wise and winning disposition, under-
standing well their habits and character," continued to discharge the
duties of parish minister till his death in 1702, though the parish
was declared vacant in 1697. (1) In Skye, John Bethune of Bracadale, and
Dugald MacPherson of Duirinish were received into the Presbyterian
Church. (2) Both these parishes were part of the old MacLeod lands.
Canon MacLeod states that "Ian Breac, the sixteenth Chief of Macleod,
who succeeded in 1664, became a Presbyterian," and that "from the late
seventeenth century onward the people on the ancient Macleod Estates
have been Presbyterians." (3) In 1666, the Bishop of the Isles suppliant
the Privy Council for redress on account of an assault made on Donald
Nicolson, Minister of Kilmuir by Archibald MacDonald, brother of the
chief of Sleat. The Bishop urges that "all the Papists with the recus-
ants in these bounds are mightilie encouraged" because such an act of
violence has remained unpunished. (4) If "recusants" in this connection
mean Protestant nonconformists, this would imply that the religion of
the Covenant had not only taken root in Skye, but had continued to be
cherished by individuals and groups during the Restoration Episcopacy.
Though Angus MacQueen of Sleat, and Donald MacQueen of Snizort were
non-jurors, and continued in possession of their benefices till 1709
and 1710 respectively, yet they left few disciples. One reason may be
that in both cases, Presbyterian son succeeded non-juring father. (5)

Towards the end of the century, "a few families in Strath adhered to Episcopacy" while in Bracadale, at the same period there were only two families. (1) South Uist, which was part of the Clanranald territory, and overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, offered no forcible opposition to the settlement of Angus MacDonald in 1689, but from Protestant North Uist John Morrison reported on June 1699, that "when he was ready to preach to them, on a Sabbath, he was threatened and hindered by the mou, so that after he had staid a considerable time there, he was necessitate to come away re infecte". (2) The Synod appealed to the superior, the chief of Sleat, and organised resistance seems to have ceased when, that same year, Alexander Cooper, the Episcopal "intruder" conformed to Presbytery. (3) The two ministers of Lewis, father and son, belonged to the remarkable family of hereditary orives or judges, the Morisons of Ness. They both became Presbyterians, and Kenneth, the son, who was minister of Ul or Stornoway, won fame by his physical prowess against the followers of MacKenzie of Kildun, who was the local leader of a small but militant band of Roman Catholics. (4) Nominally at least, Lewis became Presbyteriam in a brief time. This may well have been helped by the withdrawal of the Seaforth family from all Jacobite political intrigue after their disastrous experiences in 1715 and 1719. When Prince Charles Edward visited Stornoway in 1746, the people were polite, but they were firmly insistent that he should leave their coasts. (5) While they were, no doubt sympathetic to the unhappy Prince, they clearly showed that Jacobite adventures no longer interested them.

The Highlands of Perthshire were strongly Jacobite. The influence of

the House of Atholl was effective in securing the intrusion of two successive 'unqualified' ministers into Blair Atholl after the Revolution. Duncan Stewart, the second of these, seems to have been removed for his share in the rebellion of 1715, for a Presbyterian minister was settled in the parish in 1716. (1) In this district, there is evidence of a certain reluctance to take forcible measures against the old incumbents. Whether this is due to inutility, laxity, or tenderness, it is not easy to judge. Probably all three causes operated. Alexander Comrie of Kenmore was a faithful parish minister, a fervent Jacobite, who intimated a public fast before the battle of Sheriffmuir, was twice formally deposed by the Presbytery, but retained his benefice till 1730. (2) Robert Kirk of Aberfoyle, linguae Hiberniae lumen, a disciple of Leighton, and more interested in religion than in politics, though never professing conformity to Presbytery, was in no wise molested. He was highly respected by both ecclesiastical parties. (3) Robert Stewart of Killin was a much more dubious person. He is still known to local tradition as "Curam an t-saoghaill", or "Worldly Care". Distinguished neither by zeal or godliness, his ruling passion was avarice. In 1727, the Presbytery became delightedly concerned for the welfare of his parish and discovered that "he had ceased to preach and that for over 20 years, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper had not been administered in any part of the parish. He never visited, and, except for seven or eight years, he had not resided in the parish". (4) The old man was reluctantly persuaded to resign.

The Synod of Moray stretched westwards into the Highlands of

Badenoch, and from Inverness along the Great Glen as far as Boleskine.

This country included a number of fairly strong Roman Catholic communities; and here also, the Episcopalian resistance to the Presbyterian reorganisation is strong and persistent. During the time of the Covenanters, Moray proper was, in the words of Bishop Burnet, "extremely addicted to the Covenanters". (1) During the subsequent Episcopal period, it had provided some notable Presbyterian recusants. (2) But for a considerable number of years after the Revolution, the ecclesiastical history of the Synod of Moray is the record of a series of parochial battles between advancing Presbytery and slowly retreating Episcopacy.

Inverness had the reputation of being reasonable rather than unduly zealous in its religious loyalties. The people had supported the Covenanters, and, with equal heartiness, had embraced Restoration Episcopacy. Just before the Revolution, Angus MacBean, a young man of gifts and promise, one of the ministers of the town, publicly declared his adherence to the cause of the persecuted Presbyterians. (3) But his following cannot have been large or influential. His successor, Hector MacKenzie, a stout Episcopalian, and a popular Gaelic preacher, remained minister of the First Charge till 1719. (4) Gilbert Marshall, minister of the Second Charge died in 1691. "So great was the disaffection" writes Lachlan Shaw, "(to which Mr Hector MacKenzie, Minister, contributed not a little, although he himself had qualified to the Civil Government), ... that the magistrates would not suffer the (second) charge to be declared vacant. Upon 21st June that year, all avenues to the Church were beset by armed men, and double sentries placed at the doors that no minister might enter."
and when Duncan Forces of Culloden fought to open the doors, he was
thrust back and struck violently. This made Culloden and others represen-
t the case to the Council; and in August, 1691, Leven's regiment was
sent North to protect the well-affected in obeying the law. They made
patent the doors; but for ten years no Minister could be got settled
in that town."

(1) The Inverness Session Records, however, give no indication of such a fracas having taken place. On the Sunday in question, Hector MacKenzie officiated at the morning service and the Minister of Petty in the afternoon. The collections, amounting to over £5, were allocated in the ordinary way. (2) Further, it is on record that on 14th July, 1691, the Magistrates, heritors, and elders met and considered a list of six persons, among whom was William Stewart, expectant, afterwards of Kiltseat and Inverness, with a view to the due filling up of the vacancy. Alexander Sutherland, an ex-master of the Inverness Grammar School and Chaplain of Livingstone's Dragoons, was the choice of the meeting, but, though he preached several times in the Church after his appointment, he was not inducted. (3) The Second Charge certainly remained vacant for eleven years, until the well-known Robert Baillie was settled there in 1701, but Lachlan Shaw's story must be treated with reserve. In October, 1691, "the presbyterian parties took possession of the Highland Church."

(4) But in 1705, though there were now two able evangelical divines, Rou- Baillie and William Stewart, settled in the Second and Third Charges, Hector MacKenzie was sufficiently influential to compel his Presbyterian colleagues to sign a document which well illustrates the reasonableness of Inverness religion. With the concurrence of the Session and

Magistrates, the ministers agreed that "the sd Mr Hector MacKenzie shall preach in English in the High Church every third Sabbath day in the afternoon, and on a weekday once every three weeks, in the said English language, either in the old or new Kirk, as he shall find most convenient; 2nd, It was agreed in manner for said that during Mr William Stewart's stay in this place and continuing to preach here, the sd Mr Hector MacKenzie shall take an equal burden with him both in preaching and Catechising in the Irish language; 3rd, That one the Sabbath day Mr Hector MacKenzie and Mr Will Stewart shall preach by equal turns or Catechise in the new Kirk, in the Irish language only..." (1) This agreement, the preamble of which is in these words: "For removing of all differences between the ministers and parochners of Inverness", was still in effective operation in 1717, at a time when the Presbyterian cause, through the collapse of the rebellion in 1715, was definitely in the ascendant. It was only after MacKenzie's death in 1719, that an Episcopalian meeting-house was erected in Inverness. (2)

Moy was Mackintosh country, though Rose of Kilaravock was the patron. The course of affairs in that united parish shows how the Presbyterian difficulties in effecting a regular settlement varied according to the changing political outlook of the chief. Alex. Cumming, the incumbent of Moy, despite his pronounced Jacobite views, retained his office till his death in 1709. When the parish was declared vacant, The Mackintosh, who had not yet yielded to the Jacobite solicitations of his famous cousin of Borlum, lost no time in pressing upon the Presbytery the need for the settlement of a minister. "Compeared the laird of Mackintosh, and

(1) Inverness Session Records, p. 13. (2) Craven, Church in Moray, p. 236.
craved in his own name, and in the name of the united parishes of Moy and Dalarossie, that the Presbytery would appoint one of their number to moderate in a call to a minister to the said united parishes". (1) The heritors, in calling Donald Mackintosh, of Duthil and Rothiemurchus, made an excellent choice, but he died before the induction could take place. For the next two or three years, the parish received, with apparent acceptance, the ministrations of two probationers, Thomas Chisholm, afterwards of Kilmorack, and Daniel Beton, later the well-known minister of Rosskeen. In 1713, the Presbytery, "considering the desolate state of Moy and Dalarossie", called Daniel Beton to be minister of the vacant charge. But by this time, the political weather was definitely ominous. Jacobite agents were busy. The Mackintosh had decided to cast in his lot with the malcontents. Beton, sensing the coming tempest, had "no clearness as yet to accept the call to Moy," and eventually evaded the challenge by accepting a call to Arderseir in September, 1714. In October, the Presbytery, though they judged that "it would be hard to get peaceable settlements in those places (Moy, Kirkhill etc.), considering how much an opposite Jacobite spirit prevails", made a half-hearted and quite unsuccessful approach to The Mackintosh out that chief was by now well on the road that led to his temporary sojourn in Newgate Jail. At this critical juncture, almost on the eve of the rebellion, James Leslie, a young probationer of heroic mould and legendary physical prowess placed himself at the disposal of the Presbytery. He was sent to supply the Churches of Moy and Dalarossie, and in March 1715, the Presbytery gave him a call, which, owing to the civil troubles of that year, they were unable to implement till August 1716. It is interesting to

(1) T.G.S.I. XIX, p. 52: Craven, Church in Moray, p. 262.
note that the Presbytery judged it wise to reinforce their call *jure
devoluto* by a regular presentation from the patron, Rose of Kilravock.
While formal instructions were given to "make a discovery of the in­
clinations of the people", no reference to them was made at the meeting
which appointed the date of Leslie's ordination and induction, but,
significantly enough, the laird of Kilravock and Sir Archibald Campuell
of Cawdor were asked to be present, presumably in force, "to prevent
disturbances". (1) Kirkless, houseless, with a non-juring intruder, Louis
Grant, stirring up an already disaffected people, Leslie struggled on.
During his ministry of half a century, he gradually won the respect
and affection of his people. Whether or not it be a faule that he won
his first congregation by ceating the young men of Moy at "putting
the stone"; (2) it remains true that, at his death in 1766, he left behind
him a body of people who were eminent for piety and soundly edified
in the evangelical faith.

While Moy is an excellent example of the evangelising power of a
dedicated personality, the neighbouring parish of Daviot and Dunlichity
illustrates with equal effectiveness the virile tenacity of Episcopacy
where it had really become a religion of the people at the Revolution,
the cure of Daviot was held by Michael Fraser, a man of amiable person­
ality, whose taste for art and disconcerting habit of absenting himself
from his parish for extended holidays without leave, had incurred for
him the displeasure of the Bishop of Moray. As the old Presbyterian
minister of Daviot, Alexander Fraser, was still alive and claimed the
incumency, the Commission of Assembly declared the parish vacant in

(1) MacDougall, R. Strathdearn Church Notes, T.G.S.I. Vol. XIX, p. 49-62.
(2) Craven, J. B. Church in Moray, p. 264.
Michael Fraser may have been a casual pastor, but he was evidently able to win the love of his people. A devoted Jacobite, he was present at the siege of Culloden House by the rebel forces in September 1715. The Presbytery made a visitation of the parish in 1721, but were forced to retreat under a barrage of stones. Shortly afterwards, Farquhar MacBeaton of Croy, accompanied by a number of his own flock, visited Daviot Church as official 'supply'. "With some difficulty, I got access to the church, and had no sooner begun worship than by stones thrown in the pulpit was broke about me, and some of my parishioners wounded. Being obliged to remove for our safety, we were assaulted by a multitude of men and women, with swords, staves, and stones, some of our number wounded, and others barbarously beaten." So reported Beaton. It was probably through the open roof of the church that the stones were cast in which smashed the pulpit. In 1722, the heritors, in a more compromising mood, obliged themselves to an active concurrence with the Presbytery in a legal settlement, should Fraser be allowed to remain undisturbed till his death. But when, four years later, the old man died, after a ministry of fifty-four years, Lachian Shaw, the Presbyterial deputy, found the church door locked in his face. "The people behaved so rudely that he could not worship in the churchyard without being disturbed by them; and so returned home." (1) In 1770, the people were still largely, if not mainly Episcopalian. (2)

James Fraser of Kirkhill, famous as the author of the Wardlaw MS, a learned historian and a most devoted parish minister, represented Episcopacy at its best. Though Scott's Fasti says that he died in 1709

(1) MacKay, W. A Famous Minister of Daviot, T.G.S.I., Vol. XII, pp. 244-256.
(2) Craven, Church in Moray, p. 282. In 1770, the candidates for confirmation numbered 480.
he appears to have been still alive in 1717. (1) No serious effort was made to remove him, though in 1714, and again in 1717, (apparently the year of his death) tentative efforts appear to have been made by the Presbytery to effect a change. (2) But "he would not be removed from his office by any." After the Revolution, some of the 'qualified' incumbents ceased to perform certain functions of their office, such as catechising, pastoral visiting, and in some cases, the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In the Presbytery of Inverness, on the contrary, there appears to have been an improvement. (3) In Kirkhill, the Holy Eucharist was celebrated every Easter and Good Friday was kept as a sacramental fast. "Also the whole week (preceding Easter to be spent) in austere, mortification, and preparation previous to so solemn a work." (8th Feb. 1708). (4) The 'qualified' incumbents of the Presbytery, though forming a separate community within the Church, supported the educational work of the Scottish S.P.C.K., strenuously advocated the cause of parish schools, exerted themselves in preserving Church discipline, and with the aid of their Kirk-Sessions, continued the oversight and support of the poor. At the same time, in giving and receiving aid at Communion seasons, they restricted themselves to their Episcopalian brethren. Hector MacKenzie of Inverness assisted at Kirkhill, and James Fraser did similar duties at Dores, Urquhart and Kiltarlity. (5) Robert Thomson was settled in Kirkhill in 1717. In 1720, following a refusal on the part of the heritors to pay the stipend, there was, opportunely enough, a riot in which a mob assaulted the manse. "Lovat's officer travelled through the paroch and prohibited the people to hear Mr Thomson." (6)

It is evident that "Lovat's officer" continued to travel through the parish for many years thereafter, for on 3rd July 1743, "a multitude of three or four hundred people" committed an even more serious assault on the manse of Kirkhill. Thomson lived till 1770, and his successor, Alexander Fraser, (inducted 1773) was one of the great evangelical divines of the north, "much beloved by his parishioners". (1)

Robert Cumming, of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, retained his parish until his death in 1730. He was "the last survivor, perhaps, of that steadfast band of Highland Prelatists who continued to hold their livings after the disestablishment of their Church." (2) There appear to have been kindly relations between him and his Presbyterian brethren. In March, 1725, he informed the Presbytery of Avertarff by means of the minister of Boleskine that "trafficking priests and Popish emissaries" were making inroads in Glenmoriston and that immoralities were rife in the parish, craving the assistance of the Presbytery. (3) On 23rd August 1725, the Presbytery, after enjoining diligence on the minister, "did expostulate with Master Robert Cumine anent his preaching so seldom in Glenmoriston...and that he would receive and observe the instructions that should be sent him from time to time by the Presbytery". Cumming, however, while cooperating with the Presbytery in dealing with offenders, and in erecting the first school in Glenmoriston, steadily refused to be drawn into acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Presbytery. (4) It was not till after 1745 that evangelical religion and Puritan practice gained a firm grip on the people. John Grant, who became minister of this parish in 1741, was one of the few Presbyterian clergy who favoured

Prince Charles Edward.

Ross-shire, which, after 1740 or even earlier, was to become the home of the 'Fathers', the Holy Land of Highland Evangelicalism, was the scene of the direst and most bitter episode in the post-Revolution struggle of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. The county was traditionally Protestant, and in Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Fearn, had supplied one of the proto-martyrs of the Reformation. "North of the Great Glen and Beauly, there were practically no Roman Catholics". (1) Though the head of the princely House of Seaforth was an adherent of the old faith, the MacKenzie gentry were, with few exceptions, Protestant Episcopalians. One factor which contributed, perhaps in no insconsiderable degree, to the eventual and overwhelming victory of Presbyterianism was Earl William's withdrawal, after 1719, from further Jacobite adventures. It was the Earl of Cromartie, with his young son, Lord Macleod, who led 400 or 500 MacKenzie who took part in the '45. The MacKenzie chieftains, with the exception of Coul, Redcastle, and Torridon, refused to participate in the latter rebellion, as did the MacLeods of Assynt and Lochtorrum.(2)

In Easter Ross, the Presbyterian cause had the support of the families of Foulis and Balnagowan. There was also a genuine evangelical interest, the fruit of the apostolic labours of Thomas Hog and Walter Denune, in certain parishes. (3) Along the strip of coast which stretches from Cromarty to Golspie, the rise of Presbyterianism was essentially a popular movement. It was the evangelical piety of Easter Ross, fortified by the revivals of the third and fourth decades, (4) which eventually captured the whole of the Northern Highlands. This district has thus a place of

special significance in the history of Highland evangelicalism.
In 1690, the whole of the country "which extended from Inverness and
surroundings to the Pentland Firth" was included in the bounds of the
Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland. (1) Its minutes, long considered lost,
(2) were found among the books left by Dr Gustavus Aird of Creich, and
are the oldest post-Revolution church records in the north. At its
first meeting, which was held at Tain, on 25th July, 1693, the sederunt
was: "Mr Hugh Anderson, Minister at Cromartie, Mr Walter Denune, Minister
at Golspie, Mr William MacKay, Minister at Dornoch, Mr William Stewart,
Minister at Kiltiearn, The Laird of Balnagowan, Sir Robert Gordon of Emuoo,
Mr Robert Gray of Tallach, Mr Hugh Anderson, Moderator, Mr William Stewart,
Clerk". (3) These men were the pioneers of Presbytery in the Northern Highlands. Hugh Anderson, the doyen of this little band, deprived of
his parish in 1662, and restored in 1690, was the only representative
present of the pre-Restoration ministry. Denune had been active in holding conventicles in Easter Ross, and had suffered imprisonment. MacKay
had been hunted for his activities as "a vagrant preacher in Sutherland". Stewart was a disciple of Angus MacBean of Inverness, the last of
the Covenanting martyrs. Balnagowan was a steadfast adherent of Pres-
bytery and Revolution principles. (4)

During the first years of its existence as a Presbytery, the court was
largely concerned with judicial proceedings against the 'curates',
and with the laborious task of supplying and settling vacant parishes.
"Of the thirty-one clergy who filled the incumbencies" of the diocese
of Ross at this date "(one parish being vacant), nine were deprived of

their livings by the Presbyterians, one voluntarily demitted, declining to obey the new powers; of one parish the incumbent's name has not been preserved, nineteen continued (without submission to Presbytery) to hold their benefices till their deaths, and only one offered to submit to the authority of the new church government, his services being declined. (1) The great majority, that is, took the oaths to allegiance to the new monarchs. In dealing with such of the 'curates' as came before them judicially, the Presbytery makes almost invariable use of such terms as "gross scandals" and "supine negligence". How far these picturesque terms were justified is, in some instances, difficult to tell. Except where the charges are specific and circumstantial, it were well to be cautious in accepting them at their apparent value. At the same time, we must remember that there were scandals, and that these Puritan divines and elders, though zealous, were also just. Here, for instance, is the indictment against the incumbent of Kilmuir Easter: "Donald Forues is charged with Armenian error, with ante-nuptial fornication, cohabiting with a woman as his married wife yet can give no accounts that he is legally married, covetousness, breach of the Sabbath to a scandalous degree, neglect of discipline particularly against such as are guilty of the sin of uncleanness, as having been confounded by one charged with that sin before the session. He is deposed nemine contradicente." (2) While 'Arminian error' and 'covetousness' may mean much or little, the charge of moral irregularity is definite enough. (2) In any case, the sentence was confirmed by the Commission of Assembly at Tain on 19th July 1700. (3) There is a touch of humour in Forues' reply to the

(1) Craven, Church in Ross, p. 65. (2) MS Record of Pres. of Ross & Sutherland (3) Fasti, Vol. 7, p. 58.
Presbytery's sentence. "Donald Forces appeals from your judicatory to his Majesty whose glory and happiness both in time and eternity is earnestly prayed for oy, Your Wisdomes affect. Broyr & Servant, Don. Forces, minr. at Kilmuir Easter." Their "Wisdomes" doubtless regarded his affection for themselves and his prayers for the King with suspicion. Here again is the Presbytery's indictment of Robert Ross of Tain. "Tain, June 26, 1699. Master Robert Ross... charged with errors, gross scandals and supine negligence". He was deposed. Such indefinite words might be charitably interpreted as the current coin of anti-prelatical abuse. But, whether or not the following facts were considered by the Presbytery during the trial, they must have been in the minds of the members. In an action for damages raised in 1690 by Christian Ross, she averred that she was a widow with a family of twelve young children, and that "from the hour that her husband departed this life," Robert Ross, the minister of the place where she lives, "most inhumanly and wariously threatened and harassed the petitioner by complaints to the privie Counsellors and Prelates upon no other pretext, out that her husband in his lifetime helped to entertain Mr. Thomas Ross, a Godly minister, and that she entertained him and others of that degree". Despite the reproofs of Seaforth and the then prelate (of Ross), the minister of Tain persuaded the Council to instruct Captain MacKenzie of Siddie (Suddie) to proceed with "all violence", with the result that the petitioner was obliged "to flee in the night tyme... running at her foot in the winter tyme to Strathnaver hills", where "the most worthy deceist Lady Strathnaver" entertained her and some of her children in comfort. (1)

Kenneth MacKenzie, incumbent of Fearn, deposed in 1691 for "quarrelling", (1) was the subject of the following petition from his own heritors. "1691, Unto the Right Reverend the Commrs. of the General Assembly for the visitation of the Church of Scotland in the north now at Elgin. The humble petition of the heritors and oys. in Fearne paroche, sheweth that your petitioners being now sensible of their sad condition for want of the powerfull ordinances of the Gospell in purity and besides, the pnt. incumbent being scandalous and not edifieing to the people as shall be instructed upon tryall... your dyets shall be attended by... supplicants (Signed) David Ross of Bainagowan, Jo. Munro of Wester Alane, J. Stronach portioner of Litle Alane, James Rosse of Easter Allan, William Ross of Aldie, Gilbert Paip portr. of Meikie Rany, J. Davidson of East Rinie, Andw. Ross in Litle Alane." (2) The number of Rosses among the petitioners is an instance of the hereditary Presbyteryism of that clan. Before the Presbytery, MacKenzie, who was "under no good report among friends or foes", was charged with assaulting one of his parishioners, with being guilty of the sin of shedding "innocent blood", and with having publicly declared that another of his parishioners "lied like the devil." (3) As Dr Craven says nothing in his defence, we may take it that he was justly dealt with.

When the Presbytery obtained a Presbyterian settlement in any parish, they naturally endeavoured to prevent the 'intrusion' of the Episcopal clergy. The tolerated clergy, no less than the non-juring, were often guilty of straying beyond their parochial bounds for the purpose of performing baptisms, marriages, and other ministerial duties. This occasioned a serious disturbance of the machinery of parochial discipline.

(1) Fasti, Vol. 7, p. 56. (2) MacGill, Old Rossshire, i, p. 42. (3) MS Rec. of Pres. of Ross & Sutherland.
Hugh Ross, late incumbent of Creich, and deposed by the Commission of Assembly for gross scandals, "intrudes on the kirk of Creich, and exercises the ministerial acts in a mercenary way to the scandal of religion." (1) On 30th Oct. 1693, "Walter Ross, incumbent at Kogart is delated for encroachments on Mr Denoon's and Mr MacKay's ministrie; by baptising and marrying. Such incursions, in all respects similar to the intrusions of evangelical ministers of a later generation into moderate parishes, were as annoying as they were general. Here is the General Assembly's summary, evidently based on the reports of northern Presbyteries, of the disorderly practices of the incumbents. "It were almost endless to enumerate how the Episcopal ministers marry persons clandestinely without witnesses, and some ante-date testimonials to cover uncleanness, others marry men to other men's wives, et e contra. Some likewise marry persons within the forbidden degrees, and others marry persons after proclamation of banns, but to other parties, all which can be verified by particular instances of persons, time and place. And as for their irregular baptisms they are every whit as disorderly neither regarding the scandal of parents, nor any other just exception as can be likewise particularly instanced." (2) The Toleration Act of 1712 abolished the necessity for the clandestine performance of ministerial acts by the qualified Episcopal clergy.

We have seen that only one of the Rossshire incumbents offered to conform to Presbytery, and that he was not accepted. This was not the only occasion on which the Northern Presbytery, short-handed though they were, displayed an austerity to proffered assistance. "Tain, Sept 26, 1695.

(1) MS Record of Pres. of Ross & Sutherland. (2) MS Assembly Papers, 1703.
Mr John Gibson, Mr John MacPherson, and Mr George Oswald from the county of Caithness giving each several petitions in writing which were all read... acknowledging the evil of prelacy and the divine right of presbyterie... desiring therefore to be received into our communion and liberty to exercise their license which they had received under prelacy sometime before. "Being wholly unacquainted with them", the brethren of the Presbytery were asked to converse with them, and "withall that they report testimonies of their lives and conversations". Similar cautious treatment was accorded to John MacKillican, a Presbyterian probationer, who presented testimonials from the Presbytery of Dalkeith and Session of Newbattle. This latter case is notable as being probably the first recorded instance of Highland suspicion of Lowland standards of orthodoxy. Under the fostering care of these early champions of Presbytery, evangelicalism of a strong and fervent type made steady progress in Easter Ross. Not that popular Episcopacy, as distinguished from its cult amongst the gentry, vanished quickly. Tain, as early as 1707, had displayed its Presbyterian enthusiasm by forcibly abducting Hugh Munro, the newly settled minister of Tarbat, and placing him in their own pulpit, where he continued to minister till his death in 1745. But in 1759, John Stewart, Episcopal minister in Tain, told Bishop Forbes how, in 1746, his meeting-house and dwelling-house were burnt to ashes by the military. The parishioners of Fearn had been among the first to petition the Commission of Assembly "for powerful ordinances of the Gospel in purity". But on 30th Oct. 1742, when the flagstone roof of the old Aubey Church fell on the worshipping

congregation, killing 42 people and injuring many others, (1) "the Kirk was far from being as throng as usual," because many of the usual worshippers had gone to the Episcopal meeting-house at Cadboll. John Stewart of Tain was officiating there on the fatal day, and thus many lives were saved. (2) We have here also an illustration of a practice which helped considerably towards the practical disappearance of Highland Episcopacy. When Episcopalian adherents had no service of their own they freely attended the parish church.

In those parts of Rossshire, the south and the west, which were under the influence of the MacKenzie and the Macraes, the opposition to Presbyterianism was bitter, violent, and sustained. A remarkable feature of the tumults which accompanied the attempts at a Presbyterian settlement in certain parishes was the presence of Macraes from Kintail. They were not content to protect their religion in their own country, but extended their militant activities as far east as Dingwall, Kilmorack, and Kilmuir Wester. Another feature worth noting is that heritors took prompt and vigorous action to check the gradually growing response to the Presbyterian message. In 1701, Murdo Sage, father of Aeneas Sage of Lochcarron, appeared before the Presbytery at Tain, craving a preacher for Killelearnan. The Presbytery, owing to other preoccupations, could not "get ane sent them at present;" (3) and some years later, "though a considerable number of the common people are desirous to have the Gospel planted among them;" (4) yet when John MacArthur was settled there in 1719, "Roderick MacKenzie of Redcastle without regard... did violently

(1) MacNaughton, C., Church Life in Ross & Sutherland, p.165, etc. (2) Craven, Church in Ross, p.170. (3) MS Record Pres. of Ross & Sutherland.
in a furious manner throw down the said manse (of Killearnan) by turring (stripping) thereof, breaking down the timber and partitions...
which thatch was yrafter carried away by his men and applied to their own use.(1) The Presbyterian inclinations of the common people, to which the Presbytery Record makes reference, must either have been illusory, or effectually quenched, for "until the battle of Culloden, the parish minister would not have more than twenty-four hearers on a Sunday." (2)

In January, 1704, the Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland sent William Stewart of Kiltearn to preach in Dingwall. John Macrae, the old incumbent had died that month. The service was prevented by an armed mob led by the brother of the dead minister. The rioters included men from Urquhart, Logie Wester, Podderty and other parishes, as well as a large number of Macraes. Stewart was assaulted and threatened with a pistol. Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, who had come to attend the service in the company of some folk from Kiltearn, received some "stroaks" and was "misused with mire and dirt." (5)

Though the rabblers of 1704 were severely dealt with by the Privy Council, it was found impossible to effect the settlement of Donald Bayne in 1705. (6) In 1716, however, John Bayne, a native of Dingwall, and a relative of Donald, having been called by

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the Presbytery *jure devoluto*, was, if not welcomed, at least not violently opposed. From that time, Dingwall has continued to be distinguished by its evangelical zeal.

In 1712, just after the passing by Parliament of the Act restoring patronage, 'Sir Kenneth MacKenzie of Scatwell,' "undoubted patron of the parish kirk of Avoch" made a vigorous protest to the Presbytery who were met at Rosemarkie "to admit one Mr Alexander McBean a probationer to be minister... without any presentation" and declared that "the said Mr McBean... shall have no right to... church... or stipend." (1) Scatwell was as good as his word. After two miserable years of wrangling and litigation, McBean was given liberty to seek another charge and settled in Douglas, Lanarkshire. (2) When John Grant was settled in Knockoain in September, 1711, the Presbytery were confronted by a lengthy protestation in the name of a solid body of MacKenzie's. (3) The ordination service was permitted to pass without interruption, but on the following Sabbath, the new minister was assaulted, and, according to his own report, well-nigh murdered. (4) Nine months later, with the permission of the General Assembly, he became minister of Auchinleck.

In 1720, Murdo Macrae, with a band of his fellow-clansmen from Kintail, "besett Mr Chishoim's (minister of Kilmorack) house... orock open the doors... went to his wedchamoor... cut and tore his wed hangings and wed cloathes, pursued the minister - who escaped naked out of the window - firing at him... plundered and carried off two stone weight of candles... thirty gallons of aquavitae... took by violence his brother Rory... sick in wed... naked in his shirt... carried him two miles" where poor Rory

had to buy his freedom for two shillings sterling. (1) In this case, however, the ecclesiastical feud was complicated by the fact that the minister had forcibly recovered a garron which the Macraes had stolen from him. Apparently the minister had also detained the garron's burden, which was a "load of aquavitae" in transit from Kintail to Glencmoriston. This may explain the thirtytwo gallons above referred to; it certainly seems an excessive provision for a manse household.

With the possible exception of Gienelg, which was to a certain extent under the moderating influence of the MacLeods (of Harris and Dunvegan), there was no effective Presbyterian settlement in the parishes which make up the present Presbytery of Lochcarron till about 1725. In 1711, John Morrison was admitted to the pastoral charge of Gairloch. The induction service took place at Kiltearn. When Morrison attempted to enter his parish, he was promptly seized and imprisoned. Sir John MacKenzie of Coul informed him that "no presbyterian should be settled in any place where his influence extended, unless His Majesty's forces did it by the strong hand". (2) Morrison discreetly withdrew into Sutherland.

John MacKillican, appointed to Lochalsh in 1719, had never been able to reside in his parish owing to the hostility of the people. (3) The newly created Presbytery of Gairloch visited Lochalsh in September 1724, but they suffered the indignity of being robbed out of the parish. (4) It was judged safer to hold the next meeting in Kilmorack. At that meeting, "they represent to the Assembly that this Presbytery have not access to settle the vacancies in their bounds, because of the violent opposition given by the enemies of the present establishment, and that a select

Committee may be appointed by the Assembly to consider of this and other grievances in their bounds". (1) They likewise find that "Mr Alex. MacLennan, non juror, Episcopal Intruder, diverts the people of Lochalsh and Kintail from hearing the brethren sent to supply these parishes, and appoint Mr Daniel Beaton to write to Sir Robert Munro of Fowliis, Sheriff-Principal of the shire of Ross, to put the laws in execution against the said Intruder". (2) Such appeals to the civil power, however, evoked little response except after the Jacobite rebellions. The failure of the incident of 1719, in which Seaforth was the principal Jacobite actor, did much to open up Wester Ross to Presbyterian influence. James Smith, settled in Gairloch in 1721, did good work. (1) Archibald Bannatyne, one of the earliest proteges of the Royal Bounty Committee, came to Lochoroom in 1725, but, though he made no complaint of physical violence, "his case is become so straitning and afflicting that he will be necessitated to take some extraordinary steps for his Preservation". (4) The heritors refused to pay his stipend, and he had to receive doles from the Royal Bounty to keep him alive. In 1726, Aeneas Sage, one of the heroes of Highland evangelicalism, was ordained to Lochcarron. "He found the people sunk in ignorance, with modes of worship allied to Paganism. Before the close of his long and efficient ministry, the moral aspects of the people were entirely changed." (5) A man of herculean physical strength, passionate earnestness, and steadfast devotion to the west interests of his people, he had won, long before the close of his forty-eight years ministry, the respect, loyalty and affection of his parishioners. (6) In order to give a general conspectus of the situation

which the Presbyterian Church had to grapple, not only in Wester Ross, but in other zealously Jacobite areas up to 1730 or later, we may quote from the Royal Bounty Committee's Report to the General Assembly of 1728: "It is certain that before the late rebellion there was little or no access for ministers of the Established Church to do any service in these parts, and when they attempted the same they were violently opposed and most inhumanly used, many instances hereof in the countries that belonged to the late Earl of Seaforth, and other places where Ignorance and Barbarity does mostly appear. It was from these countries that the greatest numbers went out to the said rebellion, yea the rebellion was repeated a second time at Glenshiel.... such are the inclinations of some of those that set up for the interest of the forfeited family of Seaforth that they continue to oppose the settlement of ministers in that country and to discourage those that are settled, especially now that they see the people inclin'd to attend the Dispensation of Gospel Ordinances and means of Instruction... The chief reason of the opposition of these gentlemen to the Established ministers is plainly that His Majesty King George is pray'd for nominatim by them". (1) The clerical fomenters of the opposition were "Mr Angus Morrison (of Contin), Mr John Williamson and Mr James Urquhart, none of which are qualified interms of the Toleration Act", but the head and fount of their offending was that "some are come the length to deny the validity of the ordination of the ministers of the Established Church and of all their ministerial deeds and publickly Reuaptise such as are Baptised by Presbyterian ministers..." (2) Yet this is preeminently the district

in which Presbytery gained its most phenomenal triumph. In 1745, some 200 men, mostly MacLeods from Coigach in Lochbroom and Assynt in Sutherland, followed Lord MacLeod, who, though a MacKenzie, claimed to be the natural leader of the Siol Thorcuil (Lewis) MacLeods through his descent from MacLeod of Coigach. (1) But it is evident that recruiting for the Jacobite army was not popular amongst a people who had now begun to call themselves Presbyterians. Some of the Coigach men failed to heed the remonstrances of their parish minister, James Robertson, who, after Culloden, successfully interceded for their lives. (2) But when MacDonald of Barrisdale, that polished carvarian, went to raise men in Assynt in October 1745, "they flocked to him very throng, and while some aquavitae which they had lasted, they engaged not only to follow him, but to fly after him, and fight like Dragons, and he had as he supposed near 100 of them engaged... But when the whisky was done, and the people sleepe and coold they began to repent... a great wand of them deserted...". (3) Even the Macraes, whom their minister, John MacLean, shielded from the unpleasant activities of Lord George Sackville's troops by a copy of Poole's Annotations, were loyal subjects and good Presbyterians in 1745. (4) The Episcopal diocese of Caithness included the whole of the Sutherland and Reay country. Sutherland had supplied many soldiers for the armies of Gustavus Adolphus. The people cherished traditions of Sir Donald MacKay, the first Lord Reay, who, in 1626, had raised 3000 men, "levied almost entirely among his own clan and kinsmen" to fight for the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years War. (5) They also had memories of the 'good' Earl of Sutherland, popularly, though apparently erroneously

believed to have been the first to sign the National Covenant. (1) Durness, Strathnaver, and Golspie had, at various periods, been the scene of evangelical witness and enthusiasm. (2) While it is not contended that that evangelical interest was other than restricted to relatively small groups, yet it was sufficiently strong to create an evangelical tradition. Of the Episcopal clergy, only one became a Presbyterian. This was Donald MacIntosh of Farr, and afterwards of Rothiemurchus. (3) The remainder took the oaths of allegiance, and, with one or two exceptions, continued to hold their benefices till death. The last of the Sutherland incumbents was Alexander Gray of Assynt who died in 1727. (4) During his latter years, owing to bodily infirmity, his ministerial acts were confined to baptising and marrying in his bedroom.

Sutherland has no record of rabblings and organised violence at the settlement of Presbyterian ministers, but if the account given by Donald Sage of the moral and spiritual condition of Lairg and Reay during the early part of the ministries of John MacKay and Alexander Pope were not too highly coloured, we must conclude that, even in this county, the pioneers of Presbytery had a stern and difficult task. (5) The historian of the Clan MacKay ascribes the main credit for the religious transformation which had taken place by 1750 to two men, General Hugh MacKay of Scoury, whose deep and undoubted piety was of the Dutch evangelical type, and George, 3rd Lord Reay, who is still gratefully remembered in Sutherland tradition as the 'Morair Mor'. (6) The latter, too, owed his early religious impressions to the piety of a Dutch household.

To Lord Reay is due the main credit for the erection of the parishes of Tongue and Eddrachais. He encouraged the itinerant missionaries and catechists, and helped in the planting of schools in his own country. (1) To his personal example is probably due the fact that about the middle of the century a very large number of the leading men of the clan were elders of the Church. (2) "The common people of the MacKays are the most religious of all the tribes that dwell among the mountains, south or north..." So reports the anonymous Government observer of 1750. (3) The poetry of Ròd Donn is evidence that a sentimental Jacobitism existed even in the Reay country, but it co-existed with reverence for evangelical religion, and loyalty to the House of Hanover. (4) The half Gaelic, half Norse county of Caithness was at once more Jacobite and more Episcopalian in its sympathies than Sutherland. But as an agricultural and corn-raising, rather than pastoral, district, its people, apart from the gentry, had little time or taste for military adventures. The Jacobite rebellions, like the great sacramental gatherings, were made possible by reason of a simple pastoral economy in which the hard work of the year was completed in two brief seasons. The Caithness clergy, with the exception of John Wood of Thurso, deprived to make room for Andrew Munro, the pre-Restoration minister, and James Munro of Dunnet, ejected for immorality, took the oaths and remained in possession of their parishes. (5) When Munro resumed his work at Thurso, the elders at first refused to attend the Session meetings, but after a year or two, matters were proceeding normally. (6) Munro's successor

was William Innes, a man of zeal, and a strict disciplinarian. The women of Thurso mobbed him for his too faithful dealings with sinful practices. "What was he that he took it upon him to find fault with them". (1) Whether or not he was in real danger, it is significant to note that James Gilchrist, the parish minister, thought it prudent to leave Thurso for some time during the year 1745. (2) In 1699, the Presbytery dealt with Neil Beaton, the incumbent of Latheron, on various charges of remissness in the performance of his duty, but, though temporarily suspended, there was no attempt to eject him from his parish. Voices from Edinburgh counselled restraint, and the suspension was speedily lifted, but it is reported that after this experience of Presbyterial discipline, "there were scarcely any of the members (of Presbytery) so active in bringing cases of delinquency before it as the Episcopal incumbent of Latheron". (3) William Cumming of Halkirk, suspended for "scandalous conversation and light carriage," made confession of his conduct, and, since he "had carried more circumspectly since he was suspended than formerly" the Presbytery restored him to the exercise of his ministry. (4) Though the Jacobites continued to entertain hopes of support from the Sinclairs, (5) the ecclesiastical revolution was effected without undue friction. The undoubted Jacobite sympathies of the gentry were, on the whole, satisfied by such a gesture as "appearing with a party at the Cross of Wick and openly drinking the health of the Chevalier". (6) After Culloden, the Episcopal meeting-house in Thurso was burnt down, and its non-juring minister, James Taylor, became a fugitive, and,

having been taken prisoner on the island of Morray, was taken away and confined in Tiorrery Fort for many months. He had taken no actual part in the rising. It is not a matter of surprise that he and others in like case were reverenced as martyrs by their co-religionists. (1)

When Bishop Robert Forbes visited Caithness in 1762, he received a general welcome from the landed families, but he makes no mention of baptisms or confirmations amongst the tenantry. (2) By that date, the people as a whole had accepted Presbytery. It must be admitted, however, that with the exception of Bower under the ministry of Hugh Corse, Reay during the latter ministry of Alexander Pope, and Halkirk during the pastorate of John Sutherland, Caithness revealed little evangelical enthusiasm until the time of the Haldane mission in 1797. (3)

Up to 1745, the non-juring clergy and their disciples were a considerable, though steadily declining factor in the religion and especially in the politics of the Highlands. After that date, they ceased to be of national significance. It is but necessary to summarise the causes that led to the practical disappearance of Episcopacy in the regions where its hold was strongest. Presbytery, though it had to fight desperately, had the material advantages which belong to an established church. In a poor country, dissent, unsuessed from outside resources, was an over expensive luxury. We may accept the view that the Roman Catholic mission in the Highlands would have collapsed without foreign aid. The alliance, or indeed, the almost complete identification of non-juring Episcopacy and Jacobite loyalties was the

cardinal error. For the generality of the people, the Episcopal Church lost its raison d'être when the cause of the Stuarts was finally defeated at Culloden. Again, the old Episcopal establishment had inherited, albeit reluctantly, the non-liturgical practices which the Covenanters had learnt from English dissent. The people had forgotten, if indeed to any large extent they ever knew, the old liturgy of John Carswell. To vast numbers, the introduction of the English Common Service from 1710 onwards must have appeared as a reprehensible innovation. The Presbyterians had, in fact, inherited the non-liturgical traditions of their church. We may admit that the 'Usagers', in their emphasis on liturgy, ritual, and 'Catholic' practice, were rightly interpreting the peculiar genius of Episcopacy, but it was unfortunate for their communion that the revolution in worship took place after and not before 1688.

II.

We shall now take note of the means and methods by which the Presbyterian Church established their faith and practice. Broadly speaking, this great task had been completed by 1750. All subsequent evangelical movements and revivals presuppose the doctrinal and moral discipline of the first half of the century. During that period, too, certain parishes and districts made such progress in the experience and practice of evangelical religion that they became the norm and pattern for the rest of the Highlands. The measure of the success of the evangelical teaching is that by the middle of the century the pious layman rather than the minister had become the typical representative of Highland evangelical religion.
1. Ecclesiastical organisation played a humble but necessary role in this process. As Presbytery gained a foothold in the parishes, the Presbyterial districts were made smaller, and correspondingly more efficient. The Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland, whose bounds included the whole of the northern Highlands, was broken up into several judicatories. On 12th January 1697, the General Assembly remitted to its Commission to set up a Presbytery of Caithness as soon a competent body of ministers should be settled in the parishes there. Caithness then included the parishes of Strathnaver. In 1700, the Commission of Assembly set up a district Presbytery in Sutherland. In 1707, the Presbytery of Dornoch was erected, Chanonry also in 1707, and Dingwall was disjoined from Chanonry in 1716. On 31st December 1706, Tain was erected with its eight parishes. The Records of the Presbytery of Inverness under the new order begins in 1702. The largely Highland Presbytery of Aerternethy regained its separate existence in 1709. The partly Highland Presbytery of Dunkeld was disjoined from Perth in 1706. Lorn, which had been united with Inverary, was re-erected in 1704. Avertarff was detached from Lorn in 1724, and Mull in 1729. Skye and Uist were erected in 1712 and 1724 respectively. Gairloch, afterwards (1775) named Lochcarron, was raised in 1724, Tongue was detached from Caithness in 1727, and last of all Lewis was disjoined from the Presbytery of Long Island (or Uist) by the General Assembly of 1742. In 1724, the Synod of Gienelg, which included Gairloch (Lochcarron), Skye, and the Long Island, became, though with a restricted territory, the successor of the old Bishopric of the Isles. (1)

(1) Fasti, passim.
From the time of the Reformation till the Revolution, there had been a tendency to enlarge the parochial areas. Parish was united to parish till Lewis, for instance, was under the pastoral care of only two ministers in 1686. This process, which was wholly due to the desire of the heritors to economise on religion, received a check during the period of the Covenant and the Commonwealth. The Act Rescissory of 1661, however, utterly destroyed the progress then made. The effect of this Act may be illustrated by one instance. The parishes of Appin, Duror, and Glencoe were rejoined to the island parish of Lismore. The minister lived in Lismore. The consequent religious destitution may well be imagined. For some years after the Revolution, the Presbyterian ministers were too busily engaged in gaining possession of the parish churches to take active steps towards the erection of new charges. John MacKay, minister of the vast parish of Durness, appears to have been the Highland pioneer of church extension. At his induction in 1707, he "stipulated with Lord Reay that there should be a division of the parish, and when nothing was done in fulfilment of Lord Reay's promise, the ardent young minister raised an action of disjunction in the Supreme Court. In this action he was unsuccessful..." (1) Even after his translation to Lairg, he continued, and eventually with success, his efforts on behalf of his former parish. The Reay estate was at the time heavily burdened with debt. In 1721, the General Assembly, doubtless aware of the condition of the Reay estate, appointed a collection to be made throughout the whole Church for the erection of new parishes in Strathnaver. By 1724, a sum of 26,000 marks was

(1) Campbells, H. F., Sutherland in the 18th Century, T. G. S. I. Vol. XXVI, p. 474.
raised. Lord Reay, who gave free sites and gleues and made good a deficiency of £1280 Scots in the building expenditure, was accorded the thanks of the Assembly. (1) Tongue and Eddrachaoiais were thus disjoined from Durness and became separate parishes. The rebellion of 1715 gave a distinct impetus to church extension. After the forfeiture, four new parishes were erected on the Seaforth estate, Uig and Lochs (Lewis) in 1722, Applecross in 1724, Glenshiel in 1726. (2) Donald Murchison, the redoutable chamberlain of Seaforth, "in 1729 or 1730 applied to the Lords of Session for a reduction of the four new Parishes... but they refused his demand and by their sentence confirmed the new erections... other new erections here and elsewhere upon forfeited estates to the number of 8 or 9 were planted with Ministers to the great advantage of the inhabitants." (3) In 1720, Small Isles, which had a considerable Roman Catholic population, was disjoined from Strath (Skye), and in 1726, Sleat and Portree became separate parishes. In that year, too, Gigha and Cara was disjoined from Kilean. Barra had, apparently, been united with Harris in the reign of Charles I. To this fact, Dr John Walker attributes the lapse of the once Protestant population of Barra into Catholicism. (4) It was disjoined from South Uist in 1733.

This achievement is not at all negligible; but the movement died away. The legal difficulties in the way of erecting new parishes were enormous. In 1769, Kilarow and Kilchoman (Islay) received independent status. It would be difficult to point to any other instance during the second half of the century. The Church perforce came to rely increasingly on

the services of itinerant missionaries, catechists, and teacher-catechists to make up for the numerical deficiency of the parochial ministry. The contribution which these men, and other pious, though unpaid, laymen made to the spread of evangelicalism is so important that it deserves special treatment. (1)

2. The Kirk-Sessions. The General Assembly required "elders and deacons to be faithful in the discharge of their respective offices, tender and circumspect in their walk, and punctual in their attending upon ordinances, and strict in their observation of the Lord's Day, and in regularly keeping up the worship of God in their families." (2) In many, or rather, most parishes, such persons were ill to find. In the previous century, some Highland heritors disliked the introduction of "waisters and tailors" into the sessions. (3) Now, however, apart from the evangelical insistence on personal religious experience as a necessary qualification for the eldership, the gentry of the disaffected areas were generally attached to the episcopal (or Roman Catholic) communion. Even in the well-affect ed districts, there is evidence of difficulties in creating sessions. In part, this was due to ministerial reluctance to admit any to the eldership who had not undergone the evangelical experience of conversion. As late as 1727, there were no elders in the bounds of the Presbytery of Tongue except Lord Reay in Tongue, John MacKay in Kirtomy, and Donald (or William?) MacKay, Braacachie in Farr. In August 1727, Murdo MacDonald gave in a list of persons suitable for elders. (4) There being no eldership in the parish of Kingussie in 1724, Mr Blair was instructed to get "a legal one quam primum." (5) In 1732,

"there are no elders yet in Assint and Mr Scotie is much hindered in his work by the opposition of the people." (1)

In the parishes where there was no evangelical nucleus, elders were sometimes selected for reasons which would scarcely have appealed to the more conventional evangelicals of later times. Daniel Bethune of Rosskeen "waited on the leader of the game of shinty...induced him to become an elder...committed to him the task of suppressing Sunday shinty. This the young man did, threatening his comrades with the weight of his arm unless they respected the Lord's Day and went to Church." (2) A similar story is told of John Balfour of Nigg in his early ministry. Alexander Pope of Reay "chose as elders, not only the most decent and orderly but also the strongest men in the parish, the qualification of strength being particularly necessary for the work which they had often to do." (3)

One of their most famous feats was to wind hand and foot a certain very strong man and carry him to church so that he might make his public, if reluctant, penitence for the sin of keeping a mistress. (4) Some of the most notable of these early elders were quite young men. Donald Roy, former Sabbath shinty player, afterwards the most famous member of the famous session of Nigg, was eighty-four years an elder. He died in 1774 at the age of 109. (5) As the century progressed, the average age of the eldership rose. But by this time, moral suasion and rebuke sufficed for the correction of manners, where previously physical force might be necessary. These men learnt to pray in public at the fellowship meetings. There also they learnt to express

their thoughts on spiritual matters. The session fellowship meetings at Nigg led up to the evangelical revival which began in that parish in 1739. (1) Elders presided over certain of the district fellowship meetings. (2) As the elders in the greater part of the Northern Highlands were included within the category of the 'Men', fuller treatment will be given to their spiritual character and influence. (3) But meantime, the generalisation is justified, that where there was a zealous evangelical spirit in any parish, the credit was in a large degree due to the influence and example of the elders. Their parochial discipline was strict, but, as session records testify, not unkindly. While their treatment of sexual offences was, according to the present way of thinking, unduly harsh, it was seldom that the 'poor object' failed to evoke compassion and aid. (4)

3. One of the most potent instruments for awakening the people to some concern for personal religion was the enforcement by ministers and sessions of the Puritan discipline of the Sabbath. It provided a simple, general and easily understood test of religious obedience. It was the more quickly accepted, not only because it appealed to the legalistic instincts of the common heart, but because it became to connote respectability. While some of the Sabbatharian rules vied with the refinements of Rabbinical casuistry, they had the merit of reminding the godless, in a concrete and specific way, of the commandments of God. The earnestly pious could, and did, regard these rules as means of grace.

The common Sabbath breaches came under the three heads of shinty (and other athletic contests), tippling in taverns, and ordinary labour.

(1) v. chapter IV, 237 (2) v. p. 244 (3) v. chap VI (4) This is borne out by Presbytery and Session records, etc.
The people of Nigg (circa 1690) "every Sunday forenoon attended church but the evening of the day was devoted to the common athletic games of the country." (1) In Laggan, even as late as the ministry of Duncan MacPherson (1747-1757), "Sunday was generally both as a holy day and a holiday. For hours before public worship began, the young men of the parish met and played shinty till the arrival of the clergyman, who, nolens volens, was compelled to join the players, otherwise he was given clearly to understand that he would have to preach to empty benches... Immediately after services were over, shinty was resumed, and carried on at intervals till darkness put an end to their amusements, when many retired to the neighbouring crofts and public-houses, where high revelry was kept up till morning." (2) This account is from good traditional sources and there is no reason to doubt its general accuracy. In many parishes in the north, however, Sunday games had been suppressed twenty or thirty years before before the above date. In Olrig in 1705, the parents of children who had been playing Sunday knottie (shinty) appeared before the Session. They pleaded that the children were not above six years of age, and "that it was altogether against their knowledge that they were so exercised that day." They were dismissed on promising to exercise proper restraint on their offspring. (3) For several years after the settlement of Aeneas Sage in Lochcarron, it was customary for the young men to play shinty in a field near the church even during divine service. (4) It is related that Sage won the first of his converts among the Sunday athletes by

enticing him to church with the weekly urie of a pound of snuff.\(^{(1)}\)

It is not stated when the practice of Sunday sports finally ceased in Wester Ross, but we may put it round about 1745.

Much more deleterious to soul and body was the common habit of Sunday tippling. Inverness, 1695: "Severalls ... in tym of Devyn Service went to the tavern houses, and there drank to excess...". The Session decided to punish retailers selling liquor in time of divine service, and they appointed elders, with two of the "borrow officers" to go through the town and tavern houses, and if they found any "extravaging" or "drinking one the Saubath in tym of Devyn Service" they were to be put in prison and brought before the Session for "condigne punishment"\(^{(2)}\).

In Canisay, 1709, there are complaints of excessive drinking on the Saubath especially after divine service.\(^{(3)}\) About the same time, "several people in the parish (of Wick) have an ordinary custom of tippling away the whole Saubath afternoon in Taverns of the Town".

It was decreed that, after having suffered public censure in church, they should be handed over to the civil magistrate for further punishment.\(^{(4)}\) Alexander Pope of Reay discovered that the inn was more frequented on Sundays than the church and he took vigorous measures to effect a change..."ale and whisky drinking was discontinued on the Saubath evenings, though too much indulged in on weekdays".\(^{(5)}\)

The Saubath discipline was thus effective in procuring a certain measure of temperance reform.

\(^{(1)}\) Memorabilia Domestica, p. 12. \(^{(2)}\) Inverness Session Records, ed. Mitchell, p. 37. \(^{(3)}\) Beaton's Ecclesiastical History of Caithness, p. 139. \(^{(4)}\) Ibid. p. 145. \(^{(5)}\) Memorabilia Domestica, p. 34.
labour. In spite of Sabbatarian rigour of some Highland Episcopal ministers and sessions, we may fairly infer that the attitude of many of them was similar to that of the parson of Nigg, who "chanced to meet the girls of a fishing village returning home laden with shell-fish", and "only told them that they should strive to divide the day so as to avail themselves both of the church and the eob". (1) In any case, kirk-session records belonging to the early part of the Presbyterian regime show that such Sabbath labour as fishing, leading in corn, carrying burdens, taking home the peats, baking, feeding a servant etc., engaged the repressive activities of ministers and elders. (2) There is evidence that the Sabbath commanded the general reverence of the people of Easter Ross in the early years of the century. The Synod of Ross and Sutherland passed an Act prohibiting all ferrymen within their bounds from crossing their ferries on the Sabbath, except in cases of necessity. In 1722, a party of gentlemen from Sutherland, arriving at Meikle Ferry on the Sabbath, insisted on being taken across. They reached Tain before church service began; in that town "they spent a great part of the day drinking in a friend's house, after which they rode through Easter Ross to Invergordon Ferry, which some of them crossed that night. Their escapade created a great sensation in Ross, and they had all to appear before the Presbytery...". (3) Popular as well as Presbyterian feeling had been outraged. Dr William MacKay says that "until the spread of Puritanism after Culloden, the inhabitants of our bounds (the Presbyteries of Inverness and Dingwall) ... had little of

(1) Miller, H.: Scenes and Legends, p. 144. (2) v. Ecclesiastical History of Caithness, Church and Social Life in Highlands; Church Life in Ross and Sutherland, etc. etc. (3) Bentinck, C. D.: Dornoch Cathedral and Parish, p. 268, Dornoch Pres. Record.
that Saobatarian spirit which has characterised, and still character­ises, their descendents.¹(1) But the general revolution in Saobath observance which is evident after 1745 had been anticipated in certain districts, and elsewhere it was the culmination of a process of Saobath training which extended over half a century.

4. To a notable degree, the practice of family worship is still kept up in the Highlands, at least in the Gaelic-speaking areas. This is true of the several branches into which the Highland Presbyterian Church is now divided. In some of the districts where family worship is most religiously observed today, such as Skye and the Outer Hebrides, it did not become a general custom till after the 19th century revivals. ²(2) But, despite the serious obstacles of illiteracy and lack of Gaelic Bibles, many evangelical ministers successfully pressed upon their people even during the early years of the 18th century the duty of family prayers. When Hugh Corse became minister of Bower (1701) "he found in it only three families in the practice of family worship; when he died (1738) there were, it is said, only three households where it was not observed. These and other reformations he strove to bring about, not only by Saobath instruction, but by exhortations addressed to the people when he found them assembled on the harvest fields or elsewhere."³(3) It is evident that in fervently evangelical parishes like Nigg family worship was generally kept before 1744.⁴(4)

Dr Gustavus Aird states that round about the latter date "male and female servants, when engaging in service, stipulated with their

(1) Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records, (S. H. S.), Introd. p. xxiv.
(2) Gaelic School Society Reports, passim, etc. (3) Auld, A. : Ministers and Men of the Far North, p. 18. (4) Gillies' Historical Collections, p. 455.
masters to be allowed to attend family worship daily, and be instructed by the heads of families in the fundamental principles of religion, as well as to be allowed to attend church services on Sabbath in due rotation." (1) This statement refers to Master Ross and the east of Sutherland. In 1716, according to the account of the minister, the famous John MacKay, the Kirk-Session of Lairg met regularly "to exercise regular authority for enforcement of Sabbath observance, church attendance, family worship, and general good behaviour." (2) "Mr Pope (of Reay) made an annual practice of visiting his people and catechising them. When thus engaged he sought particularly to impress on his parishioners, especially the heads of families, the duty of holding family worship, giving them directions how they should proceed, and, in his subsequent visits, questioning them whether they had or had not followed his directions." (3) Some of the attempts at prayer which were made by these novitiates were not to edification, (4) but it became accepted as axiomatic that those who professed a regard for religion should worship God at the family altar.

5. Catechising was one of the minister's most important duties. The fellowship meeting might be confined to the spiritual elite, but attendance at the 'catechising' was incumbent upon all 'examinaile' persons. The 'examinaile' age varied somewhat in different districts, but it was usually seven years and upwards. The ministerial catechising presupposed the previous instruction of the people by the catechist in the catechetical rudiments. "On Tuesday and Wednesday, during winter

(1) Inverness Free Church Assembly Memorial Volume, 1888. (2) Campbells, H.F.; Sutherland in 18th Century, T.G.S.I., Vol. XXVI, p. 477. (3) Memoria Domestica, p. 35. (4) Ibid., p. 36; Religious Life in Ross, p. 52. Hugh Buie, one of the famous 'Men' of Ross-shire was "quite shocked and sickened" by the prayer of the grasskeeper of Clash-carnich.
and spring, the minister "holds diets of catechising." The residents in a certain district are gathered into one place - the church, a school, or a barn - and after praise, prayer, and an exposition of one of the questions of the Shorter Catechism in course, each person, from the district for the day, is minutely and searchingly examined. Each individual conscience is thus reached by the truth, the exact amount of knowledge possessed by each of his hearers, as well as his state of feeling, ascertained by the minister, a clear knowledge of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel communicated, and valuable material gathered for the work of the pulpit." (1) This is a description of a Rossshire catechising in the golden days of the 'Fathers', but something like this took place all over the Highlands during the period of evangelical consolidation. The Royal Bounty Committee dealt severely with any neglect of catechising on the part of its missionary ministers. (2) One of the charges which his parishioners brought against the worldly-minded Mr Skeldoch, minister of Farr, was "that he did not catechise as much as his predecessors." (3) This was in 1744. Catechising was, in fact, a most efficient means of conveying doctrinal instruction. Amongst a non-literate people, it was especially valuable. The minister was also able to deal in an intimate and personal way with moral duties and moral failures. Owing, presumably, to Moderate apathy towards doctrine, catechising became less general in the second half of the century, or rather, it tended to be left to the catechist. In 1797, Thurso... "had not been catechised for forty years". (4) According to John Lane Buchanan, the minister of Harris discouraged the zeal

of the Royal Bounty missionary in this duty, because he "considered it as a libel on his own conduct." (1) Such catechising as there was was performed by the 'Questars', i.e. catechists.

6. A determined and sustained campaign was launched by ministers and sessions against certain of the social customs of the people. Baptisms, marriages, and deaths were the occasion of festivities which were, to say the least, often unseemly. In 1704, the Presbytery of Caithness attributed "a grate deale of the prophanes, particularly drunkenness and filthines" to the "numerous multitude yt attend ordinary wridles and contracts, which gives occasion to promiscuous dancing and such like lascivious and immodest carriages" and they resolved to take pledges from "comon persons" of at least £6 Scots. These were to be forfeited in the event of unseemly conduct. (2)

In 1715, the Presbytery of Dornoch "being informed of gross and abominable practices in some places of the Country by musick-playing and dancing at Lykewakes, and promiscuous dancing at that and other occasions" enjoined the brethren to read from their pulpits the Acts of Assembly against such abuses and to warn the people against them "by exposing the heathenism of them." (3) Despite Presbyterial fulminations, however, merriment at Lyke-wakes persisted in many places till the end of the century. "When the Highlanders mourn they set the uagpipes playing and begin to dance, drink, and be merry, from an idea that the deceased is gone to a happier country." (4) In the Heurides, (circa 1780) "they seldom display much mirth at late (sic) wakes, as they do in

(1) Travels in the Western Heurides, 1782-1790, p. 230. (2) Beaton, D.: Ecclesiastical History of Caithness, p. 188. (3) Bentinck, C. D.: Dornoch Cathedral, p. 259. (4) Hall, J.: Travels in Scotland, 1806, p. 436. As late as 1830, in the Auerarder district of Strathnairn, there was an old-fashioned wake with "singing songs of all kinds and telling old stories, &c... whisky and more substantial refreshments going round every two hours". T.G.S.I. Vol. X. P. 253. (Strathnairn in Olden Times).
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many parts of Scotland; out sit down with great composure, and rehearse the good qualities of their departed friend or neighbour.(1) Excessive drinking at the actual interment survived even in places where the boisterous lykewake had been suppressed. In 1792, the parishioners of Lochcarron, at the instigation of Lachlan MacKenzie, their minister, signed a pledge that they would take only one glass at the house of mourning, and none at all in the churchyard. In bad weather, another glass was permissible, but it must be taken at a seemly distance from the churchyard. (2) The 20th century had dawned before drunkenness at funerals was completely and finally abolished.

7. Towards the general question of the use of intoxicating liquors, the evangelical watchword was temperance, not total abstention. It would hardly have occurred even to the godliest of ministers or 'men' that to drink a glass of whisky was a sin. There is extant a sermon on temperance by John Balfour of Nigg, and we may assume that his fellow evangelicals impressed upon their people the grace of moderation. (3) In the 17th century, the isles appear to have been more intemperate than the mainland. The Statutes of Iona (I Colum Cille) refer to the Islesmen's inordinate love of strong wines and aquavitae. A Privy Council Act of 1616 speaks of "the grieve and extraordinar excesse in drinking of wyne commonlie vsit amangis the commonis and tenentis of the yllis" and considers that this is the occasion of "weastlie and warwarous cruelties and inhumaniteis" as well as of the great poverty into which numbers of the people have fallen. (4)

(1) Lane Buchanan: Travels in Western Hebrides, p. 170. (2) Lectures, Sermons, and Writings of Lachlan MacKenzie, p. 6. (3) Balfour MSS. (4) Gregory: Western Highlands and Islands; T.S.J. XIX
In 1622, the Privy Council prohibited the sale of wine to the Islesmen, except "se mekle as is allowed to the principall chiftanes and gentlemen". (1) This measure of prohibition was effective only in turning the attention of the Islesmen to the distillation of whisky. (2) The use of this beverage gained a hold of the Highland mainland, and the distillery at Ferintosh appears to have been active before 1660. (3) But "there can be no doubt that till the latter part of last (18th) century, wine, ale, rum, and orandy were more used than whisky". (4) While the keeping of an inn was an occupation which a gentleman might practice without loss of self-respect, the very poorest engaged in the retailing of spirits at centres of popular resort. At Beauly, on the forfeited estate of Lovat, (c.1750) there are several yearly fairs held, "and a great collection of poor people who live in huts retail ale and spirituous liquors to the people who resort thither". (5) The economic distresses which followed the '45 gave an impetus to the practice of private distilling. Sir Alexander MacKenzie of Coul, writing to the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates, states: "After the year 1745, the people of Strathpeffer fell into the practice of brewing and distilling...made encroachments on the memorialists' mosses". (6) Captain Forbes, the Government factor, says: "On the barony of Strathpeffer, the lands there are so dear and high-rented that the tenants, in general, are the poorest wretches I ever saw...". (7) This is an example of the vicious circle in which the tenants were compelled to resort to distilling in order to pay their rents, only to make the discovery later on that 'smuggling' led not only

to moral deterioration, but to deeper impoverishment. In 1744, the General Assembly passed an 'Act and Recommendation against the sinful Practice of Smuggling of Goods'. (1) The same year, the heritors, county towns and parishes of Scotland passed resolutions against "luxurious living", the neglect of the "good and wholesome produce of the country", "the habit of an immoderate use of French wines and spirits", and "the enjoyment of tea which is left altogether to those that can afford to be weak, indolent, and useless." (2) One of the charges brought by Aeneas Sage of Lochcarron against his brother presbyter, Aeneas MacAulay of Applecross, before the Presbytery of Gairloch in 1754, was: "That he bought a considerable quantity of geneva and rum out of a bark employed in the smuggling trade upon the coast, which he and his wife continued for a considerable while thereafter to retail to the people of his own and neighbouring parishes." (3) MacAulay was a pious and highly respected minister, and probably did this out of a desire to oblige his people. He could not have seen anything wrong in his action, beyond the technical breach of an Act of Assembly. We can thus in some measure appreciate the distance which responsible public opinion had to travel before the social evil of licit and illicit drinking to excess could be adequately dealt with by the combined resources of church and state. We must be careful, however, not to exaggerate. The Highlanders were no worse than their Lowland neighbours. Generally, it was only at markets, funerals, marriages, and such social occasions that over-indulgence occurred. According to Colonel Stewart of Garth, the situation in the opening decades of the 19th century showed

deterioration rather than progress. (1) The personal record of the clergy in the first half of the 18th century is good. As far as we can judge, there were no such bacchanalian roysterings as, according to Lane Buchanan and other observers, were a feature of certain Presbytery and Synod meetings towards the end of the century. In 1733, when Archivald Campuell of Morven was labelled for drunkenness at a baptism, he accepted the statement of one of the witnesses that he was in a condition that might be described as 'corra-ghleus', but contended that this word ought to be interpreted, not as "the worse of liquor" (this was the Presbytery translation) but "no more than that cheerful humour which a moderate glass puts one into." The Presbytery refused to accept this ingenious defence, and Campuell was suspended for a year. (2) Pennant's (and Dr Johnson's) evidence may be accepted that "few, very few of them (the clergy) permit the witchery of dissipation to lay hold of them...". (3)

8. More successful, perhaps because it was more whole-hearted, was the campaign against sexual immorality. There can be little doubt that there was much need for drastic measures. The records of kirk-session are evidence that fornication was common, adultery not infrequent, and that cases of incest cropped up now and then. One of those accused of the latter crime was a Royal Bounty missionary, Francis MacDonell. The Presbytery of Mull were dubious about accepting the complaint and evidence of the Roman Catholic Bishop MacDonald, but on the question being remitted to the Procurator of the Church, they were urged to proceed against the accused. (4) The gravity with which

the sin of uncleanness was regarded is to be measured not only by the frequent compearances of the culprits in sacco before the assembled congregation, but also by the fact that the sparingly used and dreadful sentence of the higher excommunication was sometimes pronounced against relapsed offenders. This happened in Tongue in 1733. (1) This severe and often condemned out, judging by its results, eminently salutary discipline produced in course of time a moral revolution. "There can be little doubt" says one writer, "that the energy with which the church courts endeavoured to suppress immorality must have had a large share, if not the chief one, in producing the improvement which has taken place." (2) He is referring to Wester Ross. The custom of 'vundling', or intercourse with parental approval, disappeared apparently about the middle of the century. (3)

9. The evangelical attitude to the vast complex of belief and half-belief which is usually comprehended under the title of Highland 'superstition' was steadfastly hostile. It would not be unfair to say that this hostility lacked sympathetic discrimination. There was a sinister element in the popular beliefs. (4) No one need regret that the Church laid a heavy hand on the 'evil eye' or on the sympathetic magic of the 'corp cre'. The clergy showed less wisdom in placing under an almost equally ruthless ban customs and social rites which were innocent in themselves, though sometimes attended by improprieties. (5) Even more unfortunate was the active discouragement given to the traditional folk literature, which was both rich in quantity and much

of it, fine in quality. The reason for this unsympathetic attitude is not a philistine incomprehension of the imaginative beauty of the poetry and the tales, but the belief, in some measure well-founded, that the folk literature, which bound the people to their historic, and often graceless past, was conducive to the survival of superstition. Though in the main, in their attitude to 'superstition', so modernist and rationalistic, the early 18th century evangelicals shared in one respect, and that the most sinister of all, the universal popular belief. Educated evangelical opinion had not advanced beyond a belief in witchcraft. The Lowland clergy were not more liberal-minded than their Highland brethren in this matter. In 1697, Mr James Hutchison preached a sermon on the text "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" before "the Commissioners appointed for trial of several persons Suspected Guilty of Witchcraft; Att Paisley." (1) In the "Judicial Testimony" published by the Secession Fathers in 1736, the repeal of the penal statutes against witchcraft is counted as one of the national defects. (2) A sensitive churchman like Wodrow, and a pious evangelical like Willison of Dundee shared the common belief. In 1719, the Presbytery of Caithness, in making a solemn reckoning of the sins that defiled their bounds, spoke of "the formal Compact with ye Devil, some Miscreantes of late, have been discovered to be in, thro' the practice of that Mysterious Wickedness of Witchcraft, sorcery, & other horrid Workes of the Devil..." (3) In 1722, or according to Edmund Burt, in 1727, (4) a crazed old woman named Janet Horne, belonging to the parish of Loth,

was sentenced and burnt to death at Dornoch. The local Sheriff-Depute had, however, clearly exceeded his province. Some years previously, he, or his predecessor in office, had been warned by the Lord Advocate that such cases were above the jurisdiction of an inferior court. (1)

That a swift and salutary change in responsible local opinion took place is proved by the fact that, in 1738, the Regality Court at Evellix (parish of Dornoch) sentenced a man named Donald MacKay to death for slaying a reputed witch. (2) The higher Church Courts appear to have led the way towards a healthier belief. In 1713, the Synod of Ross and Sutherland reproved the suspicions of some people that sickness or loss of cattle were due to diabolical agency, and described such beliefs as "acknowledging of the Devil in afflictions which should be taken from the Lord's hand." (3) In 1750, the Kirk Session of Rosskeen had to deal with "the scandalous practices of diverse persons who lately assaulted several families in Ousdale on pretense of ill-will and witchcraft." (4) The sympathies of the Session were definitely with the poor victims of the outrage, who had been, without trial or proof or any sufficient ground of suspicion, "robbed of their reputation and good name." The Presbytery, on the case being remitted to them, sentenced the Munros who had been guilty of assaulting the reputed witches to be reouked before the congregations of Rosskeen and Alness. (5) One wonders, however, why it would not be "for edification to put them under the highest censure, as their sin and outrage deserved."

The famous Donald MacQueen, minister of Kilmuir, Skye, "told us (Johnson

and Boswell) that since he came to be minister of the parish where he now is, the belief of witchcraft and charms, was very common, insomuch that he had many prosecutions before his session... against women, for having by these means carried off the milk from people's cows. He disregarded them; and there is not now the least vestige of that superstition. He preached against it... "(1) MacQueen was a broad-minded evangelical, but we must suspect him of speaking for the honour of his native island rather than in the interest of exact science when he said that there was not now "the least vestige of that superstition". There were some vestiges in Skye a hundred years after this date (1773). The important and significant fact stands out clearly that responsible evangelical opinion by the middle of the century regarded witchcraft and charming as an evil phantasy and not as a compact with the Devil really efficacious in producing material loss. The amount of mental misery and ill-will amongst neighbours caused by these dark beliefs cannot well be calculated.

Towards the second-sight the attitude of the clergy was deprecatory, though much more respectful than towards other forms of 'superstition'. Fraser of Tiree, the last Episcopal incumbent, had written a treatise on 'Deuteroscopia' (2) and the good Robert Kirk had taken a keen interest in the less nocent forms of the supernatural. (3) "Ramsay (of Ochtertyre) somewhat blames the (Presbyterian) clergy for not having preached down second-sight. Mrs Grant of Laggan mentions a minister who tried to do so, but sustained after a vision of his own..." (4) In the 19th

century, an English lady who tried to elicit information about second-sight by means of the now familiar questionnaire, noticed among Highland Presbyterians "an attitude of apology for their interest in psychical experience". Amongst Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, this was not the case. (1) This half-respectful aloofness is a perfect reflection of the normal standpoint of the evangelical clergy.

The attitude of the Highland Church, whether in its Celtic, Latin, Episcopal, or Presbyterian forms, towards the folk literature and the pagan romances which are its central theme is a curious blend of antagonism and fascination. As far as we can judge from Adamnan's Life of St Columba, the literary interests of the Celtic Church were overwhelmingly evangelical, but the saint, himself a poet, intervened effectively at the Synod of Drumceatt on behalf of the secular wards who, having made a national nuisance of themselves, were being threatened with proscription. "He pointed out the great services which the wards rendered in preserving the memory of heroic events that but for them would soon be forgotten." (2) There was an ascetic and Puritan element in the medieval Latin Church which regarded the pagan Celtic literature with aversion; there was also a party which appears to have regarded the ideals of the heroic pagan chivalry as enshrined in the sagas as more attractive than monastic Christianity. (3) This attitude of alternate repulsion and fascination is perfectly illustrated in the dramatic dialogues of St Patrick and the survivors of the Fenian.

