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SGOILEAN CHRÍOSD 1811-1861

A Study of the Edinburgh Society for
the Support of Gaelic Schools

By

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Thesis presented for the degree of M. Litt.

Celtic Department

University of Glasgow, December, 1979.

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" Among the more pious part of our Highland
population, your schools are known by the
name of Sgoilean Chrìosd; that is to say,
the Schools of Christ. "

- 17AR16-17, 1828.

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To City archivists, librarians and newspaper editors I am also indebted for kindly dealing with my many queries. To one librarian in particular I am especially indebted, Miss Esaler, Reference Librarian, Perth Sandeman Library, whose linguistic awareness and knowledge of Gaelic place-names is encyclopaedic. Without her knowledge and her numerous 19th century maps the location of the schools would have been impossible.

Finally, to the Research Committee of Dundee College of Education, who funded me in the very expensive business of making photocopies my thanks are due as to my tutor at Glasgow University, Kenneth MacDonald, whose scholarship and kindness are imprinted upon my memory.

ABBREVIATIONS

AR	-	Annual Reports of the Gaelic School Society 1811-1861 *
ATLAS	-	An Historical Atlas of Scotland 400-1600, P. McNeill and R. Nicholson, 1975.
BOASE	-	Modern English Biography, F. Boase, 1975.
DNB	-	Dictionary of National Biography.
EWING	-	Annals of the Free Church in Scotland, W. Ewing, 1914.
FASTI	-	Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae.
SHR	-	Scottish History Review.
SHS	-	Scottish History Society.
SS	-	Scottish Studies.
TG	-	Teachers' Guide, 1815.
TGSI	-	Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness

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B	-	Bible.
Bk	-	Books I, II, III.
El	-	Elementary.
f	-	Female.
G	-	Guide.
M	-	Male.
NT	-	New Testament.
OT	-	Old Testament.
P	-	Parish.
Ps	-	Psalms.
Sc/Ex	-	Scripture Extracts.
Sp	-	Spelling.
Yrs	-	Years.

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* To find the year of any AR simply add || e.g., 26AR is 1839.

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SUMMARY

Chapter 1 Gaelic to the early 19thc:

Gaelic was never spoken in every part of Scotland; indeed, it had to struggle for its very survival against Anglian and Norse. Fortunately, its similarity to Pictish and the emergence of Columba gave Gaelic an enormous cultural advantage. By the 11thc Gaelic was at its zenith - the language of court and church. Unfortunately, almost immediately after came a wave of change - feudal ideas, towns and trade. In response to these a Highland consciousness developed and by the 14thc the Lowland districts and the Crown regarded the Highlands as a problem area. The Reformation merely made things worse as did the various Jacobite revolts. By the end of the 18thc Gaelic had become a peasant speech and its people neglected and despised, almost semi-pagan in their beliefs.

Chapter 2 The Roots of the Society:

Despite the fact that there were several thousand Gaels in Edinburgh the citizens were more interested in mission-work abroad. The Church of Scotland, dominated by the Moderates, had a suspicion of that growing band of Evangelicals, who sought to put fire into religion. The letters of a Welsh clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Charles of Bala, inspired a few individuals to consider the problem of the Highlands and Islands. John Campbell, the Haldanes, Christopher Anderson, Ebenezer Brown all had tentative views, but it required the energy and determination of an almost anonymous Edinburgh doctor, Charles Stuart of Dunearn, to set the Society in motion.

Chapter 3 The Society at Work:

Composed of men from all walks of life, of different backgrounds and denominations, the Society bound together their deep and passionate evangelical interests. Circulars, letters and appeals brought in masses of original statistics which revealed an appalling picture of ignorance and neglect. Rules and regulations, almost entirely based on those of the S.S.P.C.K. and the Rev. Mr. Charles, were speedily established.

Chapter 4 Officials and Administration:

Such a Society depended upon patronage and no fewer than three sovereigns gave their support. The most distinguished men and women of Scottish life served as Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Governors, Committee men, Secretaries, Treasurers, Clerks, Auditors and Life Members - in all 331 persons.

Chapter 5 Finance:

The Society was always short of money and resorted to an amazing number of

of clever ways of raising cash - inviting legacies, lecturing tours, fetes, bazaars, sales of work. Indeed, their propaganda appeals were highly skilled as is shown by the wide measure of support, both at home and abroad. Auxiliary Societies were formed at Glasgow, Dundee and Inverness, but these either went their separate ways or declined. The most powerful support came from the Edinburgh Ladies Association representing the flower of Scottish society. The basic weakness of the Society was their involvement in selling too many Bibles at too low a price. This led to almost annual crises.

Chapter 6 Schools, Syllabus and Methods:

A vast number of schools - some 740 were established in seven counties and no fewer than 29 islands. The process of obtaining a school, either through a minister or a petition, is examined, as are the standard of school buildings, heritor and communal involvement. The Teachers' Guide was a manual issued to teachers and the teaching methods used at the various levels are examined together with the system of rewards and punishments.

Chapter 7 Teachers and Inspection:

86 The life of the teachers is examined as how they were selected, trained, their mobility and health. Men of character they added greatly to the life of remote communities and awakenings and revivals were common. Not all of them were a success, but most were. Sessional examinations led in time to the appointment of professional Inspectors and extracts of their reports are examined.

Chapter 8 Problems and Difficulties:

The greatest challenge facing the Society was lack of money, together with the constant strain of trying to capture the public's sympathy and support. The dreadful poverty of the crofters was made worse by famine, economic crises and forced clearances. Emigration seemed to many the only solution. Again, many thought it foolhardy to teach Gaelic before English until the Society proved them wrong. Relationships with heritors, the General Assembly and Roman Catholics were not always easy. The climax came with the Disruption in 1843 and its disruptive effect upon the Society.

Chapter 9 Assessment:

The Society gave their own assessment of their work at their 50th anniversary meeting, when they stressed, as they had done so often in the past, that they were a missionary and not an educational society. They were, then, a phenomenon of their times - Evangelicals who played upon emotion and a sense of guilt

guilt to bring people nearer to God. While, to modern eyes, much of their work smacks of an unhealthy religious hysteria, they did have an enormous effect upon the life of the ordinary Gael - they encouraged him to read serious literature, adopt higher moral conduct, accept hygiene and cleanliness and devote his life to involvement in his local Kirk. Unfortunately, it largely weakened the traditional culture of song and poetry and left the Gael with a reputation for dourness and morbidity. Some have even blamed the Society for the passivity of the crofter in the 19th Clearances. It is doubtful if the achievements of literacy were ever as great as the Society claimed, but their ideas widely influenced Continental education. The irony of the Society's existence is that its members, ~~not~~ even those who spoke Gaelic themselves, were never interested in the survival of the language as such. Indeed, they would have welcomed its extinction. That being so, it says much for the tough resilience of Gaelic as a spoken tongue.

INTRODUCTION

In "Notes for the Guidance of Research Students" issued by the Faculty of Arts of Glasgow University one reads -"a candidate is expected to show that he has read and taken due account of previous work." As far as Sgoilean Chrìosd are concerned this is virtually nothing.

Most secondary sources either completely ignore the existence of the Gaelic School Society or misunderstand their aims and objectives. At worst, they are wildly inaccurate. As early as 1903 W.C. Mackenzie in his "History of the Outer Hebrides" referred to the Society's work (p.531) in a reference of only nine words - barely a clause. Three other widely read books, "The Isle of Lewis and Harris" by A. Geddes(1955), "Skye" by Derek Cooper(1970) and "Skye" by F.C. Sillar and E. Meyher(1973) make no mention of Gaelic Schools, not even in chapters purporting to deal exclusively with educational history. C.W. Dunn in 1953 claimed (p.35) in "Highland Settler" that the Society had collapsed in 1843. Even an excellent little study like "The Life and Death of St. Kilda" by Tom Steel(1975) can say (p.113) that "In 1811 the Gaelic School Society was founded and took care of the education of the St. Kildans until practically the turn of the century." Thus ignoring the fact that the Gaelic School on St. Kilda only operated between the years 1821-1829. Alexander McKenzie, the teacher, who gave such long and devoted service in this isolated spot is not even mentioned in the chapter on education. Such lack of awareness is due entirely to the policy of basing one's interpretation on limited primary sources. J. Scotland, in his "History of Scottish Education"(1969) based his judgment on only the 1st Annual Report of the Gaelic School Society, while even J. Hunter in "The Making of the Crofting Community"(1976) only used those Reports covering the years 1825-1845.

These writers are not to blame for the restricted use of primary source material. Indeed, not much of it has survived, even in our most important libraries - the National Library of Scotland holds Annual Reports for the years 1812-1844, 1849; the British Library, London holds 1824-1825, 1839 and 1865; the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth holds 1818; Glasgow University Library holds 1835; Edinburgh University Library holds 1812,

1815, 1817, 1822, 1827 and 1853; the Mitchell Library, Glasgow holds 1814-1816; the Edinburgh Public Library holds 1812-1839 and the Signet Library, Edinburgh holds 1830. The only reason that the present writer has been able to present a study of the Annual Reports 1811-1861 was due to the fact that in 1974 he discovered an entire collection of these volumes in the basement of a library in Scotland. At that time they were unindexed and the librarians seemed unaware of their presence or at least their significance. Many of the books were in a decaying condition and the writer embarked on the long and laborious and very expensive process of taking photostats of the collection. These have now been presented to Glasgow University Celtic Department.

One might well ask why the writer did not attempt to take this study to its logical conclusion, namely the winding up of the Gaelic School Society in 1892. This was indeed his intention. Unfortunately, there do not seem to be any complete set of surviving records left in Scotland. The nearest fragmented survivals are in the British Museum, 1861-1865 and 1868-1876 and in the New York Public Library, U.S.A., 1849-1864, 1865 and 1868-1876, both of which fall far short of 1892. The cost of having copies of these remaining records was quite prohibitive. The writer therefore had to be content with a study of the first fifty years of the Society's endeavours. His consolation remains in the certain fact that these were the truly significant years.

In the 26th Annual Report of the Gaelic School Society for the year 1837 there is a small footnote on p.28 expressing the hope that a history of the Society "may soon be written." The writer hopes that this study may be the first step in this long overdue exercise.

CHAPTER 1

Gaelic to the Early 19thc

"From Tweed to Thurso and from Solway to Sutherland, Gaelic place-names witness the one-time universality of Gaelic speech throughout the land."

- K. MacKinnon, "The Lion's Tongue", 1974, p.8.

The view that Gaelic was once spoken the length and breadth of Scotland continues to appear repeatedly in modern print.(1) Unfortunately, despite the appealing evidence of place-names and the eloquence of K. MacKinnon's enthusiastic conviction, the truth is less dramatic. It has been expressed, somewhat prosaically, by W.F.H. Nicolaisen - "Gaelic has at no time in the history of the country been the language of the whole of Scotland."(2) Indeed, one can go further in that Gaelic was not even the first Celtic tongue to be heard in these northern latitudes.(3) That honour belongs to either Pictish or British. The latter, sometimes referred to as Brittonic or Brythonic and more recently as Cumbric, is well known to linguists as the precursor to modern Welsh and Breton. The former, on the other hand, has long been an enigma, but, in marked contrast to the fanciful theories of 19thc scholars, contemporary experts, like W.F.H. Nicolaisen and A.A.M. Duncan, seem to be agreed on the fact that it was closely related to Gaulish and that it contained elements of a non-Celtic, non Indo-European nature.(4) This, and other evidence, suggests that Pictish and British were simply dialects of one and the same language rather than two distinct and separate tongues.

The appearance of Gaelic-speaking Scots from Ireland on the west coast of Scotland was in no way remarkable. At its narrowest point the North Channel is only twelve miles wide and the Mull of Kintyre was clearly visible to the inhabitants of the kingdom of Dalriada in Co. Antrim.

(1) A.B., "The Lallans Movement", Carn Magazine, No. 17, Spring 1977, p.2; K. MacKinnon, "Language. Education and Social Processes in a Gaelic Community", 1977, p.2.

(2) Atlas, p.4.

(3) Ibid., p.3.

(4) A.A.M. Duncan, "Scotland, the Making of the Kingdom", 1975, pp.13, 51, 101.

Antrim. Their first visits, apparently as early as the 3rdc, were little more than piratical forays interspersed with spasmodic attempts at colonisation.(5) The absence of Pictish monuments in the area indicates a sparse native population and helps to explain the lack of initial opposition. The Scotti were quick to make their mark on Argyll - Airer Góidel, the coastland of the Gaels.(6) However, their settlements soon took on a different complexion c500 with the transfer of the royal court of Fergus Mór mac Erc from Dunseverack in Ulster. This move was the result of sustained pressure from a fierce mid-Ireland tribe, the Uí Néill, who had been pushing northwards for some fifty years.

The new settlers soon adopted a vigorous expansionist policy which met little opposition till they encountered the powerful Pictish king, Bridei, in the mountain range of Druim Alban. The result was defeat in c558. It was not till the reign of Aedan, son of Gabrán and great-grandson of Fergus, 574-c608, that the Scots recovered. Desperate to carve a place for themselves in their new land they had to fight bloody battles from the Orkneys to Strathearn. But their greatest victory did not come by the sword. It came through Columba, Colum Cille - "Dove of the Church", who had built a monastery in Iona after 563 that was to become the centre of the Celtic Church. Aedan's intelligent awareness of the advantages to be gained from close Church-State co-operation should never be underestimated. He asked Colum Cille to consecrate him at Iona (the earliest recorded ordination of a king in the United Kingdom) and in the following year, 575, invited him to Druim Cett in Ulster to discuss territorial boundaries with the Uí Néill. His cleverest stratagem however, was to encourage the Columban mission to Bridei's capital near Inverness. The son of Maelchon and ruler of northern Pictland for thirty years, 554-584, Bridei was traditionally won over by Colum Cille's miracles and zeal. While the latter certainly played a part there may have been more secular motives behind Bridei's apparently sudden conversion. His kinsfolk to the south had been converted to Christianity by the Ninianic mission some time before and Bridei may well have seen a chance to draw Pictland closer together in the face of the increasing threat from the Scots. Whatever his motives his decision guaranteed ultimate vic-

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(5) Atlas, pp.9-10,, 13; J. Bannerman, "Studies in the History of Dalriada", 1974, p.124.

(6) Atlas, p.14.

victory for the people of Dalriada and the eventual loss of Pictish identity. With the death of Colum Cille in 597 Aedan seems to have overreached himself and in 603 his forces were shattered by the Angles of Northumbria at Degastan. Although as yet unidentified as to actual location it is likely that this defeat placed the Scots in some kind of tributary relationship to the Angles. Certainly, by c625-650 Angles were settling in the Lothians in fairly large numbers and a new language, Anglian, had appeared in Scotland.(7)

As J. Bannerman has shown the fortunes of the Scots rapidly deteriorated.(8) The nadir was reached in the reign of Domnall Brecc with his defeat at Magh Ragh in Ulster in 637. The close Irish links were broken, the Ulster territories lost and the weakened Scots found themselves engaged in their first major conflict with the Britons of Strathclyde. In 642 Domnall Brecc was defeated and killed at Strathcarron. By c.650 even the very unity of the Scots was in disarray and at least three distinct sub-tribes were competing for power - the Cenél nOengus in Islay, the Cenél nGabraín in Kintyre, Gigha, Jura, Cowal, Bute and Arran and the Cenél Loairn in Lorn, Colonsay, Ardnamurchan, Mull, Tiree and Coll. At first, these sub-tribes were equally matched, but eventually the struggle resolved itself into a direct contest between Cenél nGabraín centred on Dunaverty and Tairpirt Boitter and Cenél Loairn based on Dunadd and Dun-
Cenél lie. Slowly the Cenél Loairn grew stronger and by 678 their chief, Ferchar Fota, was recognised as overlord of Dalriada. Unfortunately, the Cenél Loairn began to quarrel among themselves just at the time when the Picts suddenly became aggressive. It is not easy to explain this change in attitude towards the Scots, but it was probably brought about by their adoption of Roman Catholic usages in 717. Not only were the Columban clergy expelled from Pictland, but the Pictish king, Oengus, even captured Dunadd in 736 and ravaged the whole of Dalriada by 741.

Incredible as it may seem the Cenél nGabraín began to revive and by 768 their chief, Aed Find, was fighting the Picts in Strathearn itself. The long wars were complex and not even fully chronicled, but the climax came in 843 when Kenneth, son of Alpin, King of the Scots, united the two peoples. According to tradition he had a claim to the Pictish throne through his mother, but other factors probably counted for more - the Picts were ex-

(7) Ibid., p.5.

(8) Ibid., pp.14-15.

exhausted by continuous Danish raids on their eastern flank and the Scots had received considerable aid from the Ui Macc Uais tribe in Ulster. Before long Kenneth made what was to prove a momentous decision. In 849 he transferred the sacred relics of Colum Cille from Iona to Dunkeld. This move eastward to the very heart of Pictland has been seen as a desperate attempt to escape from Viking raiders; it was much more likely to be the start of a deliberate policy to Scoticise the Picts. If so, it was certainly successful and after 850 the Picts virtually disappear from historical records.

The rapid and apparently complete elimination of the Picts has led many to think in terms of massacre and extermination. Modern place-name research would seem to suggest a systematic and successful campaign of absorption. Given the previously made point that Gaelic and Pictish were probably closely matched this still remains mystifying. The Picts controlled extensive territories ranging from the Shetlands to the Clyde and from the Outer Hebrides to the Forth. Their cultural achievements, as I. Henderson has indicated, might be obscure, but there are indications of contact with the Continent and even Byzantium.(9) The answer seems to lie in the works of Ammianus Marcellinus, Adomnan, Bede and the Irish Annalists, all of whom repeatedly refer to the deep-rooted political divisions in Pictish society. Whatever these regional differences were they must have been accentuated by the Ninianic and Columban missions to the Southern and Northern Picts.(10) Inter-dynastic quarrels weakened the Picts at almost every crisis in their history. It is no surprise to learn that one of their greatest rulers, Nechtan, was killed in just such a dispute in 726. However, the recent work by K.H. Jackson on the Book of Deer must warn us against underestimating the influence of the Picts.(11) After all, many terms, which we consider as Old Gaelic - *mormaer* and *davoch* for example - are really Pictish in origin.

Survival was soon to prove as challenging a problem as integration. In many ways the new kingdom of Alban was most unfortunate in that its emergence coincided with a new wave of Norse expansion. Although they had raided Scotland for many years, their policy, as B.E. Crawford has shown, altered dramatically in the mid-9thc.(12) They now intended to settle.

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(9) Ibid., p.10.

(10) Ibid., p.8.

(11) K.H. Jackson, "The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer", 1972

(12) Atlas, p.16.

settle. Within a matter of years Caithness, Ross and Sutherland had fallen to the new invaders and it seemed very likely that the dominant tongue in Scotland might well prove to be Scandinavian. The northern mainland was not the only target for the Norsemen - they were also pouring into the Western Isles and into Galloway. Before long, the former were known as Innse Gael - the Isles of the Foreigners. Luckily, their very isolation guaranteed their desire for independence from their homeland. Galloway was rather different in that the invaders were a mixture of Norsemen and Gall-Gaidhil, renegade Irish Gaels allied with the pagans, who were to give south-west Scotland a character of its own throughout the entire medieval period. The main threat to the MacAlpin dynasty however came from Moray, which, as D.P. Kirby has explained, was virtually a separate kingdom.⁽¹³⁾ Northern Pictland had been conquered by the descendants of the Cenél Loairn and their success had revived their latent animosity towards the Cenél Gabráin kings in the south. It was this provincial separatism which sapped the strength of Alban far more than any external attack could have done. The MacAlpin kings were only too well aware of this and they made repeated attempts to push northwards over the river Dee. In the 10thc alone two of their number were killed in battle at Forres - Donald 1 in 900 and Dub in 966. Indeed, it was not till the massive campaigns launched by Kenneth 11 971-995 and Malcolm 11 1005-1034 that the north was finally brought to heel. Even then, the fruits of victory were not long enjoyed by Duncan 1 1034-1040, in that he was soon killed by Macbeth of Moray. The strength of the old blood-feud can be measured by the fact that Macbeth went on to conquer southern Alban and rule as King of all Scotland 1040-1057.

Although it can be argued that the existence of Moray acted as a buffer in protecting Alban from the full fury of the Vikings it did have one clear effect. As Moray was too difficult to dominate the MacAlpin kings decided to expand southwards with the intention of seizing the Lothians from the English. It was to prove an equally long and arduous task and for years the frontier fluctuated wildly as victory went to one side and then to the other. The approach of the Scots to the problem was always pragmatic and they never hesitated to use any ally they could find against the English. Constantine 111 was typical - in 937 he forged a mighty alliance of Scots, Britons and Vikings against Athelstan. The result was defeat at Brunanburh.

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(13) Ibid., pp.20-21.

Brunanburh. The most important outcome of the long delay in conquering the Lothians was that it gave English speech ample time to become firmly rooted in the area. Even the eventual overlordship by the Gaels, as W.F.H. Nicolaisen has proved, had little real effect on the peasants.(14) That overlordship was imposed by Malcolm 11 after the battle of Carham c.1016/1018 when the frontier was finally delineated. There was an added bonus to the victory. The surviving British kingdom of Strathclyde was now effectively outflanked and was soon absorbed by Alban.

By the mid-11thc then Scotland represented a confusing mosaic of different peoples and cultures. D.D. Murison quotes an example from c.1127 - the Charter of St. Guthbert's Church, Edinburgh, witnessed by William de Graham, a Norman; Thor Swainson, a Norseman from the British district of Tranent; Malbead, a Gael from the Anglican region of Liberton. (15) Not unnaturally, amidst such a colourful kaleidoscope, a lingua franca simply had to emerge and that common tongue proved to be Gaelic. Its vigour can be assessed by the speed with which it became socially dominant over Norse.(16) As D. Sellar has shown, intermarriage was to complete the process of assimilation by the mid-13thc.(17) No place was the energy of Gaelic portrayed so strikingly as in the Columban Church. Although a natural prey for Viking raiders the Church revealed enormous powers of recuperation as shown by the rise of the Culdees. The pagans may have succeeded in driving the ecclesiastical centre eastward, that is from Dunkeld to St. Andrews, but the Church was far from being backward, isolated or primitive as once was thought. In the words of I.B. Cowan the Celtic Church was "close to the mainstream of European development."(18) It was united, Latin was the language of the liturgy and a steady stream of Gaelic-speaking bishops made pilgrimages to Rome. Despite being strongly monastic in temperament and organisation there were growing signs that diocesan arrangements might not be too far off. However, it was missionary zeal that established the reputation of the

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(14) Ibid., p.4.

(15) D.D. Murison, "Linguistic Relationships in Medieval Scotland", in "The Scottish Tradition", edit., G.W.S. Barrow, 1974, pp.71-72.

(16) W.F.H. Nicolaisen, "Scottish Place Names", 1976, p.121.

(17) Atlas, pp.23, 51.

(18) Ibid., p.19.

the Celtic Church abroad and brought its existence to the attention of Charlemagne.(19) Even if one would not wish to go as far as K. MacKinnon's view that they "restored civilisation to Europe" they certainly were known as far afield as Italy and Kiev.(20)

The royal court of Malcolm III, Calum Ceann Mor, 1058-1093, reflected the rich culture of the Gaels, thronged as it was with men of letters, bards, harpists, ecclesiastics, judges and medical men. Knowledge was largely hereditary and some families, such as the MacMhuirichs, had a virtual monopoly in certain fields. Malcolm Canmore himself, fluent in English and French, as well as Gaelic, was far from being the traditionally pictured barbarian.(21) Such a court was a natural haven for the stream of Saxon refugees fleeing northwards from the Normans. Prominent among them was Margaret, grand-daughter of Edmund Ironside of Wessex. Educated in Hungary by Scottish standards she was cosmopolitan in her outlook, which was instinctively south towards the Continent. It was probably as much her strong claim to the throne of England as her personality and physical charm that made her attractive to Malcolm and prompted their marriage. Although her significance in history has always been exaggerated, her influence, especially in a negative sense, was considerable. She refused to learn Gaelic and none of her six sons received Celtic names, indeed, the four who were to inherit the Scottish crown bore traditional Saxon names. Feeling most at ease in the English-speaking Lothians she made her home in Edinburgh and here she strove hard to introduce alien ideas of behaviour, speech and dress to the king's court. As a fervent Roman Catholic she was convinced that the Celtic Church was heretical and in urgent need of reform. However, it was not till after the death of her husband in 1093, in pursuit of his wife's claims in England, that she made any progress in anglicising the Church in Scotland. It is worth noting that after that year there were no more Gaels appointed to the bishopric of St. Andrews.(22) All of her sons who inherited the throne were English in taste and sympathy - Duncan II, 1094; Edgar 1097-1107; Alexander I, 1107-

(19) Rev. Dr. A.D. Scott, "Celtic Missionaries on the Continent", T.G.S.I., Vol. 32, 1924-1925; Rev. Dom. M. Dilworth, "Benedictine Monks of Ratisbon and Wurzburg", T.G.S.I., Vol. 44, 1964-1965.

(20) K. MacKinnon, "The Lion's Tongue", 1974, p.15.

(21) Marison, D.D., p.71.

(22) M.O. Anderson, "St. Andrews before Alexander I" in "The Scottish Tradition", edit., G.W.S. Barrow, 1974, p.4.

1107-1124 and David 1, 1124-1153.

The most famous of these is generally regarded to be David, although there is evidence that he basically followed the policy of his brother, Alexander.(23) Educated at the Anglo-Norman court in London he acquired enormous estates in the south with his marriage to a wealthy English widow, Matilda, daughter of Waltheof. He was even a member of the royal family in that he was brother-in-law to Henry 1. His early experience in Norman England had long convinced him that the only effective way to consolidate personal power, guarantee a dynasty and unify a country was to reject tribal law and custom and quickly replace it with some form of feudalism. There was certainly a need for haste. Malcolm Canmore's death had sparked off a series of revolts in Moray and the Cenél Loairn, still eager to retain their identity, were to produce a line of great warrior-leaders from Domhnall Bán to Donald McWilliam. Two of these, Malcolm McHeth and Cengus of Moray, in 1130, were a particularly dangerous threat in that they posed as the champions of Celtic traditionalism against alien innovations. David's confidence in feudalism was justified at Stracathro when his mail-clad Norman cavalry won a crushing victory.(24) The rebels were instantly dispossessed and their lands given by charter to the Bruces and Stewarts, the king's French-speaking mercenaries. Soon the north was sprinkled with military motes from which they exercised their authority in the name of the king.(25) The Church too was called to the aid of crown and Norman bishops were appointed to all the northern sees while religious orders, such as the Benedictines at Urquhart and the Cistercians at Kinloss, were installed at key sites throughout Moray. These tactics were to prove highly successful and were soon repeated, with like result, in Galloway.(26)

The Lowlands were not neglected. Conscious of the growing importance of trade David decided to extend the country's embryonic system of small burghs.(27) Those selected for development reflect the concern for commerce - Berwick for the wool from its hinterland, Stirling and Perth for their river-position. Before long, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Aberdeen

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(23) Atlas, p.30.

(24) Ibid., p.49.

(25) Ibid., p.28.

(26) Ibid., p.50.

(27) Duncan, A.A.M., p.31.

Aberdeen and Montrose were also favoured. These early burghs owed their origin to groups of enterprising Flemings whose speech was little more than a Germanic dialect of English.(28) This naturally encouraged these foreign merchants to settle in and near the English-speaking Lothians. Coming as they did from the most heavily populated, urbanised and industrialised part of Northern Europe they brought with them their own concepts of law and administration. These David encouraged. However, the bulk of the population in the burghs was not Flemish, as one might suspect, but Anglian.(29) There were only a handful of Flemings in every case providing capital and managerial skills. The countless menial tasks were carried out by English workers. Gaels studiously avoided the burghs as alien institutions.(30) Not surprisingly, the vocabulary of the burgh was essentially Anglian - burgh, toft, croft, rig, rood, gild, sac, toll, gait and wynd.(31) In time this Anglian speech was to evolve into what we know as Lowland Scots. That it had vigour can be seen by the way it absorbed later French words - provost, bailie, vennel, port and fermes. As far as David I and his successors were concerned the burghs had been a great success in terms of revenue derived from taxation and in justice administered by sheriffs. Under royal protection their influence extended far beyond the Lothians. Soon, Forres, Elgin and Inverness were established, although here there was always a sub-stratum of Celtic folk beliefs and customs. Nevertheless, the English tongue was now guaranteed secure roots in the north.(32)

The result of all these changes was, as K. MacKinnon rightly describes, a tripartite division of society.(33) The royal court and most of the nobles spoke French, the merchants spoke English and Gaelic was left as the language of the peasant. The speed with which this happened in the Lowlands has intrigued historians for many years. T.C. Smout, for one, calls it a "baffling mystery", in view of the fact that just a few years before, in fact, almost within a generation, Gaelic had been at its

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(28) Ibid., p.32.

(29) W.M. Mackenzie, "The Scottish Burghs", 1949, p.36.

(30) Murison, D.D., p.73.

(31) Ibid., p.74.

(32) Atlas, p.30.

(33) K. MacKinnon, "Education and Social Control - The Case for Gaelic Scotland", The Scottish Educational Journal, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1972.

its zenith.(34) However, it only becomes a mystery if one looks for a single, specific cause for the sudden collapse of Gaelic. The simple explanation was the overwhelming onslaught of new ideas which swept away the very foundations of Gaelic culture and produced an alien society in which he had no place - feudalism with its rights and obligations; towns with their industry and trade; Roman Catholicism with its parishes and dioceses. As D.D. Murison so rightly says, "The Celtic system had little to match this close-knit, highly centralised system." (35) Under these circumstances Gaelic became an object of ridicule, perhaps as early as the 12thc itself.(36) English names became fashionable and even the very place-names underwent a drastic change.(37) Only remnants of the language were to survive in Lowland speech - bard, bog, cairn, loch, glen, airt, strath and peat.(38) Gaelic had begun its long, slow retreat into the Highlands and Islands.

Of course, bilingualism was common throughout the Lowlands for at least a century to follow. Nobles and merchants had to know Gaelic to be able to communicate with their servants no matter how contemptuous of it they were. Even the French-orientated kings were able to resort to Gaelic and its traditions when it suited them. For instance, Alexander III employed a Sennachaidh or Historian at his coronation ceremony in 1249 and Robert the Bruce did not hesitate to display the Breckennach or Holy Banner of St. Columba at Bannockburn in 1314 to inspire his men. That he was closely familiar with Gaelic can be seen in the ease with which he operated in the north and the deep interest he took in affairs in Ireland.(39) Not unnaturally Gaels were conscious of their vital contribution to the struggle for independence and there are signs of a rebirth of confidence on their part in the early 14thc.(40) Whether there is anything of substance in R. Nicholson's interesting speculation

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(34) T.C. Smout, "History of the Scottish People 1560-1830", 1969, p.29.

(35) Murison, D.D., p.78.

(36) Ibid., p.79.

(37) Ibid., p.73.

(38) Ibid., p.76.

(39) R. Nicholson, "Scotland - The Later Middle Ages", 1974, pp.73, 93.

(40) Smout, T.C., p.40.

speculation that if there had been no Wars of Independence there would have been no Highland problem is far too complex to decide.(41) English, or Inglis as it was generally called, was certainly much stimulated by the long years of enemy military occupation 1296-1318. Indeed, by c.1300 substantial numbers of peasants from the Moray Firth to the Tweed and particularly in the north-east spoke only English.(42) At the same time English was steadily rising up the social scale as 14thc barons indulged in vernacular romances and even priests read anglicised versions of the "Lives of the Saints."(43) French, on the other hand, spoken by a relative handful as a badge of rank, witnessed a decline as all classes slowly came to regard their version of Inglis as really Scottish.

Parallel to these developments was the emergence of a conscious Highland identity first observed by John of Fordun, an Aberdeen chronicler in 1380 - "The manners and customs of the Scots vary with the diversity of their speech. For two languages are spoken amongst them, the Scottish and Teutonic; the latter of which is the language of those who occupy the seaboard and plains, while the race of Scottish speech inhabits the highlands and outlying islands. The people of the coast are of domestic and civilised habits, trusty, patient and urbane, decent in their attire, affable and peaceful, devout in Divine worship yet always prone to resist a wrong at the hand of their enemies. The highlanders and people of the islands, on the other hand, are a savage and untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine, easy-living, of a docile and warm disposition, comely in person but unsightly in dress, hostile to the English people and language and owing to diversity of speech, even to their own nation, and exceedingly cruel."(44) Clearly, ridicule for and contempt of a language had turned into fear of and hostility for a race. To the Lowlander this seemed justified in view of the recently evolved clan system, which, as R. Nicholson says "epitomised troublesome pugnacity."(45) There was ample evidence

(41) Atlas, p.67.

(42) L.W. Sharp, "The expansion of the English Language in Scotland," 1927, PhD(Camb).

(43) Murison, D.D., p.81.

(44) P.H. Brown, "Scotland before 1700 from Contemporary Documents," 1893, pp.11-12.

(45) Atlas, p.68.

evidence to substantiate this judgment - the burning of Elgin Cathedral by Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan in 1390; the barbaric "Battle of the Clans" at Perth in 1396; the invasion of the north-east Lowlands by Donald, Lord of the Isles, halted with great difficulty at Harlaw in 1411; and worst of all, the brutal murder of James I at Perth in 1437 because he had openly identified himself with the Lowland view. All of these incidents were long remembered and quoted as inescapable proof of Fordun's verdict that the Gael was "exceedingly cruel." In fact, 1437 was a highly significant year for another reason in that the MacDonalds of the Isles inherited the Earldom of Ross. With this strong foothold on the mainland the MacDonalds moved from being a major factor on the national scene to a recognised force on an international scale. They were no longer a nuisance, now they were a dangerous threat, especially as they all too-often regarded England as their natural ally against the Lowlanders. Their power-base was impressive; from Cork to Cape Wrath existed a society enjoying the same customs, life-styles, literature and speech. Increasingly self-sufficient economically its Gaelic culture was dynamic rather than static. The Scots Gaels, for instance, had already developed the clan system much further than their kinsfolk in Ireland and their preference for the bagpipe saw the evolution of a classical symphonic form of music in the piobaireachd. The kings of 15thc Scotland knew all this to their cost, but could do little to impose their authority on the remote regions ruled by the Lords of the Isles. It was only in 1493, when the MacDonalds were torn apart by vicious family quarrels, that James IV, ironically the last king to be fluent in Gaelic, seized his chance and annexed the Lordship of the Isles. The effect was devastating on Gaelic culture as patronage of the arts practically withered overnight. James IV followed the annexation up with demands that clan chiefs must have their sons educated in the Lowlands, in other words, virtual hostages for the good behaviour of their fathers. It was soon obvious that this was not going to work and direct royal control was as distant as ever. However, James IV cleverly encouraged Highland isolation and as far as government was concerned the area became more and more of a back-water. He even extended his protection to the Campbells and Gordons to rule in his stead and by his favour. They could always serve as a useful counter-weight to any future MacDonald revival.

revival.

The death of James IV at Flodden marked the end of attempts to control the Highlands for almost eighty years and the 16thc was a period of near-anarchy. This lawlessness was shared by the Lowlands to an extent that would have horrified John of Fordun. Indeed, there was little difference between highland clan and lowland family in that both were aristocratic in social structure and both were designed for war. T.C. Smout puts it rather neatly, "Highland Society was based on kinship modified by feudalism, Lowland Society on feudalism tempered by kinship." (46) Again, although the Highlands and Islands were regarded as a backwater there was still a sizeable population committed to the Gaelic culture, possibly as many as half of the total national figure. Tradition has it that there were even pockets of Gaelic speakers in Galloway and Carrick. (47) The linguistic frontier was also surprisingly far south and as far as Perthshire was concerned it ran through apparently obvious Lowland parishes like Caputh and Abernethy. (48)

However, it was the Reformation in 1560 that reawakened differences of language and race between the two regions. Furious at the reluctance of the Gaels to reject their old faith and accept the tenets of Calvinism, the Reformers labelled all Gaelic speakers as "obdurate Papists" and regarded them as potential enemies of the state. Completely negative in their attitude to the language they ignored the fact that Gaelic had now developed distinctive characteristics as compared to Irish. Contemptuously refusing to accept literacy in Gaelic as meaningful, they continued to label the language as Erse. As far as the Kirk was concerned it was equated with savage barbarity. Sadly, a third dimension, religion, had been added to the traditional hatreds; it was to prove a most ferocious ingredient. The civil authorities shared this interpretation, but the confusion generated by the Reformation delayed their action till the 1590's, when a full scale assault was launched on the very heart of Gaelic culture. Although partly motivated by annoyance at the lack of revenue from the north the result was the same - hostages held for good behaviour, written title deeds demanded as proof of ownership of land, the

(46) Smout, T.C., p.43.

(47) MacKinnon, K., S.E.J..

(48) A.W. Harding, "Education in Perthshire to the Act of 1872", 1976, PhD.(Dund.).

the creation of new burghs in clan areas and the settlement of Fife farmers in Lewis.(49) Ulster too was subjected to relentless pressure in what was clearly a co-ordinated attack on Gaeldom. The Ulster Gaels retaliated, but O'Dogherty's rebellion was ruthlessly crushed in 1608 and the Plantations of Ulster - transporting all the Gaels to the remote west and transferring their lands to English speaking settlers - guaranteed the final severance of any cultural links with Ireland. It was the signal for the repression to intensify. In 1609 twelve of the leading clan chiefs were kidnapped and under duress forced to sign the infamous Statutes of Iona by which they promised to support protestant ministers on their estates, to outlaw bards, to abandon traditional hospitality, to limit the use of arms and to send their sons to the Lowlands "where they may be found able sufficiently to speik, reid and wryte Inglishche."(50) Called "an agreement" it was soon ratified by the Privy Council in 1616 - "Forasmekle as the kingis Majestie haveing a speciall care and regaird that the trew religioun be advanceit and establisheit in all the pairtis of this kingdome, and that all his Majesties subjectis, especiallie the youth, be exercised and trayned up in civilitie, godliness, knowledge and learning, that the vulgar Inglishie tounge be universallie plantit, and the Irishe language, which is one of the cheif and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Iles and Heylandis, may be abolisheit and removit; and quhairas thair is no means more powerfull to further this his Majesties princelie regaird and porpois than the establisheing of scooles in the particular parrocheis of this kingdome whair the youthe may be taught at the least to write and reid, and be catechiesed and instructed in the groundis of religioun; thairfore the kingis Majestie, has thocht it necessary and expedient that in everie parroche of this kingdome where convenient meanes may be had for interteyning a scoole, that a scoole sall be establisheit, and a fitt persone appointit to teache the same."(51) In fact, this was much more than a simple ratification, it was an important change in policy - actually placing schools in Highland communities to tackle the problem at the grass roots. Its significance is noted by K.