(4) Many of the leading Presbyterians during the Reformation and

Covenanting periods were men of wide and varied culture, and, at least towards classical learning, showed little evidence of intellectual asceticism. Nor were they too austere to take delight in music and innocent secular pastimes. (1) Nevertheless, the Reformation brought with it a spiritual climate which was, on the whole, unfriendly to the Highland folk-literature. In an evangelical setting, the medieval monastic antagonism found a new lease of life. Nor need this surprise us. While the Reformers and their successors could afford to be friendly to the dead mythologies of Greece and Rome, they could scarcely be expected to display a like liberality to a still living culture which powerfully impregnated the minds of the people with ideals and impressions which were either frankly pagan or, at least, Romanist. John Carswell, the translator of Knox's Liturgy, speaks with evident feeling of "the blindness and darkness of sin and ignorance and of understanding among composers and writers and supporters of the Gaelic, in that they prefer and practice the framing of vain, hurtful, lying, earthly stories about the Tuath de Dhanond, and about the sons of Milesius, and about the heroes of Fionn Mac Cumnaill with his giants ... rather than to write and to compose and to support the faithful words of God and the perfect way of truth." (2) Alexander Pope of Reay testifies that the 18th century Presbyterian clergy of the Northern Highlands waged a persistent and partly successful war against "the vain, hurtful, lying, earthly stories." Many of them (the Ossianic ballads) indeed are lost, partly owing to our clergy, who

(2) Carswell's Gaelic Prayer Book, ed. MacLachlan, p. 19. (Dedictory Epistle)
were declared enemies to these poems; so that the rising generation scarcely know anything material of them.(1) This was written in 1763, and this attitude of vigorous hostility persisted as an element in the evangelical tradition even during the 19th century. Dr James MacGregor, the Gaelic hymn-writer, who began his labours as a colonial missionary among the Highland settlers in Pictou, Nova Scotia, in 1786, lost a section of his congregation to an 'intrusionist' when it was rumored about that the minister had the works of Duncan Ban Macintyre and Alexander MacDonald in his possession. (2) "Several causes have contributed to this decadence (of Gaelic oral literature)— principally the Reformation, the Risings, the evictions, the Disruption, the schools, and the spirit of the age."(3) Dr Carmichael's generalisation is not unwarranted; but we must not forget that there was another and a kindlier element in evangelicalism. Columba, the patron of the girds, has never seen without his disciples in Highland evangelicalism. Alexander Pope, though he was so deficient in Gaelic scholarship that he had to spell phonetically, was a famous collector of Gaelic ballads. (4) Donald MacQueen of Kilmuir (Skye) took an interest in the oral literature, and thought it no sin to join with the oatmen in the chorus of "Tha tighinn fodham, fodham, fodham, etc." (5) Donald MacNicol of Lismore (though he would probably be reckoned a Moderate) was the friend, helper, and amanuensis of the unlettered poet, Duncan Ban. (6) In the 19th century, evangelical ministers, like Dr Macintosh MacKay,

first editor of Rod Donn, and Gaelic lexicographer, Dr Alexander Cameron, of the Reliquiae Celticae, and Dr MacLachlan, editor of the Book of the Dean of Lismore and of Carswell's Liturgy, were the pioneers of modern Gaelic scholarship. In some districts at least, the people were able to achieve what they must have considered a satisfactory working compromise between Ossian and the Bible. Archibald Grant, the Glenmoriston poet, (1785-1870) says that it was "the common habit to tell stories of the Fiann after the reading of the Bible was over". (1) In Strathspey, however, according to Peter Grant, the hymn-writer, the Fianna had ousted the Bible. (2) While the evangelical piety which we associate with the 'Men' might deserve to be called illiberal and obscurantist in its attitude to the native literature as to the less serious arts and pastimes, it should be noted that the reason given by that fine evangelical, Dr Stewart of Dingwall, for his refusal to undertake the Gaelic literary work offered to him by the Highland Society of London, was "that it was so pleasant that it might prove a snare". (3) There was a high moral seriousness in the attempt to effect a divorce between the sacred and the secular. But while from this point of view, the dominant evangelical attitude is understandable, the vast majority of modern evangelicals would agree that it was a mistake born of uncomprehending earnestness. Since man cannot live without a secular culture, it is wiser to purify than to destroy.

10. It is important to take note of the steps which were taken by the

(1) Craigie, W. A.: The Legend of the Fiann in the Highland Bards, in collected volume "The Old Highlands", p. 145, (Gaelic Society of Glasgow)
(2) Spiritual Songs of Peter Grant, ed. Hector MacDougall, p. 117.
(3) Sievwright, J.: Memoir of Alexander Stewart, p. 278. (Edin. 1822)
Church to provide the people with Bibles, Psalters, and catechetical and other religious literature. Evangelicalism is supremely a biblical religion; yet if we were compelled to judge by the single criterion of the literary output in Gaelic during the first half of the century, we might be led to infer that the Catechisms and Confession of Faith were thought of more importance than the Holy Scriptures. This, of course, would be a profound mistake. The publishing policy of the Church was in the hands of the General Assembly, a body dominantly Lowland in composition and outlook. The Lowlands had the Bible in English, and the Lowland leaders of the Church, disliking the Gaelic on account of its association with Jacobitism and 'barbarity', felt that the progress of evangelical religion in the Highlands depended on the introduction of English and the English Bible. This thought dominated the policy of the Scottish S.P.C.K. till 1767. (1) In this particular at least, 18th century Presbytery inherited the prejudices of Restoration Episcopacy, as of the Scottish Estates and Privy Council throughout the 17th century. (2) When Robert Kirk was trying to awaken interest in his version of the Irish Bible for Highland use, the Bishop of Ross (Ramsay) "could not condemn the designs of some to have that language quite worn out in this country, and if with it we could also put away the barbarity of manners of some of our Highlanders, I should think it a very good work." (3) We can only understand the apparent indifference of outstanding evangelicals like Thomas Boston and the Erskines to the Highland need for an adequate version

(1)v.p. 399
(2)v.p. 397
(3) Notices of a Collection of MSS relating to the Circulation of the Irish Bible, 1685-1690, privately printed; Kirkwood MSS, C. of S. Library.
version of the Gaelic Scriptures, if we assume the current, though mistaken view, that such a version would, at best, fulfill only a temporary need, and at worst, eventually hinder the spiritual development of the people it was meant to serve. Probably Dr Johnson's caustic remarks did as much as anything to destroy finally this notion. (1)

It was fitting that the Synod of Argyll, direct heir of the Columban heritage, should be the pioneer in the work of producing a Gaelic Bible. In 1657, they decided to begin the task, and by November 1660, "the Pentateuch and some other parcels" were already completed. The remaining books were allotted to different Presbyteries, the Prophets being apportioned to Skye. (2) Owing, presumably, to the change of government in church and state, nothing further was done, and the "Pentateuch and some other parcels" were never printed.

The second and more successful attempt to provide a Gaelic Bible for use in Scotland was made towards the close of the Episcopal regime. An Irish version of the New Testament, the work of several translators, but commonly associated with the name of William O'Donell, Archbishop of Tuam, was published in Dublin in 1603. Bishop Bedell of Kilmore, assisted by several coadjutors, had completed the translation of the Old Testament into Irish before his death in 1642. The Hon. Robert Boyle, scientist and Christian philanthropist, reprinted O'Donell's New Testament in 1679, and, Bedell's Manuscript version of the Old Testament having been discovered, published it in 1686 in an edition of 700 copies. (3) James Kirkwood, whose name is honourably associated

with the foundation of the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, (1) and with the scheme for planting libraries in the Highlands, (2) induced Boyle to send over 200 copies of Bedell's Old Testament to Scotland for distribution in the Highlands. The whole of the New Testament edition had already been earmarked for Ireland. The distribution of the Old Testaments was committed to the willing charge of Robert Kirk, minister of Aberfoyle. The intention was to give one copy to each parish, but Professor MacLean estimates that 92 copies out of the 200 were alienated to private use. (3) These Bibles, were, however, printed in the Irish character, but the Gaelic scholarship which was once common to both countries and which made use of the old script, had by the beginning of the 18th century sunk so low in the Highlands that only a few people were familiar with it. Alexander MacDonald, the poet, and his father, the last episcopal incumbent of Ardnamurchan, were, it is believed, among the last who could write it. Though the Irish script is not difficult to learn, Kirk realised that it would present a formidable hindrance to halting readers, and, encouraged by Kirkwood, set about transcribing the whole of the Irish Bible in Roman character. "In a little over a year he transcribed the whole of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and it was not a merely mechanical and physical effort, but one that entailed close mental concentration, the application of accurate scholarship in detecting and correcting errors, and sound literary judgment in selecting from among competing words." (4) He would have brought his version more

(1) v. p. 395  
(4) Ivid. p. 346.
into conformity with the Scottish dialect if he "had not been straitly enjoined to follow the (Irish) copy." (1) In 1690, an edition of 2000 copies was printed in London under Kirk's supervision. Boyle and others in England and Scotland subscribed money to pay the cost. Kirkwood, acting as publicity agent, drew up and circulated widely a Memoriall about the Irish Bibles. (2) This was done in 1697, when Kirkwood heard that the slow distribution of the Bibles in the Highland parishes was largely owing to ignorance of their existence. He must also have been aware of some hostility to his labours, for in his Memoriall he says: "The Scriptures are the weapons of our Christian warfare and shall we unchristianly and unmercifully deprive our brethren of that which they have so great need of for their defence and safeguard." (3) The General Assembly which met in October 1690 enacted "that the several Synods who have Highland parishes in their Bounds appoint one of their number to receive their proportion of the said Bibles, New Testaments, and Catechisms," and, in order to defray the expenses of distribution, resolved to ask the Privy Council for a portion of the 'vacant stipend' of parishes of which the King is patron. (4) Though the Assembly thus became the official sponsor of Kirk's Bible, it was apparently left to Kirkwood to push forward the task of distribution. As a result of his Memoriall in 1697, 1,770 Bibles, 420 New Testaments, and 540 Catechisms (5) were circulated. (6) To the Assembly of 1699, 

Kirkwood addressed a further **Memorial**, which is full of wise suggestions. Indeed, it may well be doubted whether there was any minister of the Church of Scotland who saw the Highland religious problem with the same imaginative acuteness as this Anglican clergymen. At the same time, it should be conceded that the Assembly which incorporated the marrow of these suggestions from an Anglican source into an Act (1) showed a Christian humility which is sufficiently rare in denominational relationships to merit notice. (2) The points which Kirkwood emphasised were, that the special needs of the poor be remembered, that the books be distributed impartially, (3) that from sales and subscriptions a fund be raised to print successive impressions of the Gaelic Bible, and that the Synod of Argyll should be appointed to revise and improve the translation with a view to further editions. Further, he places the special problem of supplying the Highland people with the Scriptures in the wider setting of the general religious destitution, and stresses the need for teachers, catechists, the due administration of the Sacraments especially in the remote islands and glens, and the provision of roofs for the derelict churches. The distribution of the whole edition, along with the 1000 New Testaments which were printed at the same time, was completed in 1706. (4) Copies of Kirk's Bible still survive in the parish churches of Kilin, Kenmore, Weem, Morven, and Rothesay. (5) In 1704, the Assembly instructed their Commission "to use their endeavours for getting a new impression

(1) G.A.1699, XVI: Overtures for promoting the Knowledge of God in the Highlands, etc. (2) Some hints of particulars proposed to the Assembly, 1699; Kirkwood Collection, C.of S. Library. (3) Bibles had "been given to rich and wealthy persons without recovering anything from them". (4) MacLean, D.; T.G.S.I. Vol. XXXI, p. 352. (5) Johnston, G.P., Notices of a Collection of MSS relating to Circulation of the Irish Bibles, privately printed.
of the Bible in Irish", and in 1706 they "call for an account from the respective Presbyteries of their receipt of their proportion of these (already distributed) Bibles." (1) The Assembly, however, appear to have let the matter rest there. In 1754, an edition of O'donell's New Testament as transliterated by Kirk was issued by a Glasgow printer. The title-page does not bear the imprimatur of the Assembly. Kirk's New Testament had no Scottish Gaelic competitor till 1767, or his Old Testament till 1801. There is evidence that Kirk's Bible gained a considerable hold on the affections of the people, even in the Northern Highlands, where the Irish dialect would be least familiar. (2) It was never a household book, and was used by the religious leaders rather than by the people. In any case few of the people could read at all. 

Till the advent of the Gaelic schools in 1811, the ability to read Gaelic was confined to those who had already learnt to read some English in the parish and Society schools. It was not till 1767 that Highland school children were taught to read their native tongue, as well as English. (3) In 1735, none of the elders of Taruat could speak the English language. (4) That also meant that none of them could read the Gaelic Bible. (5) In 1792, "nine out of the ten elders (of Kilmuir Easter) did not know English." (6) A like inference may be made in this case. As late as 1772, few of the Highland clergy, strangely enough, were literate in Gaelic. (7) Even in the opening decades of the 19th

IIslands of Scotland who could not read a chapter of the Gaelic Bible! (1) "Neither Mr Pope of Reay nor Mr William MacKenzie of Assynt - the two most literary of the 18th century clergy in Sutherland - could write a Gaelic sentence, except phonetically!" (2) Scripture reading did not form an invariable part of public worship, and ministers were accustomed not only to preach Gaelic sermons from English notes, but also to make their own Gaelic version of the English Scriptures. Yet, despite the lack of Gaelic Scriptures, and the infrequency of Scripture reading in the church services, biblical knowledge in the evangelical districts was fairly widespread, and many unlettered laymen were mighty in the Scriptures. (4) "The people in this part (Rogart) have long been familiar with the Scriptures as translated to them from the English version by persons who could read." (5) These homely translations were read at the Sabbath evening cottage meetings, at fellowship and prayer meetings, and where a reader was available, at family worship. "In their Sabbath evening meetings, there was only an attempt to translate; and great was the injustice which the good Word suffered from such attempts; for, though the translators were willing to do it justice, they wanted the ability." (6) How could it be otherwise; yet, even after the publication of the official Gaelic Bible, "so wedded are men to long contracted habits, that people in general preferred to hear the Scriptures mangled by a vauber of a translator than hear the pure translation read." (7) It will thus be seen that, though Kirk's version

had considerable influence in moulding the standard religious vocabulary, it was far from being the universal medium of Scripture knowledge among the people. It may be added that, though the minister seldom read the Scriptures as part of the service, in some, perhaps many parishes, "the 'readers'... regularly read large portions of the Scripture to the people before the minister entered the pulpit." (1) This custom was maintained in Knockma in till as recently as 1842, and in the Gaelic Church of Edinburgh till 1843. (2)

The first portion of the Gaelic metrical Psalter, comprising the first fifty Psalms (An ceud chaogad), was published by the Synod of Argyll in Glasgow in 1659. The work was done by the members of the Presbytery of Dunoon. Apparently the remainder of the Psalter had been rendered into verse by 1661, but was not printed. (3) Robert Kirk published his own metrical Psalter in 1684, and "the Grant of Privilege printed on verso of Title-leaf gave the author the sole right to print the Psalms in Erse for eleven years." (4) "It appears that five or even six hundred copies were printed," but "there is no proof that it was ever used in any church." (5) The Synod of Argyll's version of the whole Psalter was printed, and, though the point has been disputed, apparently also circulated in 1694. (6) In 1696, it was announced that King William was pleased to buy the whole impression from the stationer "to be distributed as a free gift to his people." (7)

of this version were issued from the press up till 1751. (1) Though S.P.C.K. teachers were forbidden to use it as a textbook in their schools, (2) and though the majority of the people continued to depend on 'the reading of the line' by the precentor, the Gaelic Psalter had a much wider circulation than Kirk's Bible. Of the 1694 edition, twenty copies were allotted to each of the parishes in the Synod of Argyll. (3) In the Northern Highlands, the Gaelic metrical Psalms became wedded to the 'long tunes', also sometimes known as the 'Gaelic tunes'. (4) As Psalm-singing became a recognised part of family worship, as well as of the church service and prayer meeting, the Psalter in no long time became the chief devotional manual of Highland evangelicalism. The S.P.C.K., despite its ban on the Gaelic Psalm-book in the schools, sent a number of singing teachers into the Highlands and Islands. (5) Church music was also expected to be taught in the ordinary Society schools. (6) The first edition of the Gaelic Shorter Catechism was published by the Synod of Argyll in 1651, and a second edition was printed with the first fifty Psalms in 1659. 6000 copies of Charteris' Catechism were printed in London in 1688, and distributed to Presbyteries and parishes along with Kirk's Bible. It was not republished, but from 1702 to 1799, twenty-eight editions of the Shorter Catechism were issued from the press. Of these, nine editions came out in the first half of the century. (7) The schools taught the English Catechism, while the

parochial catechist taught the Gaelic version. (1) As the school-children were subject to parochial catechising, they had to learn the Catechism in both languages. In the Islands, this was certainly the case till the beginning of the 20th century. The effort to inculcate the doctrines of the Catechism was conducted with vigour. A representative northern evangelical minister, Murdo MacDonald of Durness, writes in his diary: (December 1737) "I have been at more than ordinary pains in public and private with the people to incline them to consider their ways, and particularly because very few of them can read, I have been endeavouring to shame and frighten them out of their unaccountable neglect of getting the Questions, wherein the principles of the Protestant religion are most accurately and summarily set down, and my pains to this purpose for some seasons past have not been altogether useless". (2)

In 1727, the Presbytery of Tongue, of which MacDonald was a member, recommended to their catechists "to employ the most of their time in teaching the Shorter Catechism and also that they read Vincent's and other sound explications thereof to the people and that at the direction of their respective ministers". (3)

The Synod of Argyll proved their further diligence by publishing the Gaelic Confession of Faith in 1725. This work included the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. It was reprinted in 1727, and again in 1756. The next edition was in 1766. (4)

In 1727, the Presbytery of Tongue received 46 copies of the Gaelic Confession of Faith from the Royal...

Bounty Committee (1) Other Presbyteries received their proportional quota of copies. While Pool's Dialogues against Popery and Guthrie's Trial of a Saving Interest in Jesus Christ were used as textbooks in the charity schools, and through the children must have become familiar in many homes from the year 1709, it was not till 1750 that a beginning was made in the work of providing Gaelic translations of standard English homiletical and theological literature. (2) In that year, Alex. MacFarlane of Kininver and Kinmeifort, the editor of the Psalter of 1751, and the translator of the forty-five Paraphrases printed along with that edition, published a Gaelic version of Baxter's Call to the Unconverted. (3) This book was the precursor of a considerable body of religious literature in translation. (4) The native Gaelic religious literature, which was all in verse, and which undoubtedly played an important part in the propagation of evangelical doctrine and feeling, (5) was inaugurated in 1752 by the publication of David MacKellar's Hymn. (6) Confining ourselves to the first half of the century, the chief points to note are the absence of the Bible in Scottish Gaelic, and the prominence of the Gaelic Psalter and Catechisms.

In 1699, James Kirkwood published "An Overture for Founding and Maintaining of Bibliotecks in every Paroch throughout the Kingdom Humbly offered to the Consideration of the present Assembly." (7) Its design was to provide religious and learned books for the educated portion of the nation. The keeper of the Biblioteck "shall not lend..."
out any book out to an Heretor of the Paroch, or to a minister of the
Presbyterie, or to such persons residing within the paroch as shall
find sufficient caution."Learning, Kirkwood hoped, would mightily in-
crease, and gentlemen would be restrained from gaming and drinking
"by preventing that uneasie and wearesome idleness of mind, which is
the parent of these and many other enormities." (1) The Assembly did
not entertain the ambitious national project, but when, in 1702, he
restricted his proposals to the Highland area, and had engaged the
practical interest of the English S.P.C.K., the idea was more favour-
ably received. George Meldrum, who had helped Kirkwood in the Gaelic
Bible scheme, and was later to assist him in the formation of the
Scottish S.P.C.K., took the matter up in the Assembly; in 1704, an 'Act
anent Libraries in the Highlands' was passed, and arrangements were
made for setting up Presbyterial and parochial libraries in selected
localities. (2) It appears that 1 Synod Library, 17 Presbyterial
Libraries, and 48 Parochial Libraries were set up in different parts
of the Highlands and Islands. Dr MacLean gives a list of the books in
the "Argyle Presbyterial Library". It is largely theological, and
includes works in English, French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Gaelic. Latin
learning was assiduously cultivated by many of the Highland gentry, (3)
and, in a country which provided so many recruits for the French
service, a knowledge of French was not uncommon. But even so, these
libraries could hardly have been very popular with the young men

(1) MacLean, D.: Highland Libraries in the 18th Century, T.G.S.I. Vol. XXXI,
p. 79. (2) Ibid., p. 85; G.A. 1704, XVII; Pitcairn's Acts, p. 332.
(3) See Chap. VII
whom it was considered desirable to wean from the illicit attractions of gaming and drinking. They may, however, be regarded as a fair measure of the type of learning that was cultivated in Highland manses during this period. The catalogue of the private library of the Rev. Mr. MacKillop in the early part of the 18th century strengthens this inference. (1) Some of these libraries were still in existence in 1826. In the 19th century, the General Assembly's Education Committee successfully adopted the idea in connection with their schools in the Highlands. In 1832, there were 74 libraries; these were intended not merely for the children, but for the people of the districts served by the schools. (2) They included many instructive secular, as well as religious, books. A definite mellowing of the former austerity is indicated by the presence of Robinson Crusoe and The Vicar of Wakefield side by side with the Fourfold State and Alleine's Alarm. (3)

11. We shall deal in later chapters with the evangelical labours and spiritual and moral influence of the teachers, missionaries, catechists, and poets. At this point, it will be proper to take note of the nature and influence of the evangelical preaching during the period in which the evangelical gospel captured the allegiance of the Highland people. Even amongst a literate people, the spoken word retains its place of paramount power. But amongst a non-literate people, eminently sensitive to poetry and oratory, the influence of preaching can scarcely be overestimated. As the power of the chiefs declined, the position of popular

(2) G.A. Education Committee Report, 1832, p. 7. (3) Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Scheme of the General Assembly, for promoting Education etc. in the Highlands and Islands, p. 48.
leadership was spontaneously accorded to the great evangelical preachers. Few of the great patriarchal or military leaders, perhaps not even the great Montrose himself, so completely swayed the hearts of the Highlanders as John MacDonald, the minister of Ferintosh. His ministry belonged mainly to the first half of the 19th century, but his evangelical predecessors, even as early as the first quarter of the 18th century, when chiefly power was very real, won for themselves by the preaching of the Word, a popular influence which carried their name and fame far across the clan frontiers. John Balfour of Nigg, James Fraser of Alness, and Hector MacPhail of Resolis, to name out three of the evangelical pioneers, are to this day a great deal more than mere names in the Northern Highlands. In their own day, they exercised a spiritual domination which, though more localised, is not unworthy of comparison with that wielded by the 'Apostle of the North', a century later. In the opinion of competent judges, these men were not inferior, either in spiritual capacity or intellectual equipment, to their more notable Lowland contemporaries. (1)

It is well to get a glimpse of the intellectual interests which were the background of the Highland evangelical sermon. His grandson tells us that Aeneas Sage of Lochcarron possessed many books, among them a fine copy of Turretine. (2) Aeneas MacAulay of Applecross, a man of strong intellectual grasp, was a student of the Greek and Roman classics and of the divines of England. (3) Alexander Pope of Reay was a man of large and manysided interests; his antiquarian learning was

(1) Kennedy's Days of the Fathers, pp. 19-77, etc.
(2) Sage, D.: Memorabilia Domestica, p. 5.
(3) See above p. 304 f.
of considerable assistance to Pennant in his researches; (1) he was the first evangelical minister who thought the Ossianic odes worthy of collection and preservation; (2) and he translated the greater part of the 'Orcades' of Torfaeus. (3) John MacKay, the famous minister of Durness and Lairg, was deeply read in Dutch divinity and carried on a theological seminary for young men intending the ministry. (4) George MacCulloch, the Royal Bounty preacher, with a salary of £27.15/- bought many books. On being ordained to the charge of Strathconan and Strathgarve, he was moved to translate Turrettin to one of his 'men', Ruairidh Phadruic, who accordingly became "a most correct divine." (5) The MS sermons of John Balfour of Nigg reveal his constant use of the Greek New Testament. Whether he actually quoted the Greek to his Gaelic hearers is another question. (6) He, also, was a close student of Dutch theology. James Fraser of Alness, the author of The Scripture Doctrine of Sanctification, (7) was an expositor and theologian of repute. He was abreast of the Biblical and theological literature of his day. He possessed the great compilation known as the Critici Sacri. He was familiar with the works of S. Augustine, and with those of Socinus and Arminius. Of the moderns, his work reveals a close study of Locke, Whitby, Hammond, and Taylor of Norwich. He deals acutely and successfully with the heterodox views of the latter. Chisholm of Kilmorey, harried by Macraes from Kintail, (8) the occasional butt of Simon, Lord Lovat's

slanderous tongue, (1) had for his solace a collection of books, which, after his death appear to have suffered the ignominious fate of being brought "to town (Inverness) to be sold by weight for snuff wrappers". (2) The venerable Hector MacLean of Coll, like the more famous Colin Campbell of Ardchattan, a devoted disciple of Leibnitz, was so sorely straitened for bookshelves that he had to keep his valuable library in chests. (3) Dr Johnson pays a notable tribute to the dignity of his wearing, the orthodoxy of his doctrine, and the soundness of his learning. (4) Donald MacQueen of Kilmuir he describes as "a very learned minister." (5) "I saw not one in the islands, whom I had reason to think either deficient in learning, or irregular in life; but found several with whom I could not converse without wishing, as my respect increased, that they had not been Presbyterians." (6) A noteworthy feature of the Presbyterial and parochial libraries of which the catalogues have survived is the generous representation accorded to patristic and Anglican theology. Justin Martyr and S. Cyprian, Burnet, Atterbury and Usher have their place along side of Calvin, Grotius and Rutherford. (7)

In 1729, the Presbytery of Gairloch, who, at that time had sufficient trouble on their hands to enable them to appreciate the Apostle's contentions with the wild beasts of Ephesus, resolved that common heads of Divinity be discourse on in Latin at their several Presbytery meetings, and accordingly "have appointed Mr Murdo MacLeod to have an

exejiss upon that question, 'Num Christus sit verus et Summus Deus' (1)
The choice of topic is an obvious indication of West Highland interest
in the second Simson heresy trial which was then agitating the
country. The Diary of Murdo MacDonaid, the pious minister of Durness,
"contains long criticisms of such books as Henry Scougail's 'Life of
God in the Soul of Man', Boyle's 'Seraphic Love', Gurnall's 'Directory',
Boston's (who, he says, borrowed from Gurnall) 'Fourfold State', Bennet's
'Christian Oratory', which he read in public, and Hervey's 'Meditations',
etc. . Perhaps more interesting, in view of certain conceptions of
the narrowness of the evangelical literary interest, is the fact that
he spent the greater part of three days in reading Henry Fielding's
'The History of a Foundling', and reckoned that it was "calculated to
form the manners of those who despise instruction in a more serious
form". He was very fond of poetry, and having translated Pope's
'Messiah' into Gaelic, recited it to his parishioners "in the course of
his visits to them, and when they, as was their custom, after having a
fellowship meeting on the first Monday of the month, adjourned from
the church to his house" (2). The news of the day, and the political
questions of the time, were also discussed at these informal after-
meetings. This is one proof among several others that early 18th
century evangelicalism was less austere, in some respects at least,
than the piety associated with the Highland Disruption worthies.

The gifts and tastes of the clergy must have widely varied then as

(1) Transactions of Inverness Scientific and Field Club, Vol. IV, p. 243;
Lochcarron Presbytery Records.
(2) Morrison, H.: Ministers of Presbytery of Tongue, 1726-63., T. G. S. I.
now; but there is a considerable body of evidence that the evangelical preaching which won general esteem and set, as it were, the homiletical standard in the Highlands had as its background a very competent theological equipment and a degree of interest in, and acquaintance with, humane letters. The Biblical commentary which was in general use in all Scottish manses was Pool's Annotations. (1)

The theological content of the evangelical message will be discussed in chapter V. Meantime, it will only be necessary to state that the staple of that message was the preaching of the 'law' to secure conviction of sin, and the offer of free grace to the 'poor in spirit'. Dugald Buchanan accurately delineates the faithful evangelical preacher:

"No'm ministear thu,
sha tagradh gu dlùth,
Rì pocull an òghdarras Dhe;
'Gam piileadh air ais,
sha'g imeachd gu oras,
Gu h-ìfrinn na casgraidh dhein?" (2)

Murdo MacDonald, himself an old school evangelical, after having attended the Olrig Communion in 1740, expresses himself thus: "The method of preaching now in fashion by the young set of ministers, who have got up within these few years is not so pleasing to such who have seen

(1) After the battle of Culloden, John MacLean, the venerable minister of Kintail, appeared before Lord George Sackville, commanding the Government troops, in order to protect his people, now loyal subjects, from military depredation. MacLean, clad in homely garb, had to prove his ministerial character by producing his copy of Pool's Annotations. - O.S.A. Vol. VI, p. 245. (2) Songs of Dugald Buchanan, ed. MacLean, p. 46. Trans. "Or minister thou, That earnestly pleaded with souls, in God's conquering name; That they should turn Jack, Who were swiftly moving, To hell's destroying flame".
acquainted with the good old way. Morality is mostly insisted on by this new trivo, and perhaps it is not without reason that some of the more judicious hearers are afraid of a legal extreme, though they might also advert that practical Christianity may have been in the preceding period too much neglected."(1) The "good old way", which held universal sway before 1740, was largely, we might almost say overwhelmingly, doctrinal. James Fraser puts the case for the time-honoured evangelical sermon lucidly and succinctly thus: "The demand for preaching Christ and free grace is so far from being opposed to the end of preaching holiness and good works that indeed men cannot preach holiness and good works to good purpose and with good effect, without bringing along with them all the way the doctrine of Christ and free grace."(2) The evangelical preached free grace, because he believed that a graceless morality was a contradiction in terms.

In construction, the evangelical sermon, as typified by the literary remains of John Baillie, James Fraser, and later, Lachlan MacKenzie, follows the Puritan model. In England, under the influence of George Herbert, this pattern had gradually fallen into disuse before the end of the 17th century. "The new guise of preaching which Mr Hew Binning and Robert Leighton began, contempting the ordinarie way of exposing and dividing a text, of raising doctrines and uses; but runs out in a discourse on some common head, in a high romancing unscriptural style, tickling the ear for the present and moving the affections in some, out leaving... little or nought to the memory and understanding."(3)

In 1724, Wodrow notices that the new vogue is gaining ground among the Scottish clergy. "They are falling in with the fashionable English way of preaching in harangues without heads; and love to call grace virtue, and other ways of speaking which differ much from our good old way in this church." (1) These fashionable preachers were the Old Moderates. In April 1735, John Balfour, preaching before the Synod of Ross at Tain, referred to these new ways: "Nothing can be more offensive than when... it appears their (the preachers') great concern is to preach themselves and not Christ; when a vain affectation of fantastical learning and eloquence is all they shew a concern about and seem to study and are more intent upon their chanting tendencies and laboured periods than the simplicity of the Gospel and the edification of souls." (2) James Fraser deals a shrewd blow at the innovators: "When men labour greatly about artful composition, and refined philosophical sentiment... it were well that this saying of the Apostle (I Cor. 1.30: Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption) should occur to their minds." (3) True evangelical preaching, on the other hand, should be "with propriety, purity, and gravity of language, (for) it is only the most unaffected plainness and simplicity of language that can suit subjects so very sublime... The low, out decent and grave homely style is most adapted to the profit, commonly, of the greatest part of the audience." (4) Even in the Secession Church, the Synod found it necessary to enjoin "a scriptural simplicity of language." (5) The evangelical position was that

artistic over-elaboration was an offence against religious good taste, and scarcely compatible with Gospel earnestness. The Highland preachers followed closely the old method of dividing their texts. Its great advantage was that it accorded well with the dominantly instructional purpose of the evangelical preacher. Its peril lay in the temptation to multiply divisions, and sub-divisions. In order to illustrate both the continuity and development of message and method over a period of a hundred years, the notes of two sermons, the one in English by John Balfour, the other in Gaelic by Robert MacGregor, of Kilmuir, Skye, are given in abridged form as an appendix. (1)

Every sermon was addressed to two distinct and separate classes. There was "a constant discrimination from the pulpit between the regenerate and the unregenerate, so as to impress the distinction upon the people...")(2) Some preachers had a genius for proclaiming the 'law' to the unconverted. Others were more in their element in speaking comfort to 'the Lord's people'. The ideal, not always attained, was to hold the balance even. Some of the 'Lord's people' in Alness, when James Fraser was minister, felt constrained to seek the nurture that they needed in the preaching of John Porteous of Kilmuir Easter, because Fraser preached almost exclusively the 'law'. Fraser, in no way chagrined, explained that his Master had given him a quiver full of arrows for the hearts of His enemies, and that the quiver was not yet empty, while to Porteous he had given a cruise of oil to pour on the wounds of broken-hearted sinners. (3)

of Ferintosh, one of the most attractive of 18th century evangelicals, was the love of Christ. Here, however, the lovers of the 'law' remained unsatisfied; they nicknamed the minister 'Piouaire an aona phuirt', 'the piper of one tune', and some of them deserted his ministry, and set up separatist services. (1)

Some of the sermon illustrations which became famous in Highland religious tradition are singularly apt and striking. One cannot wonder that the allegorical and parabolic illustrations created and used by, for instance, John Porteous or Lachlan MacKenzie, held captive the popular imagination. The former, in impressing the need for constancy in prayer, makes daring but highly successful use of the popular superstition that a corpse might become animated by the Devil. (2)

The latter, in his long-remembered sermon on the Babe of Bethlehem, pictured the search for the Holy Child being carried on in one after another of the homes of his parishioners. (3) Typological illustrations and interpretations were used by preachers, and loved by a people who had an aptitude for the hidden meaning. Porteous, in preaching on the 'hidden man of the heart' (1 Peter iii. 4), made illustrative use of the Ark of the Covenant, and laid special emphasis on the outer covering of wadger's skin which protected the Ark from the influences of the weather. "Like the ark in the holy of holies, the hidden man of the heart, which was the work of grace in the soul, was protected from the severity of the weather from whatever direction the storm came. The righteousness of Christ covered this work, and shielded it.

(1) Religious Life in Ross, p. 91. (2) Days of the Fathers in Rossshire, p. 44. (3) Lectures, Sermons, and Writings of Lachlan MacKenzie, p. 423; Inverness, 1928.
from every storm." (1) The 'Men' became adepts at this allegorical use of Scripture. (2)

Some at least, of the evangelical ministers assumed a prophetic liberty of reproof, and used it without fear or favour. The chief of Clan Grant (Sir Ludovick, one of the Highland pillars of post-Revolution Presbyterianism) and his lady arrived in Duthill Church towards the close of the service. They had lingered too long over a social call by the way. Donald Mackintosh, the preacher, put his admonition to the dilatory in the form of a not too complimentary parable. "The dogs once went on a hunting expedition, but on reaching the field they fell in with carrion. On that they gorged themselves, and thus lost their hunting chance. (3) Aeneas Sage gravely reproved the Earl of Seaforth for travelling on the Sabbath. (4) John Porteous gave a sharp admonition and a prophetic warning to the Earl of Cromarty. (5) When the great ones of the earth came under the lash, it was not to be expected that the failings of lesser folk should be spared. Even the genial and gentle Lachlan MacKemzie could vent "awful and crushing denunciations" against a certain now prosperous member of his flock, who had shed his former piety along with his former poverty. Donald Sage describes them as "singularly appalling". (6) The judicious used this weapon sparingly, and with discretion. Their reproofs were the more effective. The injudicious, and there were such, brought it into discredit. The violent polemic of "Investigator" against the militant evangelicals of

(1) Religious Life in Ross, p. 49. (2) See page 357.
(6) Memorabilia Domestica, p. 158.
pre-Disruption days was in many respects unfair, and on a broad view a distortion of the facts, but one has to admit that his account of the 'fencing of the tables' contains elements of truth. (1) One cannot say at what period "pipers" and "young women with curls" began to be singled out as worthy of special denunciation at the Lord's Table, but certainly one is unable to associate such frivolous remarks with the spiritual gravity and judicious piety of John Balfour, or James Calder of Croy, or Charles Calder of Ferintosh. The plain inference is that it was a late development, and that it was practised only by some of the lesser of the popular evangelicals.

On the Monday of the Communion in Lochcarron in October, 1754, after the Rev. James Robertson of Lochoroom had finished his sermon, Aeneas Sage, the parish minister, went to the pulpit and warned the people of certain doctrines of dangerous import that were abroad. (2) Rumours were about at the time that Aeneas MacAulay of Applecross was teaching heresy. MacAulay took Sage's words to himself; this was the immediate origin of the heresy which reached the Assembly, by way of complaint and counter-complaint, in 1758. (3) Sage's action is the first known instance of the custom of warning the people against the errors of the day on the Monday of the Sacrament.

It need hardly be said that the reading of sermons was unpopular with the people. "To us (the Highland people) this way (the reading of sermons) is hitherto generally disgusting to congregations." (4) So says James Fraser, and he describes it as "that most foolish custom." It hath

(1) The Church and her Accuser in the Far North, 1st ed., p. 36. The writer was Dr Kenneth Phin of Galashields, a son of the Manse of Wick.
(2) See page 309.
(3) See page 309.
(4) Scripture Doctrine of Sanctification, p. 398.
a strange appearance that an ambassador of Christ should deliver his message in this way". (1) The use of manuscript notes thus became associated with Moderate preaching.

The phenomenon of "chanting", which has been a feature of Gaelic preaching in some districts up to our own day, is of doubtful origin. H.G. Graham says that it was specially the characteristic of the "antedeluvians", or pre-Restoration ministers who lived to see the Revolution, (2) but Anderson of Cromarty, who was the only "antedeluvian" in that region of the Highlands in which "chanting" became most common, was too frail to preach much after his return to his parish in 1690. Denune of Golspie, a younger man, had associated with the field preachers while he was a probationer. But even so, it is hard to believe that so striking and widespread a mannerism had an origin so exiguous. It is as late as 1735 that John Balfour observes the "chanting tendencies", (3) and he then brackets them with "rounded periods" and the "vain affectation of fantastical learning and eloquence". The latter, certainly, were modes which were affected by the "wight youths" among the Old Moderates in the first flush of their new-found freedom. Robert Kirk, the last Episcopal incumbent of Averfoyle, on his visit to London to superintend the printing of the Irish Bible notes that "the (pulpit) oratory of the English is grave and solid reason, without affectation, sobbing, chanting, inarticulate sounds of admiration, gestures of persuasion, or drawing words in length to tickle fancy or tingle the ear". (4) The Scottish pulpit oratory, which

Kirk thus describes by contrast, would be that which was prevalent during his own ministry. At that period, the influence of the Leighton school of preaching was considerable, if not dominant, among Scottish Episcopalians. The possibility, or perhaps probability, thus arises that the "chanting", thought so uniquely characteristic of evangelical preaching, had its origin among the Restoration Episcopalians. This would, in a measure, explain Balfour's dislike to it. There can be no doubt but that the "chanted" appeal or exhortation could be, upon occasion, very moving.

The effect of the evangelical preaching upon the people was powerful and, taking a general conspectus of the Highland area throughout the century, even revolutionary. We shall see how the labours and witness of missionaries and catechists reduced the unruly districts to a reverent regard for the law of God and man. (1) We have already noted that the general tone of moral behaviour rose steadily. (2) Military historians have agreed that the Highland regiments, which began to be raised in numbers after the middle of the century, were the best behaved in the British army. (3) Serious crime dwindled to vanishing point. (4) Observers have noted that the growth of habits of industry among the people synchronised with the influx of evangelical religion. (5) In the latter respect they had still something to learn, even at the beginning of the 19th century, though Dr Walker, an acute and sympathetic visitor, judged that they lacked scope rather than willingness. (6)

(1) See chapter VI p. 312  (2) See page 81, etc.
(5) A Summary Account of the Scottish S.P.C.K., 1783, p. 33, etc.
(6) An Economical History of the Hebrides and Highlands of Scotland, p. 12; See Chap. II.
CHAPTER III.

During the first half of the 18th century, the dominant interest of Highland Evangelicalism was the intense and gradually successful assault on disestablished Episcopacy and the Roman Catholic remnant. Each of the contestants in that prolonged conflict possessed a political loyalty which was, in effect, an integral part of his religious faith. It was scarcely possible to think of a Jacobite evangelical, or of a Whig High Church Episcopalian or Roman Catholic. Many nominal Presbyterians, such as the people of Coigach, fought in the Jacobite army in 1745, and Roman Catholics, like the Earl of Seaforth, were benevolently neutral towards the Government. But these cases were not typical. Compulsion on the one hand, and prudential self-interest on the other are sufficient to explain these aberrations. The necessities of this inter-denominational war created a sense of unity and cohesion in the Presbyterian ranks, which, in a measure, accounts for the Highland dislike of the Secessions, and for the extreme reluctance of Highland Evangelicals, even when faced with what they felt were grave causes, to part company with the Establishment. This professed veneration for the National Church is noticeable even in the ranks of the extreme Separatists.

The political collapse of Jacobitism in 1746 left the Presbyterian Church without a serious rival. Episcopacy was proscribed. Roman Catholicism retreated to its mountain and island fastnesses. The very completeness of its victory, however, held threats to the spiritual health of the conqueror. In the absence of formidable external foes, the old aggressive energy tended to slacken. In these
circumstances, it was inevitable that the external conflict should be replaced by an inner division along the lines of ecclesiastical partisanship. The old evangelical fire was still there, but it found its new enemy, not so much in ropery or Prelacy, but in the religious and ethical rationalism and latitudinarianism which, in Scotland, became known as Moderatism. Moderatism was not so much a Scottish, as, under various names, a European phenomenon. It cut across the old ecclesiastical boundaries, and it found a congenial home in Scottish Presbyterianism. Moderatism made notable contributions to the life of the nation. Its achievements in literature, history and philosophy were varied and splendid. On the practical side, moderate ministers were not seldom the pioneers in agricultural science. Even in theology, the province in which Scottish moderatism is generally reputed to be weakest, such men as Principal George Campbell of Aberdeen, Professor Leechman of Glasgow, and Principal William Wishart of Edinburgh, gave proof, not always welcome to their more orthodox brethren, of vigorous thinking. But the whole tone of Moderatism, in its constant preoccupation with refinement and good manners rather than with sound doctrine, was hostile to the evangelical fervour. And Evangelicalism, which flourishes best in the face of antagonism and opposition, was neither slow nor unwilling to discover its chief enemy in a system of thought and life whose minimizing tendencies and studied understatement appeared to many to be the negation of Christianity. As in the Lowlands, so in the Highlands, a prolonged conflict between these two opponents was inevitable.
We shall consider the interplay and clash of doctrinal tendencies in a later chapter.\(^{(1)}\) It is desirable, however, at this point to emphasise that those questions of ecclesiastical strife which were to agitate the Highland Church from the middle of the 17th century to 1843 were, in almost every instance, direct, and it may be added, belated requests from Lowland controversies. The more the Highlands became an integral part of a united Scotland, the less likely it was that the Moderate-Evangelical controversy should take an original turn. Indeed, in only one instance, the debate over Fast Day and Friday fellowship Meetings in Caithness, Sutherland and Argyll, \(^{(2)}\) did the controversy extend in a somewhat novel direction. It is necessary, therefore, briefly to summarise the main trend of ecclesiastical politics in Scotland since 1690.

I

Professor A.R. MacEwan states that one course of church affairs, in the third decade of the 17th century, came home to the Erskines and their fellow-Evangelicals at four points. 1. The direct and indirect interference of the State with the rights of the Church. 2. The working of patronage when accepted and enforced by the General Assembly. 3. The unchecked growth of erroneous doctrine within the Church. 4. The suppression of individual liberty to protest against these evils. \(^{(3)}\)

The right of calling and dissolving the General Assembly had not

\(^{(1)}\) Chapter V. 
\(^{(2)}\) Page 162. 
\(^{(3)}\) Cunningham: Church History, II. p. 187.
been a matter of dispute between Church and State since 1693,(1) out the Toleration Act of 1712 was regarded by many in the Presbyterian Church, including even the cautious and moderate Carstaires, as hostile in intent, inasmuch as it gave a quasi-established character to the Episcopal remnant. (2) More potent as a divisive force within the Presbyterian ranks was the Abjuration Oath which the Toleration Act imposed on Churchman and Episcopal dissenter alike. Presbyterians disliked the oath, not merely because it seemed to place them, alongside their Episcopal enemies, as political suspects, but also, and above all, because it required them to swear that the future occupant of the throne, after the death of Queen Anne, must be of the Anglican communion. While two-thirds of the clergy took the oath before six months were out, there were in almost all Presbyteries recalcitrant stalwarts. Among these were Thomas Boston of Ettrick and the Erskine brothers. They were generally men of evangelical outlook and popular following. The people's hostility to the oath was more bitter than even that of the clergy, and ministers who had 'clearness' to take it were regarded by many as little better than Erastians. The spirit of strife infected the congregations. "Our Communions" says Wodrow, "that used to be our pleasantest and sweetest times, are times of distraction and discovering of our divisions". (3) The oath was modified in 1715, and again after the rebellion of that year, in which the Presbyterian ministry had displayed conspicuous loyalty. It was thereby rendered innocuous.

to the most sensitive consciences, though Boston and a few of his fellow-stalwarts sustained their objection to the end. The real significance of the Aijuration Oath lay not in its terms, but in effect on feeling within the church. "Perhaps no subscription in the long history of the Church was ever the cause of such awounding bitterness". (1) It contributed in an important degree to the atmosphere which rendered strife and secession almost inevitable. As early as the period of the Porteous Riot, there is evidence that this popular suspicion of ministerial compliance with governmental intrusion into sacred things reached as far north as Easter Ross. "Maggie o' the Shore" snatches the "Act anent the Porteous Riot" from the hand of the minister who was about to profane the House of God by reading it to the congregation. (2)

Apart, however, from the province of doctrine, in which the Moderate sin, in evangelical eyes, was not so much the negation, but the absence of affirmation of the distinctive evangelical positions, the great question in which Moderates and Evangelicals discovered their opposition was that of Patronage.

The spirit of the Reformed Church, as embodied in the Second Book of Discipline, was undoubtedly inimical to the parochial settlement of ministers without the assent of the people. (3) It is equally true that from 1560 to 1690, including even the period of Covenanting ascendancy, the right of lay patronage was in fact exercised. (4)

The 'Directory for the Election of Ministers' (G.A.1649), while it placed the initiative in the choice of a parish minister in the kirk-session, selecting from a Presbyterial list, recognised the right of an organised majority of the congregation to put forward objections. These objections, however, required to be upheld by the judgment of the Presbytery, who could either confirm the kirk-session's nomination or order a new election to take place.

In 1690, the Scottish Parliament abolished patronage, and "enacted that in all vacancies the heritors and elders should nominate a person for the approval of the congregation; and if the congregation disapproved of the nominee, they were to give in their reasons of disapproval to the Presbytery, by whom the matter was to be finally determined". (1) The Act makes no mention of an organised majority of the congregation, but required individual parishioners to give reasons of dissent to the Presbytery. This regulation, though apparently as popular as that of 1649, was "in its practical effect, a very different thing from the voice of a recognised majority". (2) The Act, however, worked well, and there were no serious congregational disputes over the settlement of ministers during the period 1690-1712. Correspondingly, during this period, the doctrinal question of the divine right of the people to elect their pastors was not agitated. (3)

In 1712, the Patronage Act, mother of many sorrows for the Church

(1) Cunningham, Church History: II, p.175.
(2) Moncrieff's Life of Dr John Erskine, p.432.
(3) Ibid, p.434.
of Scotland, was passed by Parliament, notwithstanding the determined opposition of the General Assembly. The fruit, mainly, of English and Scottish Jacobite intrigue, it was, and was meant to be an act of hostility to the Presbyterian establishment. In spirit, if not also in letter, it was a contravention of the articles of the Treaty of Union (1707) which provided for the safeguarding of the Scottish Church. The right of presentation to vacant parishes was thus restored to the ancient patrons, though, of course, Presbyteries still retained the right to examine and to decide on the literary and doctrinal fitness of presentees. In the event of no presentation being made by the patron within six months, the right of appointment devolved upon the Presbytery. Roman Catholic and non-juring patrons were precluded from exercising their inherited rights.

Owing to the strength of popular feeling against patronage, few patrons exercised their power under the Act for many years after 1712. "During this period, vacant parishes appear to have been, very generally, filled up by the Presbyteries, either with the tacit consent of the patrons, even when they lodged their presentations, or jure devoluto, when they did not present at all". (1) Owing to the fact that the Assembly had not created a definite code governing the procedure of the lower courts in such cases, the result was a variety of Presbyterial decisions. Overtures reaching the Assembly from 1712 to 1723 plead for such a code on the basis of the Act of 1690, without

(1) Moncrieff's Life of Dr John Erskine, p. 435.
contending for popular election. While E^enezer Erskine, as early as
1715, had asserted the divine right of every congregation to choose
its own pastor, (1) by 1725, there was, says Sir H. Moncrieff, a definite
party in the Church who strove for popular election in the settle­
ment of ministers. Practically, this meant election by heads of fam­
ilies as well as heritors and elders. The party opposed to them, the
forerunners of the Moderates, contended, not for settlements by pre­
sentations alone, but for the observance of the practice of 1690 by
Presbyteries in the exercise of the Jus devolutum, under which the
greatest number of vacant parishes were then supplied. (2)

The corollary of the doctrine of divine right of popular election
was that the minister who was settled in a parish against the wishes
of the people could have no valid pastoral tie with the congregation.
It followed that members of Presbytery who assisted in such an act
of intrusion were guilty of sin. Even under the practice of 1690, it
might happen that a Presbytery, judging popular opposition to be
frivolous and prejudiced, might determine an unpopular settlement, and
when, towards 1730, the importance of the presentation began to be
stressed, evangelical scruples about participating in such inductions,
reinforced by the intensity of popular opposition, began to be a
serious problem for constitutional authority within the Church. This
practical conflict between the rights of conscience and the duty of
obedience to ecclesiastical superiors was resolved, or rather evaded,
by the device, irregular in law, and ultimately shown to be futile in
practice, of the 'Riding Committee'.

(1) Mathieson, W. L.: Scotland and the Union: p. 243
Erskine: p. 440.
(2) Moncrieff's
The Assembly, in order to avoid precipitating a grave crisis by compelling the obedience of recalcitrant Presbyteries, enforced its decisions by means of Assembly committees who performed the Presbyterial functions of ordination and induction. This device was first employed in the case of New Machar in 1729, and continued to be employed for over twenty years thereafter. The deposition of Thomas Gillespie in 1752 marked the end of this period of compromise.

Of the ministers who, after 1729, began to accept presentations to parishes which did not desire them, it has been said: "In almost every case, the ministers so ordained belonged to the laxer school of theology. The objection to their ordination was twofold - that they were not 'Gospel' ministers, and that they had not received a call" (1).

The practice of moderating in a call even when, during the period of Moderate ascendancy, it degenerated into an empty formality, was never departed from. The question at issue between the two parties which now confronted each other throughout the Church was the relative importance of the call and the presentation. As evangelical doctrine on the right of the people to choose their pastors became more precisely formulated, as instanced by Currie of Kinglassie's treatise, *Jus Populi*, so also, by way of reaction, the opposite party tended to depreciate the value of the call, and to exalt the importance of the presentation. (2) "In the Assembly, the Neonomians (or early Moderates) supported the patrons, while in most Presbyteries the Evangelicals supported the rights of the people". (3)

(1) MacEwan's The Erskines: p. 64. (2) Currie's *Jus Populi* published in 1727. (3) MacEwan's The Erskine's: p. 64.
In 1731, the General Assembly passed an interim Act which regulated the procedure in those cases where the right of presentation fell into the hands of the Presbytery *tamquam jure devoluto*. It was sent down to Presbyteries under the Barrier Act with the warning that silence would be taken as implying consent. At the meeting of Assembly in 1732, it was found that 31 Presbyteries were hostile to the new legislation, 16 were favourable with or without qualification, and 10 failed to report. Judging these latter to be favourably disposed, which was a considerable assumption, the Assembly converted the overture into a standing Act. The situation of the minority in the Assembly was made unnecessarily difficult by the resolution passed in 1730, which deprived members of the valued privilege of placing on record reasons of dissent. The substance of this Act was virtually that of the Parliamentary Act of 1690. It placed the election of the minister in the hands of a conjunct meeting of the Protestant Heritors, who could vote by proxy, and the elders. The person so elected was to be proposed to the congregation, who could express approval or disapproval. "The disapprovers shall offer their reasons to the Presbytery of the bounds, at whose judgment, and by whose determination, the calling and entry of the minister shall be ordered and concluded, according to the rules of the Church." (1) The constitutional duiety of this Act, its contradiction to the rising tide of popular feeling, its evasion of the now precisely formulated demand for a recognition by the judicatories of the

Church of the evangelical doctrine of the divine right of the people to choose their pastors, made it the cause of much irritation and discontent. The tension was not eased by the refusal of the Assembly to consider a representation and petition from a number of ministers and elders on this matter, or to receive a popularly signed complaint, while the settlement of an unpopular presentee in Kinross in 1732 must be regarded as a vital factor in the course soon to be taken by Ralph Erskine. After the rising of the Assembly of 1732, Ebenezer Erskine began his crusade against the Act and against the other defections of the Church. A man of profound evangelical piety, high principle, and prophetic candour in reproof, he represented many of the best characteristics, as also some of the less attractive, of the old Covenanting tradition. In October 1732, he came into conflict with the, on the whole, evangelically minded Synod of Perth and Stirling, who rebuked him for unseemly expressions used by him in preaching the Synod sermon. The General Assembly of 1733 confirmed the Synod’s admonition, and declined to hear Erskine’s written protest, which was countersigned by William Wilson, Alexander Moncrieff, and James Fisher. By an unfortunate accident, the paper, which was phrased in the forthright language of impenitent defiance, having fallen from the table, caught the eye of an irascible member of Assembly, who, judging that it constituted an insult to the dignity of the House, forthwith proceeded to read it. An effort to persuade the protesters to withdraw the document having failed, the Assembly empowered the August Commission even to the point of loosing them from their charges.
The sentence of suspension which was pronounced by the Commission in August having been treated by Erskine and his friends as null and void, and further effort to induce an acknowledgement of penitence having failed, the Commission in November loosed them from their pastoral relation to their congregations, and declared them to be no longer ministers of the Church of Scotland. This act of churchly authority was answered by a protest, in the name of the four brethren, which amounted to a declaration of ecclesiastical independence. In December, 1733, the Associate Presbytery was formally constituted at Gairney Bridge, near Kinross. The Secession had begun. (1)

It was not till 1740 that the Assembly, with great reluctance, took the final step of deposing the seceding ministers, who now numbered eight and included Ralph Erskine. The story of those seven years shows quite clearly that the faults lay by no means with one party. In 1734, the Assembly repealed the Act of 1730 forbidding the records of dissents, and the Act of 1732 on the planting of vacant churches. They empowered the Synod of Perth and Stirling to restore the four brethren to their former ministerial status. After the meeting of Synod, the Presbytery of Stirling appointed Boenezer Erskine their moderator. In 1736, the Assembly displayed its evangelical concern by passing an 'Act concerning Preaching' as likewise an 'Act against Intrusion of Ministers into vacant Congregations, and Recommendation to Presbyteries concerning Settlements'. This latter Act states that "it is, and has been since the Reformation, the principle of this Church - that no minister shall be intruded into any parish contrary

(1) Mathieson, W.: Scotland and the Union, pp. 239-249; Cunningham's Church History of Scotland, pp. 280-299 (Vol. II)
to the will of the congregation."(1) It avoids, however, conceding a definite veto to the communicants or heads of households. It was left to the discretion of Presbyteries to apply the general principle affirmed in the Act. To all these healing overtures, the seceding brethren responded not at all. The 'Testimony' of 1733 and the 'Judicial Testimony' of 1736 are abundantly indicative of the uncompromising attitude which made secession eventually inevitable. Further, they range considerably beyond the articles of original disagreement between the Assembly and the Seceders. In their allusion to the perpetual binding nature of the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, they illustrate the archaic and historical, indeed nationalist strain in the more fervent evangelicalism of the period. The high value which the Seceders placed on the liberty of testimony against defections shows that in spirit they belonged to an earlier epoch. At the same time, their thought represents a considerable advance. The 'Marrow' theology which they had imbibed may have been but a repudiation of Cromwellian evangelicalism, yet it had features which appeared high-strained and novel to such pillars of Calvinistic orthodoxy as Principal Hadow.(2) More particularly, they were the first to lay down, without qualification, the principle that the election of a pastor lay with the communicants, both male and female, of a congregation. While this may seem a small matter, it has to be remembered that the absence of a precise rule had been the cause of considerable Presbyterial variety of judgment, and consequently of popular heartburning.

(2) See p. 287.
The reluctance of the Supreme Court, even in 1740, to dissolve the frail tie which still held the Seceders to the National Church, and the considerable number of dissentients (who numbered 19, including the venerable Colonel John Erskine) to the final act of deposition, indicated that there was a strong body of sympathy within the Church with the general principles for which the Seceders stood. But it is difficult to see what other course the Assembly could have taken. It can scarcely be called "unjust and tyrannical". (1)

The final reach led to the hardening of temper both within the Church and in the ranks of the Secession. Henceforward there was to be an evangelical party within the Church which, though always restless under the law of patronage, and valiantly testifying against the defections of the times, became more concerned with personal religion than with ecclesiastical politics. Like their moderate brethren, they were content to forget the perpetual obligation of national covenanting, and, by the time of Dr Robertson's administration, they had so far receded from the evangelical standpoint before the Secession that "the opponents of Dr Robertson professed to contend for nothing more than what they who now called themselves the moderate party, had before asserted - the necessity of a call from the heritors and elders, as the foundation of the pastoral relation." (2) While the revivals at Camuslang, Kilsyth, and many other places, in the year 1742 gave a new confidence to the evangelical party within the Church, and proved to the joy of multitudes that the ark of the

Lord had not departed from the establishment, they were no less effective in exacerbating the already delicate relations between the churchly and seceding Evangelicals. The pamphlet war between Robe of Kilsyth and James Fisher was not edifying.

Henceforward, the Secession was to be a solid and permanent fact in Scottish religious life. While the ostensible cause of the breach was scarcely weighty enough to justify a separate testimony, and while even a sympathetic commentator could doubt "whether they have successfully vindicated their action on the old principles of the Scottish Church", (1) yet in fact, the Seceders, in their various divisions, sub-divisions, and reunions, have made valuable contributions to the evangelical and social life of Scotland. Staunchly Presbyterian, they conserved for Presbyterianism the loyalty of disgruntled refugees from the National Church. At the same time, with that union of unending conservatism and radical liberalism apparently peculiar to Scotland, they were to show themselves well-disposed to certain innovations in worship and doctrine. Their early tolerance of hymns in public worship, and their whole-hearted adoption of the voluntary position earn for them the distinction, whether for good or ill, of pioneers. Unjustly suspected, on more than one occasion of seditious tendencies, their thoroughly popular institutions did, in fact, provide an admirable democratic training-ground. Scottish radicalism has one of its stongest roots in the Secession movement.

The next large movement of Presbyterian dissent arose likewise

from evangelical restiveness under the law of patronage, though the question of the subordination of inferior to superior church judicatories was the more immediate issue. (1) In 1750, the General Assembly, "upon a narrative (being read) that there occur frequent instances of Presbyteries disregarding the orders of the Supreme Court, appointed a committee to devise ways for remedying this evil." (2)

The 'riding committee', adopted by the Assembly to enforce the law of patronage, without offending the conscientious scruples of evangelical ministers, and thus precipitating dissent, had, among other evils, well-nigh ruined the discipline of the Church.

In 1751, the matter came to a head. In that year, the Assembly learnt that, despite the injunctions of the two previous Assemblies, the Presbytery of Linlithgow still refused to induct an unpopular presentee into the parish of Torphichen. Their defence of their action represents the evangelical argument for disobedience. Their own and other congregations would be adversely affected. They themselves would lose their influence as Gospel ministers. A forced settlement would "put the people into the arms of the separating parties.... some of whom are well-known to teach as wild and pernicious principles of government as they do of religion." The Assembly, who had other means of enforcing their will (the 'riding committee'), should have a regard to tender consciences. (3) This plea, which reveals a strong dislike for the Seceders, so far won the sympathy of the Assembly that a 'riding committee' was again appointed to carry out

(3) Struthers' Relief Church: p. 68.; Morren's Annals: I. pp. 198, 199.
the forced induction, and the sentence of censure on the Presbytery, though considerably lighter than the suspension which some, including William Robertson, the future leader of the Moderate party, had desired drew from 24 of the members, among them Principal Wishart, a formal dissent. It was the last occasion, however, on which the Assembly gave the semblance of condonation to an act of conscientious dis obedience.

The Presbytery of Dunfermline having twice declined to admit Mr Richardson, an unpopular presentee, to the parish of Inverkeithing, the Commission of Assembly, in March 1752, so far refrained from directly challenging their action that they appointed the Synod of Fife, as their committee, to carry out the induction. Reasons of dissent from the Commission's judgment were drawn up by a group of Moderates, the chief of whom were Dr Robertson, Dr Blair, and John Home. The 'Reasons' were answered by the Commission, and both documents were published in the Scots Magazine. They constitute the considered manifestoes of the two parties, moderate or constitutional, and popular or evangelical, who now confronted each other throughout the Church. In the ensuing conflict, the moderate party had the advantage of older leadership and of a more clearly defined objective.

It has been suggested, possibly with some truth, that the growing moderate zeal for the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline derived some of its strength from the desire to propitiate the Scottish landlords who, in 1750, successfully resisted the clerical plea for a general augmentation of stipends. The heritors were able to inform the House of Commons committee that it was a lawbreaking
Church which now sought for favours at their hands. (1)

The moderate manifesto was, of course on a more idealistic plane. Obedience to rules was inherent in the idea of any organised society. 'A kingdom which is divided against itself cannot stand'. In the Presbyterian Church in particular, with its two capital articles of parity of ministers and subordination of judicatories, to which the terms of the ministerial ordination vows bore witness, the further sufferance of lawlessness would lead to anarchy and disintegration.

The thesis of the popular party was logically less neat, but it showed a deeper insight into the practical problem of governing a strongly Protestant church. Adding the analogy of civil government, they maintained that the mild rule of the House of Hanover was more effective than the absolutism of the Stewarts. While subordination to ecclesiastical superiors was a duty, it was limited by the over-riding proviso that obedience must be 'in the Lord'. Respect for the rights of conscience would never be the real cause of the disturbance of public order in the Church. The attempt to tyrannise over conscience is a revelation of weakness rather than of strength. (2) The Assembly of 1752, unanimously accepting Dr Robertson's arguments, condemned the leniency shown by the Commission to the Presbytery of Dunfermline, appointed that Presbytery instantly to meet and admit Mr Richardson to Inverkeithing, and when a quorum of that court, raised to five for the occasion, failed to appear, deposed Thomas Gillespie, minister of Carnock, from the office of the holy ministry. He had been one of the leaders of the Presbyterian opposition. Gillespie, who had received part of his theological education

(1) Struthers: RRelief Church: p. 64. (2) Ibid.: Appendices, pp. 551 - 555.
under Dr Doddridge, and had been ordained by English dissenters, belonged to a less antiquely historical and much more liberal school of evangelicalism than the Erskines. He stamped upon the Relief Church, of which he was the father and founder, his own charitable, non-contentious and warmly evangelical character. The Relief position, especially in relation to national covenanting, the confessional doctrine as to the duty of the civil magistrate towards the Church, and to terms of Christian communion, implied a criticism, rather than a re-emphasis, of the testimony of 1733. The Relief seceders helped to give a more catholic character to Scottish evangelical dissent.

A steady stream of refugees from the National Church continued to swell the ranks of the seceders. They included, of course, malcontents of all kinds, as well as those devout souls who were concerned about the deprivation of their Christian privileges.

The 'Overture on Schism', transmitted to the General Assembly in 1765, and the famous Assembly debate on that overture, which took place in 1766, threw a startling light on the contemporary ecclesiastical situation. It shed a no less vivid light on the complacent attitude of responsible Moderate leaders to the grim fact of a divided church. Schism, so dread a sin in classical Presbyterian thought, had now attained almost to the character of a virtue.

The movers of the overture asserted, and their figures were not seriously challenged, that there were now in Scotland 120 seceding meeting-houses, attended by more than 100,000 people. Patronage, they held, was the main cause of this exodus from the national Church.
The gist of the Moderate argument for no action being taken on the
overture was that the evil complained of (schism) was not an evil
but a beauty and an advantage; variety of religious and moral express-
ion was a desirable thing. Patronage had improved the status of the
clergy. To fight against patronage was to oppose the civil constitu-
tion and to encourage the people in disloyalty. (1)

It is evident that the men who relied on these arguments had
largely lost the vision of the Church as a catholic supernatural
society.

The evangelical counter-argument took both the high line of
doctrine and the practical grounds of expediency. "If truth in opinion
and unity in affection be desirable, the contradictory principle and
all the contention that flows from such a source, must be evil". The result of the present policy of the high-handed enforcement of
patronage, combined with the relaxation of moral discipline was that
whole parishes were scattered, the ministry hated and despised, the
people handed over to a defectively educated dissenting ministry.
'Solitudinem faciunt, et pacem vocant'. (2) They pied, not for popular
election as understood by the Seceders, but for the revival of the
Assembly Act of 1732.

The subsequent division, in which 85 voted for the Popular overture,
and 99 against it, showed that the evangelical party, though not in the
ascendent, was still strong and in good heart. Under the firm,

(1) Morren's Annals, II. p. 329ff.
(2) Ibid. II. p. 336ff.
consistent, and not unkindly leadership of Dr Robertson, whose reign, begun in 1763, continued till 1781, the Moderate party, however, kept a firm grip of the policy of the Church. During the latter half of the 18th century, the dominant principle was churchly authority, rather than evangelical freedom.

II.

It cannot be said that, in the formative period prior to 1750, the Highland Church was unaffected by internal ecclesiastical troubles, or was wholly uninterested in the movements which were agitating the Lowland waters. In spite of Donald Sage's statement to the contrary, (1) Highland ministers and elders were fairly regular in their attendance at meetings of the Assembly and its Commissions. Aeneas Sage, his grandfather, was a member of the Assemblies of 1734, 1740, 1745, and 1750, and we may take him as typical, in this respect, of the Highland ministry as a whole. Highland presbyteries debated the crucial questions that engaged the acrimonious attention of their southern brethren. In 1733, the Presbytery of Mull instructed their Commissioners to the General Assembly to "side the most moderate party with respect to Mr Erskine's affair, as it is our opinion that if he be chargeable with nothing but defending the rights of the Christian people in the choice of their pastor, he ought to be treated with all tenderness and charity..." (2). In 1734, the Presbytery of Tain, in view of the fact "divisions have already

(1) Memorabilia Domestica, p. 19.
come to a great height in this Church","urge their commissioners to do their utmost to heal such divisions","and in particular that they concur in every proper means for healing the breach that hath happened by the conduct of Mr Eugene Erskine and the brethren adhering to him...and for restoring if possible said brethren to the exercise of their ministry in the communion of this Church upon proper concessions on all sides". They also "urgently appeal against patronage and the tendency to supersede the power of all inferior judicatories of this Church in violent settlements contrarie to the judgments of such judicatories".(1)

One or two isolated individuals among the Highland ministry went beyond the stage of passing benevolent resolutions. John Sutherland, the zealously evangelical minister of Golspie, was on the verge of heading a secession in Sutherland.(2) Roderick MacKenzie, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Lairloch, drifted into English dissent, and, having presided at the induction of Thomas Boston (the younger) to the relief congregation of Jedburgh, eventually ministered to the followers of the Secession in Nigg.(3) But responsible Highland opinion was, as a whole, too conscious of the value of the establishment to risk doing injury to it.

The usual method of settling vacant parishes may be illustrated by the following note: "Regarding the vacancy at Farr (1727) Mr Robert Gordon, factor for the Lord Strathnaver, wrote that his lordship

(1) Tain Records; MacNaughton's Church Life in Ross and Sutherland, p. 141.
(2) Dornoch Record.
(3) Struthers' Relief Church, p. 147.
inclined to give the parish to the Rev. Andrew Robertson then in the bounds. The Presbytery agreed to meet at Farr to moderate in a call to the said Mr Robertson because it was considered 'the people had Mr Andrew Robertson in view' "(1) Patron, people, and Presbytery, without a very precise definition of their respective rights, had their say in the final choice.

This happy equilibrium could only be maintained as long as each of the parties was willing to exercise a reasonable forbearance. The parish of Lochbroom having become vacant by the translation of Donald Ross to Fearn in 1742, the Presbytery, in default of timely presentation by the patron, the ward of Cromartie, presented Roderick MacKenzie. (2) But MacKenzie could not be settled, and Cromartie's protege, James Robertson, was inducted to the parish in 1745. (3) Here no harm resulted, for Robertson was undoubtedly the auler man.

The parochial wrangle at Fearn, which terminated in the settlement of Donald Ross in 1742, originated not in any conflict of principle, but in local family feuds. (4) The Commission of Assembly decided in favour of the candidate who had received the votes of the majority of heritors and elders, and of a minority of the heads of households.

The settlement of John MacAulay, son of the minister of Harris, in the parish of South Uist in place of Neil MacLeod, the royal presentee, is a singular instance of clever, if quite unprincipled, evasion of the law. (5)

(2) This was the minister who later presided at Boston's induction to Relief Church, Jedburgh. (3) Memorabilia Domestica, p. 6.
(4) MacNaughton: Church Life in Ross & Sutherland, p. 147f.
(5) Morren's Annals, I, p. 91. The Presbytery evaded the presentee by meeting at different places and times from the normal till the patronage fell into their hands jure devoluto.
The dispute which preceded the settlement of Murdoch MacKenzie of Contin in Dingwall in 1741 illustrates how local politics sometimes disturbed the ecclesiastical waters. The Poulis family exercised a kind of hereditary suzerainty over the Dingwall Town Council, but a majority of the Council, headed by Provost Bayne (of the Tulloch family), were opposed to Sir Robert Munro's return as parliamentary member for the Northern Burghs. Sir Robert, a very gallant soldier and a most diligent member of Kiltearn Kirk-Session, promptly kidnapped the Provost and the members of his faction, and kept them in Tain Jail till the election was over. (1) It was not natural that the leading parishioners of Dingwall should look askance at Gilbert Robertson, whom the laird of Poulis put forward as his nominee for the vacant parish. The Assembly supported the Dingwall claim to have MacKenzie as their minister. (2)

None of these instances of contested settlements left any lasting wound, and it is safe to say that, up to the middle of the century, the law of patronage was exercised by patron and Presbytery was some regard for the needs and wishes of the people.

III.

It were well at this point to refer in brief outline to the effects of the Rebellion of 1745 on church and people.

To a remarkable degree, ministers, catechists, and schoolmasters remained firmly loyal to the Government. Among the ministers, only Thomas Man of Dunkeld and John Grant of Glen Urquhart were accused

(2) Morren's Annals, I, p. 351.
of active sympathy for the Prince. Of the teachers, Alexander
MacDonald, the poet, was the most notable, if not the only recruit to
the rebel cause. Most ministers remained in their parishes throughout
the troubles, and exercised a restraining influence over their
flocks. (1) John Baillie of Nigg, with some of his brethren, repaired to
Culloden House to give their support and counsel to the Lord Presid-
ent. (2) Robertson of Lochroom followed his Jacobite flock even to
the field of battle, and carried his intercessions, with some success,
to the seat of government in London. (3) It is true that several,
including John Porteous of Kilmuir, Master and James Gilchrist of
Thurso, judged it wiser to seek safer quarters than their manses, but
the immunity from harm of the many who stayed by their posts showed
that their fears were groundless.

Notwithstanding the ministerial loyalty to the Government, only
the two MacAulays, the father, minister of Harris, the son, John, minister
of South Uist, gave any assistance in informing against the Prince or
his adherents. (4) Once the rising had been quelled, the dominant
emotion amongst all classes and creeds was pity for the poor victims
of an ill-fated cause. "My heavenly King's Son," said a Highland
minister to the Duke of Cumberland, "commands me to feed the hungry,
to clothe the naked, to give meat and drink to my very enemies... My
earthly King's son commands me to drive the houseless wanderer from
my door, to shut my bowels of compassion against the cries of the

(1) Scots Magazine, 1747. (2) MacGill's Old Rossshire,
(4) Lyon in Mourning, Vol. I, p. 168, etc.
needy, and to withhold from my fellow-mortals in distress the relief which it is in my power to afford. Pray which of these commands am I to obey?" (1) This clerical member of Clan Òregor was representative of the attitude of his brethren rather than exceptional. They ran risks and incurred debts in order to give help to the homeless refugees. (2) The practical sympathy given by loyal Presbyterians, clergy and laity, to the distressed rebels and their families was a healing factor of great importance in the social life of the Highlands. The '45 left no bitter memories as between Highlander and Highlander. Jacobitism, indeed, as a romantic sentiment, became the common heritage of the people, without distinction of creed or clan. None of the Gaelic poets speaks other than fondly of the Prince.

It is unnecessary here to narrate the series of horrors which followed the last stand of the Highland army at Culloden. The 'Lyon in Mourning', a repository of carefully sifted evidence, tells the tale. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that Cumberland's calculated and ruthless terrorism, applied without distinction of age, sex, creed, or actual guilt, was meant to break the spirit of the people once and for all. The campaign of terror was less successful than might have been expected. "The spirit of the clans was not quenched by one defeat, or by fire and hunger. The hills were full of knots of men holding together in arms..." (3) Leadership, however, was lacking, and the rising was never resumed.

(2) Scots Magazine, June 1746. Montfûd, Royal Bounty Missionary in Kilmallie writes: "My family is now much increased by the wives and infants of those in the rebellion in my parish crowding for a mouthful of bread to keep them from starving".
The political action taken by the Government, was, however, of lasting significance for the history of the Highlands. The clans were disarmed. Their distinctive dress was proscribed. The hereditary jurisdiction of the chiefs, whether possessed of right or by consuetude, was abolished. Large tracts of country, the estates of the rebel chiefs, were taken over and administered directly by the Crown. The revenues were, ostensibly and to a large extent really, destined for the economic and social development, not merely of the forfeited lands, but of the Highlands as a whole. (1)

There were many hopeful elements in the new situation. The direct and often benevolent interest taken by the Crown in the welfare of the people, the assurance of national unity, the theoretical equality of all in the eyes of the law, the dawning recognition that there existed in the Highlands a wealth of human material which might, in time, be used for, and not against, the interests of empire, the growing realisation that there were economic and social problems that could not be solved by a policy of repression, all augured well for the future. But there were factors on the debit side which were more effective than Cumoerland's terrorism in breaking up the ancient social fabric of the Highlands. The Highland clan had been a military rather than an economic unit. No doubt the Duke of Argyll was right in emphasising that the chief was the possessor of the clan lands, and not merely a trustee on behalf of those who bore his name and fought his battles. (2)

(1) Forfeited Estates Papers, S.H.S.
(2) Argyll, D. of: Scotland as it was and is. Edin. 1887. 2nd ed. p. 246.
by no means always the case, the tenant, if he did not possess it already, assumed the clan name. Kinship, whether real or fictitious, along with the duty, or privilege of military service, transformed the economic tie. There were spiritual elements of much value in the bonds that made the clan an entity. Despite many instances of tyranny and oppression, chiefly paternalism was not wholly a romantic illusion. But the new order, in depriving the chief of privilege, removed from him also, in effect, his ancient responsibilities towards his people. The chief became the landlord, the mere owner of the soil. In a land and amongst a people where tradition counts for much, the change was not, of course, immediately obvious. But when self-interest no longer reinforced the hereditary 'kindness', the new landlord, ex-chief, naturally began to ask questions. Why should an estate, already crippled by debt, continue to be burdened by a mass of tenantry whose methods of agriculture laughed modern improvements to scorn? The new era of peace brought unwonted needs to men who, many of them, chose to vie with English wealth and fashion in London and Bath. These needs could only be satisfied by asking the old tenants to pay more rents, or by finding new tenants who could do so. Already, in 1750, gentlemen of the name of MacKenzie "have screwed their Rents to an extravagant Height (which they vitiously call improving their estates) without putting the Tenant upon a proper way of improving the ground to enable them to pay that rent, which makes the Common People little better than Slaves and Beggars". (1)

(1) Highlands of Scotland in 1750, ed. A. Lang, p. 39.
There was much to be said for changes in the Highland system of land tenure and cultivation, much to be said for 'improvements', even in the 18th century meaning of that term; much also for the removal of that incompetent and oppressive parasite on the Highland soil, the gentleman-tacksman. But it is obvious to us now that if the period of transition from mediaeval to modern conditions was to be passed without causing cruel injury to the mass of the people, an authoritative restraint would have to be placed on the landlord's legal right to the unfettered disposal of his land. This had been previously provided by the military necessities of the chief, but the Government put nothing in its place. The consequence was that the Highland small tenant, now a free and equal citizen in the eye of the law, was economically, and therefore really, far more helpless than he had been under the old order. He was almost always a tenant-at-will, and at the landlord's, or even more often, the tacksman's private caprice, his new freedom might merely mean freedom to starve. The reign of law, while it brought many blessings, brought economic insecurity to the bulk of the Highland peasantry. The pages of Pennant, Knox, Johnson, and Boswell, give us some idea of the heartbreaking misery which was directly caused by that insecurity. The result was an ever-widening gulf between the landlord and the innhabitants of the soil. As early as 1767, Dugald Buchanan voices the small tenant's hatred of the territorial oppressor and his underlings. (1) At the end of the century, Hall, among other observers, notes that "chieftains in the Highlands are now for the most part, instead of being almost

(1) An Claghean, lines 140 - 162; Maclean's ed. of Songs and Poems, p. 45.
almost adored, are now, for the most part, ... in general despised." (1)
The process of alienation was gradual, and never, indeed, approached
the bitterness of the land war in Ireland. The Highland landlords,
a good number of whom loved and cared for their people, had their
own embarrassments. Some made great financial sacrifices for the sake
of their tenants; and this was definitely a factor in lessening the
odium which the conduct of rack-renters and callous 'improvers' had
created. We shall discuss the problem more fully when we consider the
evangelical consequences, both within and without Scotland, of the
Highland Diaspora.

IV.