(49) G. Donaldson, "Scotland: James V to James VII", 1965, pp.232, 228.

(50) MacKinnon, K., Lion, p.35

(51) G. Donaldson, "Scottish Historical Documents", 1970, pp.178-179

K. MacKinnon, "The introduction of the school as a formal agency of education in Gaelic Scotland represented the coming of an alien institution into the communities whose children it received." (52) In many parts of the Highlands there was a natural reluctance to support these schools. (53) In 1633 therefore Parliament was forced to repeat the act. However, Presbyterian Church leaders were still not satisfied with the lack of compulsion in the legislation and in the 1640's the General Assembly issued a stream of overtures demanding a tighter system. In 1646 Parliament abandoned the vague and the tenuous and gave maximum power to the presbyteries. "The Estates of parliament considering how prejudiciall the want of schooles in manie congregations hath been and how beneficiall the founding therof in everie congregation wilbe to this kirk and kingdome Doe thairfore statute and ordane that there be a School founded and a Scholemaster appointed in everie parochie(not alreadie provyded)by advyse of the presbitrie. And to this purpose that the heritouris in everie congregation meet amongst themselfis and provyde a commodious hous for the schole and modifie a stipend to the scholemaster whiche sall not be under ane hundereth merkis nor above tua hundereth merkis to be payit yeirlie at tuo termes. And to this effect that they set doune a stent upon everie ones rent of stock and teind in the parochie proportioallie to the worth therof for maintenance of the schools and payment of the scholemasteris stipend; whiche stipend is declarit to be dew to the scholemasteris and clerkis of kirk sessions. And if the heritouris sall not convene, or being convened sall not aggrie amongst themselfis, than and in that case the presbitrie sall nominat tuell honest men within the boundis of the presbitrie who sall have power to establish a schoole, modifie a stipend for the schoolmaster with the latitude before exprest, and set doune a stent for payment therof upon the heritouris whilk salbe also valide and effectuall as if the semen had bene done be the heritouris themselfis." (54) Before the effectiveness of this law could be assessed Scotland was plunged into a series of civil wars that led to foreign invasion and military occupation. Even then, the next three decades saw a bitter struggle for power between the

(52) MacKinnon, K., S.E.J...

(53) Harding, A.W..

(54) Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, Vi, pt. i, 554 c. 171.

the two rival church parties, the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians. The former dominated the period and one of their first decisions was to rescind any legislation passed by their opponents. Although the Episcopalians clearly had more sympathy for the Gaels, their bitter determination to eradicate presbyterian beliefs in the Lowlands gave Gaeldom a virtual breathing-space.

In 1690 the lull came to an abrupt end with Parliament's declaration that the Church of Scotland was the national church. The Presbyterians had won. They knew full well that they were unpopular in the Highlands.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Killiecrankie, Dunkeld and Cromdale merely convinced them that the problem better be dealt with quickly. Almost at once the former bishopric rents of Argyll and Dunkeld were used for the "erecting of English Schools for rooting out the Irish language and other pious uses."⁽⁵⁶⁾ Only politically reliable men of presbyterian faith were eligible as school-masters. Even the 1646 Act was extended to give greater power to kirk sessions - "Our Sovereign Lord considering how prejudiciall the want of schools in many places have been and how beneficial the establishing and settling therof in every paroch will be to this Church and Kingdom: Therfor His Majestie with the advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament statutes and ordains that there be a school settled and established and a schoolmaster appointed in evry paroch, not already provided, by advice of the heritors and minister of the paroch; And for that effect that the heritors in evry paroch meet and provide a commodious house for a school and settle and modifie a sallary to a schoolmaster which shall not be under one hundred merks nor above two hundred merks, to be payed yearly at two termes, Whitsunday and Martinmass, by equall portions, and that they stent and lay on the said sallary conform to every heritors vauled rent within the paroch, allowing each heritor relieff from his tennents of the half of his proportion for settling and maintaining of a school and payment of the schoolmaster's sallary, which sallary is declared to be by and attour the casualties which formerly belonged to the readers and clerks of the Kirk Sessions. And if the heritors or major part of them shall not convene, or being convened shall not agree among themselves, then and in that case the presbitrie

(55) W. Ferguson, "Scotland: 1689 to the Present," 1968, pp.11, 96.

(56) MacKinnon, K., Lion, p.38.

presbitrie shall apply to the Commissioners of Supply of the shire who, or any five of them, shall have power to establish a school and settle and modifie a sallary for a schoolmaster not being under one hundred merks nor above two hundred merks yearly as said is, and to stent and lay on the samen upon the heritors conform to their valued rent which shall be also valid and effectuall as if it had been done by the heritors themselves - And lastly His Majestie with advice and consent for-said ratifies and approves all former lawes customs and constitutions made for establishing and maintaining of schools within the Kingdom in so far as the same are not altered nor innovat by this present Act."(57) Within two years some Highland synods were pushing hard for schools.(58)

By 1700 the situation had changed considerably. The clan chiefs were largely anglicised and like most 18thc heritors were concerned with avoiding their financial reponsibilities for schools for their tenants.(59) Fortunately, the Act had foreseen this, hence the appeal to the Commissioners of Supply if necessary. Not that there was much objection to the education of tenants' children on principle, but rather to the hard fact that money was in short supply for the heritor class in the first half of the 18thc.(60) Not surprisingly, Highland heritors had little concern now for the preservation of their culture and Gaelic soon lost any prestige it might have had among them. With the loss of this local patronage the language declined rapidly to little more than a peasant patois. All too soon written Gaelic began to disappear and the classical compositions of the bards degenerated into a rather humble folk art. Yet, as K. MacKinnon rightly points out, the peasant poets of the 17thc-18thc had an astonishing vigour - Iain Lom, Alasdair mac Mhaighistir Alasdair, Iain MacCodrum, Donnachadh Ban Mac-an-t-Saoir, Rob Donn MacAoidh and Mairi nighean Alasdair Ruaidh.(61) Even the leaders of the Presbyterian Church had changed their attitude. With the Roman Catholics defeated and the Episcopalians diorganised the Kirk was confident of its ultimate victory in the Highlands. The immediate problem was to get closer to the Highland peasant. This was to be achieved by making increasing use of Gaelic-speaking ministers and

(57) H.M. Knox, "250 Years of Scottish Education, 1696-1946", 1953, p.3.

(58) Harding, A.W..

(59) Ibid..

(60) Ibid.; T.C. Smout, "Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union, 1660-1707", 1963, p.p. 140, 150.

(61) MacKinnon, K., Lion, p.39.

and accordingly a series of General Assembly Acts to this end were passed in 1701, 1710 and 1714. At the same time strenuous efforts were made to recruit Gaels into the ministry by offering generous bursaries through local presbyteries.(62) To tighten its control over the Highlands and Islands the General Assembly cleverly created as many as six new Presbyteries - Lorne 1704, Tain 1706, Dornoch 1707, Caithness 1709, Skye 1712 and Dingwall 1716.(63) The handful of Gaelic religious texts was now recognised as pitifully inadequate and the new sympathy for Gaelic expressed itself in a determination to translate the Irish Bible into Scots Gaelic with all speed. The fashionable view was that education was the panacea for all social ills and the Church enthusiastically agreed to the introduction of libraries, long advocated by the Rev. Mr. James Kirkwood, in 1705.(64) The latter's fertile mind had already suggested charity schools as "a remedy against disorder" and with the Kirk's blessing it was agreed that these would be provided by the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.

The traditional view of the S.S.P.C.K. is that it was always the arch-enemy of Gaelic speech. One of the best authorities, M.G. Jones, actually writes, "the Society early in its existence decided that the extirpation of Erse - - was the first step to reform."(65) However, this comment is based upon an S.S.P.C.K. Minute for the year 1766.(66) In fact, their original policy, formulated in six Articles on 5 January, 1710 did not even mention Gaelic - "1. To erect and maintain schools in such places of Scotland, particularly in the Highlands and Islands, as should be found to need them most: in which schools, Papists as well as Protestants of every denomination, and all persons whatsoever, should be taught, by fit and well-qualified schoolmasters, appointed by the Society to read the Holy Scriptures and other pious books, as also to write, and to understand the common rules of arithmetic, with such other things as should be thought suitable to their circumstances. 2. That the schoolmasters should be particularly careful to instruct their scholars in the principles of the Reformed Religion; and for that end, should be obliged to catechise them at least twice-a-week, and to pray publicly with them

(62) Minutes of the Presbytery of Dunkeld, 28/1/1707, 29/10/1707, 30/9/1712.

(63) M.G. Jones, "The Charity School Movement", 1964, p.175.

(64) Dunkeld P., 29/10/1706, 22/4/1707, 15/5/1707, 20/5/1707.

(65) Jones, M.G., pp.194-195.

(66) Ibid., 6/3/1766, 6/6/1766.

them twice a day. 3. That not only such as were unable to pay, should be taught gratis, but that those whose circumstances require it, should have such further encouragement as the Society think fit, in a consistency with their patent. 4. To have some prudent persons, ministers and others, to be overseers of those schools, who should take care, that the schoolmasters do their duty, and that the instructions given from time to time, by the Society, or their Committee, be punctually observed: which overseers should make their report to the Society quarterly or half-yearly at farthest. 5. To give suitable encouragement to such ministers or catechists as should be willing to contribute their assistance towards the farther instruction of the scholars, remote from church, by not only catechising, but preaching to them: which ministers or catechists should take the same care of the other inhabitants as of the scholars. 6. To extend their endeavours for the advancement of the Christian Religion to Heathen Nations; and, for that end, to give encouragement to ministers to preach the Gospel among them."(67) Clearly, whatever reservations the Directors of the Society may have had about Gaelic, their primary concern, as Protestants, was religion. This is hardly surprising, in view of the fact that Scotland was now in the throes of the Counter-Reformation.(68) Roman Catholic priests were known to be active in such widely dispersed areas as Barra, Skye, Eigg and Arisaig. Rumour even had it that one of their bishops, Bishop Gordon, had confirmed some 2,740 converts in one year alone. Although this is probably greatly exaggerated, as M.G. Jones believes, nonetheless, the real measure of their success in the Highlands was the establishment of a seminary at Scallin, in the Braes of Glenlivet, in 1712. Before long, Roman Catholicism was well ensconced in South Uist, Canna, Knoydart, Moidart and Glengarry, all Gaelic-speaking regions. It could not have been long before the Directors must have wondered if they were not dissipating their scanty resources by giving equal attention to areas such as Orkney. The outbreak of the '15 Rebellion must have confirmed their suspicion. Sympathy for Gaelic began to evaporate and the age-old hostility re-emerged.

This was not obvious to the ordinary S.S.P.C.K. teacher and many of them innocently requested permission to extend the range of their Gaelic teaching.(69) To the Directors this must have seemed an insidious threat

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(67) H. Hunter, "A Brief History of the Society", 1795.

(68) Jones, M.G., p.174.

(69) Harding, A.W..

threat and in August, 1721 they issued their first clear statement on the question of Gaelic - there was to be no "Irish Reading." (70) To ensure that this injunction was obeyed, the Directors, in June, 1723, introduced the infamous "Censors", whose task it was to report to the teacher all those who spoke Gaelic in their schools. (71) A system of monetary bribes was even evolved to entice children away from their native tongue. The Hanoverian Government pledged support and in 1725 presented annually a Royal Bounty of £1,000 to maintain additional catechists in the Highlands. Despite all this, the Society's impact was very limited. Money was scarce, schools were all too few in number and attendance was abysmal in those areas which were still loyal to the white cockade. (72) Even attempts to respond to social change, especially agrarian in the 1730's, earned a poor reaction from the Gaels who did little to conceal their contempt for sedentary handicrafts. The '45 Rebellion simply hardened the Directors' attitude to Gaelic as they continued to associate that tongue with the narrow, political views of Jacobitism. Their very language intensified in passion as they dedicated themselves to "rooting out the Irish altogether" and "teaching them right Principles of Government, instilling a love of true liberty and affection to King George." (73) Even as late as the year 1755, the Rev. Mr. William Robertson of Gladsmuir could proclaim from the pulpit of the High Kirk in Edinburgh, "Highlanders are strangers to industry, averse from labour, inured to rapine." (74) A measure of the Directors' distrust can be seen in their refusal to accept any Gaelic-speaking applicants as teachers from the Presbytery of Dunkeld during the period 1746-1758. (75) But the greatest blow to the surviving remnants of Gaelic culture came with the so-called "Pacification of the Highlands" and its Disarming Acts, executions and forfeitures. With their social leaders gone the Gaels found that the visible signs of their culture were doomed as well, their personal weapons, their dress and even their music. What K. MacKinnon has called the long "culture-conflict" was

(70) Statutes and Rules of the S.S.P.C.K., 10/8/1721.

(71) Ibid., 6/6/1723.

(72) Harding, A.W..

(73) S.S.P.C.K. Report, 1750.

(74) S.S.P.C.K. Account, 1755.

(75) Harding, A.W..

was finally over - the clan system had been destroyed.(76) It was the signal for a new kind of landlord-tenant relationship based solely on legal contract. Rents ceased to be paid in service or in kind and only hard cash was acceptable. A money economy had arrived. Suddenly, the Highlands became a region for ruthless commercial exploitation and the age-old pattern of subsistence agriculture with its strong emphasis on the pasturing of cattle was swept away. It was replaced by ambitious schemes to build roads and bridges, plant forests, rear sheep, smelt iron and produce kelp, all of which were controlled through the medium of English. At long last, the Highlands were politically and economically integrated into the United Kingdom.(77)

Unfortunately, it took many years for this to be recognised, a fact clearly proved by the continued distrust of the native tongue, a feature which was absent in Ireland and Wales.(78) The cause of this, Jacobitism, that explosive mixture of politics and religion, began to fade in the 1760's. Slowly the Hanoverian Establishment came to realise that the Jacobite cause was an anachronism and its handful of adherents little more than harmless cranks. This realisation exposed a serious anomaly; on the one hand, the Church of Scotland was desperately trying to provide more Gaelic-speaking ministers, while, on the other hand, the S.S.P.C.K. were equally diligent in trying to discourage the study of Gaelic. The problem had to be resolved. In 1766 the Directors of the S.S.P.C.K. informed all presbyteries that their "Schoolmasters are to teach their Scholars to read both Barse and English."(79) This was no spontaneous conversion on their part; rather, it was a grudging concession to Kirk pressure. Reluctantly, in 1767, they agreed to publish a Gaelic translation of the New Testament, the work of the Rev. Mr. James Stewart of Killin and the poet, Dugald Buchanan.(80) They did so without enthusiasm and their tardiness did not go unnoticed, especially among English intellectuals. Dr. Johnson, for instance, in 1773, was moved to write, on behalf of the Gaels, "Their language is attacked on every

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(76) MacKinnon, K., Lion, p.42.

(77) Ibid., S.E.J..

(78) Jones, M.G., pp.224, 310.

(79) Dunkeld P., 4/11/1766.

(80) Jones, M.G., p.197.

every side. Schools are erected in which English only is taught and there were latterly some who thought it reasonable to refuse them a version of the Holy Scriptures that they might have no monument of their mother tongue."(81) Although such comments were designed to be helpful their wide circulation came at a most unfortunate time. As Magnus Maclean has shown, Jerome Stone, Dunkeld Schoolmaster, had stimulated an interest in the Ossianic cycle of legends. Macpherson only added an element of controversy.(82) There was every chance that Gaelic literature might develop along the lines of poetry and song in the late 18th century.(83) The opportunity was lost as the S.S.P.C.K., goaded by Johnson's gibe, poured out a stream of religious works from their printing presses. These were either reprints of 17th century homiletics, because they were cheap, or orthodox tracts, because they were acceptable. The result was that literate Gaels were exposed to a very narrow range of reading matter which left them with an unhealthy interest in fundamental predestination theology. It was inevitable that they would fatalistically interpret their economic and social problems as evidence of the wrath of God for their sins.

For the vast mass of the Gaels, non-literates, it was otherwise. Neglect and isolation meant that they were steadily slipping back into virtual paganism with each passing decade. Ancient non-Christian beliefs were revived and heathen superstitions and rites were widespread. It could hardly be otherwise. Parish schools were few in number and quite inadequate for their task. However, as D.J. Withrington indicated, the S.S.P.C.K. were scarcely any more successful.(84) So strictly did the Directors interpret their rules for providing schools that they denied the very areas which needed them most. Those who could find a place in a school profited little. Both parish and Society schoolmasters stuck grimly to the view that the accolade of a good education was the ability to read English print. Comprehension was ignored. The heritors, in general, could not care less. They were "not ashamed to avow it as their principle that knowledge of all kinds, except in the occupations of common life, is not only useless, but pernicious to the vulgar; that it renders them dissatisfied with their condition and ambitious of altering

(81) Jones, M.G., p.165.

(82) Magnus Maclean, "Literature of the Celts", 1906, p.251.

(83) Ibid., p.335.

(84) D.J. Withrington, "The S.P.C.K. and Highland Schools in mid-18thc", Scottish Historical Review, Vol. XL1, No. 132, Oct. 1962.

altering it for the better either at home or abroad." (85) Thus they guaranteed themselves an almost endless supply of cheap and docile labour. Only concerned with the trappings of their status in society they sought the repeal of the Disarming Acts and the restoration of the superficial symbols of their culture - dress, tartan and pipes.

But the peasants were dissatisfied and they poured into the Lowlands in thousands in a desperate search for a better way of life. In the small burgh of Perth alone there were over a 1,000 ragged and starving Gaels in 1786 totally devoid of English. (86) Their plight was obvious and far from being unique, indeed, it was commonplace throughout Lowland Scotland. The magnitude of the problem however was not realised till the compilation of the Old Statistical Account returns in 1797 and the first National Census of 1801. Clearly, a new and serious problem was facing the nation - an enormous rise in population, especially in the Highlands and Islands. (87) There was absolutely no likelihood that it would go away, indeed, it could only get worse.

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(85) Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society, 1792, p.44.

(86) Minutes of the Presbytery of Perth, 27/9/1786.

(87) J.G. Kyd, "Scottish Population Studies", 1952.

CHAPTER 2

THE ROOTS OF THE SOCIETY

"The Highlands of this country demand serious attention and some inquiry should be made."

- H. Anderson, "The Life and Letters of Christopher Anderson",
1854, pp.106-107.

For centuries Edinburgh was little more than a typical medieval city, compact, overcrowded, squalid, confined within its crumbling walls. Exhausted by the long religious wars of the 17thc its civic pride had been shattered by the loss of Parliament in 1707. The promise of the Union had not been fulfilled and the 18thc was an economic doldrum punctuated by periods of civil strife in 1715 and 1745. Suddenly, in the 1760's, Edinburgh seemed to waken from its slumber and rush headlong into modern times. The transition has been described in detail by H. Arnot and J. Anderson.(1) Its basis was economic, but its motivating power was confidence. Thus we see an enormous increase in commerce, and, of course, in wealth. Banknotes came into general circulation in 1761 and by 1776 the Penny Post Office was in operation. An Edinburgh Directory was compiled, a Chamber of Commerce established in 1786 and by 1792 the city sported no fewer than six newspapers. The population of Edinburgh-Leith expanded to 80,000 with a strong middle-class element whose savings were steadily gathering interest in the numerous city banks, such as the Commercial Bank 1810.

Parallel to the growth in wealth came a new interest in architecture and a passionate desire to express it with elegance and style. Thus we find the city spreading southwards with graceful squares, such as George Square 1766, and new facades, such as Edinburgh University 1789. But the focus of development was to the north in a "New Town." Behind the splendid avenue of Princes Street blossomed a charming area of squares and places - St. Andrew's Square 1778, Frederick Street 1790, York Place 1795, Charlotte Square 1800 and Picardy Place 1806. Internal communication links were not neglected and Leith Walk 1774, the Mound 1783 and the South Bridge 1785 were given priority.

(1) H. Arnot, "The History of Edinburgh," 1816; J. Anderson, "A History of Edinburgh," 1856.

priority.

Clearly, Edinburgh was once again a capital city in the fullest sense and its responsible citizens strove consciously to rival both London and Bath. The symbol of this new age were the Edinburgh Assembly Rooms 1787, the centre of polite society. Here, educated men and women met to discuss politics, to listen to chamber music, to dance and generally display their culture and refinement. Reason and restraint were the mark of a gentleman and an interest in classics and contemporary literature the badge of a scholar. None felt this more strongly than William Robertson, Principal of Edinburgh University. Clergyman and historian, friend of Voltaire and Gibbon, he was the virtual leader of society. His views, toleration, broadmindedness, a distrust of religious feeling, were shared by many, even in the General Assembly. The party in the Kirk that he led were called "Moderates" and their sermons were noted for their cold morality rather than their conviction. Indeed, Robertson and his associates regarded enthusiasm as a sign of vulgarity and lack of self-control. In short, the Moderates were formal, worldly, gentlemen in a polite society. Not unnaturally they founded a host of academic societies - the Royal Antiquarian Society 1780, the Royal Society of Edinburgh 1783, the Royal Physical Society 1786, the Wernerian Society 1808 and the Horticultural Society 1809. It was an age of clubs and societies and these are but a few of the many.

Despite its polish and taste Edinburgh had its full share of poverty and vice, especially in the Canongate and the Grassmarket. The Moderates were aware of these social problems and thought that they could be solved rationally and without fuss. Others had a more passionate approach to the subject and felt that an evangelical concern for the afflicted was the only answer. It was thanks to the latter group that Professor Frank of Vilna, a visitor to the city in 1805, could write, "Nor does the metropolis of Scotland fail in charitable establishments." (2) There were certainly plenty of societies anxious to improve social welfare - the Society for Relief of the Destitute Sick 1785, the Asylum for the Industrious Blind 1795, Magdalene Asylum 1797, the Beneficent Society of Edinburgh 1805 and the Institution for the Deaf and the Dumb 1810. As the century wore to its close the "Evangelicals" steadily increased in number and in strength, coming as they did from almost every denomination. Their devotion and vitality gave Edinburgh a host of attractive churches - St.

(2) Ibid., p.298.

St. Andrew's Church 1781, St. George's Episcopal Chapel 1792 and Lady Yester's New Church 1803. Most of their drive and energy however went into the formation of religious societies such as the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, which provided cheap books and Sabbath Evening Schools 1786; the Edinburgh Missionary Society with contacts (later continued by the Gaelic Schools Society) in the Crimea 1796; the Gratis Sabbath School Society 1797 and the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home 1798. Each year produced even more societies, but the year 1809 witnessed an absolute spate of them - the Edinburgh Bible Society, which soon had 59 Auxiliary Societies; the Scottish Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, bitterly opposed to the publication of ballads, and the African and Asiatic Society. The one striking omission amidst this plethora of good works was concern for the Scottish Highlands and Islands. This is very odd, given the fact that a Gaelic Chapel had been in existence in Edinburgh since 1767-1769. The plight of the displaced Gael was also obvious and perhaps a clue may be found in H. Arnot's contemporary description: "Great numbers resort from the Highlands to get employment in Edinburgh in the lower occupations in life. The chairmen, porters, soldiers of the city-guard, and many of the household servants in Edinburgh are from that country. Some of them neither understand nor express themselves intelligibly in English." (3) In other words, the Gael was too familiar; he was a part of their environment. Again, visits to the Highlands were uncommon and nobody seems to have written any account of having done so. Obviously, little progress could be made till that was done.

In the early months of the year 1792 copies of an English journal, "Christian's Magazine" were widely circulated in Edinburgh and these were to excite considerable comment in the city's evangelical circles. (4) The reason for the interest was an article entitled, "A Letter from a Clergyman in North Wales to another in London 7/12/1791." It described the work of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Charles of Bala (1755-1814). (5) Apparently a Calvinistic Methodist his practice of setting up Circulating Schools, in which only Welsh was taught and only Welsh religious tracts read, had resulted in a wave of religious fervour sweeping North Wales. He stressed

(3) Arnot, H., p.217.

(4) D.E. Jenkins, "The Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala", 1908, Vol. 2, p.95.

(5) D.N.B., Vol. 4, pp.112-114; Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940, pp.73-74.



Art. Repro. Co.

*The Rev. Thomas Charles.
(From a painting in the Bible Society House.)*

THOMAS CHARLES

PLATE I.

Stressed the part played by his schools, "The Charity Schools, which are set up all over the country, are abundantly blessed of God; children that were aforetime, like jewels buried in rubbish, without seeing their worth, now shine with peculiar lustre. They flock in great numbers to hear the word; behave with all decency and solemn attention; and many, under the age of twelve years, are deeply affected, astonished, and overpowered with divine truths, and their minds filled with nothing else day and night; of those things they talk when they lie down, and when they rise up."(6) No doubt that extract was read many times in the drawing-rooms of Edinburgh. The fundamental discussion point must have been: how long do such conversions last? One man, Grassmarket ironmonger, John Campbell, was determined to find out.(7) Deeply religious, a prolific writer who could count Sir Walter Scott and Zachary Macaulay among his friends, Campbell wrote to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Charles "on behalf of many Christians" who wondered "if those persons, who were brought under conviction -- are continuing to give evidence of a true work of Grace."(8) A series of exchanges then took place with Campbell constantly pressing for more detail: "You can scarcely conceive how eager Christians in this place are to obtain further intelligence."(9) While Campbell's interest really lay in the problem of lapsed converts, Charles repeatedly stressed the vital part played by his schools. "I must not omit informing you that one great means of promoting the work of God among our young are the circulating Charity-Schools, which have been supported among us for those nine years past; they are supported entirely by subscriptions and charitable donations of the friends of the gospel. We have now about twenty schoolmasters, employed in five different counties, to each of whom we pay £10 p.a; they are entirely at our disposal, and we move them from place to place all over the country, and teach all that will attend them, rich or poor, gratis. Half a year we find sufficient to teach a child of moderate capacity to read the Bible well in the Welsh language. The only intention of these schools is to teach children to read their own language, and to instruct them in the first principles of religion and to endeavour to impress their minds with a sense of the importance of divine truths. It is impossible

(6) Jenkins, D.E., pp.88-91.

(7) D.N.B., Vol. 3, p.830.

(8) Jenkins, D.E., p.96, 12/3/1792.

(9) Ibid., p.99, 27/9/1792.

(10) Ibid., pp.101-102, 8/1/1794.

endeavour to impress their minds with a sense of the importance of divine truths. It is impossible to express the blessing which has attended these little Seminaries - it gives them a taste for reading - we take care that the teachers are men of piety, and zeal for the conversion of sinners. We have but one only point of view in these institutions, that is, the salvation of their souls."(10) The outcome of this long and protracted correspondence for Campbell was a conviction that religious tracts and Sabbath Schools were the key to conversions. In 1795 he founded a Tract Society and in 1797 the Gratis Sabbath School Society with an emphasis on lay-preaching. Together with his friend James Haldane he toured the Lowlands - Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock - setting up Sabbath Schools by the score.(11) It is strange that he did not apply the techniques used by Charles in Wales to the parallel situation in the Highlands; but, perhaps he had too many interests - writing tracts on slavery, fallen women and even African education. In 1802 he left Edinburgh to become a minister to an Independent Chapel in London where he served for many years. A distinguished evangelist, he was sent by the London Missionary Society to inspect their missions in South Africa 1812-1814 and 1819-1821. Despite periodic return visits to Edinburgh he never was a member of the Gaelic Schools Society.

Although J. Mackay described the year 1794-1795 as seeing "the gradual development of a great spiritual awakening of the Highlands and Islands" most evangelicals longed for service in missions abroad.(12) The romance of India was particularly strong, hence the attention paid to the "Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Mission in Bengal" which were widely read in 1795.(13) One reader, Robert Haldane of Airthrey(1764-1842), retired naval officer and wealthy laird, was so moved, that he decided to personally go to Bengal with a group of friends and set up a private mission.(14) Off he went to London to seek permission from the Directors of the East India Company. They, unfortunately, did not share his optimism being highly suspicious of such projects. After six months fruitless appeals Robert Haldane was forced to give up and return to Edinburgh. Although disappointed, he was not discouraged and he im-

(10) Ibid., pp.101-102, 8/1/1794.

(11) J. Mackay, "The Church in the Highlands", 1914, p.226; J. Ross, "A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland", 1900, p.48.

(12) Mackay, J., p.224.

(13) Ross, J., p.46.

(14) D.N.B., Vol. 8, pp.898-899.

immediately founded the Edinburgh Missionary Society 1796. Before long he sold his estate at Airthrey and, in just over a decade, spent some £70,000 on religious enterprises. Unfortunately, he had little or no interest in the Highlands nor the Gaels. Indeed, he lacked the temperament to found a society to which all denominations would be attracted. Many of a conservative turn of mind distrusted his views in politics and some went as far as to declare that he was a Democrat. He himself, as a Baptist, spent most of his later years deeply engaged in religious controversies. However, the first secretary of his Missionary Society and one of his would-be companions to India, the Rev. Mr. Greville Ewing(1767-1841) had come to the conclusion that there was a case for home missions.(15) For this reason he founded a new evangelical journal, "Missionary Magazine." Here again it seemed likely that attention might focus on the Highlands, but Ewing was soon to leave Edinburgh for a post in Glasgow. By a strange coincidence, one of his readers was Robert Haldane's younger brother, James.(16) As a former captain of an East Indiaman he had been to the Far East several times and, perhaps because of this, it had no great appeal for him.(17) Certainly, as a result of reading the new journal he decided to tour the Highlands with a close friend, also interested in home missions.(18) This friend was an Anglican, the Rev. Mr. Charles Simeon of Cambridge(1759-1836).(19) Like Haldane he was wealthy, indeed, he had been educated at Eton, and again like Haldane he had evangelical interests. Together the two young men rode through Perthshire in the summer of 1796 until they came to Moulin. Here they watched a communion service conducted by the Rev. Mr. Alexander Stewart.(20) With his permission they then preached to the congregation. Their enthusiasm and sincerity was contagious and a minor revival was the result. Stewart summed it up: "It was no revival, for I had not lived till then."(21)

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(15) Ibid., Vol. 6, p.959; Ross, J., p.47.

(16) Appendix 1, No. 119.

(17) Mackay, J., p.224.

(18) Ross, J., p.50.

(19) D.N.B., Vol. 18, pp.255-257.

(20) Appendix 1, No. 283.

(21) Mackay, J., p.225.

(21) James Haldane was also greatly inspired by the experience and he determined to repeat it as soon as he could. This time his companion was to be the Rev. Mr. John Aikman with whom he had done some lay-preaching at Gilmerton with great success.(22) On the 12th July, 1797 they set off for North Queensferry, Haldane in his blue coat and powdered wig.(23) At first they skirted the Highlands - by Perth, Glamis, Montrose, Aberdeen, Elgin - then they went to the area around Inverness distributing hundreds of religious tracts. By August, 1797 they were in Kirkwall; then it was back to Thurso, Dornoch, Tain, Invergordon, Huntly and finally Aberdeen. Their open-air sermons had been an enormous success in terms of numbers, sometimes 6,000 present at a time. Strangely enough they did not seem to appreciate that many who accepted their tracts so readily could not read. They themselves were well content and they wrote to the "Missionary Magazine" - "The advantages of missionary schemes both in England and Scotland have remarkably appeared, not only in exciting the zeal of Christian people to send the Gospel of Jesus to the dark places of the earth, but to use means to extend its influence at home. With this view a missionary journey has been undertaken in the northern part of Scotland, not to disseminate matters of doubtful disputation, or to make converts to this or the other sect, but to endeavour to stir up their brethren to flee from the wrath to come, and not to rest in an empty profession of religion."(24) Nonetheless their trip had a very positive result - they formed a Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home in 1798.(25) This was more than just another religious society in that it was non-sectarian and as many as nine of the twelve directors were laymen of differing denominations.(26) Unfortunately, their plans to set up classes to train lay evangelists in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen was bound to bring them into conflict with the Church of Scotland. (27) Already complaints were being made all over the country, it was obvious that the General Assembly would have to act soon. However, Haldane and Aikman were too busy publishing accounts of their "awakenings" and planning another trip in June, 1798 to the south-west and

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- (22) Appendix i, No. 5.
- (23) Ross, J., pp.50, 52-53.
- (24) Ibid., p.51.
- (25) Ibid., p.55.
- (26) Mackay, J., p.227.
- (27) Ross, J., p.70.

and the Border country.(28) If proof were needed his visits to Peebles Greenock, Ayrshire, Galloway and Berwick show that he had no immediate concern for the Highlands. In fact, James Haldane, who was to become a Congregationalist and then a Baptist, was too much like his brother - he loved religious controversy.(29) Mission trips to the north were now quite fashionable, though few were as perceptive as the Rev. Mr. Thomas McCrie, who observed in his visit to Orkney that "few of the inhabitants being able to read - the great mass living in ignorance of the doctrines of salvation."(30)

The year 1799 marks a kind of watershed as far as mission-work is concerned. It was the year in which the General Assembly was forced to act. Besieged by complaints from the Synods of Aberdeen, Angus and Mearns against self-appointed preachers in their bounds, the General Assembly issued a pastoral admonition against "vagrant teachers and their Sabbath Schools - - assuming the name of missionaries from what they call the Society for the Propagation of Religion at Home."(31) One must feel some sympathy for the Church of Scotland at this time. The bulk of the "vagrant teachers" were members of small seceder denominations and the members of the General Assembly regarded their activities as thinly disguised threats to the established Kirk. But it was more than that. Even the General Associate Synod(Anti-Burghers) condemned missionary societies and lay-preaching.(32) When one remembers that the nation was engaged in mortal combat with Revolutionary France the political undertones become obvious. The Government had no intention of tolerating internal disharmony, political or religious, at such a crucial time. Missionising therefore virtually stopped. Indeed, it was not till 1803 that a Highland trip received any public comment. In that year James Hogg journeyed through Kintail.(33) Despite the fact that he had been robbed by "a parcel of vagabonds who spoke Gaelic" he was much impressed by the people's devotion - "On Saturday there was an extraordinary multitude assembled to hear sermon. I thought I never saw as many on the same occasion by one half, which convinced me that

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(28) Ibid., p.56.

(29) Ibid., p.59.

(30) T. McCrie, "Life of Thomas McCrie", 1840, p.28.

(31) Mackay, J., pp.230-231; Ross, J., p.66.

(32) Ibid., p.71.

(33) James Hogg, "A Tour in the Highlands in 1803", 1880.

that the lower classes of Kintail are devout." (34) He was also distressed by their appalling poverty - "You are not aware what prodigious numbers of poor people drag on a wretched existence in those distant glens and islands, who are scarcely privileged, as we would think, with one of the comforts or conveniences of life. As for instance, what do you think of upwards of ten thousand people subsisting on the dreary and distant Isle of Lewis, which with the exception of a very inconsiderable part, is one extensive morass; while the whole rent of the island, although lately advanced, does not reach to a thousand pounds. This is but one instance out of many, and it may well be supposed, nay, I am certain, that there are many thousands in these countries whose condition cannot be worsened unless they are starved to death."

(35) Although that is an extract from a letter written to Sir Walter Scott neither was moved to do much to help the poor Gaels. An evangelist, on the other hand, was more impressed by the people's lack of knowledge. In April, 1805 a frail young Baptist friend of John Campbell, the Haldanes and John Aikman, was touring the Highlands. His name was Christopher Anderson (1782-1852). (36) Near the Crinan Canal he witnessed a baptism conducted in Gaelic - "As to the people's knowledge of God, our Saviour, and the means of instruction, oh! destitute and dark as midnight to such questions as, Can you read? Have you a Bible? Do you go to the Kirk? Can your father or mother read? Do you know anyone who can read to you? - in many instances, to the most, and in some to all of these questions, the answer was - No Sir." (37) For the first time someone had realised that inability to read was the cause of much of their suffering. Unfortunately, Anderson, at this stage, did nothing. Like so many others his eyes were turned to the East. Still, what he had seen must have influenced his later action. His nephew's view was that "What he witnessed during this short tour, of the spiritual destitution of the Highlands, perhaps prompted those itinerating and educational exertions on their behalf into which he entered with so much zeal a few years afterwards." (38) By May, 1805 he was in London, but his

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(34) Ibid., p.67.

(35) Ibid., p.49.

(36) Appendix 1, No. 8.

(37) H. Anderson, "The Life and Letters of Christopher Anderson", 1854, p.27, 28/4/1805.

(38) Ibid., p.28.



Engraved by J. Horsburgh from a Daguerreotype.

Appetizers

Christ. Anderson

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

his poor health and his poor linguistic talents made his rejection as an Indian missionary inevitable. Although unaware of it at the time, as an English Baptist, he made many invaluable contacts in London, which were to be used later for the benefit of the Gaelic Schools Society.(39) For the moment he was disappointed and even depressed. As he wrote in his Journal, "As to religion in general, I fear no small degree of deadness and indifference now prevails."(40) There was much truth in this assertion. Dissension was crippling all forms of mission-work, both at home and abroad.(41) Even Hogg had criticised what he had seen at the parish level.(42) At last, by 1808 Anderson had come to an important decision - "I was an accepted missionary, and as I could not go abroad, I must prove myself to be of the same mind at home."(43) His mind at peace with himself, off he went to tour Perthshire in March and Ireland in September.(44)

In 1809 the Rev. Mr. Thomas Charles of Bala was again writing articles, this time for the "Evangelical Magazine."(45) Apparently, the idea of Welsh Schools designed to teach the Scriptures had been the brain-child of a Rev. Mr. Griffith Jones(1683-1761). On his death the work had been continued by a Mrs Bridget Bevan, who had left £20,000 in her will to the Welsh Schools in 1779. This had been contested in the Chancery Court by her niece. After thirty years' wrangling the Court decided to allow the money to be used for the purpose intended. Charles, therefore, enthusiastically brought his readers up to date with his activities, especially his visit to Ireland in 1807 to set up similar schools. One reader who was quick to correspond was a seceder minister from Inverkeithing, Ebenezer Brown(1758-1836).(46) He and his brother, the Rev. Mr. John Brown of Whitburn, had had 3,000 copies of his father's Catechism(the Rev. Mr. John Brown of Haddington), translated in Gaelic and distributed to herdsmen, drovers and shearers.

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(39) Ibid., pp.5, 31, 43.

(40) Ibid., p.66.

(41) Ibid., p.100.

(42) Hogg, J., p.65.

(43) Anderson, H., p.99.

(44) Ibid., p.101;

(45) Jenkins, D.E., Vol. 3, p.355.

(46) Ibid., p.354.

shearers. To his astonishment he found that scarcely any of them could read. He was suddenly convinced that in the Highlands "reside thousands who never read a page of the book of life, who are perishing for lack of knowledge." Charles sympathised, but made the obvious point that they would have to be taught in their own tongue. As D.E. Jenkins put it "The first germ of the idea of teaching the Highlanders to read the Scriptures in their own language was in a letter from Mr. Charles dated August 26, 1809." Brown wrote again in September, 1809 asking for fuller details about the schools in Wales.(47) Over the following months Brown seems to have come to the conclusion that a new society, for teaching Gaelic only, was required. He evidently asked the Rev. Mr. Angus Mackintosh of Tain(1793-1831) to sound out the views of his colleagues in the north.(48) Secretary of the Northern Missionary Society and a popular preacher, Mackintosh was a good choice for arguing Brown's point. Unfortunately, his assessment was not encouraging. Mackintosh wrote: "They(the ministers)see difficulties in the way of a new society, formed for sending schoolmasters for the sole purpose of teaching Gaelic in the Highlands."(49) The rebuff was too much for Ebenezer Brown and he gave up the idea. However, he did write to Mr. Charles in Bala and he in turn wrote to some of his friends in London, who felt that the collapse of the scheme was a great pity. One who shared this opinion was a Robert Steven (1763-1827). A member of the Bible Society and the London Hibernian Society he was one of the first to become a Life Member of the Gaelic Schools Society when it was finally launched.

Just a few months after Brown had abandoned his proposal, in fact, in July, 1810, Christopher Anderson was off on his second Highland tour.(50) This time he was accompanied by a wealthy laird, John Burnett of Kemnay(1786-1847).(51) At Dingwall they contacted the Rev. Mr. Alexander Stewart and the three of them visited many parts of Ross-shire collecting information and especially statistics. Anderson let his views be known in Edinburgh: "You will scarcely credit it, that out of a population of 335,000, 300,000 understand no book in any other

(47) Ibid., pp.356-357.

(48) Fasti, Vol. 7, pp.72-73.

(49) Jenkins, D.E., Vol. 3, p.358.

(50) Anderson, H., pp.106-107, 112, 23/7/1810.

(51) Appendix i, No. 41.

other language than the Gaelic, nor understand a discourse in any other, while there are no Gaelic Schools in existence, nor a spelling-book for teaching them to read their mother tongue. In some parts not more than one in several hundreds can read."⁽⁵²⁾ These observations were printed and circulated among his evangelical friends in Edinburgh where they generated a considerable amount of discussion. Anderson himself confessed in his Journal that, although he felt infinite compassion for the plight of the Highlanders, he did not know what to do about it. Throughout that late summer and autumn he asked the advice of many of his friends and colleagues, especially John Burnett and the Rev. Mr. James Peddie(1758-1845).⁽⁵³⁾ He even wrote to Thomas Charles at Bala and Ebenezer Brown at Inverkeithing.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Eventually, all were agreed that "there was needed some object of common interest and agreement to engage the attention and bring together the excellent men, who, differing in almost every other point, agreed to hold the Bible as the source of all truth, and the standard of appeal in all controversies."⁽⁵⁵⁾ At this stage we are faced with a mystery: who actually was the first to suggest the formation of a Gaelic Schools Society? Anderson never claimed that he was, in fact, he repeatedly stressed that "to preach the gospel of the Grace of God is my first object."⁽⁵⁶⁾ But he did more than hint that he had done so in one of his subsequent letters: "It was an object which dwelt on my mind with much weight for some considerable time, and, I may add, the great burden of the business has fallen upon me."⁽⁵⁷⁾ It was clearly the opinion of his biographer who wrote, on the trip to Dingwall, "It was on this journey that Mr. Anderson first conceived the idea of forming a society for promoting the cause of education in the Highlands, which next year ripened into the Gaelic School Society."⁽⁵⁸⁾ Most authorities have simply accepted this judgment without investigation.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Wherein then, one might well ask, is the

(52) Anderson, H., p.115.

(53) Ibid., p.120; Appendix 1, No. 235.

(54) Jenkins, D.E., Vol. 3, p.360.

(55) Anderson, H., p.122.

(56) Ibid., p.106.

(57) Ibid., p.127.

(58) Ibid., p.116.

(59) D.N.B. Vol. 1, p.378; Boase, Vol. 1, p.59.

the mystery? Briefly, in the fact that Christopher Anderson was never recorded in the Society's Annual Reports as other than a "most zealous, active and excellent man - - who was Secretary from the beginning of the Society till the year 1821" and "a regular correspondent" with Mr. Charles of Bala, who "furnished him with much invaluable information."(60) The members of the Society themselves had no doubts in their minds as to their real founder. In 1827 the Rev. Mr. Thomas McCrie(1772-1835)made it quite clear in an address to the Society: "Charles Stuart of Dunearn, M.D., - - may justly be called the parent of the Institution."(61) He even elaborated: "It is well known to many that the first idea of a distinct society for promoting the education of our countrymen in the Highlands and Islands, originated with Dr. Stuart, and that having imparted it, at an occasional interview, to a reverend gentleman - - Dr. Hall(62), whose warmth of heart prompted him to encourage every benevolent scheme, steps were immediately taken for forming the Gaelic School Society, which, though rather unpopular at the commencement of its operation, has now united all suffrages in its favour." He added modestly: "I was one of the first to whom he commended the outlines of his plan." McCrie's self-assessment was too modest and on his death the Directors described McCrie as "one of the earliest and finest friends - - who first entertained, and gave body to the idea of an association for communicating the Word of God and religious instruction to the Highlanders in their native tongue - - one of the original founders - - wise, urbane and cheerful."(63) At the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Society, Robert Paul(1788-1866), one of the then three surviving founders, said, "The idea of this Society first sprang up in the mind of Dr. Charles Stuart, a very remarkable man in his day, and who had great peculiarities, especially in this respect, that he could not join any denomination of Christians but who yet embraced them all in his heart, and went to work with persons of different denominations in their good and useful labours."(64) At first sight this seems rather strange in that Stuart does not appear to have any link with any of the evangelists mentioned

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(60) 50AR14-15, 8AR3-4.

(61) 16AR33-35; Appendix 1, No. 294.

(62) Ibid., No. 120.

(63) 25AR22, 33, 12/10/1835.

(64) 50AR14-15; Appendix 1, No. 232.

mentioned above. That is till one remembers that his daughter was married to John Burnett of Kemnay and that the latter had financed Anderson's trip to Dingwall. Obviously, Burnett must have discussed the journey and the problem of the neglected Gaels with his father-in-law and he, in his turn, had come up with the proposal for a new society. At any rate, it was decided to put this proposal before the public and it was left to Anderson to write the circular letter. (65) It was dated Edinburgh, 10th December, 1810 and was unsigned.

"Sir,

Scotland has been long distinguished by possessing means of education for all ranks in society; and it has been very generally celebrated and boasted of as having improved them.

It is nevertheless a certain fact, that very great numbers of our Countrymen in the Highlands and Islands, cannot read any language whatever, and do not enjoy the means of instruction. Many, also, whose native language is Gaelic, and who have been taught to read and recite English fluently, do not understand the meaning of the words which they read or repeat, and thus derive little or no advantage from being instructed in a language which they never speak.

The Parish Schools established by the wise and beneficial provision of law, and these supported by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, for nearly a century past, great as the effects produced by them must have been, are wholly inadequate to the necessities of large districts of country, whose many thousands are perishing for lack of knowledge. The Translation of the Sacred Scriptures into Gaelic, and their publication under the patronage of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge; the late erection of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the publication by them of an Edition of this Version of the Sacred Scriptures, constitute an era in the history of this country, big, we trust, with the most important and beneficial events.

To produce these, however, ability to read the Gaelic Scriptures must be diffused as extensively as copies of them.

The funds of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge are incapable of effecting this. The restrictions of their Charter do not permit them to encroach on any part of the capital sum of their funds;

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funds; and the great extent of the business occasioned by the establishment of more than 290 schools, containing nearly 16,000 children, and by the other objects of their institution, demand, in the opinion of Managers, all their attention.

While we contemplate, with the highest satisfaction, the happy effects which have been produced by Parochial Schools, and by those of this Society, and wish to co-operate with them, and to strengthen their hands, and are of opinion that it would be improper to send other teachers to the stations occupied by them, yet we are firmly persuaded that the urgent necessities of our countrymen have long and loudly called for additional efforts to instruct them.

The zeal with which so many recent plans for the public instruction and welfare have been embraced, ascertains, without any doubt, that a spirit exists in Great Britain, which will supply funds necessary to defray the expense of teaching every individual, who knows no language but Gaelic, to read the word of God in his own tongue.

With this persuasion, and under the influence of motives in which we are sure that many will participate, some persons, who have long deplored the condition of so many inhabitants of our native country, have determined to use means for establishing a Society, whose SOLE OBJECT shall be to support proper teachers for instructing children and adults, in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, to read the Sacred Scriptures in the only language which they understand.

For this end, they request the pleasure of your company, and such of your friends as may be well disposed to promote the object, on WEDNESDAY THE 19th OF DECEMBER, AT ONE O'CLOCK AFTERNOON, IN THE ROYAL EXCHANGE COFFEE-HOUSE when resolutions will be moved, and steps taken to carry into execution this very necessary and beneficent plan."(66)

This circular was sent to every prominent citizen in Edinburgh and surrounding district almost immediately. There was little time allowed for consideration, a mere nine days, but it did contain a clear synopsis of the promoters' views. Evangelical motives were completely dominant and linguistic aims were purely secondary. A careful attempt had been made in the circular not to offend the

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the S.S.P.C.K., the Church of Scotland, or indeed, the heritors. Co-operation was the keynote throughout the document. Neither was there a narrow appeal to Scottish national sentiments, but simply a criticism of the technique of teaching English mechanically to those who could not comprehend. One particularly strong argument was that the recent availability of the Bible in Gaelic made the moment opportune. Anderson must have been worried about the response, because, a few days later, on the 18th December, 1810, he wrote personal, signed invitations to all of his friends and acquaintances - "Several gentlemen propose to meet tomorrow at one o'clock in the Royal Exchange Coffee-house, to talk over the present state of the Highlands, and the importance of some measures being taken in order to instruct the population in the Gaelic language. Your Company, at that hour, will, I believe, be very acceptable to the various gentlemen, as well as to your obedient servant - Christopher Anderson."(67) In some ways, Anderson's fears were justified as only 37 actually turned up at the meeting.(68) Although described in later Minutes as "that small band of Christian patriots", the local press were more subdued: "At a numerous and respectable Meeting of gentlemen, residing in Edinburgh and its vicinity, assembled, on the 19th ultimo, in the New Rooms, Royal Exchange Coffee-house, to consider the present condition of our Countrymen in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland."(69) Details are lacking as to the actual sederunt, but a diligent search through Appendix i would suggest that the following list of names is accurate.

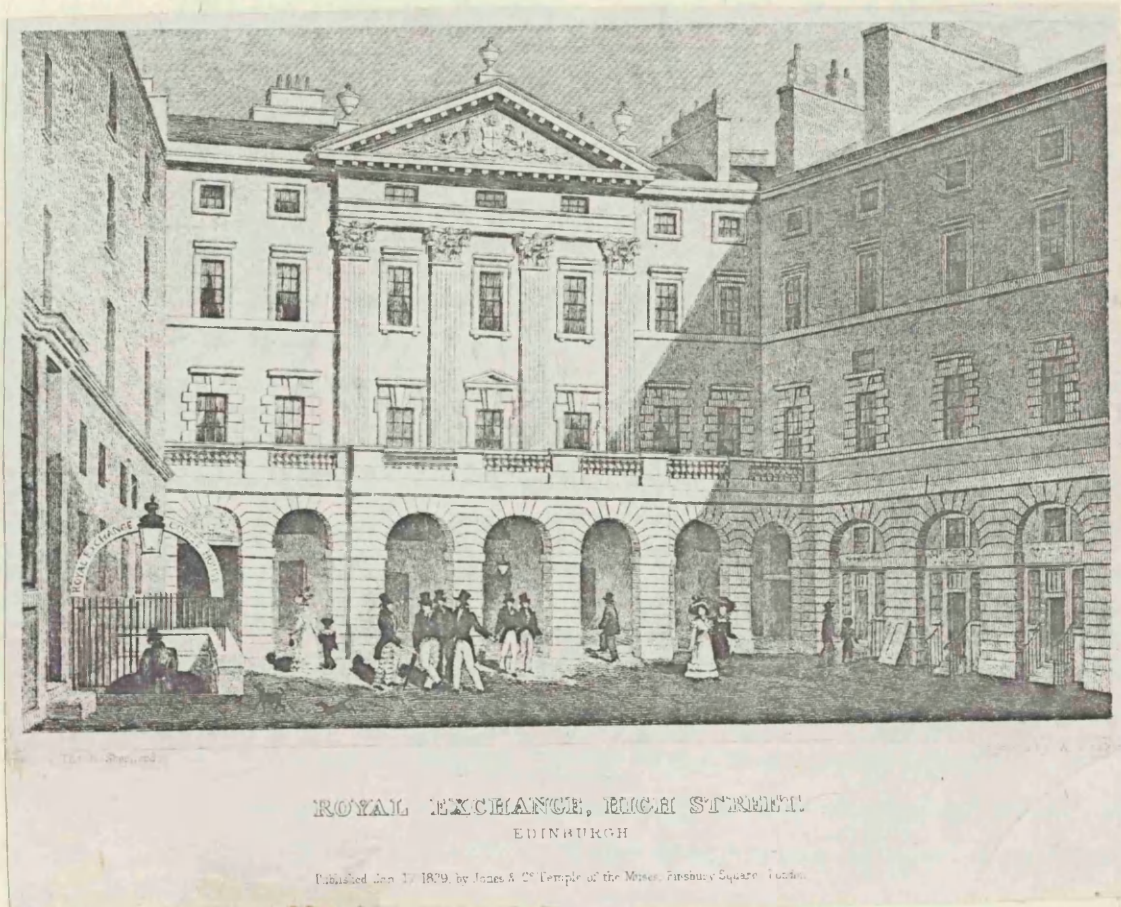
The Royal Exchange was a fairly recent addition to Edinburgh's fine buildings. Although the foundation stone had been laid as early as September, 1753, delays over the contract had hindered the building's completion till late in 1761. H. Arnot, who was a frequent visitor, described it as "a large and elegant building, of a square figure, with a court in the centre."(70) However, it was not so much its extravagant mixture of Palladian style and Scots Baronial that made it so popular, but rather that it housed no fewer than

(67) Jenkins, D.E., Vol. 3, pp.360-361.

(68) 50AR11.

(69) 1AR7.

(70) Arnot, H., p.239.



THE ROYAL EXCHANGE

PLATE 3.

than three coffee-houses.(71) At least six of the participants were to be expected - Charles Stuart of Dunearn, John Burnett of Kennay, Christopher Anderson, John Aikman, Dr. James Hall and Thomas McCrie. Others were friends of Stuart - James Douglas of Cavers(72) and Robert Scott Moncrieff of Newhalls(73), who were wealthy lairds. Others were professional men with long-standing interest in evangelical schemes - Andrew Balfour, printer,(74), George Ross, advocate, (75) and Alexander Hutchison, writer.(76) The latter is the most interesting in that he must have been a Gaelic-speaker, in that he was ultimately a Superintendent of the Society's schools. Three, at least, were remarkably young men - Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, advocate, who was 22 years old(77); Robert Paul, Commercial Bank clerk, who was 23 years old(78) and Sir James Riddell of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, who was 24 years old.(79) The oldest participant, the Rev. Dr. Johnston of Leith, was 77 years old.(80) Described as "rather an extraordinary man" even fifty years later, Johnson was made Preses of the meeting.(81) This appointment was made, not for his age, nor for his commanding presence - he was so handsome that men called him "The Bonnie Doctor" - nor for the fact that he was Chaplain-in-ordinary to George III, but because of his astute head for business. Anderson's hopes for a speedy acceptance of his prepared resolutions were apparently dashed by "considerable discussion" over the society's title. Anderson and Stuart seem to have preferred "The Caledonian Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools", but the meeting altered this to "The Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools" as more appropriate.(82) It was then decided to elect a committee of

(71) O. Smeaton, "Edinburgh and its Story", 1904, p.195; M.W. Stuart, "Old Edinburgh Taverns", 1952, p.43.

(72) Appendix 1, No. 79.

(73) Ibid., No. 215.

(74) Ibid., No. 15.

(75) Ibid., No. 262.

(76) Ibid., No. 130.

(77) Ibid., No. 86.

(78) Ibid., No. 232.

(79) Ibid., No. 253.

(80) Ibid., No. 137.

(81) 50AR14-15.

(82) Anderson, II., p.127.

of twenty-four "to draw up a Report on this important subject." The members of the Committee were speedily elected, but only two of the above, John Burnett and Thomas McCrie, were chosen. Some seven of them had already had consultations with Stuart and Anderson - the Rev. Mr. Jones of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, "a man of genius and rich in theological learning", as well as a close friend of Stuart and renowned for impressive and lively sermons.(83) Another, described as "a most estimable man of learning and talent" was the Rev. Dr. Jamieson, an intimate of Sir Walter Scott.(84) Two more were seceder clergymen - the Rev. Mr. George Paxton(85), then in poor health, and the Rev. Mr. James Peddie, recognised authority on Poor Relief in Scotland and editor of "Christian Magazine."(86) The remaining three were Robert Cathcart, W.S.(87), a sickly laird, James Erskine of Linlathen(88) and Alexander MacLaurin.(89) Perhaps the most interesting of all the Committee members he was also the oldest. A former S.S.P.C.K. teacher, he had translated many works into Gaelic at his own expense, including "Christian Economy of Life" and "Pilgrim's Progress", and was highly esteemed as a Gaelic scholar. He was, even then, hard at work on a Gaelic text for schools.(90) The rest of the Committee were relatively obscure figures in the Edinburgh society of the time, and, perhaps for that very reason were elected to the Committee. The central character of this minor group was unquestionably J.F. Gordon, W.S.(91), in that he was nephew to Charles Stuart and son-in-law to Robert Haldane. As such he must have been acquainted with everybody in evangelical circles, particularly his associates, John Campbell of Warriston(92) and John Pollock.(93) He probably also had professional dealings with William Pringle, Depute Clerk of Session,

(83) 50AR16; Appendix 1, No. 140.

(84) Ibid., No. 136.

(85) Ibid., No. 234.

(86) Ibid., No. 235.

(87) Ibid., No. 55.

(88) Ibid., No. 85.

(89) Ibid., No. 193.

(90) 5AR16.

(91) Appendix 1, No. 107.

(92) Ibid., No. 47.

(93) Ibid., No. 239.

Session(94), Alexander Wardrop, banker(95) and William Scott Moncrieff, accountant.(96) Five were involved in business - three merchants, Walter Brown(97), John Gibson(98) and George Brunton.(99) Andrew Kedslie(100) was a manufacturer and Alexander Bruce, Senior, was an upholsterer.(101) The only heritor, who might well have spoken Gaelic, was Col. McLeod of St. Kilda(102), while Charles Stewart was Printer to the University.(103) The last two were clergymen- the Rev. Mr. William Innes(104), a Baptist, and the Rev. Mr. John Johnston of the Relief Church.(105) An analysis of this first committee is interesting in that it determines the pattern which the Society virtually continued for fifty years - most of the members came from the city of Edinburgh, in fact twenty, two members were lairds from Aberdeenshire and Angus, one came from Leith and the other was a soldier, probably retired. Socially there was a heavy bias towards clergymen and writers to the Signet - there were as many as seven clergymen, three writers to the Signet, three merchants, two bankers, two lairds, two officials and an upholsterer, a manufacturer, an accountant, a printer and a soldier. Eight of them were listed as "Mister", while the remaining nine laymen were "Esquire." The most telling point is that only one of the seven clergymen was Church of Scotland, the rest were seceders. Finally, to prove that linguistic considerations were not highly held - only two, but possibly three, members spoke Gaelic. Having been elected these men were now given the task of producing a report for the General Meeting to be held on 16th January, 1811. The Gaelic School Society was now in operation.

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- (94) Ibid., No. 244.
- (95) Ibid., No. 315.
- (96) Ibid., No. 216.
- (97) Ibid., No. 34.
- (98) Ibid., No. 99.
- (99) Ibid., No. 37.
- (100) Ibid., No. 142.
- (101) Ibid., No. 35.
- (102) Ibid., No. 198.
- (103) Ibid., No. 284.
- (104) Ibid., No. 132.
- (105) Ibid., No. 139.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOCIETY AT WORK

"The flame, too, which we wish to fan begins to burn."

- H. Anderson, "The Life and Letters of Christopher Anderson",
1854, p.128.

It was left to the newly appointed Secretary, Christopher Anderson to fan the flame. He was certainly kept busy. First, accounts of the recent meeting had to be sent to various newspapers. That which appeared in the "Perth Courier" contained this comment - "a benevolent public will certainly no longer permit such a large and meritorious proportion of British subjects to linger so far behind in the progress of civilization, and to lie by among the refuse of our species; a state in which they must continue to remain, so long as they are unacquainted even with the use of letters." (1) Then letters were written to Thomas Charles at Bala giving details of the Society as well as to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross of Lochbroom, who had assisted him with statistics when he was in Dingwall. In the meantime, Anderson had prepared another circular for clergymen only. It was dated 27th December, 1810: "

"Sir,

The late publication of the Bible, in Gaelic, in a portable form, and at a very moderate price, and which those who cannot afford to purchase, may procure for nothing, has led many to inquire, if the natives of the Highlands and Islands are very generally capable of making use of it.

They know, that, by law, Parochial Schools are, or should be established in every Parish; and they are well acquainted with the long and beneficial services of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands, with whose useful undertakings they have no wish to interfere. At the same time, information, as particular and satisfactory as some desire, relating to the state of the Highlands, has not hitherto been obtained. A numerous and respectable meeting of inhabitants of Edinburgh, was held here on the 19th inst. to consider this subject. Every one present seemed desirous

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(1) 27/12/1810.

desirous of combining their efforts towards enabling the whole inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands to read the Scriptures in the language they understand; but it appeared desirable, before attempting this, to acquire as perfect knowledge as possible, of their present attainments. After considerable deliberation, it was unanimously agreed to appoint a Committee of twenty-four, who should set on foot an enquiry respecting the following points:

1st) WHAT PROPORTION OF THE INHABITANTS OF EVERY HIGHLAND PARISH CAN READ THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, AND ARE CAPABLE OF RECEIVING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THAT LANGUAGE?

2nd) WHAT NUMBERS, UNDERSTAND, AND ARE CAPABLE OF READING GAELIC ALONE?

3rdly) WHAT NUMBERS ARE UNABLE TO READ EITHER ENGLISH OR GAELIC?

We take the liberty of transmitting these queries to you, Sir, and we entreat you to favour us with explicit and particular replies to each, and to subjoin such remarks as you may judge of importance on this subject."(2) Anderson seems to have written personal letters to accompany the circular and the first replies began to arrive in Edinburgh in early January, 1811. The first was from the Rev. Mr. Alexander Stewart of Dingwall.(3) He said that the population of his parish was 1,500 and that c300 "most of them young persons, capable of receiving religious instruction in English" while the rest "understand English very imperfectly, or not at all, and CANNOT READ ENGLISH OR GAELIC." There was not one school in the parish that taught Gaelic reading, although there were two Gaelic Sabbath Evening Schools in which children were instructed and catechised in Gaelic, but not taught to read. "The proportion of Gaelic readers is few" in many areas of Ross. This seems to have made a big impression on Stewart, because he hired a Gaelic-speaking farm-servant to run another Gaelic Evening School to teach reading.(4) The second reply was from the Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross of Lochbroom.(5) He expressed his "delight and grateful emotion" at the news of

(2) IAR33.

(3) Ibid., p.34.

(4) Ibid., p.50, 18/12/1811.

(5) Dr. Thomas Ross(1768-1843) born Creich, Sutherland, farm griever's son, licensed 1802, minister in Rotterdam till illness, then Lochbroom 1808-1843, Glasgow LL.D. 1807, published "Poems of Ossian in original Gaelic"(1807), "A New Spelling Book in Gaelic"(1815) and "The Shorter Catechism in Gaelic," (1820)(Fasti, Vol. 7, pp.158-159).

of the formation of the Society and described it as a "benefit" and "laudable". His parish, he said, was "one of the roughest and most difficult in Scotland, as extensive as the whole of the Synod of Ross, which employs the labours of twenty-three Ministers, besides innumerable School-Masters, Catechists, etc., it has seven preaching places, separated by large arms of the sea, rapid rivers, extensive moors, and tremendous rocks; some of them TWENTY some THIRTY MILES from the Parish Church, and without a single place of worship capable of containing the congregation in the whole parish. There are nine burying grounds." Out of a population of 4,000, only c700 "possess even a smattering of book knowledge, and comparatively few speak only English." The evidence he produced in regard to education must have horrified Anderson: "There has not been a Parochial School of any standing for above thirty years back. Since I came here, a Schoolmaster was appointed, but there being no School-house, he had not commenced his labours, when he was called to a mission on the Royal Bounty; and the place is still vacant. There has been no Society Schoolmaster in the Parish for many years back, except a Mr. Robert Munro, who acted as a missionary and Schoolmaster in the village of Ullapool, and who is dead about two years and a half ago." The religious position was just as bad: "There are two Catechists on the Royal Bounty in the Parish and another comes from Gairloch, but all are in their 80's and not very active. For many years the people only received sealing ordinances, without the least regard to knowledge, or to moral character!" He described the state of his people as "deplorable - IN A TRACT OF TEN OR TWELVE MILES, WELL PEOPLED, THERE MAY NOT BE A SINGLE INDIVIDUAL FOUND CAPABLE OF READING THE SCRIPTURES IN ENGLISH OR GAELIC, AND THESE, PERHAPS, FROM FOURTEEN TO TWENTY-FIVE MILES FROM THE PARISH CHURCH!" Yet, the people were aware of their "melancholy position" and were "eager to avail themselves of any means which may be put in their power, of acquiring knowledge." He added his own observations on their "astonishing progress" from "recitation and memory" and he made a significant prediction: "That they will learn to read Gaelic without a previous knowledge of the English may be inferred from the known fact, that there are several in the parish already who have done so; one of whom precented in Church yesterday, and cannot speak a single sentence of English." Schools therefore would be "most desirable and seasonable in this district, and will meet with every possible encouragement from all classes of persons amongst us. There are

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are SEVEN stations in this parish alone where they would be most useful, and where the proprietors as well as the people, would be happy to see them." He concluded, "Let me, therefore, exhort you to proceed in your Labours of love; and I most ardently pray for your abundant success."(6) These two letters are highly significant, in that they show quite clearly that there was an urgent need for Gaelic Schools, especially in remote areas. The problem was bound to be one of demand in excess of supply. Anderson knew this and wrote to Ross: "So great a work cannot be accomplished, in a day, in a year, or in twenty years."(7)

In the meantime, a letter had arrived from Thomas Charles of Bala, dated 4th January, 1811: "The important intelligence which your letter brought me of the benevolent intention of charitable persons in the north of forming a society in Edinburgh, for the design of encouraging schools in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, to teach the poor inhabitants to read their native Gaelic tongue, appears to me highly laudable and gives me very great satisfaction."(8) He recounted his own difficulties, how his parish had never had a Welsh Circulating School and how wealthy parents sent their children off to towns to be educated and how the poor were virtually abandoned. It was to meet this problem that he had set up his own schools and written text-books. "My first greatest care has been in the appointment of proper Teachers. They are all poor persons, as my wages are but small; besides a poor person can assimilate himself to the habits and mode of living among the poor -- he should be a person of moderate abilities, but above all that he be truly pious, moral, decent, humble and engaging in his whole deportment; not captious, not disputatious, not conceited, no idle saunterer, no tattler, nor given to the indulgence of any idle habits. My teachers in general are as anxious as myself in the success of the work." He explained his own part: "In introducing a School into a place, I pay a previous visit there; after conversing a little with some of the principal inhabitants on the subject: I convene the inhabitants to-gether, after having sent a previous message to them, intimating my intention of visiting them, and specifying the time of my coming - When convened to-gether, I publicly address them on the vast im-

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(6) 1AR34-35.

(7) Jenkins, D.E., Vol. 3, p.369, 12/1/1811.

(8) Ibid., p.363.

importance of having their children taught to read the word of God, and afterwards I inform them of my intention of sending a Teacher, to assist in instructing their children, and also grown up people who cannot read, who will attend him on Sundays, and as many nights in the week as they please. I conclude by exhorting the parents to send their children to the school." He stressed the need for making friends with the parents and promising books if they could not afford to buy them. "The Teacher is to take no entrance money - is charged not to encroach upon them, and intrude himself upon them, unless particularly invited into their houses: and then he is charged to have family prayers night and morning, wherever he goes to reside for a night; to introduce conversations respecting his own work, and not to indulge himself with them in vain idle talk; that in him they may see how a Christian lives and how they OUGHT to live." Clearly, the teachers were the key to the whole scheme and Charles warned that they had to be wholly devoted to their work and be engaged every day and evening. He himself went twice to examine a school before it was withdrawn and he held public examinations. When the school finally left, he encouraged the people to continue with their own Sunday School. He admitted that his ideas had met a "great deal of opposition" because parents wanted him to teach their children English first, "an idle and groundless conceit." (9) Fortunately, the children had enjoyed themselves and found the schools "a great delight" in which they made rapid progress. "The time necessary to teach them to read the Bible in their vernacular language is so short, not exceeding six months in general, that it is a great pity not to give them the key immediately which unlocks all the doors, and lays open all the divine treasures before them. Teaching them English required two or three years' time, during which long period, they are concerned only about dry terms, without receiving one idea for their improvement." Welsh came easily to them, especially the religious terms. It even assisted them to learn English: "Previous instruction in their native tongue helps them to learn English much sooner, instead of proving in any degree an inconveniency." As they want to read more they naturally turn to English books. Throughout north Wales there was a demand for Bibles rather than for "dancing, card playing, interludes

(9) Ibid., p.366.

interludes and quarrelling." Now there were prayer-meetings and catechizing. By learning Welsh first the children had come to appreciate the concern for their souls which is not the case with English. This, he regarded as essential. "What I have put down here, is, I apprehend, EQUALLY APPLICABLE TO THE IRISH AND HIGHLANDERS, as to the Welsh." (10) Practically all of this advice was soon to be embodied in the Society's policy. Charles also sent three volumes of the Welsh Circulating School Society Annual Reports covering the years 1737-1760. (11) No doubt Anderson and his Committee read them avidly; they certainly contained a great deal of sound suggestions. The Rev. Mr. Griffith Jones had made a point of not building expensive school structures, indeed, he sought the use of churches, chapels and even uninhabited houses. His schools lasted a mere three months and the teachers had to teach reading twice a day and then spend at least three to four hours in the peoples' homes in the evenings. Registers had to be kept and most of the teachers were themselves the products of their own schools. Jones found that the local minister should advertise the coming of a school from the pulpit and that September to May was the best time for the school session to run. Teaching Welsh took only four months, while English took four years; teaching Welsh therefore had to be much cheaper. His reports are full of stories of elderly people begging to be taught to read, of a shortage of books, of children teaching their playmates, of ministers clamouring for schools as they realised the moral improvement in their parishes, of rising school roles and of the early use of female teachers. (12) The most rewarding result to Jones had been the great emotion felt by all those who had experienced these schools. Anderson thanked Charles profusely for his comments and the latter was moved to send further copies of Jones' reports to London, to a Mr. Tarn. (13) He in turn distributed them among interested parties there and eventually wrote to Edinburgh offering what support he could. (14)

All this information had to be assimilated by Anderson and his Committee over the next few days and hammered into a report for the General Meeting on the 16th January, 1811. It was barely completed on the evening of the previous day: "In obedience to the appointment of the General Meeting, the Committee have now to submit their REPORT --. After coming

(10) 1AR58-62.

(11) Ibid., pp. 53-57.

(12) 1756.

(13) Jenkins, D.E., Vol. 3, p. 371, 6/2/1811.

(14) Ibid., p. 372, 25/12/1811.

coming to the possession of a considerable body of evidence, it has been found at least somewhat difficult, on a subject of this nature, to meet the wishes of a numerous meeting with regard to time. Aware that some gentlemen may find it impossible to remain long, while others have left their business to favour us with their attendance, the Committee consider it proper to confine themselves within such limits as may suit the convenience of all.

They propose therefore, in this Report, to consider briefly, (1) The present state of our Highlands and Islands and (2) The best means for removing the evil complained of. With regard to the state of that country which has now engaged your attention, the Committee have to mention it as their persuasion, that many thousands of its inhabitants are, at the present moment, not only incapable of reading, but unprovided with any remedy for this low and unfettered condition. The aggregate numbers of those who, on this account, demand our compassion and assistance, may be considered as amounting to nearly THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND a number considerably exceeding the half of the population of Wales.

In an Address by the Secretary to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, delivered in 1803, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in London, he stated, that "out of 335,000 persons in the Highlands, it was computed that 300,000 understood no other language than GAELIC, so far, at least, as not to comprehend a book written, or a continued discourse spoken, in any other." When, in connection with this painful statement, independent of many other authorities, the Committee remind the gentlemen present, that any one can read their own language, have been taught ORALLY (there being no Gaelic Spelling Book hitherto in use, or even in existence) and that NO SCHOOLS are yet erected for the express and specific purpose of teaching the Gaelic language, some conception may be formed of the ignorance unhappily prevailing in these parts.

It will, however, afford a still more striking view of this subject, if the proportion of those who are capable of reading is considered. The particulars which your Committee here relate, are indeed lamentable, but they are such as may be fully relied upon. From the experience of several successive years, one of our number can inform you, as the result of actual experiment, that among the numerous bands who came southward in the time of harvest to reap our fields, he had not found ONE in TEN capable of

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of reading the simplest passage of Sacred Scripture. This however is now known to be a favourable specimen of the country: the inhabitants of many populous districts being much more illiterate. In some of these not ONE in SIXTY, and in others, not one in a HUNDRED, can read; nay, the Committee are informed of various places, where it is impossible to find ONE person among SEVERAL HUNDREDS in a better condition! In a letter relating to one parish, of which a melancholy account will be read, the clergyman says, that out of 4,000 inhabitants, perhaps hardly 700 possess even a smattering of book knowledge! In a tract of ten or twelve miles, well peopled, there may not be found a single individual capable of reading either English or Gaelic - and these are situated from 14 to 25 miles distant from the Parish Church!

Facts like these, relating to an interesting proportion of the inhabitants of North Britain, your Committee can have little doubt, will make a suitable impression on this Meeting. Indeed, we presume, they are sufficient to affect every humane and grateful Lowlander, who duly appreciates the value of education, and who seriously reflects how much of our individual, our domestic, and civil comfort is owing to our acquaintance with the use of letters.

It would ill comport with the private sentiments which this Committee entertain of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, did they not acknowledge the beneficial effect of their labours. But for their exertions, the Highlands would have been in a great measure destitute of the means of education. The community at large owe them many thanks for what has been effected. It cannot, however, be forgotten, that the Managers of this institution have annually lamented their inability to do more: nor, indeed, is this at all wonderful, when we consider that the multitude of those who still remain to be taught to read their native tongue, amount to as many as the whole number who have been educated for A HUNDRED YEARS PAST, that is, from the year 1710! Such being the case, your Committee were prepared for the information, that there are various districts where Gaelic Schools may be established, at a distance of TWENTY and THIRTY or evn FORTHY miles from any other species of instruction in reading.

It now remains for this Committee to lay before the Meeting a plan which they consider as admirably adapted to this country, both in a physical and moral point of view. Were the plan itself THEORETICAL, they could not have ventured to speak with confidence respecting it: but as

as it has been acted upon since 1730, up to the present day, in another quarter of the United Kingdom, very similar in many respects to our Highlands, your Committee will not be considered precipitate in expecting the most beneficial results to result from its adoption. We at present allude to the Principality of Wales. To suit the nature of that mountainous country, it was found expedient and necessary to adopt schools of an ambulatory kind, by which an ability to read has been widely diffused, and the first elements of instruction have been conveyed with much celerity from one valley to another. As, however, a most interesting account of the commencement, the progress and present state of these measures, which have been found as successful in teaching the Welsh their native language, will be read to this Meeting, the Committee now proceed to mention a few particular Regulations, by which they hope, that under the blessing of God, similar effects may be produced in our own country.

1. The Schools to be established, shall be for the express purpose of teaching the inhabitants of our Highlands and Islands to read their NATIVE LANGUAGE.
2. The Elementary books shall consist of a Spelling Book in Gaelic, and the Gaelic Psalm Book - to be succeeded by the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, in that language.
3. Before a Teacher is sent to any district, the attention of the people shall be awakened to the importance of their being able to read, as well as to the danger and disadvantages of a state of ignorance.
4. If the inhabitants are unable to pay for a School Room, or to procure suitable accommodation, that expence shall be defrayed by the Society.
5. Every Teacher, upon going out, shall be furnished with books, and those parents who can afford the expence shall purchase them; while the Schoolmaster shall possess a discretionary power, to give books to any who may be unable to pay a few pence for them.
6. Public intimation being previously given, when a school commences, the inhabitants shall be informed that it will continue only for a LIMITED PERIOD(not less than SIX nor exceeding EIGHTEEN months)during which time the School-master shall teach these children to read, GRATIS, who attend well, or the children whose parents engage to secure and promote their regular attendance.
7. When a Circulating School is established in any quarter, another School shall be advertised at same time, for the important purpose of teaching GROWN UP PEOPLE, OR SUCH AS MAY BE UNABLE TO ATTEND, OWING TO

TO THEIR AVOCATIONS OR SERVICE THROUGH THE DAY, OR THROUGH THE WEEK.

This school shall be kept at a convenient hour on the Sabbath, or in the evening of week days, or both - and the presence of these inhabitants WHO CAN READ shall be requested at such times, to give any assistance in their power, under the directions of the Schoolmaster.

8. When the time arrives for the Teacher's removal to another district it is expected, that, in consequence of the exercises in the last mentioned School, a proper person may be procured to preserve and continue the benefits received.