One of the most remarkable features of Highland church life during
the second half of the 18th century, and indeed up to 1843, is the
almost complete absence of Presbyterian dissent. There is not wanting
evidence of great dissatisfaction with the new Moderate policy of
enforcing the law of patronage regardless of consequences; open
revoit was, however, rare. The reasons for this may be briefly summar­
isèd. The presence of Roman Catholic and Episcopal minorities acted
as a deterrent to divisive tendencies in the Presbyterian ranks. The
idea of the National Church as the spiritual 'Mother', whom it was
filial impiety to desert, gained a powerful hold on the popular mind,
not least among the zealous evangelicals. Further, the Presbyterian
Secessions were congregational in their financial polity. Unless
dissent were subsidised by the richer resources of the Lowlands, as
in 1843, it had little chance of occupying any part of the Highlands.

The historians of the Secession and Relief Churches attribute the failure of their respective causes to make an effective impact on the Highland conscience to their almost complete lack of Gaelic-speaking preachers. (1) Almost certainly, this is not the true explanation. The evangelical Highlands were aware of the Secession and Relief principles, and the indications are that they disliked them. (2) Apart from the few cases where unpopular settlements or 'unsound' teaching in the pulpits of the establishment led to the creation of definite dissenting congregations, the typical Highland expression of evangelical dissatisfaction was shown in the increasing power and popularity of the lay religious leaders, some of whom were definitely anti-clerical, though professedly, at least, not hostile to the Church, and in the growing tendency of 'serious concerned' Christians to attend the ministrations of the preacher, whether or not he were their parish minister, who satisfied most fully their hunger for the Gospel. The latter phenomenon, essentially as destructive of the idea of the parish church as the more open hostility of dissent, was made possible on a fairly large scale owing to the Highland disregard of distances. Resentment of the exercise of the law of patronage did, however, in certain instances lead to open revolt on the part of the parishioners, and the creation of evangelical dissent. As these cases are symptomatic of a widespread though largely latent popular feeling, it is important to notice them here.

In 1752, John Baifour, the famous minister of Nigg, died. As preacher, pastor, evangelist, and popular leader, he had shown qualities which came little short of greatness. The people of the Northern Highlands

(1) Struthers, G.: Relief Church, p. 400; MacKerrow, J.: Secession Church, p. 640. (2) See p. 165
had, by general consent, canonised him as 'Malignstir Baifour Mor'. *(1)*

His parish had been the heart and centre of the Master Ross revivals which synchronised with the Cambuslang movement.

Following the practice which, in spite of the law of patronage, had hitherto been normal, more especially in the north, the elders and resident heritors, with the approval of the whole body of the people, nominated John Bethune, a probationer of considerable promise, and took steps to secure his election. Their expectations were rudely broken by the intimation that a certain Lewis Grant had received a presentation from the Crown; almost immediately Lewis Grant's name was withdrawn, and Patrick Grant, minister of Duthil, a man equally unknown to the parishioners, was put in his place. *(2)*

On 8th July, 1752, Euan Baillie of Abriachan appeared before the Presbytery of Tain as procurator for Mr Grant, and along with the presentation, submitted letters of concurrence from two non-resident heritors, the Master of Ross and Hugh Rose of Geddes. In spite of Baillie's protest, the Presbytery granted the crave of James Rose of Culliss, resident heritor, and Nicholas Vass, ruling elder, Nigg, to delay the settlement of the parish in order to give them and others having an interest a day to be heard on the presentation now lodged. Grant was meantime given the opportunity, of which he did not avail himself, to preach in Nigg so that the people might judge of his quality.

On 7th February 1753, Baillie, representing Grant, delivered to the Presbytery a remonstrance against the judgment and procedure of the

*(1)* See pp. 243 ff. *(2)* This account of the Nigg dispute is compiled from Tain Presbytery Records as given in MacNaughton's Church Life in Ross and Sutherland, pp. 205 - 239; also Morren's Annals, Vol. II, pp. 75 - 77, 175; see also Religious Life in Ross, pp. 165 - 168 and Cunningham's Church History, Vol. II, p. 357.
of the Presbytery. This was countered by a protest given in by Thomas Gair of Dain "for himself and in the name of his adherents viz. the heritors, elders, and heads of families of Nigg" against the person thus "forcing himself upon them". The Presbytery, confronted with a problem which was to demonstrate their deficiency in wisdom, decision and courage, timidly temporised by agreeing to limit the moderation to the Crown presentee. Baillie protested on the ground that the Presbytery were not entitled to take into consideration the likes or dislikes of the parishioners; Gair, on the other hand, protested against the limited moderation as a grievance, since the people had already made their choice. It is interesting to note some of the arguments advanced on behalf of dissident parishioners. "All the concurreurs (the non-resident heritors who had signed the call to Grant) held places of the Government". "The woeful divisions in other parts of the Church are unknown among us". "A limited moderation is an infringement of Christian liberty". When the resident heritors, elders, communicants, and heads of families declared with one voice their dissent from the settlement, the Presbytery agreed, considering the present circumstances of the parish in respect that no single heritor, elder or parishioner residing in Nigg approved the presentation, and that all the "concurreurs" were non-resident, not to proceed with the induction. The presentee's procurator thereupon appealed to the Synod, who referred the case to the General Assembly of 1753. The Supreme Court instructed the Presbytery of Tain to take the proper steps for prosecuting the presentee's transportation from
Duthil to Nigg. The watchful Bailie asked the Presbytery to temper the Assembly's mandate. The Presbytery, now painfully aware of the fate of Thomas Gillespie, and sharply confronted by the alternatives of disobedience with the probable consequence of deposition, and submission followed by the almost certain loss of influence and respect among their people, decided again to temporise by arranging a conference, doomed to utter failure, between the parishioners of Nigg and themselves. At this conference (29th August 1753), the people of Nigg, in place of showing a disposition to a more complaisant attitude, brought forward a charge affecting the moral character of the presentee in which "they declared judicially that the forsaid Mr Pat. Grant (during his attendance at the Assembly of 1753) had entered into the pulpit of the High Church, Edinburgh ... intoxicated with liquor or drunk, that he had uttered many inconsequent things before the congregation then and there, that omitted or neglected to baptize some one or more children offered to receive that seal of the Covenant....". The General Assembly of 1754 confirmed a previous decision of the Presbytery of Edinburg that the libel should be tried by the Presbytery of Abernethy, to which the accused belonged. That court having found the charges too vague, the prosecutors appealed to the General Assembly, who, in 1755, agreed to take individual evidence. The witnesses having unanimously declared that Grant "drank very little at dinner", and Principal Cumming, himself a native of Strathspey, having suggested that the "inconerences" exhibited during the service in St Giles were due to Gaelic gutturalism rather
than to an excess of wine, Grant was exculpated, and the Tain Presbytery were ordered to admit him to Nigg before 1st September, 1755.

In July, the Presbytery made another futile attempt to reconcile the people of Nigg to their fate, but they were met with "a resolute determination on their (the people's) part not to witness Grant's admission, nor ever afterwards to hear him, nor (and this was the unkindest cut of all) any that should join in his admission... It was wormwood and gall to them to hear of that proposal any further and that the elders said they would rather choose sufferings and death rather than comply". On receipt of this uncompromising answer, the Presbytery decided not to execute the Assembly's sentence "in present circumstances". Two of the members, George Balfour of Taruet, a son of the late minister of Nigg, and Patrick Grant of Logie Easter, were in favour of proceeding with the settlement.

The Commission of Assembly (19th November 1755) earnestly pled with the Presbytery to remember the consequences of continued contumacy, summoned the members to appear before the forthcoming Assembly to be dealt with in respect of their past disobedience, and ordered the induction of Grant to take place before 1st February 1756.

The Presbytery met on 20th January. There were no elders present. Likewise John Sutherland, Donald Ross, John Porteous, and Gilbert Robertson, who were the more pronounced of the evangelicals among the ministers, absent themselves. This was scarcely a commendable method of meeting an admittedly difficult situation. Joseph Munro, whose own unwelcomed settlement in the parish of Ledderton was followed by a
fairly general exodus of his flock to seek more attractive pastures in neighbouring parishes, many of them accepting the perhaps too readily proffered pastoral ministrations of John Sutherland, now of Tain, was moderator of Presbytery on this occasion. With a profession of entire readiness to obey the orders of the Supreme Court, he coupled a thrust at the predatory Sutherland "who had taken upon himself to exercise the office of universal bishop in the wounds".

In view of the absence of the parishioners, elders, and senior members of Presbytery, the moderator proposed delay till their proceedings should be countenanced by the presence of the senior members, and especially of John Sutherland. It was at this meeting that Donald (Roy) Ross, elder in Nigg, appeared as the sole representative of the congregation solemnly to protest "that the blood of the people of Nigg would be required at their hands if they should settle a man (Grant) to the walls of the kirk". (1) One by one the members slipped away, till the meeting dissolved.

Donald Ross, Gilbert Robertson, John Sutherland, Joseph Munro, and John Betnune appeared before the Assembly of 1756 and gave in an exculpatory representation. The Presbytery were reproofed, and the reproof ordered to be entered in the Presbytery books. They were ordered to induct Grant before the first of August (1756). John Sutherland was appointed to preside at the induction, and all five representers were ordered to be present. The Commission were empowered to depose any member who should disown. The Presbytery capitulated. They met at Nigg on 27th July 1756. John Sutherland

(1) A sketch of the life of Donald Roy will be found in Hugh Miller's 'Scenes and Legends', pp. 145 - 152. (9th ed. Edin. 1871)
presided and preached. Grant was duly inducted. With the exception of two or three heritors and their families, the people forsook the parish church en masse, and never entered it again during Grant’s ministry. Many of them crossed the sands to the neighbouring church of Kilmuir Easter, where John Porteous, the famous evangelical preacher, was minister. The remainder, probably the bulk of the congregation, kept together and maintained a separate witness. James Fraser of Alness, the well-known theologian, himself, as proprietor of Pitcaizean, a heritor of Nigg, took an interest in their welfare, and helped them to procure the services of a dissenting preacher on the condition that, when an acceptable parish minister was procured, they would return to the Establishment. (1) In 1759, Roderick MacKenzie, who had assisted at the induction of Thomas Boston to the new Relief charge in Jedburgh, began a ministry among the Nigg seceders, which, though he had no regular pastoral tie with the congregation, lasted for a period, according to one account, of a year, according to another, of three years. (2) MacKenzie left owing to pecuniary difficulties.

When, in 1765, Patrick Buchanan, an Antiburgher probationer, and a cousin of the Rannoch bard, was inducted to Nigg, the people finally severed their connection with the Church of Scotland. Fraser, chagrined at the failure of his attempt at eventual reconciliation, and suspecting that the Antiburghers had taken undue advantage of the situation, prophesied that the Secession would never to any extent make progress in Rossshire. (3) It appears, however, that in this district even before the Nigg dispute, there had for some time been

some sympathy for Seceding principles. "So early as 12th April 1738 there is mention in the minutes of the Associate Presbytery of a Praying Society in the County of Ross being received under their inspection." (1) Occasional visits, such as that of Moncrieff and Gib in 1740, served to strengthen the slight tie with the dissenting Lowlands. In view of this, the eventual affiliation of the Nigg seceders with the Antioch men was natural. Despite difficulties, the congregation maintained its strength throughout the remainder of the century. In 1794, the Secession congregation was at least three times as strong as the adherents of the parish church. (2) Thus began the long story of Highland Presbyterian dissent.

Two points of importance for the history of our period may be noted here. The first is the emergence, in the person of Patrick Grant, of a class of ministers who were willing to accept the parochial emoluments even at the cost of disrupting an entire congregation. The terms "stipend-lifter" and "hireling", later too freely used by Evangelical polemicists, owed their partial justification to the fact that men of the temper and outlook of Grant, some of them far less morally respectable, occupied a considerable number of pulpits throughout the Highlands. (3) They were responsible for widening the growing gulf between the two parties in the Church. The good Moderate shared part at least of the odium which was earned by the "stipend-lifter". The second point is the emergence, dating from the beginning of the unpopular settlements, and steady increase of

(1) Small's Congregations of the U.P. Church, p. 630
(2) Ibid., p. 633; O.S.A., Nigg.
(3) Kennedy's Apostle of the North, p. 13. etc etc.
a class of godly laity, self-exiled from their parish church, but refusing to become dissenters, who asked for the sacraments and rites of the Church from the minister of their choice. There had been no sin more heinous in prelatic eyes than the celebration of the sacraments by the recusant field preachers. The post-Revolution Evangelicals had taken what measures they could to suppress the clandestine celebration of baptism, Holy Communion, and the rite of marriage by the ousted Episcopalians. During the second half of the 19th century, the Moderates, where they could, dealt sternly with Evangelical ministers who infringed the law of the Church by giving the sacraments to the exiled godly. Fraser of Alness baptised the children of the Nigg people who refused to countenance Grant. When Grant threatened to have him deposed, Fraser threatened to retire to his estate in Nigg and build a chapel there. (1) Doubtless there were in the Evangelical ranks men like Sutherland of Golspie, who might be classified as "poachers", but there were others who broke the law of the Church with great reluctance, being moved by real compassion for the spiritually destitute. Some of the laity, while desirous "of this privilege (receiving the sacrament) yet finding that their receiving this ordinance in parishes where they seceded, might involve these ministers in trouble by their Moderate brethren...denied themselves". (2) The irritation caused by the Moderate effort to maintain this part of ecclesiastical discipline was a potent factor in widening the gulf between the two parties in the Church.

The Campueiltown case, which resulted in a secession to the

(1) Religious Life in Ross, p.168.
(2) Findlater, W.: Memoir of Rev R. Findlater, p. 22 (Glasgow, 1840)
Relief Church, some ten years after the termination of the Nigg dispute, has certain instructive features. The Campbelloftown Lowland congregation represented a virile Covenanting tradition. During the desolations of the wars of the Covenant, Kintyre, under the protection of the House of Campbelloft, "became a kind of Goshen where the persecuted Covenanters... were often constrained to settle". (1) In Campbelloftown, these Lowland immigrants built their own church, and paid their minister's stipend. Edward Keith, their minister at the Restoration, was deprived in 1662, but was granted an indulgence in 1672. (2) James Boes, inducted to the charge in 1694, was a devoted pastor and an ardent evangelist, who, in declining a call to Newattle in 1704, declared that "my people are so knitt and unite to me that they resolve to stand by me to the utmost". (3) It is evident that there had been a strong anti-patronage, and even voluntary sentiment in the congregation, but during Boes' ministry, an arrangement was come to whereby the stipend was paid out of Bishops' tiends. On the death of Boes in 1746, the Duke of Argyll, assuming the right of presentation in view of the payment of tiends to the stipend, much to the chagrin of the people, gave the cure to John MacAlpine, a Highlander. There were some uneasy moments, notably during the dispute about the number of sacramental preparatory services, (4) between the Highland minister and the Lowland congregation, and during one of these estrangements, MacAlpine, with a view to curbing the aggressiveness of his elders, managed to collegiate the Highland and Lowland sessions. MacAlpine, however, was an Evangelical; the fact that he took

the Popular side in opposing the settlement in Kilmory, Arran, of James Stewart, the suspended minister of Kingarth, (1) and also in the Synodical war over the curtailment of the sacramental services, (2) quite reconciled him to the affections of his congregation, and he died in 1762 "sincerely lamented". (3)

Subsequent developments appear to have been influenced as much by the mutual antipathy of the Highlanders and the Lowlanders as by dislike of patronage. The Lowland congregation now petitioned the Duke of Argyle not to intrude a minister on them, but not only was the petition ignored, but, with perhaps deliberate tactlessness, the Duke's choice rested on George Robertson, master of the Grammar School, a Highlander, and son-in-law to Stewart, the minister of the Campbeltown Highland charge. This was too much. The Lowlanders left their church in a body. (4) With characteristic Lowland resolution and resourcefulness, they collected over £1400 for building a new meeting-house, chartered a vessel to take timber from Norway, successfully circumvented the opposition of the Duke's chamberlain, and had their building, seated for 1600 worshippers, completed in 18 months. Having turned a deaf ear to the suggestion of some of the local clergy that they should seek the status of a chapel of ease within the Establishment, and also resisted the rather eager wooing of the Antiburghers, they sought admission and were received into the Relief Church on 17th March 1767. (5) James Pinkerton was the first minister. Under his long and successful

(1) Morren's Annals, II. p. 160; Cameron's Church in Arran, p. 107.
(5) Small, p. 186 (Vol. II)
ministry (died 1804) the Relief cause in Campbeltown did not suffer. In 1794, there were 2000 souls attached to the congregation (1).

Pinkerton, though he had no Gaelic, took an interest in extending evangelistic work to the Gaelic Highlands. During the Kilourandon revival in 1782, he accompanied Neil Douglas at the beginning of his mission in that parish. The results were not too propitious (2).

Thus, as the result of the harsh, or perhaps tactless functioning of the law of patronage, both branches of the Secession had gained a foothold within the Highland sounds.

V.

One signal proof of the thoroughness with which the work of evangelisation had been accomplished in the first half of the century is the fact that from 1750 the godly laity of the Highlands, rather than the clergy, are the tenacious defenders of what they conceive to be the true evangelical tradition. In this role, the laity, with or without clerical championship, showed that they could act as an organised body under their own lay leaders, and conduct what amounted to an anti-clerical campaign. In the two instances that we shall give, we find that, while the Evangelical clergy are more or less divided, the Moderate clergy are to be found on one side, that is, in opposition to the demands of the Evangelical laity.

The storm-centres in this novel phase of the developing Moderate-Evangelical tension were districts which had imbibed the militant Evangelicalism of the "Protestor" tradition. The ostensible grounds of conflict were Synodical attempts, both in Argyll and in Caithness.

and Sutherland, to limit the customary number of services during the season of Holy Communion. During the 17th century, there had been a steady growth, though varying from district to district, of the number of weekday preparatory services, and by the end of the century the practice of holding the Thanksgiving Service on the Monday after the Sacrament, presumed to have originated during the revival at the Kirk of Shotts in 1630, became fairly general. (1) With the beginning of the 18th century, the settled practice throughout the country was that there should be a Fast Day on Thursday, preparatory services on Saturday, and thanksgiving services on Monday. In those parts of the Highlands where the influence of the 'Men' was strong, the Fellowship Meetings on the Friday became increasingly important, and, contrary to their original intention, they became vast public assemblies, not private gatherings of 'anxious enquirers'. (2) The situation in the Highlands was further complicated by the fact that many ministers, either in response to a real need or in obedience to the General Assembly's (and the Government's) policy of introducing English into the north, duplicated each Gaelic service. (3) This practice not only increased ministerial toil and necessitated a larger number of assistants, but caused considerable annoyance among the purely Gaelic-speaking Highlanders. (4) Further, the Communiions were public, that is, they were open to, and were largely attended by, the people of other parishes in the Presbytery. The vast influx of guests, who stayed from Wednesday evening till after the Monday services, was an undoubted

(1) MacMillan, W.; Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, pp. 222f.
(2) See p. 348 (3) See p. 324; Morren's Annals, II., p. 256f.
(4) See p.
strain, not perhaps on the hospitable intentions, but certainly on the economic resources of the parish in which the Sacrament was held. (1) The Communion was necessarily observed during the slack season from the end of the Spring work till the beginning of the harvest. During this period, ministers and people were often absent from their own churches. (2) The system had its striking social and spiritual advantages, and these were sufficient to endear it to the people. It helped to destroy the lingering elements of district and clan antipathies by uniting people together under conditions eminently conducive to friendliness. It vastly extended the range of influence of earnest Evangelical preachers, and not least, it provided opportunities of spiritual conference to the lay religious leaders who, increasingly conscious of their responsibility and power, were largely instrumental in creating a widely diffused Evangelical standard of public opinion. (3)

The notable disadvantage of the 'public' Communion was that it was a real obstacle in the way of more frequent celebration. It has been shown that one of the charges made by the Presbyterians against the Restoration Episcopalians was that there was frequent neglect of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. (4) But we come across remarkable cases of neglect even towards the end of the 18th century. (5) Apart, however, from cases of culpable negligence, we find that, in 1772, the Presbytery of Tongue reported to the Synod that the Sacrament "was administered in the parish of Farr this season, and that the scarcity

of bread in that country prevented its being administered in the other parishes". (1) In 1784, "the extraordinary scarcity of the times" was pled as an excuse for not administering the Lord's Supper in Durness or Eddrachillis. (2) At this period, the general custom, departed from only in cases of necessity, was that there should be Communion once a year in each parish. But before 1756, "the method of administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in this country (Sutherland) was by having that ordinance once a year only in one parish to which all the country convened". (3) The southern Highlands were more in alignment with the practice of the Low Country.

More than one cause was active in the general movement throughout Scotland to have more frequent communions. A section of Evangelical opinion, represented by John Willison's 'Sacramental Directory', reminded the Church that it was the Apostolic custom to remember the Lord's death in His Supper each Lord's Day. A moderate Evangelical like Robert Wodrow is far from enthusiastic about the 'public' Communion. (4) He speaks feelingly about the drain on his own strength and "the many irregularities in the celebration of that holy ordinance". The Moderates, whose "barren shine of moral pow'rs and reason" won them little popularity at the 'public' Communion, were not disposed to minimise the 'inconveniences' attending the great popular assemblies. For this reason, and because of their general distaste for 'enthusiasm', they heartily seconded the movement for more frequent Communion, in the hope that it would it

kill the 'Holy Fairs' and lead to the curtailment of the number of services. The General Assembly, in Acts passed in the years 1712, 1724, and 1751, enjoined more frequent celebration and required Presbyteries to take measures against parishes where Communion was not held at least once a year. (1) It was the method adopted in enforcing these acts, rather than their substance, which caused an insurrection of popular Evangelical feeling both in Argyll and in the Northern Highlands.

In 1754, the Synod of Argyle enacted that "the use of sermons on Saturday before and Monday after the dispensing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper be discontinued in all time coming." (2) In 1755 the Synod recommended to Presbyteries within their bounds "to be at due pains to have the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper celebrated once a year in their bounds... and that they proceed against those who, after admonition, continue refractory." (3) The Synod, whose object was the 'private' Communion, restricted to the parishioners of the parish in which the ordinance was observed, adduced as reasons for the change "the discontinuity of their parishes", "the number of islands in their Synod", "the broad and dangerous ferries", "rough and high moors", "rapid waters", numerous "arms of the sea", and "waste and impossible mountains". Further, the number and length of the services at the public Communions, which lasted "from 9 a.m. till 8 or 9 p.m.", told on the health of the assisting ministers, some of whom had come "to an untimely death owing to their arduous labours". (4)

In 1757, the elders and heads of families, communicants in the Lowland congregation of Campbeltown and in the parish of Southend, petitioned the General Assembly and complained that the two Synodical Acts restricting the number of sacramental preparatory services had given great offence to many serious and well-disposed Christian people. The Assembly, after lengthy reasoning, unanimously approved the action of the Synod in discontinuing the Saturday and Monday services, but refused to countenance the application of discipline to congregations who should disobey. (1) In 1762, John MacAlpine of Campbeltown and David Campbell of Southend, constrained by disaffection in their own congregations, petitioned the Assembly against the Synod's decrees, for the yeasc of which, in the interests of congregational harmony, they were brought before the Synod in 1761. In their representation to the Assembly, they averred that, by complying with the offending Acts "the yeasc between their people and them became every day wider and wider, till at length their ministry became in a great measure useless". In churches which were formerly too small for the people, they found that only 1/7 out of 700 members would communicate, and that no elders would officiate. The Assembly granted the crave of the petition and allowed sermon on Saturday and Monday "as they shall see it is for the interest of religion and edification". (2) While concord was for the time being restored by this concession, this dispute prepared the way for the secession which led to the formation of the Campbeltown Relief congregation in 1767. (3)

The Campbeltown secession, which may, in one sense, be regarded as the sequel to the dispute over the sacramental services, distinctly weakened the evangelical cause within the Church in South Argyll. Argyll became a Highland stronghold of Moderatism, but it is worthy of notice that the evangelical stream, tenuous perhaps, continued unbroken. Observers note that, towards the end of the century, it was the custom of many of the lay evangelicals of South Argyll to travel to those strong Lowland outposts of Highland Evangelicalism, the Gaelic chapels of Greenock and Glasgow, to attend the Communions.

(1) The corresponding, and more or less synchronous, movement in the Northern Highlands has been made the subject of a detailed and careful study by the Rev. D. Beaton. (2) As he has made use of all the available material, it will be sufficient to summarise his account.

The northern controversy occupied the courts of the Church from 1737 to 1756. On 1st July, 1737, the Synod of Caithness and Sutherland passed an Act prohibiting the public Fellowship Meetings which were held on the Friday before the Sacrament. At these meetings, which became exceedingly popular, and which assumed the form of a spiritual clinic, it was the custom that godly laymen, the 'Men', should discuss and resolve cases of conscience. (3) The fact that several of the most distinguished of the Evangelical ministers, such as John MacKay, Lairg, Alexander Pope, Reay, and John Sutherland, Halkirk, approved of the suppression, is evidence that all was not well with the Fellowship Meetings. (4) The same Act of Synod ordained

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that the Sacrament should be administered in two parishes of the same Presbytery on the same Sunday. The intention was to limit the size of the assembly, and at the same time to circumscribe the sphere of influence of the 'Men'. On 27th June 1739, the Synod agreed to the request of the Presbytery of Tongue that the Fast Day be changed to some day of the week other than Thursday, as the kirk-sessions shall see proper, so that people from neighbouring parishes should have no excuse for coming sooner than Saturday morning. The reason advanced for the proposed change was the economic hardship, especially in times of scarcity, borne by the people who had to extend hospitality to the strangers. Whether or not that was the real object of this measure, it was a blow to the private fellowship meetings, which had replaced the public 'question' days.

In 1749, the Presbytery of Tongue, returning to the topic of fellowship meetings passed the following interesting resolution. "There are in the several parishes some who take upon themselves to read the Scriptures and other books in the Irish language to the people and to solve doubts and cases of conscience at these meetings and that some of them are without the authority and allowance of the minister of the parish and that it is feared that such as do officiate are not well-qualified for it, and the Presbytery remembering a melancholy scene that happened several years ago at Haimadary did and hereby do prohibit any to convene the people to reading or conferences except the advice and consent of the parish minister be obtained". (1)

It is evident from this minute that the strange event, still

(1) OJM, p. 167. (Tongue Pres. Records)
remembered as 'Tuiteam Halmadaraig', or the 'Fall of Halmadary', took place round about 1740, and not towards the end of the 17th century, as suggested by Dr George Henderson (1) and Rev N. MacKay. (2) The latter writer thought that the frustrated attempt to offer a human sacrifice at a fellowship meeting in Halmadary, Stratnaver was due to a survival or recrudescence of Norse superstition. While there are certain features in the story which seem to support this contention, notably the reported presence of a large raven in the room where the meeting was held, it is more likely to have been an example of excited obsession with the Old Testament story of the intended sacrifice of Isaac by his father, Abraham. While this episode naturally reinforced the Presbytery's desire to control all fellowship meetings, it should be remembered that it took place in the parish, and under the ministry of Mr Skeidocn, whose worldliness and neglect of ministerial duties occupied for many years the anxious attention of both Presbytery and Synod. (3)

On 13th March 1751, the Presbytery of Tongue changed the Fast Day to Friday, thus claiming the day which had been sacred to the 'Men' and the fellowship meetings. In 1750, the Synod dismissed a complaint from two Dornoch elders regarding the absence at the Lairg Sacrament of the customary Thursday services. The elders, significantly enough, predicted "a coolness betwixt several congregations and their ministers the consequences of which may in time prove dangerous". Three of the ministers, the most notable of whom was John Sutherland, Golspie, took the popular side and appealed against the Synod's

(1) Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland, Glasgow, 1910: p. 70.
(3) O.L.M., Notes on Tongue Pres. Records, passim (Vol. 7)
decision. The Synod are reminded that "the people are in hazard by this (deprivation) to fall in with the wild and extravagant notions of the Secession". The Synod, in their answers to the appellants' 'Reasons', declared that the change was made in the interests of religion and the conveniency of all concerned in the parishes. The incomers keep the people of the parish idle on Friday; the incoming multitude keep burdensome to the parishioners. Many come 24 or 30 miles; they therefore cannot be fewer than seven or eight days absent from their families and service. This inconvenience will be somewhat remedied by keeping the Fast on Friday.

In 1751, the General Assembly forbad the intimation of censure on those who petitioned for the Thursday Fast and enjoined the Synod to show "all tenderness to the sentiments of the elders and other well disposed people under their charge". The Assembly thought it inexpedient that the Synod should approve of any general alteration of the diets of public worship at such solemn occasions. The Synod interpreted this finding as giving permission to individual parishes to change the day of the Fast. John Sutherland of Goispe dissented from this interpretation.

At the Synod meetings in the years 1752, 1753, 1754, stress was laid on the General Assembly Act, 1751, enjoining more frequent communions. At the same time measures were taken to suppress the fellowship meetings. Several ministers who had countenanced these meetings by their presence were taken to task; Robert Kirk of Dornoch (son of the famous Kirk of Awerfoyle) and John Sutherland, Halkirk, both of whom
had transgressed, promised obedience to the Synod's policy in the future. The Synod of 1754 thought that the Friday Fellowship Meeting "is irregular and disorderly and tends to propagate the animosities of the people in these bounds against their ministers".

In 1755, the Synod received and dismissed a petition from elders and communicants representative of the parishes in the Presbytery of Dornoch, asking for the recognition and revival of the public Fellowship Meeting. The Synod, in their 'Answers' to the petitioners' appeal to the Assembly, asserted that the Meetings "have been accompanied with very considerable hurt and damage, they foster pride, and vanity, they divert attention from things of the greatest importance... religion is very often discredited by the discourse of persons (the 'Men') who, however well-qualified to live and act like Christians, are ill-qualified". (1)

On 6th June 1758, the Commission of Assembly set aside the Act of Synod of Caithness and Sutherland (1737) which abolished the Fellowship Meetings. This case is important not only as being the first organised and successful popular agitation in the Northern Highlands, but also as indicative of the growing popular consciousness that the religious laity, under their own lay leaders, could, when necessary, follow a policy in direct opposition to the wishes of the clergy. The later phenomenon of northern Separatism, which should be regarded as a sequel to the Friday Fellowship Meeting agitation, shows how Evangelical anti-Moderatism could and did change into a suspicious anti-clericalism. (2)

(1) For sources, see bibliography appended to Beaton's "Fast-Day and Friday Fellowship Meetings". T.G.S.I. Vol. XXIX, pp. 178 - 182.
(2) See Chap. VII p. 357.
VI.

One of the common charges levelled against the Moderate ministers by their clerical and lay Evangelical opponents was that of worldliness. Such a charge is dangerously easy to make and difficult to refute. Much of the Disruption literature assumes that those ministers who "stayed in" did so from love of manse and stipend. Yet, however exaggerated and even ill-natured some of these accusations were, it remains true that the life and character of a goodly number of the late 18th century Highland ministers, usually classed as Moderates, provided a fairly solid foundation for the charge of worldliness.

The debates which took place in the General Assembly in 1749 and 1750, in connection with the proposal to increase the stipends of the parochial ministry, showed that there was a section of Scottish Evangelicalism which viewed with suspicion the clerical desire for more money and an enhanced social position. "They had little sympathy with the desire to raise the social position of the clergy". (1)

In the second half of the century, with leaders of wealth and standing like John Erskine and Sir Harry Moncrieff, the Evangelical austerity mellowed considerably. (2)

The two forms in which 'worldliness' manifested itself among Highland Moderates was, according to the Evangelicals, the undue, sometimes the almost exclusive pursuit of secular avocations, and an excessive cultivation of the society of the great. We must remember that every Highland clergyman was by necessity a farmer. Mrs Grant of Laggan gives a charming picture of the manifold domestic activities

(2) Cockburn's Memorials of His Time, p. 237. (Edin. 1856) etc.
of a Highland manse household on a manse farm. (1) Robert Heron tells of the Lochaweside clergyman (the minister of Kilchrenan?), "an old man of the most amiable simplicity of manners", who enforced his homilies to his flock on diligence in business by telling them that "his vest, his breeches, his shirt, his neck-cloth, his stockings" were of his wife's making. (2) "Making", of course, included all the processes of manufacture from the raw material to the finished article. John Gait's picture of the manse of Daimpling under the management of the second Mrs Balfour reminds us that country parishes often derived real benefit from the example set by the worldly diligence and skill of minister or minister's wife. (3) Mr Balfour's vague uneasiness that his manse should be turned into a "factory of butter and cheese" has a distant kinship with the Evangelical feeling which prompted the resistance to the movement for the increase of stipends in 1749.

Highland Evangelicals, at least until after the Disruption, took no exception to the minister engaging in sustenance farming on his own glebe. Like Alexander Sage of Kildonan, usually reckoned a good Evangelical, he might lease a considerable farm as well, without causing undue comment. (3) Lachlan MacKenzie of Lochcarron, to many Highlanders to this day the ideal Evangelical minister, must have attained a rare, if not unique, detachment from the secular, if his verse is to be taken factually:

The Parson has no horse nor farm,
No goat, nor watch, nor wife,
Without an augmentation too,
He leads a happy life. (4)

Under the Restoration Prelacy, and earlier, it had been customary for the minister to lease a tack of land in default of, or in addition to, legal grieve. When, as was often the case, stipends remained unpaid for years, the minister made shift to live of his farm. (1) Even under this system, some ministers accumulated large sums of money during a long ministry. (2)

If John Skeldock of Farr (called 1732, inducted 1734) was not the first Highland minister to engage in capitalist farming on a large scale, he was the most notorious. From 1732, even before the actual date of his settlement, to 1751, his engrossing secular activities engaged the disciplinary attention of the Presbytery of Tongue and the Synod of Caithness and Sutherland. (3) He had numerous tacks, the rental of which amounted to twice his stipend. (4) In 1745, the Synod were of opinion that "Mr Skeldock seems to be obstinately determined to entangle himself with worldly affairs and to have no regard to the command of the judicatories". (4) In 1747, the Presbytery considered it "probable that he did oppress " his sustenants, by exacting double rents. (5) A promise to restrict himself to three tacks was not kept. (6) The remarkable feature of this case is not so much the extent of Skeldock's secular interests, but the vigorous and prolonged protests of the congregation and of the church courts. The accepted standard of ministerial conduct was still high.

In the second half of the century, we notice a fairly swift and general deterioration. In part, and in places, this may have been due to a practice noted by Donald MacQueen of Kilmuir: "It seems the

(1) e.g. Stewart of Killin, see p. 36; (2) Royal Bounty Min. Vol. I. p. 277; (3) Tongue Pres. Rec.; O. L. M. Vol. 7, passim; (4) Ibid. Vol. 7, p. 108; (5) Ibid. 7 p. 164; (6) Ibid. 7 p. 115.
several incumbents (in Skye) have chosen to content themselves with
a tack of land rather than incur the displeasure of the heritors
by taking advantage of the law" to enforce their claim to manse and
gleue.(1) We may, perhaps, charitably ascribe motives of commendable
thrift and prudence to the minister of Glenshiel who "lays out
yearly 1000 merks at interest and lives by the tack he has from
Lord Fortrose", (2) or even to the minister of Applecross who, although
the Lord's Supper has been celebrated in his parish only four times
in twenty years, keeps a boat "for the convenience of his fishing",
and "has a considerable land property and money stocked otherwise;"
(3) but we can scarcely do so in the case of Walter Ross of Tongue
(1730 - 1761) whom his nephew, Murdo MacDonald of Durness, frankly
charges with worldliness; (4) or in the case of Walter Ross of Clyne
(1777 - 1793) who was "a farmer, a cattle-dealer, a housekeeper, and
first rate sportsman, and he knew how to turn all these different
occupations to profit... (he was) an almost constant resident in
Balnagowan Castle (Sir Charles Ross having given him the economy of
his household) to the total neglect of his parochial duties". (5)
Up to 1750, according to Lane Buchanan, the Hebridean clergy "were
exemplary in their lives, regular and conscientious in the discharge
of their duties", but by 1782 only the Catholic priests showed the
slightest interest in the spiritual welfare of the islesmen. The
Presbyterian ministry at its best was represented in the Hebrides by
"the reverend gentleman of Ty-Geary (North Uist)", who enjoyed the

p. 228. (2) Ibid. p. 229. (3) Ibid. p. 228. (4) T.G.S.I. XI p. 306: Diary of
M. MacDonald of Durness. (5) Memorabilia Domestica, p. 53.
amiable, and apparently unusual distinction that he was "never known to kick, beat, or scourge, or in any shape, to lift his hand against his 'scallags' in the whole course of his life". (1) It was not the minister of Christ, but the jolly large-hearted tacksman who won Buchanan's encomium. John Anderson of Kingussie (1782 - 1809) and of Fochabers (1809 - 1839) was, on the whole, a favourable specimen of the secularly-minded cleric. Mrs Grant describes him as "a person of fine taste, superior abilities and extensive information", and the English sportsman, Col. Thornton, commends his sermons, though he notes an unusual number of sleeping females in church. Along with his pastorate he performed the functions of factor and commissioner to the Duke of Gordon. (2) The dawn of a new age of evangelical earnestness is indicated by the fact that the Assembly forced him to choose between his ministry and his factorship. He choose the latter. (3) Making due allowance for denominational and political bias, (4) as also for rhetoric, Neil Douglas' estimate of the Moderate clergy of Argyll is fairly well justified: "What his boat is to one (minister), his farm is to another, and his horse-coupling, droving etc to a third; and betwixt these serious avocations, the poor flock is left to the mercy of the foxes and the wolves". (5) James Haldane, a truthful though unbiassed witness, supports Douglas' testimony. Just after the issue by the Assembly of the 'Pastoral Admonition' (1799), warning the Church's faithful people to beware of vagrant lay preachers and teachers, Haldane wrote: "When ministers are so anxious that laymen should be

prevented from interfering with what is called clerical business, they would do well to set them an example, by abstaining from secular employments". (1) It must be admitted that Evangelical ministers of repute shared some of the guilt alongside of their Moderate brethren. William MacBean of Moy (1788 - 1792) and of Alves (1792 - 1818), who took a leading part in the great debate on Foreign Missions on the Evangelical side in 1796, took over a farm from which a tenant was evicted that he might get it. (2) The verdict of two of the Gaelic poets on the worldly-minded clergy may be cited. Dugald Buchanan, (died 1768) in his great poem 'An Claigeann', writes:

"No'n rooin thu gun sgoinn,  
Mar mhuime mu chloinn,  
Gun chìram do dh'oilreachd Dhe;  
N'a faigneadh tu'n rìsg,  
Bha coma co dhiu,  
Mu'n t-sionnnach bhì stiuradh 'n treud?" (3)

Roo Donn (died 1788), referring to the clergy of Caithness and Sutherland, writes:

"Falbh 'n an cuideachd's 'n an còmhradh,  
Is gheibh thu moran do'n phac ud,  
Dheanadh ceannaich no sèol'dair,  
Dheanadh drocha'ir no factoir,  
Dheanadh tuathanach crionnda,  
Dheanadh stiuinard neo-chaitnteach,  
'S mach o'n cheard air 'n do mhìonnaich iad,  
Tha na h-uile ni gasd' ac'. (4)

Roo Donn, though for a time an assessor of the kirk-session of Durness, made no profession of especial piety. His opinion must be regarded as that of the average layman of his time and district.

(1) Journal of a Tour: Introd. p. 17. (2) Strathdearn Church Notes, T.G.S.I. XIX p. 60. (3) MacLean's Ed. of Poems, p. 46. Possibly an echo of Milton's Lycidas: "Blind mouths... etc". (4) An ironical enumeration of the secular trades at which the clergy showed their proficiency. They are competent in all except the calling to which they have vowed their lives. Dr Hew Morrison's Ed. p. 75.
The judgment which Rob Donn pronounced in pungent verse was expressed in the popular story, which gained currency in Caithness, Ross-shire, Skye, etc., and which was attached to the names of quite a number of Moderate ministers. The minister's wife expresses regret that so many of the parishioners have deserted the parish church, and have gone to hear some neighbouring minister. The minister's reply was: "Look if you can see any of them with my stipend on his back". (1) 19th century Evangelicals, both before and after the Disruption, recognised the propaganda value of the popular belief in the worldliness of the Moderate clergy, and used it with skill and little scruple. (2)

VII.
Dr Robertson's administration, and the subsequent period till the close of the century was marked by a progressive decline in the moral discipline of the clergy. The rigid enforcement of the law of patronage had something to do with this development, though less perhaps than was generally believed. (3) It synchronised with, though we cannot say it was caused by, a fairly general desire in the Moderate ranks for a relaxation of credal subscription. The toleration of moral and dogmatic laxity received its first serious setback when the repercussions of the French Revolution threatened the disintegration of Church and State alike. (4)

One aspect of Dr Robertson's policy had a direct and causal connection with the toleration of moral laxity in the ranks of the

(1) Auld, A.: Ministers and Men of the Far North, p. 12, etc.
(2) See Kennedy's Apostle of the North and Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire; John MacDonald's Poems and Hymns, etc etc.
clergy. The courts of the Church had judicial as well as episcopal functions to perform. Robertson, realising that popular assemblies, versed in law, and liable to be swayed by passion or prejudice, were not ideal instruments for administering even-handed justice, determined to approximate the procedure in the church courts, especially the General Assembly, to that which obtained in the secular tribunals. (1) "The evidence of guilt" in cases of immorality "must be not only convincing but technically complete". (2) However desirable this policy might be in the interests of an abstract justice, its immediate practical effect was to deprive presbyteries of their disciplinary powers. In 1765, a section of the Moderate party, disgusted at the protection afforded to moral delinquents by this rigid insistence on technical flawlessness, revolted against their leader. (3) Their protest had little effect.

The extreme difficulty experienced by Presbyteries in securing a conviction even when guilt was obvious and notorious may be illustrated by the following case. In 1779, James Macintosh of Moy and Dalarossie was accused of moral misdemeanour. In 1782, the Presbytery of Inverness, after a tedious process, pronounced sentence of deposition against him. In the same year, the Synod of Moray refused either to affirm or reverse the sentence. In 1786, fifty-one heads of families in Moy, headed by Donald MacQueen of Corrybrough and William MacGillivray of Graoole, petitioned the General Assembly for redress. In 1787, Macintosh was at last deposed for "finesse", "trifling".

(1) Stewart's Life and Writings of William Robertson, p. 175; Mathieson's Awakening of Scotland, p. 221. (2) Ibid. (3) Awakening of Scotland, p. 222.
"falsehood", "fornication", and other offences. It took the courts of the Church eight years to dispose of an obviously straightforward case. (1) In 1776, Alexander Stronach, once parish schoolmaster and now minister of Lochoroom, on a "fama ciamosa against him in the discharge of his pastoral office, and in private life", was suspended from office by the Presbytery of Lochcarron. In August of that year, at a "thin meeting of the Presbytery", as Stronach alleges, the suspension was renewed sine die. He appealed to the Assembly, charging John Kennedy with being at the bottom of the whole business. The Assembly removed the suspension in 1802. (2)

The following case would have been inconceivable fifty years earlier. Alexander MacKay, minister of Barvas died in 1789. Thereupon, James Dallas, schoolmaster and missionary at Stornoway, wrote to Seaforth that if he got the living, "I would give a handsome augmentation for the farm there". He did not get the living, but on the translation of John Downie to UrRAY in 1778, Dallas applied to the patron for the now vacant parish of Stornoway. "Sir" he wrote to Seaforth, "should it seem good to you to appoint me to succeed Mr Downie in this parish, I could give you 120 guineas at entering, besides some augmentation for a lease of Mr Downie's late farm. I trust that none shall know of this proposal out yourself...". Again he failed; but in 1791 he received a royal presentation to Contin. The Presbytery of Dingwall refused to settle him, but the Synod reversed their decision. The Synod's judgment was upheld by the

(1) General Assembly Cases, 1774 - 1800.  
(2) MS Assembly Papers, 1802.  
(Fasti, Vol. 7 p. 158.)
Assembly of 1792. In a petition presented by Sir Alexander MacKenzie of Coul and others to the Assembly of 1793, Dallas was charged with simony. The petition was dismissed and the Supreme Court insisted on the settlement. (1)

The opening years of the 19th century brought a healthier discipline, if at the same time it revealed an moral ugliness that had lain undisturbed too long. Dr Norman MacLeod (Caraid nan Gaidheal), inducted to Campbelltown in 1808, testified: 'The only persons in the whole district with whom I parted without any feelings of regret were the clergy... in the course of a very few years, four or five libels were successively on our (Presbytery) table, which were appealed to the Assembly... they ended in the deposition of three members of Presbytery, while the fourth was withdrawn, as the accused was insane... Two of the remaining members of Presbytery were deposed.

(2) The state of affairs in Kintyre must not, however, be regarded as normal for the whole Highlands.

VIII.

It seems clear that the standard of pastoral work among the clergy showed a decline as the century moves to its close. Catechising and visitation, once reckoned indispensable, (3) were largely neglected. In 1782, "examining and praying with and for the people" were "ministerial duties which, at this day, are not so much as named in the Western Hebrides". (4) In 1797, "Thurso had not been catechised (by the minister) for forty years". (5) During the same tour, Haldane

(1) General Assembly Cases, 1774 - 1800; MS Assembly Papers
(2) Quoted by A. Macrae in 'Revivals in the Highlands', p. 37. (Stirling, 1905).
(3) See p. 3/2 f.
(4) Lane Buchanan's Travels in the Western Hebrides, p. 219.
notes that "there is no parochial visitation or examination performed by the clergy of this town (Inverness)." (1) Neil Douglas speaks of one Kintyre minister who, during the eight years he was in the parish, had never visited or prayed with the sick. He mentions another case which came to his personal notice. The minister would not come to see a dying girl. (2)

A similar apathy and sloth is discernible in the work of sermon preparation. One of the charges brought by the people of Farr against John Skeldoch was that he spent so little time in study. (3) That the accusation should have been made is proof that the general standard was good. A generation or so later, a number of the ministers of Caithness had a custom "that when one wrote a sermon the others got the use of it in turn. An old kirk-officer in Canisbay used to tell of his being the wearer of these always dry and often dun-coloured documents to and from his own minister". (4) The minister of Duthil, of the same period, "had but two sermons; he altered the texts to give them an air of variety... and he certainly gave himself little trouble about his sermons. One of the sermons was against an undue regard for the vanities of life, and the other on charity". (5) The minister of Rothiemurchus, when he had gone the round of moral duties, would, for lack of matter "treat his congregation to a screed from the papers". (6) The presence of a newspaper in the pulpit, in this as well as in other parishes, is partly explained by the kindly desire to inform the people, most of whom had relatives serving in

the Highland regiments, how the war was going on. In South Argyll, "every schoolboy in the parish can repeat the minister's prayers verbatim, and every hearer knows what is the next word and sentence... I have been assured that the members of a Presbytery are so very obliging... as to accommodate each other with their respective quota of discourses, to prevent the almost continual recital of the same".

(1) Dr Downie of Lochalsh, a cultured and amiable gentleman, made no attempt at originality. "His sermons were literal transcripts from Blair *et hoc genus omne*! These he read in English, and translated into the purest and most elegant Gaelic". (2) The electrical effect of the preaching of the Haldanes and the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home in such dominantly Moderate districts as Caithness, Inverness, Breadalbane, and South Argyll is partly to be explained as a reaction against the insipid fare provided in the parish church.

VIII.
When we consider the character and outlook of a considerable number of Highland ministers of this period, we find that there was a point where the good Moderate shaded off into the moderate Evangelical. These non-party men, susceptible to the spirit of the age while sensitive to the Evangelical tradition, represented, it is probable, the mass of the decent Church laity more faithfully than extremists of either party. Further, until the seventies and eighties of the century, many Highland parishes were served by sturdy survivors of

(2) Memorabilia Domestica, p. 190
of a more strenuous epoch. These were among the ministers whom Dr Johnson met and praised. They were men of learning, character, and ministerial diligence, though only one, Donald MacQueen of Kilmuir, the ablest and most learned of them, was recognised as a decided Evangelical. Skye, at this period, had a number of noteworthy ministers. Dr John MacPherson of Sleat (died 1765) was a man of immense erudition, who, "though the natural bent of his genius turned towards the belles-lettres, sometimes amused himself with disquisitions of a more serious nature". (1) William MacQueen, brother to the famous Donald of Kilmuir, and minister of Snizort till 1767, was "a man of deep culture and outstanding gifts of oratory." (2) Donald MacLeod of Duirinish is credited with "the constant practice of the most useful and exalted virtues". (3) A Gaelic poet of merit, he wrote the fine "Beannachadh Baird" in praise of his newly wedded wife. John Nicolson, 43 years minister of Portree (died 1799), and Donald MacKinnon, 46 years minister of Strathn (demitted office 1825), were men of strong character and exemplary lives. (4) With them, we may class such Hebridean ministers as Hector MacLean of Coll, whose learning and old-fashioned orthodoxy won the approval of Dr Johnson, (5) and Neil MacLeod of Kilfinichen and Kilvicchean, the clearest-headed man the sage had met in the Western Isles, but whom he misnames "Mr MacLean". (6) Donald Mac Nicol of Lismore (1766 - 1802) belonged to the same group of Moderate-Evangelicals. He is known in the wider realm of English letters as the author of the 'Remarks on Dr Johnson's

Journey to the Heurides (London 1779). He was a good poet, the author of one of the loveliest of Gaelic love-songs, 'Ochoin, a chailin...', but perhaps his most enduring claim to literary immortality is that he acted as handmaid to the genius of Duncan Ban Macintyre. (1) Along with Macfariane, schoolmaster of Appin, he translated certain of the books of the Old Testament into Gaelic. He was an able preacher, and, because of his fondness for preaching from St Paul's Epistles, he became known as 'Ministeir Phoil'. (2) Another notable example of this middle type of minister is Dr John Smith of Campelltown (1781-1807). While assistant in Kilurandon, he translated Alleine's 'Alarm' into Gaelic at the instance of Lady Glenorchy. (3) The Gaelic version of this book is believed to have been the immediate cause of the revival in Nether Lorne in the eighties of the century. The historian of the Relief Church, however, takes Smith to task for not continuing to espouse the cause of the converts, 'The People of the Great Faith', after his departure from Lorne. (4) He was a poet and literary collector, though the authenticity of his volumes, 'Scan Dana', etc., which purport to be ancient Ossianic poems, calls for a stronger defence than Smith could probably make. His version of the Gaelic Psalms is excellent, but he withdrew it from publication as it was alleged to contain or suggest heresy. (5) His well-known 'View of the Agriculture of the County of Argyll' connects him with the more utilitarian preoccupations of Moderatism. (6) We may take Dr Bethune of Dornoch

as another distinguished member of this school. He was "an elegant classical scholar, a sound preacher, and one of the most finished gentlemen I ever rememder to have seen... his English sermons, which he always read, were among the neatest compositions I ever heard. He was a model Christian minister in the eye of the world; out with all his natural talents and acquirements, with all his orthodoxy and sentiment, and with his high sense of moral propriety, before the keen glance of Christian penetration, he sank at once to a much lower level. To the anxious and sincere enquirer after truth, his sermons presented only a dreary prospect of cold and doubtful uncertainty". (1) The account given by Alexander Stewart of Moulin of his own religious standpoint before his experience of evangelical conversion is probably, albeit unconsciously, too highly coloured, (2) and we may class the young well-meaning minister, even before his discovery that "the doctrine of imputed righteousness (is) the grand and important article which marks the difference between preachers of free grace and those of the legal or Arminian cast", (3) as one of the mediating Moderate-Evangelicals.

IX
Despite the increasing prevalence, over by far the larger part of Highlands, of a diluted or a full-blooded Moderatism, the full Evangelical tradition was preserved in "one district of the north that... remained like a green spot in the desert. In that district, of which Alness in the county of Ross, may be taken as the centre

(1) Memorabilia Domestica, p. 52 (2nd Ed.)
(2) Account of the Late Revival of Religion, pp. 5-10 (3rd Ed. Edin. 1802
(3) Sievewright, J. : Memoir of Alex. Stewart, p. 50 (Edin. 1822)
and which extended on the north to the verge of the Lowlands of Caithness, vital godliness then flourished as never before or since.  

(1) The chronic virility of the Evangelical tradition in this district can only be explained by the weight of the impression left by the Revival movement in the late thirties and early forties of the century. There was no break in the succession of able and devoted Evangelical preachers; in the ranks of the laity, there was a steady flow of 'eminent Christians', both men and women; the general level of religious observance and moral conduct was high. In Easter Ross and Sutherland, therefore, the period has been not unjustly called the 'Days of the Fathers'.  

Some of the more distinguished veterans of the war against Episcopacy survived well into the second half of the century. Their shadows lengthened rather than diminished as the years passed. James Fraser, the author of the 'Treatise on Sanctification', and one of the best-known preachers of his day, continued minister of Alness from 1726 till 1769. (3) Donald Sage, minister successively of the Parish and Free Church congregations of Resolis till his death in 1869, used to read extracts of the 'Treatise' to Hugh (Buie) Ross, one of Fraser's venerable disciples. On one such occasion, Ross remarked: "I remember hearing these solid truths from Mr Fraser in the Church of Alness 70 years ago".  

(4) This is an example of how the living influence of the Evangelical pioneers flowed into the new century. James Porteous, master of allegorical illustrations, (5) and


(4) Religious Life in Ross, p. 53. (5) Days of the Fathers, pp. 41-46 (1927 Ed.)
to the mind of some, a more edifying preacher than Fraser himself,(1) ministered in Kilmuir-Easter from 1734 to 1775. Of English Roundhead stock domiciled in Inverness for several generations, his arresting presentation of the Gospel won for him disciples as far north as Strathnaver. (2)Alexander Pope, ordained to the ministry in Reay in 1734, laboured till his death in 1782. Aeneas Sage of Lochcarron, whose ministry in that turbulent parish constitutes a story of patient and heroic endurance crowned with unlooked for success, completed a pastorate of 48 years in 1774. (3) Though scholarly enough, Sage did not possess Pope's literary and antiquarian predilections, but both men were cast in a similar mould, somewhat rough-handed according to later standards, but virile, devoted, single-minded, patently sincere. Hector MacPnail of Resolns and John Sutherland of Golspie and Tain, both well-known leaders in the Easter Ross revivals, and Evangelical preachers of note in their day, survived till 1774 and 1769 respectively. (4) In the 'Diary' of James Calder, (admitted to Arderseir in 1740, to Croy in 1746) we are in touch with the living heart of Highland Evangelicalism at its best. (5) As we have made use of the 'Diary' to illustrate the doctrinal content of the Evangelical message during the period, it is unnecessary to refer to it further. (6)

The younger school of Evangelical divines, whose ministry began in the age of patronage and Moderatism, were largely confined to the Northern Highlands. Charles Calder of Urquhart (or Ferintosh), a son

of the diarist, was ordained in 1774. The biographer of Robert Findlater calls him "this holy and heavenly-minded man", (1) while Alexander Stewart of Moulin and Dingwall, having met him some time after 1800, says: "In his gentleness there is something so saintly, and in his aspect such an air of indescribable benignity... that, in the absence of voice, gesture, and artificial oratory, no man could regard him in the pulpit without being overawed by the calm and sober majesty of his appearance, and few could resist the simple and yet deep-felt strain of his address". (2) William MacKenzie, a convert of James Calder of Croy, was called by the people of Tongue in 1769. A laborious student and an earnest evangelist, he was still preaching vigorously at the age of 93. There was a revival movement in the parish during his ministry. In his old age, he made this confession: "Yes, my heart is in my work; there is nothing on earth I care for but my work. I know that Christ sent me to the work; I know that he gave me success in the work, and I know when I get to heaven, many a soul from the parish of Tongue will meet me and welcome me as the humble instrument of getting them to heaven". (3) Of James Fraser of Kirkhill (inducted 1773), the author of 'A Key to the Prophecies', and of 'A Commentary on the Prophecy of Isaiah', (4) Dr Kennedy says: "In 1782, there met at Kiltearn, on a communion occasion, under the preaching of Dr Fraser of Kirkhill, perhaps as blessed a congregation as ever assembled in Scotland. Hundreds of God's people from the

(1) Memoir of R. Findlater, p. 35.
(2) Memoir of Alex. Stewart, p. 203.
(4) Fasti (Rev. Ed.) Vol. 6, p. 474.
surrounding district were there, and all of them had as much of the comforting spirit of the Lord as they were able to endure. It was then the culminating point in the spiritual prosperity of Ross-shire. (1) John Graham, usually called 'of Ardclach', died while still a licentiate at the age of twenty-nine in 1780. His evangelistic labours in Clyne, Ardclach, Nairnshire, Strathspey and Cawdor bore remarkable fruit. It has been said: "Of all the preachers of the Gospel that have been raised up in the Highlands we have no account, written or oral, of any so young that made as deep an impression on his own generation, ... or whose memory was more fondly cherished.... Some have regarded him as the James Renwick of the Highlands." (2) It is to be noted that the districts which responded to his message had all certain Covenanting traditions.

There were a number of eminent Evangelicals the latter part of whose ministry belonged to the 19th century. John Robertson was appointed to that stronghold of Caithness Evangelicalism, the Achreny Mission, in 1789. He afterwards ministered in the Erroll Mission, and the Chapel of Ease in Rothesay; he was inducted to Kingussie in 1810. A non-Gaelic speaker who had acquired the Gaelic tongue so well that none would know it was not his native speech, he was a preacher of unction and power. He is the subject of a fine Gaelic elegy by John MacDonald, the 'Apostle of the North'. (3) Sievwright's 'Memoir' gives an adequate account of the labours of Alexander Stewart in Moulin, Dingwall and in the Canongate. (4) His was a sensitive, cultured, and catholic Evangelicalism, free from the

controversial bitterness which crept into the Highland pulpit in the opening decades of the 19th century. Of Lachlan MacKenzie of Lochcarron, Donald Sage says: "Of all his nine co-presbyters Mr MacKenzie was the only minister who preached the Gospel with purity and effect". (1) This is a hard saying; out 'Maighstir Lachlainn' was undoubtedly a great preacher, whose memorable sayings, remarkable predictions, and occasionally eccentric actions, became a valued part of the Evangelic folk-lore. (2)

Angus Mackintosh, who began his ministry in the Gaelic Chapel of Ease, Glasgow (now St Columba's), in 1792, and who was translated to Tain in 1797 was one of the most venerated of the northern Evangelicals. Angus MacGillivray quotes the judgment of one of the famous Rossshire 'Men' on Mackintosh, "The great Rossshire ministers now gone, had each his own characteristic excellency. Mr MacPhail's preaching was experimental; Mr Fraser was the systematic divine; and Mr Porteous was the expounder of Scripture; and my belief is that Mr Mackintosh combines the excellencies of all three". (3)

Even James Haldane, to whom the Highlands was a spiritual wilderness, says of Tain: "The people here are highly favoured; they are blessed with a zealous and faithful minister in the Established Church". (4) Such were some of the men who were the forerunners and pioneers of the great Evangelical revivals which, during the first half of the 19th century, touched the larger mass of the Highland people. (5)

X.
The character of the pastor is not always reflected in the character of the flock. The unedifying lives of some of the Highland clergy did not necessarily indicate a low level of morals and religion in their parishes. The silent witness of an established religious tradition, and the living voice of godly laymen were factors of power. Nor, on the other hand, must we assume that such highly favoured parishes as Ferintosh, Tain, or Lochcarron were the Garden of the Lord. We will attempt a brief estimate of the moral and religious character of the people in the period before the close of the century.

The change which had taken place in this field during the span of the century is remarkable enough, even if we feel constrained to make large deductions from the contemporary Lowland estimate of Highland varsity and godlessness. But the accentuation of this, in the main, progressive movement in the two or three decades after the '45 was so startling that it enabled Dr Johnson to make his famous generalisation: "There was perhaps never any change of national manners so quick, so great, and so general, as that which has operated in the Highlands by the late conquest and the subsequent laws". (1)

A badly policed country will always appear to be in a worse moral condition than it actually is. It is evident from careful first-hand reports compiled about the time of the '45 that the vast majority of the people were decent, peaceful, and law-abiding, and that cattle-lifting and spuizie were the trade of the few. (2)

(1) Journey to the Western Islands, p. 91 (Ed. D.T. Holmes, 1908)
(2) Origins of the '45; Report by Rev A. MacBain, Inverness, passim (S.H.)
The Highlands of Scotland in 1745, ed. A. Lang, passim.
geographical situation of the country was favourable to the formation of gangs of 'wroken men', who were often used and protected by men of position and power. When Knoydart, Lochaber, Glengarry and Rannoch were brought under the discipline of the law, the Highlands as a whole were at least as law-abiding as the Lowlands. In the cattle-lifting districts, of course, the tradition died hard. It is related that the last of the professional caterans of Lochaber died as late as the third decade of the 19th century. (1) In assessing the moral heinousness of this offence, we must take account of the state of public opinion among certain of the clans, the MacDonalds of Glengarry, for instance, who "cannot be persuaded that stealing cattle is a sin, as they say that Cattle are God's creatures, made for the use of man, for which the Earth yields Grass and Herbs in plenty without the Labour of man and that therefore they might be in common". (2) It is certain that, when Highland public opinion absorbed the idea that cattle were not ferae naturae, punishable crime became remarkably infrequent. Marshall, in his account of the agriculture of the Central Highlands written in 1794, says: "I must not however in this place omit to do justice to the moral character of the modern Highlander. Murder, cruelty, or even theft, is rarely heard of; nor are riotings, drunkenness, or any kind of debaucheries, at present prevalent among them, comparatively at least with other districts of the island. This in my mind is a proof that whatever irregularities they may have been led to, by the nature of their former government and pursuits, they do not proceed from a natural depravity of moral

character, which could not have been completely corrected in so short a space of time, as that which elapsed since the suppression of the feudal authorities". (1) Professor John Walker’s estimate, made about the same time, is similar: "The lower ranks (of the Highlanders) are a sensiue, virtuous, hardy, and laborious set of people... Beside other good qualities, their laborious assiduity, in various occupations, is well-known whereever they happen to settle in the Low Country". (2) The Moderate minister of Kintyre was not exaggerating when he declared that: "My people are an honest upright people; you may leave what you please out all night in any part of my parish and it is as safe in the morning as though under lock and key". (3) John Knox speaks of the people of Mull as "quiet and well-disposed", and praises the decent, sober behaviour of the guests at a wedding in Tarbert (Harris). (4) Alexander Stewart thus describes the people of Mullin before the revival of 1797-1799: "They were not indeed addicted to open vice if we except lying and swearing. They were rather distinguished by society, industry, and peaceable behaviour; but they were destitute of religious principle. They attended church and partook of the sacraments, and rested from their work on the Sabbath...". (5) In evaluating the estimate of his people’s religion, we must, of course, take into account the enthusiasm of the convert. Of very great value as an index to the moral character of the people as a whole, is the moral reputation won and sustained by the soldiers of the Highland regiments. In an age when

the British army was not a school for saints, and the military penal code was savage in its severity; it could be said of the Black Watch: "In the course of 79 years service (i.e. since the formation of the corps), no individual has ever been brought to a General Court Martial for theft, or any crime showing moral turpitude or depravity". (1)

During the Irish rebellion of 1798, the men of the Reay Pencioles, instead of spending their evenings in "rioting and drunkenness", after the manner of others, had their newspapers as regularly as the officers had theirs. "Whoever was esteemed fittest to read and explain to such as could not read for themselves, was employed to read aloud for the benefit of all. In this way passed the evenings... and the money thus saved was remitted for the benefit of their families at home". (2)

Of the Sutherland Highlanders, who served in South Africa at the beginning of the 19th century, their chaplain said: "The regiment was certainly a pattern for morality and good behaviour to every other corps. They read their Bibles; they observed the Sabbath; they saved their money in order to do good; 7000 rix-dollars (1400 pounds) they gave for books, societies, and the support of the Gospel... Their example had a general good effect on both the colonists and the heathen". (3)

Nor was the good behaviour of the Highland soldiers a mere passive docility. When they were subjected to what they considered to be injustice, they could resist with the discipline and determination of modern trade-unionists, even to the point of mutiny. (4)

(3) Ibid. p. 228, quoting Christian Herald, October 1814.
The social virtues had always been held in high esteem among the Highland people. The anonymous traveller of 1750 remarks that, contrary to the invariable rule even among the 'thieving' clans, the MacDonalds of Glengarry are "churlish and inhospitable to the last degree". (1) Bishop Pococke said: "The people are in general extremely hospitable, charitable, civil, polite, and sensible". (2) As the country became more accessible to the southern traveller, this tradition of unlimited hospitality became a serious burden to some. The strangers, some of them thoughtless enough, put down their reception to "a habit of the country, a thing called Highland hospitality". (3) Neighbourly charity to the poor and afflicted explains how Highland kirk-sessions, with a poor-fund of £10 or £11, were enabled to make their income suffice. (4) Each home took its turn in lodging and feeding the 'poor object' who had no relatives. "Compassion for the poor, consideration towards the distressed, and respect for the dead, are characteristic traits of these people (the Hebrideans)". (5) Dr Johnson ascribes the courtesy "which seems part of the national character of the Highlanders" to the effect of the clan system, and to the habit of wearing arms. (6) Highland carelessness about exactitude of statement, to which the minister of Moulin, among others, refers, may have been due to an undue desire to please. The inquisitive Johnson found that "the Highlander gives to every question an answer so prompt and peremptory that scepticism itself is dared into silence", further enquiry, however, discovering that

the confident statements were without adequate foundation. (1)

Pennant describes the Highlanders as "indolent to a high degree, unless roused to war, or to any animating amusement". (2) James MacDonald, among others, repeats the charge, though he had the perception to add: "Had they an immediate prospect of independence, no people in the world would be more active". (3) In the Hebrides, especially, the men leave to "the unhappy females... the most laborious and degrading occupations, such as carrying burdens of manure, and peats on their back...". (4) This was due, however, not so much to callousness on the part of the men, as to the tradition, held tenaciously by the women themselves, that certain forms of labour were unworthy of masculine dignity. (5) In the Lowlands, in the colonies, and even in their native land, as in the construction of the Caledonian Canal, the men proved that they were capable of sustained diligence, (6) while, in the social life of the people, the women were not regarded as inferior beings. Divorce was practically unknown. (7) Mainly from lack of scope, skill, and capital, but also partly from want of inclination, the Highlanders had considerable leeway to make up before they could merit praise for diligence in business.

Although the habit of drinking whisky rather than ale had grown steadily during the 18th century, (8) yet the Highlanders "are not a drunken race...; but no man is so abstemious as to refuse the morning dram...". (9) It may be said that there is a diversity of

evidence on this point. Hall speaks of their "inordinate attachment to whiskey, a strong spirituous liquor... the grand elixir and universal specific for all disorders". (1) James Rouson thought that a brewery should be built in Oban, in order to divert the people from distilled spirits. (2) Sir John Sinclair stated: "In our little towns and villages, they are most grievously addicted to this vice". (i.e. "the immoderate use of ardent spirits"). (3) General Stewart mourned the increase in smuggling, which, at the beginning of the 19th century, was having a pernicious effect on the morals of numbers of the people. (4) The general impression one gets is that, in the more distinctively Moderate as in the Evangelical districts, the people in general were temperate, according to the standards of the time. Excess on social occasions, such as marriages, funerals, and markets, was customary.

The religion of the good Moderate, more particularly of Argyll and Invernessshire, is thus described by a sympathetic observer: "The religion of a Highlander is peaceable and unobtrusive. He never arms himself with quotations from Scripture to carry on offensive operations. There is no inducement for him to strut about in the garb of piety, in order to attract respect, as his own conduct insures it. Not being perplexed by doubt, he wants no one to corroborate his faith. Upon such a subject, therefore, he is silent, unless invited to the conversation, and then he entertains it with solemnity and reverence. The relationship between him and his Creator is more in his heart.

(1) Travels in Scotland, p. 409.
(2) General View of Argyll, 1794,
(3) Agriculture of Northern Counties
than on his tongue. I believe his religious feelings to be as sincere as they are simple and unassuming, and that moral precepts are more congenial to his disposition than mysteries". (1) An attractive trait of the religion of the good Moderate was the interdenominational amity that existed between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and between Presbyterians and Roman Catholics. (2) This appears to have been general in the districts where members of different communions dwelt together. Pennant, speaking of Canna, says: "The minister and the Popish priest reside in zigzag, by reason of the turbulent seas that divide these isles, are very seldom able to attend their flocks. I admire the moderation of their congregations, who attend the preaching of either as they happen to arrive." (3) The Directors of the S.P.C.K. and, later, of the Gaelic Schools Society, found this friendly spirit very helpful when they were setting up schools in non-Presbyterian districts. (4)

Let us compare the religion of the good Highland Moderate with the ripe Evangelicalism which held sway in Ross and Sutherland at the end of the 18th century. Even the 'careless' believed in the necessity of conversion, while true believers held that the only evidence of being in a state of salvation was the work of the Spirit in the soul, and the fruits of the Spirit in life. "The glorious person of Christ, God manifold in the flesh, free justification through his imputed righteousness; the fullness of the Spirit in Christ, for the purpose of quickening dead souls, and sanctifying

(1) Stewart's Sketches, I. p. 103;
(2) Pococke's Tour, 1760, p. 194; Stewart's Sketches, p. 104;
(3) Pennant: quoted in Stewart's Sketches, I. 104. 2nd Ed.
(4) Reports, passim.
the members of His body; the free access which sinners as such have
to Christ; his gracious invitation to every sinner to come to him
now, and His promise to be at once the reconciled God of all that
come to Him, and all this connected with man's total depravity and
God's electing love - such were the doctrines which the ministers
preached and the people of the north believed". (1) MacGillivray's
description of a Sabbath day in Evangelical Strathnaver round about
1800 is worth quoting. It may be accepted as accurate. "The household
is up early, for many of them are seven or eight miles from the
church. After breakfast and family worship, they are ready to start.
At last, the leading Christians leave their houses; all the rest
assemble round them, and a portion of Scripture being named, religious
conversation begins. The younger people are silent, but they listen
with deep interest while one venerable man after another speaks
from a full heart about the love of Christ to perishing sinners and
the work of the Spirit in the soul. When halfway to church, they sit
down to rest, and after singing a few verses to one of their
pleasant airs, prayer is offered up for the outpouring of the Spirit,
and for a blessing on the Word they are to hear and for Christ's
presence with his servant who is about to speak in His name. At last
the groups unite, and 800 people assemble in the house of God... When
the service is over, the several groups return each to their own
hamlets, and after taking the necessary food, they meet in the house
of one of the leading men. He begins with prayer and praise; he then
makes the people repeat all they remember of the sermon they have

(1) MacGillivray's Sketches, p. 23.
heard, throwing in practical remarks of his own...after a portion of
the Catechism has been repeated, and the service closed with prayer,
the people retire to their own homes to worship God in the family".

(1) J. S. MacKay, whose account is substantially similar, states: "Certain
halting places on the way (to church), in the different localities,
became thus gradually recognised as spots where the people might
rest and refresh their bodies with food, and their souls by starting
some Scriptural and edifying question, on which the 'men' discussed,
touching on points doctrinal, experimental, and practical. On the
journey home all had to contribute some 'note' from the sermon". (2)

Alexander Stewart, fresh from the youthful ardours of the Moulin
revival, says: "I was greatly refreshed by what I saw in Rossshire and
Inverness; numerous devout congregations, many lively Christians, and
a great door of utterance. I was struck with the contrast between the
general cast of religion in East Ross and at home (Moulin). Here
religion is in its youthful state; there, it seems rather in its
declining age. Here we are warm and affectionate, simple and unsuspic-
ious; yonder they are rather indifferent about plain fare, fond of
casuistry, and each occupied about his own particular experience...
yet they are exemplary, moral, kind and charitable". (3) The criticism,
so gently suggested by Stewart, is made explicit by a less sympathet-
ic observer: "The people here (Dingwall) would make you believe
that they are indifferent to all the pleasures and the vanities of
the world and solely taken up with spiritual concerns... They are
wholly absorbed by metaphysical notions and doubts. With the love,

(1) Sketches of Religion, p. 28.
(2) Sutherland and Reay Country, ed. A. Gunn, p. 360. (Glasg. 1897)
(3) Sievwright's Memoir, p. 229.
charity, and joyful hopes inspired by the genuine doctrines of the Saviour, they seem to be unacquainted". (1) This judgment doubtless owes as much to the idle gossip of English traveller's Highland hosts, as to first-hand knowledge; but the aging Evangelicalism of the Northern Highlands was of such a quality as to make the criticism comprehensible. John Macrae (Macrath Mor), comparing the products of the Evangelical revival in Lochaber in the early 19th century with the northern Evangelicalism he had known since boyhood, said: "I should prefer one man in Lochaber that kept family worship to sixty in the North country that would speak to the question". (2) Despite the undeniable beauty of the individual and social life which was its characteristic creation, the northern Evangelicalism, at the end of the 19th century, was in need of a fresh impulse of the Spirit.

XI.
In common with the rest of Scotland, the Highlands as a whole received this new Evangelical impetus. It was a fresher, cruder, less ecclesiastical Evangelicalism than the Highlands had been used to; it brought with it strife, sectarianism, and a certain contempt for tradition, but it was imbued with a tireless energy, a novel missionary enthusiasm, and a wider outlook on the world's needs. The new Evangelicalism, of which the brothers Haldane were the most vehement as also, perhaps the most typical exponents, was directly influenced by Anglican, and English dissenting Evangelicalism. Alexander Stewart and Charles Simeon, the Haldanes and Rowland Hill, John Campbell (the 'philanthropic' ironmonger') and John Newton, were friends, and to some degree,

(2) MacLeod, J.: Lochaber and its Evangelical Traditions, p. 18. (Inverness, 1920.)
fellow-workers. The new movement was also conscious to a profound degree of the ferment that entered into the political and social of Europe through the repercussions of the French Revolution. In a measure, British Evangelicalism, as it permeated the life of the nation at the close of one century and the dawn of another, was at the same time a substitute for, and a reaction against, the French gospel of liberation and brotherhood. There were elements in Moderate rationalism, as well as in Evangelical redemptionism, that were sympathetic to the dynamic principles of the new order. The excesses of revolutionism, however, provoked Moderatism to orthodoxy and repression, and Evangelicalism to a fervour that was strongly impregnated with bigotry. The Scottish Evangelical saga, always cherished by the people, though treated by the Moderates with contempt, and by the late 19th century Evangelicals with something approaching indifference, became again a vital, if also a strident element in the religion of the new era. M'Crie’s Life of Knox was the first of a series of historical publications which taught the Disruption Fathers to call themselves the inheritors of the Covenanting testimony. This novel emphasis on history was the Evangelical Churchman’s answer to the undenominationalism, or as some might say, the catholicity of Haldanism and the new Evangelical independency.

It is impossible to dissociate the new movements, whether political or religious, from the social and economic condition of the peoples. The French revolted as much against hunger as against political oppression. The English working-people failed to revolt, not so
much because immense multitudes were less hungry or less oppressed, but because the Wesleyan revival gave the promise of a more excellent way. (1) In Ireland, the misery of the people expressed itself in the rebellion of 1798, which Highland soldiers helped to quell. In Lowland Scotland, the new industrial prosperity, with its now familiar trail of periodic depressions, and consequent urban starvation, woke multitudes from the political torpor of a century. There was a possibility that the 'Auld Alliance' might be renewed in a grim and desperate form. (2) The social and economic condition of the Highland people, to which the new Evangelicalism had to address itself, grievous though it undoubt edly was, was thus not a unique phenomenon either in the life of Scotland or of Europe. There was this vital difference, however. The distress that existed in the Lowland urban districts were the pains of a vigorous, if disorderly growth. The misery which prevailed in many districts in the Highlands, on the other hand, appeared to some observers as the presage, not merely of decay, but of social dissolution and death. Hardship, suffering, even conditions approaching famine, had been familiar enough in the past history of the Highlands; but as long as they were members of a firmly articulated, if primitive, social organisation, they accepted these as natural, and carried them with an irrepressible buoyancy of spirit. The ancient Gaelic gaiety is as unreasonable as it is impressive. But towards the end of the 18th century, the note of despair becomes increasingly dominant in the Highland consciousness. Let us briefly notice the causes of this mood.

The Highlanders had never created towns. The few urban communities such as Inverness and Campbeltown, were largely of Lowland making.

They neither had, nor wanted, any means of subsistence but the land.