9. Every district in which a School has existed shall be revisited occasionally, and animated to persevere; but in case of insuperable difficulties on the part of its inhabitants, or the spirit at first infused being ready to expire, a Teacher may be sent to reside among them once more, for a short season.

Upon this scheme, your Committee think it necessary to subjoin only a few remarks, with which they shall be able to conclude their Report.

As the books to be used in these schools consist simply of a Gaelic Spelling Book, and the Holy Scriptures in that language, without note or comment, the Public will observe, that the design is such as every Christian, and every well-wisher to his Country, can approve and support - In a mountainous country, intersected by rapid rivers and arms of the sea, where children can be collected (especially in winter) only in small groups, these Circulating Schools seem the best, if not the only expedient. The inhabitants of every Island, and of every Highland glen or district, may, in this manner, be visited, and favoured with the means of education. While at the same time, though they enjoy this invaluable privilege GRATIS, an abuse of it will be prevented by the recollection that your Teacher is only a temporary resident - From the nature of this plan, you are, indeed, confined to the teaching of Gaelic; but when the urgency of the present case, and the immense multitude of those who should receive instruction, is duly considered, it will be evident that no extensive benefit can be expected were you to extend your views, or grasp at more. Besides, we are satisfied, that the reading of the Gaelic will implant the desire of knowledge, as well as improve the understanding; and thus you insure both the extension and the use of the English language. To increase the attendance where it is taught, would seem to be only one

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one of the happy consequences resulting from the pursuit of this system. In Wales, for example, where many are enjoying the fruit of Ambulatory Schools, there are at present TWENTY who can read English, for ONE who could do so when the Welsh was neglected. English books are every where called for, and the English schools are erecting; so that there are now A HUNDRED books for every one which was in the country only twenty years ago - the period when the Welsh schools were revived.

In the first instance, therefore, you are wisely employed in teaching this people to read the Sacred Scripture IN THEIR OWN TONGUE. You are instructing them in what has been translated and printed many years ago, for their express use: and, without enumerating many consequent blessings, you at once direct their attention to that volume, which is able to make even the simple wise, and which can not only enlighten the eyes, but rejoyce the heart.

Such, Gentlemen, is a brief statement of the present deplorable situation of many of our Countrymen, who, on various accounts, deserve to possess a deep and large share of the public sympathy - and such are the measures which your Committee earnestly recommend as necessary to their relief."(15) Although this Report is given in full it does show the massive problem facing the Society and its need to accumulate exact statistics for areas of need. As for the remedy, the debt to Thomas Charles of Bala is obvious in almost every line. Several points are important - there was to be no criticism of the S.S.P.C.K., indeed, some of the Committee were actually Directors in that organization, but open co-operation; there was to be commitment to itinerating schools rather than to fix/and the strain on teachers was bound to be heavy and inevitable; and finally, the whole focus was to be on the Scriptures, without any doctrinal comment, a necessary stipulation if men of different religious hues were to work in harmony. Gaelic was viewed with a cold, detached objectivity - it was only a means to reading Scriptures and, with any luck, a prelude to the learning of English.

On Wednesday, 16th January, 1811 the Society assembled, again in the Royal Exchange Coffee-house. The Rev. Dr. Johnston being absent, the Chair was taken by John Campbell, Tertius.(16) Anderson, as Secretary

(15) 1AR9-15.

(16) Appendix 1, Np. 49.

- Secretary, read the Minutes of 19th December, 1810, which were approved. Then he read the above Report and "several letters." Apparently, these were those from the Rev. Mr. Alexander Stewart of Dingwall and the Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross of Lochbroom. After some general discussion Anderson rose to move the following ten Resolutions which were accepted unanimously -
1. "That the Meeting is of opinion, that the labours of "The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge" for a century past, have been highly beneficial, as a means of promoting civilization and Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands.
 2. That although the said Society maintains two hundred and ninety schools, at which nearly sixteen thousand young people are taught, it is a melancholy fact that many parts of the Highlands and Islands continue in a state of great ignorance, and that only a small proportion of the inhabitants can read in any language.
 3. That the inhabitants of the more highly favoured parts of this country are bound, both by considerations of patriotism and of religion, to exert themselves for ameliorating the temporal and spiritual conditions of these highly interesting, but hitherto neglected parts of their native country.
 4. That the most expeditious, cheapest, and most effectual method of promoting the instruction of the inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands, is the erection of Circulating Schools, for the express purpose of instructing them in the Gaelic language.
 5. That this Meeting do now erect itself into a Society for this purpose, to be denominated, "The Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools", and that the only object of the Society shall be to teach the inhabitants to read the Holy Scriptures in their native language.
 6. That this Society shall confine its attention, as much as possible, to those parts of the Highlands and Islands which are most destitute of education.
 7. That the Teacher to be employed by this Society shall neither be Preacher nor Public Exhorter, stated or occasional, of any denomination.
 8. That a Committee be now appointed to draw out Regulations for the guidance of the Society, and to prepare a scheme for the management of the Schools which they may be enabled to establish.
 9. That a subscription be now opened for carrying into effect the object of the Society, and papers lodged in convenient places, for receiving subscriptions; and that the annual subscription of HALF-A-GUINEA, or more, shall

shall constitute gentlemen Members of this Society.

10. That none of the above Resolutions shall be altered without having been submitted to two general meetings, properly advertised."(17)

This document was then formerly signed by John Campbell, Preses; thanks were given to the Chair and recorded. The meeting then closed. No record survives as to which members served on the sub-committee mentioned above in clause eight, but it is reasonable to assume that they were from the parent Committee. At an unspecified date they produced the Laws and Regulations of the Society -

1. "The sole object of this Institution being to teach the Inhabitants, of the Highlands and Islands, to read the Sacred Scriptures in their Native tongue, the designation of the Society shall be "THE SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPORT OF GAELIC SCHOOLS."
2. For the accomplishment of this object, the Society shall maintain CIRCULATING SCHOOLS, in which the Gaelic language only shall be taught.
3. Each subscriber of HALF-A-GUINEA annually shall be a member of the Society.
4. A subscriber of TEN GUINEAS at one time shall be a member for life.
5. An annual subscription of THREE GUINEAS, or a Benefactor of TWENTY GUINEAS, shall be a Governor.
6. The office-bearers of the Society shall consist of a President, six Vice-Presidents, a Committee of twenty-four, a Treasurer, three Secretaries, and a Clerk. One of the Vive-Presidents and six of the Committee to go out annually by rotation; the Treasurer, Secretaries and Clerk, to be annually elected.
7. None of the office-bearers, except the Clerk, shall draw any emolument for their services to the Society.
8. The business of the Society shall be conducted by the Managemnt, consisting of the whole of the Office-bearers and Governors - FIVE to be a quorum.
9. The Committee shall have a stated Meeting on the second Monday of every Month, and shall meet also at such other times as they find necessary.
10. The Committee shall have power to call General Meetings of the Society, when they think it necessary to do so - ten days notice being given by public advertisement.

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advertisement.

11. A General Meeting of the Society shall be annually held in the month of November, on a day to be fixed by the Committee, of which proper intimation shall be given. At this Meeting the Office-Bearers shall be elected, the Accounts presented, the transactions of the foregoing year reported, and the general instructions of the Society communicated to their Committee." (18)

Slowly, replies to the query of 27th December, 1810 Circular began to come in over the next few months. It is difficult to be exact as to the order in which they appeared because of the slowness of the post. The earliest apparently was from the Rev. Mr. Alexander Downie of Lochalsh. (19) He thought the plan a "laudable endeavour" and was to become "an active supporter of the Gaelic School Society." He reported that those who read English were "VERY SMALL INDEED" and even if they could read a little they certainly could not comprehend it well. Those who did speak it were "almost exclusively confined to the families of the smaller resident proprietors of land, and of the principal tacksmen, who have generally been educated at better seminaries than our country schools, but who are thinly planted in this extensive range of country." He noted one peculiarity about Gaelic: "the illiterate speak it with as much propriety as those who have received the advantage of education." Certainly, in his opinion, the people preferred their services in Gaelic. There were three reasons why Gaelic reading had improved in Lochalsh - there were better Parish schools now, plenty of S.S.P.C.K. schools and parents had "a growing anxiety" to teach it to their children. Downie saw the problem spatially - "each parish - - is generally many miles in extent, intersected by rapid rivers, long arms of the sea, or by high mountains." The population was thinly scattered and it was common to find only 20 attending the parish school out of a population of 2,000. All the schools in his area taught English first and it was therefore "very unusual" to find any who could read Gaelic and no English. The greatest drawback was the lack of an elementary book in Gaelic - "I have frequently heard children read English with tolerable accuracy, without their understanding a sentence of what they read." It was worse for the old: "VERY FEW INDEED OF THE OLD INHABITANTS WHO CAN READ EITHER ENGLISH

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(18) Ibid., pp.17-18.

(19) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.156.

ENGLISH OR GAELIC." Downie gave his general view, in the Synod of Glenelg many under 30-35 years read both languages, but understand better in Gaelic, but in the Islands far fewer. In his own Presbytery only one in twenty reads Gaelic, but in the whole Synod less than half of that. In the light of the appalling lack of education, he saw the Gaelic School Society as "the only solution." (20)

A few days later, a reply came from the Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross of Lochbroom, also in Ross-shire. He pointed out, that although some 600-700 out of 4,000 in his parish can read English "the whole prefer religious instruction, and are capable of improving by it, in the Gaelic." Yet, only "about a score" can read a Psalm or a Bible chapter in Gaelic. "ABOUT THREE THOUSAND PRECIOUS SOULS IN THIS PARISH ALONE, ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE WORD OF LIFE, EXCEPTING BY THE EAR ONLY. MANY OF THESE CANNOT HEAR A SERMON PREACHED ABOVE TWICE OR THRICE IN THE YEAR AND MANY ARE NOT WITHIN TEN MILES OF ONE WHO CAN READ THE SCRIPTURES IN ANY LANGUAGE!" Ross stressed that the people were "deeply impressed with a sense of their own deplorable state, and feel an ardent desire after improvement; that they travel ten, twelve, sometimes twenty miles by sea and land to preaching." He calculated that he needed at least seven schools and each could attract 150 people. (21)

From Contin, Ross-shire came the views of the Rev. Mr. James Dallas. (22) An ex-schoolmaster, he was widely described as "a straightforward, honest man." He faced terrible problems. His parish was huge, 25-30 miles long and 10-12 miles broad with high mountains and deep, wide rivers, yet the population was a mere 1,944. He reckoned that only one in six could read English and these were near the kirk and school, while in remoter areas it was one in eleven. All understood Gaelic, but only 12 could read Gaelic and no English. As elsewhere, the children had to learn English first in school. Some 1,200 could read neither tongue, despite the presence of a Parish school and an S.S.P.C.K. school. Thus, at least two more schools are needed. It is impossible for the average parent to board his children for their education as they "cannot afford to pay board." (23)

The situation at Southend in Argyre was very different. As the Rev. Mr. John McKeich explained, many incomers had appeared over the years and English reading was common. (24) He estimated his population as 1,900 over 7 years

(20) 1AR36-38, 17/1/1811.

(21) Ibid., pp.35-36, 26/1/1811.

(22) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.31.

(23) 1AR38, 30/1/1811

(24) Fasti, Vol. 4, p.67.

years and 429 under that age. All could read English, but the better class person could read both. The poor, on the other hand, preferred Gaelic. In 31 years of ministering in Argyle he had never met one person who could read only Gaelic. This was entirely due to the fact that they were taught English first. Only a mere 47 could read neither language.(25)

The first comment from the Islands came from the Rev. Mr. James Macqueen of North Uist.(26) There were 4,000 people on this island and only 200 could read English, although most of them could also read Gaelic. Education always began with English, "which they do not understand well." The Parish school is centrally located and the people, apart from being too far off are too poor. They do hire boys from the Parish school to teach their children at a wage of £6-8 per annum and board. At least two schools are needed in North Uist and there are no Roman Catholics.(27)

Poverty was also underlined by the Rev. Mr. Alexander Fraser of Torosay, Mull.(28) It was the reason why the people could not get a proper Parish school. Nonetheless, "The people are become sensible of the advantage of education, and put great value on it." Hence, the frequent hiring of local teachers. Scarcity of books however neutralised most of their sacrifices. Fraser's statistics were interesting: 386 of the 2,000 population could read English, and of the latter, 298 also read Gaelic. He estimated that 418 could receive an English sermon. Finally, of the 358 children at school, 180 could read Gaelic.(29)

The Rev. Mr. Hugh Ross of Fearn, Ross-shire was an interesting cleric.(30) Although he had had wide experience as a Missionary at Fort Augustus, as Minister at the Gaelic Chapel in Cromarty as well as three years at Fearn, he was hated by most of his parishioners. Despite this, he astonishingly survived till 1844. As one might have expected his report was very brief. Only one in eight of the 1,500 population read English and only 20 Heads of Families read Gaelic. "The method most commonly followed in family worship, is for the person who presides to translate the English Scriptures into the Gaelic of the country." He noted that some, who did not know English, had read the Gaelic Psalm Book and could guess parts of the English

(25) 1AR38-39, 30/1/1811.

(26) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.191.

(27) 1AR39, 1/2/1811.

(28) Fasti, Vol. 4, p.124.

(29) 1AR40, 4/2/1811.

(30) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.57.

English Bible in Gaelic, but that was "a rare attainment." Seven out of eight persons read neither language.(31)

The Rev. Mr. John McQueen had served in Applecross, Rossshire for 34 years.(32) He reported that not many could read English and certainly not the old. Even those who did read English did not understand it very well. "I have known many young men, who read apparently with ease and accuracy, but scarcely understand a sentence of what they read." Generally, the people were not in favour of the Sacrament in English, for example, from a population of 2,000, of whom 300-400 read English, only 60 go to English communion. Everybody in Applecross speaks Gaelic, but few read it. In fact, most people could not read in any language. McQueen was convinced of the need for itinerating teachers: "Stationary Schools will never answer the purpose, in a country made up of detached districts, intersected with hills and morasses."(33)

The next report came from a man whose united parish was no less than 24 miles long. The Rev. Mr. Dugald Crawford of Skipness and Saddel, Argyle, was something of a Gaelic scholar. Unfortunately he was to drown at sea, while on a voyage to Greenock from Fladda.(34) Some 588 of his people read English and could be taught in it, while 359 read only Gaelic and 536 read neither.(35)

The letter from the Rev. Mr. Lachlan Mackenzie of Lochcarron, Ross-shire is undated, but it was in reply to a personal note from Christopher Anderson, written on the 25th January, 1811. A former schoolmaster at Applecross he was regarded as "a man of sincere and deep piety" as well as a renowned Gaelic scholar.(36) He reported that 232 read English and many of these Gaelic as well. However, "Highlanders are much fonder of receiving religious instruction in their own language than in English." Only 2 read Gaelic alone and 645 could read neither. There was a Parish school, an S.S.P.C.K. school and a private school in the area.(37)

Another Ross-shire minister was the Rev. Mr. John Matheson of Kilmuir.(38) His view was much more optimistic. He had a Parish school and an S.S.P.C.K. school available and the "rising generation are making great progress in

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(31) 1AR40, 4/2/1811.

(32) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.145.

(33) 1AR40-41, 4/2/1811.

(34) Fasti, Vol. 4, p.63.

(35) 1AR41-42, 5/2/1811.

(36) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.161.

(37) 1AR42.

(38) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.59.

in reading both English and Gaelic." Only one in three of the parents and the very poor could read English, but only one in eight of these could understand it well. More prosperous parents, some 200 of them, had recently bought Gaelic Bibles. He had observed that a few, who knew only the English alphabet, could read Gaelic fluently.(39)

One minister joined the Society at an early date - the Rev. Mr. James Russel of Gairloch, Ross-shire.(40) He described his parish as "prodigious". He was quite right. It was 36 miles long and had at least ten separate districts. Poverty was obvious everywhere and only 324 read English, 72 Gaelic and 2549 read neither. Further, only about half of the 324 could comprehend what they read.(41)

An excellent example of the slowness of the post in these days is found in the report of the Rev. Mr. Duncan McGillivray of Achness, Farr, Sutherland.(42) The original Circular had taken ten weeks to arrive at his manse. His statistics were typical of Sutherland - 900 people lived some 8-16 miles from the Parish school and there was no S.S.P.C.K. school in the area. Although 450 read English, only 100 could understand it. Only 40 read Gaelic and half the total population read neither.(43)

It was even worse in the case of the Rev. John McRae of Glenshiel in Ross-shire.(44) The Circular had taken eleven weeks to arrive. His parish was 28 miles long and most of his congregation lived far from the kirk. Out of a total population of 700-800, some 209 read English and could "converse a little," but less than one in three could understand it. "All that read English can read Gaelic, but none at all that can read Gaelic alone." The local Parish schoolmaster used the Gaelic Psalm Book and Questions of the Shorter Catechism. Parents liked to be taught by their children on Sunday evenings or in the winter. There were only a few Gaelic Bibles available and there was no S.S.P.C.K. school.(45)

The only Harris minister was the Rev. Mr. Alexander McLeod.(46) In his view not one in thirty in the Islands could read English and there were

(39) 1AR42-43, 21/2/1811.

(40) James Russel(1761-1844)was not a native speaker, son of factor to Earl of Fife, licensed 1796, minister at Gairloch 1802-1844. People despised his poor Gaelic.

(41) 1AR43-44, 6/3/1811.

(42) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.94.

(43) 1AR44, 18/3/1811.

(44) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.151.

(45) 1AR44-45, 22/3/1811.

(46) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.189.

were 3000 here. Less than 200 spoke or read English and few attended any school. None read Gaelic alone: "The cause is obvious; from time immemorial THERE WAS NO SCHOOL OPENED IN THE HIGHLANDS FOR TEACHING THE GAELIC."(47)

Something like 1,000 people lived in Kintail, the parish supervised by the Rev. Mr. Roderick Morison.(48) Only 192 could read the Bible - 133 in English and Gaelic and 59 only in English. There were actually two who could read the Gaelic Psalm Book by memory. He observed that those taught the Shorter Catechism in Gaelic were more zealous.(49)

There is something of a mystery about the next letter, dated 20th April, 1811 from the Rev. Mr. Archibald Mactavish of Laggan, Inverness.(50) The Fasti plainly records the minister here 1809-1816 as a Rev. Mr. Duncan MacIntyre, M.A..(51) Mactavish is not even mentioned in the Fasti and he must have been stationed at Laggan Preaching Station. At any rate, he commented upon the general desire by parents for the education of their children which was hindered by their isolation and poverty. In Ulva and Kilfinichen mission area 440 could read English, while none could read Gaelic alone. The number who could read neither tongue was 780.

The oldest correspondent was the Rev. Mr. William Mackenzie of Tongue in Sutherland, who at 73 years had the reputation of a powerful preacher.(52) He quoted 236 as reading English, 109 reading Gaelic and 383 neither. The Parish school only catered for a mere 48 and a second patent(industrial) S.S.P.C.K. school had only 18 girls. These and the three private schools were all desperately short of books. Like most evangelists, the thought of the Society's future involvement thrilled him: "I rejoice to see so many descriptions of different Christian denominations, engaged in the same important cause."(53)

Another evangelist was the Rev. Mr. Roderick McLeod of Bracadale in Skye.(54) He reported that 373 could read English and one, who had been in a Fencibles Regiment in Ireland, could read Gaelic. A vast number, 1492, could read neither. Bracadale had every conceivable problem, bad roads,

(47) 1AR45, 1/4/1811.

(48) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.153.

(49) 1AR45-46, 15/4/1811.

(50) Ibid., p.46.

(51) Fasti, Vol. 6, p.370.

(52) Ibid., Vol. 7, p.110.

(53) 1AR46, 22/4/1811.

(54) Fasti, Vol. 6, p.166.

roads, rapid rivers and poverty. At least two schools were needed.(55)

The Rev. Mr. Colin McKenzie of Stornoway in Lewis had only received the Circular late in February.(56) He was to make a very significant point in his letter: "I have often wondered that when the inhabitants of foreign and distant regions of the earth have become so generously the objects of pity and commiseration, and vast sums of money were collected, in order to lighten their darkness, and to convey to them the means of salvation through Jesus Christ, that our own countrymen, almost in a similar position, and foremost in time of danger in defence of their country, were totally overlooked, and allowed to remain in their native ignorance, and wretched state of sin and misery, except as far as a few sermons in the year could prevent."(57) Some 4,000 people lived in three districts and even Stornoway itself, with a population of 2,000, had only three services every five weeks. One in three of the total read English "imperfectly" and only a mere 20 could read Gaelic, with possibly a few others at the local S.S.P.C.K. school. The huge number of 1,333 read neither. At Ull, the second district, where there were 800 and only a service every five weeks only 20 read English, 6 Gaelic; at Gress, the third district with 700 and again, only a service every five weeks, only 6 read English, 2 Gaelic. The whole parish had only two schools and these were both in Stornoway itself.

The last letter was dated 26th July, 1811 and had taken seven months for the reply. It came from the Rev. Mr. Donald Ross of Kilmuir in Skye.(58) His parish could also be divided into three districts: Kilmuir itself had 36 reading English, 2 Gaelic and 1072 neither; Kilmalung had 46 reading English, none Gaelic, 459 neither; East Side had 80 reading English, none Gaelic and 1197 neither. In other words, 162 read English and some of them Gaelic as well, while only 2 read Gaelic alone and 2,728 read neither. The parish had never had a legal school, but hoped for one soon. Several boys taught English in private schools. The number reading English in Kilmalung was due to the presence of an S.S.P.C.K. school there. While there were private schools in the East Side they were the worst off, in that they were 8-20 miles from the kirk at Kilmuir. If all this was not bad enough, winters were severe, rains frequent, rivers were given to spates and there

(55) 1AR47, 26/4/1811.

(56) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.206.

(57) 1AR47-48, 9/5/1811.

(58) Fasti, Vol. 7, p.96.

there were few roads or bridges.(59)

There were, apparently, other letters from both the Highlands and the Islands, but they could not have been as dramatic as those above. In some ways, Anderson must have been disappointed by the returns. Those that underlined the need for the Society numbered 21, but, there were, in fact, 162 parishes in which Gaelic was widely used. Many of the ministers of these parishes were either indifferent to the new proposal or suspicious of a society so clearly dominated by seceders. Others again, may have thought that Gaelic was an improper medium. However, 21 reports was quite enough to start with and Anderson and his Committee must have discussed them in detail over the spring and early summer months. Certain conclusions were strikingly clear. Most parishes were enormous in extent with lots of physical barriers, ranging from sea-lochs, mountains, few roads and bridges, severe winters and heavy rainfall. Populations were widely dispersed so that the effectiveness of kirks and schools, usually centrally located, was minimal. Services were infrequent and people preferred them in Gaelic rather than in English, especially the poorer classes. If there were any Parish schools they were very small, while S.S.P.C.K. schools were often absent from areas of obvious need. Scattered and isolated communities tried to overcome this situation by hiring local boys to teach their young. Population was definitely rising and the number of children requiring education was continually growing. Poverty was rife and parents simply could not afford to buy books or board their children. Those who read English did so mechanically and usually failed to comprehend. It was the common practice to teach English first in all types of school. Younger people were more likely to read than the old and few of the Heads of Families were literate. The latter had to rely on their own family for instruction. Generally, the position in the Islands was far worse than on the Mainland. People were conscious of their backwardness and were anxious to improve their lot. The number of children actually at school, that is all types of school, was very low indeed. Gaelic reading was a rare accomplishment and reading the language alone was rarer still. Elementary books in Gaelic simply did not exist. There was no overall picture, in that the situation varied greatly from parish to parish. Those who could read, did tend to be able to read both languages. The problems were immense, but there was a solution - more schools and itinerant schools at that.

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These conditions were to continue, in many areas, for the following fifty years with one important exception. Of the original 21 reports 15 had come from the Mainland - Ross 10, Argyle 2, Sutherland 2 and Inverness 1, and only 6 from the Islands - Skye 2, Lewis 1, Harris 1, N. Uist 1 and Mull 1. This pattern was to change in time until the bulk of the Society's efforts were in the Islands. But that was many years ahead. Before they could come to any decision the Committee found that two of their correspondents were pressing very hard for schools - the Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross and the Rev. Mr. James Russel. By the 18th May, 1811 the Committee had decided to place a school in Lochbroom, another in Gairloch and a third in Stornoway. The respective ministers were asked to name the precise locality in which they desired their school to be established. Ross was the first to respond.(60) He listed the seven hamlets which he had indicated in January, 1811 - Badentarbet, Monkcastle, Achandreen, Durnamuck, Balblair, Logie and Keppoch. The Committee quickly decided on Badentarbet. Interestingly enough, all of these, except Durnamuck and Balblair, were to get schools eventually. A week later saw the arrival of Russel's letter and his ten listed hamlets. Melivaig was obviously the worst with a population of 174 and 12 miles from the nearest kirk, although North Aradale and Sand were nearly as bad. Again, the Committee acted quickly - it was to be Melivaig. The other two hamlets also, in time, acquired schools.(61) The Rev. Mr. Colin Mackenzie's letter does not seem to have survived, but the situation at Uii was so bad that the Committee selected it for the school. The last matter facing the Committee, before their first Annual General Meeting, was to find a suitable President. It is impossible, at this late date, to retrace the difficulties they faced and the tentative suggestions they may have made. At any rate, they finally succeeded in persuading Francis, 10th Earl of Moray to accept.(62)

The first A.G.M. was held in the New Rooms, Royal Exchange Coffee-house on the 29th November, 1811. The President, the R.H. the Earl of Moray, was unable to attend, but sent the following letter: "My Dear Sir, I came to town this morning upon business, which will unfortunately occupy me at the very time of the Meeting, and consequently put it out of my power

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(60) Ibid., p.36, 27/5/1811.

(61) Ibid., p.44, 31/5/1811.

(62) Appendix 1, No. 217.

power to attend. May I request you will make my apology to the gentlemen present, who have my best wishes for the success of their measures. It gives me great satisfaction to find, from your communications, that matters are going on so prosperously. Believe me, My Dear Sir, Yours very sincerely, Moray." It was dated, Drumsheugh, Friday morning, November 29th. The meeting immediately resolved to thank the President for his "good wishes." (63) The preliminaries over, the members got down to business. Christopher Anderson, as Secretary, then read the Committee's analysis of their statistical inquiry. But first, he pointed out that "The Institution is quite in its infancy" and therefore not a great deal had been accomplished in the first ten months as yet. He suggested that, in future, every Annual Report should contain reference to "the state of the country." His analysis was interesting: there were 162 parishes in the Highlands and Islands - 31 Island and 131 Mainland - "where the Gaelic language is either preached or generally spoken." In other words, 400,000 people, of whom 90,000 were in the Islands. Despite depopulation due to economic circumstance they were "annually on the increase"; in fact, every parish had doubled its numbers since 1750. Anderson pointed out that most Lowlanders appreciated the nature of the Highland countryside. In the Hebrides alone there were 2,000,000 acres with a thinly scattered population. Islay and Tiree had 10 acres per person, while others had as many as 50-150. On the Mainland it was as high as 200. He warned that some parishes were as big as Lowland counties e.g. Lismore of Appin, Kilmanivaig, Kilmalie and Kilmorac were all 60 miles long and 16-40 miles broad. In the 16thc Mull had had seven parishes, but now had only three with 9,000 people spread over 420 square miles. Lochbroom was notorious with an area equal to the Synod of Ross which had 23 Ministers, Schoolmasters and Catechists to serve it. The roughness was accentuated by many rivers, sea arms, high mountains and even storms. There were 200 islands off Scotland and 78 were populated and sometimes there were six, eight, or even ten islands in the one parish. Sometimes a Mainland parish has an island attached, e.g. Colonsay and Oronsay were part of Jura, Lismore was part of Appin, Raasay and Ronay with 1,000 people together were part of Portree. Many of the islands had innumerable lochs - Coll, with 1,100 people had 40 lochs, Islay had 80-90 and North Uist had as many as

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as 170. In all, there were no fewer than 1,500 lochs in the Western Isles. Hence the absolute necessity of Circulating Schools. Anderson admitted that "Large sums of money have, without doubt, been spent in the instruction of our Highland population" but "the soil is productive when properly cultivated." He stressed the climatic advantages: "they are favoured with a climate, which, though damp, is salubrious in no ordinary degree." He read a few statistics: on the Mainland, Fearn had 1,500 and 1,300 of them could not read; Gairloch had 2945 and 2549 of them could not read; Lochbroom had 4,000 and 3,300 of them could not read. In other words, out of 8,445 people, some 7,149 were illiterate - a terrifying 84%. It was worse in the Islands - Kilmuir in Skye had 3056 and 2,718 of them could not read; Stornoway had 4,000 and 2,800 of them could not read; Harris had 3,000 and 2,900 of them could not read; North Uist had 4,000 and 3,800 of them could not read. Out of 14,056 people, some 12,218 were illiterate. That was no fewer than 87%. If these areas were taken together, then 19,367 people out of 22,501 could not read and that was 86%. The position was actually worse than these figures revealed, in that most of those who could read were clustered near the kirks and schools. Some districts had additional problems. The Uists and Barra had 6,500 Protestants and 4,500 Roman Catholics, that is 11,000 people, living in an area 80 miles by 2-18 miles. Yet there were only three parishes, although there were once six. In North Uist there was only one parish kirk and that was 12 miles from Saund, the most populous hamlet. Furthermore, there was only one Parish school. Benbecula was worse: there was no Parish school, just one S.S.P.C.K. school. Of the 78 inhabited islands many had no minister or catechist or even schoolmaster and many had only two services a year. Anderson now moved on to describe what his Committee had done, but first he made the point that "Stationary Schools will never answer the purpose." He stressed the urgency of producing elementary books and complimented one of his Committee, Alexander McLaurin, who had produced a Manuscript "First Book for Children in the Gaelic Language." This had already been submitted to the "best Gaelic critics" and 3,000 copies had been printed entirely at the expense of one member of the Committee. These copies had been sent to Argyle, Farr, Mull and St. Kilda. Anderson announced that the Committee had decided that they could maintain five Circulating Schools and that three had already been "fully appointed in very necessitous parts." These were near Uii, Stornoway in Lewis, where, although there were already two

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two schools, at one of which the S.S.P.C.K. teacher had "employed himself indefatigably", the rural areas "have no mean whatever of instruction." (64) Out of 1500 people, only 34 could read either English or Gaelic. The other two schools were Badantarbentin Lochbroom and Melivaig in Gairloch. The fourth school would open soon in Skye and the fifth might be in Harris, Uist or Mull. The school year was to be divided into two sessions, the first from the 1st November to the 1st April and the second from the 15th June to the 15th September. Anderson explained that these choices were deliberate as they are months of unemployment, while the vacations are at seed-time and harvest. As he explained, "Thus, the labours of neither old or young are interrupted." (65)

U Anderson then went on to place ~~for~~ further Resolutions before the meeting -

1. "As there are at present a few individuals, who are employed in teaching, for their own support, in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, in the event of their adopting the method of teaching Gaelic, pointed out and pursued by this Society, they shall be encouraged and assisted by DONATIONS of the FIRST BOOK IN GAELIC which they can furnish, ON THEIR OWN ACCOUNT, to the Children or Parents, at a rate not exceeding one shilling each copy, being the sale price of this publication.
2. As a disposition to help and instruct each other in the art of reading has been found to exist in some parts, and may increase, if it is properly cherished, copies of the first book shall be circulated in such places, under the eye of some confidential friend to the cause, resident on or near the spot.
3. If any Clergyman shall find it convenient to devote an hour, occasionally to the instruction of the youth, or those farther advanced in life, in reading their native tongue, they may rely upon the cordial and zealous aid of this Committee, and books will be furnished, GRATIS, for those who are unable to purchase them.
4. For those favours on the part of the Committee, the several parties concerned, are expected to make some return of the number taught, and of the benefits derived from the bounty of the Society."

These were discussed and speedily approved. Anderson then raised the matter of "the Gaelic population resident in Edinburgh," most of whom were adults. "In a few days therefore it is expected, a Gaelic School will com-

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(64) The Gaelic School was actually sited at Bayble.

(65) 1AR21-28.

commence in this city" and it was hoped that other large towns, "where many of the Gaelic inhabitants stand in equal need of attention" would copy it.(66) In point of fact, the Edinburgh Gaelic School opened the very next day "in consequence of a single intimation, a very considerable number of persons appeared, who were desirous of being taught to read their native language." Some thirty adults enrolled "totally ignorant of their letters." A few others read English, but "have no understanding of it in conversation, and are, at the same time, quite unable to read their vernacular tongue."(67) Anderson concluded his Report by again stressing the debt that was owed to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Charles of Bala and he expressed the hope that as many as possible of the members would read the accounts of the Welsh Schools. Close contact was apparently maintained with Charles until his death in 1814. Certainly another letter came from him dated 17th December, 1811, in which he described "the melioration of the morals of the plebeians in general" in Wales. In June, 1812 the Rev. Mr. Henry Grey and his wife actually visited him at his home.(68) The meeting voted that the Annual Report be received, adopted and printed, and having elected their office-bearers for the following year, they adjourned.(69)

There were, by this time, December, 1811, 101 members in the Society, who had each paid 10/6d. An analysis is interesting - 80 of them came from Edinburgh and district, while the remainder came from Haddington 7, Leith 5, Glasgow 2, Gairloch 1, East Lothian 1, Inverkeithing 1, Aberdeenshire 1, Lochbroom 1, Whitburn 1 and London 1. In all, some 33 of them held official posts in the Society. Only 8 of the total were ladies; the various professions and trades were as follows - 15 Ministers, 11 Merchants, 6 Writers, 4 Booksellers, 3 Bankers, 2 Doctors, 2 Civil Servants, 2 Printers, 2 Tailors, 2 Advocates, 1 Foundry-owner, 1 Mill-owner, 1 Slater, 1 Wine-Merchant, 1 Accountant, 1 Hosier, 1 Dyer, 1 Upholsterer, 1 Baker and 1 Professor.(70) Finally, there are the accounts for the first and formative year. Donations(116 of them) had brought in £412.1.6, subscriptions £100.16.6 and congregational gifts £42.10.0, in toto £555.8.0.. Outlays were £64.18.0 on stationary, books and printing and £17.15.4 on advertising, use of rooms, postages and carriages. The three teachers, Angus McLeod in Lewis, Nicol

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(66) Ibid., pp.29-30.

(67) Ibid., p.52.

(68) Ibid., pp.62-63; Jenkins, D.E., Vol. 3pp.437, 513, 19/2/1814.

(69) 1AR20.

(70) Ibid., pp.65-69, 72.

Nicol Nicholson in the Cairloch and John McLeod at Lochbroom, each received £12.10.0 in annual salaries and £2.2.0. in expenses. By the 9th December, 1811 these accounts had been audited and the Annual Report printed.

CHAPTER 4

OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

"The Gaelic School Society takes its place as a Missionary Scheme."

- 39AR14.

It was the proud boast of the Society that "there has been no seeking for the patronage of great names." (1) This was not entirely true, at least as far as royalty was concerned. One can hardly blame them. Even today the patronage of the monarch gives any scheme a status and official mark of approval which virtually guarantees success. It was even more so in the early 19th century. The news that George IV was about to pay a visit to Edinburgh, the first Hanoverian sovereign to do so, gave the Society an excellent opportunity. On the 3rd August, 1822 a letter was dispatched to Robert Peel, Secretary of State for the Home Department, from the Society Secretary, John Campbell of Carbrook. (2)

"Sir,

I am instructed by the Directors of the Society for the support of Gaelic Schools in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, to submit to you, their anxious desire to obtain the patronage of His Majesty, for an Institution which they presume to consider so much in the light of a great National object, as not to be unworthy of His Majesty's attention, on his proposed visit to this part of his Dominions.

The Society has been in operation during twelve years. Its Schools are spread over the whole of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and communicate the benefit of instruction to a large and interesting population; who, from the nature of the country, would otherwise remain in a state of deplorable ignorance.

By the adoption of the plan of Circulating Schools, the Society has been enabled with 78 Schools, to execute a work, which, on the plan of Stationary Schools, would have required about 300.

The most unequivocal testimony has been borne, to the beneficial effects of the Society's exertions, by most of the Highland Clergy, both in their

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(1) 19AR12.

(2) Hereafter, references to names in Appendix 1 will be given after their name, e.g. John Campbell of Carbrook. (No. 49)

their private correspondence, and Synodial resolutions.

Were the Gaelic School Society a mere Local Association, however interesting the object might be, the Directors would not feel themselves at liberty to intrude on his Majesty's notice; but, contemplating the great National objects which it embraces, they trust, that in indulging the hope of their application being graciously received, they do not overstep the bounds of propriety.

While the Directors are sensible of the advantage which would accrue to the Institution, from His Majesty's permitting himself to be styled its Patron, it is their wish to submit the matter to your judgment, well knowing how much you feel interested in the diffusion of useful knowledge. Should it appear to you that it would be better to defer their application, they will respectfully acquiesce, although they considered His Majesty's presence in his Northern Metropolis as affording the most favourable opportunity for humbly presenting their request.

This application was intended to be made to you through the Earl of Moray, the President of the Society, but his absence in the North rendered this impossible. On your arrival in Edinburgh, the Directors will request his Lordship to communicate with you on the subject.

A copy of the last Report is forwarded along with this, from which you will obtain more distinct information as to the object, the plan, and the success of the Society."(3)

Some two weeks later, a letter dated Edinburgh, 20th August, 1822 arrived at Campbell's office. It was from Robert Peel.

"Sir,

I have laid the letter which you addressed to me on the 3d instant before the King, since his Majesty's arrival in Scotland; and I am to acquaint you, that his Majesty was graciously pleased to signify, that he would be the Patron of the Society for the support of Gaelic Schools, in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland."(4)

There can be no doubt that the response was mainly due to the King's delight in being received so enthusiastically by the citizens of Edinburgh. He was, at the same time, captivated by the romantic appeal of the Highlands, the result of the skilful penmanship of Sir Walter Scott. Again, his eye

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(3) 12AR44.

(4) Ibid., p.45.

eye appreciated the splash of colour presented by the tartan and the pipes appealed to his romantic imagination. There were more sombre reasons. It must have been a very pleasant change to be received so spontaneously considering the cold contempt in which he was held by Londoners. At any rate, George IV warmly presented the Society with 100 guineas.(5) The Society expressed its gratitude through an Address presented by the Earl of Moray - "May it please your Majesty,

We, the Directors of the Society for the support of Gaelic Schools in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, in the name of the Society, whose interests are committed to our charge, approach your Majesty with feelings of the most respectful and grateful affection.

Participating in those genuine expressions of affectionate loyalty which your Majesty's presence among us has so universally called forth, we feel, and gratefully acknowledge, in common with every class of our countrymen, the weight of obligation under which we are laid by your Majesty's paternal goodness. But, in a particular manner, we are bound, in duty to the important Institution entrusted to our management, and still more to that highly interesting population, whose moral improvement has become a special object of your gracious patronage, to tender to your Majesty, for ourselves and for them, our most heartfelt thanks.

Looking to the influence which such an interposition of your Majesty's favour must diffuse among all ranks connected with the Highlands and Islands, we cannot but deem the high honour which your Majesty has conferred upon this Society, by becoming its Patron, an additional pledge of the favour of Him, who is "King of Kings," and whose blessing on this object of your royal patronage will, we trust, speedily produce in those remote parts of your empire, the same fruits of religious education, which distinguish your Majesty's subjects in the Lowlands of Scotland.

By this condescending kindness shown by your Majesty to an Institution, the object of which is to teach the Highlanders to read the Scriptures in their native tongue, the pious sentiment which is embalmed in the tenderest recollections of many of your people, will be transferred into the Gaelic language with peculiar emphasis; and the inhabitants of those sequestered regions will learn that it is still the royal wish, "that every family should possess a Bible, and every child be taught to read it."

That He who is the giver of all good, may pour on the head of your Maj-

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(5) Ibid., p.48.

Majesty his choicest blessings, and that you may long be spared to experience the happiness, of making a free, an intelligent, and a virtuous people happy, is our fervent wish and earnest prayer."(6)

Two days later, on the 28th August, 1822 Peel replied, expressing the King's pleasure with the loyal Address. Despite the flowery phrases the Society's gratitude was genuine and thereafter George IV was "that Prince, who has so universally conciliated the affection of his Scottish subjects" as well as the "Father of his People."(7) It was also deserved in that the patronage of the king was accompanied by a steep rise in donations and gifts.

With the death of George IV in 1830 the current Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Walter Tait(No.299), wasted no time and on the 20th July wrote to Sir Robert Peel, Secretary of State, asking for his help in obtaining royal patronage again. He replied on the 27th July, 1830.

"Sir,

I have laid before the King your letter of the 20th inst. with the Report accompanying it of the Society established in Edinburgh for the Support of Gaelic Schools in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; and I have the satisfaction of informing you that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify his consent to be Patron of the Society."(8)

The patronage thus established continued with Queen Victoria, but, the current Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Daniel Wilkie(No.325) was less fortunate with his approach to the Secretary of State at that time, Lord John Russell. Although the Queen was pleased to be patroness he warned that he could not advise her to contribute to their funds for fear of "too many similar applications."(9) In time, Victoria was to find Gaelic, "the language so guttural and yet so soft," pleasing and attractive.(10) It was not till her visit to Scotland in 1842 that the Society had an opportunity of a direct appeal, again by an Address through the Earl of Moray -

"May it please your Majesty,

We, the Directors of the Society for the support of Gaelic Schools in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, beg leave in name of the Society whose interests have been committed to our care, most humbly to approach your Maj-

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(6) Ibid., pp.45-46, 26/8/1822.

(7) Ibid., p.29.

(8) 20AR35-36.

(9) 28AR26, 17/8/1838.

(10) D. Duff, "Victoria in the Highlands", 1968, p.43.

Majesty with the deepest feelings of loyalty and affection.

In common with all ranks of your Majesty's faithful subjects, we hail your Majesty's auspicious arrival in this ancient kingdom, and desire gratefully to acknowledge the kindness of that overruling Providence which has conducted your Majesty to our shores in safety.

Occupied as we are in the interesting and important work of communicating to thousands of your Majesty's subjects, in remote and destitute districts of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the knowledge of God's Holy Word, and cheered as we have been, from time to time, with signal tokens of the divine countenances and blessing, we beg to assure your Majesty that we are deeply sensible of the high advantage we enjoy in being honoured as a Society with your Majesty's gracious patronage, and gladly embrace this auspicious occasion humbly to express to your Majesty our most grateful and respectful acknowledgements.

Persuaded that every attempt, however humble, to promote the spiritual and eternal well-being of any class of your Majesty's subjects must ever be an object of interest to your Majesty, we venture to cherish the hope of a continuance of your Royal favour, to a Society whose labours are exclusively devoted, and that with increasing success to the moral and spiritual improvement of a class of your Majesty's subjects, who, while generally suffering under many privations, have ever been distinguished for peacefulness of conduct, benevolence of heart, and for loyal and dutiful attachment to their sovereign and their country.

That He by whom "Kings reign, and princes decree justice," and from whom cometh down "every good gift, and every perfect gift" may enrich your Majesty with the choicest blessings of His providence and grace; that He may grant unto your Majesty long to reign in His fear, and for His glory over this nation; and that, for Christ's sake, he may at length bestow on your Majesty a crown of glory which fadeth not away, is the earnest prayer of, may it please your Majesty, Your Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects and servants."(11)

The tone and spirit of this Address is quite different from the former. Here we have, in the last paragraph, clear evidence of the evangelical language which marked the Victorian Age. On the 5th September, 1842 Lord Aberdeen wrote to express the Queen's pleasure. The Address certainly had a positive side: Victoria sent a donation of £25, the Queen Dowager £10.10.0, and some

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(11) 32AR Appendix, 29/8/1842.

some time later Prince Albert gave a further £25.(12)

Next in the social hierarchy of the Society came the Presidents and there were only two of them during the entire period 1811-1861. Their main public function was to chair the Annual General Meetings. All together there were eight venues - New Rooms, Royal Exchange Coffee-house 1811-1815; Merchants' Hall 1816-1819; Waterloo Hotel, Regent Bridge 1821-1823, 1830, 1835; Assembly Rooms, George Street 1824-1829, 1831-1833; St. Andrew's Church 1834; Hopetoun Rooms, Queen Street 1836-1842, 1846; Royal Hotel, Princes Street 1843-1845, 1847-1850, 1852-1855, 1856-1857, 1859-1860; and Queen Street Hall 1851, 1858 and 1861. When the Society began A.G.M.'s were held in November till 1815, then they were moved to December till 1819 and then to January till 1830. Thereafter the favourite months were February and March. The time of day for the meetings changed as well: of the 50 meetings 18 are unknown, but from 1813-1819 the usual hour was at 12 noon, from 1821-1832, 1834-1837 it was at 1 p.m., and by 1857-1861 it was at 2 p.m.. In other words, the time of the meetings got later and later. The Earl of Moray(No.217) was President from 1811-1846, yet only chaired 3 out of 35 A.G.M.'s in 1817, 1819 and 1822. For his 32 absences he apologised only three times - in 1811 when he had to attend to "business," in 1812 when he was "at Parliament" and in 1815 when he expressed his "sincere regret" for having to go to Doune Lodge. Some 16 times his absence was noted and after 1825 even this was not done. If this is a measure of Moray's interest in the Society then he was interested in the Society till c1825 and then again for a short period 1829-1837. The other President, the Marquis of Breadalbane(No.30), 1847-1861, did not chair any of his 15 A.G.M.'s.

The chair was therefore taken 47 times by 31 members of the Society, presumably all distinguished men. Most of them are listed in Appendix 1. Six men took the chair no fewer than three times apiece - Sir Andrew Agnew (No.4), the Rev. Dr. David Johnston(No.137), J.A. Stewart MacKenzie(No.184), Sir James Miles Riddell(No.253), William Stothert of Cargen(No.290) and George Smyttan(No.276). All of these must have been committed to the Society and attended regularly. Four men took the chair twice apiece - George Sinclair of Ulbster(No.270), Robert Paul(No.232) and F.B. Douglas(No.77). The fourth, Lord Provost Adam Black, never held any official position in

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(12) 34AR10; 39AR10.

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IN THE Society.(13) An Edinburgh bookseller, Black(1784-1874)published the "Edinburgh Review" for over forty years as well as the "Encyclopedia Britannica." Lord Provost 1843-1848 he was also M.P. for the city 1856-1865. The remaining 21 men took the chair only once and 15 of them are listed - the Rev. Dr. Beith(No.18), Lord Provost Walter Brown(No.34), Alexander Campbell of Monzie(No.45), John Campbell of Carbrook(No.49), Robert Downie of Appin(No.80), Charles Grant M.P.(No.111), the Marquis of Huntly (No.129), R.G. McDonald of Clanranald(No.166), Dr. Makellar(No.179), A.N. MacLeod of Harris(No.197), the Earl of Mar(No.206), R.S. Moncrieff(No.215), John Holt Skinner(No.273), Sheriff Speirs(No.280), Alexander Stuart(No.293). Six are not listed in Appendix i and two of them remain something of a mystery, namely Duncan Darroch of Gourrock and James Maitland Hog of Newliston. The other four are well known - Sir James Forrest of Comiston(1780-1860), who was Lord Provost of Edinburgh 1838 and later Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the Freemasons of Scotland.(14) Sir William Johnston of Kirkhill(1802-1888)was a famous engraver, who, apart from splendid work on Edinburgh's Committee of Relief in Distress, helped to plan "The Meadows" and "The Queen's Drive" on Arthur's Seat.(15) David MacLagan(1785-1865)was an ex-Army surgeon, who, after distinguished service at Walcheren and Spain, had a practice in Edinburgh for nearly fifty years.(16) Finally, there was Alexander Earle Monteith(1793-1861), Sheriff of Fife.(17)

There were 36 recorded Vice-Presidents during the period 1811-1861, or 37 if we include Viscount Glenorchy who ultimately became President as the Marquis of Breadalbane. In 1812 there were 4 and they increased steadily to 20 in 1825 when a slow decline began - 16 in 1843, 10 in 1853, 7 in 1856 and 6 in 1860. Serving an average of 18 years apiece the largest group among them were the lairds, of whom there were at least 10. Their main interests were developing their estates and 4 were Highland - Sir James Miles Riddell of Ardnamurchan and Sunart(No.253), A.N. MacLeod of Harris(No.197), Alexander Maclean, 13th Chief of Ardgour(No.194) and Ranald McDonald of Staffa(No.167). The remaining 6 were Lowland and some of them were very wealthy - George Buchan of Kelloe(No.38)for example. He had had a very exciting life, having been service in India, been shipwrecked on Madagascar and captured by French

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(13) Boase, Vol. 1, pp.292-293.

(14) Ibid., p.1082.

(15) D.N.B., Vol. 10, pp.958-959.

(16) Boase, Vol. 2, p.243.

(17) Ibid., p.933.

French privateers. He joined the Free Church in 1843 and made his home a well-known rendezvous for evangelicals. A close relative of Robert Cathcart, W.S., he gave a fortune to Free Church schemes. Another rich man was Archibald Stirling of Kenmure(No.285)who had made his fortune as a planter in Jamaica. He drained his lands, bred cattle and discovered coal and iron fields. James Stirling of Keir(No.286)also developed his estate and was an authority on farming. John Burnett of Kennay(No.41), whom we have already met married the daughter of the Society founder, Charles Stuart of Dunearn. James Douglas of Cavers(No.79)was the longest serving Vice-President, some 45 years, a Congregationalist he was also a strong evangelist. The last Lowland laird was Charles M. Christie(No.56), 2nd Laird of Durie, an ex-soldier who had seen action in the Peninsula. The second largest group, 7 in all, were aristocrats. Viscount Glenorchy(No.31) as we have seen, became President. His father, the Earl of Breadalbane(No.30) was a powerful Highland landlord who spent his time improving his estates. The 2nd Marquis of Bute(No.42)was perhaps the most widely travelled and best educated of the peers. A friend of Wellington and Peel he too tended his estates. The Earl of Aboyne(No.2), latterly Marquis of Huntly, had been a soldier, as had the Earl of Glasgow(No.101). While the Earl of Mar(No.206)was a nonentity, the 5th Earl of Selkirk(No.265)was colourful. A friend of Scott he had become convinced on his Highland tours that emigration was the only solution to the people's plight. He wrote articles on the subject and encouraged 800 settlers to live on Prince Edward Island 1803. His Red River Valley scheme 1811 was an unhappy affair. The land given to the Stornoway settlers menaced the profits of the North West Fur Company and there was a state of virtual war from 1812-1817. Selkirk was blamed for this, tried and fined. The third group consisted of 6 M.P.'s of whom three were fairly obscure - J.A. Stewart MacKenzie of Seaforth(No.184), Robert Downie of Appin(No.80) and Lord Strathavon(No.292). R.G. McDonald, 20th Chief of Clanranald and 7th of Benbecula, had been educated at Eton, but he was forced to sell his estate because of financial difficulties.(No.166) Alexander Campbell of Monzie(No.45) was quite different. An ex-Hussar he was was a strong supporter of the Free Church to which he gave large sums of money. A liberal Conservative he was known for his support of Free Trade and Vote by Ballot. The most interesting character among this group was Charles Grant of Water-nish(No.111), whose Jacobite father had been killed at Culloden. He had prospered in the Indian silk trade and had actually been Chairman of the

the East Indian Company Board 1805. As such he had clashed with Wellington whose impeachment he had urged in 1808. An evangelist in the Clapham Sect he was friendly with Zachary Macaulay and William Wilberforce. Devoted to education in India he had founded Haileybury College and was famous for his interest in the Caledonian Canal. Many of the previous group had been soldiers, but a small group of 4 were professionals - Lord Gray(No.114), Major-General Sir Evan John Murray McGregor of McGregor(No.174), Major-General McDouall(No.168) and the 3rd Lord MacDonald(No.164) The latter was rather odd: a Peninsular War veteran he spent years in a complex law-suit over his three natural children. Four were clergymen - the Rev. Mr. Angus McKellar (No.179), who was a Gaelic scholar; the Rev. Dr. David Johnston(No.137), who was a very popular minister from North Leith who gathered money for Edinburgh's Asylum for the Industrial Blind and achieved fame for refusing a knighthood; the Rev. Mr. Gerard Noel, the longest serving Vice-President at 44 years, was well placed socially, being the son of Sir Gerard Noel-Noel, the nephew of the Earl of Gainsborough, a friend of Wilberforce and a distinguished hymnist in his own right. The last, and probably the most able, we have already met - Charles Stuart, M.D. of Dunearn. Only one Vice-President was eminent by law and that was Sheriff Graham Speirs(No.280); an ex-RN man he became an advocate and later Sheriff of Elgin and Nairn and finally Edinburgh. A noted Liberal he was passionately interested in Prison Reform, Ragged and Sabbath Schools. The remaining four were relatively obscure - Stothert of Cargen (No.290), R.S. Moncrieff(No.215), John Campbell of Warriston(No.47) and Robert Spear(No.279), who was probably a Lancashire industrialist.

Oddly enough, the average length of service for the 73 Governors was also 18 years. But here, the interesting factor is that 22 of them were female. Six had aristocratic backgrounds - the Duchess of Gordon(No.105) was an Episcopalian, who was interested in the Society for some thirty years; well-educated and wealthy, she was, in her own right, the daughter of Brodie of Brodie. A friend of Stuart of Dunearn she joined the Free Church and supported a wide range of schools and chapels. The Countess of Ormelle was the wife of Lord Glenorchy and as such she became the Marchioness of Breadalbane.(No.229) Lady Colquhoun of Luss, daughter of the famous Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, was a Free Church writer(No.59) and with her daughter(No.60) gave great service to the Society. Two other distinguished members were Lady Grace Douglas(No.78) and Lady Anderson(No.10). Five of the ladies came from prominent county far-

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families - Mrs Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth(No.185) and her two daughters, Miss Charlotte(No.182) and Miss Augusta(No.181) and two sisters, Miss Jane Stirling of Keir(No.287) and Miss Marion(No.288). English ladies were represented in the ranks of the Governors and there were no fewer than 5 of them - Mrs. Gladstone(No.100), mother of William Ewart Gladstone, future Prime Minister of Great Britain. Two lived in London - Maria W. Smith(No. 275) and Mrs. Puget(No.245), while one was from Ipswich, Mrs. Page Reade(No. 249) and one from Brighton, Miss Fryer(No.95). The remaining six were virtually local - from Edinburgh, Mrs. Mackenzie(No.187), Miss Mackenzie(No.186), Mrs. Campbell(No.50), Miss Agnes Carnegie(No.54) and Miss Hunter(No.128). From St. Andrews came the Misses Wilson(No.328). The latter are so obscure that they are treated here as one person. Nine of the men were lairds - three Highland, Michael Bruce of Glenelg(No.36), George Rainy of Raasay(No. 246) and John Ramsay of Islay(No.247), while four were Lowland, Alexander Murray of Ayton(No.220), James Oliphant of Gask(No.227), James Erskine of Linlathen(No.85) and John Graham of Gartur(No.110). Two of the lairds were better known as advocates - John Richardson of Pitfour(No.251) and Thomas Erskine of Linlathen(No.86). The latter was a well-known author, friend of Thomas Carlyle and Dean Stanley as well as a noted Episcopalian evangelist. Eight came from England or abroad - Henry Walker of Blythahall (No.311), a Notts squire; the Rev. Mr. John Hunter from Leamington(No.127) and the farthest off, Divie Bethune of New York(No.22). The remaining five all lived in London - Aeneas McIntosh(No.176), merchant, Alexander Gordon (No.104), solicitor and the obscure George Forbes(No.91), J. Broadly Wilson (No.327) and William Davidson(No.72). The last of these was the longest serving Governor at 49 years. India provided the background for 7 others - General Sir John Low(No.151), Col. W. Morrison(No.218), Captain Maclaren(No. 189), H.T. Owen(No.230), Alexander Ross(No.261) and George Smyttan, M.D.(No. 276). The most interesting of this group was Sir Charles T. Metcalfe. Educated at Eton, he was a skilled oriental linguist and diplomat, who eventually became provisional Governor-General of India. He later served in Jamaica and Canada with distinction. Indeed, Indian influence can be traced on three others who became M.P.'s - Thomas Babington Macaulay(No.154), had been a barrister who wrote for the "Edinburgh Review." In India he rose to be a Member of the Supreme Council and he earned fame as the compiler of the Indian Criminal Code. As Secretary for War he served in the Cabinet and

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and as a Professor of History he was a prolific and successful writer. Sir Charles Forbes(No.90) returned from India as a Tory opposed to the 1832 Reform Bill. Nevertheless, he was in favour of Roman Catholic Emancipation and even female franchise. Sir Robert Abercromby of Airthrey(No.1) was renowned, not only for physical courage displayed at Ticonderoga, Brandywine and Yorktown, but also for the fact that he never plundered India while serving there. Five of the Governors were professional men - three bankers, Andrew Bonar(No.24), Archibald Bonar(No.25) and William Bonar(No.26). The latter was the best known of these in that he wrote many religious tracts. James Cunningham(No.68) was a Writer to the Signet, while Francis B. Douglas(No.77), was a wealthy advocate. A highly respected Liberal and generous supporter of the Free Church, he was Lord Provost 1859-1862, during which time he opened Cockburn Street, restored the Castle and founded the General Post Office and Museum. Only three of them were merchants like Robert Gray(No.115) and draper Duncan McLaren(No.191). The latter was also a noted Liberal and he carefully guided Edinburgh through a severe financial crisis when he was Lord Provost 1851-1854. The last, and most famous of this small group, was William Campbell of Tilliechewan(No.51). A Glasgow clothier he was a philanthropist of enormous wealth, giving no less than £90,000 to various charities e.g. the Glasgow Night Asylum for the Homeless. A strict Sabbatarian he supported 20 Free Church kirks in Glasgow and 200 others throughout the country. Three of the Governors are obscure - Robert Warden of Morayshire(No.314), the Rev. Mr. J.A. Wallace(No.312) and Viscount Powerscourt(No.240), while another 7 are quite unknown - James Stevenson(No.281), George Symners(No.296), Donald McLaren(No.190), George Inglis(No.131), George Robertson(No.256), William Robertson(No.257) and Alexander Riddell(No.252), who served for 49 years. Only six remain and these we have already met - Glenorchy, Burnett, Christie, McKellar, Paul and Spear. The number of Governors was slow to develop, only 2 in 1812 and 10 in 1821 and 20 in 1831, but thereafter the numbers were high and consistent - 37 in 1841, 41 in 1851 and 36 in 1861.

The real commitment to the Society came from those persons who served in the Committee. They made the essential decisions and they did almost all the work. During the years 1811-1861 no fewer than 216 men, there were never any women, served an average of 5 years apiece. At least 36 of them held other offices and it is as such that we will meet them. That leaves

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leaves 180 who served only on the Committee. Unfortunately, as many as 62 of them are quite unknown, apart from their addresses and these are listed variously in Appendix i. However, 118 can be identified and broken down into professions - 44 Ministers, 27 Law, 24 Commerce, 10 Services, 6 Medicine, 2 M.P.'s, 2 Clerks and 3 varied. These figures reflect the composition of the average Committee for any given year. An analysis of each year has been made, but few significant patterns emerge, except the following points: the number of clergy was high at first, but declined rapidly in the 1830's only to rise steeply again in 1843; legal figures show the reverse, fairly high in the 1830's and then a decline after 1843; manufacturers are conspicuous by their absence; lairds were slow to be involved until the 1820's and then lost interest after 1843; finally, the number of minor and obscure rose enormously after 1843. All of which underlines the view that 1843 was a significant year for the Society. One last statistic - over the fifty years, 1811-1861, some 1,198 names are recorded as serving on the Committee. Of these, 356 i.e. 30% are unknown, while 276 are Ministers, 143 are Writers to the Signet, 54 are Military and 50 Advocates. Only these are mathematically significant. Smaller groups are - 47 Medicals, 46 Officials, 35 Booksellers, 33 Lairds and 30 Bankers, while the remainder are completely insignificant.

Of the 44 Ministers, 7 were Church of Scotland, and, apart from the Rev. Dr. William Muir(No.219)were fairly minor figures, the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Golding(No.102), the Rev. Mr. James Jaffray(No.134), the Rev. Dr. William Manuel(No.205), the Rev. Mr. John Sinclair(No.271), the Rev. Mr. William Reid(No.250) and the Rev. Mr. Edward Craig(No.64). Only two were Episcopalian - the Rev. Mr. D.T.K. Drummond(No.81) and the Rev. Mr. Robert Adam (No.3). Unfortunately, no Roman Catholic clergyman ever served on the Committee. This was not the case with the Free Church - the Rev. Mr. W.K. Tweedie (No.309), the Rev. Mr. Thomas Main(No.204), the Rev. Dr. Charles Watson(No.316), the Rev. Mr. G.R. Davidson(No.70), the Rev. Robert Cunningham(No.69) and the Rev. Mr. Alexander Moody-Stuart(No.295). There were only two United Presbyterians, the Rev. Mr. George Jackson(No.138) and the Rev. Mr. James Kirkwood (No.295). Two others were Anti-burghers, the Rev. Mr. George Paxton(No.234) and the Rev. Dr. John Jamieson(No.136), a great friend of Sir Walter Scott. The others belonged to various seceder groups - the Rev. Mr. Robert Simpson

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Simpson(No.269) of the Secession Church, the Rev. Mr. John Johnson(No.139) of the Relief Presbytery, the Rev. Mr. James Hall(No.120) of the Associate Presbytery and the Rev. Mr. William Innes(No.132), who was a bookseller as well as a Baptist cleric. In a peculiar group of their own are the McCries - the Rev. Mr. Thomas McCrie, Sen.(No.157) was an Original Seceder, while his son, the Rev. Mr. Thomas McCrie, Jnr., was Free Church. At least three can be classed as academics - the Rev. Dr. Robert Gordon(No.108), Professor of Divinity, the Rev. Dr. John Lee(No.147), Principal of Edinburgh University and the Rev. Mr. W.H. Goold, Professor of Biblical Criticism(No.103). Three others were Gaelic scholars, the Rev. Mr. Duncan McCaig(No.156), the Rev. Mr. C.R. Matheson(No.209) and the Rev. Mr. Hugh Fraser(No.93). Some of them formed close groups of friends, like the Rev. Mr. James Baldane and the Rev. Mr. John Aikman, whom we have already met, together with the Rev. Dr. Buchanan(No.6) and the Rev. Mr. David Dickson, Jnr.,(No.73), a Hebrew scholar. A few come across with more personality and interest - the Rev. Mr. James Peddie(No.235) a New Light, who founded the Edinburgh Subscription Library and was suspected as a Jacobin because of his radical views on toleration and liberty. The Rev. Dr. John Ritchie(No.254) was a quarrelsome temperance fanatic, while the Rev. Mr. Julius Wood(No.329) was an army chaplain. The most famous was probably the Rev. Mr. Thomas Guthrie(No.118), who was a friend of Thackeray, Ruskin and many others. A famous Liberal, he closed public-houses on Sundays and fought for compulsory education and industrial schools. He actually raised as much as £116,000 for Free Church schemes. The most important, however, was the Rev. Dr. R.S. Candlish(No.52) who led the Free Church after the death of Thomas Chalmers. He tried, through the Evangelical Alliance, to unite the Free Church, United Presbyterians, Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Reformed Church of England. Unfortunately, he failed. His assistant, the Rev. Mr. James Hamilton(No.121), also served. The Rev. Mr. Henry Grey of the Free Church was opposed to slavery and all for political reform, while the Rev. Mr. Alexander Topp(No.306), also of the Free Church, made his reputation in Canada. The last, the Rev. Dr. T.S. Jones was a very impressive preacher(No.140).

There were 27 involved in Law and 16 of these were ordinary Writers to the Signet - T.S. Anderson(No.11), James Bridges(No.32), Hay Donaldson(No.76), Harry Davidson(No.71), James Crawford, Jnr.,(No.65), Walter Cook(No.61), Andrew Tawse(No.300), Patrick Tennant(No.301), Henry Tod(No.304), Matthew N. McDonald(No.165), Alexander McDonald(No.161), Alexander MacDuff(No.171), George Lyon(No.152), William Home(No.125), John A. Pringle(No.242) and James Grant(No.112). Three others were rather better known - W. Forbes Skene(No.

(No.272) a famous historian, John Pollock(No.239), who was not only a Writer, but a banker, and James F. Gordon(No.107), nephew of Stuart of Dunearn and son-in-law to Robert Haldane. He served four times on the Committee. Four were distinguished advocates - Sir W.C. Seton(No.266), Henry Wight(No.324), Patrick Arklay(No.12) and William Robertson(No.258). Two others were Sheriffs, Sheriff Andrew James on of Midlothian and later Edinburgh(No.135) and Sheriff Thomas Cleghorn, legal adviser to the Free Church(No.58). William Pringle(No.244) was a Depute Clerk of Session and George Ross(No.262) was a Judge of Consistory Court.

In Commerce we find 24, of whom at least 7 can be classified as merchants. Four of them came from Edinburgh - George Brunton(No.37), Archibald Anderson(No.7), Robert Plenderleath(No.238) and Robert Miller(No.212). Two belonged to Leith, William Thorburn(No.303) and George Gibson(No.99), while John Thom(No.302) was from Portobello. Three were booksellers - William Whyte(No.320), John Waugh(No.318) and Alexander McKay(No.177). Two others were printers - Andrew Balfour(No.15) and Charles Stewart(No.284). Two were upholsterers - Alexander Bruce, Sen.(No.35) and William Braidwood(No.29). The remaining ten were varied - William Young(No.331) was a builder; William Murray(No.222) was a banker; John Cameron(No.44) was a clothier; Robert Saunders(No.264) was a baker; James Paterson(No.231) was a watchmaker; Archibald Smith(No.274) was an accountant; John Wigham, Jr.(No.323) was a shawl manufacturer; Kenneth Treasurer(No.307) was a tailor; Alexander Cruickshank(No.66) was a hosier, who served three times on the Committee and Alexander McLaurin(No.193), who was a postmaster.

Of the 10 who were serving military men four were Colonels - Col. Charles Cadell(No.43), who had been at Waterloo, Colonel Martin(No.207), Col. McLeod of St. Kilda(No.198) and Col. Maclauchlan(No.188). Of the 5 captains the most famous was Captain Wauchope(No.317) of the R.N., who was an inventor; the others were obscure - Capt. James Macdougall(No.170), Capt. Petley(No.236), Capt. Pringle(No.241) and Capt. M. McGregor(No.173). The last was a Lt. Rose(No.260). Only six were medical men - Dr. William Stevenson(No.282), Dr. William Beilby(No.17) and three surgeons, John McFarlan(No.172), George Bell(No.21) and the eminent Professor Miller(No.211). The last in this group was Professor J.H. Balfour, who was also a noted botanist(No.16). Two only were M.P.'s - Sir Andrew Agnew(No.4), the famous Sabbatarian, who refused to dine with William IV on a Sunday and George Sinclair of Ulbster(No.270). The latter was the son of the eminent Sir John Sinclair and as a Whig was a friend of Byron and Peel. He had an adventurous life, being arrested as a

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a spy in Holland and dragged before Napoleon. An opponent of slavery he advocated Roman Catholic Emancipation. Finally, we have two Clerks, William Whytock(No.322)of the Register Office and William Wemyss(No.319)of the Commissary-General. Three others were varied - Colin Campbell of Jura(No.46), a laird, Kenneth McQueen(No.202)a retired East India Company man, and Dr. Thomas Brown(No.33), Professor of Moral Philosophy and co-founder with Brougham, Horner, Smith and Jeffrey of the "Edinburgh Review."

The Committee was undoubtedly the most important part of the Society's machinery, in fact, it ran the administration - making decisions on the siting of schools, the appointment of teachers, relations with heritors, finance and a host of other areas. Naturally, twenty-four persons is too unwieldy a body, hence the early emphasis on a quorum of five. Oddly enough, there are only two references in all fifty Annual Reports to the use of sub-committees. Once, when there was need to calculate the number of Gaelic-speakers in Edinburgh in the early days of the Society.(18) The second occasion was in 1822 when there was so much business that a sub-committee had to be appointed to meet weekly. This was convened, not by the Secretary, as one might have expected, but by a Mr. Evans(No.87), about whom nothing is known. Sometimes, the full Committee had to make changes in the original Laws - "Several verbal alterations in the Laws and Regulations of the Society have been found necessary."(19) On 30th January, 1821 these were made.(20) They were not very dramatic, for example, Law 6 now read: "The office-bearers of the Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Governors, Life-Directors, a Committee of Twenty-four, a Treasurer, three Secretaries, an Assistant-Secretary and Clerk, and a Depositary. Six of the Committee to go out annually by rotation; the Treasurer, the Secretaries and the individual who is Assistant-Secretary and Clerk to be annually elected." Apart from dropping the number of Vice-Presidents, viz. six, the additions were the references to the Governors, Life-Directors, Assistant Secretary and Clerk and a Depositary. Likewise Law 7 now read: "None of the office-bearers, except the Assistant-Secretary and Clerk, and the Depositary shall draw any emolument for their service to the Society." The addition is only the reference to the Assistant-Secretary. More usually they had to approve

(18) 3AR64.

(19) 10ARx.

(20) Ibid., p.vii.

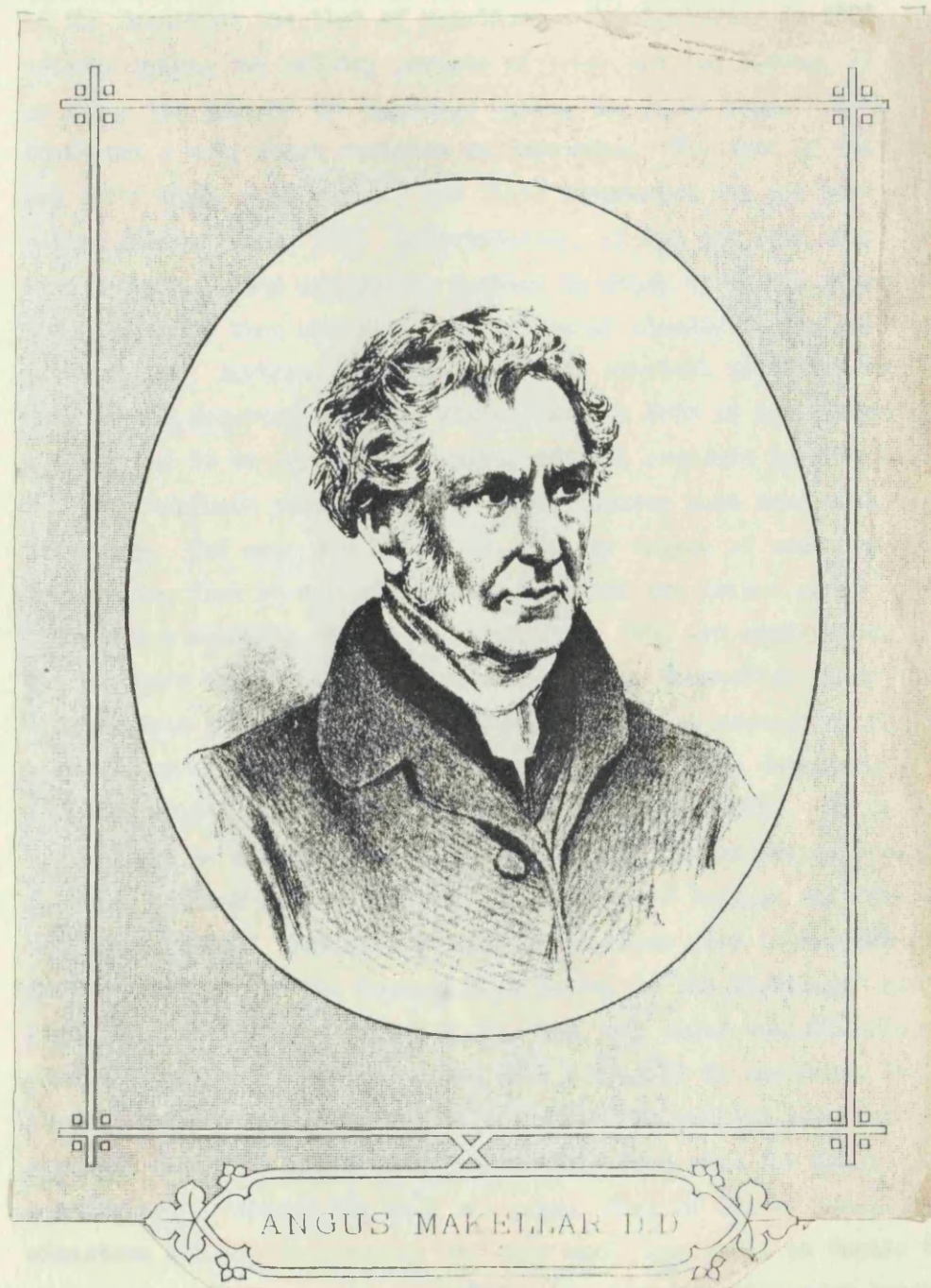


PLATE 4.

approve more detailed matters like the introduction of a new registration system with monthly lists.(21) Another area that caused great debate within the Committee was that of vacations. For instance, in 1826, instead of schools having two holiday periods of three and two months, it was decided to allow the schools to "assemble during the whole year." Of course, there was a very short vacation in September. The cost of this change was quite high, c.£180 p.a., and "this alteration was not made without mature deliberation."(22) Unfortunately, it did not work well, because the teachers needed reasonable weather in which to change schools. Therefore, in 1827, they returned to a system of closing in May and re-opening in June.(23) Another area which received constant attention was that of reports and requests to local ministers. In 1828 it was decided that all reports had to be in by 1st December and all requests by 30th April.(24)

The toughest position in the whole Society must have been that of Secretary. Not only was it unpaid, but the volume of work was intense. So much so, that it was divided into Highland and Island areas of concern. There was a specific Gaelic Secretary till 1831 and again after 1841. Although there were four Secretaries till 1815, thereafter there were three. Twenty-three persons served as Secretaries for an average of eight years apiece, but only five of them were designated Gaelic Secretaries. The longest serving was the Rev. Mr. Angus McKellar(No.179). In 44 years with the Society he held many posts. The Rev. Mr. Thomas MacIaichlan(No.192) was a Gaelic scholar having published the "Poems of Ossian" and "The Gaelic Reference Bible." Social and economic problems also interested him and he was the author of "The Depopulation System in the Highlands" and "Recent Highland Ejections Considered." The Rev. Mr. James Noble(No.224) was probably the best qualified as he had been a teacher in Lochbroom for many years. John Campbell(No.48) and Alexander MacLeod(196) were laymen and somewhat obscure. The former was more involved with the Highland Society and the latter served for only one year. Five of the 17 remaining were ministers and Gaelic-speakers and they must have acted as Gaelic Secretaries even though they were not so listed. The Rev. Mr. Alexander Beith was one of the famous "Strathbogie Seven" in Free Church folklore(No.18), while the Rev. Robert Elder(No.84) was also Free Church. The Rev. Mr. John MacAlister(No.153) edited a version of the Gaelic Scriptures, while the Rev. Mr.

(21) 12AR19.

(22) 15AR3-4.

(23) 16AR4.

(24) 17AR53.

Mr. Hugh McLeod(No.199)went to Canada. The most scholarly was the Rev. Mr. Alexander Stewart, the friend of Haldane and Simeon.(No.283) He revised translations of the Scriptures for the S.S.P.C.K. as well as original Ossian. He also wrote "Elements of Gaelic Grammar" and "A Primer or Spelling-Book in Gaelic." Two others were ministers: the Rev. Mr. Walter Tait(No.299) and the Rev. Mr. Daniel Wilkie(No.325). The former was well-known in Edinburgh society as the nephew of Admiral Viscount Duncan as well as for his radical views on religion; the latter was highly esteemed for his work with the poor. Unfortunately, it was to cost him his life. Of the others we have already met Christopher Anderson and John Campbell of Carbrook, who was a Writer to the Signet, as were Alexander Stuart(No.293), James Gordon Jr., (No.106) and John Dymock(No.83) There were other professional men - William Paul(No.233), an accountant and Robert Paul(No.232), banker. While James Wilbet(No.223) is unknown, Dr. Richard Huie(No.126)was a surgeon with successful careers in London, Dundee and Edinburgh. Two others remain - Alexander Hutchison(No.130), a writer and Thomas Martin(No.208), who is obscure. Three of these Secretaries also served as Assistant-Secretaries and Clerks for a further twenty years apiece - Alexander Hutchison, Thomas Martin and James Gordon, Jr.. As Clerks they were the only officials to draw salaries, £50 p.a..