"The very idea of possessing land which he can call his own has an incredibly favorable effect on the Heuridean mind". (1) Circumstances however, caused a land famine among the smaller tenantry and crofters. The first of these was the new economic policy of most of the Highland landlords. The Earl of Selkirk puts it fairly: "For a few years after the power of the chieftains was broken, the influence of old habits seems to have prevailed... but by degrees the proprietors began to exact a rise of rent... the first demands were extremely moderate... Gradually men educated under different circumstances (from the old race of chiefs) came forward... The more necessitous, the less generous set the example; and one followed another, till at length all scruple seems to be removed. There are, indeed, still a few chieftains who retain so much of the antient feudal notions, as to be unwilling to dispossess the old adherents of their families, and from a notion of tenderness to them, submit to considerable loss". (2) In short, the present inhabitants "are a burden on the proprietors". (3) Rent-raising to a moderate degree, when combined with proper estate management, was not unfavourable to the welfare of the small tenantry. (4) But many of the estates were given over by absentee landlords to the charge of factors and stewards. With a few shining exceptions, (5) the Highland estate factor of the past deserved his unenviable reputation. He had his own worries. "The steward (of the rackrented Highland estate), hard pressed by letters from the gaming-house or Newmarket,

(1) MacDonald's View of Agriculture of Heurides, p. 71.
(3) Ibid., p. 30.
(4) S.H.R. Oct. 1921: 18th Century Highland Landlords and Poverty Problem, p. 11. O. S. A. Gienorchy, etc.
demands the rent in a tone which makes no great allowance for unpropitious seasons, the death of cattle, etc.; his honour's wants must at any rate be supplied". (1) This gives point to Dr Johnson's remark that a Highland chief should not be allowed south of the Highland line. This harsh conduct destroyed what remained of the ancient clan feeling. "To the present race of Highlanders", wrote Sheriff Brown in 1806, "it is a matter of indifference who is the proprietor. The great object with them is to have their lands on terms which will enable them to live comfortably, to pay their rents, and to be dealt with fairly and justly by their landlord or his factor". (2)

The land problem was complicated by the fact that many of the people, in the Hebrides alone some 40,000 or half the population, in Sutherland an even greater proportion, were sub-tenants of the tacksmen or principal tenants. (3) The landlord, even if he would, had no power to benefit this great population. The tacksmen were the smaller gentry, or middle class of the Highlands. Their families supplied innumerable officers to the army, and, under Lord Melville's Scottish administration, many able officials to the imperial service, especially in India. In their homeland, they present a less attractive picture. Norman MacLeod justly praises their hospitality, and their kindness to the poor. (4) James MacDonald lauds their "elegant manners". (5) In Sutherland, we get glimpses of the kindliest relations between the tacksmen and the people. (6) But the dominant

note is much more sombre. Garnett goes so far as to say: "The greatest evil in the Highlands is the letting large farms to tacksmen, or persons who take them for no other purpose than to sueset them". (1) Dr John Smith compared them to "drones in a hive". (2) Dr John Walker is kindly when he merely says: "The tacksmen is not a serious farmer". (3) For agricultural incompetence, he might be forgiven. The skilled farmer was rare in the Highlands. But the evidence is more than ample to prove that the tacksmen as a class were oppressors of their people to an extent that was rare even among the worst landlords. It was the tacksmen and not the landlord who insisted most rigorously on the ancient and oppressive system of 'services', or 'carohaiste'. This form of unpaid labour, partly a survival of serfdom, and partly a mode of paying rent, varied from seven days a year in some parts of Argyll to 120 days a year in the Keay country and five days a week in the Outer Hebrides. (4) The Old Statistical Account of the parish of Bower gives an exact description of the type and amount of services which were compulsory in Caithness. (5) Lane Buchanan reveals the hopeless misery which was the lot of the Hebridean suftenants and 'scaioes'. (6) There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his inditement. Though in 1811, services "exclusive of kelp manufactures, are rapidly wearing out here (Hebrides)", yet they were to some extent still being exacted in Skye in the latter half of the 19th century. (7)

The Highland peasantry at this period could be classified as
tenants holding direct from the landlord, conjoint tenants holding a
'oaile' or township and farming it on the runrig system, subtenants
of the tacksmen and sometimes even of the small tenant, crofters,
cottars and mailers who were on the lowest rung of the economic
ladder. (1) Unskilful farming, notably in respect to overstocking and
consequent high mortality among cattle and horses, an almost complete
lack of attention to the selection of stock, excessive cropping of
the arable 'infield', lack of manuring and liming, and a poor and late
ripening oat seed, combined with the often pitiless harvest weather
to produce period seasons of distress and even famine. (2) Pennant
says that the grain raided in ordinary years was only sufficient "to
maintain one third of the people". (3) Grain for two thirds of the
people would be a juster estimate. (4) The Western Highlands depended
on Morayshire, Caithness, and Ireland for what was lacking in the
home-grown crop. (5) Payment was made by the export of black cattle,
skins, etc. (6) When the price of cattle dropped, or, as in 1782, there
was scarcity in the corn-growing lands, the effect on the pastoral
Highlands can well be imagined. (7)

Certain circumstances combined both to aggravate and to mitigate
the crucial problem of subsistence. The growth of population was to a
certain extent paralleled with an increase of food-supply. Sheriff Brown
in common with other observers, ascribes the increase of population

(1) Notes on Survey of Loch Tayside, 1769: Intrord., passim., etc.
(2) Knox's View of British Empire, II. p. 616. (3) Ibid. 1. 141.
(5) Ibid.
(6) View of British Empire, II. 616.
to "the now quiet and peaceable state of the inhabitants; to the improvement of the barren lands, and the universal use of that valuable root, the potato; to the introduction of the cod and ling fishery; and lastly to the universal practice of inoculation, to counteract the dreadful ravages of the smallpox". (1) He ought to have added the kelp industry. "The people marry early in life... diseases and warrenness are very infrequent... the average size of the Heuridean family" is five and one-seventh. (2) This was the approximate average over the whole Highlands, and was the highest anywhere in Britain. (3)

This land-hungry and growing population, with sympathetic guidance and help, might have transformed the face of the Highlands. (4) Under the pressure of necessity, greed, or contemporary economic theory, the landowners took another course. "The sheepfarmer offered a short way out of the difficulties that were besetting the landowners". (5) The consequence of the policy of sheepwalks, which began first in the districts bordering the Lowlands, and eventually reached Sutherland, was a major movement of population from the inland glens and straths to the barren sea coasts, where they were expected to live by fishing, to the Lowlands, where they subsisted by the lowest of unskilled labour or by begging, and to Canada and the United States, where they created strong and prosperous Gaelic communities. (6) Those who settled in the Lowlands were mainly of the cottar class. (7) Such were the men who constituted the Edinburgh

corps of caddies, and, with the Irish, formed the lowest strata of labour in the growing industrial centres of Glasgow, Greenock and Paisley. (1)

The emigration of Highlanders to the American colonies began early in the 18th century. In 1735, the S.P.C.K. appointed Neil MacLeod, a native of Skye, to be chaplain to the Gaelic-speaking colonists in Georgia. (2) He was also to undertake mission work among the Indians, but he was recalled when the greater part of the settlers perished in an expedition against the Spaniards. (3) The first period of extensive emigration, however, occurred during the period 1740 - 1775. "Perthshire and Strathspey contributed some; the mainland districts of Argyllshire, Ross and Sutherland contributed more; but the bulk of the mainland emigration was supplied by the glens of Invernessshire, Strathglass, Glenmoriston, Glengarry and Glen Urquhart". (4) "The really sensational departures, however, were not from the mainland, but from the islands; and the places that figure most largely in the records of the exodus are Skye, the two Uists, Lewis, Arran, Jura, Gigha and Islay". (5) It is impossible to give an exact estimate of the numbers who sought a home in America. Knox calculated that 20,000 emigrated between 1763 and 1773; Garnett that there was an exodus of 30,000 between 1773 and 1775. (6) The latter figure, if approximately correct, would include demobilised Highland soldiers who were given land in America. (7) Many of the leaders of this earlier phase of emigration were tacksmen, who were chagrined at the rise in rents. (8)

Flora MacDonald and her husband were among these. Sheriff Brown says that "the tacksmen carried their people along with them". (1) This did happen in the case of the Glengarry MacDonals, (2) but the generality of the emigrants up to 1775 were small and fairly well off tenants who were able to pay their own passages and had a little over to begin life in their new homes. (3) The redemptioners, or emigrants who sold themselves as slaves for a number of years (generally seven) in return for their passage across the Atlantic are not supposed to have been numerous, (4) though Knox met bands of Highlanders begging their way to Greenock, who purposed to sell themselves to the captain of a ship for the voyage across the Atlantic. (5) Some went to work in the towns to make money to pay their passages. (6) The next phase of emigration, which was mainly to Canada, and which concluded with the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars, may be illustrated by the fact that, from Skye alone (population in 1791 was about 14,000), from 1772 till 1791, some 4000 went abroad and 8000 migrated to the Low Country. (7) In 1790, a district on the west coast with a population of 1900, sent 500 across the seas. (8) It is interesting to note that a large number of the Highland colonial settlers, particularly the men of Skye, displayed conspicuous loyalty to the motherland during the American Rebellion, and, preferring to lose their all rather than surrender their allegiance, crossed over to Canada. (9)

The third phase of the great movement of the Highland people belongs to the 19th century, and "first began to be kindled along the tract of the Caledonian Canal, by certain religious itinerants". (1) These were the agents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home. Sheriff Brown, whether justly or not, connects this missionary propaganda with the introduction of "these levelling principles, which had long been fermenting in the south". (2) This new movement, however, coincided with the sweeping extension of the policy of sheepwalks, of which the 'Sutherland Clearances' are the most notorious, if not the most ruthless, example. (3)

Along with the emigrations, the army and navy made a tremendous drain on the most enterprising and intelligent of the Highland people. There is no doubt that the Highland regiments provided a welcome and needed avenue of employment. The military life was in line with the instincts and traditions of their race. But the marvellous celerity with which new regimental formations were raised has an explanation other than love of fighting. Owing to the almost universal prevalence of tenancy-at-will, "the landlord might, with an authority almost despotic, select from among the youth upon his estate, all who appeared most suitable as recruits". (4) "When a proprietor wanted to raise a certain number of men, he had only to send round his ground officer, or bailiff, and collect all the young men on his estate... in a few days they were sent to the headquarters of the regiment". (5) Among these, there were plenty of willing

(1) Brown's Strictures, p. 39. (2) Ibid. (3) See Donald MacLeod's Gloomy Memories; A. MacKemzie's Highland Clearances; Sellar's Sutherland Evictions of 1814; Loch's Account of Lord Stafford's Improvements, etc. (4) Selkirk's Observations, p. 63. (5) Brown's Strictures, p. 50.
recruits, and there is a sufficiency of evidence that, where the regimental commander was popular, it needed neither compulsion nor county. Allan Cameron of Erracht, who raised the 79th (Cameron Highlanders) in 1793, did not own an acre. But both Knox and Garnett call attention to the sad plight of the homes of many of the pressed men. MacDonald, writing in 1811, says that the Highland population yielded "at least 20,000 soldiers and sailors to the British Empire." This was the era of the Fencible Regiments. It would be impossible to estimate the numbers who served, or the numbers who never returned since the Black Watch fought at Fontenoy in 1745. Implicit in their engagement was the understanding that their families would remain in undisturbed possession of their holdings, and to the fencible men, explicit promises were made that they should receive grants of land on being disbanded. These promises "were for the most part evaded since the lairds, now more anxious for money than for men, entered upon the system of wholesale eviction...". Sir Walter Scott, in his sketch of the 'Sergeant Mor' portrays the veteran soldier's reaction to this treatment. By 1811, the Hebrideans "have no longer any predilection for the military life; on the contrary, their aversion of it is deeprooted and inveterate...". A similar change of feeling had taken place in many areas of the Highlands.

Contributory to the new era of faltering confidence and despair was the fact that "the odium that had attached for half a

century to everything Celtic was beginning to tell and a new generation had arrived, many of whom felt it a disgrace to be Highland, and did all they could to escape from their past... Everything Celtic had come to be regarded in Scotland as a degradation until Sir Walter Scott cast his kindly eye on the situation, and healed them of their grievous wound"). (1)

The people, on the whole, showed remarkable docility and peacefulness under the increasingly desperate burden of their situation. But "it is not to be overlooked that among the peasantry of the Highlands, and particularly among the (small) tenants) a spirit of discontent and irritation is widely diffused". (2) In 1792, the people of certain parts of Ross-shire rose in active revolt against the policy of sheepwalks. The military were called in, and the movement fizzled out. (3) But the Earl of Selkirk says: "There is scarcely any part of the Highlands which has not in its turn been in a state of irritation as great as Ross-shire in 1792". (4) Hugh Miller describes the favourable reactions of the people of Cromarty and district to the ideas of the French Revolution. (5) Someone thought it worthwhile to translate Paine's 'Rights of Man' into Gaelic, though apparently it was never published. (6)

XII.
During the two latter decades of the 18th century, in which the social and economic changes referred to above were taking place, the Highlands, by now an integral part of the spiritual entity

which was Scotland, shared in the various religious movements which affected the nation as a whole.

We will briefly notice the part the Highlands took in 'Scotland's Opposition to the Popish Bill'. In 1778, Parliament, by overwhelming majorities, repealed the penal statutes against English Roman Catholics. (1) The General Assembly of 1778 was in session while the measure was passing through the House of Lords. In view of the possibility that it might be extended to Scotland before the next Assembly met, it was moved that the Commission be instructed to oppose by every means in its power the extension of toleration principles north of the Tweed. Owing to the influence and eloquence of Principal Robertson, whose outlook on this matter was liberal and humane, the motion was defeated by a large majority. But when, towards the end of 1778, a bill to relieve the Scottish Roman Catholics was introduced into Parliament, it was challenged by the passionate, and apparently unanimous protest of the whole nation. (2) Moderates and Evangelicals united in denouncing the common enemy. The northern petitions are not, of course, so numerous or so representative of the different aspects of the social and economic life as those of the Lowlands. They are, indeed, practically all confined to the resolutions of church courts, but this may perhaps be accounted for by the comparative absence of burghs and trade guilds in the north. All these anti-Popery petitions are given in the volume 'Scotland's Opposition to the Popish Bill, 1780'.

(1) Cunningham's Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, p. 384
(2) Ibid. p. 385.
The Synod of Ross, while professing "to abhor all persecution for conscience' sake", "cannot, however, help observing with regret, the alarms and jealousies excited in the minds of their people by the above act". (1) The Synod of Moray fear that "the relaxation of the penal statutes against Papists...will, if extended to Scotland...give dissatisfaction and disquiet to the Protestants of this country". (2) The Synod of Glenelg "resolved to give this public testimony of their disapprobation of said bill ever passing into law". (3) The Kirk-session of Tongue speaks of "the general alarm among the people they represent". (4) The Session of Tain tells how "greatly alarmed the inhabitants of this country are". (5) The terms of the petition from the Presbytery of Dornoch, then largely Moderate, suggest that their protest is the result of popular pressure rather than conviction. (6) Then, as later in pre-Disruption days, there was a vein of bitter hostility to Romanism in certain elements of popular Highland Evangelicalism. When Dr Chalmers espoused the side of toleration, he had no more envenomed critic than Peter Stewart and the other lay leaders of Highland Separatism. (7)

The government withdrew the bill.

The retirement of Principal Robertson emboldened the southern Evangelicals to renew the anti-patronage war cry. In 1782, societies were formed in Glasgow, Falkirk, and Edinburgh to correspond with the various parishes with a view to making an application to Parliament for the abolition of patronage. (8) In 1783, the Assembly recorded its

conviction that "the moderation of a call is agreeable to the immem­
orial and constitutional practice of the Church". (1) The following
year, the Assembly, for the first time since 1736, omitted to instruct
the Commission to apply to Parliament for the removal of the
grievance of patronage. These two apparently contradictory decisions,
coupled with the fact that the Evangelical party made no further
move to have the law altered, appears to indicate that both parties
in the Church were now content to accept the broad fact of patronage.
For a brief space, the Assembly, if not the Church, found peace. (2)

Dr Meikle, however, notes that "the language of the patronage
controversy of 1782 is more distinctly political than that of 1761." (3)
Further, "under the guise of ecclesiastical liberty, political ideas
were gradually insinuating themselves into the minds of the common
people", and it was natural that "when the shock of the French
Revolution came, the very phraseology of the defenders of patronage
should become the commonplace of the opponents of reform". (4)
The patronage debate is thus seen to have been a preparatory class
for the great political controversy which the influx of French ideas
made inevitable. Left wing Evangelicalism instinctively took the side
of reform; Moderatism and right wing Evangelicalism were sensitive to
the threat to established institutions. Reaction and repression was
not confined to the Church; it revealed itself in the decisions of
the dissenting bodies as well. (5)

But the shock which stirred the political life of Britain had

(5) MacKerrow’s Secession Church, p. 393; Struthers’ Relief Church, p. 405;
Ross, J.: Congregational Independency in Scotland, p. 43. (Glasg. 1900)
far-reaching repercussions in the religious sphere. Early 18th century Evangelicalism had been bold and aggressive. Its work at home in the Highlands had displayed the genuine missionary impulse; nor was its outlook bounded by the national frontiers. In the first and second fleets that went from Scotland to colonise the Isthmus of Panama, there were altogether seven ministers, whose labours were not to be confined to work amongst the settlers. (1) In 1732, the Directors of the S.P.C.K., through the Governor of Massachusetts, engaged three missionaries to labour among the American Indians. (2) The most famous of the missionary servants of the society was David Brainerd, who laboured from 1743 to 1747, and whose diary was edited by Jonathan Edwards. In 1762, the General Assembly ordered a collective collection to be made on behalf of the Indian missions, and a sum of £543:5:3 was realised. (3) This was the only collection solely destined for foreign missions that was taken during the century. Evangelical Christians, increasingly content to cultivate their own souls, had lost their glimpse of world horizons. "It was one of the results of the French Revolution, that, by effecting a change in the temper of the times, it ushered in an era of religious activity - an activity which displayed itself in missionary enterprise, first abroad and then at home". (4) In 1792, the Baptist Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society were established in England, and in 1796, missionary societies were established in Edinburgh, Glasgow, etc. Dr John Erskine, the venerable leader of the Evangelicals,

(1) D. W. Weir's Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland, p. 7.
(2) Account of the S.P.C.K., 1774, p. 15 (Edin. 1774)
(3) Ibid. p. 14
and Sir Harry Moncrieff, his lieutenant and successor, were the leading figures in the Edinburgh society.

In 1796, the duty of the Church towards the evangelisation of the heathen world was the subject of a historic debate in the Assembly. That debate was a reflection of the timidity, suspicion, and reaction, mingled with the awakening consciousness of a new age of Christian opportunity and enterprise, which was the complex mood of the nation. (1) The immediate occasion of the debate was the presentation of two overtures, the one from the Synod of Fife, the other from the partly Highland Synod of Moray. The men of Fife asked "that the Assembly may consider of the most effectual methods, by which the Church of Scotland may contribute to the diffusion of the Gospel over the world". (2) The overture from Moray was more specific. At the meeting of Synod at Forres on 26th April 1796, it was unanimously agreed "to recommend to such members of Synod, as shall attend next Assembly to use their influence and endeavours for promoting an Act of Assembly for a general collection throughout the Church to aid the several societies for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen Nations". (3) The terms of the overture to the Assembly were "that in respect a very laudable zeal for sending the Gospel to the Heathen Countries hath appeared both in Scotland and England, the Assembly should encourage this spirit and promote this most important and desirable object, by appointing a general collection over the Church, or adopting whatever other method may appear to them.

(1) Account of the Proceedings and Debate in General Assembly, 1796: Edin. 1796. (2) MS Minutes of Assembly, 1796. (3) Ibid.
most effectual. William MacBean. (1) As the specific request for a collection was likely to rouse the greater opposition, and as the non-committal censure of the Fife overture might well win acceptance, the debate opened with a manoeuvre on the part of the opponents of the overtures, led by Dr Hill, to have the two motions considered together. This was successful and virtually decided the fate of the proposals. William MacBean, former minister of Kingussie, now minister of Alvie, whose name was attached to the Moray overture, opened the debate in a speech which claimed the irresistible authority of Scripture for the cause which he had espoused. He was supported by Dr Johnston of Leith and Robert Heron, elder, New Galloway, a man whose life did not always conform to his excellent intentions. George Hamilton of Gladsmuir presented the classical Moderate case against missions to the heathen. "To spread abroad the knowledge of the Gospel among barbarous and heathen natives seems to me highly preposterous, insofar as it anticipates, nay even reverses the order of nature. Men must be polished and refined in their manners before they can be enlightened in religious truths. Philosophy and learning must in the nature of things take the precedence." (2) John Erskine countered this argument by adducing the testimony of St Paul: "I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians." (3) Dr Carlyle of Inveresk supported Hamilton; David Boyle, the brilliant advocate, apprehended that the missionary funds "may be in time, nay certainly will be, turned against the constitution", and the overtures should therefore be opposed. (4)

Hugh MacKay of Moy, an earnest Highland Evangelical, also opposed the overtures, as he did in the Synod. (1) Doubtless there were others of his school who, disturbed by the revolutionary taint which attached itself to every new association, however innocent in its objective, accepted Dr Hill's temporising and victorious motion that the overtures be dismissed, but that the Assembly resolve "that they will embrace any future opportunity of contributing, by their exertions, to the propagation of the Gospel of Christ, which Divine Providence may hereafter open". In a house of 102 members, the majority in favour of delaying action was only 14. (2) Doubtless the result was disappointing to the protagonists of missions; but Dr Cowan says: "Probably at that time there was no other Reformed Church in Europe, except the Moravian, whose Supreme Court or Council would have shown a minority so large in favour of official and immediate missionary action". (3) By 1824, the official attitude of the Moderate party had so far veered round in favour of missionary action, that it was Dr Inglis, the Moderate leader, who was mainly responsible for creating the Foreign Mission Committee of the General Assembly. (4)

The Assembly debate brought the question of missions to the forefront throughout the country, and missionary societies were formed in many districts. One of the most successful of these was the Northern Missionary Society, founded in Inverness and Tain in 1800. (5) By 1822, it had raised "about £3000 for missionary purposes, and had by no means at that date come to an end of its career". (6)

"The people out of their poverty contriuned freely to such objects as were brought before them". (1) It is not without interest that the first missionary of the Church of Scotland to India was Alexander Duff, a Gaelic-speaking Highlander, who had been nurtured in the spiritual atmosphere of the Moulin revival of 1799. (2)

It was inevitable that the Christian activism which was concerned with the salvation of the heathen, should seek an outlet in the home field as well. It was after the failure of their Bengal mission scheme that the brothers Haldane began their evangelistic campaigns in Scotland. (3) John Campbell, the founder of the Edinburgh Tract Society, lay preacher, and organiser of Sabbath schools both in and out of Edinburgh, became an African missionary. (4) The same men were often interested in both home and foreign missions. We have already seen that the Secession Church had sent its agents at an early date on mission tours in Ross-shire. (5) But their purpose appears to have been to confirm their disciples rather than to evangelise the body of the people. The Relief Church was the pioneer in distinctively home mission enterprise in the Highlands. The Glasgow Relief Presbytery, in 1786, sent Neil Douglas to Kilbrandon, where there were signs of a spiritual awakening as a consequence of the translation into Gaelic of Alleine's 'Alarm'. (6) The evangelist met with considerable discouragement both from clergy and people, and soon left. (7) Some of the converts appear to have affiliated themselves to the Reformed Presbyterian Church; their lay leader was Alexander Campbell.

whose Dying Testimony, a compendium of 45 closely written pages of universal anathema, is one of the curiosities of Highland religious literature. (1) In 1797, the Relief Synod sent another and a better organised mission into the Highlands. Argyll was chosen as the sphere of their evangelistic labours. Douglas had on this occasion with him another Relief minister, M. Naught of Dumarton. The Synod, who professed to have no sectarian motive, gave definite instructions to their missioners to the effect that (a) they should preach the Gospel of Christ, (b) make personal contact with the people (c) keep free from politics, (d) distribute Gaelic literature, (e) look out for the most destitute places with a view to other missions, (f) avoid declaiming against other denominations, and (g) establish fellowship meetings. (2) The mission was a signal success. Great congregations, some of them up to 2000 people, attended the field preachings in Barr, Clachan, Kilmodan, and other places in Kintyre and Cowal. (3) The response indeed approached the initial stages of a widespread revival. The audience in Killean, and it was fairly typical of other places, "discovered a deep concern and solemnity in their looks". (4) Even where more striking results were not achieved, the mission resulted in "a more than ordinary sense of the value of a Gospel ministry". (5) On a vacancy arising, they applied to the patron (Duke of Argyll) for an evangelical minister in succession to the departed Moderate. "Such conduct is seldom exemplified in the Highlands, for the people are in general as tame and submissive on

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these occasions as the most arbitrary patron would have them". (1) Douglas was, it would appear, an appealing Gaelic preacher, but the chief impression one obtains from his very interesting Journal is that the people were but waiting for a fresh authentic voice to stir their latent Evangelicalism to full consciousness. The Relief missionaries found it difficult to obey the instruction "to avoid declaiming against other denominations". 'Testifying' was in their blood, and it must be admitted that they found occasion for testifying in a district where the clergy were careless, and where the Evangelical Gospel was rarely heard in the parish pulpits. (2) The 'persecution' which they endured from the Moderate ministers, and their friends, must be viewed in the light of the home-truths which the missionaries proclaimed with apparent gusto. Douglas' affiliations with political radicalism unfortunately interfered with his further usefulness as an evangelist; on his return from Argyll, he was arrested and tried for writing a seditious pamphlet. (3) In 1798, the Relief Synod sent three more missionaries into Kintyre, but their predecessor's political record prejudiced their success. (4)

Since the days of Whitefield, English Evangelicalism had been a healthy and stimulating influence on Scottish religion. Both Whitefield and Wesley were Anglican priests, they were welcomed into many Scottish pulpits, and when Wesley was opposed, as by John Erskine, it was on account of his Arminianism, not of his Anglicanism. Charles Simeon, the famous Cambridge Evangelical divine, arrived in Scotland

in 1796. In his tour of Stirling, Perth, and Argyll, he was accompanied by James Haldane. Simeon stayed two days at the manse of Moulin, and took part in a sacramental service in that parish. (1) The minister of Moulin was Alexander Stewart, a wellmeaning young man of indeterminate theological views. Simeon's subsequent influence on Highland Evangelicalism was mediated through Stewart, who dated his conversion from this visit. He confesses to "the blessings I enjoyed in the preaching, the prayers, the conversation, of that much favoured servant of God, the Rev. Charles Simeon, of King's College Cambridge. He was a man sent from God to me, was my guest for two days in June 1796, preached in my church, and left a savour of the things of God which has remained with us ever since". (2) As a result of this change in his spiritual life, Stewart preached a course of sermons, from August 1797 till January 1798 on the "fundamental doctrines of Christianity". In this course, he addressed his people "as sinners under sentence of death, and who had not yet obtained mercy". (3) The Moulin revival of 1799 followed. (4)

James Haldane, who, with his brother Robert, had responded to the first intimations of the French Revolution as to the dawn of a new day of justice and freedom, but who soon discovered that the perfectibility of human nature by merely secular means was an illusion, (5) began his career as a lay evangelist in the village of Gilmerton on the 6th May 1797. (6) His theology, like that of his

(2) Stewart's Account of Late Revival, p. 13 (3rd Ed. Edin. 1802)
(3) Ibid. p. 15. (4) Ibid. passim; Sievewright's Memoir, passim; See p. 267.
brother based on the discovery of the "desperate wickedness and deceitfulness of the human heart, both testified in Scripture, and confirmed in my own experience"; (1) and the primal necessity of regeneration, was narrow, illiberal, and contemptuous of tradition. Both men were utterly sincere; they had an instinct for the need of their fellow-countrymen, and had the courage to try new methods. The new methods adopted by the Haldanes with such an amazing success were the distribution of tracts, the institution of Sabbath schools which quickly developed into evangelistic meetings, missionary itinerancy by bands of untrained or partially trained lay preachers, and the erection of 'tabernacles', or large preaching halls in the great centres of population. (2) Lay preaching was not only a novelty, but an affront to current Presbyterian opinion, whether Moderate or Evangelical, dissenting, or of the Establishment. (3)

On his tour to the far north in 1798, which was of an exploratory nature, James Haldane was accompanied by a retired West Indian merchant named Aikman, who had his first experience as a lay preacher in Gilmerton, and by Joseph Rate. Travelling in a light open carriage which they had sought for the occasion, and carrying with them a large supply of tracts, of which they distributed some 20,000, they preached at Perth, Scone, Coupar-Angus, Meigle, Glamis, Kirriemuir, and other places on the road to Aberdeen. At Montrose they noted the ill effect of sending children to work in factories at too early an age, and at Forfar they warned the people against Tom Paine, whose

"Age of Reason" had been extensively circulated in the town. (1) In the Lowlands of Moray, where there were evident tokens of "laxity of morals and indifference to religion", as well as of "Socinian principles", there were open air congregations of up to 1000. (2) While Haldane and Aikman went by sea from Burghead to Orkney, Rate conducted a mission in Inverness and district. In the town, he had audiences of up to 2000, and found that they were "exceedingly attentive". "The present generation (in Inverness and the countryside having in general had a religious education, retain the opinions, but forsake the practices of their fathers". (3) So Rate considered. He found that his message "was the means under the hand of God of leading several young persons to discontinue novel-reading, and walking for amusement on Sunday, practices out too common in Inverness". (4) While his estimate of the general religious condition of the people was that it was "truly deplorable", and that "with the Scriptures in their hands, they are perishing for lack of knowledge", (5) yet he thought it remarkable to observe "the number which flock to hear any of the neighbouring Gospel ministers, of whom there are several". "It is not at uncommon to see 3000 or 4000 people assemble in the open air". (6) "A pious minister, a former assistant to Mr Calder of Croy, preached in the neighbourhood (of Inverness) in a tent, to about 4000 people who listened with astonishing attention". (7) The truth is that the tide of evangelism within the Church, running through the well-worn channels of the sacramental assemblies

fellowship meetings, and the Sabbath by Sabbath ministration of the Word, was, in a less spectacular way, keeping pace with, and was to absorb, the undenominational Evangelicalism of the itinerants. The inherent strength of Highland Presbyterianism was one cause, theological strife among the Haldanites another cause, of the eventual and almost complete dominance of the Presbyterian type of Evangelicalism. (1)

After his return from a sensationally successful evangelistic tour of the Orkneys, James Haldane arrived in Caithness on 31st August 1797. In 1750, Sir William Sinclair of Dunveath, "the preaching knight", had inaugurated a Baptist cause, which has survived to this day, in the district of Keiss. (2) In 1766 or 1767, the Anti-Laurghers found a footing in Caithness, and congregations were formed in Wick and Thurso. The immediate cause of the secession is understood to have been that "two parish ministers (of Thurso) in succession" preached Armenian doctrine. (3) Apart from these tokens of dissenting evangelical activity, the lowlands of Caithness had settled down to a placid Moderatism. (4) Haldane preached his first sermon in Caithness in the yard of the Thurso Anti-Laurgher Church to "about 300 persons who seemed rather unconcerned". (5) Day by day the congregations grew to 500, 800, 1500, and on his first Sunday morning in the burgh to 1700. The same evening, he addressed a gathering of 3000 people, and testified against the doctrine, smacking strongly of Arminianism, which he had heard in the parish church that day. (6)

The weekday congregations during the following week numbered up to 1000. The people were now "very attentive". (1) The following Sunday, at 10 a.m. between 2000 and 3000 persons assembled, "many of them from the country", to hear the new doctrine. (2) The afternoon of the same day, he preached to 3000 people on the significant text, I John, verses 10-11: "If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: for he that biddest him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds". He felt this warning necessary, because several of his converts continued to attend the ministrations of false teachers (the parish ministers). (3) In the evening, he preached to a congregation of some 3000. On Sunday 17th September, he told another audience of 3000 people that he considered it his duty, however unpleasant, to bear testimony against the doctrine which he had heard from their minister. (4) Patrick Nicolson, minister of Thurso, attended Haldane's farewell service on 24th September, and had the dubious satisfaction of hearing his own morning sermon analysed and found wanting. (5) At the beginning of October, Haldane visited Wick, and at an early morning service, his audience numbered 2500. As was his habit, he went to the parish church to learn the nature of the doctrine taught there. Apparently, it was a robust Arminianism. The minister "spoke much of the criminality of such as found fault with ministers, who were the successors of the Apostles, the ambassadors appointed to carry on the treaty of peace between God and man". (6) In the afternoon, Haldane preached to

an audience of 4000, and took due notice of the errors contained in
the morning sermon. Next Sunday, his colleague, Aikman, spoke to a
multitude numbering 4000. (1) Haldane has little good to say of the
religion of Caithness. "It would be well for us" said the people, "if
we would do as we are taught". (2) Haldane, after sampling the
doctrine taught in the Caithness pulpits, thought otherwise. He
testified, however, that "about 50 or 60 years ago, the whole of the
ministers were faithful preachers of Christ. Their testimony has
been transmitted, and the instruction and example of humble individ­
uals (the 'Men') have been blessed of God, for keeping alive a
spirit of real religion in the interior parts of the country". (3)
The "interior parts" was the Highland district, ministered to chief­
ly by the Achreny Royal Bounty Mission. (4) Beaton gives an account
of some of the aiding results which flowed from this brief but
highly successful mission. (5) In 1805, Alexander Gunn was inducted to
Watten. He was the first of that notable group of Caithness ministers
who included Archibald and Finlay Cook and John Munro. (6) Their
Evangelicalism had no direct connection with Haldanism. Gunn owed
his conversion to Dr Mackintosh of Tain. (7) Though two Independent
Evangelical congregations were formed, one in Wick and one in Thurso,
the Evangelicalism which captured the lowlands of Caithness in the
period previous to the Disruption was churchly and Presbyterian.

On the journey south, Haldane was depressed by the state of
religion in Dornoch, but "was comforted to hear of the good that

(1) Haldane's Journal, p. 72. (2) Ioid, p. 76. (3) Ioid, p. 76.
(5) Ecclesiastical History of Caithness, pp. 152-159.
(6) Ministers and Men, passim. (7) Ioid, p. 29.
was done at prayer meetings, which were instituted in a period when much of the power of godliness was experienced, and are still maintained in many parts of the country." (1) He gives a detailed account of a numerously attended fellowship meeting which met once a month near Dornoch. Tain, where Dr Mackintosh was carrying on his great ministry, was one of the few places which won Haldane's commendation. (2)

In 1798, Haldane, Aikman, and Hugh Ross, a Gaelic catechist, made a tour of Perthshire, making Dunkeld their centre. They distributed tracts, held children's meetings, instituted Sabbath schools, and erected prayer meetings. (3) Ross extended his travels to Inverary, and brought back news of the nakedness of the land. Three more Gaelic catechists were sent to Perthshire. (4) Messrs Ballantyne and Cleghorn, destined to continue the work begun in Wick and Thurso, conducted evangelistic meetings by the way. (5) In Moray, they meet evident tokens of the rising tide of the Evangelical movement. "The people seem much affected." "Many of the congregation in tears." "A crowded Sabbath school, and a prayer meeting upon an extensive scale." "A Sabbath school begun by the children themselves, and opened with prayer by one of them." "Many young people under much concern." (6) So they reported. Of Inverness, where they had great congregations, they told that "there are many of the Lord's people in the town and neighbourhood... many young people are earnestly seeking the Lord." (7)

given an early welcome, "are a great means of keeping the young converts' souls alive". (1) In Dingwall, there is "an amazing stupidity as to the Gospel". (2) From other testimony, that of Alexander Stewart for instance, we know that this was not so. (3) This remark enables us to see that the itinerants must often have misunderstood the religious condition of the Highland people. In 1798, Alexander MacKenzie, Gaelic catechist, was sent on a mission to the Northern Highlands to found Sabbath schools. Having completed his tour, he was sent to the Western Isles. (4) Tracts, such as "Friendly Advice", "Address from a Stranger", "Plain Truths", "Address to Children", were translated into Gaelic, 5000 copies of each being printed. (5) The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home was formed in Edinburgh in 1798. The Haldanes were the moving spirits. Professing to have no sectarian motive, but observing a deficiency of the means of religious instruction, and that evangelical ministers, where they existed, were precluded from itinerating at will, unlike their Anglican brethren, they decided to form a society that would employ itinerant preachers, encourage schools, especially Sabbath schools, throughout the country, promote the reading of Scripture, circulate tracts, and establish libraries of books on practical religion. (5) "Before the close of 1799, nearly forty catechists were travelling throughout the length and breadth of the land, thirty or forty thousand tracts had been distributed and the whole of the north of Scotland was thrown into a blaze". (6) "The missionaries", as they were called,

were to be found preaching in every village and Highland glen, and in every locality they had their (Sabbath) schools and their lay agency". (1) This is, of course, an exaggeration; but the restless activity of the 'missionaries' created the impression that they were everywhere. In 1799, the Haldane brothers, with their leading associates, signalised their severance from the Establishment by forming themselves into a Congregational Church. (2) The tension between the National Church and the followers of the new Evangelicalism was really strained to breaking point. Greville Ewing's theological seminary, started in 1799, (3) devoted itself to the training of the future ministers of the connexion. The General Assembly's growing concern about a movement which had the appearance of threatening the foundations of the National Church is expressed in the famous "Pastoral Admonition" which was ordered to be read from the pulpit of every parish church in Scotland. (4) The Assembly, solemnly countenancing the suspicion which was held by many conservatively minded people that there was a connection between the ideas of the French Revolution and itinerating Evangelicalism, warned their people against "the seduction of false teachers". (5) These false teachers were "those who, assuming the name of missionaries from what they call the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home, as if they had some special commission from Heaven, are at present going through the land, not confining themselves to particular stations, but acting as universal and itinerant teachers and as

superintendents of those who are established the teachers of religion by the church, intruding themselves into their parishes without any call, erecting in several places Sunday schools without any countenance from the Presbytery of the bounds, the minister, or the heritors of the parish, committing in those schools the religious instruction of youth to ignorant persons altogether unfit, or to persons notoriously disaffected to the civil constitution of the country, and connecting these schools with certain secret meetings."

(1) The same Assembly received a report concerning Vagrant Teachers and Sunday Schools. Presbyteries were enjoined to enforce the civil statutes which committed the superintendence of education to the Church.

(2) By another enactment, especially aimed at the itinerants and their Anglical auxiliary, Rowland Hill, parish ministers were forbidden to invite to their pulpits "persons who are not qualified, according to the laws of the Church, to accept of a presentation".

(3) The Anti-Burghers, the Cameronsians, and the Relief Church combined with their ancient enemy to stem the flood of the new Evangelicalism.

(4) It is charitable to assume that many churchmen really believed that the 'missionaries' were a threat to the civil constitution, but it is probable that the determining factor in the general opposition was the challenge to Presbyterian order.

It cannot be questioned that the itinerating evangelism had a stimulating effect within the Church. Seed sown by the itinerants was harvested by the Evangelical ministers of the Church, sometimes

(4) Ross's Congregational Independence, p. 71.
years afterwards. In 1800, James Haldane and John Campbell toured Arran. (1) In 1804 and 1805, there was a revival in the north end of the island. In 1812 and 1813, there was a still more striking movement. (2) The response which the two missioners elicited in Kintyre on the same tour may be regarded as evidence that Neil Douglas' previous campaign had not been in vain. (3) Farquharson, an agent of the S.P.C.K., stirred up Breadalbane and Glenlyon about 1800. (4) While some of the fruit of his mission was retained for Independency by the itinerating activity of "the great Kennedy", the Evangelical Union minister of Aberfeldy, (5) the great mass movement in Breadalbane, which occurred in 1816-1817, was kept within the fold of the National Church. (6) When Farquharson visited Skye, sometime before 1805, it was asserted that "there were but two persons within the whole bounds of the Presbytery, who might be counted on as enlightened Christians". (7) One of these got her religion in Lochcarron. The other was a native of Ross. Farquharson converted Donald Munro, the blind fiddler-catechist of Portree. (8) The Skye revivals, which began in 1812, can be directly traced to the labours of Donald Munro. (9) Baptist Independency gained some footing in Skye, but under the weight of later revivals led by such parish ministers as Roderick MacLeod of Snizort, it disappeared. (10) The salutary influence of the missionary evangelism on the mass of church people may be observed, for instance, in Wick, where, in 1797, "only three

families worshipped God", but in 1805 the missioners "heard the voice of melody in almost every home". (1) The pastoral zeal of Haldane and his missionaries, especially during the recurring fever epidemics, (2) had a tonic effect on a ministry that had largely given up the duty of visitation. They planned an increased circulation of the Bible, though in this task the Relief and Secession Churches, and the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr were also pioneers. (3)

But probably the greatest single contribution which the Haldanite movement gave to the Evangelical Presbyterianism of the Highlands was the spiritual songs of Peter Grant. (4) This most popular of 19th century Gaelic hymn-writers was a convert of Lachlan Mackintosh "one of the ablest of the early missionaries sent out by the Haldanes". (5) Multitudes who knew his hymns by heart were probably unaware of his denominational affiliation.

There was a less happy side to the itinerating evangelism. It was not so much that they "dispelled the innocent, attractive, and often sublime superstitions of the Highlanders". (6) They had to go anyway, though they might have been handled less roughly. Their unenviable distinction is that they introduced religious strife, and sectarian bitterness, among a people who had hitherto been relatively free from these things. "The clergy and the Church of Scotland were anathematised; her doctrines and institutions stigmatised; and her observance of duties ridiculed. The consequence was that duties were gladly discontinued by many; catechisms and other formularies of the

Church were dispised and almost the whole of her ministers rejected as unsound. These views were very extensively maintained and propagated throughout the country (in the first quarter of the 19th century). (1) Col. Stewart, the type of "the good Moderate", affirms that the character and habits of the people "have undergone a considerable change since they began to be visited by itinerant missionaries, and since the gloom spread over their minds has tended to depress their spirits". (2) "Their evening meetings, instead of being enlivened with the tale, the poem, or the song... are too frequently exasperated with political or religious discussions..." (3) Stewart ascribes the eager response given to the itinerants' message to the economic oppression of the people. (4) The rapidly increasing body of Evangelical ministers in the Church, confronted by the aggressive activity of itinerant evangelism, were placed in a delicate position. Not all Stewart of Moulin's evangelical devotion could defend his flock from the attentions of the itinerants. (5) He tried to make the best of it. "I have endeavoured to take a lesson of diligence from them, and to obtain a portion of their zeal". (6) Robert Findlater, the young Royal Bounty missionary of Loch Tayside, whose labours were crowned by the Breadalbane revivals of 1816-1817, records that his first attempts at evangelising were "denounced by bulls and declamations as threatening by the Baptists, as ever came from the Holy See". (7) 'Persecution' was not all on one side.

Thus the new century began its course. Moderatism, which had no message to meet the needs of the new age, was still a strong though steadily declining force. And even the Moderates, as was shown when Dr Inglis sponsored the official recognition of foreign missions by the General Assembly, showed that they could learn, albeit reluctantly, from their opponents. Evangelicalism within the Church, strongly conscious of a national and world mission, became confident, aggressive, abounding in good works. Through the building of new churches and through such evangelistic campaigns as those of John MacDonald of Ferintosh, they sought to reach the unevangelised masses. There was a new zeal for Highland education. The Gaelic School Society led the way. Other associations followed. The General Assembly, though late in the field, took up that work in 1826. The circulation of the Scriptures in Gaelic began in earnest in 1811, through the channel of the Gaelic schools. There was an awakening conscience about the economic condition of the people. That it was tardy enough is shown by the fact that only one minister in the Church raised his voice against the 'Sutherland Clearances'.

At the same time there was a more rigid insistence on the Puritan discipline. Music, poetry, and innocent recreation were banned as unseemly, if not sinful. A tense Biblical orthodoxy, with an emphatic emphasis on the doctrine of regeneration, was the dominant theological mood. The Haldanite movement, once fraught with apparent peril, for the Church, receded from the glens and straths into the towns and villages, and acquired the relative suavity of an established sect, the Evangelical Union.

(1) Donald Sarm. See Memorabilia Domestica: Donald MacLeod's Gloomy Memories; Alexander MacKenzie's Highland Clearances, etc.
CHAPTER IV.

REVIVAL MOVEMENTS IN THE HIGHLANDS, 1668-1800.
In this chapter, we shall notice the various revivals of evangelical religion which took place in different districts throughout the Highlands during the 18th century. A 'revival' has been adequately defined as "an unusual manifestation of the power of the grace of God in convincing and converting careless sinners, and in quickening and increasing the faith and piety of believers". (1) Henri Bois believed that he had discovered grounds in English usage for distinguishing an 'awakening' and a 'revival', and, as the differentiation is not known to French, he signified the distinction by writing 'réveil' for the lesser manifestation, and 'Réveil' for a revival in the full sense. (2) According to this usage, the Kirk of Shotts or Cambuslang would be 'Réveils'; periods of 'unusual concern' which evangelical ministers and missioners sometimes bring to our notice would be 'réveils'. The Highlands, however, had nothing comparable to Cambuslang till the great revivals of the 19th century. On the other hand, there were a number of mass movements which went considerably beyond what would be sufficiently described as 'unusual concern'.

In order to place the 18th century revivals in their proper perspective, let us briefly notice two or three moments in the previous century in which the flickering flame of Highland evangelicalism glowed to a white heat. "It is upwards of half a century" said Dr Gustavus Aird "since I heard a tradition which astonished me then, that during part of Mr (Robert) Bruce's ministry in Inverness, persons from Sutherland and Ross were in the habit of going there to hear him, through bridgeless streams and rivers and across ferries; but years afterwards, I found it verified in Blair's Autobiography: June 29th.

(1) Lectures on Revivals of Religion, by Ministers of Church of Scotland, p. iv, (Glasgow, 1840). (2) Bois, H., La Psychologie de Réveils, p. I (Paris)
1700, 'The memory of that man of God, Mr Bruce, is sweet to this day in
this place, Inverness. He, in the days of James, was confined in this
town and country about, for multitudes of all ranks would have crossed
several ferries every Lord's Day to hear him; yea, they came from Ross
and Sutherland'. (1) It may be added that the districts around Loch
Ness have preserved a similar tradition about Mr Bruce's northern
ministry. Highland awakenings or revivals have been generally associat-
ed with the celebration of the Holy Supper and the following incident:
conform to the general type. George Squair was the only Presbyterian
minister in the Reay country after the Restoration of Charles
II. Despite the fact that he was a hunted refugee, he resolved to cele-
brate the Communion in his own parish of Kinlochbervie and Eddrechillis.
This was, of course, a much more heinous crime than mere field preach-
ing; yet five score of "the more devout and faithful" assembled at a
place near Rhicoinich, at the head of Loch Inchard. "The whole service
was a memorable one... Not only was there no interruption of the ser-
vice, but all there felt so much of the Lord's presence, and their
bonds were so loosened, and their fears so dispelled, that all, without
a single exception, felt constrained to say with Thomas, 'My Lord, and
my God', and without exception commemorated the dying love of their
Redeemer". (2) A Highland sacrament where all the congregation felt
constrained to communicate is indeed worthy of record. Under similar
conditions of secrecy and danger, the Lord's Supper was solemnised
at Gossdale (Kiltearn) in September 1675. On this occasion "there was
... a plentiful effusion of the Spirit upon a great many present;

(1) Inverness Free Church General Assembly, 1888: Memorial Volume, p. 10
(2) Sutherland and Reay Country, ed. A. Gunn and J. MacKay, p. 339 (Glasgow,
1897)
and the oldest Christians there declared that they had not been witnesses to the like. In short, there were so sensible and glorious discoveries made of the Son of Man, and such evident presence of the Master of Assemblies, this day and the preceding, that the people seemed to be in a transport, and their souls filled with heaven, and breathing thither while their bodies were on earth; and some were almost at that, 'Whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell'. Even some drops fell upon strangers. "(1) "A godly number of serious people" were present; but in the circumstances, this cannot mean anything approaching the immense multitudes that flocked to Highland communions in later times. All the same, the Obsdale communion was long and lovingly remembered by the northern Highlanders as one of the golden days in their spiritual history.

Wodrow also gives us a revealing glimpse of the popular movement which was the prelude to the revivals of the third and fourth decades. Writing in 1728: "Mr Walter Ross, minister in Sutherland,(2) tells me, that in their Presbytery, at the earnest desire of the people, they keep the sacrament of the Supper in the vacancies; that people come fifty miles to a communion, and the bulk of the religious people through the county wait on them, that they are much straitened what to do, by the vulgar notion they have in that country, that it is not lawful to take money for the entertainment of strangers from neighbouring places at such occasions; and yet the charges to the place where the sacrament is, is so great, that the ministers, for the people's sake only have communion only once in two years". (3) The great sacramental

gatherings were, in fact, one of the most effective of evangelising agencies, and at the same time, produced a homogeneity of religious temper and outlook in a country whose geography naturally tends to create an isolated parochialism.

The first stirrings of the revival in Master Ross can be discerned as early as 1724. In that year, the Presbytery of Raoin appointed meetings for prayer at Edderton, Tarbat, and Logie Master. (1) The people of Nigg were afflicted with a litigiously minded pastor, George Munro; he spent over much time in Edinburgh, haunting the law courts, to the serious neglect of his proper duties. But his flock, led by the "elders and serious people", kept diets of prayer and fasting in his absence. (2) A fact which intimates that aggressive evangelicalism has by now become a religion of the people. In 1725, Munro died appropriately enough in the legal metropolis. The Presbytery's only comment on his demise is that there is now "no occasion for enquiry into the reasons of his absence from this and former diets". (3) The vacancy thus created was filled in 1730 by John Balfour, who became the acknowledged leader of the northern revivals. From 1730 to 1739, there was a gradual heightening, "with stops and intermissions", in the spiritual temperature of the parish. (4) In the latter year, there was the definite beginning of a spiritual movement, originating in Nigg, which powerfully affected many parishes in Ross and Sutherland. Its influence is traceable throughout the rest of the century, and well into the next. (5) There is thus no relation of cause and effect between the revivals of Cambusbarrang and Killispyth and the corresponding movement in the north.


(Days of the Fathers: Religious Life in Ross; MacGillivray's Sketches
anticipated Cambuslang by three years, but they cannot be regarded as isolated phenomena. They were integral parts of a "widespread evangelical revival in which it was again seen that the gospel of justification by faith when proclaimed with burning conviction, and seconded by a movement of the spirit in the spirit of the age, is an unrivalled instrument for the transformation of the natural man". (1) America, England, Germany, no less than Scotland, were mightily affected by it.

In the Scottish sphere, the direct influence of Cambuslang and Kilsyth was felt as far north as Ruthil, Crieff, Kanzievard, and Auchterarder. (2) Indirectly, it penetrated further. Dugald Buchanan, who evangelised Rannoch, was drawn to Cambuslang. (3) Doubtless, he was not the only one from Gaelic Perthshire. John Porteous, the famous minister of Kilmuir Easter, visited the 'work' at Kilsyth in 1742, and on his way north, was "by the blessing of the Lord made eminently useful" to 27 parishioners of Ruthil, who, after having attended the meetings at the Kilsyth sacrament, were so overcome by soul distress "that they seemed unable to travel further." (4) John Sutherland of Golspie, on his way back from the Assembly of 1743, visited Cambuslang, Kilsyth and Ruthil, and afterwards reported to his own flock "what with great joy he himself had observed of the Lord's work" in these places. (5)

It is therefore of importance to note the salient features of the southern revivals for purposes of comparison, and, in some degrees, contrast.

1. The operative doctrines. "This work" says one, "was carried on under

the influence of the great and substantial doctrines of Christianity, pressing jointly the necessity of repentance toward God, of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and of holiness in all manner of conversation."

(1) In Cambuslang: "The minister of that parish... for near a twelve-month before the work began, had been preaching on those subjects which tend most directly to explain the nature, and prove the necessity of regeneration." (2) With reference to those persons who, when affected, "shake and tremble and fall down as dead", Alexander Webster, the Edinburgh evangelical divine, said: "Nor does this happen only when men of warm address, alarm them with the terrors of the law, but when the most deliberate preacher talks of redeeming love". (3) The terror of the Lord was, of course, freely invoked, and even the piteous condition of the 'distressed' was deliberately used "to make secure sinners afraid of sin, and the wrath of God". (4) The flames of hell were a dread and material reality; but we shall lose a proper sense of proportion unless we keep constantly in mind that these were but the background, lurid indeed, of the doctrine of free grace proclaimed with impassioned earnestness. H.G. Graham, to take but one writer, is too avid of the picturesque to be quite fair. (5) Sermon texts are not an infallible clue to the doctrines which may be preached from them; but we must attach due importance to the character of the following representative list of texts used at both Kilsyth and Cambuslang:—Matt. xi. 28, John iii. 8, John iii. 24, John xvi 11, Rom. vi. 4, 5, 6, 13, Galat. iv. 19, Ephes. ii. 10, 17, Philipp. iii. 8 - 13, Heb. viii. 10, James iii. 17, I John ii. 6, iii. 24, Rev. xx. 6. The Psalms provide a liberal number. Ezekiel (xi. 19 'the new heart' and xliiv. 9 'no stranger

(1) Robe's Short Narrative of Work at Cambuslang; Gillies' Collections, p. 454f. (2) Ibid. (3) Webster, Divine Influence the True Spring etc. p. 5, Social Life of Scotland in 18th Century, 4th ed. 356. (4) Robe's Faithful Narrative of Extraordinary Work at Kilsyth, p. 46
uncircumcised in the heart shall enter into my sanctuary") appears to have been the favourite Old Testament book. (1)

Evangelistic organisation. Despite the importance usually attributed to the part played by George Whitefield at Cambuslang, and the fact that popular evangelical preachers like John Willison, Alexander Weoster, and Mr MacLaurin of Glasgow assisted both at Cambuslang and Kilsyth, the fact remains that they were in origin and essence parochial revivals, conducted and organised, if not always controlled, by the parish ministers. The stated Sunday services, and intensive preparation for the worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper, were the chief means employed to further the movement. The 18th century revivals, whether in the Lowlands or in the Highlands, were churchly and sacramental. The only special organisation to which ministers and people attached vital importance was the praying society. When the first signs of 'concern' appeared among the people of Kilsyth, there were spontaneous proposals for "setting up societies for prayer". (2) Twelve new societies, in addition to a number which had existed for several years previously, were started in Cambuslang during the revival. (3) At Baldernock, which was pastorless, "the greatest part (of the older sort of people) have been awakened at society meetings. They meet twice a week for praise and prayer, where all the awakened in the parish, with as many others as please to come are admitted". (4) Normally, the societies met once a week, but special meetings for fasting and prayer were held "upon extraordinary occasions". (5) By 1751, the number of societies in Cambuslang had dwindled to six. (6) Children's praying societies were, for a while, not uncommon. (7)

Behaviour of the 'distressed'. On Sunday, 16th May, 1742, in Kilsyth Church, there was "a great mourning in the congregation as for an only son", there were "bitter groans, cries, and the voice of weeping"; some were calling for mercy, others crying, 'What shall we do to be saved?'.

Children, at other services, "were making a pleasant noise and outcry for Christ". (1) At Cambuslang, and, apparently in a lesser degree at Kilsyth, some of those under conviction of sin were seized with faintings and bodily convulsions, or saw visions of hell and heard the shrieks of the damned. (2) These, asserted the Seceders in their polemic against the revivals, are the usual symptoms of a delusive spirit. (3)

Webster asserts that those affected in their bodies are a small proportion of the converts, and that those so affected do not build their hopes on these experiences. (4)

Robe of Kilsyth disliked the bodily manifestations, "so unpleasant to behold and so distressing to the people themselves", displayed by some of the Cambuslang converts, but "what was shocking was made more easy" to him, when he discovered that the reason for their faintings, etc. given by the patients themselves was "that they were under dreadful apprehensions of the wrath of God due to their sins". (5)

The period of distress was generally short; in some cases a few days, in others a few hours. (6) "No one soul, to the best of my information, has given over hopes of mercy". (7) All that the defenders of the revivals claimed for the 'bodily symptoms' was that they were not inconsistent with a real work of the Holy Spirit. (8)

Spiritual Fruits. The elders of Kilsyth testified that as a consequence

of the revival, the Sabbath was better observed, the private duties of prayer were practised, religious conversation was prevalent, while cursing, swearing, intemperance, stealing and gross immoralities are generally refrained. Several who were the victims of an unruly temper now showed the Christian graces of love, peace, and forgivingness. (1)

By 1751, many of the converts had lost their 'liveliness', several large praying societies had ceased, but there were fewer instances of scandals and apostacy than might have been expected. Of the vast majority, the Kirk-Session declared that "they have their conversation such as becometh the Gospel". (2) Mr Warden of Campsie testified that only four of his converts had fallen from their profession. (3) Cambuslang had a list of 400 converts who during the nine years up to 1751 showed the fruits of conversion. (4) "Most of those who were markedly hysterical at the time of the revival have relapsed, but several who saw visions etc. have continued steadfast". (5)

One important result of these Lowland revivals is that there was a certain mellowing of the narrow nationalism of Scottish evangelicalism. In this respect, Whitefield is important, not so much because he was a great evangelical preacher, proclaiming the doctrines of Calvinism in their purity, but because he was an Anglican priest, the representative of a system of church order against which Covenanting Presbyterianism had declared war to the knife. Whitefield expounded a large and generous Calvinism. "There is therefore a Catholic spirit" he wrote to the

the religious societies in England and Scotland, "a communion of saints in the love of God and all goodness, which no one can learn from that which is called orthodoxy in particular churches...he that would obtain this divine and catholic spirit...and live in a divided part of the church without partaking of its divisions, must have three truths fixed firmly in his mind: 1. the duty of universal love, 2. the true Catholic has more of truth and less of error than is hedged in by any dividing line, 3. he that would like as God likes and condemns as God condemns...must like no truth the less because Ignatius Loyola or John Bunyan were very zealous for it". (1) These words help us to understand why Whitefield and the Fathers of the Secession parted company. But Whitefield's reminder that there was a Catholic, and not merely a national or denominational, Christianity bore fruit. "The Confession of Faith obliges us" wrote one apologist for Whitefield, "to keep communion in the worship of God with all those who in every place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ...the (Covenanting) vow to extirpate Prelacy must be consistent with the above principle...all these differences in lesser matters are not inconsistent with our...Christianity". (2) Significantly enough, this Presbyterian apologist concludes with a vision of the time when "that part of our blessed Lord's intercessory prayer shall have its accomplishment, John xvii. 21: 'That they all may be one'." 

Let us now return to the Highlands and consider the various district revivals.

1. Nigg. We have already noted the promising beginning of John Balfour's

(1) Letter from Mr George Whitefield to Religious Societies in England and Scotland, 1742, p. 24. (2) Apology for the Presbyterians of Scotland who are Hearers of Mr G. Whitefield, Edin. 1742, p. 34.
ministry in this parish. (1) In 1737, he thus quaintly expressed his appreciation of his people's increasing attendance on the means of grace: "We have here, on this occasion, twos and threes, yea, scores and hundreds." (2) In 1739, there was a considerable awakening; and, what had never happened before, some of the converts so far overcame their shyness that they applied to the minister for direction about their spiritual interest. The awakening was gradual, a few only being under concern at any one time; "nor" adds Balfour "was it attended at all with such unusual bodily symptoms, as were in sundry instances the effect of awakenings in some other parts". (3) But the moral and spiritual results were excellent. "Not one in forty have fallen off from a religious profession or given open scandal to it".

As at Cambuslang and Kilsyth, the societies for prayer were given a large place in Nigg. For several years before the revival, there had been a general meeting for prayer and spiritual conference (4) which consisted only of the members of Session and a few others. But the meeting at length became so numerously attended that it was found necessary to divide it into two sections, each of which continued to grow. Besides the two general meetings, which met every third Monday and were presided over by the minister, ten other societies were formed in different parts of the parish. These met every Saturday for prayer and religious exercise and were presided over by an elder or experienced Christian. We have already noticed that in many, at least, of the praying societies formed in connection with the Cambuslang and district

(1) p.237 (2) Balfour MS, preached Nigg, 17th June, 1737. (3) Gillies' Collection, p. 453; Robe's Monthly History, 1744, iv, p. 45. (4) Balfour's only publication was 'A Discourse concerning Religious Conference', Glasgow, 1745.
revivals, admission was granted to all who cared to attend. It was not the practice at Nigg. Candidates were only admitted where 'concern' was regarded as proven. The standard set by Nigg was adopted by other parishes, and continued to be generally enforced for a considerable number of years. In 1762, James Calder writes: "Spent an hour in sweet spiritual conference with a very young person... asking liberty to attend our monthly fellowship meeting, which was granted, as there was a promising appearance". (1) As to the general fruits of the revival throughout the parish, it is sufficient to quote the statement sent by Balfour to Robe of Kilsyth: "Worship is kept in all the families of the parish except three or four. The Lord's Day is very solemnly observed. After public worship is over, there are meetings in all parts where neighbouring families join in prayer, reading and repetition of sermons... the ordinances of worship are punctually attended... diets of catechising are much crowded by people from other parts. The civil magistrate has had no crimes to animadvert on for several years... the Kirk Session has very little to do but to inform and consult about the religious concerns of the parish... the people are very diligent and industrious in their secular callings and more forward in the business of their husbandry than their neighbours in other parts of the country." (2)

In 1744, Balfour made an interesting statement to Robe which illustrates the quickening effect of the revival on the desire for education. It is worth quoting fairly fully. "The far greater number that profess religion in the parish are illiterate, and understand only the Irish language. All I can say of the language is, that it is no disadvantage to

their edification and instruction in religion. I never conversed with more intelligent, savoury and distinctly exercised private Christians than some illiterate men in this country... It is surprising to observe with what industry many especially of the younger sort endeavoured to acquire reading. Some read the Psalms in Irish metre, and teach others in the same way, without knowing or attending to the power of letters or the use of syllabication, by considering words as complex characters which are to be always pronounced in the same way. Some of the elder sort likewise recover their reading, which they had been taught young, but neglected and forgot afterwards. But as the generality are still illiterate, that disadvantage is made up to them, by the hearing of others read the Scriptures and other good books, which they translate currently as they read and without any stop... This way of reading is one of the exercises performed in the several weekly meetings, as also in many families... It is really astonishing to me to observe what a copious and pertinent use of the Scriptures many illiterate persons have acquired and with what a readiness and fluency they pray in Scripture language... Surgunt indocti et coelum rapiunt. The men of letters dispute Heaven, these live it". (1)

As far as may be discerned from a study of his MS sermons, John Balfour was not an 'alarming' preacher. He appears to have been a good scholar, a careful exegete, a sober and judicious evangelist. He was much in request in other parishes, and preached in almost every pulpit from Golspie to Nairn. Popularly, he was known as Maighstir Balfour Mor, or the great Mr Balfour. (2)

(2) Noble, Religious Life in Ross, p. 165.
Daniel Beton (Beton) was inducted to this parish in 1717, being the first Presbyterian minister there since the Resurrection. In 1721, he celebrated the Lord’s Supper for the first time, and there were six or seven communicants. During the next nine or ten years, "there was a pleasant appearance of good, the number of serious persons increasing," but from 1732 to 1742 "things were much at a stand comparatively". (1) Between the harvest of 1742 and Martinmas 1743, "there came a surprising revival and stir among the people of the parish". (2) About 36 persons "fell under a concern", and after some weeks probation were received into the monthly fellowship meeting. "Some of them were plunged in the deeps of fear and despondency... others have attained to more courage in a way of believing... all of them walk suitably to their profession". (3) The minister also gives an account of a children’s praying society which had sprung up in one corner of the parish during the revival. This instance is not, of course, unique. A number of children’s praying societies, conducted entirely by the children themselves, were formed during the Cambuslang and district revival. There was one at Baldernock, and one at Muthill, (4) and another at Kirkintilloch. (5) Beton mentions three scripture texts which proved especially effective during the revival. These were, Hosea xiii.13, Galatians iv.19, and John iii.3.

Rosemarkie. According to the report of the minister, John Wood, the religious condition of this parish, prior to 1743, was discouraging. After the July communion that year, there was a definite change. Writing in

1744: "In the course of my examinations last winter and spring, I never had so little reason to complain of absentees, being crowded everywhere I went, by persons from other corners of the parish, besides those who were then to be catechised." (1) In May, some 30 of the awakened had reported their state to him, and there were 14 or 16 more who had not waited upon him. "There are now" he continues, "four praying societies in different corners of the parish (some meeting weekly and some bi-weekly), besides a general meeting with myself once a month" Rogart. In 1740, some 15 persons were awakened, but, finding themselves after a time "fallen into sad decays of soul", they formed themselves into an association for prayer; at their meetings they "mourned and wept over the cause of the Lord's withdrawing from their souls and prayed earnestly for powerful days of the Son of Man". In the years 1743 and 1744, some 50 more of the people were awakened, and were reported to be in a hopeful way. (2)

Golspie. John Sutherland, the minister of the parish, had visited Cambuslang, Kilsyth, and Muthil on his way home from the Assembly of 1743, and gave an account of what he had seen to his own people. For several years previously, he had been accustomed to keep his parishioners informed of "the blessed and wonderful success of the Gospel in the British colonies in America". There was, however, little response. The same year, while assisting Balfour of Nigg at the sacrament, he bewailed the "wretched security" of his flock. Balfour "thereupon reported how much

(2) Gillies' Coll. p. 457.
cause he hailed to bless the Lord for the success of the Gospel amongst
his people from the time he had constituted societies for prayer in
his parish". (1) Sutherland formed three societies in Golspie, which
continued for a year without obvious result. But when their hopes were
almost gone "the great and bountiful God...was mercifully pleased to
breathe upon a number of the dry bones and visit them with his salva-
tion", and about 40 of the converts "with weeping eyes and trembling
hands" received tokens at the last (1745) communion. There was no mass
hysteria. "A decent, grave, solemn deportment or shedding abundance of
tears...were all the visible signs...of the inward concern". There were
some, however, who were deprived of many nights rest under apprehension
of God's wrath, others lost their appetite for food, others again lost
their bodily strength or suffered from tremblings. The majority of the
converts were aged from 20 to 50; there were four between 60 and 70, and
few under 20. Only a few children were affected.

Sutherland mentions the doctrines which were principally instrumental
in promoting the revival. "The terrors of the Lord denounced in His
Word against the wilful transgression of His holy laws...the impossibili-
ty of salvation on the score of self-righteousness, the absolute
necessity of the efficacious influence of the grace and Spirit of God,
in order to a vital union with Christ by faith, for righteousness and
salvation; that all the blessings of the new covenant freely given by
the Father to the elect and purchased for them by the sufferings and
death of Christ the Son, are effectually applied to them by the Holy
Ghost, were the doctrines insisted on." (2)

Especially effective in awakening popular concern was a course of lectures on St. Matthew's Gospel, in which he enlarged on the narratives of the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord. We may compare the following list of texts preached on in Golspie during the revival with the similar list of texts employed at Cambuslang and Kilsyth. (1) Deuteronomy, xxxi. 22, Matthew, xxii. 4, Ephesians, iv. 14 and iv. 30, I Peter, iv. 17 and 18, II Peter, ii. 9. (2)

N° In Avoch, Alness and Kilmuir Easter, where Alexander Fraser, James Fraser and John Porteous ministered respectively, solid and enduring work was done, but there appears to have been little in the way of mass movements. (3)

N° Before proceeding to notice the repercussions of the revival in Easter Ross on other districts, we may briefly summarise the salient features which marked its progress. The stated Sabbath services held pride of place, but great importance was attached to the general and district meetings for prayer and Christian fellowship. The family gatherings for worship and Scripture reading on Sunday evenings were invaluable in a country where the generality were unable to read. To a large extent, they supplied the place of Sunday schools in the religious education of the young. While the district catechising were a normal feature of parochial organisation, in some places, Rosemarkie for instance, they spontaneously developed into revival meetings. Personal consultation with the minister on the concerns of the soul became fairly common. The minister of Golspie encouraged the shy by insisting that "next to their application to the throne of grace", it was the

duty of those 'under concern' "to lay open their sense of sin and misery to ministers and experienced Christians". "This was successful in encouraging them to come forward". (1)

Those Highland Evangelical ministers who were in the succession of John Balfour constantly preached for conversion. The 'Diary' of James Calder of Croy gives us glimpses of a steady, gradual movement in his parish which amounted to a local revival. 1766 was "the happiest year of my ministry" as respects the quality, if not the number of converts who came forward. (2) This revival in the parish and neighbourhood continued till 1771. (3)

In 1774, with reference to a sacramental occasion in Kilmuir Easter, he writes: "The dear communicants, the virgin lovers of Jesus, I observed flocking with ardour to the sacred table, singing and weeping as they came along. For many years back I have not seen such tokens". (4)

In 1773, a revival began in the parish of Tongue under the ministry of William MacKenzie, one of the ablest of the northern preachers. "For four years, his preaching produced no impression; carelessness began to increase and he began to lose heart". One Sabbath day on which he made a particularly moving appeal was "the turning point in the history of this people. From that day forward, there was a blessed outpouring of the Spirit of God. He told me himself... that for years afterwards, he never preached on the Lord's Day but some of his people on the ensuing week, at times as many as six

or eight came to him under conviction of sin 'asking the way to Jesus'.

When asked what doctrine he found most effective for producing this result, he answered that, though he was not one who harped on one string, "the truth which seemed, above all others, to impress and awaken his people, was the dying love of Christ. It was the sin of despising and rejecting that love that made them restless and wretched and self-condemned till they found in the love itself the appointed remedy". (1) "The work was an extensive and permanent one, and what he found a desolate wilderness, became as the garden of the Lord". (2)

About 1786, in the united parish of Kilbrandon and Kilchattan, "a great number of people were brought under serious impressions". (3) The revival began through the reading from the pulpit of a Gaelic translation of Alleine's 'Alarm'. The translator and reader was John Smith, then assistant in Kilbrandon, afterwards the well-known minister of Campbelltown. When he left the parish, the Relief Church sent a Gaelic-speaking missioner to ingather the fruits of the revival. (4) He did not have much success, and what appeared at first to be a promising movement, degenerated into a fanatical sectarianism. (5)

In 1776, John Graham began a notable work as assistant in the parish of Ardolack, Nairnshire. His first appearance in the pulpit of Ardolack "made a profound impression on the audience". (6) His fame soon extended to several counties, and "in the summer season Mr Graham's audience on several occasions included people from at least a dozen parishes". (7) The crowds which gathered necessitated the holding of

services in the open air. He was invited to extend his evangelistic work to Strathspey, where his labours received the kindly patronage of Mrs Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus, known fondly as 'A Bhaintighearna Bhan'. After two years of notable work in Ardolach and in the neighbourhood, he was driven from the parish as the result of what appears to have been a conspiracy. He found a refuge in Cawdor, where he was employed as a missionary, and where he continued with success his evangelistic labours. (1) Prof. MacLeod suggests that there may be a connection between the rise of Separatism in Strathspey and the dissatisfaction felt by many at the treatment accorded to the young evangelist. (2) Graham died at the age of 29.

Strathspey at this period showed other notable signs of a revived spiritual life. "By this time... the parish of Moy was richly evangelised... There are traditions still in Strathspey of a notable communion season, about 1770-1780, when the Baintighearna Bhan, the godly lady of Rothiemurchus, had a great array of guests. It was a time of refreshing... The name of John Graham of Ardolach is associated with that communion. It may have been in Duthil". (3)

During the ministry of Hugh MacKay of Moy (1793-1804), whose work was effectively reinforced by his famous catechist, William MacKay of Syre, "Badenoch and neighbourhood were experiencing the stirrings of revived life". (4)

Towards the end of the century, there is a general quickening of evangelical pulse. A notable revival, the precursor of others in the valleys and straths of Perthshire, took place in the parish of Moulin.

Between August 1797 and January 1798, Alexander Stewart, the young parish minister, who had himself experienced an evangelical conversion, preached "on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity". (1) He carefully selected his texts, among which were the following: Mat. XVI. 26, John III. 4, Romans III. 23, Gal. III. 10, Romans VI. 23, Acts. XVI. 30, Mark I. 15, I Tim. I. 15, John VI. 37, Romans V. 1, etc. (2) He addressed the people of that Moderate parish as "sinners under sentence of death, and who had not yet obtained mercy". (3) The beginning of the revival was in a prayer meeting held in a poor infirm woman's smoky nook. Its first effect was many probable candidates did not come forward to communion, "judging themselves to be in an unconverted state". In March 1799, the minister gave a course of practical sermons on regeneration, which he continued till July. "These were attended by a more general awakening than had yet appeared among us". (4) The work of conversion was carried on in a quiet manner "without those ungovernable agitations of mind or convulsions of the body or shrieking or fainting, which have accompanied a general awakening in other places". (5) There were no dreams and visions, and hardly an instance of seeking comfort from external signs and tokens. (6) In 1802, Stewart noted that the converts, who numbered at least 70, had maintained their profession. (7) One result of the revival was that dancing etc. at lyke-wakes was exchanged for Scripture reading and religious conversation. (8)

The Relief mission in Mid Argyll and Kintyre in 1797 was accompanied by such evidences of deep interest that it might well have

developed into a widespread revival, but the political associations of the missionaries, especially Douglas, made their ultimate motive suspect. (1)

James Haldane's first tour in the north had memorable consequences, not only in the Orkneys, but also in Caithness. A long and interesting letter, printed in Beaton's 'Ecclesiastical History of Caithness', gives a vivid impression of the electrical effect of Haldane's preaching. It was written by a hearer of his sermons. "I may add that I believe that there was not a district in Scotland where their (Haldane and his associates) labours were so much blessed as in Caithness... Under God, they were the means of bringing the Gospel to Wick and Thurso". (2) "Many have spoken to me" wrote Cleghorn, the first Congregational minister in Wick, "of the effects of the word on this occasion, but they have always wanted words to express their views of them. Some have compared its operation to that of an electrical shock. Some have told me there was an astonishing authority and a sort of indescribable evidence attending the word, which they could not resist... So generally was the attention of people drawn to it (the Gospel according to James Haldane) that you could hardly find two conversing together but religion was the subject". (3) The final result of this mission was the erection of two Congregational churches, the one in Wick, and the other in Thurso.

Haldane's influence on the Gaelic Highlands was, however, mainly through his agents. "He had skirted the fastnesses of the Highlands from Dunkeld to Sutherland, but had felt the difference of language

(1) Struther's Relief Church, p. 399. (2) pp. 153-158. (3) Ibid. (Beaton's History), p. 158.
an obstacle to his progress in these districts". (1) In 1800, in company with John Campbell, he toured Arran and Kintyre. On this occasion, he got a bad impression of the Arran elders, and of the Kintyre magistrates. (2) After his return to the south, Haldane sent a Mr MacCallum, "a worthy preacher", into Kintyre, which was then reckoned "a kind of heathen part of Scotland". The result was a minor revival. Its course and fruit are described in a letter by John Campbell. (3)

In 1804, under the ministry of Neil MacBride of Kilmorie, a revival began in Arran, which may or may not have some connection with Haldane's visit in 1800. Starting in the north end of the island, it spread gradually from place to place. But by 1810, many of those who had been influenced "were bolder in sin than before". (4) In 1812, after a twelve-month of prayer-meetings by members of the 'little flock', signs of a new revival appeared "first among the people of God... and soon after extended to the gay and thoughtless, the moral and the openly wicked". (5) This revival, which had permanent effects for good, was marked by a considerable amount of 'bodily agitations' on the part of the converts. It is stated that 'bodily agitations' did not always accompany cases of conversion, but cases of 'silent conversion' were rare after the excitement had fully set in. (6)

The revival in Breadalbane (1816-1817) may be regarded as a continuation of the movement in Moulin and neighbourhood already referred to. On Loch Tayside, Robert Findlater, the missionary minister at Ardeonaig, was instrumental in starting a revival which reached its

peak at the Communion service at which John MacDonald, afterwards to be known as 'The Apostle of the North', preached to a congregation of between 8000 and 10,000 people. (1) 'Bodily agitations' were less in evidence during the course of this revival. Previous to this revival the emissaries of the Haldanes, particularly a Mr Farquharson, had been active in Glenlyon, Portingall, and parts of Breadalbane. The result had been a "good deal of religious excitement". (2) John Kennedy, the Independent minister of Aberfeldy, followed up this impression, and during the period of Findlater's evangelistic success, he carried on a similar work in Glenlyon, Glenisla, lenshe, and other places. (3) There was a certain aloofness between the disciples of the two leaders.

There are traces, though faint, of the beginning of a revival movement in Skye as early as 1806, but it was not till 1812 that the movement reached any solid proportions. (4) Some time before 1824, a revival movement, accompanied by pronounced 'bodily agitations', appeared in Lewis. Two notable ministers, Finlay Cook and Alexander MacLeod, were successful in diverting it into the paths of soberness.

(5) Many labourers had a share in the great revivals which swept over the Highlands during the course of the 19th century, but preeminent among them were the Gaelic School Society agents on the one hand, and John MacDonald, 'The Apostle of the North' on the other.

(6)

(1) British Revivals, p. 332; Memoir of R. Findlater, passim.

(6) Gaelic School Society Reports; Macrae's Revivals, etc.
CHAPTER V.

TRENDS OF THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN SCOTLAND AND ESPECIALLY IN THE HIGHLANDS, 1689-1800.
it is proposed in this chapter to notice those more important trends in religious thought, which have, in varying degrees, whether by action or reaction, influenced popular piety in the Protestant Highlands during our period, and especially to describe the salient features of that Evangelicalism, which, even during the age of Modernism, flowed as an unbroken, if sometimes subterranean stream, and which, during the great revivals of the 19th century, eventually touched and quickened Highland Presbyterianism as a whole.

1. Though of slight direct importance, yet, because of its distinctive colouring, and also as an illustration of the tenacity with which the people held on to religious traditions which they would probably have admitted to be at variance with the official creed, brief mention may be made of the vestigial Catholicism which was imbedded in the popular religion of considerable areas.

Dr Walker states that it was the general belief in the Highlands that the sacrament of baptism was necessary to salvation. (1)

In St Kilda, before an ordained catechist was sent there in 1704, baptism was administered by a layman; (2) this practice, in cases of necessity, is in strict accordance with Catholic, but not with Presbyterian teaching.

In 1695, the people of Lewis were "all Protestant, except one family, who are Roman Catholic". (3) In 1824, the generality of the parishioners of Uig, in answer to the catechising of their new minister, stated that Christ had instituted seven sacraments. (4)

In 1790, the people of Tiree all adhered to the parish church, but "they still retain some Roman Catholic sayings, prayers and oaths... such as 'Dia is Muire leat! i.e. 'God and Mary be with you'". (1) Much the same could be said of the other islands. Almost up to our own day, the festivals and saints' days of the Catholic Church year were the popular Gaelic calendar.

Of the Catholic hymns in his great collection, Carmina Gadelica, Dr Carmichael says: "Although these compositions have been rescued chiefly among Roman Catholics and in the islands, they have been equally common among Protestants and on the mainland". (2) Argyllshire evangelical piety has never been without some reminiscence of the Columban Church. The sayings and doings of its saints continued as part of religious heritage of the people. (3) The treatment of the Gospel facts by the Argyll poets of the Kennedy Collection is noticeably more objective than that of their northern brethren. (4) The editor inserted in his fine collection of evangelical hymns the lovely snatch of Celtic Catholic mysticism:

"Didomhaich a rugadh Criosd,  
Shoilisich solus am beinn gle'ghil;  
Shoilisich an cuan min-gheal gle'ghearl,  
Sgeula b'ionadh le Joraith."

"The Sunday that Christ was born, a light shone in a white, white mountain; the smooth-white, fair-white ocean was aglow. A tale of wonder to Jewry". (5)

2. Mysticism is a word which has been patient of many shades of meaning, but if we care to extend it beyond its more restricted technical sense to include the immediate apprehension and realisation of the presence and love of God, we may discover it, not only amongst the mystics of the North East, (1) but also in such undoubted Evangelicals as James Calder of Croy, Dugald Buchanan, Lachlan MacKenzie and some of the 'Men'.

The 'Mystics of the North East' were not Highlanders, but it will be an instructive commentary on the underlying unreality of some of the most acid ecclesiastical hostilities to compare the religious experience of these Aberdeenshire Jacobite Episcopalians with their evangelical counterpart.

The native ancestry of Jacobite mysticism is from John Forres of Corse, the author of the "Spiritual Exercises", through Henry Scougall, of "The Life of God in the Soul of Man" (2), to the "Comparative Theology" of James Garden (1699). Garden was a leading spirit in the Aberdeenshire group. His purpose, reflective of a deep weariness of the theological strife of the age, "was to introduce some sense of proportion into the religious outlook, distinguishing carefully the essence of Christianity, which is the love of God, from all means and ministers of greater or less importance... the highest attainment being the enjoyment of the immediate presence of God, through penitence, self-denial..." (3)

The intimate connection of the group with the French mystics, M. Guyon, Fénelon, and above all, A. Bourignon, led to the movement being

proscribed by the General Assembly,(1) and henceforward those who loved the mystical way allied themselves with the protagonists of the 'Usages'(2). Yet, offensive to evangelical nostrils as may have been the taint of 'Bourignonism', these men were as soaked in the language and spirit of the Written Word as any devout evangelical.

Dr James Keith to Lord Deskford: "I will venture... to bid you be of good courage and He will strengthen and establish your heart. He will strengthen and confirm what He hath wrought for you and He will bless you with his Peace. Be not discouraged or cast down at any failure... they that wait patiently for Him shall renew their strength and be fully taught what is the good and acceptable and holy will of God."

(3) In every turn of phrase, there is the echo of psalm or prophecy or Gospel. The technical language, as well as the matter of mysticism may be noted in, for instance, a letter of Deskford to M. Guyon; when he speaks of the way of prayer as "une simple exposition de nos âmes devant Dieu, vide de tous désirs et de tous efforts, nous laissant à Lui afin qu'Il fasse en nous et de nous, tout ce qu'il Lui plait". (4) This verges so near to quietism, that one is not surprised that the General Assembly found fault with it.

Mysticism, in the sense of a rapt contemplation of the heavenly glory, may be discovered in Duncan Macrae of Inverinate, also an Episcopalian and a Jacobite, but who may never have heard of Garden.(5)

Let us now quote three typical evangelicals, a minister, a catechist, and an elder. Rev. James Calder of Croy, after an experience of pro-grief, writes: "I not only believed but, in some measure, tasted, felt

and saw some small pittance of that glory". (1) Again, during a period of unusual blessing on his pastoral labours: "No language can express the divine joy I felt and still feel, from the smiles of a reconciled God in Christ, and from the marvellous, unchangeable, unparallelled love of my adorable Jesus". (2)

Dugald Buchanan, the schoolmaster of Rannoch, records an experience: "O boundless love! I only draw a veil over it when I begin to speak of the subject. O my soul, come and be swallowed up in admiring this love: this boundless love to the chief of sinners! O my soul, wonder at the freeness of it... Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this love... my joy was unspeakable and full of glory, for the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, filled my heart...". (3)

The third witness is Murdoch MacDonald, elder in Applecross. He was accompanying his minister, Daniel Macaulay, on a pastoral tour of that wild and extensive parish. One night, they stayed in a poor hut in Torridon, where they were both bedded on a naked pallet of green heather. There they discussed "the love of Christ", till at last the minister asked Murdo whether he were sleepy? "How can I sleep?" was the reply, "and my heart breaking with the love of Christ?" (Mo charaidhe a' staineada le chradh Chriosd)

Mysticism, in some form, is an unexplicable element in Christian experience. Its besetting danger is quietism on the one hand, and a tendency to minimise the necessity of the atonement on the other. Evangelicalism seeks to guard against these perils by insisting not only on the historical evangelical facts, but also, and

perhaps less successfully, on the visible institutional church.

3. Theological Liberalism.

"Hitherto (that is, up to 1700) Scotland had maintained a monotonous uniformity of doctrinal type". So states Dr W.L. Mathieson. (1) But he, nevertheless, traces the down-grade or moderate trend which manifested itself throughout the 18th century to the repeal of the Act of Classes in 1651. (2) Resolutioners and Protesters now confronted each other almost as rival denominations though they professed the same creed. Differences of temperament eventually hardened into divergences of doctrinal outlook.

NP. In 17th century England, it was otherwise; and it was from England that Scotland was now to receive "The Marrow of Modern Divinity", full-blooded fruit of Commonwealth Calvinism on the one hand, and the Arminian debate on the other.

NP. During the 17th century, theological England had been a battle-field between the defenders of the Divine Decrees in the strict predestinarian sense and the disciples of Arminius. Great names on the one side were William Prynne, Francis Rous, John Bunyan, Thomas Goodwin and John Owen. On the other were ranged men like Lancelot Andrewes, Nicholas Ferrar, George Herbert, John Goodwin (the Nonconformist), and the illustrious Cambridge Platonists. (3) Occupying a position somewhere between them stood Richard Baxter, saint, scholar and Catholic Presbyterian, whom Dr A.W. Harrison classifies, along with Amyraut and John Cameron, as a semi-Armenian. (4) Baxter, disliking the supralapsarianism of Dr Twisse and the antinomian leanings of Crisp and

Saltmarsh emphasised the connection between justifying faith and holy living. In 1695, Dr Daniel Williams, a disciple of Baxter, undertook to refute the heresies in Crisp's sermons which had just been published. (1)

The subsequent debate, which crossed into Scotland, was an attempt to answer the question: "Whether a man believed instinctively because he was justified, or whether he was justified because he believed?" (2) Is faith a miraculous endowment, or can the sinner, out of his own resources, originate the act of faith? Thus was the question between Calvinism and Arminianism stated. While the defenders of Crisp contended for the miraculous nature of faith, Williams and his disciples, who received the name of Neonomians, argued that the Gospel is a new law, whose saving benefits the sinner may obtain by fulfilling the Divine condition, namely faith and repentance. (3) The Neonomians professed a confessional orthodoxy, but their opponents, men like Hog of Carnock and Thomas Boston, were persuaded that a theology, which conceded a saving initiative to the corrupt will of the sinner, must be disruptive of the doctrine of sovereign grace.

Exalted conceptions of Divine grace are possible only where the spiritual temperature is high, and from the beginning of the "age of secular interests", there was, in Scotland, a decline of fervour. The enthusiasm which greeted the Darien adventure signified a re-orientation of the national ambition. Wodrow was frightened by "the looseness in principle, and violent opposition to...old...creeds

and confessions and the subscribing to them" among the English and Irish nonconformists. (1) In 1725, he "hears that opposers of the confessions allege that they have friends in the Church of Scotland." (2) Though anti-confessionalism did not become vocal till the second half of the century, yet Neonomianism sat uneasily under the shelter of the Westminster standards. Of this, the Simson heresy trials are evidence. Under the mellowing influence of the new time-spirit, a new liberty of thought and debate appeared in the universities, and with it the risks inseparable from freedom. "Our youth... have got a most unhappy turn by being indulged too much... in unwarrantable ways of thinking and speaking of Christianity... This temper is too much growing among our students, who have their eye to the holy ministry". (3)

Though Prof. Simson of Glasgow was not the begetter of the new mood of questioning, yet the two heresy trials are so revealing of the content of the movement that it is well to notice them fairly fully. In 1714, James Webster complained to the Assembly that Simson was teaching Arminianism, and at the request of the Assembly libelled the professor before the Glasgow Presbytery. (4) The salient points in the charge were that Simson taught that the good heathen might discover "that God is reconcilable", in other words that natural religion would yield the same answer and earn the same reward as the Christian revelation; that Simson had dispensed with both the sublapsarian and supralapsarian scheme as to the order of the order of the divine

(1) Wodrow's Correspondence, III p. 223. (2) Ibid. III p. 186. (3) Pamphlet: Libel of James Webster against Mr John Simson... before the Presbytery of Glasgow, 29th Sept. 1714.
decrees in election and had put forward the view that God had pre-
ordained the faith, repentence, and holiness of the elect, and on a
prevision of their condition had predestined them to illustrate his
glory and mercy; that he had taught that the elect might be more
numerous than the damned; that infants were probably all numbered
with the elect; that as regards God's governing of all his creatures
and all their actions, it was unnecessary to assume a "concursus
physicus Dei in actionibus malis hominum", natural causes being
sufficient; and that Simson had struck at the very foundations of the
federal theology by denying that there was a proper covenant between
Adam and the Creator, on which doctrine original sin becomes a
hereditary taint in the blood of the race, "our misfortune, but not
our fault". Hence our moral impotence would not be counted by God as
blameworthy; and God, through his grace, would give to all who truly
seek Him the power to obey Him. The sinner is culpable only in that
he does not seek grace. Webster later added the charge that Simson
taught a two-fold justification, the first through faith, the second
through good works, "non tamen ex merito". (1)

While denying some of the charges, Simson's main defence is an
attempt to prove that the positions which he admits are in conformity
with Scripture and Confession. His "Answers", however, are prophetic of
certain future trends in the religious thought of Scotland. Firstly,
he appeals beyond predestinarian logic to the "nature of our Gracious
God" in claiming the probability of salvation for all baptised
infants and for some heathen. (2) Secondly, he declares war on terms of

(1) Simson's Answers to Libels (Pamphlets 'Webster and Simson').
(2) Webster's Additional Libel
school divinity, such as 'concurus physicus', and, by implication, on the whole body of scholastic commentary on confessional doctrine, which had come to attain a level of importance almost equal to the text itself. (1) Thirdly, he reveals manifest uneasiness under the constriction of the Divine Decrees, especially in so far as they concern men's sinful actions. He interprets 1 Samuel XXIV. 1 and 1 Chronicles XXII. 1, in confessional terms as signifying that "God doth at times leave for a season his own children to manifold temptations and corruptions of their own hearts". (2) It may be added that he tones down the apparently heterodox twofold justification to harmless proportions.

Much of what Simson here attempted to do, needed to be done. The various acts of Assembly, declaratory of the meaning of the Confession in regard to the Divine Decrees, are an acknowledgement of this. Simson's bent, unfortunately, was toward a merely negative and minimising criticism. He lacked positive and constructive ideas. The mild rebuke which the Assembly, on 14th May 1717, gave to the peccant professor may be taken as a tacit admission that Neonomianism, in some form or other, should henceforth have its place within the Church.

The Presbytery of Tain, in conjunction with other Presbyteries in the Synod, sent 'instructions' by their commissioners to the Assembly of 1717, pointing out, with specific references to the charges against Simson, that "a floodgate may be opened to such a deluge of errors as will tend to the subversion of the Gospel, and make a lamentable in the Church". (3)

The charges brought against Simson in the second process (1727-1729) involved issues of greater moment. "The flagrant report" on which the Presbytery of Glasgow took action was "That Mr John Simson had taught erroneous doctrine with regard to the Blessed Trinity, particularly that 'Christus est verus, non summus Deus, non est equalis Patri, non est ens necessarium vel independens'; that he had refuted Pictet's arguments for the equality of the Son with the Father; and that in speaking about the Title in Pictet's book, in the chapter about Christ's being 'summus Deus equalis Patri', he said it was to be understood 'cum grano salis'; also that in speaking upon John XVII.3, he had said that there was a sense in which the words, 'The only true God', could not be applied to the Son, but only to the Father." (1) In other words, he was charged with teaching Arianism.

Simson's vindicatory letter to the Presbytery gives in outline the defensive position which he occupied till his final recantation. Its substance is therefore briefly given. (2) He asserts the creative power, sovereignty of the Godhead, "yet that in the unity of the Godhead, there be three Persons... Who are distinguished by their personal properties, the nature and incommunicableness of which do

equally prove the real distinction of the persons and the oneness of Their Godhead...the property of each person is incommunicable to the other two, e.g. the personal property of the Father cannot be truly affirmed of the Son etc. To "be of None," which is the personal property of the Father, means that He has His being and Godhead of None, has life in Himself and receives it from no person or being whatever. Hence, if the Johannine term, The Only True God, were understood to mean "Being of None," it could properly be applied to the Father alone. Many orthodox writers had equated the terms 'self-existent' and 'Being of None' and had restricted the words 'The only True God' to the Father as the fountain of Deity. He further deprecated the use of school terms like 'ens necessarium,' and held that words like 'dependent' and 'independent' were properly applicable only to the relations of created beings, and not to the Persons of the Godhead. Actually, what Simson was doing, with a very fair show of orthodoxy, was to include in the special property of the Father, incommunicable to the Son and the Holy Ghost, certain attributes, such as necessary existence, which are essential qualities of true Deity. This Simson admitted in his recantation. (1)

The three years' trial is notable for its display of the patristic erudition of the clergy and for the signal proof which it gave that the heart of the Church was sound on the Catholic fundamentals. There was no real sympathy for the attempt to find a place for the views which Simson had apparently borrowed from Samuel Clarke. The trial is also very important in that it provided a salutary, and

(1) Case of Mr John Simson: Supplement to 2nd ed. 1729, p. 119.
indeed, sufficient warning to future would-be speculators on the doctrine of the Trinity. Even Dr William MacGill's Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ, which was charged with Socinianism, is, according to the judgement of a recent historian, no true exception. (1) When one considers the descent of English Presbyterianism into Unitarianism, the Church of Scotland may well be grateful to the Assembly for its timely vindication of Catholic doctrine. The charges of Deism and Socinianism, which have been frequently brought against the Moderates, who were the spiritual successors of Simson, have been greatly exaggerated. Their true heresy was theological indifference. They gave to belles-lettres, history and philosophy the talents which, under other conditions might have been the glory of theological learning.

This was the first occasion since the Revolution settlement on Highland ministers took a leading part in Assembly debates, and when the question of the penalty to be imposed on Simson was being discussed, Stewart of Kiltearn (later of Inverness) declared that as the heretic had preached "another gospel", nothing short of the higher excommunication would suffice to testify to the Church's abhorrence. (2) Mackenzie of Inverness said they should not purchase peace for the Church at the price of Christ's glory. (3) Gordon of Cromarty and Boece of Kintyre took much the same line. (4) Stewart, indeed, is described by Wodrow as one of the leaders of the "warm side". From this date, Highland Evangelicalism has continued to hold,

the position of national champion of confessional orthodoxy.

The new spirit of free enquiry, virtually prohibited from speculation about the high points of Divinity, was diverted, not unwillingly to the more congenial sphere of ethics. Francis Hutcheson, pupil of Gershom Carmichael in philosophy, and of John Simson, the heretic, in Divinity, was appointed to the chair of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow in 1729. Reputed the founder of the Scottish School of Philosophy, his influence as a teacher was greatly enhanced by a charm of personality which drew to him the eager hero-worship of his students.

"Long after his death, I have heard useful orthodox ministers who spoke of their old professor with enthusiastic admiration." So says Ramsay of Ochtertyre. (1) A disciple of Shaftsbury, though with ideas of his own, his earliest work had been "An Enquiry into the Ideas of Beauty and Virtue" and the language of aesthetics continued to colour his ethical teaching. His course in Morals then included a series of lectures on Natural Religion, and, because he carefully refrained from making a personal avowal of a definite creed, he was believed by his students to be a Socinian. (2) But his somewhat disparaging references to the Irish non-subscribers (to the Confession) makes this improbable. (3)

His philosophy, described by McCosh as "an exalted kind of eudaemonism", postulates a moral sense or instinct, independent of our reason, "by which, from the very frame of our nature, we are determined to perceive pleasure in the practice of virtue and to approve of it when practiced by ourselves and others". (4) The moral virtue, towards

(1) Quoted in Campbell's Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, p. 133. (2) McCosh, J. Scottish Philosophy, p. 63. (3) Ibid., p. 52. (4) Ibid., p. 52.
which human nature is thus constrained, consists of good-will or benevolence. "All those kind affections, which incline us to make others happy, and all actions which flow from such affections, appear morally good, if, while they are benevolent towards some persons, they be not pernicious to others". (1) Many of the older school, whose philosophy had taught them that there were moral duties to God as well as to one's neighbour, found this genial humanism little to their taste.

But many of the younger men among the clergy thought otherwise. "There was in Scotland at this time (1742) a class of preachers who, besides the absurd affectation of bringing their public instructions from Socrates, Plato, and Seneca, rather than from the morality of the Gospel, distinguished themselves by an ostentatious imitation of the doctrines and phraseology of Francis Hutcheson and the Earl of Shaftesbury... it would be unjust to accuse them of heresies" (2)

Such was 'Jupiter Carlyle', a pupil of Hutcheson, whose 'heathen morality', while preaching in Athelstaneford Church, earned the bantering disapproval of David Hume. Such too, was John Home, who represented the new school in the metropolitan university. These new men appear to have been attentive enough to their parochial duties, as they understood them. Home was certainly beloved in his parish. But they made a point of being very much at home in the world.

William Leachman, a disciple of Hutcheson, and expected by him "to put a new face upon theology in Scotland", (3) was appointed to the Glasgow chair of Divinity in 1743. A man of saintly and ascetic

temper, the themes which he commended as suitable for preaching were "the perfections of God; the excellence of virtue, and the perfection of the divine law; the truth of the Christian religion and the important purposes for which Jesus came to the world; the great doctrine he taught; the interesting scenes of providence He has displayed to men; the dignity and immortality of the soul and the inconceivable happiness of the heavenly state". (1) All excellent, but somehow the old 'Ruin, Redemption, and Regeneration' have vanished from the scene.

St Andrews produced a mild heretic in Archibald Campbell, whose excursus into ethics and New Testament criticism, revealingly entitled, 'The Apostles No Enthusiasts', earned for him the qualified disapproval of the Assembly in 1736. (2)

By the middle of the century, the Church was confronted by the formidable challenge of the intellectual nihilism and Epicurean ethics of David Hume, who had carried the idealism of Bishop Berkeley to its ultimate conclusion. The new challenge, more serious than any hitherto offered to the Faith, sobered the more thoughtful, and was accepted by two of the Moderate divines.

Thomas Reid sought to re-establish confidence in the instrument of thought, and in the reliability of our senses. George Campbell, of Aberdeen, in the more strictly apologetic field, replied to Hume's 'Essay on Miracles' with his 'Dissertation on Miracles', which he published in 1762. To the influence of Reid and his school on American and European thought, such men as Renan, Comte, and Goethe have paid tribute. (3)

The new enlightenment, ranging from the mild semi-Arminianism of the Moderate pulpit to the bare Deism of "those pretending to more than ordinary attainments" (1) is to be met with in the north even from the early part of the century. In 1717, the Presbytery of Tain laments that the Northern Highlands were overrun with "the spirit of atheism and infidelity" and accuses the swarm of excisemen which the Union of 1707 had brought in its train of spreading the public discussion "of those topics and commonplaces Which Deists and Libertines use". (2) Dr Ross, surgeon in Tain, charged by the Presbytery with heresy and blasphemy, in that he argued against the being of God and expressed himself concerning the Scriptures as though they were but a Tradition, escaped the ignominy of standing in sackcloth by a series of timely calls to distant parts of the parish just as the Sabbath service was about to begin. (3) Dugald Buchan, living in Gaelic Perthshire records that for long he "could not believe the Song of Solomon to be divinely inspired, having heard some people say, that it was a song made between Solomon and Pharaoh's daughter" (4) and that later his faith was overturned by a man who "laid down some arguments and proposed questions" in defence of Arians, Deists, and Socinians and also by reading "erroneous" (probably Deistic) literature. (5) Such ideas had probably very little effect, even when they reached the Highland mind. The common people of Tain countered their ingenious doctor's infidelities by the argument from design, calling sun and moon and stars and the flowing and ebbing tides as witnesses that there was a God. (6)

(1) MS Tain Pres. records, 1717. (2) Ibid. (3) MacNaughton: Church Life in Ross and Sutherland, p. 104f. (4) Diary, p. 78. (5) Ibid. p. 148. (6) Tain Records, 1717.
It was otherwise, however, with that Moderate trend of doctrine which was popularly called Arminianism. It was in many Highland pulpits in the second half of the century, and also in many pews. It often meant the cold preaching of duties, but it could co-exist with the warm piety of such a man as John Morrison of Canisbay, the Moderate author of the 35th Paraphrase. (1) James Fraser of Alness (died 1769) refers to the ministers who "appear to have gone far in the way to a sort of philosophical heathenism, borrowing from the Gospel revelation what they think fit for adorning and recommending their new form of heathism." (2) James Calder of Croy, speaking of a sermon he heard in the Presbytery of Inverness in 1763: "Nothing, alas! alas! of precious Christ and His glorious Gospel in the ordination sermon". (3) He also refers to preachers whose 'language' the godly cannot understand. (4) This doubtless refers to pulpiteering clichés about the beauty of benevolence and the harmony of the passions. Neil Douglas, perhaps not the most dispassionate of observers, alleges that the people of a certain parish in Argyll would not hear even the name of Christ mentioned in the pulpit "no, not perhaps for six weeks running". (5) This, if true, must have been an extreme case. James Haldane's opinion about the theology of northern pulpits, as far as he heard it, is well-known. (6) It appears that there was much said about goodness, but little of grace. But as revealing as any instance one could muster, is the letter sent by a parishioner, obviously a lady of culture and piety to Dr Stewart of Moulin after his conversion to evangelic-

"Your argument (as to salvation by grace alone) strikes at the root of all moral virtue and must prove the ruin and not the salvation of mankind. My creed is, that we must strive what we can to take the advantage of both the covenants, by the strictest attention we can pay to our moral duties... your new creed appears to me to lean towards the doctrine of necessity... I believe that the worthy and the good are the elect chosen, but not that they were picked individually. ... Renounce the covenant of works! No, surely, while I have my senses." (1) As significant as the matter of this confession of faith, is the puzzled misapprehension of the typical evangelical viewpoint.

Thus far had Neonomianism travelled in a hundred years. But it had run its course. The mighty surge of radical ideas which was let loose by the French Revolution found the moral optimism of Modernism bankrupt. Men who were seriously concerned about the welfare of the people had to seek deeper for a principle of salvation. Robert Haldane was not exceptional. He says: "As soon as I began to perceive the melancholy fact, that human nature was deeply and radically depraved, my system (of reform) built upon the supposed perfectability of man by natural means tottered..." (2) He, like many others at that point in history discovered that the human condition required Redemption, and not merely Reform. A new note of questioning is perceptible also in the official pronouncements of the champions of the Moderate way. Principal Laurence Brown, preaching before the S.P.C.K. in 1802, while praising Moderation as the virtue most conducive to the welfare of society and the happiness of the individual, and expressing from his satisfaction that "superstition was now exploded

(1) Sievewright, J. Life of Alex. Stewart, p. 125. (2) Haldane, R. Address to the Public concerning Political Opinions, p. 96.
the fury of bigotry restrained, the wildness of fanaticism held in contempt" yet laments that "a cold phlegmatic indifference to everything connected with religion...an affectation of philosophical apathy for its doctrines...characterises the present times". (1) This mood of moderate self-doubt was the prelude to "a gradual approximation, on the part of the clergy of what are called the two sides of our Church, to a closer resemblance to one another in all the great features of their public teachings". (2) A difference did remain, but it was in ethos and temper rather than in teaching.

4. The evangelical tradition.

Highland evangelicalism during the 18th century was the Calvinism of the Confession of Faith. It had, however, an accent, emphasis and colour of its own. An endeavour will, therefore, be made to take note of this special quality.

The most influential pre-Revolution evangelical in the Northern Highlands was Thomas Hog of Kiltearn. (3) He belonged to the party of the Protesters. A man of holy life, meek severity and prophetic utterance, he stamped his own ideals in a remarkable way on his evangelical successors in the ministry in Ross and Sutherland (4) and these two counties ultimately set the evangelical standard to be looked up to, if not always attained by the rest of the north.

In 1701, the Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland, direct inheritors of the Hog tradition, made a somewhat ruthless examination of the theological views of John M'Killigan, probationer. It is more revealing of the examiners than of the examined. M'Killigan had submitted an exercise on Galatians, 2 and 19 which in the opinion of the Presbytery

contained erroneous doctrine in respect that (omitting lesser matters
the writer "did confound the work of the Law and that of the Gospel,
in regard that expounding the Law mentioned in the Text, to the Law
of works, he did attribute a two-fold power to the Law, viz., 1mo a
convincing and 2do a converting power, and whereas the Presbytery
did give him this Text for this verie end to discover his knowledge
in the manner and way by which the Spirit of God brings the soul
from under the Covenant of works, to be under that of Grace, and that
the Text leads particularly thereto. Yet they did find him either
not meddling with it at all, or verie Generall, and defective in what
he touched of it." M'Killigan, having been given an opportunity to
come to a more orthodox conclusion, later elucidated his views thus:
"That God doth make use of His Law or word in the hand of the
Spirit in God for convincing of our lost estate and conditione and
when He designes a thorough work that word in the hand of the Spirit
is made use of for conversion of sinners from sin. Or (to be more
plaine) God under the ministrie of His word doth open the heart by
this Spirit to receave Jesus Christ freely in the Gospel." In answer
to further questioning, he stated that it was "by the same Law and
word" that the sinner was convinced of his sin and also converted.(1)

Despite the fact that M'Killigan was one of their own licentiates
(licensed in 1696), the Presbytery refused him permission now to
preach within their bounds. Two points clearly emerge with regard to
these early Fathers in Rossshire. Firstly, they insisted ruthlessly
on a scientific precision of doctrinal statement; secondly, they were
gravely anxious that no injury should be done to the doctrine of

(1) MacLean, D., Presb. of Ross and Sutherland: Records of Scot. Ch. Hist.
At this point it is essential to notice the controversy which arose in the south concerning the 'Marrow of Modern Divinity'. This was certainly the greatest single factor which influenced Highland evangelicalism during the 18th, and it may be added, the 19th century. Its vast significance was not apparent to many who took part in the debate. In 1729, Robert Wodrow writes: "The flames of the Marrow were just ending". (1) But about 1850, a friend said to Dr C.C. Mackintosh of Tain (and Dunoon), after hearing the latter preach on Romans v. l, "That was the Marrow doctrine you gave us today - peace by direct faith". (2) "I will tell you" was the reply "when I do not get peace by direct faith, very often I cannot get it in any other way". Peace (or assurance) by direct faith was of course only one of the doctrinal points stressed by the 'Marrowmen'.

Thomas Boston tells us that for several years prior to 1718 "a contest had been agitated, especially in Fife, touching the Covenant of Grace, whether it be absolute or conditional". (3) During the time of the first Simson process, the Presbytery of Auchterarder, jealous for free grace, drew up a series of six propositions which students applying to them for license to preach were required to sign. One of these was: "I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake our sins in order to our coming to Christ". (4) This unskilfully framed article was intended by its authors to teach nothing further than: "Just as I am and waiting not; To rid my soul of one dark blot". But it had an ugly look. The General Assembly sustained the appeal of one of the rejected students, and

found fault with the Presbytery not only for its "great presumption" in undertaking to "make new articles of faith" (1) but also for the antinomian flavour of the above-quoted proposition. (2)

As the 'antinomian proposition' had been specially intended to put a stop to the spread of 'Baxterian' or Neonomian teaching, the result of its condemnation was to draw together the most zealous champions of free grace for common effort. (3) They resolved to publish suit-literature bearing on the theme of free and sovereign grace. Thomas Boston recommended a book which himself had found edifying. It was the 'Marrow of Modern Divinity', first published in London in 1645, and now generally reputed to be the work of Edward Fisher, a graduate of Oxford. (4) With a recommendatory preface by James Hog of Carnock, it was re-issued in 1718.

The 'Marrow' (Part I) "may be described as an exposition of the Federal Theology - the difference between the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace being carefully explained". (5) It attempts to walk the middle way between legalism on the one hand and antinomianism on the other, and consists largely of extracts "from the writings of reformed and puritan divines, including such foreigners as Calvin, Beza, and Luther, and such Englishmen as Lightfoot, Reynolds, Hall, Goodwin, Sibbes, T. Hooker, Perkins, and others, all of whom in 1645 were considered of modern or recent times. Hence the title of the book."

(6) These extracts, with supplementary material by the author, are woven together into a conversation between Evangelista, a minister of the Gospel, Nomista, a legalist, Antinomista, an antinomian, and Neo-

phytus, a young Christian. Evangelista, to whom the New Testament norm appears to be the Epistle to the Galatians, has little difficulty in disposing of his opponents and vindicating the true Gospel way.

The 'Marrow' (Part II) is an exposition of the ten Commandments and is intended to show "that the commandments of God have a larger extent than it seems (the legalist) is aware of". Not the Ten Words only, but the whole of Scripture, as illumined by the Spirit, is the revelation of God's commanding will for the individual. (1)

The author, who has more affinity with Martin Luther than with Calvin, delights in paradoxical language which is sometimes more vivid than discreet, and thereby laid himself open to the charge of antinomian heresy. In 1719, Principal Hadow of St Andrews, preaching before the Synod of Fife, delivered a violent attack on certain heresies which he alleged were contained in the 'Marrow'. Hadow's viewpoint, it must be remembered, was that of hyper-Calvinism, or ultra-confessional orthodoxy especially on the doctrines of the Divine Decrees and particular election, rather than of neonomianism. "There are ministers in the Church of Scotland who will yield to none of them (the supporters of the 'Marrow') in owning and asserting the doctrine of free grace, tho' they cannot go into the new schemes and the modern divinity of the recommended marrow". (2)

The General Assembly's Committee on Purity of Doctrine, having taken the matter in hand, subjected the editor (Hog) and certain of his sympathisers to a rigorous examination. They then submitted a report to the Assembly of 1720 in which they affirmed that the 'Marrow'

(1) Marrow (Part II), ed. 1722, p. 51f. (2) Hadow: Antinomianism of the Marrow Detected, Preface iii.
taught the following heretical doctrines, 1. That assurance is of the essence of faith, 2. That the atonement is universal, 3. That holiness is not necessary to salvation, 4. That the fear of punishment and the hope of reward are not allowed to be motives to a believer's obedience, and, 5. That the believer is not under the Law as a rule of life. To these were added the following six 'antinomian paradoxes', found on pages 198 and 199 of the book. "1. A believer is not under the law but is altogether delivered from it. 2. A believer doth not commit sin. 3. The Lord can see no sin in a believer. 4. The Lord can see no sin in a believer. 5. The Lord doth not chastise a believer for his sins. 6. A believer hath no cause, neither to confess his sins, nor to crave pardon at the hand of God for them, neither to fast nor mourn, nor humble himself before the Lord for them". (1)

The Assembly, having considered the report, condemned the 'Marrow' with practical unanimity, only four members voting against the motion. It is doubtful how many in the Assembly had actually read the book which they condemned. Some confessed that they had given their vote "under the impression that the titles prefixed to the several heads of the Act, such as 'Holiness is not necessary to salvation' and 'The believer is not under the Law as a rule of life' were expressions in the book which they were called upon to condemn". (2)

The leaders on both sides in the contest were stoutly orthodox; in this respect, there is little to choose between Principal Hadow, Alan Logan of Culross, and Robert Wodrow ofEastwood on the one hand,

and Thomas Boston, Gabriel Wilson, and Ebenezer Erskine on the other.

The true reason for the explosive effect of the 'Marrow' lies not so much in the nature of its teaching, which was to all intents and purposes quite orthodox, though leaning perhaps to an 'excessive Paulinism' (1), but rather in the spiritual circumstances of the time. Many people were engaged, consciously or unconsciously, in the process of making up their minds about certain of the perennial problems of Christianity, notably the relative functions and value of Law and Gospel, Works and Faith, and the nature and extent of the atonement. The lengthy debate, in and out of the Assembly, thrust sharply into focus the views of the 'Marrowmen' and their opponents on these and other doctrinal topics. It is true that, overtly at least, they differed from each other but by a hairbreadth; each side appealed with confidence to Confession and Catechism. Consequently, the slightest degree of over-emphasis, whether on Law or Grace, Works or Faith, Particularism or Universalism in respect to the atonement, was sufficient to place the contestants in their respective groups. It is in terms of direction rather than of appreciable divergence that we must estimate the importance of the attitude taken up by each side. Three of the topics discussed in the 'Marrow' debate are of vital importance to our present purpose, because of their influence on the popular theology of the Highland evangelical pulpit and pew.

The first of these is, Law and Grace. It was charged against the 'Marrow' that it taught that the believer was no longer under the Law as a rule of life. "No, nor yet as touching your justification

(1) Cunningham, Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, p. 250
and eternal salvation will He love you ever a whit the less, though you commit never so many or great sins. . . . Neither must you crave pardon and forgiveness (for your sins) that thereupon you may escape that penalty (of God's everlasting wrath and hell fire)..."(1) But to every such expression in the 'Marrow', and they are not few, there is invariably added the qualifying phrase "as conceiving them (your sins) to be a transgression of the Covenant or Law of Works". The believer's sin, that is, is an offence, not against the justice, for that has been already satisfied, but against the Fatherly love of God.

In their 'Representation' to the Assembly of 1721, the 'Marrowmen' clarify their own position. "That as the Law is the Covenant of Works, believers are altogether free from it: set free from the commanding and condemning power of the Covenant of Works. We... confess, we look upon our freedom from the Covenant of Works, or the Law as it is that Covenant, to be the chief branch of that precious liberty, wherewith Christ hath set us free, and in which the eternal salvation of our souls is wrapt up". Further, the neomomian distinction between the Law as it is the Law of Works, and as it is the Law of Christ, is groundless. The Gospel as such is God's free gift to sinners, unconditioned by any obedience to the law, either actual or foreseen. "The believer had in Christ all things necessary to his salvation, and in answer to the demands of a broken law". (2) In answer to the Assembly's Committee's distinction between man as a believer and man as a creature, the 'Marrowmen' stated that since the believer "since he ceases not to be a creature by being made a new creature, is and ever must be,

(1) The Marrow of Modern Divinity, ed. C. G. M'Crie, p. 188. (2) 'Answers' of Representers to Committee on Purity of Doctrine, March 1722, M'Crie, Christian Instructor, XXX. p. 698.
bound to personal obedience to the law of the Ten Commandments by
the authority of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, his Creator; but the
authority is as to him, issued by and from the Lord Jesus Christ at
whose mouth he receives the law, being as well his Lord God Creator,
as his Lord God Redeemer..."(1) The believer's obedience to the
matter of the law of Sinai is a free and grateful response to One
Who has already revealed Himself as Redeemer as well as Creator.

The Assembly divines, while accepting the common ground that "good
works be excluded from being the ground of justification" yet took
exception to the statement "that holy obedience is not properly a
federal or conditional mean, nor has any kind of causality to the
obtaining of glory". (2) The difference between the two views may be
briefly stated thus. The 'Marrowmen' held that holy obedience and
salvation were indivisible elements in the same spiritual fact so
that the notion of the instrumentality of the one to the other was
unthinkable. The Assembly divines, on the other hand drew a distinct-
ion which would make it possible to regard them in the light of
means and end.

The second topic of special interest to us was the nature of saving
faith. Principal Hadow accused the 'Marrow' of "making the very essen-
tial and formal nature of saving faith to be a man's persuading
and assuring himself of his particular interest in Christ". (3)

Many of the Reformers had spoken of an infallible assurance but the
Westminster Confession had decided "that it doth not so belong to
the essence of faith but that a true believer may wait long and

(1) Answers of Representers, March 1722: Christian Instructor, XXX, p.
816 (M'Crie) (2) Ibid. 821. (3) Ibid. 544.
conflict with many difficulties, before he is a partaker of it". (1)

The 'Marrowmen' countered this by defining two forms of assurance, the one being of the essence of saving faith, and the other, corresponding to the Westminster definition, being founded on a scrutiny of 'the marks of grace' in the soul. The assurance, which was of the essence of faith is "that act by which a person appropriates to himself what before lay in common in the Gospel offer", (2) and means nothing other than the confessional "receiving and resting upon Christ for salvation". Principal Hadow was persuaded that the 'Marrowmen' held the 'spiritual marks' in low esteem as grounds of assurance, and that the real meaning of their teaching was to claim for the individual soul "an inward inspiration manifesting unto the man God's electing and Christ's redeeming love to him in particular". (3) This, in fact, was to subordinate Scripture, which contained no such assurance, to an alleged inner light. (4)

The real intention of the 'Marrowmen' was to give more immediacy to the act of personal faith, and to find security for its reality somewhere other than in the changing moods of the soul. The scrutiny of the 'marks of grace', though valuable, was secondary to appropriating persuasion. (5)

Thirdly, the 'deed of gift and grant to mankind lost'.

This was, perhaps, the most fruitful phrase which the 'Marrow' debate left as a legacy to Scottish religion. Neophytus asks: "Hath such a one as I warrant to believe in Christ?" Evangelista replies: "I beseech you to consider that God...moved with nothing but

free love to mankind lost, hath made a deed of gift and grant unto them all, that whosoever shall believe in this His Son shall not perish but have everlasting life... say then, with a firm faith, the righteousness of Christ belongs to all that believe; but I believe; and therefore it belongs to me..."(1)

The author of the 'Marrow' believed in a limited atonement. "Some men be ordained to condemnation... but the Lord hath concealed their names". (2) The Assembly's Committee on Purity of Doctrine held, as we have seen, that the expression, 'deed of gift and grant to mankind sinners' implied a universal atonement. The 'Marrowmen', in their 'Representation', held that, when the Assembly condemned these words, "they encroached on the warrant which the revelation of the divine will in the Word gives to all men to receive Christ". (3) "By the deed of gift and grant we understand no more than the revelation of the divine will in the Word, affording warrant to afford Christ to all, and a warrant to all to receive; for although we believe the purchase and application of redemption to be peculiar to the elect, yet the warrant to receive Him is common to all". (4) Or, as one disciple put it, "Such universal expressions are to be understood in a limited sense, according to the scope of the context". (5) The 'Marrowmen', taking their cue from their favourite book, expressed the distinction between the universal offer, and the redemption of the elect alone, by the propositions:"Christ is dead for all men"; "Christ died for the elect."

John Grant of Auchenlek wrote to Wodrow: "As to the hints in that book (the 'Marrow') of universalism in Christ's being given to all mankind, I cannot see them consistent with particular decrees. It looks a little like a cheat upon mankind to assert the one and yet to teach the other". (1) But despite logic, the 'Marrowmen' held on tenaciously to the 'deed of gift and grant to all mankind' because they believed that the Apostolic Commission, go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel, could have no other oasis. (2) "Believing the Gospel offer was for all, that to mankind sinners the call and overture of divine love are to be addressed, the moderate (i.e. of the Marrow tradition) Calvinists of the 18th century were animated and dominated by the missionary spirit of Christianity". (3)

It is not certain to what extent the 'Marrow' circulated in the Highlands. There was a copy in St Kilda in 1729, and John Balfour of Nigg preached a sermon before his Presbytery on certain aspects of the controversy in 1735. (4) One can trace its terminology in James Fraser of Alness. (5) And, whether directly through the 'Marrow' or through books which embodied the 'Marrow' theology, (6) its mark is clearly discernible on the broad face of Highland evangelicalism throughout the century.

In the light of what has been said, let us see how typical Highland evangelicals approached certain of the great theological topics.

I. Law and Grace. In the second decade of the century, John Munro (Sutherland) says: "We would be sanctified first, that we may be justified next; and we are not inclined to seek justification freely by faith

that so we may be sanctified, which is God's only way of it". (1)
Again: "To his grace we are debtors, not to works, either legal or evan-
gelical, neither to Morality nor Faith, Love or New Obedience, as works
in themselves. Grace, Grace, free and absolute Grace must do our busi-
ness". (2) Writing to his brother who has been undergoing 'law-work',
he warns him against confounding faith and grace: "After the hint giv-
en above of the efficacy and fruits of faith... two cautions... beware
that there be not the least leaning to Faith as a grace in us, though
wrought by God in the soul,... as in itself efficacious in producing
the forementioned effects, for this is practical Arminianism and a
returning back to Egypt... an absolute free Covenant admits of no con-
dition from the creature. (3) Some phases of evangelicalism suggest
that this was not an unnecessary warning. "We have been hearing a
great deal today" said Alexander MacLeod (of Ungnacille) at a fellow-
ship meeting in Skye "about saving faith... but is not there a risk
lest, in thinking so much about precious faith, we lose sight of its
great Object? Was faith crucified for you?..." (4)
Munro's prayer, "Lord help His ministers to preach the Gospel aright;
let them never mix but rather quench Sinai's fire with the blood of
Christ" (5) reminds us of Lachlan MacKenzie's charge to an ordination
candidate, "Do not mix the Covenants; they will not mix for you" (6)
James Fraser of Alness, the ablest theologian among the northern ev-
angelicals, puts it thus: "The demand for preaching Christ and free
grace is so far from being opposed to the end of preaching holiness

(1) Munro, J. Collection of Fifty Religious Letters, Edinburgh, 1722, p. 44.
(2) Ibid. p. 87. (3) Ibid. pp. 84, 85. (4) Memorials of C. C. Mackintosh, 2nd ed.
p. 15. (ed. Taylor). (5) Munro's Collection, p. 130. (6) Lectures, Sermons etc
and good works that men cannot preach holiness and good works to good purpose without bringing along with them all the way the doctrine of Christ and free grace". (1)

James Calder of Croy makes this confession in his diary, "Had I the holiness and good works of ten thousand eminent saints, I would this day renounce and disclaim it all in the business of my justification... I would betake myself to the righteousness of Christ". (2)

Towards the end of the century, Black of St Madoes is guiding the infant footsteps of Stewart of Moulin along the evangelical way: "The way of proposing religion as a task, which, with the assistance of divine grace, must be done in order to obtain the promised reward is, I conceive, unsafe, because it leads men to entertain ideas of their own powers". (3) While thus asserting the primacy of free grace, these men consistently declared that the faith given of grace worketh by love. Dugald Buchanan's statement is one of many such: "I found my obedience flowed from a principle of love to God... though hell in all its terrors was uncovered, it could not influence me to such acts of willing and cheerful obedience as the love of God did." (4)

II. Assurance of faith and salvation.

Anns MacGillivray of Dairslie considered it necessary to repel what he considered a mistaken assumption: "It is a mistake to suppose as some have done, that they (the evangelicals of Ross and Sutherland) made religion to consist in doubting their own salvation." (5)

As he had personal knowledge of many of the 19th century evangelical stalwarts, his word must carry weight. But there can be little doubt.

that many notable Christians laid tardy hands on personal assurance and in some cases long after passing through the conversion experience they encountered periods of desertion in which they passed through intense agony of soul. But we also come across many instances in which personal assurance was strongly and indeed passionately held.

The official evangelical attitude is cautiously summed up by John Balfour of Nigg, in his "Evangelical Discourse on the question whether Assurance be of the essence of Faith". He defines 'assurance' as "In general that persuasion which arises from the essence of faith and is always consequent to that evidence." Summarising the "Discourse":

- This assurance is twofold. First, objective, which is the persuasion of the truth of the thing believed. Second, subjective assurance, which is the firm persuasion of the person's own interest in the things believed or that every one who believes savingly in Christ is persuaded firmly that he does believe sincerely in Him. It is inconsistent with the Confession of Faith (Chap. viii) to maintain that subjective assurance is of the essence of justifying faith. The question is not whether assurance belongs any way to faith, nor whether it is only by way of believing that assurance is attainable. It is whether subjective assurance is so essential to faith as that there can be no true saving faith where assurance of one's own interest in Christ is not attained. It is the duty of believers to seek after assurance after they have believed. To allege assurance is of the essence of faith sets all believers on a level not only with respect to the truth but to the degrees of their faith. This is contrary to Scripture and experience for there are degrees of subjective evidence and hope.

(1) MS Sermons. Above sermon is dated 27th Aug. 1735.
The influence of the 'Marrow' controversy is evident. Still more is it evident in Fraser of Alness: "What gives effectual relief to the heavy laden sinner... the free offer and call of the Gospel, as warranting him in particular to receive Christ, and to apply the blood of the sprinkling to his conscience", (1) to which he adds the sober caution that "the practice of holiness and good works is the sure way to attain and maintain the fixed and habitual assurance of their good state and eternal salvation". (2)

Full assurance, in its two-fold sense, was thus a prize which the believer must strenuously strive to win. One of the Rossshire 'men' spent three whole days in prayer on the hill of Edderton, after hearing a sermon on the necessity of attaining full assurance. (3) Another, the Laird of Balnagowan, announced that he was going to Ferintosh "to get Christ for my soul". "I thought you had received him long ago", said Sir Charles. "Well, if I have got Him", was the reply, "I am going now to see if it is the true Christ I have. I do not wish to be deceived in this all important matter". (4) When the quest for assurance is thus a life-long task, there is little danger of the soul taking its ease in Zion. But one could cite many instances of serene and habitual attainment. "Such is my confidence" said James Calder "in His favour, His love, His covenant and providence that I have no encumbrance, no disturbance". (5) Again, he confesses to "an assured sense of redeeming everlasting love". (6) "O blessed Jesus" wrote Dugald Buchanan, "Thou wast surety of this blessed covenant from all eternity... I believe

thou art surety for me also". (1) William MacKenzie, the eminent minister of Tongue (born 1738) being asked if he had had seasons of despondency, replied, "Yes, I remember that on one occasion I had to preach with a rope round my neck... But all that is gone - I know I shall soon be in my Father's house". (2) But perhaps the best illustration is the reply given on his deathbed by an old man who had been converted late in life, and who was being counselled by an over godly son to scrutinise carefully the foundations of his strong hope: "Don't trouble me with your doubts. I know Him whom I trust; the grip which He took of me, and which I took of Him when I was hanging over hell, He will never let go, and I shall never let go through all eternity." (3) Donald Matheson, the poet of Kildonan, combines an almost pathological fear of death, similar to that felt by Samuel Johnson, with an ardent assurance of God's providing care for him, not only in the matter of his eternal welfare, but also in the everyday temporal needs. (4)

"The Christians in the Highlands had been taught to distinguish between doubting the safety of their state and doubting the truth of the Word". (5) Consequently "the believer may be trusting in Christ, and yet not be assured that he is". (6) Dr Kennedy, while rightly affirming that "this may prove to be a healthful state", admits that there were some "extreme developments of this Highland peculiarity", from the blame for which he absolves "the kind of preaching for which the eminent ministers of Rossshire were distinguished". (7) No doubt the Fellowship Meetings, with their tendency to excessive introspection (1) Diary, p. 160. (2) MacGillivray's Sketches of Religion, p. 39. (5) Ibid. p. 24. (4) Rose's Metrical Reliques, p. 251ff. (5) Kennedy: Days of the Fathers, 1927 ed. p. 119. (6) Ibid. p. 117. (7) Ibid. pp. 117, 118.
engendered an undue amount of "self-jealousy and self-examination",(1) but we must also remember that all evangelical preachers were not as judicious as Dr Kennedy, or, to mention but one more name, Angus MacIntosh of Tain. "No doubt they (some other evangelical ministers) preach the Gospel powerfully, but Dr MacIntosh is the tender nurse - he knows how to handle the child".(2)

III. The Gospel Call. The evidence that we possess conclusively shows that the Highland evangelicals followed closely in the 'Marrow' tradition by offering Christ as the Father's 'deed of gift and grant to mankind sinners'. The Gospel call and offer was not to the elect merely, but to all without exception. "The sinner hath most sufficient warrant for his faith in Jesus Christ by the full and free offer of the Gospel, and by God's testimony and command". "The sinner's needy condition is sufficient call; neither should he require to have his faith warranted by having the secrets of the divine counsels displayed to him."(3)

"It is fit that the preacher lay fully before them (sinners) the abounding and exceeding riches of divine grace; the sufficing of the Saviour; His love to sinners... the absolute freeness (without money and without price) with which Christ and all grace is offered in the Gospel even to the chief of sinners".(4) Even more vividly: "It was appointed anciently: that the highway of the city of refuge should be open and clear, that nothing might impede the course of a man thither, when he is fleeing from the avenger. So should the preacher labour... to obviate and remove everything that might discourage... the motions of a serious and humbled sinner toward Christ...".(5) "Seldom was I helped to make a fuller and freer offer of Christ to sinners", wrote James Calder.(6)

A representative voice from the latter part of the century. Lachlan MacKenzie, in his sermon on 'Christ the Rock', says: "The rock gave water not for one or two only, but for all the congregation. The water was not for the benefit of a few favourites among the people... all the congregation had a right to drink of the water". (1)

The Gospel paradox of the free offer of salvation and human impotency to respond was also dealt with after the manner of Boston and the 'Marrowmen'. Boston's favourite illustration, following Alleine (2) and other Puritan writers was the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda. "Though ye cannot cure yourselves, yet ye may come to the pool... who knows but the Lord may return, and leave a blessing behind Him". (3) Lachlan MacKenzie strikes an even more confident note: "God saw the patience and perseverance of this poor man waiting at the pool of Bethesda. And he rewarded them richly... And if a man wait on the means of grace, shall his labour be in vain? God forbid... Though he cannot believe and repent, God doth not mock his creatures when he commands them to do both." (4) James Fraser, in the middle of the century, may be reckoned as halfway between Boston and MacKenzie: "Christ is offered to the sinner - he should attempt to lay hold on him. His hand is withered; but he should, without hesitation, stretch out his withered hand at Christ's command, which... often conveys the strength needful for the obedience required." (5) The inference to be drawn is, that in the teaching of the best of the evangelicals, the dreadful shadow of particular reprobation had practically vanished. The highway of the city of refuge was made free of hindrances.

One concludes, therefore, that one may accept the following appraise-
ment. "The ministers I knew in my younger days were thorough Calvinists, and they knew the system well, but they never allowed themselves to be hampered by their system in preaching Christ to sinners. You would not hear them qualifying and guarding and constantly putting in cau-
evate, thus blunting the edge of the message. "You are a lost sinner, Christ is here, He calls you to come to Him now; nothing can excuse dis-
obedience." Such was their preaching". (1) In other words, certain aspects of confessional teaching had, throughout the century, been undergoing a process of mellowing, which practically amounted to a silent creed revision.

IV. Conversion. "The necessity of conversion was held even by the most careless". (2) Let us consider the type of conversion the ministers aimed at, and the people expected. In this matter, the influence and ideals of Thomas Hog of Kiltearn had far-reaching results. He set the standard, so to speak, for the ideal evangelical conversion. The abstract of 'Mr Hog's manner of dealing with persons under conviction' is ar-
ranged under five major headings and eighteen sub-headings. (3) Among other points of enquiry, it was necessary to discover whether the seem-
ing penitent submitted willingly to the Scriptural tests of his genu-
ineness, whether his sorrow was distinguishable from melancholia, whether his conviction of particular sins resulted in a sense of his share in Adam's first sin, whether he realised that there is no attain-
ing of anything that is acceptable to the Lord antecedent to saving faith, whether there was an enlightening work about sin as well as about righteousness carried in upon the conscience by the Spirit of

(1) MacGillivray's Sketches of Religion, p. 44. (2) Ibid., p. 23. (3) Memoirs of Thomas Hog, p. 113 ff.
God in a suitableness to the sinner's case. This by way of preliminary. Then in order to discover whether the Holy Spirit was preparing His way towards a saving change in the soul, Mr Hog used to enquire where, when, and from what places of Scripture, it had pleased the Lord to carry home a conviction of sin to the conscience, as also to estimate the weight of that conviction; did the sinner see himself under most just condemnation? Did it weigh more with him than the loss of worldly goods, etc.? Only then did he begin to search for the "more rude and unformed beginnings of a gracious change", and after that again for marks of "the further dawning and nearer approach of the day of grace". This was followed by five heads of examination "for discovering the issue of convictions of the right kind", especially if "the poor tossed sinner hath found somewhat of quiet rest". (1) There were those who passed successfully through this test under Hog's ministry, the most notable being John Munro (Caird) "around whose name are clustered the earliest traditions of the 'Men' of Rossshire." (2) He passed from presumptuous carelessness to conviction of sin, from conviction to despair, from despair to glimpses of hope alternating with darkness, till at last he found "a time of love and a day of salvation". (3) Mr Wm Stuart of Inverness met him when he was not many years under a hundred, "yet fully ripe in understanding, memory, and other soul faculties, and advanced in saving grace to a prodigy, while conversing with him, I thought I was, as it were, at the feet of one of the old prophets, for besides a wonderful penetrating reach, his aspect was full of majesty and benignity". (4)  

This type of evangelical conversion undoubtedly produced fine results, though one wonders what Hog would have made of his brother Protestant, John Livingstone of Shotts, the greatest Scottish preacher of the golden age of the Covenants, who "did not remember any particular time of conversion, or that he was much cast down or lift up". (1)

Let us take a typical conversion from the middle part of the century. Hugh Ross, Kilmuir Easter, a powerful handsome youth, with youth's vanity went to Fearn Communion, to display a new Highland dress, which he thought very fine. During the sermon, "an arrow, shot at a venture, found a joint in the proud youth's harness and pierced his heart. Deep were his convictions thereafter, and for months he walked under the shadow of death". Each Sabbath found him at church, but he would not venture to cross the threshold. In sunshine or rain or snow, he kept his post heedless of weather, till one Sabbath of snow and drift, an aged and godly elder, in pity crept up to him and thrust him across the threshold, and shut him in. "But his time of deliverance had now come, and in proportion to his former bondage was the thoroughness of his liberty, and to his former distress the intensity of his joy". (2)

A judicious minister was expected to assess the degree of 'law-work' or self-abasement under conviction of sin, that was necessary as a preliminary to true conversion. John Porteous of Kilmuir Easter was wont to compare the memuers of his flock to the sundry flowers, plants and bushes growing in his garden. The richly laden apple tree, the modest violet, etc. A 'newly awakened' youth came to consult him. "Do you see that?" said the minister, pointing to a toad on the pathway.

"I do" said the young man, and without another word from the minister, they parted. Thrice was this singular interview repeated, but on the fourth occasion, when the minister pointed to the toad, the penitent cried, "It would be well for me were I that toad without a soul that can be lost for ever." "I can speak to you now" said the minister, and proceeded to deal with him about the way of healing. (1)

This strong and narrow formula of conversion was apt to create despair in persons who could not fit their own religious experience into it. Ruaraidh na h-Urnuigh (Praying Roderick) "not having experienced much law-work" questioned whether he was in reality one who feared the Lord, and prayed that the Lord might apply the 'law' with power to his soul. The wise catechist "prayed that the Lord might not grant his request", because, as he explained later, he could not stand out a measure of it. (2) John Ross MacEan, an eminent Christian, began to doubt the genuineness of his Christian state for the same reason. Hugh Ross, the same catechist, encouraged him thus: "The Lord would not apply a hatchet where the work could be done by a penknife". (3)

Dugald Buchanan, working out his spiritual problem without any such guide, movingly betrays his hunger for a self-abasement which he believes he ought to feel, but which he can in no wise compass: "I could not think of coming empty handed to Christ, without being humbled and broken for sin... I then wrote a catalogue of my sins, and read it every morning, but was not in the least moved. Afterwards I sought out all the threatenings which were directed against such sins, and like-read them every morning... I felt discontented with all the ministers

I heard preach, because they did not preach more terror". (1) Even Whitefield's "great threatenings denounced against sinners of all descriptions" at Cambuslang failed to move or satisfy him. (2) And yet Buchanan, who had been educated at an S.P.C.K. school, must have been familiar since his boyhood days with William Guthrie's words about the conversion of Zaccheus: "Some are brought in to Christ in a sovereign Gospel way, when the Lord by some few words of love swallowing up any lawwork, quickly taketh a person prisoner at first, as he did Zaccheus, Luke 19 and others... and we hear no noise of a Law-work dealing with them before they close with Christ Jesus. " (3) Later, however, he confesses his indebtedness to the "Tryal of a Saving Interest in Christ". (4)

Sanctification. The believer, having in his conversion experience, become aware of the electing love of God, realises that he is now furnished with a "sure pledge of eternal love, everlasting happiness, complete victory, full provisions, and furniture of all graces" (5), and thus equipped, goes on to sanctification. "Calvin found the full programme (of sanctification) in the passage which speaks of the grace of God as 'instructing us, to the intent that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly and righteously and godly in this present world' (Titus ii.12)." (6) Sobriety, righteousness, and godliness, he interprets to mean chastity, temperance, the sparing use of temporal things, the giving to every man his own, and a severing from the defilings of this world. And this, in effect, is the programme of Gospel holiness out-

(1) Buchanan's Diary, p. 87. (2) Ibid. p. 102. (3) Guthrie, W. Christian's Great Interest, ed. 1702, p. 15. This was one of the S.P.C.K. school books. (4) Buchanan's Diary, p. 140. (5) Munro, Collection of Religious Letters, p. 11. (6) Paterson, W. P., Conversion, p. 110 (ed. 1939)
lined by John Balfour of Nigg, preaching on Matthew iii.8, "Bring forth fruits meet unto repentance". "Nothing is more incongruous than high profession of repentance and mean performance in sanctification". (1) "To the end and final issue (of salvation) holiness is indispensibly necessary" says James Fraser "though, however necessary, yet eternal life is not the proper wages which men win by their holiness, but is the gift of God through Jesus Christ". (2) The sermons of Balfour and Lachlan MacKenzie reveal the kind of practical lessons in godly living that were taught from the pulpit. Such were the value of economy and thrift, and the wasteful folly of expensive imitation of more opulent people. Diligence in business, faithfulness in service, purity in speech, sobriety in food and drink were familiar themes of exhortation. Not that even the godliest of evangelical ministers were total abstainers. Neil Douglas, the fervent Relief evangelist, gathers his friends round him for a parting dram at the clachan on the conclusion of a mission in Cowal. "It is justifiable to take a refreshment when necessary", he says. (3) "Any man" says Lachlan MacKenzie, discoursing on the blessings of social fellowship, "whose circumstances enable him to entertain his company with a bowl of punch, can gather as much useful knowledge as will enable him to make several useful reflections upon what he reads in history". (4)

It is pleasant also to remark, in view of the supposed indifference of the evangelicals to 'social evils and problems', how, before 1730, Balfour inveighs vehemently against 'overrenting', 'exorbitant

charges', 'luxurious living', 'oppression of the poor', and repeatedly appeals to the rich, as stewards of their inheritance, to administer their trust with Christian regard to the poor, who are precious in God's sight. (1) At the time of the clearances, Lachlan Mackenzie preached a series of sermons on Isaiah v.8 - "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field etc." and prophesied that the time would come when sheep would again make way for men. (2)

Under the shelter of God's electing love, the believer's perseverance in sanctification was assured. "If some believers could be snatched by force from the Shepherd's hands, or even lured away by the wiles of Satan, if even one of them might perish by these means, might not all? And so the great Shepherd have no flock to bring home at the end of the day to the fold... and Christ having died for the Church that He might sanctify it... in the end have no Church to present?" (3)

"The covenant of grace is a covenant of promise that gives security by mere grace, on all hands, with regard to the sanctification of God's people, and their preservation in a state and course of holiness to their final salvation." (4) In a Presbytery exercise on Hebrews vi.4, Balfour denies the possibility of final apostasy on the part of the believer. "That which I am best satisfied with is, that believers are not intended here". (5) The believer's trials, temptations, and transgressions are in another category from those of the unregenerate. In the Lord's hands, they become the material of his sanctification. "Christ's bite and His blow are good for ill pains", says John Munro, with a Scots raciness he must have learnt while working as a joiner in the

(1) Balfour MSS, passim. (2) Sermons, Lectures, etc. p. 10. (3) Fraser, J. Sanctification, p. 349. (4) Ibid. p. 351. (5) Balfour MSS, Tain, June 6th, 1739
south. "What if such persons (believers) commit sin and fall from their duty? If they do so, the promise of God binds Him to chasten them with rods;... to pursue them with awful providences or terrible temptations till they renew their repentance and come again, weary and heavy laden, to Christ". (1)

VI. Sacramental Grace. Dr MacEwan, referring to the Lowland population at the beginning of the 18th century, writes: "The religious life of the people, so far as it was spiritual and free, depended largely upon the sacrament of the Lord's Supper... it is ignorance which has led writers to the idea that in such parishes (where there was infrequent celebration) there was no recognition of sacramental grace". (2) Anyone who is in the least familiar with the inner heart of Highland religion would assent that this statement is true for the evangelical north as well. We may date the origin of the Highland awe of the sacrament, as well as the Highland stringency in admitting communicants, to the ministry of Hog of Kiltearn. Hog allowed "none to communicate who could not give some tolerable satisfying account of a work of grace upon their souls". (3) The Highlanders learnt their lesson only too well. In parishes where this tradition was hitherto unknown, the settlement of an aggressive evangelical minister produced startling effects. The communicants in Uig (Lewis) were reduced at a stroke from under 1000 to six, (4), in Bracadale from 250 to less than ten. (5) Unquestionably, the awe and reverence of the people, communicants and non-communicants, were deepened by this policy. "Lessening the number of communicants proportionately raised the general standard of profession". (6) And yet, despite its

noble intention, and in many respects notable spiritual fruits, one could only acquiesce in the rightness of this policy, if one were persuaded that Christ intended the Holy Supper merely for a small number of eminent saints. We cannot, however, do other than believe that the true benefits of the sacrament were bestowed on great multitudes who attended without daring to approach the holy table. The consciousness of the real presence of the Saviour was intense in the great congregations which gathered to the Highland sacraments. Of the Kiltearn communion in 1785, it was said: "There was an extraordinary manifestation of the Saviour's gracious presence in the congregation...when the service concluded, many of the Lord's people, from their ecstasy of soul and joy of spirit did not know whether they were in the body or out of the body". (1) We have here out the deepening of a normal sacramental experience.

VII. The secret of the Lord. Dr Kennedy of Dingwall, in giving certain instances of his father's remarkable powers of divination and prophecy remarks that the only explanation of this phenomenon was to be found in the words of Scripture, "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him". (2) "By means of the written Word, under the guiding hand of His Spirit, the Lord may give intimations of His will in a way very different from direct inspiration of prophecy, and...ends are served by such communications of His mind that make it far from improbable that the Lord may have given them." (3) The gift was not believed to be common, but it was popularly accredited to certain godly laymen as well as to some ministers. It is a feature which connects Scottish

evangelicalism, both of the south and north, with the Celtic Church.

When Columcille announces to the brethren in Iona that Cormac, a soldier of Christ, who months before, had gone to seek a 'desert' in the ocean, would return that very day (which he duly did), (1) or when the saint lays bare some sinner's secret transgressions, or when he prophecies of one lad, that he would be dead within a week, and of another that he would see his grandchildren, (2) it would not have unduly surprised us if the chief actor in these 'remarkables' were John Semple or Peden the Prophet or Thomas Hog or Lachlan MacKenzie.

This phenomenon falls naturally into three divisions; these are, providential guidance through some word of Scripture supernaturally borne in upon the soul, a divination of the secrets of the heart which in certain aspects roughly corresponds to telepathy, and prophetic foresight of particular events.

N.B. The 'Memoirs of Mrs William Veitch', a Lowland lady of Covenanting days is full of providential guidance by means of the written Word. One instance only. Her sons were not attending to their lessons as well as they might; and so "one day I went to God and took with me His promise 'I will be your God and the God of yours' (Gen. XVII)... I pleaded with God... He was graciously pleased to answer with that promise, 'Be it unto Thee as thou wilt', and through his grace I shall hold by it all my days". (3) Thomas Hog, knowing that Satan often comes as an angel of light, was fervent in prayer that he might be saved from delusions in this regard. "When any word of Scripture was brought to his mind, as suiting any case he was exercised about, he would not

(1) Adamnan's Life, ed. Reeves, p. 72. (2) Ibid. pp. 16 & 15. (3) Memoir of Mrs Veitch, op. 18, 19. (Free Church publications, 1846.)
close with it, till... he had examined the same, and found it from God."
It was his judgement and practice "that it is only by the word wherein
is clear light, and by the Spirit's opening the eyes and giving sight
to discern this light, that we are to expect any solid instructions,
directions, or comfort." (1) In our own day, the members of the Oxford
Group movement seek similar 'guidance', apparently however without such
specific reference to Scripture texts, in the discipline of the 'quiet
time'. Let us take one or two illustrations. Hector MacPhail of Rosolis,
having made little temporal provision for his family after his death,
expressed himself as quite at ease in his mind with regard to their
future. "I rest upon the promise, 'Kings shall be thy nursing fathers
and queens thy nursing mothers' (Isa. xlix. 23)"; and after his departure
they received aid from a charitable fund instituted by William of Or-
ange and his wife. (2) Donald Mitchel, catechist of Kilmuir Easter, re-
garded the death of certain young Christians in the parish as a sign
of the divine displeasure. His Scripture evidence for this was: Hosea,
ix. 12, "Though they bring up their children, yet will I bereave them..."
(3) John Kennedy of Dingwall: "On going downstairs was tempted by Satan
to believe that I had renounced Christ. Relieved by these three short
but unspeakably rich words, 'In no wise' (Jn. vi. 37). (4) There might, how-
ever, be contrariety in interpretation of the significant text. Hector
MacPhail, during his last illness, entertained hopes of recovery because
Gen. xlvi. 4, "I will go down with thee into Egypt, and I will also surely
bring thee up again", was deeply impressed upon his mind. But Hector

143. (4) Days of the Fathers, p. xxx, (1927 ed.)
Holm, his catechist, showed that the message of the text was the death of the minister. "God went with Jacob to Egypt...but it was only his bones that were brought back from Egypt." "That is the Lord's mind in the verse", conceded MacPhail. (1)

Closely connected with tradition of Scriptural 'guidance' is the apparently well-authenticated faculty possessed by certain evangelicals, ministers and men, of discerning secret thoughts and hidden events.

John MacLeod, who knew only Gaelic, repeated the substance of an English sermon which he had just heard. (2) John Munro (Caird) felt irresistibly constrained to walk through seven parishes, in a storm of wind and rain, to visit his godly friend, Donald m'Andie. On arrival, he discovered that his friend was starving for lack of food. "I see now what was dark to me before" said Munro, "It is the Lord who sent me on this visit". (3) John Noble, Killearnan, is able to assure his brother's wife that her sons had safely completed their voyage to New Zealand. "For some days back, the Lord has been presenting them on land". Afterwards it was discovered that the date of their arrival corresponded exactly with the date revealed to their uncle. (4) Joseph MacKay, one of the 'men' of Reay, fought at Waterloo. While praying on the battlefield, he saw a vision of his friend, James MacDonald (5) pleading at the throne of grace for the British army and for Joseph MacKay. Later, he discovered this to be true. (6) Kennedy of Killearnan announced from the pulpit: "There is one now present, who before coming into the meeting, was engaged in bargaining about his cattle". A drover came to him next day to ask him how he knew it. (7) But much more common is this type of...

utterance. "There is a poor soul here (in Lochcarron Church) whose temptations are very peculiar. You did three things" said the preacher mentioning them,"at last you desperately put your hand on the sneck of the door". He then proceeded to give her directions which were blessed for her consolation.(1)

Specific predictions, both of weal and woe, were not unfamiliar accompaniments of the more intense evangelicalism. Hog's prophetic renown reached as far as London.(2) John Porteous of Kilmuir Easter, having been insulted by the Earl of Cromarty, predicts the destruction of the Castle of Milton. It was duly burnt by the Hanoverian troops after the '45.(3) "There is a sinner in this place very ripe for judgement destruction who shall this night be suddenly summoned to a judgement seat", announced the minister of Killearnan. Next morning, the neighbours discovered the charred bones of a woman notorious for immorality in the burnt-out ashes of her house.(4) Sometimes the prophetic assurances are encouraging. A Reay fishing boat failed to return to port. The relatives were anxious; but Joseph MacKay, the godly hero of Waterloo, predicts their return after a few days. They duly did, after having been driven far to sea in the storm.(5) Occasionally, the threatened judgment betrays a petulant vindictiveness out of all proportion to the offence. A rude young man pulled the long cloak of John Gunn, a godly man in Kinlochcervie, at the same time making a mocking remark. The godly man hinted plainly at a broken neck, and broken the young man's neck was a fortnight later.(6) We are convinced that a few men, Thomas Hog and Lachlan MacKenzie for instance, did possess a prophecic

insight which was other and beyond the prescience born of a shrewd appreciation of events. Lesser men, desirous of the popular reverence which the gift evoked, assumed a mantle which was not theirs by right. But even if we regard 'The secret of the Lord' merely as the tribute which popular piety pays to eminent godliness, its historical significance is unaffected. With a people especially sensitive to the supernatural, it invested the more intense evangelicalism with the manifest stamp of heavenly authority.

VIII. The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. We have left this topic to the close of our theological survey, not merely because it is premonitory of the direction to be taken by liberal evangelical thought in the 19th century, but also because its Highland protagonist, though not a Moderate, was certainly out of step with current evangelicalism, in his treatment of his theme. At a Presbyterial visitation of his parish in 1753, Aeneas MacAulay of Applecross preached a sermon, which was admittedly a summary of a systematic course of pulpit teaching, on the text, Acts xvii. 28, "For we also are his offspring". Aeneas Sage of Lochcarron libelled MacAulay for heresy on certain points, and the matter eventually, by way of complaint and counter-complaint, reached the Assembly of 1758. (1) The Assembly dismissed the affair, with an impartial rap on the knuckles for libeller and libelled; but the offending sermon, which was a document in the case, survives as a specimen of the teaching that was given to the people of Applecross about the middle of the century. (2)

Summarising: 'The system of nature is a mute picture of the representation we have of God in His Word, the one casting light on the other.'

(1) Morren's Annals of Assembly, pp. 148, 168, 182. (2) MS Assembly Papers, 1758.
Paul, speaking to a pagan auditory, chose a text out of the Bible of nature, whose theme is that God is the Father of mankind. This is consonant with the Lukan genealogy of our Saviour, which lands in God as the first of the line. The parental relation of God as the Father of our species and the first of the line of parents, was intended by God to produce in men knowledge of Him and a trust in Him. Reproduction of the human race through the union of the sexes is a divine intimation that mankind is by nature social, and the Fatherhood of God implies our kinship to one another as His children. Natural affection has its spring in the paternal character of God; as an earthly father has sympathy for his children, so God is the source of parental love. The fact that God's fatherly care for us is exerted through means and media in things temporal, points to a Mediatorship as God's way of revealed correspondence with us. It is natural that God should seek to convince us that he is touched with a feeling for our infirmities, for from the knowledge of such divine sympathy springs the fiducial dependence which is necessary for our happiness. The incarnation, atonement and resurrection of our Lord supply the needed proof. Saving faith, then, means the restoration of the original condition of fiducial dependence on the Heavenly Father, and the prayer which has as its climax, "Abba, Father", is the natural expression of such dependence. Since God is Love and man is made in His image, want of mercy proves our degeneracy. The mercy that assimilates us to God delights in making others happy in doing the will of God. Only in fiducial dependence are men truly reconciled to God and to one another; therefore to preach morality, without reference to the character of God as Fatherly love, is unnatural. It
might be excusable in Athens or Rome, but not in Christian churches. Finally, though fear of consequences may restrain wickedness, only the love that casteth out fear can beget filial obedience.'

While there are superficial resemblances to the school of Hutcheson, the independence of thought and originality of treatment is much more noteworthy. Though discarding much of the terminology of evangelicalism, he adopts a strictly Scriptural method of reasoning. It is clear, anyway, that in some of the remote manses of the north there were thinkers, and in the parishes, people who were able to appreciate, and also to disagree with, their thought.
MISSIONARIES, CATECHISTS, 'MEN': THEIR WORK AND EVANGELICAL INFLUENCE, 1888-1890.
During our period, the regular ministry played a less dominant part in the religious life of the Highlands than they did in the Low Country. The reason is mainly to be found in the geographical facts. The old parishes of Glenorchy, Lismore, Lochgilphead and Ardnamurchan measured roughly 49 miles by 16; Kilmonivaig, Kilmallie, Lochbroom and Harris, 51 miles by 23. (1) A very considerable number of other parishes, both on the mainland and in the islands, presented problems in pastoral care which no parish minister, however devoted, could adequately resolve.

It will also be remembered that, at the beginning of the century, there were no roads, and few even towards its end, that bridges were infrequent and that mountain ranges, rivers and arms of the sea intersected many of the parishes. Further, it will be recalled that many places which are now the haunts of sheep and deer were occupied by considerable pockets of population.

It cannot be said that the population of the average parochial charge, on the mainland in any case, was excessive. In the great majority of cases, according to the parochial returns compiled in 1750 and 1755, it varied from 1000 to 2000. (2) But there were outstanding exceptions. Kilchoman and Ardnamurchan had a population of over 5000, Fortingall, Blair Atholl and Kenmore considerably over 3000. The mainland parishes showed little increase during the 40 years up to 1795; only a fraction over five per cent. But during the same period, the island parishes had increased by

Thus over a large area, the geographical problem was further complicated by a rapidly growing population, especially during the latter half of the century.

The General Assembly, as has been already noted did not lose sight of the clamant need for more workable parochial areas, and various new parishes were erected during the course of the century. But owing to the opposition of the landlords and the legal difficulties involved, the number of new erections only touched the fringe of the problem.

Church extension was not attempted on a large scale till the Church Accommodation Committee, under the leadership of Dr Chalmers, grappled with the problem.

Hence, during the whole of the 18th century, the itinerant preacher and the lay catechist, played a notable part in supplementing the inadequate parochial organisation. And in large areas of the Northern Highlands, the powerful, though unofficial order of "The Men" were valuable, if occasionally troublesome, allies.

James Kirkwood, from whose devout and fertile mind there emerged a number of ideas which proved fruitful for the religious welfare of the Highlands, was pondering over the problem of insufficient parochial staffing during the latter years of the 17th century.