As one might expect two of the four Treasurers, John Campbell of Carbrook and Robert Paul, had been Secretaries. The other two are fairly obscure - banker John G. Kinnear(No.144) and W.P. Kennedy(No.143). These four averaged ten years' service apiece. Closely allied to the post of Treasurer was that of Auditor. Eight persons are recorded here with an average of 12 years' apiece. Operating two at a time we have met six of them already - William Scott Moncrieff, William Paul, Walter Brown, Robert Cathcart, George Todd and Thomas Martin. Only two were Auditors and nothing else - John Scott Moncrieff(No.142) and James Dickson(No.74). In 1829 the Auditors were no longer appointed from the Committee, but this only lasted till 1854.

One of the most exotic areas of the Society's administration was that of its Foreign Correspondents. These numbered only three - Sultan Alexander Katte-Chery, Krik-Chery(No.141), who was connected with the Caucasus and the Crimea; the Rev. Dr. Robert Pinkerton in Russia(No.237) and Baron de Strandman(No.291) with interests in Switzerland and Italy.

In contrast, the work of the Depositary was humdrum. Only one holder of this office is recorded, William Arnot, book-keeper(No.13) Operating from 13, Queen Street he supervised the disposal of thousands of volumes and

and tracts in return for £35 p.a. for rent and allowance.(25) Two further Depot Keepers were added in 1838, but their names were never listed. They must have held very menial positions as they only received £3 p.a. between them. By 1834 there were eight depots scattered throughout the Highlands and Islands - Inverness, Fort William, Mellon Charles(Pollewe), Bridgend (Islay), Tobermory, Glenhinisdale(Snizort, Skye), Strond(Harris)and Stornoway.(26) They did not last very long, in fact, Strond was closed within a year. Some idea of the turnover can be gathered from that of the Edinburgh Depository alone: in 1835 they sold 2,760 Elementary books and Extracts from Scriptures as well as 921 Bibles and New Testaments for a total of £179.17.4.. In earlier years, the issues had been much higher. For example, in 1824-1825 the Depository released 4,326 Bibles, 5,908 New Testaments, 7,614 Extracts and 3,249 Psalms. It was, in fact, flooding the north with religious literature. Another functionary whose task lacked glamour, but was essential, was the anonymous Officer, who collected subscriptions. At first, his task was easy, members paid their dues at various offices in the city - Manners and Miller at the Cross till 1824 and then in 1825 at Princes Street; at Oliphant, Waugh and Innes in Hunters' Square till 1818; then to Oliphant on the South Bridge or to Waugh and Innes, still in Hunters' square; to Robert Plenderleath and Company on the North Bridge; to Brown, Anderson and Company in Lothian Street to 1824 and then to Walter Brown and Son, still in Lothian Street; to Alexander Cruickshank in Nicolson Street and lastly to William Whyte in St. Andrew Street. In 1825 it was decided that all subscriptions should be paid at Arnotts Depository instead. The Officer therefore had much more work and his remuneration was usually about £10 and a gratuity. After 1843 it was much reduced and was nearer £2.10.0 p.a.. After 1846 he worked from 6, York Place. No doubt he also had to convey the manuscripts for the Annual Reports to the different printers employed by the Society and these were numerous - A. Balfour, Merchant Court 1812-1817; Balfour and Clarke, Merchant Court 1818-1821; Abernethy and Walker 1822; Anderson and Bryce, Foulis' Close 1823; T. Colquhoun, 221, High Street 1824; James Walker, Old Bank Close 1825-1826; James Colson, 56, High Street 1827; James Walker again 1828-1830; James Colson, now in East Rose Street 1831-1832; Anderson and Bryce again 1833; James Walker again, now in 6, James's Court 1834-1841; Balfour and

(25) 24AR71.

(26) Ibid., p.45.

and Jack 1842; James Walker again 1843; Murray and Gibb 1844-1846; Andrew Jack 1847-1861.

Another employee of the Society, but with a much more arduous task was the Superintendent of Schools. The Society seemed to have difficulty in determining the precise title for this position, as in 1830 they used the title Inspector of Schools instead. Till 1820 inspection of schools seems to have been carried out by nominated members of the Committee, then from 1820-1828 by Francis MacBean(No.155) in a semi-official capacity and thereafter officially. Six men were Superintendents or Inspectors, although only two had the former designation. They served for an average of 5 years apiece. TheBean had been a schoolmaster near Fort William and was well qualified for his duties. His salary was £60 p.a. and travelling costs, usually c£42. Another was Alexander Hutchison, whom we have met before as Clerk. Alexander Anderson(No.6) served as Interim Inspector from 1831-1838 at a small salary of c£18 till he was fully appointed Inspector in 1839. He had taught in the huge Society school at Barvasses in Lewis where he had 368 scholars. He did not stay long with his new responsibility and in 1842 he became a minister. Donald Murray(No.221) was another former Society teacher, who had taught at Samadalene and Corrary. He also left to take up a post in the ministry. The last two, Murdo McDonald(No.163) and James Ross(No.263) are much more obscure.

One group of members in the Society played very little part in the management of affairs, although they were entitled to do so. This was the Life Members. This required a payment of £10.10.0 and 12 did so in 1813, 26 by 1823, 31 by 1833, 35 by 1843 and 38 by 1853. Their greatest number was reached in 1851 with 43. Life Directors were different: these were the leading figures behind the scenes and they may well have directed general Society policy. They rose slowly from 2 in 1821 to a maximum of 9 in 1840 and thereafter declined. Twelve men held this post for an average of 15 years each and no fewer than 7 of them had been Secretaries - the Rev. Mr. Robert Elder, Alexander Stuart, Christopher Anderson, Dr. Richard Muir, the Rev. Mr. Walter Tait, William Paul and Robert Paul. Three others had served on the Committee - Alexander Macdougall, Charles Forbes and John Campbell of Warriston. The remaining ~~two~~ are a complete mystery in that they only appear as Life Directors and nothing else: there is no reference to them in any Annual Report other than that - William Macleod(No.200), S.W. Silver(No. 267),

267.

In all then we have the following statistics: 3 Patrons, 2 Presidents, 37 Vice-Presidents, 73 Governors, 216 Committee, 23 Secretaries, 3 Clerks, 4 Treasurers, 8 Auditors, 1 Depositary, 3 Correspondents, 6 Inspectors and 12 Life Directors, in all 391 positions. These were held by 331 persons who may be found listed in Appendix 1.

Only one aspect of the Society remains - the rank and file. Unfortunately, they are not only the most numerous, but the most difficult to find anything about. They must have ranged from those who were passionately interested in evangelical movements to those who paid their 10/6d under pressure from a relative or a friend. The latter will always remain anonymous. As for the former, we get some insight into their characters if they ever spoke at any of the A.G.M.'s, if they ever proposed or seconded any motion. The following are 35 who fall into this category. Some, we have met before, such as the Rev. Mr. Charles Simeon and the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Brown. In fact, the latter had several of his *relatives with him in the* Society - the Rev. Mr. John Brown(1754-1832) of Whitburn, who wrote "A brief Account of a Tour in the Highlands of Perthshire"(1818) and "A Loud Cry from the Highlands" (1818)(27). With him was his son, the Rev. Dr. John Brown(1784-1858) of Biggar.(28) He had been suggesting the evangelicasting of the Highlands since 1815. His fame rests on the long struggle he had, 1835-1843, demanding the separation of Church from the State and especially his refusal to pay the Annuity Tax in 1838. There was even another of the family, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Brown.(29) The Rev. Mr. Thomas Liddell(1800-1880) was a friend of Sir Andrew Agnew and the Rev. Mr. John Paul(1795-1873) was related to the Moncrieffs.(30) Many were Free Church writers of repute - the Rev. Mr. W. M. Etherington(1803-1865), who edited the "Free Church Magazine" and wrote a "History of the Church of Scotland."(31) The Rev. Mr. Andrew A. Bonar (1806-1892) was a prolific writer, who founded the Edinburgh Speculative Society.(32) The Rev. Mr. William Nixon(1803-1900) was famous for his "Christian Education", as was the Rev. Mr. John Sym(1809-1855) for his campaigns on behalf of the "houseless poor."(33) There were many others - the Rev. Mr.

(27) D.N.B., Vol. 3, pp.17-18.

(28) W.P. Anderson, "Silences that Speak", 1931, pp.628-630.

(29) R. Small, "History of the Congregations of the U.P. Church 1733-1900", 1904, Vol. 1, p.554.

(30) Fasti, Vol. 2, p.215; Bonar, Vol. 2, p.1394, Fasti, Vol. 1, pp.98-99.

(31) Bonar, Vol. 1, p.1453.

(32) Fasti, Vol. 4, pp.200-201.

(33) Ibid., Vol. 5, p.416.

Mr. Charles J. Brown(1806-1884), the Rev. Dr. John Smyth(1796-1860) and the Rev. Dr. Patrick Clason(1789-1868), all well-known authors.(34) The Church of Scotland also had her pamphleteers - the Rev. Mr. Adam D. Tait (1802-1864), the Rev. Dr. James Thomson(1768-1865), the Rev. Dr. A. Duncan (1755-1827) and the Rev. Dr. W.F. Ireland(1775-1828).(35) Some of the ordinary Society members were distinguished linguists, like the Rev. Dr. Alexander Brunton(1772-1854), who was Professor of Oriental Languages and as such Convener of the India Mission Committee 1834-1847.(36) He even wrote an "Outline of Persian Grammar." The Rev. Dr. G.H. Baird(1761-1840) of St. Giles was not only a Professor of Oriental Languages, but a Hebraist as well.(37) He became Principal of Edinburgh University and founder and first Convener of the General Assembly's Highland and Islands Committee of 1824. He is remembered for his persuasion of Dr. Andrew Bell of Madras to leave £5,000 for Highland education. There were other academicians - the Rev. Mr. Robert Rainy, Professor of Church History and the Rev. Mr. John Forbes(1801-1874)who was an expert mathematician.(38) Perhaps the most active of the academics was the Rev. Mr. William Cunningham(1805-1861)who was a famous Calvinist.(39) Professor of Theology and then Church History he eventually became Principal of New College and editor of the British and Foreign Evangelical Review. One clergyman with wide experience abroad was the Rev. Dr. Thomas Davidson(1747-1827)who had been educated at Leyden University and was licensed at Rotterdam.(40) Owner of an estate near Cramond he held a D.D. from Harvard. Then, of course, there were the ministers who were Gaelic-speakers - the Rev. Mr. J.R. Glass(1803-1855) and the Rev. Mr. Duncan MacGregor(1824-1891)were both Free Church.(41) Only one was a black sheep, the Rev. Mr. Adam Gun of Hope Street Gaelic Chapel, Glasgow, who was "deposed for immoral conduct" in 1835.(42) Another Gael, the Rev. Mr. David Carment(1772-1856)had had experience as a teacher in Strath in Skye, but the most distinguished of all the Gaels was the Rev. Dr. Mackintosh Mackay.(43)

(34) Ibid., Vol. 1, p.148; Vol. 3, p.443; Boase, Vol. 1, p.637.

(35) Fasti, Vol. 1, p.213; Boase, Vol. 3, p.948; Fasti, p.183, pp.156-157, Vol. 1.

(36) Ibid., p.137.

(37) Boase, Vol. 1, pp.68-69.

(1914) (38) W. Ewing, "Annals of the Free Church of Scotland 1843-1900", Vol. 1, pp.57-58. Boase, Vol. 1, p.1078.

(39) Fasti, Vol. 1, p.788.

(40) Ibid., p.120.

(41) Ewing, W., Vol. 1, p.169, p.229.

(42) Fasti, Vol. 3, p.416.

(43) Boase, Vol. 1, p.551.

(43) It is not exactly clear as to when he was born, some accounts suggest 1793 and others 1800, but he was the son of Capt. Mackay of Duard Beg, Edd-rachillis. Educated at the Universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow. From 1825-1832 he was minister at Laggan and from 1832-1843 at Dunoon. At the Disruption he joined the Free Church and served as their representative in Dunoon from 1843-1854. Then came seven years in Australia at Gaelic Chapels - Melbourne 1854-1856 and Sydney 1856-1861. Returning to Scotland he went to Tarbert, Harris and served there 1862-1868. Five years later he died. A friend of Sir Walter Scott, who had described him as "modest, intelligent and gentle," he taught Gaelic to W.F. Skene and in 1829 published "Songs and Poems in Gaelic." While the most vocal of the ordinary members of the Society were clergymen, other sections of society were represented in fair numbers. The one unifying feature, of course, was that all of them were bound by a common interest in evangelicism - M.P.'s like Alexander Dunlop, who sat for Greenock 1852-1868 and wrote a definitive work of the "Poor Laws." (44) An advocate by profession he was legal adviser to the Free Church and editor of "Presbyterian Review." Alexander Pringle, ofr. of Whytbank (1791-1857) was also an advocate, as well as a laird. (45) He stood twice for Selkirk, 1830-1832 and 1837-1846, and was Lord of the Treasury 1841-1845. Another advocate lived in Aberdeen - Alexander Thomson (1798-1868), author of "Social Evils" and vigorous campaigner against slavery. (46) One member was an outstanding legal mind, John S. More (1784-1861), Professor of Scots Law 1843-1861. (47) He was famous as much for his library of 15,000 volumes as he was for his editing of Erskine's "Principles of the Law of Scotland" and Lord Stair's "Institutions of the Law of Scotland." Lastly, there were the lairds, who gave the Society their wealth and their social approval - Robert Wardlaw Ramsay, 18th of Whitehill, a Captain in the East India Company, married to the daughter of the Earl of Balcarres, (48) and W.H. Crauford (1781-1871), Deputy-Lieutenant of Ayrshire, Commissioner of Supply and Major in the Ayrshire Yeomanry. (49)

(44) Ibid., Vol. 1, p.937.

(45) Ibid., Vol. 6, p.434.

(46) Ibid., p.683.

(47) Ibid., Vol. 2, p.960.

(48) Burke's Landed Gentry, 1952, p.2122.

(49) Boase, Vol. 4, pp.793-794.

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CHAPTER 5

FINANCE

"There ought never, in such a Society as this to be a balance in favour of the Society, as it was not the business of the Society to accumulate funds."

- Sheriff Speirs, 3/3/1847, 36AR20.

Although the above admonition is undoubtedly true and must always be borne in mind when considering the Society's Annual Reports, nevertheless, the rather sour comment of the Inspector in 1856 is even more to the point: "The Gaelic School Society is a child of Providence in more than one respect. It is so in its dependence upon a varying and precarious income." (1) The result was that the Society staggered from one financial crisis to another. It took a few years before any effective cost analysis was made as to their unit costs. Indeed, it was not till 1815 that the Treasurer realised that the expenditure on each school was £30 and £5 of that was for Scriptures. (2) The calculation of cost per scholar was reckoned to be 12/- per annum or 20/- for the average school's 18 month existence. (3) This did not concern anyone as the Secretary reported that "all obstacles have been overcome." A short-term fall in revenue did not deter him: "Your Committee certainly look to the present deficiency without alarm." Within a year, the confidence was much shaken by the "insufficiency of the receipts" and the inescapable conclusion reached that the Society was overspending on Bibles. (4) Suggestions were made that the number of schools maintained must be greatly reduced and members were warned to "steal your hearts as men and as Christians." (5) Appeals for money went out, but the reply from the Synod of Glenelg was typical, "We are deeply impressed with a sense of the incalculable benefits which has resulted - - from the exertions of that well constituted and useful body, The Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools - - the Synod deeply regrets the diminution of funds, by which the Society's sphere of usefulness is in danger of being contracted." (6) If it had not been for an anonymous gift of £600

(1) 45AR8.

(2) 5AR57.

(3) Ibid., p.59.

(4) 6AR24-25.

(5) Ibid., p.27.

(6) 7AR23, 17/7/1817.

£600 the Society would have been in serious difficulty. Yet, astonishingly, they spent £460 on Bibles. Again the danger was overcome. This time it was due to a windfall of £128 from Liverpool.(7) They instantly planned a further 12 schools and as they explained: "It is under this impression, that our hearts are not discouraged by the inadequacy of the ordinary receipts, to meet the ordinary expenditure of your full establishment." The 1816 target had been 70 schools, but 4 had to be closed in the early Spring. The 1817 target was modified to a more realistic 60 schools. However, the Committee appreciated that dependence on windfalls was hardly sound and they stressed the need for subscriptions and donations as "a more regular and permanent income." (8) In 1820 donations and contributions unaccountably began to decline and by 1824 there was, according to Mr. Paul, Treasurer, "An alarming defalcation." (9) The deficit totalled £716.15.8.. It did not take him long to realise the cause - it was the same as before, overspending in Bibles.(10) The Society had bought £1,000 of books from the Bible Societies, yet these societies had only contributed £474.5.0 in return. What was worse, £1,000 of Malaurin's generous legacy had been swallowed up in just one year. It was decided therefore to limit the spending on any single school to £22.(11) By 1825 the Committee had made up its mind, no more money would be spent on ~~Bibles~~, only on schools.(12) 1826 was a year of "the strictest economy" and 1827 a year of "increasing debt." By 1829 prospects seemed brighter as the emphasis moved to the encouragement of Auxiliary Societies, "such auxiliaries constitute the main strength of the Society." (13) These sprang up all over the country, especially when it was discovered that by 1830 some 60,000 people had been taught at a cost of only 10/- apiece.(14) Yet, in their private discussions members of the Committee noted that their funds were "still inadequate." (15) In 1831 another crisis began to develop as it became more and more obvious that "annual subscriptions (the steady and permanent income of the Society) have materially decreased during the last two years." Admitting that "this diminution in a material branch of your

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(7) 8AR23.

(8) 7AR29.

(9) 14AR14.

(10) Ibid., p.15.

(11) Ibid., p.39.

(12) 15AR7.

(13) 18AR22.

(14) 19AR23.

(15) Ibid., p.24.

your receipts has occasioned considerable uneasiness" the Committee launched a campaign for recruitment.(16) Every member was asked to recruit at least one new member for the Society over the following year. It was not a success. In 1832 they were informing subscribers that "Your Committee have again to express their deep regret at the continued and distressing defalcation of their funds. From this cause they have been under the disagreeable necessity of abandoning no less than 11 of your schools during the past year. The number is now reduced to 60."(17) Clearly, some new approach to the problem would have to be made. That year, 1832, saw the adoption of the desperate remedy of asking the people in receipt of schools if they could assist. "Your Committee during the past year, in a circular sent to the schoolmasters, and through other channels, have made every inquiry, as to the ability of the people themselves to assist in defraying part of the expence of the schools."(18) This was obviously doomed to failure because of the stark poverty facing most of the remote areas which were receiving help. Another way round the impasse had to be found. The Committee were fortunate in 1834 when the Rev. Dr. Mackintosh Mackay of Dunoon proposed that he tour the big cities of England making a personal appeal for funds. The Committee, who always seemed to have an eye for effective advertising, agreed. Mackay's trip to Manchester, Liverpool and London was an enormous success and even after the deduction of costs there was a tidy surplus of £541.3.6.. But this was not really a type of fund-raising that could be repeated every year with the same level of success and the late 1830's witnessed a steady decline in revenue. Alexander Macdougall, a member of the Committee, tried to retrieve the situation in 1839 by repeating Mackay's fund-raising campaign in the south. Ominously the net gain was not so high, but the £463.5.9 was enough to save the situation. How perilous the Society's position could be is demonstrated by two incidents in 1835 and 1836. In the former year the Society lost all its funds due to "the unexpected failure of the bankers with whom the Society's surplus funds amounting to £363.0.11 were then deposited."(19) Salvation came with an offer from the Ladies' Association to replace the sum lost. In the latter year the Committee were compelled to admit that "your finances are not in such a flourishing condition as could have been desired."(20) This time the situation was saved by two unexpected legacies of £250.

(16) 20AR25-26.

(17) 21AR22.

(18) Ibid., p.25.

(19) 24AR38.

(20) 25AR19.

£250. The Disruption was the signal for a period of "seven ill years" financially as many of the traditional sources of support simply dried up. Fortunately, the growing strength of the Free Kirk movement and its virtual adoption of the Society guaranteed survival. Nonetheless, these were the most difficult years that the Society ever had to face and it is not surprising that many thought that the Society had ceased to exist. By the early 1850's the Society slowly emerged from its dark years of financial gloom. The new light, to a great extent, was cast by an interesting innovation adopted by the Committee, namely, encouraging people or organisations to support specific schools. This worked well throughout the 1850's, but it was hardly likely to be maintained at a high level of enthusiasm. By 1859 the financial outlook was again bad and this continued to the end of the period in this study. The Free Church had also lost its impetus as a vigorous reforming movement and there was a growing conviction that the problem of educating the people on a national scale could only be solved by the State. Gaelic had retreated rapidly from the mainland between 1811-1861 and its strongholds were now in the remote Western Isles.

The total sums of money involved annually in the Society's activities are complex, but they can be simplified as follows: during the years 1812-1815 the annual income was under £2,000, 1816-1818 the income was under £3,000 and 1819-1824 the income was £3,000. This was the level calculated by various Treasurers as ideal for effective operation and as such should be regarded as the Society's best years. From 1825-1853 the annual income was £2,000 and in the period 1853-1861 under £2,000 once again. The best and speediest way to assess the Society's economic health on a yearly basis is by examining Table A. A parallel measure is to examine the membership of the Society over the years - 101 in 1812, 250 in 1822, 233 in 1831, 168 in 1842, 344 in 1852 and 145 in 1860. Thus there was a steady rise followed by a fall, then another rise and then a steady decline. Donations are not such a useful measure as these steadily declined: 327 in 1819, 243 in 1826, 175 in 1829, 127 in 1847 and none by 1850. The joint income therefore from these two sources, subscriptions and donations was fairly erratic. It rose fairly steadily to £1,695 in 1818, then fell to £983 in 1821 and then rose again to £1,885 in 1824. Thereafter it never reached £1,000. Indeed, by 1834 it was as low as £534 - "The Annual Subscriptions have continued to decrease, in so much so indeed, that had it not been for the aid of the Auxiliary Associations - - the Committee would now probably have had to report

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<u>Year:</u>	<u>Balance:</u>	<u>Year:</u>	<u>Balance:</u>
1812	383.14.8	1837	- 307. 8.6
1813	322. 9.5	1838	- 128.11.2½
1814	309.12.4	1839	- 138.18.4½
1815	324.17.1	1840	- 147. 6.1½
1816	265.10.2½	1841	- 285.17.0½
1817	791. 0.5½	1842	289. 1.3½
1818	241. 4.6	1843	419.19.1½
1819	1154.16.8	1844	5. 9.5½
1820	1588. 1.0	1845	- 233.19.2½
1821	1114.13.3½	1846	- 94.11.9
1822	1066.13.6	1847	- 274.19.3
1823	13. 0.7	1848	- 361.12.10½
1824	- 716.15.8	1849	- 261.15.1½
1825	12.19.1½	1850	- 150. 8.1½
1826	297. 7.6	1851	- 252. 9.8
1827	48. 5.10	1852	254. 9.6½
1828	31. 9.8	1853	485. 1.0
1829	136.14.6	1854	211. 9.2½
1830	- 11.15.5	1855	215. 7.3½
1831	11.15.5	1856	112. 7.1½
1832	133.18.0	1857	63.14.9
1833	912. 1.5	1858	78. 9.5
1834	482. 0.8½	1859	- 55.14.0
1835	523. 9.0	1860	- 37.11.0½
1836	87.15.2	1861	- 13.14.8½

TABLE A

report the entire cessation of your operations." (21) This judgment seems to have alarmed subscribers and the joint income rose dramatically in 1835 to £738.17.7½. During the period 1836-1852 it rose and fell, but from 1853-1856 it was under £400 and then from 1857-1861 it was under £300. Because of the need to constantly cut back into capital, the Society's interest from this source was negligible - £84 in 1820, £28 in 1826 and only £6.11.7 in 1828. Collections of various kinds were tried at different times, but none was a success. At first, great emphasis was put on Lowland parish collections but by 1830 only five parishes remained in the scheme and their total contribution rarely rose above £25. Highland parish collections were worse and in 1826 Lochbroom could only raise £6.10.0 and Locha in Lewis only managed £18.7.0. Efforts by Benbecula crofters to raise funds by selling their grain or Kincardine parents collecting money from door-to-door were inspiring, but not effective. Even a massive effort to raise cash in the Highlands and Islands, as happened in 1834 when 23 parishes were covered, only achieved £150.2.6.. National collections to meet an emergency could only be used occasionally. This was proved in 1842 when such an appeal raised £183, but when the Committee tried the same again in the following year they only managed to find £69. Indeed, some schemes were tried, abandoned and then tried again. Collections at A.G.M.'s is an example - in 1828 this raised £22.9.1, but by 1830 it was down to £14.4.6. By 1838 it was stopped altogether. The reason is not far to seek: in 1834 it had raised a mere £6.0.8, but the cost involved was £11.14.1. When the A.G.M. collections resumed again in 1847 they only produced £12.7.0 and by 1848 were down to £9.5.3.. Thereafter they were little more than a token contribution. Synodial and Presbyterial collections scarcely helped at all, apart from expressions of sympathy. Free Church kirks gave strong support through collections, at least for a while, especially in 1850 when 57 kirks contributed. Unfortunately, the decline was rapid - 20 kirks in 1851, 11 in 1853 and only 5 in 1860. The policy of adopting specific schools was much more successful and reliable. It was, apparently, the idea of Lady Anderson who donated at least £180 for her favourite schools. (22) Free Church congregations regularly gifted money, St. Luke's in Edinburgh annually gave £30 for one school and St. George's £60 for two schools. St. Thomas's Episcopalian Church also supported one school from 1848, but its contribution soon declined - £28.2.6 in 1849 and only £13.0.0 in 1852. Specific appeals for

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(21) 22AR22.

(22) 33AR5.

for spectacles were often successful, such as the 1828 appeal in East Lothian that raised enough cash for the Committee to buy as many as 120 pairs.(23) As for legacies they were quite unreliable. For instance, in 1817 they produced £600, but in 1818 only £87.1.11 and in 1819 nothing at all. The fluctuations were incredible - £9.10.0 in 1839 and £916.10.4 in 1860. While the vast majority were anonymous, the largest was not so. On the 2nd November, 1820 Alexander McLaurin died and left £1,000 to the Society, plus half the residue of his estate. This was finally settled in 1826 and the Society acquired a further £394.17.6. For a long time the Committee used these monies as stop-gaps for dire emergencies. Surprisingly, it was not till the 24th February, 1857 that proper supervision was achieved. J.H. Skinner and J. Boyd proposed: "That the Directors shall have power, with the view of equalizing the annual review to apply in each year only one fifth part of such legacies, as may be left to the Society, towards your expenditure."(24) The Committee's ingenuity to raise funds was quite impressive - they held sales of work and often raised large sums £202.10.0 in 1826, £475.11.1 in 1827 and £506.19.7 in 1832. Popular preachers were invited to a sermon followed by a special collection. The Rev. Mr. Candlish was particularly eloquent as was indicated by the £95.4.1 which was raised. Army barracks were circulated with accounts of the Society's activities and units often held barrack-room collections, such as the 78th Highlanders who raised £48.9.0 in this way 1826-1830. Sometimes individual officers were moved to donate, as did Lt. Rupert Campbell of the 38th Foot in May, 1855.(25) Even Roman Catholic priests were asked for help and in 1826 they encouraged their flocks in Arisaig to sell potatoes to raise funds.

The most astonishingly modern aspect of the Committee's efforts to raise money was their sophisticated use of propaganda. Using skilled advertising techniques they placed extracts, like the following, in Christian journals abroad as well as in London newspapers: "Fancy then, a little heath-clad cabin, with few accommodations beyond those which are absolutely necessary to protect its inmates from the inclemency of the weather, inclosed by surrounding mountains, with some struggling hamlets here and there along their side; and see these hamlets pouring forth their inhabit-

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(23) 17AR16.

(24) 46AR4.

(25) 12/5/1855.

inhabitants of all ages, who bend their steps to this homely school-house, where the Teacher stands, with the word of God in his hands, ready, as an instrument of the Holy Ghost, to unfold its treasures to the humble poor."

(26) Sentimental it may have been, but it worked. Other stories were just as effective, such as the one about the ex-soldier, blinded in Egypt, who gave a little of his miserable pension. But there was also hard-headedness in their approach - they canvassed M.P.'s relentlessly and exploited personal contacts with all sorts of people abroad. A great deal of coverage was given to the simple, almost pathetic, petitions of lonely communities for help. That from Barr in Islay in February, 1837 is typical: "We hear and rejoice at the news that our more opulent countrymen are sending the means of grace to heathen nations abroad; but we cry aloud to them for a share in their bounty, and we call all to witness that we are nearly as needful."

(27) In fact, much of the support for the Society came from compatriots living abroad in these very countries - from South America, Canton and Madras. India especially sent a great deal of money: from Calcutta £162 in 1837 and £117.17.6 in 1842. Individuals often sent money, like William Macleod, merchant who sent £30 in 1824 or the Rev. Mr. McKail, who also forwarded £30 for a school, in 1851. Anonymous gifts from Calcutta were particularly common: £30 from "a lady" in 1848 and £30 from "the Free Kirk of Calcutta" in 1849. Much of this was due to the strenuous efforts of a Rev. Mr. J. Macdonald, whose death in 1848 was a severe blow to the Society.

(28) Bombay was another useful source of revenue. One is tempted to wonder how such far distant cities knew of the Society and the answer is that the Committee often placed adverts with the "Oriental Christian Spectator."

(29) That these had power to move people's hearts is proved by the Rev. Mr. John Wilson in August, 1835. He had just lost his wife and daughter and he donated £20; two years later he gifted a further £50. Duncan MacKellar of the Committee had friends in Hobart, Tasmania and through them he encouraged the Rev. Mr. Lillie to raise £41.1.1. In 1843 Hobart sent as much as £136. Even Ireland with its numerous problems was able to send £50 in 1838, although most of the money from that quarter actually came from Highland units stationed there. In 1838 a Sgt. K. Henderson of the 93rd at Cork sent in money as did a Sgt. Inlay.((30) From all over the globe High-

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(26) 26AR33.

(27) Ibid., p.52.

(28) 37AR10.

(29) 25AR32.

(30) 6/1/1838.

Highland soldiers did what they could to help - the 93rd Highlanders from Toronto in 1842, from the Cape in 1814 when they raised £78 and even from Maryhill Barracks in Glasgow where they collected £1.11.6. The 78th Ross Highlanders were just as generous and from Ceylon in 1830 came a request for copies of the Society's Annual Reports together with a donation of £10. 12.8, to be followed in 1832 with another £17.2.7, all the work of a Sgt. Maj. Campbell. In 1833 a Sgt. Maj. Watson was requesting more Annual Reports and sending £9.7.2, which he repeated in 1834 with £9.18.9..

The Society laid a great deal of emphasis on team and individual effort to raise funds. In 1849, for instance, the Rev. Mr. Beith and the Rev. Mr. McRae toured the country trying to establish local support associations. Individual effort was much more spectacular as we have already seen with the Rev. Dr. Mackintosh Mackay in 1834. Alexander Macdougall's efforts were quite incredible. On the 29th April, 1839 he was off to London, Liverpool and Manchester, where he collected no less than £463.5.9. Over the winter months of 1839-1840 he was in Edinburgh and Glasgow and at a cost of £6.13.11 actually raised £212.2.6. By May, 1841 he was off again - to Galloway, Berwick, Roxburgh, Hawick and Wigton, returning with £346.2.11. 1841-1842 were spent in Inverness and Aberdeen, while in 1843 he ranged from Forres to Bradford. In 1844 he was in Stornoway, Perth, Dundee and Montrose, while in 1845 he was in Dingwall, Nairn, Elgin and Tain. He even visited Belfast and Dublin in 1847. His peak was probably reached in 1849 when he raised no less than £647.7.7½. Unfortunately, he had burnt himself out and his health was rapidly failing. In 1851 he only managed to raise £171.2.10 and the following year it was down to £113.18.6.. His efforts had been superb - he virtually, single-handed saved the Society in 1842, he raised £1021.11.2 between 1839-1841 and in nine years no less than £3, 200. In other words, alone, he had supported 14 schools for almost a decade. He had also founded Auxiliary Associations at Kelso, Kilmarnock and Kirkcudbright and all this despite the fact that he was blind!(31)

Enormous efforts were made in the direction of founding Auxiliary Associations, by Macdougall who founded three and Secretary Maclauchlin who founded five. Kelso was never very active and rarely had more than a handful of members; Kilmarnock was different, it once had 150 members and could contribute as much as £30; Kirkcudbright was also small, no more than 20 subscribers. Maclauchlin's associations were very active - Elgin Ladies with 95, Upper Strathearn Ladies with 83, Inverness Ladies with 81, Montrose with 46 and Aberdeen with 246. The latter was well organised and could raise

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raise as much as £44 in a year. There were many more associations, some relatively large, like Hawick, founded 1841, with 81 members and Stromness with only two. Basically, however much they rose and fell, like Dumfries Female Society of 1814 which collapsed and was revived in 1848 as the Dumfries Free Church Association, they grew more difficult to organise and more costly to run as time passed. There were many small associations - Fort William, Irvine, Loanhead, Loanhead Ladies, Campbeltown Ladies, Barvas, Portree, Inverary Ladies, Stranraer and Rhins of Galloway, Islay, Paisley, Rothesay, Saltcoats, Stirling and Tobermory. Some were quite famous, like Greenock Auxiliary Association, who, in 1829, counted James Watt as one of its Vice-Presidents. Until 1838 they regularly contributed at least £100 per annum to the parent society and even emulated the latter by holding massive, and successful, sales of work. Unfortunately, by 1857 they rarely managed to raise £50. In May, 1827 Greenock Female Association was founded and this was a revival of an earlier female association. Presumably because of its many Gaelic-speaking members it was still strong in 1850 with 159 members. Another west coast association was Port Glasgow Ladies formed in June, 1827. £25 was as much as they could muster until 1854 when their contributions fell well below £20.

As we have seen frequent attempts were made to establish strong support in England and this was certainly the case in Liverpool and Birkenhead where the leading collectors were Samuel Hope, John Gladstone, Alexander MacGregor and William Duff between 1813-1825. Numbers inevitably declined, but a visit from Macdougall revived flagging interest in 1839. In September, 1843 Liverpool Ladies was founded at Charitable Institution House by the Rev. Mr. J. Haldane, but within a year it was exposed as "a great disappointment." (32) The Society's greatest efforts were concentrated on London, especially among emigre Highlanders. As one Scottish minister resident there put it: "Our countrymen in London are, few of them, acquainted with the existence of the Society, and fewer still alive to its importance." (33) The Society decided to correct this deficiency and on 10th July, 1817 a letter was circulated in the capital by "A Friend of the Institution." This was a clever and skilful piece of propaganda with its story of Iverach, the 115 year old scholar and full of sentimental pictures of "smoaky, comfortless cabins" and "the mother with her infant in her arms" and "the warmth of their turf fire" as well as references to the Highlanders' glorious feats of arms in

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(32) 34AR11.

(33) 7AR40, 25/6/1817.

in the recent wars. This was successful for a few years, but the numbers of subscribers began to decline and the Committee admitted that they were "engaged in an attempt to excite a renewed interest among their fellow Christians in England and particularly in London." (34) By 1826 a deputation had been dispatched there, but the results were only £42.17.0. No wonder the Secretary soulfully reported that "the result has not corresponded with our anticipation." (35) Nothing seemed to reverse the trend and by 1834 the cost of adverts placed with London newspapers exceeded the actual revenue obtained there. Naturally, London was a target for Macdougall and his labours there for five months in 1839 produced 139 new members. By 1843 these had dropped to 59. It may well have been the Society's London agents, Andrew Bonar and Capt. J.P. Macdougall, who suggested the formation of a formal Association under the leadership of Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.. This was done in 1853, but it went into very quick decay and within a year it had only 9 members. A Ladies' Committee, formed in 1855, was much healthier and by 1860 was contributing £136.19.2.. Various people were connected with the different campaigns launched by the Society in London - Joseph Tarn, Aeneas McIntosh, Alexander Haldane, Richard Philips, James Nisbet, Robert Steven, Joseph Reynier, William Allen and the Rev. Mr. Alexander Waugh.

One of the best associations and one that was ultimately to prove a rival was the Glasgow Auxiliary or Corresponding Society. On the 5th March, 1812 "a most respectable Meeting of Gentlemen met to consider the best means for instructing the inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland." (36) It was decided to form a society like that in Edinburgh. On 28th April, 1812 they met again to pass regulations and elect "managers" - a President, 2 Vice-Presidents, 24 Directors, 2 Secretaries, a Treasurer and a Clerk. (37) The President was George Oswald of Auchincruive (1735-1819) (38) A wealthy Glasgow merchant of "lofty demeanour", he was head of the great tobacco firm Oswald, Dennistoun and Company and a partner in the Ship Bank. However, the most interesting feature about him was the fact that he was a relative, by marriage, of Robert Haldane. There were two Vice-Presidents, and while Alexander Campbell of Hallyards is obscure, the Rev. Dr. Robert Balfour (1748-1818) is not. (39) Minister of St. Paul's, Glasgow he was the

(34) 13AR22.

(35) 15AR6.

(36) 2AR14.

(37) Ibid., p.39.

(38) J. Irving, "Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen", 1882, p.398; D.N.B., Vol.14 p.1224; A. Haldane, "The Lives of the Haldanes", 1852.