In the document "Some hints of particulars to be proposed to the General Assembly, 1699" he suggested the revival of the order of lay-reader, paid or unpaid. Realising that money to pay salaries
to whole-time workers was a crucial difficulty, he thought that "some person may be employed who following his calling the rest of the week may perform the charitable offices of reading the Scriptures and leading in prayer without being chargeable unto his neighbours and that such an one may labour with greater successs he may be made a lay elder or some other degree of power and authoritie may be provided for him whereby he will be enabled in some measure to awe if not to restrain those who may be otherways apt to discourage and hinder him in his pius and Christian endeavours."

But quite apart from the advocacy of Kirkwood, the rise of the catechist and of the missionary itinerant preacher was inevitable on the score of necessity. The re-establishment of Presbytery involved an increased emphasis on doctrinal teaching. The typical Reformed method of imparting such knowledge was by catechising; the Episcopal Church had to a considerable extent conformed to the practice. It was considered impossible for the parish minister to devote sufficient time for elementary catechetical teaching from house to house and hamlet to hamlet. So to the catechist was committed, by the general practice, the routine teaching of the Catechisms. The missionary minister makes his first appearance under the auspices of the Royal Bounty Committee after 1725. But the forerunner of the long, and one may add, distinguished line of Highland was appointed to Kincardine, Rossshire, in 1689. His name was Andrew Munro, and it is on record that he was "ane honest man" and that his salary was £40 (Scots). (2) In 1715, Andrew Michael, catechist

(1) MS Kirkwood Collection. (2) MS Records of Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland.
at Tarbet was reprimanded by the Presbytery for expounding the questions of the Catechism and the Scriptures. This was an intrusion into a ministerial preserve, but the catechist made the sensible defence that "if ane person enquired the meaning of ane question, he told it as west he could." But he must have been a man of original parts, for he was further blamed for "singing a tune different from the precentor" (1).

That these early catechists proved their worth is shown by the increasing use which was made of their services, especially by the General Assembly's Royal Bounty Committee.

The Royal Bounty Committee.

In 1725, the King made a gift of £1000 to the Church and it was understood that the grant would be renewed annually. The terms of the Royal warrant reflect, it may be assumed, the policy and conviction of the Assembly, no less than that of the Government.

"Whereas it has been represented to us by the General Assembly that Popery and Ignorance do increase and prevail in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and that one of the principal causes thereof is the large extent of the parishes in these parts whereby the ministers of these parishes find themselves unable to visite their parishioners in their several bounds as they ought....in order to arm them against the practices of many Popish priests that resort thither in order to pervert and seduce them from the Profession and Principles of the Reformed Religion....Now as the evil thereof may be of dangerous consequence to our Government, We are sensible

(1) MS Record of Pres. of Ross and Sutherland.
that nothing can more effectively stop the Growth and Increase of it as Itinerant Preachers to go into these parts...." (1)
The Assembly appointed a "Committee for the Reformation of the Highlands and Islands" to administer the fund; it was afterwards more familiarly known as the Royal Bounty Committee.
It was largely composed of the lords and lawyers who were then so powerful in the inner councils of the Church; but the Highland clergy were represented by William Morrison of Tiree, Hugh Munro of Tain, James Chapman of Cromdale and Daniel MacAulay of Bracadale, the Highland elders by Lord Reay and Col. Munro of Foulis. (2)
Upon these men rested the duty of appointing "Preachers and Catechists to go to the proper places designed in His Majesty's Warrant".

The Assembly, in their remit to the Committee, had ordained that the preachers "must be of good abilities, of a pious life and conversation and that none be employed as Catechists but such as are certify'd and found upon due trial to be so qualified" (2)

They are to be subject to the Presbytery of the bounds, who are required to see that the orders of the Committee are duly obeyed.
That meant, in the case of the preachers at least, that they were not immediately subject to the authority of the ministers in whose parishes they laboured. They were not intended to be parochial assistants. They were, in fact, the forerunners of the chapel of ease ministers of a later age.

N? in order to prepare the ground for these novitiates, numbers of

(1) Royal Bounty Minutes, 18th May, 1725. (2). Ibid.
experienced ministers were sent on successive missions to the more hostile West Highland parishes, where Papists, Non-jurors and Jacobites combined to make Presbyterian progress difficult, if not impossible. During the period of their mission, these ministers were empowered to create kirk-sessions in the desolate parishes, and to act as members of the Presbyteries and Synods in whose bounds they laboured. While fulfilling the office of an evangelist, they were to impress upon the people "the obligation they are under to Duty and Loyalty to our Sovereign, King George, and obedience to the Laws". (1) The experiences which these missioners underwent give us a vivid insight into the quality of the task upon which the itinerants and catechists engaged with such distinguished success.

Two Skye ministers, Archibald MacQueen and Norman MacLeod, went on mission to Gairloch and they "show the great discouragements ministers are under, their getting few to hear them in some places and the great expense they are put to in travelling through the country.... also representing that Fire was in the night time set to the house wherein they were lodged and that if by the good Providence of God, it had not been timeously discovered, they might have perished in the flames". (2)

Hugh Campbell of Kilmuir Wester went to Wester Ross and though his reception was cold enough, we can discern already the beginning of the mass movement towards Presbytery. In Kintail "he found the people much poisoned with prejudice against the present establishment. It was with the greatest difficulty he was allowed to converse

with inciting them. Yet after travelling amongst them, which he did each day of the week....they did at length yield to hear him go about the worship of God in their families and discourse with them anent the principles of our religion and some few did Convene to sermon on the Lord's Day." (1)

Daniel MacAulay of Dracadale stated "that he had no access in Cana to deal with the people. Because they would not hear him, being under the influence of Priests and Popish Managers and dare not hear a Minister preach or pray; but in Roum, the Reformation goes on successfully by the zeal of their worthy superior, Hector MacLean of Coll, which should be duly noted by the Church....and Government to encourage others to follow his example. For about three years ago, there were few Protestants in the Isle of Roum. And now there is only one little family and some silly women continuing under anti-Christian delusions." (2) Such a remarkable feat of evangelisation shows how much could be done in those days by a resolute Protestant (or Catholic) laird, who was not too scrupulous about his methods. Archibald Campbells and John MacLean found Moidart, Morar and Arisaig impenetrable to their message, and they ascribed their ill-success to "Papist Factors and Judges." (3) The Presbytery of Lorn thought that "application be made to Government for a Company of Forces to ly at Kinlochailort in Arisaig to protect and encourage the miss­ionaries." They also recommended the appointment of Protestant factors and varon-daillies and the infiltration of Protestant tenants to leaven the Catholic districts "otherwise ministers

(1) R.B.Min. 1726, p. 126. (2) Ibid, 12th Nov. 1725. (3) Ibid. 1st June, 1726
cannot have so full access to Deale with the People for their conversion from Popery". (1)

This suggestion was a leaf out of the Catholic book "for the Duke of Gordon has charged a great many Protestant families to remove from their possessions and this to make way for some of the Popish MacDonalds from the Braes of Lochaber which strikes terror on the Protestants in that country". (2)

In 1728, the Royal Bounty Committee recommended to the Assembly that "colonies of Protestants be planted in the Popish parts" and "that loyal persons be preferred to long leases and posts which might tend to the interest of Government and the improvement of the country". (3)

The Presbytery of Skye advised that, for advancing the reformation in the Small Isles, "a praemium ue paid for every Papist that shall be brought to embrace the Protestant Religion". (4)

These suggestions, most of which were never acted upon, reveal how close was the connection, in contemporary thought, of religion and politics. But it was not by such methods as these that Presbytery and Evangelical doctrine were to win their triumph in the Highlands.

As modern research has revealed, the Catholic population in the Highlands was, at this period, considerably less than was formerly supposed and converts from Protestantism fewer than was claimed by the Catholic Mission. (5) It may seem strange, then, that the Roman menace loomed so large and that an apparently disproportionate amount of the Church's limited resources should be directed to the task of converting Catholics instead of being concentrated on

the edifying in the Faith of the numerous nominal Protestants. 
In the earlier years of the Committee's labours, the "papist countries" did receive an undue share of attention. The explanation lies in the political, no less than in the religious situation. A French invasion, in the interests of the exiled royal House was not an unreal possibility till after 1745. Loyal Protestants assumed not without reason, that a Catholic and consequently Jacobite population, would gladly open the door to the invader.

N? There was also, it must be remembered, a measure of fluidity along the ecclesiastical boundaries. Many of the people were still, during the opening decades of the century, in a state of mind in which they were open to argument. There were many nominal Catholics as well as nominal Protestants; they were liable to side with the church which provided them more conveniently with the ordinances of religion, especially marriage and baptism. (1)

If "trafficking priests" could compass a mass movement from Protestantism, as they did in Lochaber, it was not unreasonable to believe that Protestant missionaries could win the deluded Papist to the Presbyterian fold through the energetic propagation of sound doctrine. (2)

N? Events were to prove otherwise; and though the Royal Bounty Committee never neglected the Catholic districts, the emphasis was gradually shifted towards the shepherding of those who called themselves Protestant.

The missionary probationers and ministers were not designed to be the personal assistants of the parish ministers. "This Fund was

never designed to ease ministers of their labours". (1) They were allotted definite quasi-parochial districts; and when it became necessary to ordain most of missionary preachers, their districts became, in effect, parishes. They had not, of course, though ordained, a seat in the Presbytery. But Highland Presbyteries sometimes elected a missionary as a commissioner to the General Assembly. The practice was prohibited in 1726, though apparently not on legal grounds. (2) The prohibition was evidently disregarded, for as late as 1753, the Assembly "discharged Presbyteries to elect missionary ministers... as their commissioners". (3)

The missionaries were selected from the ranks of the Gaelic-speaking probationers; of these, there was a more or less chronic shortage. In 1704, the General Assembly decided to allot "the one half of all the bursaries of the Presbyteries west of South the Tay, including that part of the Synod of Perth that lies north of North Tay" to Gaelic-speaking candidates for the ministry. (4) In 1737, owing to a temporary sufficiency, this Act was repealed. (5) In 1756, the earlier practice had to be revived, and a levy of three shillings sterling was placed upon each Presbytery for the education of Highland students in "philosophy" and divinity. (6)

NP. In 1726, the Committee stated that "there is a great scarcity of preachers and catechists having the Irish language" and it was ordained that as soon as "Mr Murdo MacDonald, Mr Hector MacKenzie and Mr Aeneas Sage shall be licensed, they be sent to the bounds

of Gairloch" and that "Mr James Fraser, student of divinity in Edinburgh,... when licensed is to be sent to the Presbytery of Abertarff". (1) Despite the official antagonism of the Church to the Gaelic language, every effort was made only to appoint men who were linguistically suited to their flocks. Lachlan Shaw states that most of the ministers and teachers settled in the Highlands in the 17th century were, owing to their ignorance of Gaelic "mere barbarians to the people". (2) This is an exaggeration, though men were occasionally appointed to parishes with a very slender equipment in Gaelic. The official policy is neatly summed up in the following minute: "Mr Orem.... to be employed at Glenmuick, notwithstanding of his want of the Irish language... better than want a missionary altogether... Mr Orem to give up his place as soon as one having Irish be got". (3) Lord Grange, who was a member of the Committee, complained of men like Mr Orem being planted in the Gaelic fringe in Aberdeenshire. (4) Very rarely did such a thing happen in the Gaelic interior.

The majority of the earliest appointments were absorbed by the "popish parts" South Uist, Moidart, Morar and Arisaig, Kilmorack, Kiltarlity and the Braes of Kirkmichael, the Presbyteries of Abernethy, Strathboogie and Fordyce received their share of the supply of preachers available. (5) By 1726, nine ordained ministers and seventeen probationers had been sent to their posts. (6)

The next class of men employed as missionaries were divinity

A whole-time attendance at the Divinity Hall was not compulsory. This was quite unsatisfactory from the educational standpoint, but a boon to necessitous students who could ill afford the cost of attendance at a full course of lectures throughout the academic session. A Highland minister, who had undergone such a truncated course and had afterwards become a noted Evangelical preacher confessed that "his knees had paid" for his lack of theological equipment.

The student missionary was rated as the highest grade of catechist, and was paid £16 or £18, while his humble unacademic brother had to content himself with £10 or £5 or even £3 a year. The provationeer usually had £25 or £30, out no house.

In 1725, Gilbert Robertson, student, was appointed catechist in Contin, Thomas Montfud in Abertarff, Patrick Duncan in Rathven, and John Paipe in Gairloch. (1)

For a good many years, they were not too sympathetically treated by their employers. The practice of employing substitute catechists while the students went to college in winter was frowned upon. Patrick Nicolson, minister of Kiltarlity, reported that his student missionary, Neil Bethune, intended to prosecute the study of Divinity and "proposes two vice catechists who can translate English into Irish and have the questions of the Catechism in that language."

He was told that the Committee "do not allow of Depute Catechists." (2) The Presbytery of Uist was taken to task because "they had disguised too long" the absence of John MacLeod who had gone to

the University of Aberdeen without asking leave to employ a depute. (1) In 1760, four years after the General Assembly had re-established the bursaries for Gaelic-speaking students, it was decided to give vacation appointments to selected students both in philosophy and divinity. In that year, Martin and John MacPherson and John Nicolson were sent to labour in the Synod of Glenelg. One of the curious conditions attached to these appointments was "that the ministers in the Synod of Glenelg shall every Lord's Day preach one sermon in English which every minister is to certify by a letter under his hand." (2) The ministers took pains to fulfil the condition, but apparently not to edification. Dr John Walker, visiting the Highlands a few years later, found that the English sermon "instead of conciliating rather irritates the people". (3) Walker conversed with seven of the students who were the innocent cause of Highland wrath and "found them to be every way deserving of the encouragement they receive. During the vacation of the universities, they act as catechists in different parts of the country and...are pursuing their studies with such proficiency that they promise...not only to be useful members but ornaments of the Church". (4) Assembly Reports, however, do not always paint the shadows. In 1767, "it was recommended that no more students of philosophy or divinity be taken on...some of them had continued seven or eight years as catechists" without qualifying for licence. (5)

A century afterwards, the Ladies Gaelic Schools Association of the

Free Church employed divinity students as teachers on the express condition that they went to College in winter. Reasonably efficient deputes were then easier to obtain and the result was better than might have been expected. (1)

The third class of missionary agent employed in the Highlands was the ordinary catechist, who became one of the most familiar figures in Highland religious life. Not only the Royal Bounty Committee but the Scottish S.P.C.K., the Forfeited Estates Commissioners, and individual parishes who were able to afford them, paid the catechist the compliment of employing his services. Among the earliest catechists on the Royal Bounty were George Grant, Glenlivet, William Gordon, Alvie and Kingussie, and Donald Sutherland, Tongue, who bore the alias of 'Happy Catechist'. (2)

The demand soon exceeded the number of suitable men available; this was the theme of a complaint by the Minister of Glenuig in 1726 and Presbyteries were instructed "to look out for fit persons to be employed as catechists". (3) The supply increased as Presbytery gained a grip on the north and some of the best of them were products of the Evangelical revivals which took place in Ross and Sutherland, from 1729 onwards. (4)

The posts of difficulty as well as honour were the "popish parts". Men "of great prudence and well-known in the popish controversies" were chosen, at the relatively munificent salary of £15, to go to the unreformed parts of Glenelg and Kintail. (5)

But such attainments were not expected of the ordinary catechist, if remuneration is a just guide. Highland Presbyteries, clamouring for numbers rather than quality, demanded that the benefits of the King's Bounty be made "more diffusive" and this policy was accepted by the Committee. (1)

In 1727, Lewis had been given two catechists at salaries of £6 a year, but on the Presbytery expressing their preference for four at £3 each, they were told "to do what they think most for the good of their bounds". (2) The Presbytery of Caithness, on being given a free hand, discovered that "diffusiveness" might be pushed too far, and they "shew the Difficulty they had to find out persons who would serve for so small salarys as Thirty Shillings sterling each and could prevail with none", (3) The reason why Presbyteries in such places as Lewis, could get catechists to work for £3 a year, is that they mainly subsisted on the hospitality of the people amongst whom they laboured. Archibald Bannatyne, student-catechist of Kilmallie, emphasised the need for "some of smaller abilities to go from house to house to learn the people the ten Commands and the first principles of religion...such may be had for 40, 50, 60 pounds Scots, who may be maintained in their diet in the families they go to". (4) Such intimate and homely contact is one reason why Presbyterianism became so intensely a religion of the people.

On the other hand, one reason why catechists in disaffected parishes were paid larger salaries is "that they had to pay for their diet". (5)

A circular letter from the Royal Bounty Committe to Highland Presbyteries, dated 11th August, 1727, admirably outlines the duties which were expected from the catechists. "As to catechists, it is thought that when they come to families where the people are very ignorant and superstitious, they should remain in and about such places till they have taught a competent number of the people there to repeat the Shorter Catechism and to understand it in some measure; for, that being done, one in a family may help to teach the rest, which will make way for ministers and preachers their doing the more good when they come to visit, catechise and preach and ministers to baptize... for it is not to be expected that ministers can stay so long in a family as to teach the people therein the whole Catechism, but the catechists may do it.... and thus in winter nights in the houses and in summer in the Shealls (1) the people may be receiving instruction with little diversion from their work... when the poor people can repeat part of the Catechism and answer some of the questions therein, it encourages both themselves and others to appear before the minister; whereas when they cannot do so, they are ashamed to attend catechising and if they do, and can say nothing, they are dashed and both they and others present are discouraged." (2) This letter betrays an intimate knowledge of the psychology of the people, and also reveals the fact that, in the early pioneering years, more stress was laid on acquaintance with the Catechism than on imparting knowledge of the Scriptures.

By 1728, seventy catechists had been appointed to various districts. (3)

(1) x... (2) R.B.Min.Vol.I.p.127.
The missionaries at work.

By the terms of their appointments, all S.P.C.K. teachers were ex officio catechists in their own districts, and from 1729, by virtue of a concordat with the Royal Bounty Committee, the great majority of them allowed Monday as well as Saturday and Sunday each week to do their catechising. School vacations were to be similarly employed. (1) This agreement lasted for 29 years. In addition, the Forfeited Estates Commissioners employed preachers and catechists on their own lands. As the century progressed, individual parishes began to employ and pay for their own catechists, a small charge, often sixpence a year, being levied on each household for his maintenance. All these workers have to be taken into account along with their comrades on the Royal Bounty.

Broadly speaking, they were called upon to deal with four big problems. These were, Popery, Jacobite Episcopacy, sheer lawlessness and the religious ignorance of even the well-affected population.

1. In 1725, a violent assault was made by a Papist rabble in St. Ninian's churchyard, Strathbogie Presbytery, on Walter Morrison, preacher, Patrick Duncan, catechist, and William Scoby, Society teacher. Greatly daring, they had attempted to hold a service in the churchyard, while mass was being celebrated in the chapel. (2) Morrison was needlessly aggressive, but experience wisely tempered his subsequent zeal. Two years later, the Presbytery of Fordyce acclaimed him as a person "with whose abilities, management and prudence, They own themselves satisfied... the generality of the Disaffected (1) S.P.C.K. Min. of Com. 4th Sept. 1729. (2) R.B. Min. 29th Sept. 1725.
in that country are obliged to give him a good testimony...he has
reclaimed severals from Popish errors". (1)

His description of his evangelizing technique is worth quoting.
"The method he took was not so much directly to attack their errors
by running them down as errors, as by insisting on the truths of
the Christian Religion...and by this way of doing, he found most of
the common people turning really Protestant in many points of our
Faith...another way he us'd which he found very taking both with
the Prelatical families and with the Papists, was to take a zealous
concern about their children at schools and otherwise...by letting
pennys fall to the young ones and complimenting them with little
books...he hears them read, examines them, prescribes them tasks of
the Catechism By which means there is even an emulation rising
among several of the young people and our Catechism comes to be
read mandate by many young ones and old people hear it and are
delighted to hear their children so perform" (2)

William Scoby, one of Morrison's partners in the St Ninian's incident, had been "catechising, visiting families and the sick and conversing with Papists in order to their being reclaimed, not without some instances of desirable success". (3)

James Murray, Glenmuick had found that "none of the Papists would hear him read or pray...the priest did lately oblige some of the children at the charity school to do penance for hearing Protestant schoolmasters pray". (4)

Donald Macleod, South Uist, "shows that the favourers of the truth are exposed to the frowns and ignominy of others for their principles" (1) Small Isles affords little encouragement to the missionaries, and John MacArthur desires a transfer from Rum "even if it be to Hirta". (2) Desperation could scarcely go further.

There were some notable successes in this field. In 1735, James Tyrie a priest, "Did in the presence of the Synod of Moray... solemnly renounce the errors of Popery and embrace the Protestant Religion by declaring his approbation and belief thereof as contained in the Holy Scriptures, Confession of Faith and Catechisms of this Church". (3) He was sent as an ordained missionary to Bellie and Rathven, and then to the equally difficult district of Abertarff; but owing to his lack of Gaelic, he was later transferred to Orkney. (4) In 1743, Alexander Fraser, another convert from Popery, "was catechising with success in Stratherrick upon a small encouragement given him by the people". (5) It was an achievement to win a popular foothold in Lord Lovat's favourite barony.

In Lochaber, the country of the Camerons, who "boast of their firm adherence to the Protestant Religion in all the Periods of Time since the Reformation" (6) there was, about 1722, all the appearance of a mass movement towards Rome. But Alexander MacIntosh, one of the Society teacher-catechists had "put such a stop to the increase of Popery in that corner that no priest now comes within his bounds. He seized the Roman Catholics travelling with loaded horses on the

Lord's Day, and has brought the people to pay a due regard to the Sabbath in which they were formerly very defective!(1)

Glenmoriston, about 1763, was in a somewhat similar situation through the attentions of two neighbouring priests; but William MacLeod, the glen catechist "has been of great use in opposing this rapid progress of Popery and during the last two years has instructed and brought to the Sacrament 60 men communicants who would otherwise have been in great danger of turning off from the Protestant Religion"(2)

The real success of the missionaries in this sphere lay in the confirmation of the Protestants in their faith, rather than in reclaiming many from Rome. "Though 'tis true there are not many reclaimed from Popery... yet apostasy is not now frequent, there not having been any save one and that an heritor against whom process is going on"(3) This experience of the itinerant missionary at Rathven and Bellie may be taken as generally typical throughout the north.

2. In 1728, the Royal Bounty Committee reported to the Assembly that "Ignorance, Profaneness and Superstition does abound": amongst the people "of such countries as are inhabited by Protestants, though the heritors are Jacobites." On the other hand, in the countries "which are under the influence of the noble families of Argyle, Reay, Sutherland, the Frasers, Grants, Munros, Rosses, Forbess's and other Heretors who are for the most part zealous for the Protestant succession, the people have far more knowledge, and are not so

barbarous and vicious but are more civilized". (1) This judgement
was not unfair, as the early experiences of the pioneers of Pres­
bytery in these parts amply testify.

The vast domains of Seaforth were an object of anxious solicitude
both to church and state, and there the Royal Bounty Committee and
the S.P.C.K. had developed a vigorous offensive since the inception
of their operations. As has been already noticed, special missions,
conducted by well-known Highland preachers, woke the ground for
the itinerant missionaries and catechists. The best known of these
early itinerants is Aeneas Sage, who was settled in the sphere of
his missionary labours as parish minister of Lochcarron. (2)

Their efforts had evident and early effect, in spite of "the irreg­
ularities and invective against the present establishment of Mr
Angus Morrison" the non-juror, and the fact that, as Sage sadly
reported, the "curates were coming up in swarms". (3)

"The people do generally very kindly receive the missionaries and
embrace the means of instruction... and are inclin'd to attend
Gospel Ordinances, which they do even when few of their leaders in
the country do join therein". (4)

Despite the strongly exerted influence of "some of those who set
up for the interest of the forfeited family of Seaforth" the people
have begun to think for themselves in the matter of religion. (5)

But, whatever credit is due to the missionaries and catechists, the
chief ecclesiastical factor in finally weaning the people of the

(1) R.B.Min. 1728, p. 277. (2) Sage; D. Memorabilia Domestica, Ch. I & II
Jacobite countries from allegiance to the non-jurors was the work and witness of certain of the notable parish ministers who were the strength and glory of early Highland Presbyterianism. Such, for instance, were Leslie of Moy, Sage of Lochcarron and Robertson of Lochbroom. Pope of Reay was a man of similar stamp. These men combined in a unique degree a fervent evangelical faith, an inflexible resolution of character, with, when necessary, the physical argument of the strong hand.

3. The lawless districts. The fact that unprotected postal messengers carrying not only letters but money, travelled regularly, during the first half of the century, throughout the Highlands and from Inverness to Edinburgh, amply proves that, despite the picturesque survival of personalities like Rob Roy MacGregor and MacDonald of Barisdale, the moral standards of the people, as regards other people's property was as high, to say the least, as in more advanced regions. (1) For brief spells only, in 1715 and 1745, was the service suspended. But there were several recognised districts where the 'broken men' who had renounced the moral code of their neighbours, congregated. Most famous of these, perhaps, was Rannoch where "the prevailing names are Camerons and MacGregors (who have assumed other names), a few MacDonalds, all of them originally refugees, come to Rannoch not for building of kirks, though the Camerons are by far the worst!"

(2) Dugald Buchanan, Roderick Kennedy, and their fellow teacher-catechists were directed by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners

to "put the fear of God before the eyes" of the broken men. This they faithfully and fearlessly did; and in 1753, the factor of Strowan reported that "many formerly noted for dishonesty and licentiousness are now become sober, honest, and industrious" (1)

In 1759, Buchanan "has every Sunday an audience of 500 people!" (2) A few years later, the factor refers to "Rannoch, with respect to theft, so universally well known... but for two years past, not a single beast has been stolen". (3) Part of the credit must be ascribed to more efficient policing, but the universal love and reverence that was accorded to Buchanan during his life, and the persistence of his influence after his death shows that a fundamental change had taken place in the character of the people. That change was due to the message proclaimed by these humble evangelists.

The well-affected areas. In 1729, the recently erected Presbytery of Tongue reported "the good success of the missionaries sent to their bounds and that by their endeavours and the diligence of the ministers, there are 450 in the parish of Farr who can repeat the whole catechism with tolerable knowledge of the meaning thereof; in the parish of Tongue, 300; in Durness, 200; in Eddrachilis, 174; in Assint 21; in all 1199, besides a far greater number who are learners and have made pretty good advances... Those who have the Catechism compleat make up about a third of the catechisable persons in the respective parishes, except Assint, which is but lately planted with a minister and every way in the infancy of Reformation!" (4)

(1) MS Strowan F.E.Papers, 1753. (2) F.E. Papers (S.H.S.) p. 222
(3) Ibid. 217. (4) R.B. Min. Vol. I. 490
Behind this achievement lies the benevolent interest of Lord Keay, who was a true father to his people and took a personal interest in the work and welfare of the itinerant preachers and catechists. At the time of Martin Martin's visit in 1697, the religion of St Kilda appears to have been an attenuated Catholicism, which combined a high moral code with a considerable admixture of sub-Christian beliefs and practices. When Rev. Daniel MacAulay visited the island in 1729, he found that, while Alexander Buchan, the ordained catechist had "only taught two to read" yet he holds "a General Catechising twice a year...constantly catechises the young ones...has got some of the people to pray in public...he exacts no church fines...and the people are not given to superstition now...neither have they (despite Martin's account) any prejudice against Lowlanders...I am confident I never met with a more affectionate and kind people, and as to Christian knowledge they are not inferior to their equals in our bounds (Skye), so they far exceed them in fidelity, charity, and discretion, particularly in courtesy or the common modes of civil behaviour". (1) This was the year after the terrible smallpox epidemic, in which 80 of the St Kildans perished. (2)

In 1752, John Clark, minister of Stornoway, reports the good work done by the Lewis catechists. "So exceeding useful is Allan Morrison in his station...that we recommend him for an addition of £1 stg!" (3) Similar reports might be cited for other districts.

Special stations. Efforts were made to meet the spiritual needs of certain new centres of industry. Large numbers of workers went to

the leadmines at Strontian, Tyndrum, and Killin. An itinerant preacher was supplied to each of these places. (1) Lochbroom had become a big fishing centre; a missionary preacher was appointed "to supply in the said parish in the summer time during the fishing season when there is a great resort of strangers to that place." (2) The modern church missions to our fishermen thus date back to 1739. Similar provision was made for the military garrisons stationed at Fort William, Fort Augustus, Ruthven (Kingussie) and Inversnaid. (3)

Relieving Aged and Infirm Ministers.
The lack of an Aged and Infirm Ministers' Fund was a source of considerable inefficiency throughout the church. There were cases where an incapacitated minister continued to hold his cure for years, solemnising the rites of marriage and baptism in his bedroom. The Royal Bounty Committee, through the agency of its preachers and catechists, sought in some measure to remedy this evil.

In 1728, the aged Walter Denune of Golspie, "being past ninety years, desires a catechist". (4) In 1743, the ministers of Bracadale and Snizort, in Skye, were "aged and valetudinary." A missionary probationer was appointed "to officiate six months in Snizort and six months in Bracadale". In 1744, the minister of Stornoway, being "aged and infirm" asks for an assistant "of whose salary he will pay £8". (5) In 1766, the once mighty frame of Aeneas Sage "has lost the vigour requisite to travel through his parish" and petitions for a catechist to "assist the poor old and infirm minister." (6)

A sympathetic response was made to requests like these; at the same time an effort was made to educate the parishes to contribute towards the salary of the assistant provided. Such timely help must often have averted the total cessation of religious ordinances in the parishes of "valetudinary" ministers.

Ordaining the Itinerants.

Presbyterian practice and opinion in Scotland since the Reformation have not been favourable to a vagum ministerium or ordination without being conjoined with a call from a particular congregation. (1) But such "ordination at large" was never strictly barred. Fraser of Brea and Richard Cameron, to mention only two cases, were ordained without being inducted to a congregation.

The General Assembly, under the insistent pressure of practical need increasingly sanctioned the practice of ordaining the itinerant preachers, who were, without exception, licentiates of the church. In 1728, Walter Morrison "was ordained in the minzie... for service in the Presbytery." (2) In the same year, the Royal Bounty Committee resolved that "the itinerant preachers in Abertarff Presbytery be ordained." (3) The reason, in these and other cases, was "that some Protestants, because of their distance from the church do call upon priests to visit their sick and baptize their children when the itinerant preacher is not ordained." (4) Dr John Walker also noticed that "many of the Protestants in the north by being remote from their parish ministers have their children upon many occasions baptized by the Pooish priests from the opinion that baptism is

necessary to salvation which is the general impression in the Highlands. These children when they grow up think themselves bound to adhere to the Romish Church and even the Protestant parents are careful to keep them steadfast in that communion in which they have been baptized". (1)

The practice of bestowing 'ordination at large' was shortly extended to the itinerants who were working in wholly Protestant districts. In 1742, the people of Strachur and Strathlachlan "undertake to add £10 yearly to the salary of William Campbell, their itinerant minister, if he were ordained so that he might marry and baptize". (2)

In 1745, a request for the ordination of John Morrison, the itinerant of Amulree, was granted in order that "he might marry and baptize persons living in the Highland country around". (3)

The Forfeited Estates Commissioners, recognising that ordination greatly increased the usefulness of the missionary, agreed to increase the salary of Mr MacCulloch, their itinerant on the Rannoch estate, on condition that he be ordained. (4)

When, after 1790, the Scottish S.P.C.K. were enabled, through a large accession of legacies, to employ a certain number of missionary preachers in the Highlands, they were generally required to be ordained. (5)

Conditions of labour.

In an age when it was difficult to persuade Highland heritors to roof the often half-derelict parish churches, it need not be thought that much consideration was given to the comfort of the missionaries.

(1) MS Walker Report, 1765. (2) R.B. Min. 1742. 159. (3) Ibid. 1745. 335. (4) Ibid. 1762. 93. (5) S.P.C.K. Account of Funds, 1796 and Appendix to Anniversary Sermon: 1791.
or their flocks. The S.P.C.K. teacher-catechists were given a house and a two-acre glebe. No similar provision was made for the agents of the Royal Bounty. Neither was there accommodation provided for public worship. An undated petition of Dugald Buchanan to the Forfeited Estates Commissioners: "Humbly sheweth that in Spring, Summer and Harvest, the people in Bunrannoch and two miles up the side of Loch Rannoch conveen to worship God and are catechised by the petitioner in the fields, but that there is no house proper for or that can contain the people who conveen in winter to worship, which hinders many from attending and endangers the health of those that do..." He therefore requested that an old schoolhouse be repaired for the purpose. (1)

But however hard the lot of the catechist, it was by no means as rigorous as that of the itinerant preacher. They often had three, sometimes four, stated preaching stations. "The extent of our missions" state three itinerants in a letter certified by four neighbouring parish ministers, "is from 12 to 20 miles; in many places with not a vestige of a footpath to direct the line of road over stupendous mountains and rapid rivers, without bridges and often impassible... bays and arms of the sea without stated ferries..."

A traveller remarks: "When they (the missionaries) arrive at the field appointed for preaching, they find the poor people in the same situation with themselves; drenched with wet, shivering with cold, and alike exposed to the inclemencies of the weather during

the time of service and on their journey back to their comfortless huts". (1)

"The very expence of clothes and linen" the above-quoted missionaries mournfully conclude "is inconceivable as it is insupportable". The Directors of the S.P.C.K., while preparing their own new mission scheme, refer sympathetically to the conditions under which the Royal Bounty missionaries worked. "It is not to be wondered at, that the majority of them, dissatisfied with this situation, should look with anxiety for better settlements". (2) They therefore laid down the minimum conditions on which they would send a missionary minister to any district. These were: "A decent house for public worship in every station where it is statedly performed; a comfortable dwelling-house for the missionary, a barn, cowhouse and stable, and as much ground as will maintain a horse and two cows during the whole year". (3) These requirements were in each case fulfilled, chiefly by benevolent heritors, sometimes by the people.

But, during by far the greatest part of the century, the itinerant missionaries endured hardships that only the young and very strong could long endure.

Estimate of qualifications and character of itinerants and catechists.

In 1760, the General Assembly approved a resolution which declared that "the method of employing itinerants and catechists has not answered the ends of his Majesty's pious intention". As the same Assembly sought the permission of Government to divert the greater

portion of the Royal Bounty towards the provision of stipends for new parishes which it was proposed to erect, it would not be too cynical to suggest that this verdict was influenced by the need for tactical window-dressing for London eyes. (1) Dr John Walker tacitly admitted as much, when, five years later, he told the Assembly that "They (the itinerants) are without exception well-qualified and every way worthy of the of the station they fill, and some of them men whose learning, abilities and behaviour are far superior to the small salary of £25 or £30 a year which they possess". (2) The Forfeited Estates Commissioners appear to have connected their undoubted zeal in their labours with their state of economic insecurity. "The itinerant preachers ought to be removeable at pleasure, because these preachers can be of great service if they are right men and by keeping them dependent, the Commission can change when they mistake their men; whereas if they once settle a knave or a blockhead (in a parish) there is no getting quit of him for life". (3) Some, doubtless, had their human frailties. Nemesis, in the form of debts to his college landlady in Aberdeen, follows Neil MacLeod to his mission sphere in Harris. (4) In 1745, the revisers of the annual list of appointments remark that "£30 is £10 more than enough for the said William Grant, itinerant at Fort Augustus, in respect that he is not reckoned successful and that his preaching talents are not agreeable to the people". (5) But the evidence as a whole more than suggests that the hard

work and unique opportunities of the mission districts attracted a fine type of energetic young probationer, especially men with evangelical leanings. Even during the hey-day of Moderatism, the generality of the Royal Bounty mission districts continued the evangelical tradition; a fact which sometimes won the missionaries the disfavour of the parish clergy. This is the testimony of John Lane Buchanan (1) and the Royal Bounty Minutes disclose at least two cases of discreditable Presbyterial intrigue against itinerants.

(2) Of the Achreny mission, Auld says that it was "undoubtedly the means most owned of the Lord for the creation and maintenance of spiritual life in Caithness during this generally dreary period", that is, from 1750 onwards. (3) He cites the names of some of the Achreny missionaries, who afterwards became eminent: "Hugh MacKay afterwards of Moy, John Robertson of Kingussie, John MacDonald of Ferintosh, John Munro of Halkirk, Finlay Cook of Reay all successively occupied this sphere.

The Achness mission in Strathnaver could boast of "the revered and truly pious" George Munro of Farr (4), William Mackenzie, "the wale of old men", under whose ministry in Tongue a notable revival took place, (5) and Donald Sage, the author of the "Memorabilia Domestica". The Eriboll mission enjoyed for some years the ministry of John Robison, to whom John MacDonald of Ferintosh afterwards addressed a "Marbhrrann" or elegy. (6)

John Lane Buchanan, whose "Travels" give such a grim picture of life in the Hebrides, occupied the Harris mission from 1782 to 1790. Robert Findlater, who ministered in the Ardeonaig and Lawers mission for several years from 1810, was one of the famous evangelical torchbearers of Breadaloane. (1)

The catechists, as a class, varied considerably in education and intelligence. Dr Hyndman refers to them as "A body of men of low education... many of whom must be incapable of conveying religious instruction to the people in a proper manner". (2) There were a few who had to depend on their memory, rather than on their ability to read, for their knowledge of Scripture and Catechism. One comes across instances of blind men being catechists. Donald Munro, the father of the Skye revival movements, is an instance in point. But the generality must have had a fair school education, for many of them were in the habit of giving their own Gaelic version, not only of the Scriptures, but also of such works as Alleine's "Alarm" Doddridge's "Sermons", etc, when catechising their people. This custom was kept up by many even when Gaelic translations began to be available. (3) The "Religious Letters of John Munro", the Sutherland wheelwright, with their deep devotional feeling and fine intelligence, were the product of the class from which the catechists, at least in the northern Highlands were chiefly drawn. (4)

Alexander Buchan, ... the St Kilda catechist, who died in 1730 after 24 years service in that lonely outpost, may not be typical of his

Brethren as a whole, but the collection of books belonging to this ex-soldier from the Highlands of Braemar is worthy of notice. They were listed by Daniel MacAulay of Bracadale in 1729, and they include "The Confession of Faith, The Life of Faith by Brown, Christ's Famous Titles by Dyer, Gray's Mystery of Faith Explained, Willison's Sacramental Catechism, Marrow of Modern Divinity, Part I, Wishart's Divine Attributes, Erskine's Spiritual Songs, Vincent's Catechism, some leaves of Flavel's work, Robert Harris Works, Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened, Pool's Account of the Old and New Testaments, 3 volumes of Perkin's works, Matrimonial Honour by D.R., Young's Carnal Man Anatomised, Dr Benfield's Exposition of the First of Amos, A Christian Directory, Reply against Priest Brown, A Treatise of Justification, Spiritual Refinings, Exposition of First Five Chapters of Ezekiel, Harris on The Beatitudes, Browning's Treatise on Prayer, Some Discourses of Mr Wishart, The Main Question by Erskine, Guthrie's Tryal of a Saving Interest in Christ, Watson on the Catechism, Webster's Sacramental Sermons. (1)

Buchan's salary never exceeded £15 a year and he had a large family. (2) Many of the catechists, especially in Ross and Sutherland, were especially gifted in parabolic teaching, and employed allegory and homely similitude so effectively that many of them became a living part of the popular religious tradition. (3)

The spiritual and moral record of the catechists, is on the whole, very high. The typical catechist was, and was acknowledged to be, a true man of God. Certain districts had a less savoury reputation.

(1) R.B.Min. Vol. I. 339 (2) S.P.C.K. Min. of Committee, Vol. III. 186, etc. (3) Noble, Religious Life in Ross, etc.
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The Hebridean catechists were described as "not only useless, but many of them worthless drunkards"; and Uist seems to have the dubious honour of providing the original of the sinister figure of the blind catechist in R.L. Stevenson's "Kidnapped". (1) William Mackenzie, "An Ceistear Crubach", of Gairloch and Lochbroom, won fame and lost his post through having composed a poem which was more notable for wit than for a sense of the proprieties. (2)

But these rare instances of unbecoming conduct only serve the more sharply to define the picture of the typical Highland catechist as a man who had a true sense of his sacred vocation and adorned it with the graces of a consistent Christian life.

Donald Ross Mitchell "the model catechist of Rossshire" who was "one of the most superior Christians to we met with in that part of Scotland", (3) Hugh Ross of Kilmuir Easter, one of the converts of Rev. John Porteous, "whose advice many persons sought" in their spiritual affairs, Roderick Macrae of Creich, alias Ruairidh na h-urnuigh, (Roderick of the Prayers) (4) James MacDonald of Reay, the father of "The Apostle of the North", of whom it was said that "so richly replenished was the mind and memory of James with Scripture, that he would repeat it exactly as if he were reading, and, moreover, any mistake made by one quoting a passage of Scripture in his hearing would be instantly detected", such men as these are the true representatives of a class which has done invaluable service to evangelical religion in the Highlands. (5)

II.

'The Men'.

It has been suggested, with some force, that the unofficial religious order of the 'Men', who exercised such a profound influence on the development and temper of the Evangelical movement in the Highlands, may claim an ecclesiastical descent reaching back to the Culdees and even to S. Maolrubha of Applecross. Certain families in Sutherland called Reid (Rubha, Ruadh) traced their origin to the saint, and in certain instances claimed, and in Roman Catholic times were accorded, a quasi-ecclesiastical status. (1)

But the Evangelical memory did not care to cherish so ancient an ancestry. "The earliest traditions of the 'Men' are clustered round the name of John Munro, the celebrated 'caird' of Kiltearn". (2) Munro was a convert and disciple of Thomas Hog, who was 'outed' from the parish of Kiltearn at the Restoration. (3)

The 'Men' attained a position of public eminence, not only by reason of their character for superior godliness, but specifically for their services at the Fellowship Meetings.

Thomas Hog may have had a connection with, and sympathy for, the private (fellowship) meetings which existed in the Lowlands as early as 1640, and were countenanced by Samuel Rutherford. He belonged to the same school of piety as Rutherford. In 1647, the General Assembly virtually prohibited such meetings "as tending to the hindrance of the religious exercise of each familie by itself, to the prejudice of the publike ministery, to the renting of families of particular

(2) Kennedy, J.: Days of the Fathers, p. 95 (1927 Ed.)
(3) Memoirs of Thomas Hog, passim: (Free Church Publications) ; The Bass Rock, p. 174 (Edin. 1847)
congregations, and in progress of time of the whole Kirk". (1) There is mention of 'private' meetings in Sutherland during the Commonwealth. (2)

In any case, it is certain that the fellowship meeting gained a strong hold in certain parishes in Easter Ross early in the 18th century. John Balfour of Nigg, about or after 1730, formed a fellowship meeting consisting of his elders and a few others. About 1740, this meeting had so grown that it was necessary to divide it into two, "each of which has since considerably increased". These met every third Monday. Ten other meetings for prayer and conference were formed in different parts of the parish. These latter meetings took place every Saturday, and were presided over by an elder or experienced Christian. (3) These meetings were at first 'private'. Admission was granted only to the approved 'anxious enquirer' and to the communicant. (4) In the Lowlands, at least, such meetings had an elaborate set of rules. (5) In the Highlands, there were in some places 'family meetings on Sabbath evenings, at which the portions of Scripture read in Church were read over, and the texts were rehearsed from which the sermons had been preached. All present...were invited to state as much of the sermons as they remembered...an elder presided...There are at least two houses in Easter Ross, one in the parish of Tarbat, the other in the parish of Pearn, where weekly meetings for prayer have been held for more than two centuries." (6)

Some years before 1737, the private fellowship meetings which

occupied the Friday previous to the celebration of the Sacrament, became public gatherings. Certain of the clergy discovered that these meetings were attended by "inconveniencys", and in 1737, the Synod of Caithness and Sutherland passed an Act which abolished the now firmly established Friday Fellowship Meetings. (1) The subsequent controversy, which is discussed elsewhere, ended in the reversal of the Synod's decision. (2)

Saisre says: "In the north of Scotland a distinction prevailed in the annual administration of that ordinance (the Lord's Supper) which in the south was utterly unknown. That distinction was made between the public and the private or parochial administration of the Lord's Supper in any parish. The ordinance was considered as administered publicly when communicants from other parishes joined with those of the parish in its observance...". (3) The public Communion was customary all over the north, though in Argyll the Synod did, after a struggle, succeed establishing the 'private' communion. (4)

People from a very considerable area attended the 'public' Communions. (5) They stayed from Wednesday till Monday, and were received as honoured, though in times of scarcity, burdensome guests. (6)

The 'Men' were the acknowledged lay leaders in these sacramental assemblies. The public fellowship meetings provided them with an opportunity for self-expression. They were at the same time the means of spreading the name and fame of individual 'Men' over the countryside. This partly explains the tenacity with which they held on to the

(1) Beaton, D.: T. G. S. I. XXIX, p. 164: Quoting Synod Record.  (2) See p. 156E
(3) Memorabilia Domestica, p. 97 (2nd Ed.)  (4) See p. 161
(5) "From as many as forty parishes they come": Days of the Fathers, p. 113.  (6) Tonsue Presbytery Record: O. L. M. 7, p. 176 etc.
fellowship meetings.

Dr Kennedy explains the process by which a 'private' Christian became acknowledged as a 'Man': "When a godly Highland minister discovered a promise of usefulness in a man who seemed to be truly converted to God, he brought him gradually forward into a more public position, by calling him first to pray, and then to "speak to the question" at ordinary congregational meetings. According to the manner in which he approved himself, there was the prospect of him being enrolled among the "Friday speakers" on communion seasons. It was thus that the order of the 'Men' was established, and thus the body of 'the Men' was formed". (1) The 'Men', it may be added, were so-called to distinguish them from the ministers.

The public fellowship meetings were ostensibly conferences on practical religion. In theory, the persons who attended were 'anxious enquirers' come to sit at the feet of more experienced Christians. After praise and prayer led by the presiding minister, the 'question' is given out. "A believer who had difficulty about the interpretation of a certain portion of Scripture, or who was doubtful as to his being one of 'the afflicted and poor people' who 'shall trust in the name of the Lord', or as to his having 'passed from death unto life', or 'whether he was indeed born again', gave out the passage of Scripture and asked for the marks (comharaidhean) of those poor who trust, or of those who are brought to life, or are born again". (2) The presiding minister then gave a brief exposition of the passage, and then called upon the 'Men' to speak. "Strangers only are called to

(1) Days of the Fathers, p. 86.
(2) MacLean, D.: Duthil: Past and Present, p. 27.
speak". (1) "Not fewer than thirty will have spoken before the service is over". (1) In the interesting account of a fellowship meeting in the pre-Disruption parish of Durness contributed to the 'Annals of the Disruption' by the Rev. Eric Findlater, it is stated that the audience "might amount to upwards of a 1000, and of all ages. There might be seen an occasional sheep farmer, if a native of the district, but never a factor. There might also be seen the old and hardened in sin and the thoughtless youth; in short the various elements of which an ordinary congregation is composed". (2) In parishes like Ferintosh in the great days of the 'Apostle of the North', when the crowd attending the Sacrament might be 10,000, the numbers present at the fellowship meeting were correspondingly higher. (3)

The object which speakers were expected to keep before their minds was "to assist intending communicants in the duty of self-examination" and "to point out the marks which distinguish the true Christian from the mere professor or hypocrite". (4) "It is not theoretical but practical Divinity that is given forth...". (5) The speakers bore witness to their own conflicts with Satan, and to the Lord's dealings with their souls. It was a delicate task, and required insight, prudence and charity. The spiritual experience of the 'men', thus published to the world, became the standard to which all 'professors' were expected to conform. The number of earnest Evangelical ministers who opposed the fellowship meetings in the Sutherland and Caithness controversy is some proof that they were less edifying, at least during this early period, than they afterwards became. (6)

Evangelical minister of Durness, notes in his diary under the date 3rd July, 1762, the following remarks about a fellowship meeting which he had just attended: "The nature of this meeting of old was to give an opportunity to the ordinary swarm of professors for displaying their talents in putting and answering questions concerning what they call 'experimental godliness'. But, as it was ordinary in such conventions to start questions either frivolous or ill stated, and to allow ignorant people to harangue on them at random, perhaps without touching at all, or superficially, on the subject in debate, while the ministers present allowed them without control, correction, or direction, to ramble on in their indigested stuff", he read to the people a piece of Henry on the Sacrament. "I know not yet how this innovation was relished by the giddy people". (1)

The fellowship meetings was undergoing the pains of growth.

The mystical modes of speech and the allegorical interpretations of Scripture which were common among the 'Men' are best shown by illustrations. "I did not know I had been dead till I had been brought to life". "Israel was brought out of Egypt in one night, but it took forty years to bring Egypt out of Israel". "The farthing has the king's image on it as surely as the sovereign, so little faith is as much the gift of God as great faith". "Saul was anointed out of a phial... a brittle vessel. David was anointed with oil from a horn; even should this vessel fall, it would not break". (2)

Lachlan MacKenzie of Lochcarron sends a half-crown and a penny to Hector MacLean of Hamara: "I see what he means; this teaches me not to despise any of the

(1) T.G.S.I. XI, p. 304.
Lord's people, for the King's image is on the penny as sure as on the half-crown". (1) "In times of prosperity in the Church, the Lord's servants ploughed with four horses, Faith, Love, Discernment, and Zeal; but as the Church declined, Faith became lame, Love got sick, Discernment lost the sight of an eye, and Zeal died; so that many now do the work with the two horses of carnal reason and human learning". (2) "I don't wonder at it" said Daniel Bethune to Walter Innes, his minister, who confessed to him that he was harassed by doubts, "the wind is invariably strongest on the tallest tree in the wood". (3) "When my coat gets soiled", said James MacDonald, the father of the 'Apostle of the North' to John Grant, the 'Separatist', "I consider it too precious to cast it off on that account. Rather I stick to it, and strive to make it clean. And you will surely allow me to hold my church more precious than my coat. Although I see many stains on it, I will not cast it off". (4) "Lord, put the burning coals of heaven upon the flies of hell", was the prayer of William Murray, Fliuchary, Dornoch. (5) A stranger said to Robert Sutherland, Strathbrora: "Name to me something that never was, is not, and never will be". The answer was: "A child without the new birth in my Father's family". (6)

Certain other characteristics emerge which complete the portrait of the typical 'Man'.

Their knowledge of the Scriptures was profound. A retentive memory and a lack of other reading material, combined with their intense spiritual concentration, made them, as a class, mighty in the Scriptures.

Of Colin Sutherland, Helmsdale, it was said: "Though quite unable to read, he was possessed of a powerful mind and retentive memory. If any person reading the Bible missed or mispronounced a word, he would correct him". (1) Of two of the first generation of the 'Men of Skye', blind Donald Munro and John MacCowan, Dr Roderick MacLeod of Snizort said: "That had the Bible gone amiss, it would almost be found in these two men". (2)

They were much in prayer. Of Hugh Mann, Creich, it was said: "Whether walking on the high road or working in the field, he was continually engaged in prayer, and almost always in an audible voice". (3) Alexander Ross (Or), the godly weaver of Edderton, remained in prayer for three days on the hill of Edderton. (4) 'Men' might even be graded according to their might in prayer. John MacCowan was esteemed to be "coigeamh fear urnuigh an Eilean Sgitheanaich" (the fifth praying-man in Skye). (5) "The last of their meetings I was in, began at nine at night, and William Fraser prayed more than an hour. But such a prayer! Another hour of it would have been no burden to either a Christian or a poet". This was the testimony of John Campbell, of Edinburgh, who visited Inverness in company with James Haldane on a missionary tour. (6) But such 'liberty' was not always highly esteemed by the more judicious of the 'Men'. "I have three faults to find with your exercise", said James MacDonald, Reay to Alexander Gair, "you mention the Divine name too often, and not with sufficient reverence. You have too many repetitions, and you continued too long". (7) Of the prayer-meetings held by the 'Men of Skye', it has been said: "Generally seven

or eight of the men would engage in prayer...Their prayers were short, earnest, and void of repetitions. If anyone transgressed the rules, he was rebuked".(1)

The 'Men' were, in an especial degree, the guardians of the Sabbath. It may be concluded that many of the refinements of the Evangelical law of the Lord's Day emanated from them. Of Robert Findlater, it was said: "His Sabbath observance was never surpassed or even equalled by any one, clerical or lay". (2)

The 'Men' maintained a certain austerity of behaviour, not only to the 'ungodly', but also to new converts. "These worthies did not give instant credit, nor receive into instant fellowship, those under religious impressions. They required the trial and test that is afforded by time". (3) In Skye, three years was regarded as a suitable probationary period. (4) By then it would appear whether the convert was a 'hypocrite', that is, a self-deceiver who grounded his hope of salvation on his own righteousness, or a true child of God.

The 'Men' were not 'ignorant of Satan's devices'. He might even appear in corporeal form. Donald Roy, one of the earliest of the 'men' of Nigg, "saw what seemed to be a black dog trotting by his side. 'Ah', he exclaimed, 'and so I have got company; I ought to have guessed sooner!'". (5) Godly ministers might similarly interpret their conflicts with Satan in a physical manner. Porteous of Kilmuir Easter threw his snuff-box at the Enemy, having nothing else at hand to aim at the tempter. (6) Norman MacLeod, one of the most famous of the 'Men' of

Skye, when assailed by the tempter, would say: "Shame on you, Satan, is that your work now, who was once an angel of light." (1) There is a lonely bridge some miles from the writer's home in Skye which became famous as the scene of encounters between Satan and certain of the 'men' on their way to ordinances.

The 'Men' were conscious of a sense of solidarity as acknowledged members of an extensive confraternity. They quoted each other's sayings, and though there would appear to have been abundant field for mutual jealousy, it is testified that "they loved one another." (2) When quarrels did arise, "they were felt by them all as a family affliction would be felt." (3)

Their attitude to the Church and to the ministry needs definition. The bulk of the 'Men' were strongly opposed to 'Radical' or 'Separatist' principles. (4) They were loyal to the Church. But they distinguished between the Church and its ministers. Their antipathy to Moderatism might prove stronger than their regard for the visible Church. Very bluntly MacCowan says: "To be a convert then (c. 1800), meant to dissociate oneself from the deathdealing moderate ministers" again, "to the godfearing people, it meant starvation of their souls to abide under the preaching of the Moderates." (5) In the case of unpopular settlements, "several of the most enlightened and judicious (of the 'Men') felt it their duty to secede from their parish churches, and seek for spiritual instruction in those parishes where they conceived they would be most benefited. Such was the high ground

some of them took, that as an act of consistency, they would not even receive or partake of sealing ordinances from those ministers whom they could not hear. These men were called Seceders, though still continuing members of the Church of Scotland. (1) "If any man of this stamp (a Moderate) was settled in the parish where they (the 'Men') lived, they would not sit under his ministry; they believed that in doing so, they put their souls in peril, and rather than do it, they walked their ten or twelve miles on the Sabbath morning to the church of the nearest evangelical minister". (2) "As a boy, I remember seeing the very backs of the seats crowded with such hearers". (3) In Charles Calder's time, the ferryboat carrying the 'seceders' from Kiltearn to Ferintosh became known as the Gospel packet. (4) The minister of Kiltearn was the orthodox and evangelical Dr Robertson, but some of the 'seriously concerned' took offence, and 'seceded'. On the other hand it has been testified that "if they believed that the man (minister) was really sent by Christ, and that his heart was in his work, let him be never so young, never so inexperienced, never so much filled with trembling at the responsibilities of his office, these men - the oldest and the most godly of them - loved him, prayed for him, looked up to him, and encouraged his heart in the Lord... There was in them a beautiful comination of faithfulness and tenderness". (5) The 'Men' possessed, or were firmly believed by the people to possess, "a singular intimacy of fellowship (at the throne of grace) evidenced not only by the unction resting on their own spirits, but

in their obtaining special direction in the perplexities of themselves or others, and in receiving intimations of the Lord's mind as to present and future events in providence". (1) "Some of them could speak of divine manifestations such as we meet in the diary of Jonathan Edwards". (2) Many well authenticated instances of their prophetic powers are recorded. Lachlan MacKenzie of Lochcarron, who among the ministers possessed this gift, refused to formulate a theory: "I said it, and the Lord brought it to pass, and that puts an end to it". (3)

The 'Men' were frequently to be seen wearing a distinctive dress as a badge of their order - a long blue cloak, with a spotted handkerchief round their heads". (4) Generally they wore their hair longer than was customary. Dr Kennedy, however, claimed that "if their dress seemed peculiar, it was only because it was old-fashioned, even in the Highlands". (5) Still, it marked them as a class apart.

Neither Perthshire nor Argyll knew the 'Men' as the term was understood in the northern parts. The 19th century had dawned before they attained to position and power in the Islands.

The 'Separatists', who held 'radical' principles, and took up the position of 'non-hearers', may be regarded, in modern terminology, as being the 'left wing' of the 'Men'. Prof. MacLeod traces the separatist movement to the irritation caused by the repressive policy of the Synod of Sutherland and Caithness in the matter of the fellowship meetings, and to the widespread "dissatisfaction with how things

were going in the Church". (1) The 'Separatists' went a step further than the 'Seceders' who, though they 'would not hear' their own parish minister, sought spiritual nurture under neighbouring ministers of the Establishment. The 'Separatists' not only absented themselves from church, but set up rival services and sought to draw away the people. (2) The 'system', as it was called, originated in Kildonan towards the end of the 18th century. Donald Sage, whose father was settled minister of Kildonan in 1787, says that there was a good deal of opposition to his father's settlement, especially on the part of those "eminent for piety". "The opposition which all these men gave to my father's ministry was of the passive sort. They never attended church, but on Sabbath held meetings of their own. They thus succeeded in alienating the minds of my father's parishioners from his ministry, and to this might be traced that disaffection to the Church of Scotland which afterwards, in my native county, prevailed so largely." (3)

Dr MacLachlan, whose father's parish, Moy, became deeply affected by the movement, dates the beginning of the separation to a sacramental occasion on which Alexander Sage refused to have an open-air service for the multitude who could not be accommodated within the church building. Donald Sage also records this incident, of which as a boy he was a witness. Sage says that the leader of the rival service, which was held by the 'men' was Donald MacLeod, the schoolmaster, while MacLachlan states it was John Grant. (4) Grant was an elder in Kildonan, and Auld says he became a 'non-hearer' when he failed to put down the

practice of "advertising on the Sabbath day in the churchyard the secular transactions of the ensuing week". (1) Prof. MacLeod tentatively dates the breach which occurred on the Communion Sabbath in 1797. (2)

Separatism gained a strong hold of certain districts in Caithness, notably Latheron and other Gaelic-speaking districts. (2) Reay produced some well-known members of the movement, notably Joseph MacKay.

Another strain of Separatism sprang up in the Inverness district, and moved southward to Petty and Duthil. (3) When John Kennedy, later minister of Killearnan, was assistant in Assynt, a separatist movement led by Norman MacLeod, afterwards a romantic figure in colonial church history, emptied the parish church of all but two of its communicants. (4) This was some time after 1806. In 1817, MacLeod led a shipload of his followers to Pictou in Nova Scotia. Later they followed him to Cape Breton, and finally to New Zealand, where they founded the prosperous settlement of Waipu. (5) Some 800 persons followed him to New Zealand. He was ordained to the ministry in New York in 1827. Until his death in 1866, he was the pastor and lawgiver of his people. (6) A good impression of his egotism, pugnacity, eccentricity, and force of character can be had from his book 'The Present Church of Scotland and a Tint of Normanism'. (7) MacLeod was a born leader, and, like other strong personalities in the movement, became a Separatist because he found subordination distasteful or impossible.

It is stated that, at the Disruption, "the party was not numerous."

"Over the whole 200 parishes which constituted the Highlands there

were not so many as ten in which these (separatist) parties had any real footing". (1)

The relation of the Separatists to the National Church is thus stated: "They did not look upon themselves as breaking away from its communion, though they had a way of speaking of their brethren as "the Church". They absented themselves from the Parish Church. They held their own meetings and that at canonical hours, so that they were rivals to the ordinary services of the Church. But the Separatists attended Communion services, though it might often happen that they did not communicate; and they got the ordinance of baptism from the ministers of the Church". (2)

The Separatists have had the misfortune to receive hostile attention from Evangelical as well as Moderate quarters. Moderate Evangelicals resented not only their hostile attitude to such earnest and pious ministers as John Kennedy and George Davidson of Latheron, (3) but were also aware that many influential Separatists were critical of the policy that finally led to the Disruption. (4) Moderate critics, like Dr Phin of Galashiels, (5) charged the whole body of the 'men' of the Highlands with the spiritual and moral faults which they discerned among certain of the extreme Separatists. The constitutional Evangelicals were not slow in rebutting the general accusations, (6) and affixed the residuum of undeniable guilt upon the shoulders of the Separatists. (7) "I have read descriptions of the 'men' of the north, in which these sectaries had evidently

These extremists "took pleasure in railing against ministers", and "their pride and censoriousness was but too apparent". (2) According to Eric Findlater and other witnesses, a number of them held "Antinomian views, which at times they carry into practice". (3) Both Dr Phin and the writer of a famous article in the 'Quarterly Review' made full use of these occasional moral and spiritual vagaries in order to discredit the 'Men' as a class. (4) Nevertheless it may be asserted that there were many fine Christian souls among these Separatists. (4) A not unsympathetic writer has made this estimate of their outlook and temper: "There was something stern and forbidding in the religious beliefs of these 'Men'... The common frailties and infirmities of believers, to which they were not strangers themselves, evoked neither their sympathy nor their forgiveness... They scanned critically and even repelled the warm enthusiasm of early faith... In spiritual revolt against making the Lord's Table 'a common table', they surrounded it with such formidable and unscriptural hedges as made it an almost empty table". (5) In evaluating the significance of this criticism, it should be held in mind that these features of Separatism were, after all, but an accentuation, amounting indeed at certain points to a distortion, of certain conspicuous elements in traditional Highland Evangelicalism.

The best elements in Separatism and the general body of the 'Men' of the Highlands would be adequately covered by the fair-minded description given by Prof. Stuart Blackie: "They were thoughtful and

and serious Highland peasants, deeply impressed with the importance of religion and moral truth, and who, in an age and in a district where preaching was lax and preachers rare, exerted themselves strenuously in stirring up the people to a living consciousness and a consistent practice of the Christian faith, which they professed. Being without regular education...they would naturally be contracted in their notions, unchastened in their sentiments, and sometimes grotesque in attitude and expression; but...they had extraordinary earnestness, great power of will, remarkable sagacity, and not rarely an amount of apt wit and ready eloquence...It is indeed ridiculous to suppose that these men could have acquired the influence, which they unquestionably did over the minds of their fellows, unless they had been endowed with talents capable of commanding the attention, and moulding the minds of an intelligent peasantry". (1)

The influence of the 'Men' of the past two centuries is still marked in the piety of the west and north. There are 'Men' today in Skye, Harris, and Lewis who continue to reproduce the essential characteristics of the type. In these islands, and also in certain areas of the Highland mainland, the ancient Friday Fellowship Meeting is still a living thing. The 'question' is still being put, and as each sacramental season comes round, the 'Men' speak concerning the 'marks' which distinguish those who "have passed from death unto life" from those who are still dead in trespasses and sins.

(1) Altavona, p. 333. (Edin. 1882)
CHAPTER VII.

HIGHLAND SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS: THEIR ACHIEVEMENT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE, 1688-1800.
The Reformed ideal of education, expressed in the message of Martin Luther to the German cities, implied a recognition of both its secular and religious value. "Even if there were no souls, and we had not the least need of schools for the sake of the Scriptures and of God, this one reason would suffice to cause the establishment of the best schools everywhere, both for boys and girls, namely that the world needs accomplished men, and women also, for maintaining its outward temporal prosperity." (1) But it was mainly a spiritual passion which provided the dynamic for the Reformed policy of popular education; and it was not of chance that one of the greatest of the early Scottish documents emanating from the pioneers of Church Reform, the First Book of Discipline, should contain an ideal sketch of a complete system of national education. "God hath determined that his Church heir on earth shall be taught not by angels but by men". Consequently, "every severall Church" must make practical provision toward that end. Grammar and the Latin tongue should be taught "if the Town be of any size". In the "upaland" or rural parishes, the minister or reader should instruct the youth in the rudiments and "especiallie in the Catechisme". "Eevery notable toun, and especiallie the toun of the Superintendent" should have its high school. The Book of Discipline is as modern as present-day educational legislation when it pronounces that the needs "of those that be poore and be nocht aule by their selfis, nor by their friendis, to be sustained at letteris, especiallie such as come from (1) Quoted by J. Clarke: Education in Scotland, p. 19.
Landwart" must be met, and that "no fadir of what estate or condition that ever he be, use his children at his own fancy, especiallie in their youth-heade; but all must be compelled to oring up thair children in learning and virtue". (1)

The Scottish Parliament gave lip-service to the same ideal. "It is tinsell waith to the bodyis and saulis" of youth "gyf Goddis worde be not rutit in thame". (2)

Neither Highland chief nor Lowland waron regarded Knox's great vision with practical favour. The retention of the tiends for 'pious' uses was necessary for its concrete fulfilment. For the tiends, the landowners of Scotland had uses other than 'pious'.

The first definite step to oring Lowland literacy to the Gaelic people was taken in 1609, when the magnates of the Isles, under the presidency of Bishop Andrew Knox, met in Iona, and agreed on the measures still known as the "Statutes of Icolmkill". Of these the sixth provides "that every gentilman or yeaman within the saidis Islandis or any of thame having children maill or famell and being in goodis worth thriescoir kye sail putt at the leist their eldest sone, or having no children maill, their eldest dochter to the scuillis in the lawland and interteny and oring thame up thair, quhill they may be found sufficientlie to speik, reid, and write Inglische". (3) The intent of this provision is the introduction of civil culture into the north.

In 1616, the Scottish Privy Council ordained that a school should

(1) Knox: Works II pp 209-211 (Ed. Laing)
(2) The Act of 1567: "Anent thame that salue teicheris of the youth in Sculis".
(3) Quoted by Magnus MacLean: Development of Education in Highlands, in the collected volume "The Old Highlands", p. 174.
planted in every parish. The bishop of each diocese was charged to "deal and travell" with the parishioners as to ways and means. In an Act which was passed later in the same year to deal with the planting of parish schools, it was declared that one of the objects of popular education in the Highlands must be the extirpation of the Gaelic language. (1) The absence of a strictly coercive clause in these excellent enactments rendered them ineffective. In 1631, and again in 1646, Parliament reaffirmed the provisions of the earlier acts, but to little purpose as far as the Highlands were concerned. Even in the Lowlands, and in close proximity to the capital, many of the parishes were without schools. (2)

After the re-establishment of Presbytery by the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, there was some educational activity in the dioceses of Argyll and the Isles. The Assembly united the two dioceses into a single synod; and at its first meeting, in April 1639, the problem of planting schools within the bounds was debated, and by a series of measures extending from 1640 to 1660, the Synod founded four Grammar schools and twelve 'English' schools. Skye, Iona, Islay, and Arran received one school each. (3) By means of a bursary scheme, financed by 'vacant' stipend, (4) and church collections, (5) forty Gaelic-speaking boys were maintained at a Grammar school in Glasgow, and later at a similar school in Inverary. (5) In 1649, there was probably only one school, that of the town of Inverness, within the vast bounds of the Presbyteries of Inverness and Dingwall. (6)

(1) Magnus MacLean: Development of Education in Highlands, p. 176.
(2) Maitland Clu: Reports of the State of Certain Parishes, 1628: pass.
Commission of Assembly visited Ross-shire in that year. They decreed that a school be erected in every parish. Actually, the fruit of their labour was small. Four parishes, Alness, Kiltearn, Kilmorack and Urquhart appointed schoolmasters in 1649 or 1650. (1) The restoration of the hierarchy resulted in the withdrawal of 'vacant' tiend in Argyll from educational uses, but Parliament, in 1660 and 1663, made some provision "for poore schoolers" having the Yrish language", and for helping "expectants", or divinity students. (2) After 1660, several new schools, the most famous of which was that of Petty, may be noted in country parishes in the vicinity of Inverness. (3) Petty school was able successfully to compete with Inverness and Fortrose Grammar schools.

The Revolution of 1688 gave a fresh impetus to education in Argyll. In 1690, 'vacant' stipend within the Synod was again diverted to the schools. In 1696, bishop's rents were allocated for the same purpose. Consequently, 25 "fixed English schools" and five Grammar schools were planted by 1698, and two years later, four other 'English schools were added. There was one Grammar school in Skye, another in Islay, and eleven 'English' schools in some of the other islands. (4) Such were the results, exiguous enough, of a century of intermittent educational effort in the Highlands. The poetry of the 'Fernaig MS' reminds us, however, that a genuine culture existed among certain groups. (5) Sir James Stewart of Appin, 'Fear na Fairce', and Duncan Macrae of Inverinate, all Gaelic poets of a type which implied a

(1) Inverness and Dingwall Pres. Records, p.11 (S.H.S.)
(5) Ed. M. MacFarlane (Published by M.C. MacLeod, Dundee).
cultured literary background, were surely not the only representatives of native learning and literature. (1) Among the people, the love of poetry and the faculty of verse-making was widely diffused. (2) As the traditional academic poetry declined, the popular poet, creating new verse-forms, received a wide response. (3) Ian Lom Macdonald showed that literature, in the form of poetry, was a political force. The folk literature, vast in quantity, and much of it of high quality, was a treasured possession of the people. "Knowledge of a purely cultural kind was to be obtained round the fire in the long winter nights. At these gatherings was to be heard all the traditional lore of the Gael. There were the heroic cycles centreing round Cu Chulainn and Fionn, especially the latter, recited in long tales of polished prose or chanted in the form of ballads... Then there were other tales on various subjects, some of them historical... The philosophy of the race was conserved in a vast number of proverbs, and competitions were sometimes held to decide who knew the most." As for the training of the memory, "one person might know thousands of lines of poetry, together with a large number of prose tales... There were those who could memorise a whole song from hearing it sung once". (4) The rich harvest gathered by literary collectors such as John Campbell of Islay, Alexander Carmichael, Lord Archibald Campbell, and others is sufficient proof that the above summary is correct. (5) The Highland social order was pastoral and non-commercial.

"The arts of reading and writing were simply not required" (1) in a utilitarian sense. It was the necessity of fitting themselves for life in the Lowlands and in the colonial empire that first made education in the popular sense desirable to the Highlanders. The folk culture was admirably fitted to instil ideas of honour, fidelity, courage, hospitality. Its spiritual background was a blending of pagan and Catholic elements. It can therefore be readily understood that to the Lowland Presbyterian eye, the whole body of the folk culture and literature would appear to be harmful superstition. Ignorance and varvarity seemed to hold undisputed sway. The principles which governed the attempts on the part of Church and State to introduce schools into the Highlands may be summed up in two words which frequently occur in authoritative pronouncements. These were 'civilitie' and 'piety'. 'Civilitie' meant the assimilation of Highland manners to Lowland standards, and included the abolition of the Gaelic language. 'Piety' meant the substitution of the true religion, whether Presbytery or Prelacy, for Popery, paganism, and ignorance. At the beginning of the 18th century, of course, Presbytery was in the ascendent both in Church and State. Prelacy was proscribed, but the combined political and religious motive continued to dominate Highland educational policy throughout the 18th century.

I.
Modern Scottish education begins in the year 1696, when the Scottish Parliament passed the famous "Act for the Settling of Schools".

(1)Matheson, W., Songs of John MacCodrum, p. xviii (S.G.T.S. Vol. II)
The Act "Statutes and Ordains that there be a schhol settled and established and a schoolmaster appointed in every paroch not already provided by the advice of the Heritors and Minister of the Paroch And for that effect that the Heritors in every paroch meet and provide a commodious house for a school and settle and modifie a sallary to a Schoolmaster which shall not oe under one Hundred merks nor auove two Hundred merks...,and that they stent and lay on the said sallary conform to every Heritor's valued rent within the paroch...,And if the Heritors or major part of them shall not conveen,or being conveened shall not agree among themselves,then and in that case the Presuitrie shall apply to the Commissioners of the Supply of the shire who or any five of them shall have power to estaolish a school and settle and modifie a sailary for a Schoolmaster".It was also provided that the planting of schools was a 'pious' use to which stipend might be directed by the heritors "as they shall see cause". (1) The Act came far short of the standard aimed at by the First Book of Discipline. The absence of any national provision for High School education is the most serious defect. This omission enabled many of the parish schoolmasters to extend their curriculum to include distinctively 'Grammar School' subjects. Boys went straight from many of the parish schools to the university. The Act of 1696 was, in effect, the Act of 1616 with the addition of a coercive clause. Coercive sanction was, in the last resort, in the hands of the Church. This fact placed the Church in a strong position when it had to deal

with passive or active obstruction on the part of the landlords.

The parish school remained the backbone of Scottish national education till 1872; but in the Highlands, where the national system did not come completely into operation till the beginning of the 19th century, and where the parochial unit was often so large that the legal provision was quite inadequate, the national system was very largely supplemented by the labours of incorporated charity, as represented by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and by the direct assistance of the Crown, principally on the estates forfeited after the Jacobite rebellions. The 'adventure' school, which we find in existence in the Highlands in the 17th century, (1) also contributed its quota, often doubtful in quality, to the education of the people. In these supplementary schools, but chiefly in those of the S.P.C.K. and of the Forfeited Estates, experiments were made in the teaching of trades, handicrafts and agriculture, and a much needed impetus was given to the education of girls. In all these schools, the teaching of the Bible and of Christian doctrine was regarded as of vital importance, and they all came under the direct inspection, if not under the control, of the courts of the Church. (2) We shall consider the contribution made by each type of school to the educational and spiritual welfare of the Highlands.

II.

Grammar Schools. Legally, the Grammar or 'Great' School was a parish

(2) For a convenient summary of the legal powers of the Church over all types of schools, see G.A. 1799, XII: 'Report concerning Vagrant Teachers and Sunday Schools'. Pitcairn's Acts of Assembly, p. 873.
school. It was often assisted by endowments and mortifications. It
drew its pupils from a wide radius. In contrast to the ordinary
parish school, the teaching of Latin, Greek, and mathematics was
mandatory, and not optional. In the north, a common salary for the
master of such a school was £25, that is, double that of the ordinary
parish teacher, and he was also entitled to fees. We find 'Great'
schools in several of the Highland burghs. In rural parts, two or
three parishes sometimes combined to support a Grammar school. Some
nominal parochial schools, Petty for instance, were in effect
Grammar schools, and drew their pupils from far and near.

Inverness had an ancient Grammar school, and it was active in the
18th century. On 1st April 1718, "The Session and Magistrates taking
into consideration that the Grammar School of this burgh is to fall
vacant at the term of Whitsunday next" resolved that an edict be
read from the pulpit inviting candidates "skilled in Humanity, duly
attested for their good principles and loyalty" to come and "Dedicate
publicly before the Presbytery or other way submitt to trial."(1)
The following year, the successful candidate protested against the
intrusion of an 'adventure' teacher who set up school at Muirtown,
on the outskirts of the burgh. Higher education was a close monopoly.

Fortrose had a reputable Grammar school. In 1708, the magistrates
appealed to William, Earl of Seaforth, who was withholding the
interest on an old family mortification of 4000 merks, "to prevent
ye ruine of ye said schoole". (2) The family interest in the school

(1) Inverness Kirk-session Records, p. 164. (Ed. A. Mitchell)
continued. In 1717, Kenneth MacKenzie of Assint, Protestant heir to the
late Countess of Seaforth, presented Alexander Macrae to be school-
master "within the humanity school of the Chanonry of Ross". (1)
In 1770, the magistrates appealed to the Commissioners for the
Forfeited Estates for a grant to the school. There were from 70 to
80 boys in attendance, some of them gentlemen's sons. "The town is
and has always been resorted to by numbers of young people from
distant places, many of whom have seen and are now here taught Greek,
Latin, French, English, Writing, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Mathematics, &c
so as to be fully qualified for the university, the counting house,
&c of which numbers of instances might be adduced were not the fact
nottour". (2) Sir James Mackintosh, the political philosopher and
statesman was a pupil of this school.

On 24th June 1735, the Presbytery of Abernethy visited the parish
of Kingussie. "It being asked if there was a parochial School, it was
answered that there was not one in terms of the Act of Parliament,
but that there was a fund of 2000 merks lying in the Laird of
Clunie's hand, the interest of which was yearly laid out for maintain-
ing a Grammar School in the parish". (3)

The Grammar school of Inverary, founded by the Synod of Argyll in
the previous century, (4) held its ground and was the begetter of a
similar institution in Mull. In 1761, the people of Mull proposed to
unite the masters' salaries of their own three parishes and that of
Morven in order to maintain a 'great school' in Pennygowan: "They

(1) MacGill's Old Rossshire, I. p. 66. (2) MS F. E. Papers
propose to have a Master and a Doctor (assistant) and that Latin and Greek be taught in it. The reason for this venture was "the great expense incurred by sending their children to Inverary and that such a school would be of great use for those who intend to train up their children for the ministry". (1) It was reported in 1772 that in the Pennygowan School "a few had made considerable progress in the Latin language and one or two in Greek". (2)

John MacPherson, son of the last Episcopal incumbent of Duirinish, maintained a school in Oroost, near Dunvegan, which, whether or not it was legally recognised as a Grammar school, won wide fame for the quality of its classical teaching. Captain Donald Roy MacDonald, who was wounded at Culloden, and figured heroically as one of the Prince's guides, was one of his pupils. "He told me" said Bishop Forbes, "he had never seen to any University, but had read only under the direction of one Mr John MacPherson, a noted schoolmaster in the isle of Skye, who died about fifteen years ago". (3) Two of Donald Roy's Latin poems are given in the 'Lyon in Mourning'. (4)

About 1656, Sir James MacDonald of Sleat established a Grammar school at Duntuilm, "which was central for the northern isles". (5) This school continued its existence. In 1753, John Anderson, missionary in Strontian, begged the Royal Bounty Committee to be allowed to go back to Skye as he was "wretched with no bread for himself and his daughter", for in the parish of Kilmuir there was a "Grammar and Parochial School, and comforts and education were of easier access". (6)

(1) MS Hyndman Report, 1760. (2) MS Walker Report, 1772.
(5) Records of S. C. H. S., 1936; Education in Argyll, p. 49.
(6) MS Royal Bounty Minutes, 1753.
During the whole of the 18th century, the standard of culture among the tacksmen and smaller gentry of Skye and the Heurides was very high. To be able to converse in Latin was a common accomplishment among them. (1) Boswell notes the number of books which were in the Skye houses which he visited. He gives the titles of some of those he saw in Corriechatchachin. (2)

In Stornoway, the Earl of Seaforth had planted a school which was intended to be of a higher type. In 1680, a writer notes that it is in a flourishing condition, and that it is attended by scholars from adjacent islands, "so that there are few families but at least the maister can read and write". (3) Martin Martin, writing in 1695, says that "in this school Latin and English are taught". (4) In 1750, this central school received support from the Presbytery and from the parishes of Lochs, Barvas, and Uig. (5)

In 1762, the Forfeited Estates Commissioners planted a Grammar school at Lochoroom. Alexander Stronach was appointed master at a salary of £25 a year. He taught Latin and Greek. In 1765, he expressed the hope that eight of his boys would be ready for the University in two years time. James Robertson, the parish minister, and the Commissioners disagreed about the site of the permanent building. As a result of the dispute, the Grammar school was discontinued. The master's salary was divided between two 'English' schools. Stronach, however, proceeded against the factor for illegal dismissal. In 1769, we find him at his former post, and drawing his old salary. (6)

(4) Description of Western Islands, p. 105 (Ed. D. J. MacLeod)
(5) Gisborne, W. J.: Education in Scotland, p. 82.
(6) MS F. E. Papers, Cromarty - No. 14.
From 1728 till 1758, the Royal Bounty Committee of the Assembly co-operated with the S.P.C.K. in the support of the teacher-catechists who laboured in the charity schools. In the latter year, the Society terminated the arrangement, because they considered that the teachers were giving too much time to catechising. In 1760, the Hyndman Commission visited the Highlands, and in the following year, presented their report to the Assembly. (1) It included a recommendation "That besides the parochial schools, there ought to be erected five schools of a higher kind, for teaching the dead languages, together with arithmetic, writing and other branches of literature... and that these schools be erected at the following places, one at Aros in Mull, one at North Uist, one in the Isle of Skye, and one at Fort-Augustus, and one at Taruert in Argyleshire". (2) The scheme was carried out. John Wodrow, of Greenock Grammar School, was appointed to Taruert at £25 a year. (3) James MacKenzie went to Stornoway, (4) and Neil MacNeil to Portree. (5) Donald MacDonald was posted to North Uist, and James Mitchell to Aros. (6) The Taruert school, under Wodrow, prospered exceedingly. In 1767, he asked for a 'doctor', as his pupils had become so numerous that he could not do the work alone. (7) Sir James MacDonald of Sleat took an interest in the Portree school, and provided a suitable building. The school attracted pupils from all over the island, and many lads were sent to the University. (8) The North Uist school did not have an auspicious beginning. The parish minister, and other gentlemen of the island alleged that the

"proficiency of the scholars was out slow and that the master's attendance and diligence was insufficient". (1) The Stornoway school had at least one unedifying master, James Dallas. (2) The Royal Bounty Committee was responsible for the teachers' salaries, though, apparently, the parishes contributed at least a portion of the funds. (3) Out of what spare time they had, the teachers were expected to show their diligence as catechists. Generally, they were divinity students or probationers. The Assembly had thus, for the first time, a direct hand in the work of higher education. The supply of candidates for the Gaelic-speaking ministry was the chief object.

The academies, as distinct from the Grammar schools, were founded with a view to providing some scientific education. Perth Academy, the oldest in Scotland, was founded in 1760. (4) This was a sign of the growing material prosperity of the country. The sponsors affirmed that an institution of this kind "would co-operate with the national plan of improving and civilising the Highlands". (5) On 1st May 1768, it was resolved to establish an academy in Inverness. The classics were to be taught, but generous provision was made in the curriculum for the various branches of natural science. (6) Fortrose Academy was established in 1791. (7) There was an elaborate programme of study, and in 1802, the rector reported that "he prayed with and attended to church the other masters and scholars of the academy every Sabbath during a course of two sessions of five months each". (8)

III.
The Parish Schools. The parish schools, because of their greater numbers, had a greater influence on the life of the community than the Grammar schools. Ideally, the parish school was the respected partner and chief handmaid of the parish church. Religion and morals were its concern equally with secular education. The master was appointed jointly by the heritors and minister. His work was subject to the supervision of the Presbytery. As the Presbytery only visited the school once a year, the normal management lay in the hands of the parish minister. The master possessed a tenure of his office ad vitam aut culpam. This gave dignity to his office, but in cases of inefficiency or improper conduct, it made his removal difficult. The typical parochial schoolmaster was a university man, often a probationer waiting for a parish. In addition to his school duties, he often acted as session clerk, leader of church psalmody, catechist, and postmaster. (1) He received no training in the art of teaching. It was the S.P.C.K., with their less scholarly staff, who made the first experiments in this direction. (2) In the 19th century, the parochial masters looked with some disdain on the ideas of David Stow and the Normal Training Colleges. (3)

Except in the larger schools, there were no assistant teachers. The master taught infants their alphabet, and promising older boys Latin, Mathematics, and sometimes Greek. It was inevitable that the dullards should be left to their own devices.

The ability of the parish school to provide for the educational

(1) MacLeod, N.: Reminiscences of a Highland Parish, p. 284. (2nd Ed. 1883)
(2) See p. 389: S.P.C.K. Annual Reports.
needs of the children depended largely on the geographical factor. Highland parishes were generally large. They were largest in the central and western Highlands, where schools were most needed. It was not till 1803 that Parliament recognised the necessity of side schools. (1) The school attendance figures for the Presbytery of Tain in 1717 are available. Other factors besides distance affected school attendance, but the statistics are suggestive. The evangelical cause was more successful here than in any part of the north. The parishes, compared with the rest of the Highlands, were fairly compact. Only three out of the nine parishes were without schools. The catechistical portion of the population was 9800. This implied a total population of over 12,000, and a possible school attendance of under 3000. The average number of pupils at each of the existing schools was 50. The Presbytery thought that eleven additional schools were needed. (2) It was a modest estimate. In certain other parts of Highlands, the situation was much more discouraging. Ardnamurchan, a sea-board parish, was 90 miles long, and was entitled to but one school.

Though the legal minimum of one school for each parish was insufficient for the needs of the Highlands, the heritors often failed to provide it. It is difficult to say to what extent Lowland heritors were guilty of the same offence. H. G. Graham states that up to 1735 Ayrshire, Galloway, and the Borders, were ill provided with parish schools. Fife was little better. (3) Referring to the county of

Angus, Dr J.C. Jessop states that "in 1731 at least 30 per cent of the parishes had not conformed to the 1696 Act, and that between 1650 and 1731 there was little improvement in the educational system of the district". (1) If that is true, Dr. Ross, at the same period, could show a better record. Dr. Young takes a less gloomy view: "Dans les régions, en dehors des Highlands, la stabilité du gouvernement institué après la Révolution semble avoir permis à la loi de 1696 de faire établir des écoles dans presque toutes les paroisses ou elles manquaienit". (2) He considers that, after 1700, it was no longer a question of numbers, but of quality. (3)

It is unquestionable that the law of 1696 was widely ignored in the Highlands. In 1716, the S.P.C.K. warned the Assembly that "the late insurrection (1715) had given a convincing warning how hurtful the rudeness and ignorance of the common people of the Highlands and Islands has proven and may yet prove to the Commonwealth". (4) The Assembly were aware of the facts. They made resolutions, and passed acts, the most drastic being that of 1719. (5) But many of the Highland heritors were disaffected both to Church and State, and recked little of Acts of Assembly. The only effective remedy was a costly action at law; and "the ministers were too poor to pursue the matter legally". (6) In 1773, Alexander Pope of Reay sued his heritors for a parish school. The Court of Session decided in his favour. But Pope, unlike many ministers, loved a fight. In any case, the law had reached the far north by then. (7) After the tempest of 1745 had

(1) Education in Angus, p. 84 (London 1931)  
(2) Histoirie de l'Enseignement en Ecosse, p. 149 (Paris 1907)  
(3) Ibid., p. 151.  
(4) MS S.P.C.K. Minutes of Committee, 27th April, 1716.  
(6) MS Returns of Parish Ministers to S.P.C.K., 1755: Gairloch.  
subsided, the General Assembly and its ally, the S.P.C.K., proceeded to take stock of the situation in the Highlands. In 1755, in response to an educational questionnaire issued by the latter body, the parish ministers sent in parochial 'Returns'. (1) While the 'Returns' do not cover the whole area, they may be considered as a representative cross-section.

Let us take Argyll, which had shown zeal in the previous century. Kilcalmonell, with 1500 examinee souls, has no legal school, though the people made shift to support five schools on their own. Skipness, Caradale, Sadell, Killean and Kilchenzie, Jura, Gigha and Cara, as well as Kildalton in Islay have no parish schools, though the tenants on the two small islands of Gigha and Cara support a school between them. In the whole Presbytery of Mull, which included the parish of Morven, there is no parochial school.

Further north, the vast district represented by the parishes of Glenelg, Lochalsh, Kintail, Gairloch, Lochbroom, and Tongue, is in a like state. The Perthshire Highlands, however, were able to show progress. The Presbytery of Dunkeld took an evident pride in the achievement of Blair Atholl. This parish, with a population of 3257, had a parish school, and six other schools, with a combined roll of 250. This represents 1 in 13 of the population. In 1861, eleven years before the introduction of compulsory education, the school statistics of Argyll and Invernessshire respectively were 1 in 6.35 and 1 in 7.55 of the total population. (2)

(1) MSS in Register House.
(2) Education Commission (Scotland), Second Report: Elementary Schools, p. 66.
In 1749, the S.P.C.K. complained to the General Assembly that Presbyteries were not in earnest in enforcing the law of 1696. They "seem totally to depend on the charity schools erected by the said society". (1) In 1758, the Society informed the Assembly "that they were sorry to find that in no less than 175 parishes, within the bounds of 39 Presbyteries where the Society's schools are erected, parochial schools are not yet erected... they have threatened to withdraw their charity schools from those parishes which neglect or refuse to provide parochial ones". They suggested that the Assembly should bear the cost of legal processes for schools, instead of leaving that heavy burden to individual ministers. (2)

In 1760, the Assembly sent Dr Hyndman and Dr Dick on a Highland mission of enquiry. "In only 23 out of the 52 parishes visited were there legal schools". "The youth of the Highlands and Islands, being destitute of the means of proper instruction at home, and hindered by poverty from going to seek them abroad, continue in a state of ignorance, inherit the prejudices and errors of their ancestors, and become an easy prey to those who watch every opportunity of infusing opinions contrary to true religion and to the just principles of Civil Government". (3) Five years later, the Walker Commission found no great improvement, though there were signs of an awakening interest. (4) Three main causes may be noted for the slow progress in erecting parish schools. They apply to other types of school as well. Firstly, there was little popular demand for the English schools.

education provided in the parish and charity schools. A change in this respect took place between 1770 and 1780. It was one of the fruits of the emigration movement. "Le sentiment de la valeur de l'éducation était devenu assez général, car presque tous les groupes d'émigrés eurent besoin de prendre avec eux des maîtres d'école." (1)

Secondly, "it is certain that many of the heads of clans, especially Popish ones, do discourage Learning in their countreys because it would draw off the people from that unlimited suujection paid to them". (2)

"De même le Lord Lovat... non seulement décourageait toutes les écoles érigées dans son propre pays, et se déclarait l'ennemi de tous ceux qui y enverraient leur enfants, mais aussi se donnait beaucoup de peine pour convaincre les chefs et les principaux gentilshommes des Hautes-Terres, de loin et de pres, comment leur interet souffrirait de cette influence". (3)

Thirdly, where the Catholic mission made its influence felt, the cause of popular education languished. (4)

There was a steady, and indeed rapid increase in the numbers of parish schools in the second half of the century. There was a greater respect for the law, and Presbyteries had less difficulty in enforcing it. The heritors of Urquhart and Glenmoriston did not yield till 1770. Those of Boleskine, Laggan, and Kilmunivaig, held out longer. (5)

Certain Skye parishes appear to have been destitute at the beginning of the 19th century. Popular opinion blamed the clergy, "and, we fear, in some instances with reason". (6)

parishes, Barra and Lochs, both in the Hebrides, were without parish schools. (1)

There is a general consensus of opinion that the latter part of the century witnessed a decline in the professional quality of the parish schoolmaster. There were two reasons for this. The first was the relative deterioration in the economic status of the teacher. By 1742, the day labourer was as well-off as the country schoolmaster. (2) In 1748, a member of the profession who published 'Reasons for Augmenting the Salaries of the Established Schoolmasters of Scotland' stated that their average income in the rural parishes was £16:16:1½. (3) A writer in the 'Scots Magazine' in 1765 gave the average income as £13. Many received less. Very few reached £20. (4)

The second reason was a decline in the ancient Scottish educational idealism. The 'Memorial of the Parochial Schoolmasters of Scotland: 1762' begins with a passionate defence of the value of education, a plea which would have been unnecessary if there were not a tide of influential opinion opposed to it. (5) The 'Memorial' was, indeed, opposed by 'certain lords and gentlemen' on the plea that 'they wished parish schools were suppressed altogether, because their servants were corrupted, by being taught to read and write; That they would be more obedient and dutiful, were they more ignorant, and had no education'. (6)

While the scholarly tradition was to a certain extent maintained by students who taught in vacation, and by the

(1) Educational Statistics, p.15 (Education Committee of Assembly, 1833)
(4) Vol. XXVII, p.155.
(5) The 'Memorial' is given in O.S.A., Vol. XXI.
(6) O.S.A., Vol. VIII, p.481. (Cadder)
probationer schoolmaster, it would be difficult to rebut the state-
ment that "la qualite generale des maîtres n'avait probablement
jamais été si basse depuis la Réforme". (1) This was at the time of
the passing of the Education Act of 1803. Sir John Sinclair, referring
to the same period, says: "It is rarely that any work on religion or
the Holy Scriptures or any well-digested system of morals is
taught in our seminaries of learning; after the alphabet, a few
questions of the catechism are got by rote; but as it were an insult
to an advanced understanding, they are seldom afterwards repeated,
and are therefore speedily forgotten". (2) There were, however, certain
promising features. We shall note them at the close of the chapter.

IV.
Charity Schools. The 17th century was, among other things, an age of
co-operative benevolence. The praying society, designed for mutual
edification, was a feature of 17th century Covenanting Scotland.
The philanthropic society, organised on the lines of a joint-stock
company, and designed for benevolent activity on behalf of others,
was a notable feature of 17th century social and religious life.
The Scottish S.P.C.K. sprang from a 17th century praying society.
Wodrow writes: "Mr Dundas of Philipston, Mr Nicol Spence, with Sir H.
Cunningham, Sir Francis Grant, afterwards Lord Cullen... and some
others were members of a praying society... about the year 1695...
This privat meeting laid the first foundation of that noble design
of reformation of manners in King William's time... that did so

(1) Enseignement en Écosse, p. 132.
(2) O.S.A.: Analysis of Statistical Account, Chapter XIII. (Vol. XXI)
much good"(1) In 1701,"a small number of pious and public-spirited citizens of Edinburgh thought proper to form themselves into a Society for the Reformation of Manners" for the purpose of labouring in the "dreary and dark regions of their own country where a high northern latitude; a surly climate; a stubborn sterile soil; civil oppression; and a gloomy religious superstition" combined to present "a melancholy and afflicting picture of accumulated human misery". (2) Popery, the "gloomy religious superstition", though numerically very weak in the Highlands, loomed large and threatening to Lowland eyes. "The subscribers, having made choice of some of their number to be managers of that charity, they resolved to apply the money in the first place for erecting a school in the parish of Avertarff, in the shire of Inverness, being the center of a country where Popery and ignorance did much abound, and therefore most proper for the seed of the first charity school". (3) The swift failure of the Avertarff undertaking was attributed to "divisions" among the "principal persons in the country and some debates among them about the situation of the schoolhouse". (4) Such "divisions" were easily arranged when the "principal persons" disliked an innovation. The pious citizens of Edinburgh might have lost heart, but for the energy and enthusiasm of James Kirkwood. (5) In 1703, he was appointed corresponding member in Scotland of the English S.P.C.K. In 1703, a memorial was presented to Parliament asking for

government aid for "charity schools where religion and virtue might be taught to young and old". (1) The 'Memorial' failed in its immediate purpose. But in 1704, (2) and again in 1707, (3) the General Assembly instructed their Commission "to give all the encouragement and assistance they can to such who incline to enter into societies for erecting and maintaining of charity schools for educating of poor and indigent children, and to use their utmost endeavours to get such societies erected in the several corners of the country".

In 1706, anonymous "Proposals concerning the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and Foreign Parts of the World" were published in Edinburgh. (4) The author, it is believed, was James Kirkwood. He commended charity as not only a Christian, but a natural duty. He dealt faithfully with Highland barbarity, ignorance, and Popery; the practical problem was thus described: "Some parishes are of so vast extent...that the children cannot all resort to one school, neither is there any provision for educating and maintaining poor young ones who, growing up in ignorance are afterwards drawn away to thieving, Robbery, and other Disorders and Vices". As a result of the appeal £1000 was subscribed, and application was made to the Crown for a royal charter which was granted on 25th May 1709. (5) In July, the Court of Session elected the constituent members of the new society. They included various landed and legal dignitaries, along with certain of the

(1) Memorial concerning the Disorders in the Highlands, 1703.
(2) G.A.1704, XIV. (3) G.A.1707, V.
(4) There is a copy among the S.P.C.K. Papers in Register House.
(5) The 'First Patent' and also the 'Act of Lords of Council and Session' are quoted in full by G.P. Inns in 'School Life in old Scotland'. 
clergy. The Society's patent empowered it to engage in foreign as well as home mission work.

It should be emphasised that the avowed purpose of the Society was religious and evangelistic. "The grand and important end which the Society do always and have always proposed to themselves by their appointment is the Salvation of Souls". (1) "The great object of the Society from the beginning has been and still is, to send the Scriptures to the Highlanders and to teach them to read them." (2) The Society schoolmasters are often designated missionaries, and it was the intention that the Society school, while lower in its educational standards, should be more definitely religious than the parish school. It is true that there was a strong, and proudly avowed, political motive in the Society's programme. "These schools have it for their object, to eradicate error and to sow truth, to teach true religion and loyalty, and to strengthen the British Empire by the addition of useful subjects and firm Protestants". (3)

In 1710, the Directors issued a summary of their policy. It was their purpose "to erect and maintain schools especially in the Highlands and Islands as shall be found to need them most, where Papists as well as Protestants of all denominations and all persons whatsoever shall be received and taught by fit and well-qualified schoolmasters appointed by the Society to read the Holy Scriptures and other good and pious books and shall be taught writing and arithmetick and such other things as shall also be suitable to their

(1) S.P.C.K.: Account of the Funds etc., 1796 p. 28. (2) Ibid. p. 29. (3) S.P.C.K., Annual Sermon, 1787: Thomas Unwick (Salter's Hall).
circumstances". The masters would be obliged to catechise the scholars at least twice a week and pray publicly with them twice a day; poor children would be taught free and also receive "further encouragement"; each school would be supervised by the parish minister with "other prudent and discreet persons". These local managers would report on the conduct of the teacher and the progress of the children; they would also give a strict account of such of the Society's funds as were paid out locally. (1) In addition to his school duties, each teacher was ex officio the catechist of his district. He was bound to visit the people on Saturdays and vacations and also to conduct worship on Sundays, if the parish church were at a distance. He was forbidden to preach, but allowed to explain the Scriptures. The Scriptures, and other pious books, were read by him in his own Gaelic version of the English text. (2)

It was the undeviating aim of the Society to build up a permanent organisation, which should be relatively independent of the annual donations. Only the interest of the capital funds was used. The number of schools planted each year was strictly limited by this principle. Considerable sums were received, not only from Scottish donors, but also from England and abroad. The largest single gift received by the Society, £20,000, came from a Dutch nobleman. (3) In 1711, the funds amounted to £3,700; in 1732, to £13,316; in 1758 to £28,413; in 1781 to £34,000; and in 1795, to £1,214. (4) In direct ratio to this growing wealth, the 5 schools which were erected in 1711 had increased to

In the 19th century when so many other associations entered the field of Highland education, the funds remained stationary, and the numbers of schools tended to decline. In 1822, there were 134 S.P.C.K. schools working in Gaelic-speaking parishes. (2)

The selection of the teaching staff was made by the central body on local recommendation. He had to be "a person of piety, loyalty, prudence, gravity, competent knowledge and literature", who would seek to "correct the beginnings of vices, and particularly lying, swearing, cursing, profaning the Lord's Day, stealing etc.". (3) "By all kindly and gentle methods", he is enjoined to persuade the people to countenance his labours. (4) Each candidate had to submit to a personal interview and examination in Edinburgh. He was examined not only as to his knowledge of the educational rudiments, "but also and most particularly, upon his acquaintance with the evangelical system and his fitness for communicating his knowledge to others". (5) Candidates of good natural parts, and proved piety, were often kept at the Society's expense in Edinburgh, and given a course of instruction by one of their approved teachers. (6) The spiritual standing of the typical schoolmaster does not appear to have been high when the Society began their operations. "It is absurd to think" wrote John MacInnes, minister of Glenmuick, "that the ordinary schoolmaster should be able to instil religion into any one". (7) The Society

(7) S.P.C.K. Minutes, 19th April 1709 (Committee Minutes).
asked the universities to supply "men of piety, loyalty, etc." who should also be able to "read Irish". (1) They soon ceased to rely to any extent on the Universities. Students in 'philosophy' and divinity did continue to seek appointments, but as the teaching of Latin, as well as of Gaelic was forbidden, the door was soon open to men of varied crafts and callings, who had received a sufficient parish school education, and were presumed to have a religious call to the work. Alongside of this manner of recruiting teachers, the Society, at an early date, felt the need to train and recruit their staff from their own pupils. The system of pupil-teacher bursaries which they devised was also framed to meet the needs of clever children who were in danger of being withdrawn from school on account of poverty at home. From the first years, a Bible and a pair of shoes had been promised to all pupils, when they should be able to read the Bible. (2) Later, it was enacted that "none were to have free bibles except such as are taught gratis, and whose parents are not in case to pay bibles". These, however, were to receive not only a Bible but a Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Hall's "Explication", and Guthrie's 'Tryall of a Saving Interest in Christ'. (3) In 1720, the Presbytery of Dumfartont, which had some Gaelic parishes, announced "that 12 boys that were very promising being designed to leave the school at Caverclay and go herding, they did, upon the credite of the Societie's letter, promise them a penny a day for each day's attendance if they would continue". (4)

(1) MS S.P.C.K. Minutes of Committee, 15th June 1709. (2) Ibid. 8th June 1711. (3) Ibid. 2nd April 1714. (4) Ibid. 4th August 1720.
The penny a day for "poor young ones" proved too popular. This led to the restriction of the gratuity to those who, besides being poor, gave promise of becoming likely teachers. These were to be certified by the parish minister to be "youths of more than ordinary capacity for learning and having the Irish tongue." A suit of clothes and a pair of shoes were to be given to the ursars each year, and when they were qualified to undertake the duties of pupil-teacher, the ursary was to be increased to "eighteen pennies Scots" with a suit of clothes and a pair of shoes. A promise was given "that they will be ready to employ their scholars to be schoolmasters when the vacancies happen". (1) In 1730, "Duncan Drummond, one of the Societie's ursars" was appointed to keep school at Glenaimond. (2) Another was master of the Glenstrafferer school about the same time. (3) By 1726, 41 ursars had passed through their training. (4) In 1724, the Raining legacy came to the Society for the purpose of erecting a central school. It was located in Inverness, and the permanent building was finally erected in 1756. (5) The fund admitted of ursaries being given to lads from the remoter parts. In 1735, "Alan and Ronald MacDonald, sons to Donald MacDonald, in South Uist, well recommended by Synod and Presbytery, are appointed to ursaries in the Raining School!" (6) Thus began the professional training of teachers in Scotland. The Society's considered verdict, after nearly a century of experience, was "that young men who offer themselves as candidates for the Society's schools are almost always guided by a passion for

the teaching of youth, and this commonly impels them to continue in the profession whether employed by the Society or not. Certainly, there was little else to impel them. Their emoluments were some £10 or £12, with a two acre croft. Generally, they received no fees. (2) There were some black sheep among them. (3) Their moral record, however, shows a high average level. Among Gaelic religious poets, Dugald Buchanan and Lachlan MacLachlan were both S.P.C.K. teachers. (4) Alexander MacDonald, the brilliant secular poet, was employed by the Society for a number of years, and prepared the first Gaelic dictionary for use in the Society schools. (5) "It seems impossible to doubt the genuine missionary and philanthropic enthusiasm of the teachers as a whole. Though they were not highly educated, how, except on a theory of benevolence and a strong sense of duty, can we account for men and women of a certain amount of education, in a particularly uneducated tract of country, devoting themselves to what was doubtless to some, and probably to many, an irksome and miserably paid occupation." (6)

It was the grand aim of the Society, through the medium of its schools, to evangelise and civilise the Highlands. The temper and circumstances of the age determined that this effort should run along certain channels.

Contemporary opinion, probably, attached most importance to the Society's militant anti-Romanism. Every teacher, parochial as well as...

charity, had to sign a formula against Popery. (1) It was commonly believed that conversion to Protestantism would follow education and knowledge of the Scriptures. At the beginning of the century, the Roman Mission, under Bishop Nicolson and his coadjutor, Bishop Gordon, were making a partly successful assault on uninstructed Highland Protestantism. Between 1700 and 1707, they claimed to have confirmed 5740 souls in the Hebrides and in the MacDonald country on the mainland. (2) The number of converts was exaggerated, but it was still appreciable. (3) One of the tasks of the teachers was to stem the tide and to conduct a counter-offensive. The Catholic Mission was alarmed. This was one of the severest trials the mission ever met with and the most alarming in its effects; nor were the bishops and missionaries so much concerned with their present circumstances and those of their flocks as for the pernicious consequences of the persecution, if it lasted any time. (4) In 1725, Bishop Gordon reported to Propaganda that promises and threats were used by the teachers "to induce parents to send their children to their schools and sermons, and when they get them into their hands, they, little by little, corrupted their tender minds with all manner of calumnies against the Catholic Faith". (5) There may have been "promises and threats", but actually, the S.P.C.K. was one of the first active Protestant bodies that worked its way to a working formula of tolerance. Not that they disapproved of the penal laws. In 1730, "they regret that

the indulgence granted to Papists breeds much trouble". (1) But they consistently refused to invoke them on their own behalf. At the end of the century, the Society could claim that they had not "hitherto offered a complaint against any one of the missionary priests or done them the smallest personal injury. Cautious of giving offence, they have not even appeared in any of those associations for the Protestant interest which it was feared might be the cause of popular insurrection". (2) The teachers' aims were liable to interested misrepresentation. It was alleged in Catholic districts that the schoolboys would be conscripted as soldiers, (3) or shipped to the plantations. (4) As a result, many parents became "so obstinate that few of them send their children to school, and many of them have withdrawn such as they sent". (5) Other Popish parents insisted that their children should not be compelled to attend school prayers, or to learn the Assembly's Catechism. (6) One Braemar Highlander insisted "that his children be taught the Douai Catechism". (7) This hardly suggests a Catholic community cringing under the penal lash. There is a tragic hint of empty meal-bins in the offer of certain South Uist papists "to allow their children to be educated Protestant if they could be maintained". (8) Suggestions were made at first to Protestant landlords to press "the children of popish tenants to submit to the instructions of the Society's schoolmasters". (9) By 1754, the Society had adopted a definite policy

of non-proselytism towards the children attending their schools. In 1753, a zealous member proposed that "schoolmasters be discharged to teach writing or arithmetic to the children of Popish parents, unless such children attend Divine Service performed by the minister, ministers of the church".(1) The Society were not sure "that debarring Popish children was the correct procedure", but agreed to refer the problem to the Synods of Argyll and Gleneig, and to the Presbyteries wherein the Society's schoolmasters were employed.(2) The rule compelling attendance of school children at the parish church had been tacitly relaxed in the case of Roman Catholics. In 1754, the Synods gave their judgment, which was: "teach the children as formerly, the restriction answering no good end in their bounds".(3) This was the historical origin of the 'conscience clause' which was incorporated into the Education Act of 1872. The result was that the Roman Church, through a number of its priests, countenanced the educational work of the Society. When Dr Kemp, the general secretary, was on a tour of inspection on two successive summers before 1795, the priests, "with a liberality and zeal which reflect the highest honour on them, adopted and forwarded the general objects of the mission, particularly by exhorting and using their influence with the people, to send their children to the schools of the Society to be instructed in literature and in those principles of religion in which all sects among Christians are united".(4) Some years later, after 1811, the work of

(1) MS S.P.C.K. Minutes, 18th Jan. 1753 (G.M.) (2) Ibid. 6th June, 1754. (3) Ibid. 7th Nov. 1754. (4) Hunter's Short History, p. 59.
the Gaelic School Society received commendation from the same source. (1) In the 19th century, Catholic children freely attended every variety of Presbyterian school. (2) They took the Bible lesson along with their Protestant class-mates, but objected to the Shorter Catechism. (3) This would never have happened if the Society teachers had been successful in leading many Catholics into the Protestant fold. It was a Society schoolmaster, Alexander Macintosh, who, in 1727, not only stemmed the Rome-ward movement round Loch Arkaig, but "reclaimed many who had yielded to the persuasions and compulsions of the priests." (4) But the real achievement of the teachers was that they helped very materially to change the nominal Protestantism of multitudes into a firm and instructed faith.

Loyalty to Whig principles and to the Hanoverian succession may almost be said to have been an integral part of the Evangelical Faith in the 18th century. The Society therefore exerted its strength to achieve the political unification of Scotland on the principles of 1688. In 1790, a Society preacher states the case thus: "The rescuing of the remoter parts of the Kingdom and its adjacent islands from barbarism, disaffection, and Popery, by infusing into the minds of the inhabitants, more especially of the rising generation, the seeds of human learning; the excellence of our civil constitution; and the principles of our Protestant Reformed religion, that in process of time, Britons from North to South may speak the same.

(1) Gaelic School Society Reports, 1826, p. 8 et passim. In 1830, the priests, in some cases, were beginning to discountenance the Gaelic schools. cf. 1830 Report, p. 17. (2) Education Commission, 2nd Report, 1867, p. 86. (3) Ivid. 1st Report, p. 8. (4) MacLean's Counter-Reformation, p. 199; MS Walker Report, 1765.
language, live united and loyal under the same sovereign, and worship, agreeably to Scripture and conscience, the same God..." was their object. (1) After 1745, Scotland, for all practical purposes, had reached political unity. The Society claimed their share of the credit for the undoubted fact that the people did not respond to the call of the chiefs nearly as willingly in 1745 as in the previous rising in 1715. (2) 'Hounding out' was necessary on a considerable scale in 1745. (3) In 1792, the Rev David Bogue said: "It (the Society) found the people crouching before their haughty chiefains... the mean tools of arbitrary power... and it has taught them the spirit of Britons, to respect their own dignity as citizens, and to bow down as Christians with the lowliest reverence before their Saviour and their God." (4)

The "wearing out" or destruction of the Gaelic language was regarded by the Society, in common with the majority of respectable opinion in the Lowlands, as an integral part of the policy of uniting the nation politically and religiously. James VI's vivid impression of Highland anarchy, which he tried to cope with by such acts as the Lewis plantation and the proscription of the MacGregors, gave him that strong aversion to the Highland tongue, which is so picturesquely embodied in the Privy Council Act of 1616. It was "one of the chief and principal causes of barbaritie and incivilitie" in the north. This view must have been widely held in the Lowlands at the beginning of the 17th century. Otherwise it is difficult to

(1) S.P.C.K., Annual Sermons, 1790 (Salter's Hall). (2) State of the Society, 1748 p.54. (3) MacLean's Counter Reformation, p.222 etc. (4) S.P.C.K.; Annual Sermon, 1792 (Salter's Hall)
see how it could have taken such solid root in the subsequent
policy of the state and of the church. In 1697, James Kirkwood raised
a lone voice in favour of teaching Gaelic in the schools. (1) But
until 1767, it remained an offence punishable with dismissal for
a charity school teacher to help his pupils to read Gaelic. It is
remarkable that even educated Lowlanders came to believe that it
was impossible to teach the reading of Gaelic. "The people of the
Highlands cannot be taught to read in their native tongue", and
therefore "their knowledge of the Scriptures must depend on the
progress of the English tongue". So Dr John Walker. (2)

Some, perhaps many, of the teachers found the ban on Gaelic
unreasonable. James Murray, Strowan, wrote that "he teaches the Irish
Catechism and the Irish Psalms after the scholars can read English.
He finds this very satisfying to the parents". (3) He was warned that
"the Societie is resolved to give no encouragement to the teaching
to read in the Irish language". (4) He replied that "he much regretted
that he is forbid the liberty of teaching the Irish Catechism and
Psalms Book". (5) The school in Aros (Mull) was to be continued on the
express condition "that the master abstains from teaching Latine
and Irish". (6) The ban must often have been disregarded. Suspecting
that the teachers were using the Gaelic Psalm book and Catechism in
the schools, the Society, in 1720, sent a letter to masters and minis-
ters repeating the order that English alone be taught and that the
masters try to converse with the scholars in that language. (7)

(1) Memoriall about the Irish Bible: Kirkwood Collection (C. of S.
Library). (2) MS Walker Report, 1765. (3) MS S.P.C.K. Minutes, 13 June
(6) Ibid. 6th Jan. 1722. (7) Ibid. 11th Feb. 1720.
Six years later, they ordered "their books to be searched anew to know what has been done by them with relation to the extirpation of the Irish language". (1) We notice the gradual emergence of a more friendly, or one should say, more realistic attitude. In 1725, the Society instructed their teachers to "oblige the children to get a certain number of Irish words into English every Saturday" and promised that a Gaelic-English vocabulary would be prepared for use in schools. (2) Alexander MacDonald, the poet, was chosen for the task, and the little book was published in 1741. (3) In 1752, the Society published a Gaelic version of Willison's 'Mother's Catechism', intended for use in the home. A second edition, with Gaelic and English in parallel columns, was issued in 1758. (4) In 1753, the Society, in sterner mood, refers to "the great Disadvantages arising from allowing scholars taught at the Society's schools to speak the Irish language, especially after they have been some time at school" and counsels repressive measures. (5) The same minute expresses anxiety about political disaffection, probably non-existent, among teachers. In 1756, "no salary shall be paid to any of the name of MacGregor in future". (6) They were to change their name. These hostile references to Gaelic, political disaffection, and the nameless clan, mark the end of an epoch in Highland history. In 1767, the General Meeting of the Society adopted this resolution: "That the Society's Regulations enjoining the schoolmasters not to teach

the scholars Earse be altered, and that in future coming schoolmasters in those places in the Highlands where the Earse language is generally spoken be enjoined to teach their scholars to read both Earse and English. (1) In 1767, the first Scottish Gaelic version of the New Testament was published under the auspices of the Society. It is significant of the success of the former policy that this edition, consisting of 10,000 copies, was not exhausted when the revised edition was issued in 1796. The teaching profession inherited an anti-Gaelic bias, from which it never quite recovered. Daniel Kerr, schoolmaster of Glen Urquhart, (c. 1800), who daily and zealously whipped all pupils found talking Gaelic, is an extreme yet typical member of his class. (2) One result was, that schoolboys dealt drastically with any of their fellows, who had the presumption to speak English out of school hours. This was noticeable up till recently. A recent, and somewhat embittered, writer says: "The standard of preaching in the Gaelic language in Scotland is that of the illiterate, and few clerics can write a passable Gaelic article for publication... To their minds anything is good enough for Gaelic preaching". (3) Despite the fact that the great masters of the Highland pulpit, such as Dr Kennedy, and Dr MacDonald, wielded the language with marvellous power and flexibility, it remains true that Highland Evangelicalism, as a whole, has been a deracialising influence. It has fostered a British rather than a local and Celtic patriotism.

The language could not become in the Highlands, as it has to a...
certain extent in Wales and Ireland, the focal point for a resurgent nationalism. The Irish Roman Catholic Church, up to a fairly recent date, neglected the native tongue. The renaissance was the work of lay scholars. In 18th century Wales, Griffith Jones and the pioneers of the Circulating School movement, made a sustained effort to enable the people to read Welsh. They did this, not only because it appeared to promise the speediest access to the Scriptures, but also because they loved the language. The result was that from 1727 to 1768, six editions of the Welsh Bible, some of them numbering 20,000 copies, were exhausted. (1) In Wales, however, the inspiration and direction were indigenous. Welsh Evangelicalism has fostered a consciousness of race and nation.

There is a more obvious aspect of the campaign against Gaelic.

"I could find thousands in the Highlands of Scotland who will read the English Bible tolerably well; but cannot understand more than "Yes" or "No". I know some men who were at school in Inverness 60 years ago; they could read and write when they left school and they cannot read today". (2) That was said by a Highland clergyman at the beginning of the 19th century. Dr Norman MacLeod (Caraid nan Gaidheal wrote: "Previous to 1811 (when the Gaelic Society schools began) hundreds of children might be found in schools who read English as accurately as Highlanders can read, and yet who do not understand one word of what they read". (3) It is believed, however, that certain of the teachers used Gaelic as a medium of instruction. (4)

(1) Jones, M. E.; Charity Schools in the 18th Century, pp. 266-325.
(2) Anderson, J.; State of Knowledge in the Highlands in 1745.
(3) Gaelic School Society Report, 1835.
(4) MacLean, D.; Literature of the Scottish Gael, pp. 24-25.
It may be asked how far the schools were able to create a literate Protestant evangelicalism among the people. Statistics are not conclusive, but "it is estimated that during the first hundred years of the Society's existence, children to the number of about 300,000 had received education at their hands". The limited, and almost wholly religious, character of the school lesson-books must have had the effect of deepening the somewhat austere evangelical imprint.

"Copies of our Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Mr Vincent's Explications of the Catechism, Mr Guthrie's Tryall of a Saving Interest in Christ, Mr Pool's Dialogues against Popery", and of course the Bible, were the favourite school volumes. (2) Doubtless, the quality of the teaching was sometimes mediocre, (3) but it appears true that the majority of the teachers led devoted Christian lives, and commended by their practice what they were unable to impart by their precept. The salutary influence of the devoted Christian teacher on the adult population in remote places must also be remembered. "In remote parts of the country, where... the people have no access to stated places of worship, they assemble on the Lord's Day with the schoolmasters, often in numbers to the amount of several hundreds. The schoolmaster presides among them in prayer and praise; reads to them portions of Scripture in their own language; catechises the young people in the hearing of the rest upon the principles of religion contained in the Assembly's Catechism; analyses and explains that excellent compend of sound religion and morals; frequently reads

to them Baxter's 'Call', Alleine's 'Alarm', or other pious books translated into Gaelic, ... and there are numbers not a few, who have procured, and fluently render into Gaelic English sermons, and other books of piety - Doddridge's 'Works', and Henry's 'Commentary on the Bible' are favourite authors for this purpose with some of them."(1) "Most of them (the teachers) do conscientiously, and to a certain degree successfully, discharge their duty, and thousands now in Heaven, it is believed, give thanks to God for the opportunities of religious knowledge which the Society's schoolmasters afforded them, and which from them only they could have received".(2) Both tradition and history affirm the truth of this claim.

V.

Co-operation of the S.P.C.K. and Royal Bounty Committee, 1729-1758.

The function of the latter body was evangelisation; but we have already noted the snare it took in higher education in the Highlands. In 1729, however, the two bodies agreed to co-ordinate their labours to some extent. It was resolved that "46 missionaries having commissions and salaries at present from the S.P.C.K. as their missionaries, should be jointly employed by the Committee as catechists in the same bounds for catechising upon the Sabbath afternoon and upon the Monday and Saturday each week".(3) This policy led to the expansion of the number of schools. It meant, however, that schools were open only four days a week.

The alliance does not appear to have worked too smoothly. The

(1) S.P.C.K.: Account of Funds etc. 1796, p. 32. (2) Id. p. 33. (3) MS S.P.C.K. Minute 4th Sept. 1729. (C.M.)
Society "observed several inconveniences arising from their schoolmasters being employed as catechists, particularly that it frequently affords them an excuse of being absent from the school". (1) In 1758, the Royal Bounty Committee reduced the amount of their financial support. The Society, thereupon, terminated the contract. They decided "that all men who were jointly employed, should henceforth be employed solely as schoolmasters, except 15 who are to be employed as catechists on the Royal Bounty". (2) Between 1758 and 1730, the number of schools was reduced by 30. (3) Some districts suffered in consequence. The Presbytery of Dornoch stated that the people of Strathnorora "had suffered greatly for want of the schoolmaster that the Society was wont to employ in their bounds". "The people having numerous familys are in danger of falling into the most deplorable ignorance of the Principles of the Christian Religion". Their case was the worse because "their minister by reason of his advanced years and want of health cannot travel to their strath to preach and catechise as he was wont to do". (4) The school in Strathhalladale was dropped, like others in similar case, because the roll had dropped below 30. (5) When the Kildonan school was closed, John Gunn, the Society teacher, "having no turn for any other occupation kept a school going in a corner of the parish, tho' the poor people could do no more for him than give grass for a cow or two and a small parcel of sheep to help suosist him and his aged mother who lives with him". (6) Between 1770 and 1790, the Society received large.

additions to their funds. (1) This enabled them more than to make up the lost ground.

VI.
The working schools. "In the thirties (of the 18th century), when the Society applied to the Crown for extended powers, enthusiasm for working schools was at its height in England and Ireland." (2) In 1738, the S.P.C.K. received a Second Patent from the Crown, empowering them to raise money for the support of Highland schools for teaching trades and handicrafts. (3) "It is found by experience that the breeding of young people to hardy labour, trades and manufactures, together with learning to read and write, will be of great benefit, not only to the young people themselves, but likewise to the nation in general...". The Society was therefore authorised to "cause such of the children as they shall think fit, to be instructed and bred up to husbandry and housewifery or in trades and manufactures". (4)

The awakened interest in scientific agriculture made it natural that the first experiment should be in husbandry. In 1742, James Hamilton was appointed to teach husbandry, first in Muthil and then in Callander. In the latter place, he acquired a tack of 40 acres... for 19 years. No pupils turned up. Hamilton was dismissed. (5) Henceforth, the Society, under its Second Patent, collaborated with the Board of Manufacturers and the Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates. By means of the working school, it was hoped "to wean the

inhabitants of these countries from those evil habits of Idleness and Disaffection to the Government to which they had been so long accustomed". (1)

The costly Lochcarron venture, begun in 1754, and designed mainly to introduce the linen industry into Wester Ross, was sponsored largely by the Board of Manufactures, but the Society paid the wages of a schoolmaster, mechanic, blacksmith, and gardiner, as well as the maintenance of a number of apprentices. By 1760, the failure of the scheme was undeniable. Support was withdrawn. (2) The Glenmoriston labour colony, begun in 1755, met a similar fate. (3) The Woods legacy of £2000 (1758), which was intended for the purposes of the Second Patent, enabled the Society to make a fresh start. By the terms of the bequest, the capital had to be expended without delay. In 1763, 20 itinerant spinning mistresses were appointed. Each girl who passed successfully through the course was given a wheel and a reel. In addition, 40 Highland boys were bound apprentices to different trades, half of them being sent into the Lowlands so that they could learn English. The spinning-schools were successful, the male apprenticeships less so. (4)

From 1780, increased attention was paid to spinning and sewing schools. The peak years were 1794-1796. There were then 94 schools under the Second Patent. The scholars numbered 2360. (5) During the 19th century, the spinning schools disappeared, but there were still 76 sewing schools in 1872. (6) The following note illustrates the

blend of literary, religious, and technical training which was the ideal of the working school. The school to which it refers was not classified as a working school. This shows how greatly elementary education as a whole was influenced by this popular fashion: "The children learned the Catechism, and reading and writing English in the forenoon, while in the afternoon, the boys assisted the tenants and cottagers in the fields, while the girls learned to sew and spin under the direction of Buchanan's wife, who in the forenoon taught the wives and daughters of Kinnoull the art of spinning". (1)

In England, and particularly in Ireland, the working schools became a disgrace, not only to education, but to common decency. (2) In Scotland, owing to the strict control exercised by the central authority, and to the fact that the 'hospital' system was never successfully introduced, these schools never fell below the demands of respectability. Indeed, the Society, with some justice, claimed that "they had united objects of indispensable importance to human happiness; the cultivation, at once, of bodily and mental powers, moral and religious improvement and habits of industry - in other words, the means of attaining temporal and everlasting felicity". (3)

VII. Forfeited Estates Schools. After the rebellion of 1715, fifty estates were forfeited to the Crown, and eventually sold for the sum of £411,082. After the debts on the properties, and the expenses of the Commissioners had been paid, a nett balance of £1107 was paid into the public exchequer. The personal expenses of the

(1) Mason, J.: Scottish Experiments, p. 41; Quoting Strowan papers, 1751.
(2) Jones, M.E.: Charity Schools in 19th Century, passim.
(3) S.P.C.K.: Account of Funds etc. 1796, p. 29.
Commissioners amounted to £2,936. (1) Comment is unnecessary.

After the rising of 1745, the Crown retained the Forfeited Estates in its own hands. Commissioners were appointed to administer them for the benefit of the Highland people. "The clear rent and produce of the lands and estates hereby annexed to the Crown... shall be applicable to the purposes of civilizing the Inhabitants upon the said estates and other parts of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the promoting amongst them of the Protestant religion, good Government, Industry and Manufactures and the Principles of Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty...". (2) The policy and conduct of the Commissioners leaves some room for criticism. Money was diverted to objects outwith the Highlands. (3) But, on the whole, they discharged their difficult task conscientiously. Education was but a small part of their responsibility. They made roads and bridges. They built mills and inns. They executed schemes of land settlement and afforestation. They endeavoured to popularise the cultivation of turnips, potatoes, and sown grasses. They encouraged the liming of the soil. They fostered the linen industry. They organised famine relief in bad years, and were concerned with the settling of doctors, ministers, and catechists. (4) For nearly 40 years, the Jacobite Highlands, including such estates as Strowan, Cluny, Lovat, Cromarty, Lochiel, Ardsheal, Giengarry, Keppoch, and the Cianranaid country on the mainland, were in their hands. (5)

The labours of the Crown Commissioners have a twofold  

(1) Forfeited Estates Papers (S.H.S.), Introduction, passim.  
(2) Act 25 Geo. II c.41, 1752. (3) F.E. Papers (S.H.S.), Introduction.  
(4) Ibid., passim. (5) Ibid., Introduction.
significance for education. They were Highland landlords, and in this capacity, they were able to set an example of concern for the educational needs of the people, irrespective of the legal minimum of one school for each parish. They were Crown agents, and thus, whatever additional provision they were able to make on their lands may be regarded as the earliest instance of direct Government aid to education. They maintained a cordial collaboration with the S.P.C.K. and the Royal Bounty Committee, and were often joint-employers with these bodies of missionary ministers, catechists, and teachers.

It was the practice of the Commissioners to make a survey of the spiritual and educational needs of their tenantry. Mr. Forbes, the Crown factor on the Lovat estate, in a report on the barony of Kilmorack and Beauly, which had a population of 2,500 examineable persons, including some 600 papists, considered that a parish school should be planted at Bail Blair, the Society school at Bail Blair removed to Aigas, a new school established at Ochteroe in Glen Strathfarer 14 miles from the parish church, another school placed at Wester-Crochel 8 miles from the parish church, while another would be desirable at Culgaran. In the same report, he submitted estimates for school buildings and glebes. (1) Similar reports were made as to the needs of Kirkhill, Kiltarility, Boleskine, Avertarff, etc.

Mr. Ramsay, factor of Strowan, in a letter to the Commissioners resigning his post, gave an outline of the work which he had done.

(1) MS F.E. Papers, 1745 (Lovat) Nos. 15-16.
When he came to Strowan, there was but one school attended by 20 to 24 pupils. He forthwith applied to the S.P.C.K. and got another school erected in the most uncivilised part of the estate. He had erected six schools at his own expense in Strowan and Lochgarry, and three schools on the Cluny estate. The people of Rannoch "were instructed in the principles of Religion and Loyalty by Dougall Buchanan whom he found after a year and a half's trial of such singular service that he settled him there with his family... and granted him his personal obligation for £20 sterling for ten years".

(1) There is thus evidence that a genuine interest was taken in the welfare of the people.

The Commissioners' schools were on the same level and taught the same subjects as the Society schools. The teaching of Latin and Gaelic was prohibited. When the Society removed the ban on Gaelic in 1766, the Commissioners followed suit. (2)

In one respect, the Commissioners, because of their ampler resources, were able to give a lead. They saw the need for better school buildings, and took steps to provide them. Many Highland teachers could have heartily joined in the complaint of James Murray of Strowan "that he cannot open a book in his schoolhouse for rainy weather, which has spoilt all his clothes and both his own and the Society's books, and his household furniture, and has given him a very great cold". (3) In 1761, the Commissioners approved a standard plan for a slated, stone and lime, two-storey building,

with the schoolroom on the ground floor and the master's dwelling-
house one stair up. (1)

When the estates were restored in 1784, the 24 schools then in
existence were taken over by the S.P.C.K., a sum of £2000 being
paid by Parliament to the Society on condition that they be
continued. (2) Thus, the Forfeited estates schools, under new masters,
continued into the 19th century their limited out noteworthy
contribution to the moral and spiritual well-being of the Highland
people.

VIII. Adventure Schools. Under this head may be included private and
joint schools managed by a group of tenants or tacksman, as well as
the 'adventure' school proper. The true 'adventure' schoolmaster
was the educational equivalent of the physician who puts up his
'maid'. All these private schools had the common characteristic of
impermanence and fluidity. The quality of the teaching varied enorm-
ously. In certain cases, it appears to have been better than that
provided in the parish schools; in many cases, it was a disgrace to
the name of education.

During the 17th century, there were probably a goodly number of
'joint' schools. In the parish of Dores in 1675, "severall gentlemen
had schooies in their own houses for educating and training up
of their children". (3) "In other parishes, the same system prevailed
-- the lairds, wadsetters, and larger tenants combining to employ
some struggling student during the college recess". (4)

(1) MS F.E. Papers: General Management II: Schemes of Improvement I.
Report on Monaltry Estate. (2) Mason, J. ; Scottish Experiments, pp. 74,
The MS 'Returns' of 1755 reveal the fact that in certain parts of Argyll the 'joint' school had become popular among the lesser tenants. The tenants in an isolated township combined to employ a lad to teach their children during the winter. (1) As the utilitarian value of education became more fully realised, especially during the emigration era, 'joint' and 'adventure' schools multiplied. In Orkney and Shetland, where parish schools were rare, most of the people were able to read, and a good many to write. (2) This was due to the labours of the 'adventure' schoolmaster rather than to the schools of the S.P.C.K.

The writers of the Old Statistical Account take note of varying forms of the 'adventure' school. In Morven, besides the ordinary schools, "there are seven or eight gentlemen tacksmen who keep private teachers in their families, as they can have no access to the public schools on account of the distance". (3) In North Knapdale, the "better sort" no longer patronise the parish school. Private teachers are more popular. Probably, in this case, because they were more efficient. (4) In Lochgoilhead, "some of the tacksmen employ young men to teach the children in their own houses, and the tenants and cottagers, who live at a distance from the established schools, usually join in having a teacher at their own expense, at least during the winter season". (5) In Glenmuick, the tenants engage young men to teach in the winter season in those places which are at a distance from the established schools". (6) In Fearn, "some boys and

girls, in their parents' houses begin to teach for a trifle of quarter payment." (1) In Dunoon, the ages of these child teachers vary from twelve to fifteen. (2) In Strachur and Strathnachian, the tenants lodge and feed the teacher alternately in their houses. (3) There appear to be no reliable statistics for adventure schools during any part of the 18th century, but in 1833, within the Synods of Argyle, Moray, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, and Glenelg, there were 99, 61, 23, 49, and 40 schools respectively. These were attended by 11,041 pupils. Argyll and Caithness were happy hunting grounds for the 'adventure' teacher. Kilarrow and Kilmeny had 13 schools of this class, attended by 813 pupils. Latheron had 15, with a roll of 628. Wick had 11, with 785 scholars. Halkirk had 5, with 200 scholars. The joint salaries of the 3 schools in Petty, attended by 120 pupils, was £23. (4)

The General Assembly's Education Committee had few illusions about the qualifications of the 'adventure' teachers. Too commonly, they are "a boy, or an aged female, a retired soldier, an innkeeper, or a fisherman." For the most part, these schools are open only in the winter, and the teacher of one season is seldom the teacher of the next. (5) Their salaries seldom exceed £9 or £10 in the Highlands, and £3 in Shetland. By 1866, there was, if that were possible, a further decline in the general quality of the 'adventure' school. The rest of them were parochial teachers, who had been dismissed or superannuated.

If the Education Commissioners are to be credited, the remainder "laboured under some physical infirmity, lame of a leg or of an arm,...or paralysed, or hopelessly crippled,...and where they were physically competent to teach, they generally had other pursuits to follow during summer, when the attendance was always small". (1)
In the circumstances of the time, when the people sorely needed some educational equipment to enable them to make their way in the labour markets of the south, or in the colonies, and when the number of ordinary schools was inadequate, it may be said that the 'adventure' schoolmaster, with all his limitations, justified his existence. His chief value, however, would appear to be that his incompetence was a strong argument in favour of a national scheme of education.

IX.
Saabath Schools. The English Evangelical Revival was "the mother of the world Sunday School movement". "Eleven years before Robert Raikes began his famous work in Gloucester, Hannah Ball, Wesley's disciple, was conducting Sunday School work in High Wycombe". (2)
In England, especially, the aim of the movement was not merely to impart religious knowledge, but also to teach reading. The movement spread to Scotland. The earliest Scottish Sunday School is believed to have been at Banchory-Devenick. (3) In 1790, a sturdy Moderate like 'Jupiter' Carlyle had established one in his parish of Inveresk like. The idea was soon taken up in Evangelical parishes in the Highlands. In 1798, there were four Sabbath schools in Inverness. (5) The emissaries of Haldane testified that these institutions, which were

attended by adults as well as children, were the means of keeping alive the souls of "many young people who were earnestly seeking the Lord". (1) In the same year, Tain had a flourishing Sunday school. (2) It was the policy of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home "to encourage schools, especially Sabbath schools, throughout the country". (2) Their missionaries established many Sunday schools in Perthshire and other districts in 1798 and 1799. Gaelic catechists were appointed whose main work appears to have been holding children's services, distributing children's tracts, and establishing Sunday schools. (3)

Certain Evangelical laymen, who were also good Churchmen, engaged in the work. Such was Robert Findlater, the father of Robert Findlater of Ardeonaig. He started a Sabbath school in Kiltearn in 1798, and some years before the foundation of the Gaelic schools, he formed schools for reading Gaelic in the same parish. "In the year 1811, the children and adults in these schools all collected at the Sabbath school on the 13th January, being the old New Year's Day, to read the Scriptures instead of devoting it, as in former years, to play and merriment". (4)

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home protested that they had no political or denominational motives. (5) The General Assembly did not credit this denial. Hence the famous Report of 1799 "Concerning Vagrant Teachers and Sunday Schools". (6) According to one writer, whose judgment on this matter appears to be sound,

the Sunday school movement as a whole, "était déjà caractérisé en 1796 par un sentiment d'hostilité envers l'Église Établie". (1) Without seeking to justify the terms of that Report, it is easy to understand how a representative body of well-meaning Churchmen received it with favour.

The Church, however, was able, in a fairly short time, to absorb the Sunday school movement into her own body. The Gaelic School Society teachers, most or almost all of whom up to 1843 were members of the national Church, were responsible for a great development of Sunday schools in the glens, straths, and islands. (2) Private individuals and groups of people still took their due share in the work. In Inverness in 1816, "several private individuals commenced Sabbath schools for poor children at their own expense". (3) In 1824, "a meeting was held at Fort-William and a Society formed for the purpose of disseminating Christian knowledge by means of Sabbath schools, Circulating libraries, and the dispersal of tracts". (4) In 1834, there were 334 Sabbath schools in the five Highland synods. (5)

X.

Conclusion. We have already noted that, in the closing years of the 18th century, the system of public education in Scotland as a whole, no less than in the Highlands, was moving towards decay and disintegration. (6) An obvious, and probably the chief cause, was the grinding poverty of all classes of teachers, the parochial no less than the

(1) Dr Young's Enseignement en Ecosse, p. 181.
(2) Gaelic School Society Reports, passim; Note 1827 Report, pp. 12f.; Sabbath schools in Uiva and Gometra, etc.
(5) Education Statistics, 1833, p. 24 and Statistical Tables. (Edin. 1833)
(6) See p. 384.
agents of charitable societies. The poverty of the teacher was symptomatic of a coarsening of the national spirit, and a growing national contempt for intellectual and spiritual values. Scotland was perilously near to selling her birthright.

There were, however, certain hopeful facts on the credit side. At the period of the Old Statistical Account, probably two-thirds of the children of the Highlands were receiving some form of education. But the most significant fact of all is that there now appears a real interest in education in every part of the Gaelic Highlands. (1)

This interest was immensely quickened by the impact of the 19th century Evangelical revivals. A main motive of every educational and evangelistic society operating in the Highlands during the first half of the 19th century, was to enable the people to read the Scriptures either in Gaelic or English.

Investigation proved that, despite all the educational labours of the past, the need was great. In 1825, the Inverness School Society published their 'Moral and Educational Statistics'. Their revealing figures were a spur to yet greater endeavour. In the Synod of Moray, population 45,723, there were 9452 persons unable to read. In the Synod of Glenelg, out of a population of 87,264, there were 45,384 persons over eight years of age unable to read. In Ross, there were 13,564 illiterates out of a total population of 42,715. In Sutherland and Caithness, the proportion is 16,343 illiterates out of an examineable total of 54,083. In Argyll and the Highlands of Perthshire, 30.30% cannot read. The population of the area is 136,762.

(1) O.S.A., passim; Enseignement en Ecosse, p. 264.
These figures probably exaggerate the effective literacy of the population. Presumably all who could read a simple sentence were included. The General Assembly's 'Education Statistics, 1833' show a considerable improvement on the figures of 1825. (1) The Synod of Gleneig, which included Skye and the Outer Hebrides, remained stationary. 43,799 persons or nearly 50 per cent of the population of 91,584, were unable to read. The Gaelic population at this period was about 300,000. (2) Out of a population of 504,955 living in the Highland synods, Orkney and Shetland, and the presbyteries of Kincardine O'Neil and Alford, there were in 1833 over 83,000 persons over six years of age who were unable to read either English or Gaelic. (3) It will thus appear that the Synod of Gleneig represented 50 per cent of the whole of northern illiteracy.

There was a corresponding, and understandable, lack of Bibles in the homes of the people. Up to 1825, there were 20,000 Highland families, representing a fourth of the Gaelic-speaking population, who did not have any copy of the Scriptures, Gaelic or English, in their homes. (4) "In almost the whole of that sequestered population, the Bible was a sealed book, for although translated into Gaelic by the S.P.C.K., as the schools supported by that institution were chiefly confined to populous districts and to the teaching of the English language, the Gaelic Bibles lay unopened in depots...". (5)

The task of opening the Scriptures to the body of the people, and, to a large extent, of distributing the Bibles supplied by the

newly formed Bible Societies, was undertaken by a number of societies which were the product of the developing Evangelical revival.

In 1811, the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society was founded by Dr Johnston of Leith, Dr Jones of Lady Glenorchy's Church, Dr Stewart of Dingwall, Alexander MacLaurin, a Perthshire man who made money as an Edinburgh postmaster, and others, with a view to teaching the Highland people to read the Bible in the Gaelic version. (1) They took as their model the Welsh Circulating Schools instituted in 1730 by Griffith Jones, and carried on after his death by Thomas Charles of Bala. (2) By 1861, the Society's schools had taught 110,000 people to read the Gaelic Bible. (3) By the same year, they had sold or distributed 200,000 Gaelic volumes, mostly Scriptures. (4) These homely schools, conducted by masters who at least had the grace of earnestness, were loved and cherished by the people. In many districts, they received the name of 'Sgoilean Chriosd', or 'Schools of Christ'.

In 1812, the Glasgow Gaelic School Society was formed. It included English reading, writing, and arithmetic, in its curriculum. In 1824, it had 48 schools attended by 2600 scholars. In 1824, the Inverness School Society began its labours. In 1824, it had 65 schools, with 3000 scholars. In 1825, the General Assembly, through its Education Committee, entered the field. Up to 1865, there were some 200 Assembly schools, mostly in the Highlands, 29 of them in the Hebrides. (5) They provided a good all-round elementary education.

The next two great steps in Highland education were the Disruption

(1) The Witness newspaper, 23rd Feb. 1861; Speech by Robert Hall.
(2) Jones, M.E.: Charity Schools in 18th Century, p. 297.
(5) MacLean, M.: Development of Education in Highlands; The Old Highlands, p. 184. (Gaelic Society of Glasgow, 1900).
of 1843 and the Education Act of 1872. The Free Church gave an immense impetus to educational progress. We can forget now the sectarian bitterness which, in certain of the northern districts, marred the glory of that contribution. Every Free Church congregation had its own school, and the Ladies Gaelic Schools Association concentrated its efforts on the more isolated communities in the Hebrides. The Free Church, along with the Mother Church, displayed a noble example of self-sacrifice, when they handed over to the nation as a free gift the schools which were the fruit of the zeal and pious toil of generations.

The Education Act of 1872 provided for a national plan of education. The teaching of religion, itself the fruitful mother of Scottish education, was no longer compulsory, but it was permitted to be taught according to 'use and wont'. Legal force was given to the 'conscience' clause, which had been in effective practice in all Presbyterian schools for over a century. The Act of 1872 is not inimical to religion but it bears evidence that secularism and voluntaryism are powers to be reckoned with.

If we were to sum up from the Evangelical point of view the results of educational efforts in the Highlands since 1688, we would say that the 18th century schools put the Scriptures into the hands of a literate minority, who, in various ways, passed on their knowledge to their fellows, while it was the ambition, and to a very large extent the achievement of the 19th century schools up to 1872 to put a copy of the Scriptures, either in Gaelic or English, in the hands of every Highlander, and to enable him to read for himself.
CHAPTER VIII.

THE GAELIC RELIGIOUS POETS: THEIR TEACHING AND INFLUENCE, 1688-1800.
As we have seen, the 18th century Highlands were very largely non-literate. (1) The relatively rich indigenous culture, consisting of poetry, prose tale, prose history, proverbial wisdom, and music, was tenaciously preserved in the popular memory. There are many instances of the almost incredible accuracy with which such literature was transmitted from generation to generation. "For example, we have in the 'book of the Dean of Lismore', a piece of poetry from the recitation of a Caithness female, word for word almost, as it was transcribed by the Dean centuries before". (2) The people were passionately fond of verse, and "every village or hamlet produces half-a-dozen rhymsters per generation". (3) Apt media for the effective circulation of this literature, much of it, of course, ephemeral, were to be found in the social institutions of the people. "The shieling in the summer months, and the ceilidh in the winter, were the literary societies of that day, and what was produced at the shieling was consumed at the ceilidh, in the mental no less than in the material sphere". (4)

The 'dain spioradail', or 'spiritual songs', produced by the Gaelic religious poets and versifiers, gained a wide currency through the same, or similar, channels. In an age when the Bible was to a large extent a closed book, and the chief official means of teaching religious doctrine was by means of the Shorter Catechism, the value of the type of didactic and theological verse which gained a powerful hold on the popular mind, was very considerable.

and was largely independent of its intrinsic literary merit.

From the point of view of the history of Highland Evangelicalism, the importance of this body of literature depends on its popularity among the people, and also, of course, on its theological content. Its literary quality is important only in so far as it subserves the process of its diffusion among the people.

I.
The popularity of the 'Dain Spioradail'. Wodrow has this note: "He (Alexander Munro of Durness, died 1653) translated much of the Scriptures into Irish verses, which are very common there (the Reay country) to this day (1710), under the name of 'Sandy Munroe's verses', and the boyes get them by heart". (1) The whole of these paraphrases seem to have disappeared. The 108 lines of Munro's verse, which is extant, consist of devout and prayerful meditations, illustrated by frequent references to Biblical and Apocryphal incidents and persons. (2) Zachary Boyd, in his Bible paraphrases, did a similar work for his Lowland fellow-countrymen. It may be assumed that other Highlanders, besides Munro, took a share in turning Scripture into verse.

For the 18th century, we are on firmer ground. Witnesses are numerous and reliable. "The songs of the county (Sutherland) had likewise much every way to do with the early training of its native inhabitants... Through the labours of John MacKay, Mudaie, Donald Matheson, Kildonan, and others of lesser fame, the county was richly supplied with Gospel sonnets. The inimitable poems of Dugald

(2) Fernaig MS, pp. 35-41: Ed. M. Macfarlane.
Buchanan were much relished and prized, and many natives of Suther­land who could not read a primer, could sing these songs by the hour as well as secular and Ossianic pieces of several hundred lines...The taste for the spiritual songs of Dugaid Buchanan, Donald Matheson, John MacRaevert (MacKay) and others, occasioned the recital of pieces of a different and grosser character to fall into comparative disuse...A certain aged disciple, after hearing one of Donald Matheson's odes, exclaimed: "Thank God, we have heard so much of the Gospel". (1) A recent writer, referring to much the same area, said: "Religious poetry is fairly largely represented in Caithness and Sutherland Gaelic literature...These Gaelic hymns were very popular, and were repeated around the peat fires of the far north­land, not so much for their poetry as for their rich Christian experience". (2) Another writer, referring especially to Kildonan, says: "The people of the parish, as it were, sang themselves into the knowledge of the great doctrines of the Church...To appreciate the influence which his (Donald Matheson's) poetry excited upon the people, it has to be remembered that not until near the close of his life (died 1782) did the Gaelic version of the New Testament get into general circulation, while the translation of the Old Testament was not completed till many years after his death. The prevailing means in his time of conveying religious instruction were the Psalter and the Catechism, seeing that few of the people possessed a copy of the Scriptures in a language which they could understand.

(2) Deaton, D.: Bibliography of Gaelic Books etc. for the Counties of Caithness and Sutherland, p.6 (Wick, 1923).
The repetition of Matheson's poems served in many a cottage to balance, as it were, the recitations of the Ossianic tales, or of the satirical songs of the Reay country bard." (1)

The following quotations illustrate how the 'dain spioradail', passing from mouth to mouth, and from district to district, were effectual in the conversion of individuals, and in the spiritual nurture of evangelical communities. "Sometime subsequent to the rebellion of 1746, the Sutherland militia were stationed at Dunkeld. A detachment, consisting of twelve men, was sent to Rannoch to see to the loyalty of the people, whose Jacobite proclivities were more than suspected. The Sabbath after their arrival, they enquired where they could hear the Word of God preached or read. They were told that Mr Dugald Buchanan, schoolmaster, was in the habit of addressing all who chose to hear him... A close intimacy sprang up between them. Two of them, Andrew and Alexander Ross, had a great attachment to Dugald Buchanan; and they had frequent meetings for Christian fellowship. At these interviews, the Rosses used to recite spiritual songs composed by John MacKay, a Sutherlandshire bard. Buchanan... soon picked them up, and sang them with great spirit". (2) Thus, not only did these spiritual odes from the far north gain currency in Perthshire, but they undoubtedly influenced Buchanan in his own subsequent poetical career.

We can see Buchanan's own influence reaching out in various directions. Of Alexander Duff, the great missionary, it has said: "Another of Alexander Duff's constant schoolmasters out of school

(1) Campbell, H. F. : Donald Matheson etc.: T. G. S. I. XXIX, p. 140.
was the Gaelic poet, Dugald Buchanan. The boy's fearful delight was to hear the Gaelic lamentations of Buchanan, which have attained a popularity second only to the misty visions of Ossian, rehearsed by his father and others who had committed them to memory. The weird and alarming strains of 'The Day of Judgment' so filled the boy's fancy that, when he first left home for the Lowlands, he one night dreamed that he saw the signs of approaching doom. The experience left an indelible impression on his mind. (1) In 1873, Duff sent a donation of £1 to the fund for erecting a memorial in Kinnock to the sacred poet. He confessed that he still remembered snatches of the poems, and told how he had published passages from Buchanan's Autobiography in a Calcutta religious monthly. (2)

Dr Thomas MacLachlan writes: "I have heard it from a reliable source, that in the early part of the century, Buchanan's hymns were in the habit of being sung at prayer meetings in some of the straths of the Monadh Liath south of Inverness; and I have heard it further stated, that there were several eminent Christians in that part of the country, who could trace their earliest impressions of divine truth to the practice. It is undoubted that they have been largely blessed to the spiritual edification of the Church of God." (3)

Again, we can see how the poetry of Buchanan profoundly influenced a boy of twelve, who was to become the most popular of 19th century makers of 'dain spioradail'. This was Peter Grant, the sacred bard of Strathspey. In 1795, "a stranger from a distance" spent the night in

(2) Dugald Buchanan, Sacred Poet and Evangelist, p. 71
(3) Reminiscences of Life and Labour of Dugald Buchanan, p. 71
his father's house on the occasion of a funeral. "As they sat round the peat fire, Peter, much the youngest of the company, unobserved in a corner, the stranger produced a small volume of spiritual songs in Gaelic, and, to the astonishment of all, he sang them to the old Highland airs we had to our vain songs." These were the 'Laoidhean Spioradail' of Dugald Buchanan, "a name" said Grant, "to be remembered as long as the Gaelic language is spoken". (1) The stranger, struck by the boy's avid attention, not only gave him the book, but also taught him to read some of the simplest words. "In less than a year, I could read and sing the poems fluently, and taught several others to do the same". (2) Peter Grant, though intellectually on a much lower plane than Buchanan, attained an even greater popularity as a religious poet. "The sweet flowing songs of the bard of Strathspwy, with their tender and spiritual appeal, occupy a place all their own in the heart of the people, if we judge by the number of editions the public have demanded. The Scottish Gael has sung them, and sings them still, wherever he has gone the world over, from the snows of Canada to sunny Australia". (3) In brief, it may be said that, though inherited Presbyterian prejudice precluded the use of the 'dain spioradail' in public worship, they became, and continued almost up to the present time to be, the Gaelic-speaking Highlander's chief devotional commentary on the Gospel.

II.
The background of the evangelical 'dain spioradail' - 'Catholic' and Episcopalian religious verse. The sudden and brilliant efflorescence

(1) Dain Spioradail le P. Grannd; Ed. H. MacDougall, 21st Ed., Introd. p. 13
(2) Id.; p. 13. 
(3) Id.; p. 21.
of religious poetry, which began about the middle of the 19th century, was contemporaneous with a similar and even more splendid rebirth of the secular literature. In both cases, there was a historic literary background, which influenced and moulded the new developments. In the case of the religious poetry, that background was a blend of the traditional 'Catholic' hymnology, with the more modern and literary and more consciously Evangelical verse produced by 17th century Highland Episcopalians.

The 'Catholic' hymns, as represented by the three volumes of 'Carmina Gadelica', were the common heritage and property of the whole Gaelic-speaking population, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic. (1) They were "written down from the recital of men and women throughout the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, from Arran to Caithness, from Perth to St Kilda". (2) The greater part of the collection was made in the Hebrides, which includes Presbyterian Lewis, Harris, and North Uist, as well as the Catholic South Uist and Barra. More definitely denominational is Father Allan MacDonald of Eriskay's fine collection, though even in that volume, we can trace definite points of kinship between the Catholic hymn and the Evangelical 'dan spioradail'. For one thing, they appear to be much more appropriate for singing round the peat-fire than for use in public worship. (3) It is noteworthy that in an officially sponsored Catholic devotional manual such as 'Lochran an Amma', most of which consists of the Liturgy in Gaelic, the only hymns provided are

(3) Comh-chruinneachadh de Laoidean Spioradail: Oban 1893.
translations from the Latin, *Jesu dulcis memoriae* and *Stabat Mater*, etc. (1) Confining ourselves to those 'Catholic' hymns or odes, which were the common property of the people as a whole, we briefly note the following characteristics.

The most significant is the simple yet profound and pervading sense of the neighbourliness of God. He is trusted to be available in all crises, whether great or small. The whole span of human life, from birth to death, in sleeping and waking, in sowing and reaping, in herding and shearing, in eating and drinking, in smooring or kindling the household fire is bathed in the light of a kindly supernaturality. The grosser and grimmer aspects of the supernatural are by no means absent, and superstition is seldom far away, but the doctrine, where explicitly expressed, is always orthodox. Christ, the "refuge of my love," "the Son of Mary of graces," "the King of the blood of Truth," "the Shepherd of the poor," "the Herdsman of might," is believed to be more than adequate in every contingency, and against every foe, whether spiritual or physical. As in the days of Columcille, so now "is e mo drui Crist mac De". (2)

The 'hymn' proper, or song of objective praise and adoration, is fairly well represented, (3) though it is evident that Highland religious subjectivism is not confined to the Evangelical fellowship. There is this difference, however. The 'Catholic' self-concern is directed rather to the incidents of man's earthly lot, whether propitious or unpropitious, joyful or sad, than to a sense of sin.

(1) Lochran an anma; Edin. 1906.
(2) "Christ, the Son of God is my druid".
(3) Vol. I. pp. 126-137 etc.
and guilt before God. Not that this element is absent. One unknown poet confesses:

"We are guilty and polluted, O God,
In spirit, in heart, and in flesh,
In thought, in word, in act,
We are hard in Thy sight in sin". (1)

This poem, however, emanates from Harris, and though it bears certain of the marks of conventional 'Catholic' phraseology, it was probably produced in post-Reformation times.

Much more common is the thought, which is also a commonplace of the Evangelical 'dain', that all nature proclaims the providence and grace of God.

"There is naught in the firmament
But proclaims His goodness.
Jesu! Jesu! Jesu!
Jesu! meet it were to praise Him". (2)

The two 'Duain an Domhnaich', or 'Poems of the Lord's Day', reinforce the testimony of the ancient tract 'Cain Domnaig' (3) that the ancient Celto-Catholic Sabbatarianism was as strict as its Evangelical counterpart. (4) Moreover, the Lord's Day was "from setting of sun on Saturday till rising of sun on Monday". (5) According to the 'Cain Domnaig', it is "from vespers on Saturday till after matins on Monday". (6)

In these hymns, the Passion of the Saviour is often referred to with much pathos and tenderness, but it is the story of the Incarnation which calls forth the greater wealth of adoration. We do not find, as in Buchanan's 'Pulangas Chriosd', John MacKay's 'An Tearnadh Microhuleach', and many other Evangelical 'dain', a poetical

(1) Carmina Gadelica, I.p. 23: It is included in the 'Laoidheadair', the Gaelic Hymnal of the Church of Scotland, see p. 16.
narrative of the events leading up to the Cross. Apart, however, from the invocations addressed to the Virgin Mother and Saint Michael, the devout evangelical could well find himself at home in many of these hymns, and they doubtless did much to sustain the piety of good Protestants, as well as their Catholic fellow-countrymen.