(39) Past, Vol. 3, p.463.

the author of "Three Occasional Sermons" and a D.D. of Princeton University. The Rev. Dr. Stevenson McGill(1765-1840)was one of the Secretaries.(40) He had quite a reputation - he was a student at Glasgow University at the age of ten, he had written a popular tract against the French Revolution, he was a strong advocate of prison reform and the author of a "Discourse on Elementary Education." The other, the Rev. Mr. David Carment(1772-1856)was a minister at Duke Street Gaelic Chapel and a future spokesman of the Free Church.(41) Only half of the Directors can be traced, but some of them were very eminent indeed. Samuel Hunter was a qualified surgeon, editor of the "Glasgow Herald and Advertiser" and Colonel of the 4th Regiment Highland Local Militia.(42) The Rev. Mr. William Kidston was a famous United Presbyterian(1768-1852)(43) He was the first to start Bible Classes and was President of the Glasgow Missionary Society and an original member of the Evangelical Alliance. The most famous was Robert Owen(1771-1858) (44) A saddler's son, he had worked as a draper at Stamford and a machine-maker in Manchester, before becoming manager of a spinning firm. Within a year he had founded his own business and with his partners bought David Dale's Mills at New Lanark on the falls of Clyde for £60,000. In 1814 he bought it for £114,000. He insisted that all his workers under 12 years attend school and later claimed that he had founded an infant school. He was later to declare, in 1817, that all religions were misleading. Editor of "The Economist" 1821 and "The Political Economist" 1823. For £30,000 he purchased 20,000 acres of land in Illinois and Indiana, but his scheme for a New Harmony Village failed. Founder of an Equitable Labour Exchange in London in 1832 he was soon a declared bankrupt. Publisher of "The New Moral World" and "The Rational Quarterly" he took part in seven Co-operative Congresses and no fewer than 14 Socialist Congresses 1835-1846. Despite his extraordinary fame few of his fellow-members would have looked upon him with much favour in his later years. Unlike Owen was Professor William Richardson(1743-1814)Professor of Humanity at Glasgow University. (45) Kirkman Findlay(1773-1842)was another famous merchant.(46) In 1793 he introduced cotton spinning into the city after challenging the East

- (40) D.N.B., Vol.12, pp.532-533; Fasti Vol. 1, p.397.
- (41) Boase, Vol. 1, p.551; J.A. Wylie, "Disruption Worthies", 1881, pp147-152.
- (42) D.N.B., Vol.10, p.301; Irving, J., p.225.
- (43) Boase, Vol. 2, pp.217-218.
- (44) Ibid., pp.1291-1292; D.N.B., Vol.14, pp.1338-1339.
- (45) D.N.B., Vol.16, pp.1138-1139.
- (46) D.N.B., Vol. 7, p.32.

East India Company's monopoly. Fame soon followed - magistrate, Lord Provost, M.P. and Rector of Glasgow University. He gave the city sterling service when the tobacco trade collapsed. Charles McIntosh(1766-1843) was perhaps the wealthiest of all the Directors.(47) As a youth he had left his clerical desk in a counting-house to attend lectures on Chemistry. Fascinated by the magic of science he introduced the manufacture of sugar of lead from Holland in 1786 and soon was making acetate of alumina. Moving on to the study of dyes he improved the manufacture of Prussian Blue and invented a wide range of dyeing processes. In 1797 he opened Scotland's first alum works. There is even a possibility that he was the real inventor of the method of making bleaching powder patented by his friend Charles Tennent of St. Rollox Chemicals. At any rate he was rich enough to retire in 1814. However, he did not give up his scientific curiosity and in 1825 he took out a patent to convert malleable iron to steel by exposing it to the white heat of coal gas. Unfortunately, it proved not to be a commercial proposition. In 1828 he assisted Neilson with his hot-blast furnaces, but this led to long and costly litigation. He tried to utilise gas works refuse - coal naphtha by distilling tar. At last he achieved a great success - in 1823 he patented waterproof fabrics. One Director we have met before, the Rev. Greville Ewing.(48) Moving to Glasgow from Edinburgh in 1799 he formed the Congregational Union of Scotland and wrote various grammars in Greek. The other Directors were relatively minor figures - James Denniston(1758-1835), banker, John Tennent, chemist, the Rev. Dr. John Burns, minister at Barony Church and Professor McTurk (1779-1841), Professor of Ecclesiastical History.(49) On the 7th May, 1812 details of this new society were sent to Christopher Anderson in Edinburgh with a strong hint that a few schools placed in Argyle would be appreciated.(50) Two days later £200 was sent to Edinburgh. On the 27th November, 1812 Charles Stuart rose at the second A.G.M. in Edinburgh to thank their "Friends in Glasgow" for their "zealous co-operation and very great exertions in aid of this Institution."(51) But the Glasgow Directors were anxious to support schools of their own, particularly in the poorer parts of

(47) Ibid., Vol.12, pp.556-557.

(48) Ibid., Vol. 6, p.959.

(49) Irving, J., pp.94, 518; Fasti, Vol. 3, p.394, Vol. 7, p.408.

(50) 2AR40.

(51) Ibid., p.vii.

of the city. By November, 1812 they had two schools in operation in the High Street and in the Gorbals.(52) These were Evening Schools and the teachers simply read the Scriptures. Edinburgh was nevertheless impressed and forwarded 100 Spelling Books and promised a 100 New Testaments later. A third school was operating by 1816.(53) The Glasgow Society met every January in the Black Bull Inn and every February sent £300 to the parent society. In 1815 it was as high as £350. Well might the Glasgow Directors proudly boast: "It never shall be said, that the members of this Society allowed any of its important objects to languish from want of pecuniary aid."(54) By 1816 their contribution was £500 and by 1817 they had founded two support groups - the Glasgow Female Association and the Glasgow Youths' Auxiliary Society. At first the enthusiasm and commitment were high - in the period 1816-1818 the Glasgow Auxiliary Society donated £500, then in 1819 it fell to £400 and in 1820-1821 to £300. Even the Glasgow Youths' contribution of £200 in 1818 fell to £105 1819-1820. The Committee in Edinburgh knew perfectly well that this was due to the Glasgow policy of "aiming to circulate a knowledge of English."(55) There was no deep concern over this decision as it was widely known that Glasgow aimed "first to teach the natives their own language and then, as the opportunity and desire for it appear, to instruct them in the English." Unfortunately, the Glasgow Society Schools, some 48 in number with 2,600 scholars by 1826, were expensive to run.(56) Their contributions to Edinburgh steadily fell: £200 in 1822, £150 in 1823, £100 in 1826 and by 1833 nil. While the Glasgow Youths' contributions fluctuated there was also a steady decline: £150 in 1824, £80 in 1827, £35 in 1832 and in 1837 nil. The Edinburgh Committee noted sadly - "From the increasing number of English schools dependent on their funds, your great auxiliary, the Glasgow Society, has not been able to afford you that extensive aid which you at one time received from it and though their remittances are still liberal and highly gratifying, as a token of their continued confidence, the defalcation from this source and from England has sensibly affected your income."(57) That was in the year 1823. By 1826 the Glasgow Society were instructing their teachers:

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(52) 3AR65.

(53) 5AR56.

(54) Ibid., p.94.

(55) 11AR44.

(56) "Moral Statistics", 1826, p.20.

(57) 13AR21-22.

teachers: "You are authorised and required to teach English reading, writing and arithmetic, at said School, to every person who shall attend your station, and who has already learned to read the Gaelic language. In order more effectively to secure the religious instruction of your pupils, you are to teach the reading of Gaelic to all persons attending your School, not already taught to read that language. When a pupil enters your School you are to examine if he can read the Scripture in his native tongue. If he cannot, you are to put a Gaelic Book into his hand; for no individual, wither male or female, shall be taught any of the branches above specified, or any other branch of education at the Society's Schools, without being able, first, to read the Scriptures in his vernacular tongue."(58) There was little with this that the Edinburgh Committee could, in all honesty, quarrel ~~with~~ and in 1827 we find them calling the Glasgow Society, "a steady ally."(59) However, the cessation of funds from Glasgow in 1838 precipitated a crisis and the Committee made overtures to Glasgow for a proposed union. Negotiations collapsed and the Committee made the following statement: "Your Committee regret much to say that they have been disappointed in a hope they for some time entertained, of effecting an arrangement with the Glasgow Auxiliary Society, by which it was proposed that an immediate union should have been accomplished; though the whole benefit of the aid from the Glasgow contributors, would not have been derived to your funds, until the twenty teachers now in their employ were either placed on your list, or otherwise provided for. You will find in the Appendix the correspondence which took place upon this subject, and which your Committee regret to say has terminated in a rejection of the plan by the Glasgow Society, and an entire withdrawal of all pecuniary assistance from that once most liberal contributor to your funds. The conditions required of you, was your at once taking their twenty teachers on your establishment, - a condition it was impossible for you to comply with, without incurring the large additional expense of at least L.200 per annum, and abrogating your constitutional rule, that the only object of the Society shall be to teach the people to read the Holy Scriptures in their native language. In these circumstances, your Committee have required that the Glasgow Society shall change its designation and take one indicative of its real character, ex-

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(58) 15AR14.

(59) 16AR19.

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excluding the idea of having for its object the teaching the Highlanders to read Gaelic, or being in any way auxiliary to your Institution. You have been required, on the other hand, to engage that you shall never more have an auxiliary in Glasgow, - a requisition with which for many palpable reasons, you have refused to comply. It is hoped some friends will immediately undertake the receiving subscriptions for you in that city."(60) It was sometime before these friends were grouped into another auxiliary association. The reason that they finally did so was due to the deputation from Edinburgh - the Rev. Dr. Makellar, the Rev. Dr. Beith, the Rev. Mr. Maclauchlan, Brown Douglas and James Gordon - who held a public meeting in Glasgow in 1850. Another Society was soon in operation, although its officials were far less distinguished than the previous holders of office. The President was William Campbell of Tillichewan(1793-1864), wealthy businessman.(61) The contact with Edinburgh was reinforced by the fact that he was a Governor in the Edinburgh Society. The Vice-President was John Henderson of Park(1780-1867).(62) Originally a drysalter his dealings with the London East Indian merchants made him very rich and he was reputed to give away annually some £40,000. He even spent £4,000 sending tracts to railwaymen against running trains on Sundays. Four of the Committee are known -the Rev. Walter MacGillvray(1807-1880), a Gaelic preacher, who had been wrecked on the "Great Britain" while sailing to Canada.(63) G. Smith, Jr.(1803-1876)had begun life as a draper, but was then a famous shipowner.(64) The Rev. Mr. Archibald McDougall(1801-1883) was another Gaelic scholar, while Anderson Kirkwood(1822-1889)was a Writer and later first Professor of Conveyancing at Glasgow University.(65) The Treasurer was a Bank of Scotland executive, Andrew Neilson. In 1851 they had 204 members and were able to send £140.9.0 to Edinburgh. Their numbers continued to rise and by 1856 there were 323 and £189.12.7 was sent to the parent society. Even as late as 1860 their members numbered 237 and their contribution in the region of £114.16.0. The original Glasgow Auxiliary Society members reformed under the new title "The Glasgow Gaelic and English School Society" to give "the other common branches of education, be-

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(60) 27AR9-10.

(61) No. 51 in Appendix i.

(62) Boase, Vol. 1, p.1424.

(63) Fasti, Vol. 3, p.416.

(64) G. MacGregor, "The History of Glasgow", 1881.

(65) Ewing, J., Vol. 1, p.225; Boase, Vol. 2, p.246.

besides Gaelic reading."(66) By 1851 it had run out of cash and simply faded away leaving behind some 31 Reports.(67)

On the 9th October, 1817 "a very respectable meeting" met in the Town Hall of Dundee and resolved "that while this meeting greatly lament the thick cloud of ignorance which still covers the greater part of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, they feel that the thanks of the community are eminently due to the Society in Edinburgh."(68) They therefore went on to form an Auxiliary Society with the "sole object to aid." Thomas Erskine of Linlathen was elected President.(69) Two of the four Vice-Presidents were Alexander Riddoch and the Rev. Dr. Nicoll. Alexander Riddoch(1744-1822) was a Dundee merchant who was frequently Lord President between the years 1788-1818. Described as "shrewd, subtle, prudent and courteous" he made many improvements in the city by opening up Crichton Street, Castle Street, Tay Street and widening the Nethergate. Rumour had it that he profited by speculating on these schemes.(70) Dr. Nicoll, recently Moderator of the General Assembly and later Principal of United College, St. Andrews, was a friend of the Earl of Moray. The Treasurer, the Rev. Mr. Patrick Macvicar(1765-1842) was minister of St. Paul's Church.(71) The Secretary, Dr. Richard Huie, we have already met.(72) There were 16 men on the Committee and at least eight were clergymen - the Rev. Mr. Malcolm Colquhoun (1758-1819) was minister at the Dundee Gaelic Chapel, while the Rev. Mr. D. Maclauchlan(1761-1848) was an "eloquent and popular preacher."(73) Two had reputations as scholars: the Rev. Mr. Gavin Parker as a Theologian(1780-1845) and the Rev. Dr. Peters(1750-1836) as a Classicist.(74) The Rev. Mr. David Russel(1779-1848) was a friend of the Maldanes, while the Rev. Mr. James Thomson(1771-1857) was esteemed for his interest in civic affairs and particularly for his work with the Infirmary and the Asylum.(75) The Rev. Mr. George

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(66) 29AR9.

(67) 41AR18.

(68) 7AR37.

(69) No. 86 in Appendix i.

(70) W. Norrie, "Dundee Celebrities of the 19thc." 1873.

(71) Fasti, Vol. 5, p.332.

(72) No. 126 in Appendix i.

(73) Fasti, Vol. 5, p.333; Norrie, W., p.113.

(74) Fasti, Vol. 6, p.42; Vol. 5, pp.328-329.

(75) Norrie, W., p.115; Fasti, 5, pp.322-323.

George Donaldson was quite obscure, but not so the Rev. Mr. James Wilson. (76) He was something of a character: "A unique man, a sort of fossil specimen of the theologians who opposed Galileo and no believer in Sir Isaac Newton, the old gentleman stoutly denied the doctrine of gravitation, and, being a devout, good man, much interested in missions to the heathen, he bewailed the errors of Dr. Duff, who, he said, was 'endeavouring to subvert Hinduism by science falsely so-called, a philosophy as erroneous as the doctrines of Brahmanism.'" The next strongest group, at least six, were merchants, like James Jobson, George Gray and David Brown. At least three of them were prominent in the flax industry - David Martin (1777-1863), who also had money invested in the London Shipping Company, Andrew Balfour (1765-1855), Lord Provost eventually and benefactor of the Lunatic Asylum and his partner, Thomas Bell. (77) It is not easy to identify the remainder, but James Webster was probably a merchant as Patrick Scott. The two Vice-Presidents, not listed above, were Alexander Pitcairn, merchant and James Buie, ex-Collector of Taxes. With an annual subscription of 5/- they agreed to meet quarterly and hold their A.G.M. in October. When news of this new auxiliary reached Edinburgh the Committee were moved to record that "Dundee has been the first of our second-rate towns to follow the example which Glasgow has set - - kindling a sort of Beacon-light, which will ere long be reflected by Perth and Aberdeen, if not by some other towns in the south." (78) In 1818 they forwarded £70 to Edinburgh and by 1821 this had risen to £105. Unfortunately, it began to fall in 1829 when there were 74 members in the Society. By 1836 numbers had fallen to 27 and by early 1837 to 21. By 1838 the Society had ceased to function. It is difficult to say why this should have been, but they did operate their own Gaelic School in Dundee in 1822 which catered for 26 adults over the age of 40 years. (79) Large sums of local money seem to have been channelled into other societies - the Dundee Bible Society, the Dundee Juvenile Society and the Dundee Missionary Society. (80) It was only a visit from Maclauchlan in 1851 that inspired a group of ladies to form a Dundee Ladies Association. (81) Significantly, the Secretary was a Miss Jobson, whose father had served in the early Committee. Their numbers rose steadily from 119 in 1852 to 264 in 1856 and

(76) Ibid., p.308.

(77) Norrie, W., pp.222-224, 165-166.

(78) 7AR39.

(79) 13AR39-40.

(80) 7AR24-25.

(81) 41AR8.

remained well over the 200 mark even as late as 1860.

The greatest support that the Edinburgh Society ever had came from the Edinburgh Ladies' Association in aid of the Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools formed "at a meeting of ladies resident in this city" on the 29th December, 1817.(82) The patroness was the Hon. Mrs. Stewart McKenzie of Seaforth, a member of the parent society.(83) In fact, some 22 ladies of the 37 Committee of Management were members of the Edinburgh Society and this can be seen by the same names appearing again and again in their management lists - Anderson, Bailie, Braidwood, Campbell, Davidson, Haldane, Hepburne, Hope, Hutchison, Johnston, McDonald, McFarlane, Macleod, Pringle, Robertson, Scott, Smith, Stewart, Wardlaw and White. The most famous was Mrs. Grant of Laggan(1755-1838)(84) Daughter of an officer in the 77th Foot she was able to read her Bible by the age of six. Marriage to the Rev. Mr. James Grant took her to Laggan in 1779 where she gave birth to 12 children and also began to learn Gaelic. Her "Letters from the Mountains"(1806) won enormous admiration and even Sir Walter Scott praised her "simplicity and force." Crippled in a fall she was bed-ridden for many years. With its huge Committee of Management the Edinburgh Ladies effectively canvassed the whole of the capital's society for support. At 5/- per annum it was not expensive, but in 1818 they raised £310.16.1. Some idea of the social standing of the members can be gained by examining the names on the 1822 Committee - Lady Agnew, Lady Campbell, Lady Carnegie, Lady Douglas, Lady Dundas, Lady Grant, the Duchess of Roxburgh, Lady Seaforth, Lady Stuart, Lady Ramsay and many more. By 1824 their annual contributions to the main society never fell below £200, indeed in 1832 they raised £506.19.7, in 1834 £588.0.7, most of which huge sums were the product of huge sales of work. In 1834 when the Queen agreed to become a patroness their membership rose to 322 and their Vice-Presidents included two duchesses, two countesses and a marchioness. Between 1841 and 1846 they contributed vast sums, never under £660 and sometimes as high as £950. When they launched a special collection in 1851 they produced £759.12.0. Even as late as 1860 they could muster 242 members and raise £225. Much of the earlier work in organising this Association had been done by Lady Colquhoun of Luss and the Duchess of Gordon.

(82) 7AR39.

(83) No. 185 in Appendix 1.

(84) T. Thomson, "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen," Vol. 2, 1869, pp.171-173.

Gordon.

There was one last society which was important - Inverness Auxiliary Society founded in 1818.(85) Closely paralleled to the Glasgow Society it also claimed to emphasise "moral and religious education" but taught Gaelic, English, Writing and Arithmetic. Fortunately, it insisted that Gaelic be given priority. Subscriptions were 5/- per annum and Life membership was £8.8.0. Directors had to pay £10.10.0 and there were 92 of these "Extraordinary" Directors, from as far afield as Bombay and Jamaica. The usual officials, of course, were there - President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries and Clerk.(86) By 1826 their schools were catering for some 3,000 scholars. At the same time they faced precisely the same problem as the Edinburgh Society - expenditure greatly in excess of income. For instance, in 1826 costs were £1,013, but income was a mere £493. By 1851 the Inverness Society had faded as had the others.(87) A small remnant of scattered people in the area still subscribed to the Edinburgh Society and by 1861 they numbered 48.

The Society's expenditure can be dealt with quite briefly. Much of their outlay was unavoidable. Schools for instance cost at least £30 a-piece when the Society was launched and by 1821, when they were operating 79 schools, the outlay was a staggering £2,370. The serious deficit of 1824 - £716.15.4 - compelled a policy of rigid economy and the running costs of a school were cut back to £22. Even this, with the current 83 schools meant a cost of £1,796. Constant appeals were made at this time for further assistance and at the same time to try to explain the position. Salaries for officials and incidentals added a further £200. However there was also the constant expenditure on printing and binding. A Circular, dated 18th August, 1824 revealed that 3,000 Bibles and Testaments had cost £356.19.7 to print and £150 to bind. When you add the £200 spent on another 4,000 Psalm Books you get a total of £716.19.7, some 25% of the year's costs. The shortage of money is reflected in the reduced number of schools and in the reduced amount spent on teachers' salaries. Up to 1838 the average salary bill for teachers was c£1,400; between 1839-1844 it fell to £1,200 and from 1845-1860 it was under £1,100. There were lots of expenses which few appreciated, but had to be met. Teachers were reimbursed when they

(85) 8AR22.

(86) "Moral Statistics", Appendix xli-xlv.

(87) 41AR18.

they travelled to Edinburgh for examination and when they moved from school to school. In 1848 this alone cost £56.6.7½. Bibles had to be transported to the various stations throughout the Highlands and the remote islands. The "Maid of Islay", for instance, in 1833, carried thousands of packages to the Islands, while ponies laden with creels were a common sight in Mull, engaged in the same activity. However, they had to be paid for. (88) Then many a private teacher, not employed by the Society, who taught a little Gaelic Scripture was "encouraged" to the tune of £5 or £10. The range of costs was enormous - hiring rooms in 1828 cost £15, while even the unlikely business of buying presses for storing Bibles cost £8 in the same year. Insurances and legacy duties were a constant drain. Postage and carriage were also expensive, as every communication with a teacher or a minister was paid for by the Society. In 1824 that meant £59 and in 1825 a further £55. Economies were attempted here as well and by 1854 it was down to £16 and in 1855 just £10. The cost of stationary, books and printing were massive for many years - in 1820 some £612, in 1821 another £620 and in 1824 a disastrous £1,268. This could not continue and by 1829 this cost had been reduced to £78 and even as late as 1832 it was still as low as £98. Advertising was a further drain with £138 in 1824 and £173 in 1825. In 1826 something like 800 letters passed through the hands of the Secretaries and the cost was £122. Not surprisingly the Committee tried hard to sell the books that they had had printed at such cost. In a Circular to all teachers, dated 8th December, 1834, the Committee admitted that they were "extremely anxious that all the scholars attending your school should be possessed of a copy of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament." (89) Teachers were urged to sell these volumes to "all the inhabitants" at cost price. They were warned that they could not be given gratis unless there was a certificate from the local minister or one of his elders regarding "indigent circumstances." The teachers' quarterly returns were in the nature of sales sheets and by these the Committee adjusted the prices. The following were pretty typical -

Bible, octavo, calf	7/6	reduced to	4/9
Bible, 12 mo., clasped	4/9		3/3
Bible, 12 mo., School, with Psalms	4/3		3/3
Bible, 24 mo., with Psalms	3/6		2/8
Testament, octavo, with Psalms	3/3		2/-
Testament, 12 mo.	1/8		1/3
Testament, 24 mo., with Psalms	1/-		9d

(88) 23AR32; 46AR8.

(89) 24AR45-46.

9d. The Committee never forgot that their "undivided object was the teaching of our countrymen and kindred, to read the Scripture of Truth in their native tongue." (90) When they heard therefore that 900 Gaels were emigrating to the United States in 1824 they presented each with a Bible, octavo, calf. (91) At 7/6 apiece the real price, as opposed to the acceptance price, was £307.10.0. This large sum had to be made up in some way. Indeed, every piece of Scriptural writing was sold at a loss, a fact which was made more serious by the Committees' repeated decisions to sell as cheaply as possible. They actually produced a cheap version of the New Testament at 9 d, a Psalm Book at 1/4, Scripture Extracts at 4d, Book 2 at 2d and Book 1 at 1d. The vast numbers that they issued can be judged by looking at the figures for the year 1825. (92) In that year the Society distributed 3,998 Book 1, 4,039 Book 2, 2,313 Psalms, 3,772 New Testaments, 3,791 Bibles and 5,109 Scripture Extracts - a total of 23,022. Between 1811-1825 the number released was 99,500, of which 55,000 were Elementary and 44,500 Bibles, New Testaments and Psalms. Yet, the demand was insatiable. That very year, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Ross of Lochbroom informed the Secretary that in his parish alone, 561 could read and yet had no books. (93) It was no better in Lochalsh, where, as the Rev. Mr. Hector McLean explained, there were only 265 Bibles and Testaments for a population of 2,490. (94) The Rev. Mr. Alexander Ross told the same story of Ullapool and the Rev. Mr. James Russel for the Gairloch. By 1836 the Highlands and Islands had absorbed 173,200 books - 102,100 Elementary and Extracts and 71,800 Bibles and Testaments. (95) It was not only the Society which was trying to cope with the enormous demand, there was also the British and Foreign Bible Society. Founded in 1808 their printing presses released 20,000 Bibles and 10,000 Testaments almost immediately. (96) Their success ironically created a problem for the Society as is shown by the accounts for the year 1821. In that year the Society spent £374 printing books, but only succeeding in recouping £145. To counter this competition from the British and Foreign Bible Society the Committee decided to buy direct from their competitor and in 1826 they purchased 2,000 Bibles at £150

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(90) 22AR10.

(91) 23AR15.

(92) 14AR54.

(93) 15AR22.

(94) Ibid., p.10.

(95) 25AR38.

(96) 5AR60.

£150, 1,000 Psalms and 10,000 Extracts at £252, a total of £402. While this was an improvement, in terms of cost analysis, they appealed to the British and Foreign Society for help and in March, 1828 received £500 as the "Gaelic School Society funds are greatly inadequate." (97) No sooner had this delicate relationship been sorted out than the Edinburgh Bible Society virtually flooded the Highlands and Islands with their publications. (98) This was not obvious to the Committee at the time and they minuted their approval that this had "created a very great thirst for reading and religious publications as are to be met with in the Gaelic language." (99) Up to 1828 the Edinburgh Bible Society had expressed their support in hard cash - £200 in 1827, £300 in 1828, but in 1835 their contribution was a mere £45's worth of Bibles. This switch from monetary support to books sapped the financial health of the Society at its very roots. This can be seen by the accounts: between 1811-1827 some 81 Bible Societies had donated £4,344 in hard cash. These were groups like - the Falkirk Monthly Prayer Meeting, St. Ninian's Parish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, the Dundee Missionary Society, Aberdeen Female Servants' Society and Glasgow Calton and Bridgeton Society. But after 1827 the Committee's revenue from their own publications dwindled and dwindled. In 1822 they earned £130.8.6, by 1832 this had fallen to £80.14.9, by 1846 it was £32, by 1850 only £15 and by 1860 a mere £7. The number of Bible Societies remained almost as high as ever - 16 in 1831 and 15 in 1859. How strange it is, but the truth of the matter is inescapable economically - the Gaelic School Society was weakened by the very bodies which strove so hard to give it support.

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(97) 18AR36.

(98) 17AR17.

(99) Ibid., p.18.

CHAPTER 6

SCHOOLS, SYLLABUS AND METHODS

"Gaelic has to be the language; the Bible has to be the aim - -
That wherever the people cannot come to the School, it is necessary to take the School to the people."

- 11AR6.

Between the years 1811-1861 the Gaelic School Society took 740 of their schools to the people in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. The figures are impressive - 397 to the Islands and 343 on the Mainland. The latter were placed in seven counties - Ross 113, Inverness 79, Sutherland 62, Argyle 52, Caithness 21, Perth 11 and Nairn 2. The remaining three were in congested urban areas, 2 in Aberdeen and 1 in Edinburgh. The Island schools covered no fewer than 29 distinct islands - Skye 108, Lewis 76, Mull 43, Islay 40, North Uist 28, Harris 25, Tiree 14, Raasay-Rona 10, South Uist 9, Coll 9, Barra 6, Benbecula 5, Jura 4, Eigg 3, Colonsay 3, Arran 2, Belnahuay 1, Bernera 1, Boreray 1, Borneray 1, Canna 1, Beisker 1, Inch Kenneth 1, Muck 1, Rum 1, Scalpa 1, Sgarba 1 and St. Kilda 1. Table 6 shows the annual returns for both Highland and Island regions with totals. In the Highlands the highest year was 48 in 1828, which means that there was steady growth 1811-1828, then a period of stability 1829-1831 followed by a continual decline 1832-1861. In fact, except for the year 1848 when there were 20 Highland schools the figures were never over 20, indeed, after 1851 they were always 10 or less. Obviously, the Society had concentrated its efforts on the Mainland, especially during the period 1826-1830. The Island pattern is quite different: a steady rise to 1822 and then a decline to 1844. After the Disruption numbers of schools rose steadily to 1849 and thereafter were fairly constant till 1861. Clearly, the Society devoted its attention to the Islands after 1843. The total figures are more complex to interpret - a steady rise to 1816, then a slight faltering 1817-1819 and a return of strength 1820-1831 with the highest number of schools, 85, reached in 1828. The period 1832-1844 was steady, but the Disruption was the signal for an upsurge in numbers 1845-1849 and thereafter they were fairly steady 1850-1861. Briefly then, these figures indicate that the Society was more concerned with the Mainland in its earlier years, but after 1843 the focus of attention moved to the Islands.

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS

<u>Year:</u>	<u>High:</u>	<u>Island:</u>	<u>Total:</u>	<u>Year:</u>	<u>High:</u>	<u>Island:</u>	<u>Total:</u>
1811	2	1	3	1836	15	38	53
1812	10	10	20	1837	14	38	52
1813	14	9	23	1838	13	37	50
1814	22	12	34	1839	15	35	50
1815	26	36	62	1840	15	35	50
1816	27	41	68	1841	13	35	48
1817	24	37	61	1842	15	38	53
1818	21	35	56	1843	16	36	52
1819	29	36	65	1844	17	41	58
1820	37	41	78	1845	14	57	71
1821	?	?	79	1846	16	59	75
1822	33	48	81	1847	18	60	78
1823	36	42	78	1848	20	60	80
1824	38	45	83	1849	15	56	71
1825	36	41	77	1850	10	46	56
1826	41	41	82	1851	9	45	54
1827	44	39	83	1852	8	43	51
1828	48	37	85	1853	7	42	49
1829	46	33	79	1854	9	42	51
1830	41	35	76	1855	10	42	52
1831	34	36	70	1856	9	42	51
1832	25	35	60	1857	10	42	52
1833	19	38	57	1858	10	43	53
1834	17	40	57	1859	9	42	51
1835	17	38	55	1860	9	42	51

TABLE B

Islands.

There were several ways by which a community might approach the Society in Edinburgh for a school, although the most common was a direct appeal from the local minister. Thus, a great deal depended upon the attitude of the minister and whether or not he was in agreement with the ends of the Society. Many demonstrated quite remarkable ingenuity in their efforts. The Rev. Mr. Macbean of Kincardine, for example, wrote on the 28th December, 1813 pleading for a school at Glencalvie(No.315).(1) A school was obtained for Tapul(No.689)in Mull in the very same way a few days later.(2) One of the most eloquent pleas for a school came from the Rev. Mr. Angus Kennedy of Dornoch in May, 1824, who colourfully described the poverty of the crofters at Skibbo(No.650)and their pathetic efforts to raise funds among themselves.(3) Some ministers went to an enormous amount of trouble to help their parishioners. For example, the Rev. Mr. Finlay Macrae of North Uist actually made the long journey to Edinburgh in January, 1819 to plead for a school.(4) When there was no decision made by the summer he deluged the Committee with letters until he got his school at Baliviconon(No.89). Another method used by ministers was to describe the activities of Roman Catholics in the area, but this rarely succeeded, as the Rev. Mr. Angus Martin of Boisdale found out in March, 1842.(5) The Committee plainly sought co-operation with the Roman Catholic clergy and not confrontation. The people themselves often brought pressure on their minister to apply for a school and deputations were common. The Rev. Mr. John McQueen of Applecross was so approached as early as October, 1810.(6) This was certainly the way that Nether Tout(No.540) in Snizort got its school.(7) Sometimes a minister would forward to Edinburgh a list of those Heads of Families who wanted a school. It was even better if some official would support his plea. This is what the Rev. Mr. Alexander Kennedy did in November, 1820 to get a school for Tobermory(No.700). He announced from the pulpit that those Heads of Families who would support a school should give their names into Mr. MacDougall, Collector of Customs, who then for-

(1) 4AR29. Hereafter, references to schools in Appendix ii will be given after their name, e.g. Glencalvie(No.315).

(2) 5AR55.

(3) 14AR22, 26/5/1824.

(4) 10AR20.

(5) 32AR27.

(6) 2AR30.

(7) 10AR27.

forwarded the 21 names gathered to Edinburgh. Proprietors often asked for a school on their estates and this is how Roag(No.586)in Skye got its school in 1813.(8) The Annual Reports usually do not name the heritors involved in such applications, but an exception was Colonel McDonald of Lynedale, who in June, 1815 got a school for Brebost(No.151) in Skye.(9) Sometimes tacksmen applied for a school on behalf of their superior and this was the case with Mr. MacLellan and Mr. Macdonald at Taransay(No.690) in 1821.(10) S.S.P.C.K. teachers occasionally wrote in to the Secretary suggesting a school for some particularly remote region as did a teacher in Coll in 1813 when he recommended Torraston(No.711).(11) It was only rarely that a Parish Schoolmaster took the trouble to do the same, but Robert Walker urged a school for Salem(No.599)in Tiree in 1816.(12) Inspectors also indicated areas in need of schools, but they tended to support applications rather than initiate them. This was the position as far as Salem was concerned. Petitions were also common, but rather for the retention of a school than for a first placing. These petitions varied widely - in length, style and even argument. Here is one of the earlier petitions from the Mainland and it is interesting to observe that none of the applicants could write their names -

Moidart 22/4/1813

"We, the under subscribers, and tenants in Glenuig, humbly beg leave to return our grateful thanks to the Society, who had the humanity of sending us Mr. McEwan, to teach our children the Gaelic language. May the Great God reward them for their good and laudable intentions! We are so pleased with Mr. McEwan, that we would rejoice at his coming among us again, if the honourable Society would think us worthy. We remain, most gratefully, your most obedient humble servant."

Ranald x McDonald	Hugh x McDonald	Roderick x McDonald
Archibald x McIsaac	Donald x McIsaac	Ewen McDonald x
Norman x McDonald	John x McLean	Ann x Thomson
Donald x McDonald Jnr.	John x McDonald	Donald x McVarish

Their marks.(13)

(8) 3AR16.

(9) 5AR41.

(10) 10AR50.

(11) 3AR17.

(12) 5AR50.

(13) 3AR52, No.337.

marks. Some of the petitions bare traces of quaint and rather stilted English, like the one from Murdo Buchanan of Olach in Skye in 1837 in which he wrote: "I am not a little encouraged to state - - ." (13) A much more eloquent petition comes from the island of Rona on the 4th October, 1821 -

Rona 4/10/1821

"We, the inhabitants of the Island of Rona, having met this day, with one voice, in the first place of representing to the Committee of the Honourable Gaelic School Society, our very grateful acknowledgment for the goodness bestowed upon us for some time back, viz. the labour of Mr. Macdonald as Gaelic Teacher; and, in the second place, laying down before the said Committee our present condition, expecting the sympathy of which we already have tasted. This island is divided from Rasay by a sound of an English and one-half mile. From the Skye side, twelve miles. By sea from Applecross, about seventeen. Our Parish-Church is no less than 32 miles by land, and to cross two ferries; and, although the Rev. Mr. Macdonald should preach once a month at Rasay, his station is still about 20 miles from this place, over rocks, hills, and moors, that many in this Island cannot hear a Sermon from one end of the year to the other, excepting young men who may have occasion to go to the Mainland of Skye, which seldom happens. It may now be easily conjectured, how difficult it is for us to attend to the administration of clerical advantages. The contemplative mind can figure for itself our condition, better than we can lay down on black and white - - Before Macdonald came, we have, alas! to confess, that the greatest ignorance did abound amongst us, only one in the Island could open a Book, and not a Bible in the whole Island. But since he came, the case in some measure is the reverse; and when the Light of Knowledge is beginning to dawn upon us, the means are withdrawn. We may well say, that although much has already been done, yet that only very little has been done, considering the noble disposition of the Society, and that they allow the most destitute to have the strongest claim to this sympathy. We therefore write, humbly requesting the continuation of the Gaelic Teacher with us, if this is consistent with the useful Institution. We shall consider it a rich boon, - if not, we acknowledge gratefully the good already done to us, and wish the Noble Society the happiness they deserve, of seeing their labours accompanied by Divine Providence, as

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as species of ignorance; and while they carry by their means the Ark of the Covenant, with the view of laying it up in every heart, besides the Dagon of unbelief, may they see him by degrees falling down and buried in everlasting oblivion! With regard to the assertions we have made, we refer the verity of this to Mr. Macbean, the Gentleman who lately visited this Island, and shall remain with anxiety for an answer.

Very respectfully, we desire to subscribe

John Gillies, Angus Mackenzie, Malcolm Macleod, Malcolm Mackay as well as the rest of the inhabitants of the Island.

William Mackenzie.(15)

From a distant and remote part of Perthshire came a petition in 1827 which is typical of the period -

Bohespic, Blair Atholl.

"We, the inhabitants of Bohespic(sic), do hereby return you our sincerest and most heartfelt gratitude for the very liberal benefit which you did so benevolently bestow upon us for the two last years, in sending amongst us at your own expense, teachers for the instruction of our children. And we beg leave to add, that the diligence and industry of the teacher this year, as well as last year, has been crowned with abundant success. Both young and old in this neighbourhood, so far distant from regular places of worship, have profited much from - - (Peter McCaill)'s godly instructions and example on Sundays and weekdays. The object of our correspondence is to pray that you would be so kindly pleased to continue us for another year, if possible, a benefit which we value at so great a rate, for which we cannot sufficiently express our gratitude; and the object of which is no less than the salvation of our immortal souls, by giving us a Teacher for the ensuing year, that he may be a guide to our youth, to rear them up in the way in which they should go, that when they become old, they may not depart from it, and serve as a shepherd to our aged; to gather them in from the mountains of vanity, over which they have too long wandered. These most important purpose were, by the interposition of Almighty God, wonderfully answered by our Teachers during the two bygone years, for all the neighbourhood, young and old flocked in, on the Sundays, with all the eagerness of hungry souls, to hear them read and explain the word of God; for it is only on the third Sunday that there is preaching within five

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five miles of us, and the road over hill is often in winter so strongly barricaded with snow, that even the liveliest of us cannot make their way through it. Such, gentlemen, is the case with us in regard to the one thing needful, and we submit it to your consideration, not trusting to an arm of flesh, for we have none to intercede for us; but trusting that He who keepeth Israel and maketh every thing to work together for good to them that fear Him, will dispose your hearts to pity and condition and extend your charity to us a little longer, and thereby entail upon us an obligation to pray that God may bless you in your basket and in your store."(16)

Thus we can see that there were various styles of petition, but few were quite as dramatic as one from Castle Island, Raasay in 1831.

Castle Island, 11/8/1831.

"We, the inhabitants of Castle and the neighbouring farms, do humbly offer our gratitude, and acknowledge our high obligation to your valuable Institution for sending a Teacher to us last winter, and it is with heartfelt sorrow we have to relate the melancholy occurrence that took place here, by which we are deprived of our Teacher for ever, and his usefulness. Upon the 16th ult. he and another man, accompanied by his new-married wife, left this place by boat to the mainland of Skye, to visit his friends in the parish of Kilmuir, and on his return on Monday, the 18th, the boat was lost in the Channel and he and his wife, and the other man, were all drowned."(17)

In fact, most of the petitions carried fairly stereotyped arguments for a school - Camniskile in Lochbroom was 28 miles to the parish kirk(18); Rona had had no school for eight years and the 115 people there were "perishing for lack of knowledge"(19); Carnoch Farm, Glencoe had 200 families working in the slate quarries and the 150-200 children there could not get Gaelic at the local parish school.(20) Of course, if a school was available this added considerable weight to the application. For example, in 1834 Marishadder's appeal(No.511)was based on the existence of a school built in 1829 and Halleck's request(No.355)was on a school built as recently as 1830.(21) Otherwise, communities had to guarantee provision of a school

(16) 16AR28-29, No.126.