The religious environment of the spiritual songs and poems contained in the Fernaig MS is 17th century Highland episcopacy. We find here, as nowhere else, the living heart of Highland piety during a period usually reckoned by evangelicals as spiritually destitute. In the opinion of Prof. Donald MacKinnon, this collection was made by Duncan Macrae of Inverinate, who was born about 1640 and survived the revolution. (1) The collector was also the largest single contributor. He was not only "a man of high intelligence, but also a deeply religious man". (2) Prof. MacKinnon says: "The doctrine of these writers, whether Reformed or unreformed, episcopalian or Catholic, is not different from what we hear now, though the mode of expression is often to us strange". (3) Further: "The writers... consider that hate and fear are more powerful incentives to correct conduct than love and hope. They dwell more upon the terrors of the Law than upon the promises of the Gospel; they are more detailed in their descriptions of the place of woe than of the place of bliss". (4) We shall note certain features of these poems, especially those of Macrae himself, which enable us to claim them as evangelical, and therefore the true and legitimate forerunners of the 'dain' of Buchanan and Grant.

Their literary form and didactic intention reveal their kinship with the later Evangelical 'dain spioradail'. "They might be described as short sermons in verse, put into this form for the religious instruction of the people". (1)

A profound sense of the majesty of God as revealed in creation is characteristic of Gaelic hymnology as a whole, and should not be claimed as exclusively evangelical. Alexander Munro writes:

"loghnadh oibreachadh a' Choinm-whith,
Do rinneadh leis an toiseach tim;
Litir iad a leuoh gach duine;
Cumnacl Dhe 'sa chruinne sgriocht'." (2)

Macrae writes: "Gloir is moladh dhuit, a Dhe;
'S eiohinn duinn gur tu is High
Air neamh 's air talamh a chos,
'S gur stol chos duit gach tir". (3)

The somore intuition of the evanescence of earthly glory, and of the brittle and deceitful quality of worldly prosperity was a feature of 17th century thought upon life. Great preachers, such as John Donne and Samuel Rutherford, possessed it in an overwhelming measure. Dugald Buchanan elaborated the theme in his great poem, 'An Claigeann'. The poets of the Fernaig MS express it with dignity and pathos. For instance:

"Ce nis neart Shamsoin,
No saotnair Iorcui leatsa,
Neart Choin-chullain chreat-ghil,
Ce Ector no Aichill". (4)

(1) T.G.S. I, xi p. 329. (2) Fernaig MS p. 39. "The marvel of the works of the Creator, made by Him at the beginning of time, an epistle they are that each man reads, the might of God written in the universe". (3) Ioid. p. 53. "Glory and praise to Thee, O God; joyful for us that Thou art King in heaven and in earth beneath, and that each land is thy footstool". (4) Ioid. p. 4. "What (worth) the strength of Samson, or the labour of Hercules, in your opinion, now; what the strength of white-skinned Cu-chullain, or of Hector or of Achilles?"
And Sir John Stewart of Appin:

"Mar an dealt ri la ciuin,
No'n sneachd is dluithe bhios geal;
Toradh nan duill' air a chrann;
Ni'm mair daoine sionn ach seal".(1)

It is, however, when they deal with the sense of guilt, and with the conflict of the flesh and the spirit, that these poets reveal most clearly whether their traditions and sympathies are Catholic or Evangelical. Duncan Macrae confesses:

"Taim-s' an nochd gu truagh;
Taim-s' truaillidh a'm chorp;
Ta mo chridhe-sa fo leon;
Ta peacadh bais air mo lot.

Ach fhir a dh'fhuilinn bàs ri crann,
Le piantan teann is cam bhreith,
Dion-sa mise, Mhic mo Dhe;
Cuir-s' gu treun as mo leth".(2)

This is the Evangelical sense of sin as indwelling corruption rather than 'Catholic' penitence for particular guilty acts. In other poems, Macrae follows the Catholic pattern, and confesses to a series of specific sins, such as drunkenness, fornication, swearing, Sabbath-breaking, etc. (3) No Evangelical, however, could have written 'Breisleach Dhonnachaigh Mhoir!' (4) Except for murder, there is scarcely a sin which he does acknowledge. Donnachadh Mor was probably not the reprobate which he professes. His confession is largely conventional, and belongs to a group of traditional Catholic literary exercises, which follow the pattern of the Seven Deadly Sins. John Carswell,

(1) Fernaig MS p.45: "As the dew on a mild day: Or white snow though close packed: The bloom of the foliage on the tree: Men remain here but for a moment". (2) Ibid. p.57: "I am tonight in misery: I am corrupt in my body: My heart is wounded: Mortal sin has stricken me. But Thou Man Who suffered death on the tree: With strait pains, and through false judging: Protect Thou me, Son of my God: Undertake Thou valiantly on my behalf".
(3) Ibid. pp.95 and 105. (4) Ibid. p.81.
stout Protestant and even Puritan though he was, has left us one example of this ancient tradition.(1)

The war of the spirit against the flesh is a characteristic theme of the Evangelical poets. Here again, in the *Fernaig* MS, we discern the familiar accent. Fear na Pairce says:

"Ta cogadh oidhche agus la
Orn a ghnath; cruaidh an cas;
Ni'n sguir e dhiom gu la m'eig;
Is truime leam fa chéad na'm bas". (2)

And again Alasdair Mac Mhurchaidh:

"Ta cogadh oirnn do ghnath;
Toradh mo ghraidh dhuit, a Dhe;
Ta mo spiorad do mo rian
Na'm bitheadh strian 'sa choluinn chre". (3)

The later Evangelical poets made the story of the Passion the theme of many of their exercises. Alasdair Mac Mhurchaidh is of their company.

"An Ti do neartaich na h-airm,
'S a lotadh gu garbh 'sa chath,
'S aobhar ar n-aigmidh mhaoth,
'S gu'n reubadh a thaobh le gath.

Chuir iad corun m'a cheann,
Tairgèan gu teann tromh bhois mhaoith,
Chun ar saoraídh bho na bhas;
Do mhiorailtibh fàth ar coidh". (4)

From Dugald Buchanan to Peter Grant, the 18th century Evangelicals are intensely pre-occupied with the doctrine of the Last Things.

(1) *Fernaig* MS, p.23. (2) Ibid. p.29. "Always, by day and by night, I have a war on my hands; Hard the strait; Till the day of my death, I cannot rid me of it; It is for me a weightier burden than death". (3) Ibid. p.131. "A war without end is our lot; The fruit of my love to Thee, O God: My spirit gives me counsel, Were my earthly body under restraint". (4) Ibid. p.131. "He who aided our (spiritual) weapons; And was sore stricken in the fight; The cause of our tender feeling is: That His side was pierced by a spear; They put a crown on his head; Nails firmly through His gentle palm; To the end that we might be saved from death; Thy marvellous works the cause of our mourning".
Duncan Macrae has 24 stanzas on the theme which Buchanan later treated with such high success. This poem is an elaboration of the parable of the Last Judgment. Prof. MacKinnon thought that the poets of the Fernaig MS were more successful in depicting hell than heaven. This is a feature they have in common with their betters, even Dante and Milton. Macrae's attempt to limn the heavenly glory is more successful than most, because he allusively suggests rather than describes:

"'S eibhneas e nach faca suil;
'S eibhneas e nach cual cluas;
'S eibhneas e nach teid air chul
Dhoibh-san d'an toirear mar dhuaíis.

'S eibhinn bhi'n lathair a' Bhrith'mh;
'S eibhinn a shioth-shaimh 's a bhudaith;
Cha'n fhaodar a chur an ceill
Meud eibhnis an ait' bhuaín". (1)

Hell is still "ifrinn fhuar am bi fuachd is teas"; "Cold hell where there will be cold and heat". (2) Half a century later, according to the indubitably Evangelical David MacKellar, damned souls are "g'an liodairt le teas a's fuachd"; "Tormented with heat and cold". (3)

Another notable point of contact between the Fernaig poets and their Evangelical successors is to be found in Macrae's long verse tract on the Fall. (4) Still another is Macrae's thirty stanza 'crosanachd' or dialectic poem on the true keeping of the Sabbath. (5) Prof. MacKinnon gives it high praise. (6)

Lastly, we refer to a good example of the moral didacticism, to

(1) Fernaig MS, p. 89. Verses 22 and 21: "Bliss that the eye has not see; Bliss that the ear has not heard; Bliss that will never betray; Those to whom it is given as guerdon; Joyful to be in the presence of the Judge; Joyful His peace-rest and His triumph; It is possible to none to reveal; The measure of bliss in the enduring place". (2) Ibid. p. 89. (3) Sar Obair, p. 182; Ed. J. MacKenzie. (4) Fernaig MS, p. 65. (5) Ibid. p. 111. (6) T.G.S.I. XI p. 333.
which the Celt, in every stage of religion and culture, in common, of course, with many other members of the human family, has been prone. This is 'Comhairle Mhic Eachainn Mhic Fhearchair do Mhac-an-toisich, a dhalta'. (1) It consists of a series of moral precepts, which together give us the author's conception/a chivalrous gentleman and wise chief. It is not so very different from the 'Teagasg Flatha' or 'Instruction of a Prince', given in Celtic pagan times by King Cormac mac Art to his son Cairbre of the Liffey. (2) With these we may compare the 'Oran do Chailin 'Araidh' by Joseph MacKay, the Caithness Evangelical separatist. (3) With half-humorous condescension, he minglesthis counsels of worldly prudence with Gospel precepts. (4)

III. The Evangelical poets — General characteristics.

Donald MacKechnie has well and inclusively described the varied fellowship of the Gaelic Evangelical poets: "Am measg Ughdar nan Dan, so, gheibhear am bochd 's am beairteach, an t' ard 's an t-ìosal, an sean 's an t-òg; an t-eolach 's an t-ainìolach, an deoraidh 's an raisgeach, agus, nach ìeud mi radh, am Bard 's am Buraigh." (5) John MacKay of Mudale (born c.1690), who was the earliest of the 18th century hymnists to win renown, was a gentleman tacksman. John Morrison of Harris, alias Iain Gobha, (born 1790), who was the last great figure in Highland spiritual poetry, was a blacksmith. The teaching profession made the most notable contribution of all. With the exception of Dr James MacGregor of Nova Scotia and Peter Grant of Strathspey, it

(1) Fornaiig MS, p. 51. (2) Hyde, D.: Early Gaelic Literature, p. 36. (6th Ed.) (3) Laidhean Spioradail: le D. Mathanach etc., p. 50. (Glasg. 1899) (4) Ibid., p. 50. See stanzas 10 & 11. (5) An Gaidheal, Vol. V (1876) p. 5. "Among these poets, will be found the poor and the rich, the high and the low, the old and the young, the learned and the ignorant, the pilgrim, the hero, and one may add, the fool.
may be said that no minister won distinction in this sphere. The
catechists cultivated the spiritual muse largely and with some
success. As Dugald Buchanan is to be regarded primarily as a school-
master, Donald Matheson of Kildonan is entitled to be regarded as
the foremost poetical catechist. One of the most interesting and
attractive of the religious poets was William Gordon, a soldier in
the Reay Fencibles.

A remarkable feature of Gaelic literature during the 18th century,
and indeed since the Reformation, has been the almost complete
separation between the secular and the sacred. Prof. MacKinnon says;
"Almost since the Reformation, and more especially since the Revolut-
ion, the majority of our prominent religious leaders in the Highlands
looked coldly upon our secular literature, and especially proscribed
the song and the dance". (1) Consequently, "one never finds among us,
what is common elsewhere, the secular poet attempting a religious
composition". (2) MacKechnie puts it: "Mur deanadh Fear-nan-oran Laoidh,
cha deanadh Fear-nan-laoidh Oran". (3) "As the song-man would make no
hymn, so the hymn-man would make no song". All that we know of Duncan
Ban Macintyre leads us to believe that he possessed a simple and
unaffected piety. He was certainly morally irreproachable. He sang the
praise of Beinn Dorain, but he never attempted, perhaps because he
never thought himself worthy, to sing the praise of Beinn Dorain's
Maker. (4) The serene and passionless beauty of his nature poetry,

(1) The Old Highlands, p. 76 (Glasgow Gaelic Society, 1908) (2) Ibid., p. 77.
(3) An Gaidheal, Vol. V, p. 5 (1876) (4) See 'Sar Obair' p. 217 for the
poet's reply when asked if he made 'Beinn Dorain'. "No; God made Beinn
Dorain, but I made a poem in praise of it".
which has a kinship with the minute and loving artistry of early Celtic illuminated work, is wholly of this earth, and never reveals, as does the poetry of Wordsworth, and of the English nature school, an awareness of the 'numinous' in, or above, nature. Rob Donn's formidable wit was almost invariably on the side of pure morality and Evangelical religion. He was an elder, or at least an assessor, in the kirk-session of Durness. He was a friend and devoted admirer of that admirable Evangelical minister, Murdo MacDonald of Durness. But he never made a 'dan spioradail'. His nearest approach to sacred verse is in his 'Marbhrann' and 'Cumha' (lament and elegy) composed on the occasion of the death of his minister and friend. But both poems are recognisably different from the 'marbhrann spioradail'. Though he draws a very gracious portrait of the true Evangelical pastor, he does not make his subject a peg on which to hang an Evangelical homily. Only one poet, John MacLean, 'Bard Thighearna Chola', later of Pictou, (born 1787) became equally well-known as a secular bard and as a religious poet. "In his songs, he sang the praises of the Laird of Coll; in his hymns, he sings the praises of his Saviour. In his songs, he sang the glories of Scotland; in his hymns, he sings the blessedness of the promised land". (1) His lonely eminence makes the separation between the two schools of poetry the more conspicuous.

Something may be said on behalf of the Church for its undoubted share in this unwholesome separation. Both before and after the Reformation, Gaelic secular poetry developed dangerously in the

(1) Hymns of John MacLean, ed. MacLean Sinclair: Memoir, p. xi. (Edin. 1880)
narrow and unfruitful paths of panegyric and satire. (1) The professional family bard made it his business to praise his chief and to dispraise his chief's enemies. According to Martin Martin, and his account appears trustworthy, the professional poets had lost their high estate as the counsellors of the chiefs and the social equals of the gentry some forty years before 1695 (the date of the 'Description'). "These gentlemen becoming insolent lost ever since both the profit and esteem which was formerly due to their character; for neither their panegyrics nor satires are regarded to what they have been, and they are now allowed but a small salary". (2) The savage invective of John Lom MacDonald against the Campbells did not make for peace and Christian charity in the Highlands, and even the non-professional poets, like Mary MacLeod of Harris and Dunvegan, were too much influenced by sectional loves and hatreds. The bard was to an excessive degree a fomentor of strife.

Further, it should be noted that certain of the secular poets, including even the greatest, considered themselves at liberty, upon occasion, to exercise their gifts in producing sacerdotal and obscene verse. The conventional drinking song was probably harmless enough. The same charity cannot be extended to the obscene poem. It is a well-known fact that Alexander MacDonalid, the greatest of the 18th century secular poets, incurred the wrath of his employers for "composing and singing indecent Gaelic songs". (3) One of the least objectionable of these poetical studies in the improper, redeemed as

(1) Watson, W. J.: Classic Gaelic Poetry of Panegyric; Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 1918.
(2) Description of the Western Islands, p. 176. (MacLeod's Edition)
(3) S.P.C.K. Records; also 'Sar Ouair' p. 105.
it is by its wit and infectious mockery, was composed by William MacKenzie, 'An Ceistear Cruach', catechist of Gairloch and Lochbroom. During the Presbyteral trial at which he was deposed, he was permitted to sing it before the reverend court, the members of which "were more obliged to their handkerchiefs than to their gravity for the suppression of risibility". (1) While the Church's attempt to exile the secular poets from the spiritual republic is for these reasons comprehensible, the result could have been foreseen. "The Gaelic hymn is less musical, and the Gaelic song less chaste because of the wide gulf that separates the sacred and the secular in our Highland life". (2)

The form which the religious poet gave to the 'dan spioradail' was determined by its intended function in the Evangelical economy. Except in Argyll and the southern Highlands, where the Paraphrases acquired a certain popularity due to the influence of the Haldane missionary campaigns, the Psalms alone were used in public worship. (3) This fact debarred the poets from attempting the composition of hymns suitable for congregational singing. It also explains the rarity of the hymn of objective praise. The poet composed his hymns for the fellowship meeting and the family circle gathered round the fireside. The heroic ballads and the secular songs were recited or sung by one individual, while the rest listened. In the ballad, and often in the song there was a story. The length did not matter. Or rather, the longer the better. The spiritual songs follow this pattern.

They were long. They contained narrative mingled with exhortation. They could be sung to some simple tune. Very often, the poet selected a tune and built his 'dan' round it. Dr James MacGregor was blamed for setting one of his hymns to the tune of 'Coire Cheanach'. This happens to be no other than 'The Flowers of the Forest'. (1) The poetical narrative usually consisted of the story of the Fall, the life of Christ, and especially the Passion, the last judgment and the fate of the blessed and of the accursed. As has been noted, these are all themes which were treated by the Episcopalian writers of the Fernaig MS. Sometimes, as in William MacKenzie's 'Ar Deud Sinnseara' or 'Our First Parents', the poet forgets his ostensible subject, and produces a most eloquent poetical sermon on the malady of sin and the wonder of divine grace. (2) Besides treating the great doctrines of the Faith systematically and with fervour, the poets give a considerable place to spiritual self-analysis. Donald Matheson, the poet-catechist, is a good example. But the unchallenged master in this form of spiritual verse is Donald Macrae, the illiterate weaver of Petty. He has been called a mystic. (3) His true place is among the spiritual psychologists, the anatomists of the soul. Even John Maclean of Harris, whom Prof. MacKinnon acknowledges to be an expert "in minute introspection and self-analysis", and whose poems in this mode, such as 'An Ionnraidh' and 'Gheasaidh an t-seann duine agus an duine oig', have received the highest praise from Dr George Henderson and other critics, (4) scarcely approaches in sheer certainty of

touch the analytical intuitions of the weaver of Petty. His verse is often rough, occasionally uncouth. Hence he is not so popular as he deserves.

The dialectical 'dan', a good example of which is Duncan Macrae's 'Grosanachd' already referred to, (1) was not developed by the Evangelical poets, but they extended the scope of the 'marunrann' much beyond what must be regarded as its legitimate limit. The marunrann or elegy was cultivated largely by the secular poets. If we compare two such fine poems as MacShithich's 'Cumna' (elegy) on the Marquis of Argyll (beheaded 1685) or 'An Ciaran Mawachn's' 'marunrann on Sir James MacDonald of Sleat (died 1678) with Dr John MacDonald's poem on his dead father, we perceive an immense difference in the method of handling this poetical medium. (2) The secular 'marunrann is an expression of personal sorrow. The spiritual 'marunrann' does express personal bereavement, but develops into a poetical 'Pilgrim's Progress'. The ostensible subject has become less important than the edifying homily which forms the bulk of the poem. It may be said that most of the Evangelical poets, Dugald Buchanan being a notable exception, attempted the 'marunrann'. The Separatists of the far north made the elegy their chosen poetical mode. (3) Their exaggerated panegyric is reminiscent of the old clan bard in his more extravagant moments. "The Separatist brethren were in danger of being lost in admiration of one another". (4) The 'marunrann' is still cultivated by our Gaelic religious versifiers. (5)

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Duncan Lothian attempted to versify the Protestant - Popish theological controversy, but it is not a theme that readily lends itself to the purposes of poetry. (1) Lachlan MacLachlan was more successful in his vigorous and pungent satires on moral faults and failings. (2) Both he and William MacKenzie employ the 'daim' as a weapon against Moderates and the evils of patronage. (3)

IV.

In order to represent accurately the content and tone of the teaching which the Gaelic hymn-writers imparted to the people, and which had such far-reaching influence in moulding their piety, it will be necessary to examine their 'daim' in more detail. They fall naturally into four groups: 1. The Argyllshire poets. 2. Dugald Buchanan. 3. The northern poets. 4. Those influenced by the missionary Evangelicalism that swept the country at the end of the 18th century and during the first half of the 19th century.

The Argyllshire poets. David MacKellar, commonly called 'Daibhidh nan Lacidh', the blind poet of Glendaruel, lived at the beginning of the 18th century. The great hymn which has ensured his fame, consisting of 33 four-line stanzas, was published in Glasgow in 1752. (4) With a verbal economy which approaches great art, he has avoided the diffuse eloquence which is a characteristic vice of Gaelic religious poets, lettered and unlettered. He begins with a doxology:

"Moladh do'n Ti 's airde gior,  
An Ti 's modha na gach neach;  
Cruithear an t-saoghal gu leir,  
Da'n cuibhaidh dhruinn g'eil air fad".  

"Praise to Him of highest glory  
To Him exalted over all;  
To the Creator of all worlds,  
Meet is it to give homage".

With an unerring sense of proportion, he then proceeds to describe the Creation, the Fall, the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord, concluding with the Last Judgment and the condition of the redeemed and the lost. From the didactic point of view, it is the perfect 'dain spioradail', while the artistic craftsmanship is of a very high order. MacKenzie says that "it was so very popular in the Highlands that many persons got it by heart that had never seen the printed copy". (1) This is how he speaks of the Passion:

"Crochadh è ri crann an àird,
'S an t-sleagh saite tre a chorp;
Crun gear na peine chuir mu cheann,
Fhuair Mac Dhe le naimhde lot."

"He was hung on high to the tree
The spear thrust into His side;
Sharp crown of pain on his head
The Son of God is hurt by foes.

Crun sgìthich an aite crún Righ;
Mar thailceas,'s mar dhìmeas mòr;
Dombhas agus fìon gear,
'N deoch a thug iad dha ri ol.

Na tairmean g'ran cur an sàs,
Am bosaibh a lamh le òrd;
'S fuil a chridhe ruith a thaòch,
Geannachd du daoire nan t-òr". (2)

In place of kingly crown, a
crown of thorns,
Mark of scorn and contumely,
Gall and bitter wine,
These they gave Him to drink.

Na tairmean g'ran cur an sàs,
Am bosaibh a lamh le òrd;
'S fuil a chridhe ruith a thaòch,
Geannachd du daoire nan t-òr". (2)

These verses immediately correct any assumption that the Christ of Highland Evangelicalism was a theological lay figure. The scarcely relieved objectivity is likewise worthy of notice.

John Campbell, schoolmaster of Glassary, seventeen of whose 'dain' have been preserved in the Kennedy Collection of 1786, is not a good poet. But his work is important in that it reveals even more clearly than 'Laoidh MnìCéalair' the quality and atmosphere of Argyllshire Evangelicalism. The evangelical narrative, and the Lord's Supper are his two great themes. (3)

(1) Sar Coair, p.181. (2) Ioid. p.182.
(2) Cochruminneachadh Laoidhe etc. le Ùghdairean Eagsamhail, Hymns 1-16, Hymn 18. (Glagg, 1786)
Here are three simple verses on his favourite subject:

1. "In lowly estate He came,
   He had not where to lay His head;
   But folk of treachery pursuing Him each day,
   And He without guilt or sin.

2. The night on which He was betrayed,
   He took bread in His right hand;
   He gave to His disciples around,
   With joy He asked them all to eat.

3. After which He took the cup,
   Freely He gave them to drink of wine;
   He will have neither want nor lack,
   Who follows in His footsteps".

The reverent simplicity of the words suggests that the writer found the theme too august for eloquence.

In Argyll, the proportion of communicants to the whole congregation was much larger than in the north. But notice Campbell's attitude to careless communicating.

"Dh'orduinc E shuipeir a roinn
Air gach neach is ionmuinn leis;
Ach gun ghream a thoirt gu urath,
Do dh'aon neach nach aithridh air

Astar fada 's fògradh geur,
A oibhios air gach uile phor,
Thig gu daimarra, 's gu dana,
Gun uimhachadh chum do ohord".(2)

(1)Cochruinneachadh Laoide etc.p.17. (2)Same Poem, Verses XVI and XVII
"He has appointed His Supper to be shared,
By all on whom He has set His love;
But never a crumb to be given,
To any who are unworthy of it.

A far journey and bitter banishment,
Will be the portion of every seed,
Who comes audaciously and boldly,
Without preparation to the Table".

The sacramental Sabbath is 'la feil', or 'the day of festival'. (1)

On the question of the salvation of infants, Campbell is on the side charity;
"Theid an anamainh le'r Slanai'fhneair,
Mar cholmain geal òan;
Ghaonas iteach gu n ea-trom,
'S fui' ohla's a sge ni iad tamh". (2)

"Their souls will go with our Saviour,
Like fair white doves;
Lightly they will fly,
And under the warmth of His wing they will rest".

He is deeply conscious of the sombre majesty of death:
"Se Riogh nan uain am òas,
Gun earaiais trath ân air;
Mar ghaduiche thig gun fhios e,
'S bheir e fear na misnich leis.

'N gaisgeach cruaidh chuir iomadaidh cath,
'S an treun laoch nach gealtaich fuil;
Gë mor a thrise le armaibh,
Gaunaidh am òas seallon na run". (3)

"Death is the King of Terrors,
If timeous heed be not paid him,
Like a thief he comes privily,
He takes the man of courage with him.

"The hardy hero who has known many a battle,
The strong champion who shrinks not from blood;
However great his might in arms,
Death will inherit his fondest purposes".

But the death of the believer is joyous:
"'S eininn don chràidmhich am òas
Tighinn o Chriosd le gràdh 's le gean". (4)

(1) Cochruruinneachadh Loidhe etc. p. 35. (2) Ioid. p. 38.
(3) Ioid. p. 64. (4) Ioid. verse 13.
"Joyous to the believer is death,
Coming from Christ in love and grace".

Christ is thought of as:
"Gaisgeach treun nan iomadaidh oúaidh E,
Dh'fhnosgail suas an gèata mòr dhuinn".(1)

"The mighty Hero of many victories,
He opened wide the great gate for us".

While the common counsel to the disciple is:
"O! leanadh le cruadail
Am Fear thuig oúaidh air a oìs".(2)

"O! follow with nardihood
Him Who won victory over death".

The Three Wise Men are 'filidh Phàganach', 'pagan poets'.(3)

Hymn 17 and hymns 19 to 23 in the Kennedy Collection are "le ùean-
uasal araidh", "by a certain gentlewoman". While in hymn 19, she
follows the familiar pattern of the Fall of our first parents and
redemption by the coming of Christ, her chief preoccupation is her
own personal spiritual condition. Along with this, there is an
assured and joyful confidence that the Good Physician is competent
to deal with her hurts:

"Gloir do'n Leigh da'n leir mo lotaion,
Tha mo snocndair ann a d'ìaimhn;
O! 's Tu threesome na saighde dìamhair,
Thig le hisop, 's bidh mi sìan.

"'S Tusur n' Leigh a thig le d'ìarraidh,
Nach iarr fìachan, ach ar gràdh;
Gloir is moladh thoirt le h umhlachd,
'S coimhid dlu air a chìad aòthn'." (4)

"Glory to the Healer who sees my wounding,
All my ease is in Thy hands;
O! Thou who cast the secret arrows,
Come with hysop, I shall be whole.

"Thou art the Healer who comes when called for,
Thou askest not recompense but our love
Glory and praise we must give with obedience,
Take strict heed to the First Command".

(1)Cochrinnieachadh Loidhe, p.70. (2)Ibid. Hymn VII.
(3)Ibid. Book II, Hymn XVIII. (4)Ibid. p.98. Hymn XX.
In another poem, the writer discovers the love of God in the sunlight and the sprouting beard, in the green grass and the leaves of the trees. The tempest lulled into peace by God's hand, the birds clothed by his care, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, the rainbow in the sky, are all symbols and tokens of the Divine love. (1)

Iain Mac Anieora's 'dain', with their appeal to the evangelic motive and their somewhat abrupt moral precepts, reveal an acquaintance with an older tradition of spiritual verse. We may consider them also as representative of the finer type of Moderate piety.

"Iomaguin an High air a chrann,
'S na tairngean gu teann ma'n cur;
Biodh sud a d'chuimhne ri d'iré,
Gus an d'theid cria air do mnuin.

"Cum freiceadan air a chhas,
'S na tadh an freasdaid do d'ghnais;
'S na oí ann a d'charaid do'n chraois,
Mu meallar le baois do chùis". (2)

"The agony of the King on the tree,
And the nails firmly hammered in,
These things remember through thy days,
Till the clay is placed on thy breast.

"Like a sentry keep watch over death,
Heed not to care for thy person;
Be chary of friendship with gluttony,
Lest thy cause be betrayed by lust".

'Laoidhe Mhic Cithich' (Keith's Hymn) betrays a grim consciousness of the conflict of the spirit against the unruly body, the fountain of evil. His enumeration of particular besetting sins, such as pride, drunkenness, envy, covetousness, lack of Bible reading, is in the 'Catholic' tradition, but he strikes the essential Evangelical note:

"Tha'n croidic so goirt,
Ochoin a noc mar tha;
Co cruaidh 's a chlach,
Gun tiomachadh tais no tla;

(1) Cochruinneachadh Laoidhe etc. p. 105. (2) Iud. p. 111.
"Bris fein a chlach,  
O na's Tu is treise lamh;  
Gun sruthadh e bras,  
A chumha mar thachair dha". (1)

"My heart this night is sore,  
Alas that it should be so;  
As hard as a stone,  
No thaw or warmth or love.

"Thyself break the stone,  
Since Thou art mighty of hand,  
That from it may freely flow,  
Lament for its state of sorrow".

Again we note the use of one of the best beloved of the names applied to Christ:

"Chaidh a thasgadh 's an uaigh,  
An gaisgeach,'s bu chruaidh an cas".(2)

"He was happed in the grave,  
The Hero, and hard was the fate".

Except for the story of the Creation and Fall, these writers reveal no interest in the Old Testament. The heart of their religion is personal devotion to the Saviour manifest in the flesh. They show a sane balance between the objective and subjective aspects of religion. Here and there, we discern traces of a pre-Protestant piety.

V.

Dugald Buchanan. "With the exception of the Bible and the Catechism, no Gaelic book was printed so frequently as these (Buchanan's) poems, and no book outside those mentioned exercised such a profound influence among all classes of the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders, from the eminent Indian missionary, Dr Duff, to the widow who breaks the monotonous whirr of her spinning wheel with the melody of these sublime pieces. It has been well said that 'What the sublime conceptions of Milton and John Bunyan were to the devout thought of

(1)Cochruinneadh Laoidhe etc., p.115. (2)Ibid. Verse xxxiii.
England, those of the sacred Bard of Rannoch to that of Gaelic Scotland". (1) The Gaelic Highlands have never questioned Buchanan's primacy among their religious poets. Debate there has been, but only as to whom should be given the honour of being next below him. The publication of his diary has made his spiritual history known to many. (2) A good account of his life has been given by MacLean Sinclair. (3) Briefer accounts have been given by other writers. There are a considerable number of references to him in the papers of the S.P.C.K., the Forfeited Estates Commissioners, and the Royal Bounty Committee. (5) A scholarly edition of his poems was published in 1913. (6) A number of men, including MacLean Sinclair, Lachlan MacBean, and Stuart Blackie have ventured, with varying success, on the task of translation. (7) According to the 'Typographia Scoto-Gadelica', twenty-four editions have been given to the world since the first edition of 1767. (8) On the title-page of the first edition, there is printed the text Coll. iii. 16: "Gaoidh d focal Chriosd comhuidh annaion gu saidunir, san uile ghliocas; a' teagasc agus a' commhair-leachadh a cheile le salmaich agus laoidhich, agus cantaich spior-adail a' deanamh ciuil do'n Tighearn le gras ann onur croidheachaich.

This, and not the desire for literary fame, was the motive and compulsion of his poetical labours. But it is known that he was a careful and painstaking literary artist. While Buchanan was composing his great poem 'An Claigeann', Roderick Kennedy, his fellow-schoolmaster

and frequent guest, was awakened in the dead of night and asked to give his opinion on the relative poetical merits of 'duragan donn' and 'duragan crom'. (1) Our concern, however, is with his religious teaching.

His poem 'Morachd Dhe' proclaims the ineffable majesty of God. (2) As we have seen, several of the poets, 'Catholic', Episcopal, and Presbyterians, have seen in Nature a revelation of the love and providence of God. (3) Buchanan dwells rather on the immeasurable distance between Creator and creature, and on the littleness of the universe in the presence of its Lord. Yet his cosmic conceptions have the vastness of modern physical astronomy:

"Ge d' thionndadh ghrian gu ne-o-ni ris,
'S gach ni fa chuidirt a soluis mhoir;
'S co beag bhiodh t'oibre 'g ionndraidn uath',
'S bhiodh 'n cuan ag ionndrain sile mhoir". (4)

"Though the Sun be turned into nothing, and all that in its light revolves; as little were they missed from among Thy wondrous works, as would the ocean miss a finger-drop". (5)

'Fulangas Chriousd', or 'The Passion of Christ', has not been accorded the highest place in the poet's work. In some ways, nevertheless, it is his most attractive. The actual theme is the Humiliation of our Lord rather than the Passion. He tells the story of the Gospel ministry with a simple and powerful pathos. The dominant emotion is an adoring tenderness. This is his interpretation of the Agony in the Garden:

"Na dh'fhuil'geadh 'n naoghal gu siorruidheachd
De phiantaibh is de chradh,
Chaidh sud a leigeadh comhla air,
'S an deoch ud dh'ol 'nan ait". (6)

"All the pains and anguish that the world of men should have endured unto eternity, these were placed together upon Him, in that cup He drank in their room". (1)

The Saviour's physical sufferings on the Cross are realised with tremendous power. But the climax of that suffering is when:

"Chaidh dibh-fhearg Dhe a thaomadh air,
Gach uile thaobh mu'n cuairt". (2)

"The fierce flood of God's wrath is emptied upon Him, from every side round about".

The measure of that wrath is that the smallest measure of what Christ endured would have sufficed to destroy the universe. (3)

The poet envisages the sympathetic sorrow of nature in the Saviour's sufferings. (4) This is in accord with the ancient tradition of the Gaelic secular marbhhrann.

'La a Bhreitheanais', 'The Day of Judgment', has been described as the greatest of Buchanan's poems. (5) The theme had exercised his imagination and conscience since childhood. (6) Heaven he suggests, hell he describes. The elements of that powerful description were supplied by the preaching and current conceptions of his time. He may have owed something to Milton; nothing, we may be sure to the Altus of St Columba, though Prof. MacKinnon has pointed out certain remarkable resemblances. (7) Its main interest for us lies in the evidence which it supplies as to Buchanan's conception of what wins the favour of the Judge or incurs His condemnation. Highland Evangelicalism has been blamed for excessive subjectivism. There is some truth in the charge. But subjectivism finds neither place nor countenance

in 'La a Bhreitheanais'. The following appreciation is sensible and sufficient. "Buchanan never allows that any fullness of inward life can dispense with the duties of every-day life, with mercy, truth, industry, generosity, self-control. The unworthy man who is excluded from the kingdom is not the man of blunt, homely feeling, incapable of ecstatic rapture and exalted emotion, but the man who locks up for himself the gold God gave him for the general good, who shuts his ear to the cry of the poor, who entrenches his heart behind a cold inhumanity, who permits the naked to shiver unclothed, who lessens not his increasing flock by a single kid to satisfy the orphan's want."

(1) In his noble poem, 'An Gaisgeach', 'The Hero', Buchanan endeavours to give to his fellow-countrymen a juster conception of heroism than that fostered by the secular bards. He was speaking to an audience whose ideal hero was still the warrior. As his contemporary, Alexander MacDonald, showed, 'Oran nam Fineachan Gaidhealach', 'The Song of the Highland Clans', was a theme that could yet evoke the ancient emotions. (2) But, the Evangelical poet asserts:

"Cha ghaisg' an ni bhi liodairt dhaoin',
'S cha chliu bhi ann an caonnaig tric;
Cha'n uaisle inntinn ardan borb,
'S cha treubhantas bhi garg gun iochd.
Ach 's gaisgeach esan a bheir' buaidh
Air eagal beatha,'s uamhann bais,
'S a chomh'laicheas le misnich cri',
A h-uile ni ata dha'n dàn". (3)

"It is not bravery to mangle men; It is not fame to be in combat oft; Barbaric pride is not nobility of soul; True valour is not fiercelessness without ruth. But hero true is he who wins: O'er fears of life and dread of death; Who meets with an undaunted breast; The share that destiny upon him thrusts."

Prof. Magnus MacLean thought 'An Claigeann', 'The Skull', to be the greatest of Buchanan's poems. (1) Stuart Blackie considered that it might have been improved by condensation. (2) Its interest for us lies in the fact that it is the greatest moral and sociological tract which was produced in the Highlands during the 18th century. Here, in fact, is the Evangelical criticism and commentary on the contemporary situation. Here we meet the lawyer who could be bought and sold, "expert to refine and pervert", and here too the judge who weighs truly and judges justly. The physician, successfully battling with death, who has himself to yield to death at last; the soldier, sending others forth to be food for worms, who, despite his sword and armour, becomes in turn food for worms; the drunkard, whose heaven is the yeasty excitement of strong drink, whose music is minced oaths, whose ideals of life are lower than the beasts that perish, these appear on the canvas. So too does the man who is temperate in food and drink, who holds the body in subjection, and disciplines his passions. Here is the true landlord, gentle and kindly, the father of his people, pitiful to the poor, clothing the naked, giving according to the measure of his means. Here too is the rackrenting laird, who fleys his people, and thins the cheek of his tenants by excessive exactions. Let there be a delay in payment of rent, he siezes the cattle, though the poor cry for respite. In his presence, thin locks uncovered in the bitter wind, stands an old man presenting his unheeded petition. Let death be praised, who strikes the tyrant low, so that his former slave now comes without obeisance into his

(1) Literature of the Highlands, p. 119.
(2) An Gaidheal, 1876; Vol. V p. 55.
The bitter verses which describe the relations of landlord and tenant on the rackrented estates may be regarded as the beginning of Highland land radicalism.

The Church does not escape, though Buchanan was ever a faithful son of the Church. The faithful minister, the true pastor of God's people, is honoured. The hireling, solicitous of the fleece, but neglectful of the flock, is held up to contempt. Such strictures became the stock-in-trade of anti-Moderate and Separatists versifiers, but with Buchanan, they have still the living breath of prophecy. (1)

A remarkable feature of Buchanan as a moral and religious teacher is his sane, robust catholicity. He never wrote a line which might not well have come from any orthodox branch of the Christian Church.

VI.

The Northern Poets.

John MacKay of Udal, in Farr, belonged to the Halmadary branch of the Abrach MacKays. He was born about 1690, and is described as "a poet, scholar, and gentleman, and an eminently pious man". His poems were written down from oral tradition. (2) We have already noticed the influence of his work on Dugald Buchanan. (3) His most famous 'dan', 'An Tearnadh Miorbhùileach', is said to have been composed during a harvest night while contemplating the glories of the heavens. (4) He narrates the story of redemption against the background of creation and history. He follows a pattern, whose perfect exemplar is 'Faoi'dh MeicMicEalair', already noticed. (5) Though not a

great poet, his verse flows smoothly enough, and he makes one aware of the authentic note of evangelic passion. He also makes us realise that the Gaelic evangelic vocabulary is considerably older than the first translation of the New Testament. Here is his account of the Gospel promises:

"Gheall E'n cridhe fe'ola dhoibh,
Gu le'on a chridhe chruaidh,
'S an cionta bha dearg mar sgarlaid,
Gu'n deant' iad ban mar chloimh;
'S gu'm maitht' am peac' ro-grainneilsan,
Le feartan bàs an Uain,
Ged bu lionmhor mor ri'n aireamh iad,
Na gaineamh bhàn a chuain".(1)

"He promised them the heart of flesh to wound the heart of stone: And sins that were red as scarlet should be made white as wool: Their loathsome sins should be forgiven through the might of the death of the Lamb: Even though their number exceeded far the white sands of the sea."

In 'Cairdeas na Trianaid', he tells the story of the Flood, and emphasises the promise of the rainbow. Abraham, Aaron, Isaac, and Jacob are the children of the rainbow.(2) The Captivity and Exodus are symbolical of sin and redemption. He then proclaims the Gospel remedy for sin. He lays stress on the argument from prophecy.

'Adhamh agus Eubha', Adam and Eve, is inappropriately so called. Though the poet begins with our first parents, he covers the whole field of sacred history and Christian doctrine.(3) He is emphatic that in faith alone is saving efficacy.

"Cuireamaid cul r'ar barail fein,
Oir thug i eis gu leoir dhuinn
An neach is foirfe tha fo'n ghrein,
Air meud a leirs' a's eolais,
Ged chaill e croiceann an da ghluin,
A cleachadh urnuigh 'n comhnuidh,
Cha toill e bheag air lamhaibh Dhia,
Gun chreidimh dion na thròcair".(4)

(1) Metrical Reliques, p. 110, verse 17. (2) Ibid. p. 116. (3) Ibid. p. 120. (4) Ibid. verse 12.
"Let us turn our backs on self-opinion; Already it has cost us dear: Though a man should be the most righteous under the sun; Though his mind should be illumined by all knowledge; Though he wear out his knees in the custom of continuous prayer; Yet he will merit little at the hands of God; If he have not firm faith in his mercy."

He is deeply conscious of the universality of sin:
"Cha tig a's cha d'thaingg
Aon duine o Adhamh,
Tre gin' lacha gnath' chte,
O'n trath sin nach claon". (1)

"No man has come or will come; From the seed of Adam; By ordinary generation; From that time that will not stray."

The urgency of our situation is therefore crucial:
"Cha tim bhi ri moille,
Dh'easbhuidh dicean a bhaile,
'S fear diolaidh na fola,
Na dheanna 'nar deigh". (2)

"This is no time to be dallying; When we lack the shelter of the city; And the avenger of blood; Pressing hard on our tracks."

According to the biographical notice of Donald Matheson, prefixed to his hymns, he was born in 1719 and died in 1782. (3) His productive period was from 1745 till the time of his death. (4) He left behind him a well-marked school of religious versifiers, who made an impression on Kildonan and Caithness. (5)

In this poet, introspective analysis and interest in spiritual experience have overcome the passion for narrative and direct doctrinal teaching. He appears to have little interest in poetical craftsmanship. He has vigour and forcefulness.

He thus views his own condition:
"Le cridhe gun chreidimh,
Lan aidich gun ghrasan,
A ghabhadh le faileas,
Mar dhearbhachd air teachadh;

"A heart without faith; Full of graceless profession; That clings to the shadow; As proof of salvation; A heart that is fleshy; That will not win homeward; And that looks to the world; As an idol to lust for!"

His self-loathing forces him to the mercy-seat:
"Ach n'uaire a sheallas mi ' siosa
Orm fhein an clud shalach,
Cuiridh sud mi gu h-iosal
A sios aig do chathair;
Aig cathair do throcair,
Tha sòlas ri thaighinn".(2)

"When I look down on myself; Foul rag that I am; What I see casts me prostrate; Before Thy throne; At the throne of Thy mercy; There is joy to be found".

He has an assurance that the Lord will finish the work of grace which He has begun.
"'S far na thog Thu clach as uir,
Cha duthchas dhuit bhi dealachdain;
Is cho oile 's gum bi do chlann,
Tionndaidh Tu riut dhachaidh iad".(3)

"Where Thou hast built up stone and clod; For Thy name's sake Thou wilt not quit the tenement; However far Thy children have gone astray; Yet Thou wilt turn them home to Thyself again".(4)

Only the twice-born are capable of holiness:
"Cha'n fheud meas na naomhachd,
Bhi air mnathan no air daoine,
Dh'easbhuidh ath-bhreith fhirinneach
Air inndreachdan tre ghras".(5)

"Neither man nor woman may be esteemed holy; Who has not been truly born again through grace".

Further, only the twice-born are really capable of happiness.(6)

In 'Oran na Saorsainn', he demonstrates that the salvation of the sinner rests upon an objective atonement.
"Is ann air a chranna-ceusaìd
Chaidh an eìric s' a phaighheadh".(7)

(1) Metrical Reliques, p. 251; Laoidhean Spioradail, p. 1 (Glasg. 1899. (2) Ibid. verse 10. (3) Reliques, p. 249; Laoidhean, p. 6. (4) The metaphor is of the more primitive form of the 'black house', where earth was used in place of mortar. (5) Reliques, p. 260, verse 12. (6) Ibid. p. 266. (7) Ibid. p. 264.
"It was upon the Cross that the ransom was paid".

He taught an implicit trust in God's providential dealings. When he was evicted and homeless, others pitied his case, but:

Tha luchd faicinn is sèolais, 
Faicinn leòn ann mo chrannchar; 
Ach tha mis' mar eithir a sèoladh, 
'S mhuir fuidh 'ga h-iomchar". (1)

"Onlookers and friends see a wound in my lot; But I am like a bark that sails; The sea beneath her bearing her up".

Yet he is deeply sensitive to the penury and oppression which is the lot of others:

"An talamh l'an de eigin, 
A Dhe co sheasas ann". (2) "The earth is full of poverty: O God, who shall be able to bear it?".

Yet the earth belongs to the Lord's people. Though they should go to Carolina, or any other land on earth, they are still in their own country. (3) The emigrations then taking place from the Highlands are a fulfilment of Scripture. The lonely places shall be inhabited and the desert shall blossom. (4) Evicting landlords are bitter scourges that chastise men to their ultimate benefit. It is interesting to find this viewpoint in the Highlands at so early a date:

"Tha uachdarain na'n daorsaimn 
Do dhaoine anns gach am; 
'Gam fuadachadh 's gan teannachadh 
Gu tir ni maith do'n clann". (5)

But thanks are due, not to the landlord who never intended the benefit, but to God who provided an opening (fosgladh). (6)

In his elegies on Hugh Ross and Sheriff MacCulloch, he portrays the godly man, both directly and by contrast with the hypocrite and the hireling. (7)

(1) Reliques, p. 268. (2) Ibid. p. 271. (3) Ibid.: Song on the Emigrants. (4) Ibid. verse 6. (5) "Landlords are ever an oppression to the people; Evicting and compelling them; To a land that will do good to their children." (6) Reliques, p. 261, verse 7. (7) Laoidhean, pp. 32, 35 (1899 Ed.)
Lachlan MacLachlan was born near Inverness in 1729. About 1745, he became a S.P.C.K. teacher at Culduthel. He was specially selected for the difficult post at Abriachan, which was a nest of smugglers. It is said that many walked 10 or even 20 miles each Lord's Day to hear MacLachlan exhort. What his exhortations failed to achieve, his poetical satires effected. He conducted a campaign against card-playing, which was then very common throughout the Highlands. He was an opponent of the Moderates, and a friend of such pious ministers as James Calder, Hector MacPhail, and Dr Fraser of Kirkhill. (1)

His verse was doubtless effective enough in its day, but it does not entitle him to the name of poet. He is, however, a good witness to the Evangelical teaching and temper in his district and period.

Like Matheson, he uses the 'marbhrann' or elegy, as a weapon of assault on the defections of the age. In his elegy on Hector MacPhail, he declares that the death of godly ministers is a sign that God is angry with the land. (2) The true foster-fathers in Christ (luchdoideachd) are not many. The majority of ministers are like the sons of Eli, who disgust the people with divine ordinances. Elders and 'professors', who are given to swearing, are like the foxes that gnaw the vine. Patronage is oppression, but patronage will yet go, and the sorrow of the godly will be turned to praise. He inveighs vigourously against the rich who grind the faces of the poor. ("Rusgadh aodann nam bochdan"). (3)

William MacKenzie, teacher at Leys, was born in Culduthel near Inverness in 1748. He taught school for 40 years at Leys. He was a

strong non-intrusionist. He died in 1838 at the age of 90. (1)

In his "Ar Gceud Sinnseara", "Our First Parents", he shows the northern fondness to displace Biblical narrative by doctrinal, experimental, and moral disquisitions. A brief idealised account of Adam and Eve is followed by a fluent and competent analysis of sin in its universal pervasiveness. This again is the sombre background for an exposition of the glories of divine grace. The transaction on Calvary is 'cath fulteach', 'bloody battle'. As in Buchanan and all the other religious poets, the wrath of the Father overwhelms the Son. ("Bha fearg as corruich an Athar; Le grathan 'ga reuadh")

Now that the veil of the Temple is rent, the gracious invitation is extended, "Thigibh uile tha paiteach", "Come all ye that thirst. (2)

More interesting is the excellent 'Cartaannachd' or 'Hymn to Charity'. With it may be compared another so named in Father Allan MacDonald's Collection. (3) In the first part, he keeps close to the spirit of I Corinthians XIII, but in the latter part he deals faithfully with the symptoms that indicate that charity is lacking. (4) His account of what one may see and hear at a market, presumably in Inverness, is worth noting. There you may hear lies and foul oaths. There you may meet greed and trickery pursuing shadows. In the alehouse, you will encounter raffish and unspenous talk, drunkenness and cockeryting. And, most hateful of sights, 'professors' of religion sitting without shame at table with sinners such as these. (5)

In his 'Am Fear Aidmheil', Mackenzie again returns to the theme

(1) Metrical Reliques; Memoir, p. 5. (2) Ibid., p. 9f.
(3) Comh-citrinneachadh de Laoideas, p. 51 (Ouan 1893)
of the swearing 'fear-aidmheil' or church memoir. The fault must have been common among otherwise respectable people. (1)

In his 'dan', 'A Chuaid', he describes the Gospel minister as well as his opposite. The Gospel minister, anointed from on high to sound the trumpet, has been taught in the university of the Spirit, he has known the scourging of the 'law', and, the curse pursuing him, he has found refuge from the covenant of works in Christ's victory. He will often experience the distress of 'desertion', but he will agonise in prayer that the spirit of revival may be sent from on high. The 'tuarasdalach', or hireling, on the other hand, is idle and useless. He is proud of his learning. He is wont to be in the company of the gentry, where he hears blasphemy and idle talk. They cultivate the flesh, and have become its slaves. (2) The portrait has often been painted. In his elegy on 'The Departure of the Faithful', he notes the insidious increase of a new type of 'godliness', very different from the old. Men now follow the light of 'reason', and think to find salvation in 'commonsense'. Such men, elders and 'professors' among them, are foremost at fair, and festival, and wedding. They declare that 'graceless' ministers, as long as they have birth and breeding, make excellent pastors. The Saviour thought otherwise. (3)

More, the new 'godly' regard the true godly as men of strife and 'separatists' (luchd roinnean). (4) In his elegy on William MacKay, he makes a fine portrait of the ideal catechist. (5) MacKenzie had a vigorous and forthright mind. He applied it with effect to the moral and spiritual problems of his day and place.

Donald Macrae, the blind weaver of Petty, was of Kintail stock. He was born in 1756. He was "totally illiterate", but was accounted "an orator in extemporaneous prayer". Mr Fraser, a pious gentleman in Petty, reproved him for making secular songs. The secular bards were "a deanamh san-rigarean le moladh de uhan-striopaichean". (Making princesses out of nariots by their praise). Macrae evidently took the reproof to heart. He was a man of remarkable gifts of mind and imagination. He had a genius for spiritual analysis. 'Cor an anma', the condition of the soul, was the theme of his songs. Unlike the other spiritual poets, he did not choose any part of the Gospel history as a subject, (1) if we except the references to the Agony in the Garden and to the Passion in a poetic epistle to an emigrant. (2)

In the 'Gearan' (3), he traces the subtle working of sin in his

memours.

"Gu lùach, feailtach, rinn e taladam, 'S dh'innis' e'n ràite dhroma mar charaid; Ach thuig mi 'h' air culaomh àdignios, Uighdearachd nach tarar aitaris.

"Gu rapacn, scàipacn, chuir e chara orm, Bìdh e manrann rium mar chailleig; As cúis na's maisliche ri 'g ràite, E faoûtinn fàrdaca ann am fhàireachd." (4)

"Approaching me in its winding, treacherous way, it sings an enticing lullaby; It tells me its story like an old friend; But I divined that behind the (promised) pleasure, there stood its nameless Giver". "Filthy, prickly, though it (sin) be, it tricked me; It prattles to me like a sweetheart; And, shame to say, it finds a lodging in my memours"

He recognises that:

"'Se chuid is truim' dhe'n diteadh, Gu òneil m'innntinn 'ga 'àrach". (5)

"The heaviest count in my condemnation is that my mind consents to, and nourishes it (sin)."

The hidden and forgotten sin is still effective for mischief:
"'N eacoir fholaicht' ged is nàir' e,
Thiodhlaic mis' i mhan as m'aire;
Ach dh'éirich na mairbh-so 'n uair thar iad,
'S chuir iad m'ardan chun an doruis".(1)

"The hidden sin, shame to relate, I buried out of my sight; But the
dead rose to life again, and turned my pride out of doors".

The true believer possesses a latent faith, which comes to his
help in need: "Creidimh gum eas-creidimh,
Cua'n eagal no fiama' air;
Agus faoidaidh e codal,
Cheart cho fada 's is miann leis;
Ach 'n uair theid se'is d'a dhaile,
'Ga chur thairis gu fhreaimneach,
'N sin an creidimh crion ona'm folach,
Theid e'n tarruing 'san iorghuill".(2)

"Faith without un-faith, it reckons not nor fears; It may peacefully
slumber as long as it cares; But when a stout siege is laid to the
fortress, the faith that was hidden now joins in the conflict",

Again: "Ged tha'n creidimh so 'm folach,
Chitneir fmaileas ma's fior mi;
Tha e na lochran soiluis,
Anns gach baile 'm dheil friamh dae".(3)

"Though this faith is hidden, we may see its reflection; It is a lamp
of light in whatever place it is rooted".

Macrae is here seeking to distinguish between objective or pure,
and subjective or sensible faith. It is a distinction which greatly
exercised the 'Marrowmen'.(4)

Macrae was intensely interested in the vagaries of the imagina-
tion. He says: "Mar tha'n spal anns an fhigheadh,
Tha mo chridhe am chràgaidh,
Null ùsa nall anns an t-slighe,
Mar eun tha tighinn 's nach thàmh e". (5)

"Like shuttle in weaving, so is my heart in my breast; To and fro in
its runway, like a bird in its flying, that never seeks rest".

(1) Reliques: An Gearan, p.166, verse 21. (2) Ioid.: Teaghlach a Creidimh,
(5) Ioid.: An Gcoimhearsnach, p.211, verse 18.
For a full and striking analysis of this theme, one is referred to the poem 'An Inntinn Dhionmain', 'The Vain Mind'.

Given advantages which he lacked, Macrae might well have become the greatest Gaelic master in experimental religion.

Mary MacPherson, afterwards Mrs Clark, better known as 'Beann Torra Dhamh', belonged to the parish of Laggan, Invernessshire. She was an aged woman in 1803, and was probably born about 1730. She experienced conversion after a fall in which she broke a leg. She had been passionately fond of dancing. She wrote afterwards, "I have been of a very bad and wicked disposition. Therefore the Lord was obliged to break my leg which was the first means of bringing me to think of my sinful condition". She carried her exuberant spirits into her religious life. The parish catechist discovered her on a Sabbath morning performing a solitary dance with the aid of her crutches. "Her soul was so happy in the over-flowing fulness of the Lord's mercy and love to her that she had been enjoying a dance all by herself". Her status as a religious song-writer is fairly high. She had a good ear, and wrote sweet, tuneful, flowing verses. Only seven of her poems survive, though it is known that she left thirty behind her.

She had a capacity for the hymn of pure adoration. In her hymn, "Togarrach Bhí Maile Rí Criost", she says:

"'S e an Ròs e o Sharan,
'S am Flur e o Isse,
'S e Gaisceach Treich Iudan,
Cna chlaidheach a neart-sa;
'S e aillteachd thar chnach
Thug mo ghradh-sa cho mor dha;
'S nuair ohios e as m'fhianuis,
Bíd mi cianail ro-chrónach." (5)

"He is the Rose of Sharon, He is the Flower sprung from Jesse; He is the Hero of Judah's Tribe, His strength is exhaustless; It was His peerless loveliness that drew my love to Him; Away from His presence, my joy is turned to mourning."

The Gospel invitation is put with attractive pathos:

"Thig le d'dhoille, ciont a's daorsa,
Fàg na aonar airsan 'n leatrom,
Dh'iarraidh teagasg, riaghlaidh 's saoraídh,
Tna iad annsan ri'n toirt seachad."

"Come in thy blindness, guilt and thralldom, leave on Him alone thy burden; Ask for teaching, guidance, freedom, these He has to give in plenty."

Though she can dwell much on the theme of inward corruption, her characteristic note is joyful praise:

"0 m'anam, duisg le d'hiarsaich chiuil,
'S dean moidh 's ciliu a sheinn
Do Tharih nam feart le ghairdean deas
Thug buaidh a mach dha threud."

"My soul, awake and with thy tuneful harp, sing laud and praise to Him; Who is the Lord of deeds with strong right arm, and Who has won the battle for His flock."

She passed her youth in a district where feudal oppression by chief and baron-vaillie was not unknown, and where the 'creach' or cattle foray was sometimes resorted to as a means of livelihood. Her poem, "S mile mar uaisg ort, a shaoghail", "A thousand death-shrouds on thee, 0 world", contains references to the custom of seizing the 'neric' horse on the death of a tenant, and also to "Croich 's oinn air aird gach cnocain", "gallows and doom on the top of each hillock". (3) Mrs Clark's hymns are still deservedly popular.

William Gordon was, as he himself says on the title-page of his book of spiritual verse published in 1802, a "soldier in MacKay's Highland Regiment". In his foreword "To the Reader", he states that

(1) Macrae's Edition, p. 58; Beatha nan Gras. (2) Ibid. p. 57; Beatha na Buaidhe. (3) Ibid. p. 61f.
his songs were composed in barracks, in the intervals of military duty. (1) His was a humble, cheerful, uncensorious piety. Many of his 'daim' are in the form of prayers. The hymn of praise occurs with fair frequency. Personal devotion to Jesus is the heart of his religion.

Two good examples of his hymns of praise are:

"O, molaadh, mor molaadh, sior molaadh e n conuidh,
S e 'n t-Uan rinn ar ceannach, ciu is molaadh ga ch lo
DNA".(2)

and also:

"Molaadh M'anam Dia gu brach,
Air son a gharsa sacor,
Is dheir mo theanga molaadh dna,
Gach la air son a ghaol". (3)

"Let praise unceasingly to Him be raised; To the Lamb Who has bought us, praise and honour every day; "My soul, give praise to God for ever His grace is flowing from. So shall my tongue give praise to Him, each day because of His love".

He sings movingly of Calvary:

"0 Togaioh 'ur suil, le sealladh gu Cailomhair
Aineaircion an P: sin a cha a mnaroma ann". (4)

"0 lift up your eyes, and look to Calvary; See Who it was Who was slain thereon".

He is deeply impressed by the mingled might and lowliness of God:

"An cumhachd is an irisleachd,
Co tha comais ri mo Dhaia?
An morachd is ann an ciuneachd, 0
Cha ro ann aon a riama". (5)

"In power and in humbleness, who is like unto my God? In majesty and gentleness, none like Him ever was".

His hope is resting not on self-effort but:

"Le laimh lag chrithneach,
Faire mise greim air Criosd;
Cha'n e sud rinn a chumail rium,
Ach an greim a h aige fa dhiom.
Tna mise is mo greim neosa stalach,
S ro chinneachthuitinn sios,
Ach an greim rinn Criosd a gnabhair dhiom,
Bhi laidir daingin dian". (6)

"With weak and trembling hand, I laid my hold on Christ; It was not my hold on Him, but his strong hold on me, that has kept me safe; My hold is uneasy, surely I would fail; But Christ's hold on me is strong and constant"

(1) Dantah Spioradail le Uillem Gordon, p. I. (2) Hymn CV. (3) Hymn LXII. (4) Hymn XCI. (5) Hymn LXXIV. (6) Hymn XLI.
He will consecrate all gifts, talents, goods to Him Who gave them:

"Bheir mi mo chridhe do mo Dhia,
Gach ni is mian 's is taitnich leam,
Bheir mi dhuit mo luith is m'fuirigh,
Mo ghamhna gu lair is mo chadal trom". (1)

"I give my heart to my God; All I desire and all that pleasures me:
I give Thee my lying down and my rising; All my activity and my deep sleep".

But his personal salvation is not his only concern. He prays for the coming of God's kingdom, when every tongue and tribe shall gather under the banner of Christ. He prays too for peace between the nations, with justice and amity at home.

"Coisg an cogadh anns each tir,
Is daignich sith eadar each neach;
Ceangal ri cheile le cordabh gaol,
N-a h eadar an righ s an duine bochd". (2)

"Command war to cease in each land; Strengthen peace between man and man; Bind together with cords of love; All ranks from king to poor man".

Gordon's verse impresses one with the wealth, fullness, and solidity of the spiritual life which was cultivated among Evangelicals of humble life and limited education. (3)

VII.
During the latter years of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, certain spiritual poets appeared who brought a new note into the Gaelic 'dan spioradail'. The colonial empire attracted not only the Gaelic emigrant, but the Gaelic colonial missionary. The home mission evangelism, which was the consequence of the campaigns of the Haldanes and their followers, produced its own popular poet.

James MacGregor belonged to Lochearnside, and studied for the Secession ministry under the Rev. W. Moncrieff. He became a colonial missionary, and arrived at Pictou, Nova Scotia on 20th July, 1786. His parish included the Eastern part of Nova Scotia and the islands of

(1) Danta Spioradail, Hymn XXIII. (2) Ibid., Hymn VII. (3) The Gaelic spelling (and grammar) is that of the 1802 edition.
Cape Breton and Prince Edward. He was a student of Gaelic secular poetry. (1) Various estimates have been made as to his literary status. One critic would appear to doubt whether he deserves the name of poet. (2) Another places him second only to Buchanan. (3) A third calls him "a good poet". (5) The third estimate, though modest, is sufficient. His verse is always competent and accomplished. He never perpetrates the poetical barbarities, as he never compasses the occasional flashes of genius, of such a man as Donald Macrae. His professed ambition was to instruct. His hymns "are indeed a system of theology. They deserve to be widely circulated, and carefully studied". (5)

John MacKenzie has included two of his poems, 'An Soisgulf', and 'An Gearan', in his anthology 'Sar Ooair'. (6) But they are not noticeably superior to his other expository poems. (7) His Covenant theology, with special emphasis on the free offer of salvation, we get in practically all the other religious poets. But MacGregor sounds the note of a new and aggressive Evangelical era when he sings of missionary effort overseas:

"A Dhe na siochaint, crocasgacail an fhaireann
Measg sòlu an tichean, 's nan innsean cian;
Mar dhaoin air ctull, ann an ceò nam beann iad,
An coidace teann crò, 's iad fann gun bhailinn". (5)

"O God of peace, scatter wide Thy truth, midst the peoples of the nations, and the islands far away. They are like folk wandering in the mists of the mountains, the night draws near, and they are faint and without food".

His verses on the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society are in the same spirit;

"Sud cuideachd a dh'èirich 'n ar na-arc
Caur Bhuibull am pailteas nall". (9)

(1) Sar Ooair, p. 315; MacLean Sinclair's Edition of Hymns, p. 147.
(2) MacKinnon, D.: Hymns of the Gael, p. 73 (The Old Highlands)
"This is the Society that rose up in our need; To put the Bible in plenty in our hands."

He skilfully contrasts the goods news which is now everywhere broadcast through the distribution of Bibles with the old tales which Highlanders delighted to hear:

"Cha noimheachd air fineachaibh treun,
A chogadh 's nach geilleadh beò;
Clann Ghriogair bha aineolach, gleusd,
'S na tric a bha reidh ri coir;
Clann Domhnuill le'm b'aiteas lámh dhearg;
Clann Chamroin bha calm gun cheill;
'S mar sin gach clann eil a b'fhearr ainn,
'S gach ceannard bu gharr na cheil.

Ach noimheachd air soisgeul nan gràs
Bhi sgoileadh 's gach aird mun cuairt."(1)

"Not news of the valiant clans; That would fight nor yield until death; nor of Clan Gregor, ignorant, but ready of hand; So oft at odds with the law; Nor of Clan Donald, whose joy was the 'Red Hand'; Nor of the Camerons, hardy and heedless; Nor of any other clan, however proud its name; Nor of chief, though he be fiercer than his peers; But rather news of the Gospel of grace, and its spread through each airt around."

He congratulates the S.P.C.K. on the provision of the Scriptures "anns a chanain d'an tug sin ar gaol", "in the tongue to which we gave our love".(2) Like Peter Grant, (3) he sees the state of knowledge in the Highlands through the eyes of the new Evangelicalism. The new Evangelicals were apt to see the Highland people against the background of their own enlightenment, and to forget or pass over the toil and effort expended during a century of educational effort.

Of course, MacGregor is right when he says:
"Bha na Gaidheil ro aineolach dail;
Bha ionnsachadh gann nam measg."(4)

"The Gaels were ignorant and blind; Learning was scant in their midst."

MacGregor was conscious of the world task of Christianity and

(1)Dain a Chomhnadh Crabhuidh, p. 84. (2)Ibid., p. 87. (3)Ibid., p. 87. (4)
gave to the Highland people, at home and overseas, a missionary Gospel.

John MacLean, who was born in Tiree in 1787 and died in 1848, emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1819, and may be taken as a representative of the Highland community who carried their language and religion into new homes across the seas. (1) Though his work belongs to the 19th century, brief notice may well be taken of him here. He was a secular bard, whose best-known poem, 'Am Bard an Canada', finds a place in Prof. Watson's anthology 'Bardachd Ghaidhlig'. (2) It is stated that he was a diligent student, not only of the Bible, but also of the 'Fourfold State', Bunyan's Works, Baxter's Call etc. (3) The influence of Bunyan is particularly noticeable not only on the substance, but also on the form of his 'dain'. Such poems as 'Gleann na h-Irioslachd', 'The Valley of Humiliation', 'An Cogadh Naomh', 'The Holy War', and 'Turas a Chriosduidh', 'The Pilgrim's Progress', are intimations that MacLean lived with his Bunyan. It is evident that he found the heart of religion in the atonement, and he follows an old Evangelical tradition when, in several of his hymns, such as 'Ar n-Urras', 'Our Surety', 'Prionnsa na Sith', 'The Prince of Peace', and 'Irioslachadh Chriosd', he narrates the story of the Saviour's Passion. In his 'Cogadh Naomh', he introduces a 'Brosnachadh Catha', or 'Incitement to Battle' in the manner of the secular battle songs and bagpipe music. (4) He dwells much on the thought of death, judgment, heaven and hell. In his 'Latha Bhreitheanais', 'The Day of Judgment', he unsuccessfully challenges comparison with Dugald Buchanan's great poem. In 'Tir Immanuel', he paints the glories of the heavenly land against the background of

(2) His secular songs were published in Edinburgh in 1818, and a second edition in Antigonish in 1856. His hymns were printed in 1835 and again in 1880. (2) 2nd Ed. p.14. (3) MacLean Sinclair's Edition of Hymns, p.x. (4) Ibid. p.95.
the hard country of his adoption. (1) In ‘Graobh-sgaoileadh an t-Soisgeil anns an Tir So’, he contrasts Pictou County sixty years before, when Indians, bears, and moose possessed the forests, with its present condition of comfort and Christian civilisation. Each community has a faithful pastor, and all possess Bibles in the tongue which they understand. (2) The Gaelic people had now a second homeland.

Peter Grant was born in Ballentua, near Grantown, in 1782. He got his vivid religious impression through hearing the hymns of Dugald Buchanan. As a young man, he indentified himself with the cause of the ‘missionaries’ sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home, and became himself a local preacher. (3) In 1826, the preaching crofter became the Baptist minister of Grantown, and itinerant evangelist during the summer months. "He is said to have visited almost every hamlet and glen in the Highlands, and even to have reached out to the Western Islands". (4) The evangelistic motive is evident in his verse. He may be taken as the poetical representative of the new Home Mission evangelism in its dissenting form.

Grant was by no means the most powerful mind that applied itself to the propagation of the Gospel by means of Gaelic verse. But, at the present moment, it is not too much to say that he is the best known and most popular. Neither Dugald Buchanan nor John Morrison, both of them far mightier figures, has the same affectionate grip on the people’s favour. One reason for this is that, though Grant followed the traditional form of the ‘dan spioradail’, both in its length and in its narrative and didactic intention, he had an instinctive

conception of the true 'hymn'. He could forget his didactic intention in pure adoration. Another reason for his popularity is the sweet and flowing music of his verse. He has a remarkable mastery over the abundant vocalic resources of the language. Further, he combined a full and attractive statement of the Gospel content, with an impassioned earnestness of appeal. The titles of his most popular 'dain' tell us sufficiently what he considered to be the heart of the Gospel. Such are 'Gradh m'Fhir-Saoraídh', 'The Love of my Saviour', 'Gealladh an t-Slánuighreir', 'The Redeemer's Promise', 'Eifeachd am Fuil an Uain', 'The Efficacy of the Blood of the Lamb', 'Calbhari', and 'An Dachaidh Bhuan', 'The Enduring Home'. The grimmer aspects of Evangelicalism are not absent. "Cuan féirig tha gun trocair, Teine, pronnasg, 's stoirm mhòr dhiubh gun dion" (An ocean of pitiless wrath, fire, brimstone, mighty tempest without protection") is the portion of the unbeliever. (1) Lachlan MacBean has turned some of his best hymns into English verse. (2) Certain of the tendencies of the new Evangelical age are discernible in his verse. A certain softening of the predestinarian rigidity is to be noticed in 'Oran mu Leanabh Òg', where the poet implies that the dead child, being innocent of actual sin, is sure of a place in heaven. (3) The new interest in foreign missions receives expression in 'Oran nam Misionaraídh'. (4) The Evangelical interest in Church history used to be confined to the Acts of the Apostles, and the elegiac biographies of 'eminent Christians', but in 'Glaoidh nam Martarach', 'The Cry of the Martyrs', Grant gives place to the witnesses of the Christian ages. (5) It is not a good poem, however.

In his 'Gearan nan Gaidheal', 'The Complaint of the Gaels', expresses the reaction of the new dissenting Evangelicalism to the contemporary spiritual situation in the Highlands. It fully reveals both the eager evangelistic passion and the smug narrowness of outlook which was characteristic of the new Evangelicals, not only without, but also within the Church. (1) The benighted Gael was:

"Gun tuigs' gun chial ac', mu thimmioll siorruidheachd,
'S cha chual iad diadhachd bhi idir ann;
Ach baist' is posadh is suidh aig 'orduighean,
B'e sud an dochas a bha 'nan ceann'." (2)

"Without understanding or sense about eternity; And about godliness they never heard; But baptism and marriage and sitting at ordinances; That was the hope that was in their head". (3)

The superstitious, prayerless, Sabbath-breaking, Bible-neglecting, inn-frequenting Gael, with his 'great oaths' (mionnan mor) and endless stories of the Fianna (faoin sgeul air nach tigeadh ceann), was doubtless common enough. But in reading this poem, among others of this period, we can see which 19th century Highland Evangelicalism, while warmer and more affectionately aggressive, was also less tolerant and sympathetic, narrower and more Puritanical than its 18th century counterpart. But Grant's enduring place in the Evangelical history of the Highlands does not depend on his denunciation of youthful frolics, and 'vain' songs, but on the appealing grace of his presentation of the central facts of revealed Truth.

John MacDonald, 'The Apostle of the North', evangelised the Highland Highlands from within the Church. In him, the new Evangelicalism is revealed in closer touch and sympathy with the spirituality of the 18th century Fathers of the north. And fittingly enough, his 'dain'

are all in the form of the Evangelical 'marbhrann', the Gospel homily with some departed 'eminent Christian' as the ostensible subject. Whether as preacher or versifier, MacDonald is always eloquent and unctuous, and many to this day have found edification and comfort in his 'C'i-dadn', but it would be temerarious to claim for him the name of poet. (1) Far higher in poetical, and indeed it may be added, in spiritual stature, is his disciple, John Morrison, better known as 'Gobha na h-Earraidh', 'The Smith of Harris'. He was the last great poet, whether spiritual or secular, which the Gaelic Highlands has produced. It is doubtful if he can have a successor in the Gaelic tongue. (2)

The religious poetry of the 'Separatists' is an interesting, if on the whole unedifying, department of our subject. (3) They contributed nothing to the Gaelic 'aids to devotion', but showed clearly what an admirable instrument of denunciation was the tongue they used.

The claim which is here made for the succession of Gaelic Evangelical poets is that, while not hymn-writers in the accepted sense, they were very popular "and wielded a great influence, and they were useful auxiliaries of the Church in disseminating evangelical doctrine, and in formulating the religious views of the community". (4)

(1) Marbhrainn, le Iain Domhnallach: (Edin. 1848)
(3) Dain Spioradail le Ughdaraibh Eagsamhail: Forres, 1852.
(4) MacLean, D.: Literature of the Scottish Gael, p. 43.
An event, momentous in the history of Highland Evangelicalism, marked the opening of the new century. In 1801, the Gaelic version of the Old Testament was given to the world. It was divided into four parts, parts 1-3 being mainly the work of Dr Stewart of Luss, and part 4, which had been printed as early as 1786, being the work of Dr Smith of Campbelltown. On 5th June 1801, Dr Stewart reported to the S.P.C.K., who were the sponsors of the venture, that the third and final part had been printed. The cost of publication was £3,882, of which only £1,400 was collected in Scotland. (1)

In 1784, the S.P.C.K. noted "that hitherto, only 290 parishes have collected", and in 1785 that "there are not above 350 parishes in Scotland who have contributed" to the national effort for the publication of the Gaelic Bible. (2)

A second and improved version of the Gaelic New Testament was published in 1797. Dr Stewart of Luss was responsible for the work. (3)

The last years of the 18th century, and the opening decades of the 19th, saw the publication of a considerable number of translated religious and devotional books, but little original work was done except in verse. (4)

The 19th century saw the rapid growth of the Highland, and Gaelic-speaking, congregations in the cities and towns of the south. As early as 1766, there had been the nucleus of a Gaelic congregation in Edinburgh. In that year, the S.P.C.K. applied to the Town Council "for the grant of an area to build a chapel". (5)

(1) MacKinnon, D.: Gaelic Bible and Psalter, p. 61
to have Dugald Buchanan, the poet, ordained that he might minister to the Edinburgh Highlanders, but it was unsuccessful. (1) Dr John MacDonald and Dr Thomas MacLachlan were notable ministers of this congregation. Greenock, Glasgow, Paisley, Perth, Aberdeen, were among the centres where Highland Evangelicalism found a new home.

The story of the Gaelic congregations in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand would require lengthy treatment; but the Gospel is still preached in these colonies in the Gaelic tongue.

The characteristic traditional features of the old Highland Evangelicalism are today more strictly preserved in the Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church than in the National Church. In the latter communion, the forms and content of popular piety tends to approximate more closely to the Lowland type. As to the ancient controversies, even 'voluntaryism' appears to be no longer a theme of popular or pulpit debate. Where and when there is polemic, the enemy is now the 'Higher Criticism'. Revival movements, of the type we have discussed in chapter IV, are no longer a feature of Highland Evangelicalism. In the islands, however, and especially in Lewis, such movements do still occur. In 1940, there a revival in certain parishes in Lewis. The old-time missionary minister has disappeared, though the ordained missionary, which was a feature of the ministry of the United Free Church, might have a claim to be in the succession. The old missionary minister, however, had passed through the ordinary divinity curriculum. The ancient catechist is now the 'lay missionary', and his duties have been increased in the sphere of preaching; but he no longer catechises. 'The Men' still play their traditional part in the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church, and even in some congregations of

(1) Life and Labours of D. Buchanan, p. 55.
the Church of Scotland. Generally, the Church of Scotland elder in the Highlands approximates to the Lowland type. Highland education, as in the rest of the country, has been secularised, or at least, nationalised; but the 'Highland Trust' is a lasting memorial of the honorable labours of the S.P.C.K. Gaelic religious poetry is still widely read. Dugald Buchanam and Peter Grant are widely popular where Gaelic is read and spoken. A new edition of the poems of John Morrison is a desideratum. The 'dan spioradail' and the religious 'marbarann' is to a certain extent cultivated today.

The traditional Highland Evangelicalism, in its prayers, praise, and preaching, in its family worship, fellowship meetings, and great sacramental assemblies, has been so closely associated with the Gaelic language that one ventures to predict that, if and when that language disappears as a medium of public worship, the old Evangelicalism, where it persists, will tend more and more to approximate to its modern counterpart in the National Church, and in the evangelical denominations. The prayers characteristic of the 'Men', for instance, a richly brocaded mosaic of associated Scripture texts, with interminable commentary and petition, have not successfully survived transmutation into English. The poetry has, somehow, departed.