(17) 21AR32, No.189. This was Duncan Gillies from Heir, No.361.

(18) 26AR15.

(19) 33AR29, No.591.

(20) 26AR53, No.317.

(21) 23AR29.

school as quickly as possible. Numbers signing a petition was often a technique used by applicants and it frequently was successful, as in the case of Culnacnock(No.240)in Skye in 1834 and Wester Slumbie(No.740)in 1842 in Ross.(22) Heads of Families often took the lead in applying for a school as they were the natural leaders in the remote communities, as at Stensal (No.662)in Skye in 1843.(23) The more that signed appeals the better, as with 32 at Malaclet(No.505) and 30 at Cladach(No.201), both in North Uist in February, 1843.(24) Occasionally a request was put in for a specific teacher, such as the Rev. Mr. Alexander Cameron of Kilchonan in Islay did in 1844 on behalf of 51 Heads of Families for the services of John McSween at Kilnave(No.430).(25) The support of Mr. Cheine, factor of the estate carried as much weight as the entire community. A promise of a weekly prayer meeting was a common inducement as happened at Heisker(No.362)in North Uist.(26) The people of Creich in Mull promised the same in September, 1843 and they described such meetings as "the means of awakening many a poor soul to a sense of sin and misery, in consequence of which there seems to be the greatest desire for the means of grace."(27) Finally, after the Disruption, Free Church elders seem to have been given special consideration as those at Stoer in Sutherland found out in January, 1844.(28)

Petitions, such as those listed above, arrived continuously on the Secretary's desk in Edinburgh and he and the Committee had the difficult of deciding which to grant and which to refuse. This was not easy, and in 1843 the Secretary lamented the "throng of competing claims."(29) Certainly, many were refused over the years.(30) So much so, that "A Correspondent", in July, 1820, wrote in to complain about the "still neglected areas."(31) But this was unfair; the Committee had limited resources and could not please everybody. The 20th Annual Report gives an indication of their problem - Trillick(No.726), Duntillich(No.270), Glendryne(No.323), Swordlechaol(No.683) and Achdaphubil(No.8)were granted schools; Black Park

(22) Ibid., p.28; 32AR25.

(23) 33AR25.

(24) Ibid., p.28.

(25) Ibid., p.30.

(26) Ibid., p.31.

(27) Ibid., 26/9/1843.

(28) Ibid., p.30.

(29) 32AR7.

(30) 17AR16; 19AR14; 21AR10; 23AR29.

(31) 10AR50.

Park, Habost and Garryvard were refused.(32) In fact, in the year 1834 out of 55 applications for schools, 28 were actually granted.(33) Although the criteria for choice were never spelled out in the Annual Reports it was obvious that remoteness was the important factor. In the year 1840-1841 Kinlochewe(No.437) and Boriston(No.131)were 20 miles from the nearest kirks, while Pollglass(No.565), Dorinamuck(No.255) and Kylerhea(No.454)were all 17 miles. All of these received schools. Keppoch(No.411)was 9 miles from the nearest school, Brenish(No.152)was 8 and Achmore(No.14)and Tolsta(No.701)both 7. All of these got schools. Some districts had no schools at all - Bayble(No.105)with 390 people, Octnaclach(No.549)with 350, North Galson(No.544)with 288, Garbost(No.304)with 280 and Garry(No.305)with 272 inhabitants. All of these were granted schools.(33) After 1833 the Committee were anxious to have some material inducement from applicants and these were varied. The crofters at Bayble offered £8 towards the teacher's salary, while those at Melbost offered £5.(34) Both got schools. Heritors frequently offered part payment of the costs if the Society met the remainder, as at Taransay in 1834 when the proprietor gave £12 and asked the Committee to match it.(No.690)(35) Even modest collections, like the £3.11.6 gathered at Tolsta in 1835, were acceptable.(36) Of course, real physical barriers almost always moved the Committee, as at Eskinish(No.283)in Islay where the children in 1844 had to travel two miles to school and ford a dangerous river.(37) Reasons for refusal are interesting and seem to be basically two - the S.S.P.C.K. were interested in the area, as happened at Tarskvaig in Sleat in 1814, or there were too many schools already in the district, as happened at Ordpatrik in Kilberry in 1825.(38) Of course, refusal did not deter many, they simply re-applied the following season. Few had to wait as long as Spindale(No.659)in Sutherland. Its first application was submitted in August, 1815, but they did not get a school till 1850.

When a district received word that it had been granted a school the minister would assemble his parishioners and urge them to plan how they would build the school. Heads of Families normally took the lead at this stage, but occasionally the parishioners simply refused to do anything.

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(32) 20AR31, pp.32, 33, 34, 14.

(33) 30AR22-23.

(34) 22AR12-13.

(35) 23AR13.

(36) 24AR21.

(37) 33AR31.

(38) 4AR30; 15AR24.

anything. This was the situation facing the minister at Shieldaig in April, 1838, but he just built the school at Aligin(No.31)himself⁽³⁹⁾ Selecting the exact site for a school also caused problems. The Teachers' Guide gave a general indication: "The School-house should be placed in an airy and dry situation, and be well lighted."⁽⁴⁰⁾ Obviously, it had to be central, but who was to determine that? The Rev. Mr. William McRae of Barvas, in December, 1837, found himself confronted with deputations of irate parents from two hamlets desperately arguing their respective case for a school.⁽⁴¹⁾ Altandou(No.32)got its school because the parents told the Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross that they children "panting for the Word of God."⁽⁴²⁾ Their offer to accommodate the teacher immediately free of charge no doubt helped. Sometimes, as at Garry(No.305), in Skye, in January, 1839, the minister would ask the advice of the Society's Inspector.⁽⁴³⁾ On other occasions the minister might approach the local proprietor or his factor. In September, 1812, for instance, the factor for Sir James Riddel of Ardnamurchan selected the site for Kilmorie(No.428).⁽⁴⁴⁾ One thing the Committee would not tolerate and that was a lengthy delay in providing a school, as the crofters of "ester Slumbie found to their cost in 1814. Their teacher was simply ordered to Jeantown(No.398).⁽⁴⁵⁾ Cosh- encountered the same treatment when "their accommodations were not in a sufficient state of readiness" and their teacher was sent to Hearlosh(No. 358) and Roag(No.586).⁽⁴⁶⁾ This was happening so often that, in 1826, the Committee resolved "that no Teacher shall be appointed to a school until an assurance is given that a suitable School-house has been prepared for the teacher's reception, and no allowance whatever shall be given in any case, from the funds of the Society, either for the erection of a School-house, or for the rent of it."⁽⁴⁷⁾ Frequently therefore, alternate accommodation had to be arranged to avoid the loss of the school. This could

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(39) 28AR21.

(40) TG., p.4.

(41) 27AR22.

(42) 3AR42.

(43) 29AR17.

(44) 2AR33.

(45) 3AR49.

(46) Ibid., pp.15-16.

(47) Minute, 15AR65; repeated 17AR53.

could be a Church of Scotland kirk, as Bailegrant(No.73)used in March, 1835 when the scholars met in Kilmenay Church, Islay.(48) Lamington Park(No.461)was unusual in that it occupied their local kirk for the whole summer of 1820.(49) The biggest school to meet in a Church was Portree(No.571)in 1837 when there was a roll of 130.(50) Roman Catholic meeting-houses were sometimes used, such as at Kyles(No.456)in September, 1821 when the roll was 29.(51) But the strangest situation must have been that facing William Walker at Canna(No.177)in February, 1814 when he held his school in one end of a Roman Catholic chapel.(52) At the other end of the building was a private school with 30 children learning English. Free Church buildings were not used very much as by the 1850's schools were being purpose-built. However, John Gillanders had 38 pupils in the Knock(No.449)Free Kirk chapel.(53) Abandoned school-houses were commonly used, at Shabost(No.629)and at Barvas(No.102), but the latter was slightly unusual in that it was an empty parish school and permission had to be obtained from Lady Hood Mackenzie.(54) Rarely did a Parish Schoolmaster offer to share his school, but this certainly happened at Salem in Tiree in 1816.(55) Glenelchaig(No.324)was equally unusual, in that the Society school met in an old abandoned Glasgow Auxiliary Society school.(56) Dingwall(No.249)school was located in a building that was given rent-free by the local citizens, unlike Bragar(No.145)who met in a rented barn.(57) Blarnmacfolach(No.122)also met in a rented barn, but it, at least, was described as "a commodious barn."(58) The most unlikely accommodation of all, however must be that obtained by Durin(No.271)in September, 1813 - "a kiln, enlarged."(59) The best schools were those which were constructed specifically as Society Schools, such as Kildonan

- (48) 25AR25-26.
- (49) 10AR43.
- (50) 26AR54.
- (51) 11AR30.
- (52) 4AR40.
- (53) 41AR13.
- (54) 5AR36-37.
- (55) Ibid., p.50.
- (56) 25AR27.
- (57) 5AR20-21, p.77.
- (58) Ibid., p.27.
- (59) 3AR39.

Kildonan(No.420)in September, 1815.

The Committee gave only general advice on construction: "The school-room should be much larger than is required for accommodating merely the children who attend on week days: both Parents and Children, and Servants, etc. being present on Sabbath."(60) Raising the necessary money was always a problem, but many communities either assessed themselves or had collections. At Skibbo(No.650), for instance, in June, 1824, each family gave either 1/- or 1/6 to the building fund.(61) At Fort William(No.294), on the other hand, the Rev. Mr. Charles J. Bayne decided "to hire a house or room for the school - - the expense of which we intend to defray by means of a subscription or collection."(62) The Committee actually disliked the thought of heavy expenditure - "No costly preparations are expected: an untenanted house of convenient situation" would do, as long as "they, with alacrity will unite in building one." They did make one proviso: it should be "as large as possible; because crowding the Children into a small space injures their health, destroys order, and greatly hinders their progress in learning." And, of course, "a numerous attendance was expected on Sundays."(63) As Colin Sinclair has pointed out the Gaels had a difficult problem in that they only had limited building materials and yet had to live in a rigorous climate.(64) Building techniques were primitive, but essentially sound, based as they were on ancient practice - *cul n' gaoith, aghaidh ri grein, an ear's an iar, an dachaidh is fearr*."(65) There was no option but to build thick turf walls and thatched roof. The greatest emphasis was laid on light - "The windows, therefore, or apertures on the north wall, should be at such parts of it as to give light to the Classes standing at the south wall; and , on the other hand, the windows on the south should serve the purpose of the Scholars, whostand with their faces towards the north wall."(66) Careful thought had been given to the seating: "Five seats, at least, are required for the five Classes: and each Class should be at as great a distance from the other as the School-Room will permit."(67)

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(60) TG., p.4.

(61) 14AR22.

(62) 15AR24-25.

(63) TG., p.3.

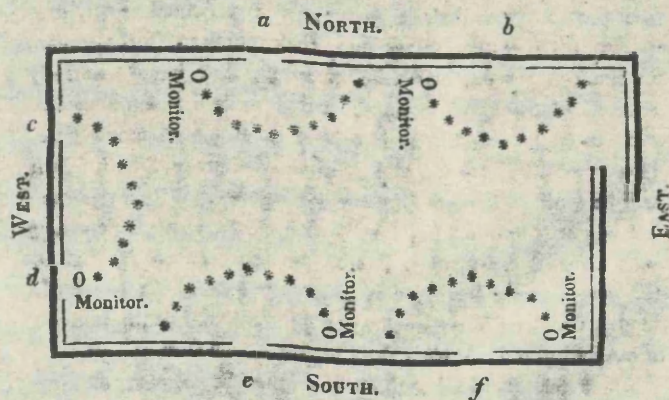
(64) Colin Sinclair, "Thatched Houses." 1953.

(65) Ibid., p.20., "Back to the wind, face to the sun, eastward and westward
(66)best homestead."

(66) TG.,p.6.

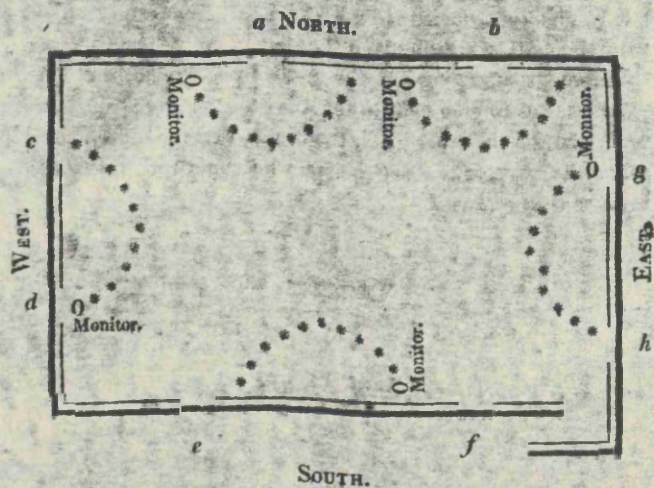
(67) Ibid., p.4.

No. I.



a, b, c, d, e, f,—the proper places for the windows.

No. II.



a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h,—The windows.

permit." Plate 4 shows the recommended "places for the windows and the manner of the entrance to show how the light is communicated to every Class, and how they are best screened from the cold air from the door." Designs were often changed, especially if the Inspector wrote an adverse report - "The people are exceedingly attached to the Teacher and on the previous week, hearing that I was to visit Lewis first, they opened another door and window in the school-house, for fear they might lose the teacher, for I insisted last year on such being done to the house and much more. The tardy measure, however, is a great improvement on a house 100' long."(68) Heritors often took a great interest in the construction of the schools and sometimes gave timber, as Macleod of Cadboll did to Amat-na-Tuath(No.34) in January, 1816.(69) More often they gave money, as did Mrs. Hay Mackenzie of Gromarty to Duny(No.269), Colonel Spencer to Glachnaharry(No.199) and Dr. McAllister to Strathaird(No.665)in Skye.(70) The actual building was almost always the work of the people themselves. The Rev. Mr. Finlay Mc Rae of North Uist reported in December, 1819 that "by their united labour the people have erected a school-house sufficient to accommodate upwards of 80 scholars at Baliviconon."(No.89)(71) However, Arinagower was built by only one man in March, 1816.(72) Much more typical would have been the scene at Arnisdale(No.54)in November, 1817. The teacher, Duncan Campbell, arrived to find that heavy rains had delayed the completion of the school and he was lodged temporarily in a nearby inn. The school, 30' by 14', furnished with seats and a teacher's desk, was built in four weeks by people from Lochaber, Glengarry, Kintail and Knoydart, who had camped around the school until it was completed.(73) It was the same in the Islands; people came from all over Coll to construct Cornaig(No.217)in 1831.(74) Haste was essential, especially the thatching, as Alexander McLeod discovered when posted to Arnisdale in 1847.(75) Most of the work therefore was done in the summer months as the Committee constantly suggested.(76) The worst approach was to do a rushed job as that meant repairs within a very short

(68) 49AR10.

(69) 15AR28-29.

(70) 19AR38; 50AR10.

(71) 9AR24-26.

(72) 6AR6.

(73) 8AR10-11.

(74) 20AR35.

(75) 36AR12.

(76) 29AR17; 33AR27.

time, as happened at Portavada(No.567)in October, 1826.(77) To avoid this the people usually had their houses built quite a time in advance, and some even had to wait empty for even a few years.(78) Occasionally, masons were employed to lay the stones as the Rev. Mr. Colin McKenzie arranged for Gress(No.346)in March, 1813.(79) The stones, of course, being collected by the crofters themselves. Even as late as 1850 this was still the case as Inspector Ross noted: "I found that 20 men were engaged that day in clearing the foundation and collecting stones."(80) The size of these schools is interesting, some, as we have seen, being 100' long. Others were much smaller - Garry(No.305)was 35' by 15'; Kenovay(No. 407)was 30' by 12'; Wester Slumbie(No.740)was 29' by 14' by 6'; Bigg(No.277) was 28' by 12' and Calluch(No.169)was 27' by 12'..(81) Culnacnock(No.240)was "a tenement of 6 couples - the expression 6 couples, marks the length of the building, and refers to a house, the roof of which requires 6 double beams placed at the usual distance from each other."(82) Rarely do we have such detail about a school as we do about Learside(No.473) - "the house is substantially built with stone and lime, the walls 7' high and 2' thick, with two chimneys, the part allotted for the school(57 scholars) measuring 20' by 14½', within the walls and with three excellent windows." (83) Although these schools appear primitive to modern eyes it is worth while remembering that most, like Balvairde(No.95)in September, 1815, were "large, well-lighted and warm."(84) The light and heat came, of course, from peats brought by the children and which were allowed to burn till 10 p.m..(85) Furniture is rarely mentioned in the Annual Reports, but we do know that Learside had tables and seats and that Clashmore(No.205)had obtained its forms and large glass windows from the local factor, Mr. Baigrie.(86)

The local inhabitants were not slow to assess the comfort and facilities of these schools and a wide range of adjectives was used to express their

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(77) 16AR27.

(78) 3AR21; 23AR19.

(79) 3AR56.

(80) 49AR10.

(81) 29AR17; 5AR88; 4AR11; 5AR85, pp.89-90.

(82) Ibid., p.40.

(83) 9AR10.

(84) 5AR71.

(85) 4AR2.

(86) 10AR16; 24AR11.

opinions - Ballallan(No.90)and Craigfad(No.226)were "excellent", while Portmahomac(No.570)was such that there was "not such another house to be had in the parish" and the thatching on Boisdale(No.127)was the best on the island.(87) Gress(No.346)and Culnacnock(No.240)were classified as "very good", while Arinucrinack(No.50) was "good", Kilnave(No.430) "large" and Stensal(No.662) "substantial."(88) Those at Ulva(No.733), South Dell (No.656) and Amat-na-Tuath(No.34)were regarded as "comfortable", while Dingwall(No.249), Mebust(No.513), Coll(No.212), Tobermory(No.700)and Saund(No.614) were "commodious"; Monkcastle(No.525)was "convenient" and Eigg(No.277) only "tolerably good."(89) Naturally, there were schools which were not highly regarded - mainly because they were "rather little" like Salom(No.599)or "very small" like Kilpatrick(No.431).(90) While Laggan Achdroma (No.459)was "not yet so good", Cheesebay(No.196)was "crowded to excess."(91) Some had specific problems, like Kinchruin(No.432)where Angus McLeod taught 32 in December, 1815 in "an old open shed" exposed to the rain, or Ramsaig (No.578)in Skye, which was "damp - - without any outlet whatever for the smoke except the door."(92) Some were badly sited and exposed to the elements, like Lead Udrigil(No.472), which "more than once had had its thatch blown off by the wind."(93) Others deteriorated, like Mebust, listed above; the rethatching in 1856 was done "when the season was far advanced and it was not long before it fell by a storm", and even the Inspector lamented "the wretchedness of the place."(94) But one of the worst was Garmony in Mull in 1815, where it was planned to have 35 taught in an "old barn", which was considered "very bad". However, the owner wanted it back and the school moved $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to Fishinish(No.290).(95) Clearly, the key to comfort and efficiency was the number in attendance and some rolls were far too high. Barvasses(No.103)was enormous - during the year 1827-1828 Alexander Anderson taught 368 scholars, of whom 224 were adults. Of these, 141 were at the Elementary level and 227 at the Bible.(96) By 1830 there were still 330 there.

(87) 7AR7; 15AR32; 31AR26; 10AR22.

(88) 3AR56; 32AR25; 28AR21; 33AR26.

(89) 5AR90; 25AR28; 15AR28; 6AR14; 22AR13; 25AR31; 11AR40; 5AR17, p.85.

(90) 3AR61; 5AR54.

(91) 18AR32; 24AR26.

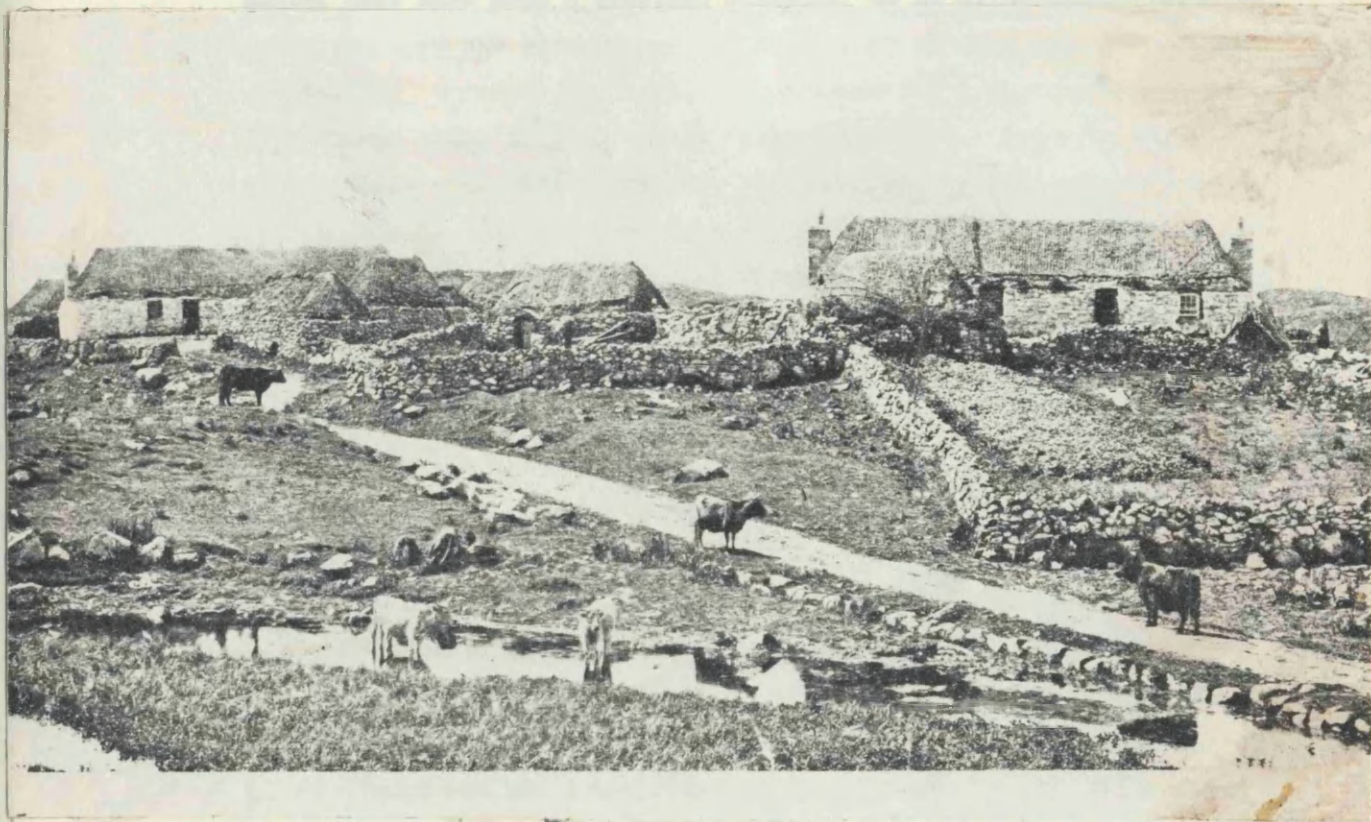
(92) 6AR9-10; 46AR9.

(93) 24AR16.

(94) 45AR14.

(95) 5AR53.

(96) 18AR54-55.



NORTH UIST

there. Other schools had huge rolls too - Calder(No.298)had 297, Fort William(No.294)had 280, Tobermory(No.700)had 268 and Bragar(No.145)had 263. Quite often there were more in attendance than the roll or "list" or "catalogue" indicated - Clashmore(No.205)in Assynt had 93 on the roll but the Inspector found 109 present.(97) It was the same at Back(No.62) in Lewis with 101 on the roll, yet 130 in attendance.(98) Variations in number must have been a constant headache, as at Arin-Cailach(No.48)in Mull, where 47 was the average for the summer session and 105 for the winter.(99) A school might well be designed for a certain number and that number might just as easily fall as increase. Brora(No.158)is a good example - in 1830 there were 259 scholars, in 1841 only 179 and by 1848 a mere 63. Finally, we have the teacher's accommodation. As far as one can gather from the Annual Reports single men occupied a part of the school-house, while married men and their family usually had separate accommodation in a house of their own. Once a bachelor married problems rose and lodging might well be sought in a nearby croft, as at Blarmac-folach(No.122)in December, 1814.(100) Few were as fortunate as Roderick McLeod, who was given the best room in a merchant's house at Jeantown(No. 398)in 1814.(101)

There was, of course, an element of opposition in some communities and the Committee recognised this as a fact of life. Christopher Anderson, for example, in January, 1819 said: "Most people, with but few exceptions, appreciate the work of the Society."(102) Even as late as 1829 the 18th Annual Report was still speaking of "discouragements and difficulties of various kinds - - misconceptions and prejudices."(103) By 1831 most of these prejudices had disappeared, but the Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Angus Mackellar, could still look back on the earlier days when "There were not a few who looked upon your enterprise as extravagant, and some who even regarded it as hopeless."(104) Why, one might well ask, was there any opposition at all to such an obviously good Society? There were at least

(97) 25AR13.

(98) 29AR24.

(99) 6AR19.

(100) 4AR37.

(101) Ibid., p.11.

(102) 8AR1.

(103) 18AR12-13.

(104) 20AR11.

least three main reasons for peoples' attitudes. In the first part, many parents were not too happy about the effect of any sort of education upon their children, especially upon their daughters, hence the neglect of female education. Presumably they feared that with literacy their children might grow away from them, take on airs or leave their homes. Heritors sometimes shared this view, but for more basic economic reasons. Not that there were many direct complaints against the Society, that would have been very stupid in the light of the Society's obvious Christian endeavour. The only way that the heritor could express his distaste was at the teacher, his actions or his personality and as late as 1834 "complaints have occasionally been made." (105) The Islanders were particularly anxious about education as W.C. Mackenzie has noted: "People did not take kindly to education, being suspicious of its results." (106) A second, but much more common motive for opposition, was the passionate desire to learn English and use it to acquire a better standard of living. The Rev. Mr. John Glass of Dunvegan described the situation in Skye in 1838: "So ignorant are the parents, that it is difficult to convince them that it can be any benefit to their children to read Gaelic, though they are all anxious, if they could, to have them taught English, though there is not one in the whole district that can understand a sentence. He (the teacher) was long among them before he could get them to send their children to school." (107) The people of Islay shared the view about Gaelic: "There has been," wrote the Rev. Mr. James Pearson of Kilmenny in April, 1836, "and still continues to be among some a strong prejudice against having their children first instructed to read their native language -- the prejudice, however, is giving way." (108) A third reason was fear of the cost that the presence of a school might involve the community. The Rev. Mr. Colin Mackenzie of Shieldaig, in April, 1838, found the people "very lukewarm" when the matter of financing a school was raised. (109) It was the same at Aadenbaine (No.1), as late as 1853, when the "people were reluctant to have a teacher until the Rev. Mr. McLeod paid for a house." (110) Some areas were particularly bad: the Rev. Mr. Archie

(105) 23AR17.

(106) W.C. Mackenzie, "History of the Outer Hebrides", 1903, p.531.

(107) 27AR13.

(108) 26AR53.

(109) 28AR21.

(110) 42AR16.

Archie MacTavish of Jura reported that "some parents were not so sensible at first of the blessing - - and did not see to attendance"; Justice of the Peace Donald Stewart of Harris wrote that "It is now about five years since your first teachers got a proper footing in Harris- - they had many prejudices to encounter"; the Rev. Mr. John MacKenzie of Rogart remembered "the prejudice which existed in this parish against Gaelic Schools." (111) It was also marked at particular schools - "Some considerable prejudice appears to have existed among the people of Ardchiavaig in Mull at first against the school, and from their hesitation in providing a house". (112) (No 36) The Rev. Mr. Donald Fraser of Kirkhill reported that the people at Calpelach (No. 164) "viewed the plan of the Gaelic Schools with distrust," while the people of Swordly (No. 685), according to the Rev. Mr. David Mackenzie of Farr, "were not so anxious about the education of their Daughters." (113) The latter even found that his aged parishioners did not want to learn, a feature shared by Tolsta (No. 701), where "the grown-up people were very backward at first to begin to learn." (114) The children themselves often disobeyed their parents and attended school, as the Committee noted in 1821: "they were known sometimes to have stolen to the School unknown to their parents, or against their will. For while some of the parents do their best to promote the attendance of their own and other's children, others are rather indifferent." (115) The best way round the indifference was to have an able teacher: at Shadir (No. 630), for instance, Neil Murray, "overcame the untoward reluctance of some to send their children to school", while at Culduin (No. 238) "there were several difficulties to contend with and to overcome before the children could be got to attend at this station - - the parents being formerly indifferent - - that has now changed thanks to the teacher's judicious intercourse with the parents." (116) Sometimes a teacher tried something novel to attract scholars, as did Murdoch MacPherson at Duin (No. 267), when, in 1834, he had his wife open a Female School. The Rev. Mr. Alexander Macleod reported to the Committee, "I see that it is

(111) 11AR41, 26/3/1821; 13AR36, 13/1/1824; 18AR27, March, 1828.

(112) 5AR54, August, 1815.

(113) 6AR2; 7AR6.

(114) 8AR14.

(115) 10AR44.

(116) 9AR15; 20AR19.

is not till now that he and the people fully understand each other."(117)
 Most people, in time, were persuaded to accept what the Gaelic Schools had to offer, especially the rapid progress achieved by both young and old in reading: "the inhabitants of the district are more inclined than they were to send their children to this school(Strathgarve, No.669). I have always observed this, that it is after seeing the progress made by those who have been sometime attending, that there is a general desire awakened amongst the inhabitants of the district to send their children to school."(118)
 Inevitably, this was followed by a communal sense of shame and it is well demonstrated by a petition from 30 Heads of Families at Cladach(No.201)in North Uist in February, 1843: "We confess, to our shame, that we did not esteem this privilege as we might - - we were almost careless about the said worthy teacher when offered to us first, but as we increased in Knowledge, we have had more desire for his labour, and were all willing to petition your Society to have him with us another year."(119)

The Teachers' Guide was adamant about the importance of attendance and especially "steadiness and punctuality."(120) But teachers were expected to adapt their times to "the most convenient" for their scholars so that attendance was as easy as possible. This meant long hours for all the Society's teachers. Weekdays were usually 9am to 12 noon and then 1pm to 4pm. Of course, every teacher was compelled to have weekday evening schools for adults and these, in winter, were usually 6pm till 10pm and 7pm to 10pm in summer. The Guide gave sound advice on how to run a school - at 9am the teacher was to "start precisely" by ringing the "large hand bell - - part of his moveable school furniture." Those children who arrived late and had no valid excuse were placed at the bottom of their respective classes. As regular attendance was the aim of the Committee, teachers had to be scrupulous about registration. They had to call all the names at 2pm daily, that is just after the first lesson in the afternoon. There had to be no delay, the teacher simply reading a name and the child answering, "An so!"(Here!). If present the teacher marked "1" opposite the name; if absent a "0".(121) If a child was absent in the morning then it was the duty of the Monitor to find out why. If the ex-

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(117) 24AR23.

(118) 29AR18, 13/3/1839.

(119) 33AR28.

(120) TG., pp.6-7.

(121) Ibid., p.8.

explanation was acceptable the child was marked present for the whole day. If a child was present in the morning, but absent in the afternoon it was up to the Monitor to find out the reason. If he was unable to do so, then the register must be kept blank till the next day. If there was no satisfactory reason, then the child was marked absent for the entire day. Those pupils with good attendance were rewarded with cards on the first Monday of the second month in each session. These were to act as "a stimulus to attend." Those whose attendance had been "irregular" were deliberately kept separate as a punishment. In fact, all the scholars were warned at the start of the session that if they were absent they would end up in the "irregular class" and not get a card. To be absent two or three times was regarded as a piece of delinquency and those guilty of such had to wear a placard, round the neck, for a day or for a part of the day.(122) The placard read: "Airson a bhi air falbh!"(For absence!). The Committee's insistence upon good attendance as they had ample evidence that "the children, owing to their attending best, make most progress."(123) As early as May, 1813 the Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross had predicted that attendance would be a problem, a prophecy echoed the same year from Mull.(124) Some schools had reputations for very high attendance figures - Langdale (No.463), Scourie(No.625) and Crathy(No.228), while others had a bad reputation - Strone(No.678), Caipelach(No.164)and Kenovay(No.407). Most schools were rather like Morness(No.528)in Sutherland, subject to fluctuations - 1828 82%, 1829 81%, 1830 94% and 1831 81%. Some years, of course, were bad all over the country, rather like 1817 "due to the failure of the 1816 harvest."(125) There were lots of reasons for absences, most of them perfectly legitimate. Distance was a perennial problem and many children walked three, as at Kinlochbuy(No.436), or even five miles, as at Glencalvie (No.315).(126) Bad weather, especially heavy rain, could make the journey to school into a nightmare of swollen rivers, as at Caipelach and Glenmore (No.332).(127) Some of the parents were no doubt feckless and silly, but large families was often to blame. At Calluch(No.169)in Mull, for instance, "there is hardly a house here but has ten children init."(128) Poverty

(122) Ibid., p.10.

(123) 3AR57.

(124) Ibid., pp.42, 62.

(125) 7AR14.

(126) 4AR42; 5AR69.

(127) Ibid., p.22; 9AR8.

(128) 5AR89.

Poverty was the greatest cause of absenteeism and was on a scale which our century finds hard to appreciate. For example, many of these remote communities had absolutely no specie whatsoever - Ardnamurchan in 1832 and even Portree in 1836.(129) The result was hordes of children devoid of suitable clothing and shoes for hard weather. Such children were common sights at Uachdar(No.730), Bragar(No.145)and Shadir(No.631).(130) To supplement the meagre family resources these children had to work at the harvest, as at Scatwell(No.622)and at Bosta(No.138), or at the kelp, as at Killeen(No.423), or at the fishing, as at Mellon of Udrigil(No.516)or herding cattle to "the shealings" as at Calnukile(No.170)and Shabost(No.629).(131) The ultimate in poverty, of course, was the collecting of shell-fish as the main diet, a practice common to North Uist in 1850 and Skye as late as 1856.(132) All of the above privations were made doubly worse for those children who had the misfortune to be orphans and one teacher in Assynt had 19 such in his little school.(133) Next to poverty the main cause of poor attendance was illness, often unidentified diseases - "infectious fever" at Inverewe(No.383)and Galson(No.300), while it was "severe fever" at Bruinish(No.162)and Elgol(No.279).(134) Measles were common at Inverchirkey(No.382)and at Paible(No.555) and at Drimarban(No.258)examinations had to be cancelled.(135) Worst of all was Torraston(No.711)in Coll, where the teacher had to abandon his post to escape "the epidemical disease."(136) "Hooping cough" at Monkcastle(No.525)laid many low, but the outbreak of smallpox at Inverewe was more frightening. Some schools were just unlucky - Malaclet(No.505)in North Uisthad outbreaks of smallpox and whooping-cough between May, 1840 and January, 1841. These returned in April, 1841 as well as a savage bout of measles.(137) Kilnave(No.430)in Islay had whooping-cough and fever in 1842 and then measles in 1843.(138) Not surprisingly, deaths were not uncommon and at Clachtol(No.200) in 1855 there were "many

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(129) 22AR12; 26AR54.

(130) 27AR20; 47AR14; 8AR15.

(131) 2AR29; 14AR33; 4AR19; 5AR15; 3AR8; 5AR36.

(132) 39AR12; 45AR13.

(133) 12AR22.

(134) 23AR35; 45AR15; 12AR41; 45AR13.

(135) 24AR11; 45AR16; 10AR13.

(136) 5AR48-49.

(137) 31AR27; 33AR27.

(138) Ibid., p.30.

many deaths" from influenza and whooping-cough.(139) Fortunately, most children attended school normally and, in fact, seem to have enjoyed doing so. At Fiscavaig(No.288)"the children have a pleasure in attending school" and at Hustal(No.372)they walked miles to be there every day.(140) At Port-avada(No567)the scholars hailed the teacher "with joy" every morning and at Rum(No.596)they boarded or camped near the school not to miss a single day. (141) Their reward came when they went home and proudly taught their elders how to read. At Kintraa(No.440)a seven year old girl would teach her 70 year old grandfather, what the Rev. Mr. Kenneth McKenzie called, "The blending of age to the docility of childhood."(142) Within school, most children exhibited, as at Drimarban a "seriousness which pervaded the whole school."(143) All 32 of them were, according to the Rev. Mr. Hector Allen, "quiet, neat and clean."

The Teachers' Guide gave detailed instructions to the teachers on how to arrange their classes with boys and girls separated, the former to the right and the latter on the left.(144) This was satisfactory in those which had a well balanced school roll, like Embo(No.280)with its 20 male and 21 female scholars, and even with a big school like Inchrory(No.377) with its 105 males and 115 females.(145) Problems must have developed when there was a strong bias towards one sex, as at Kenovay(No.407)where there were 43 males and only 9 females.(146) Generally speaking, after 1820 the number of female scholars increased to equal the males in both Main-land and Islands schools. In some cases females actually outnumbered the males, but rarely by as much as at Swordly(No.685).(147) Young children were kept as close to the teacher as possible. Naturally, the teacher could not supervise five classes continually and he had to rely on "Monitors." Sometimes called "Superintendents" or "Overseers" they "must answer to you for the good order and attention of his class." The teacher, therefore simply went from group to group as a "General Guide" or "Director". The

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- (139) 45AR10.
- (140) 6AR7-8.
- (141) 15AR26; 24AR32.
- (142) 12AR17.
- (143) 9AR12.
- (144) TG.,p.10.
- (145) 11AR26; 24AR13.
- (146) 5AR50.
- (147) 11AR24.

The Committee were clear as to how a Monitor should be selected, as "any Boy can teach as much as he knows." The Monitor therefore, and it could easily be a girl, was picked from a higher class, such as a Monitor was chosen from the Syllable Class to teach the children in the Alphabet Class.

(148) The key factor was the children's awareness that it was "a post of honour" for which they all should strive. The teacher's function was to impress upon them that it was given for "general good conduct and scholarship." The teacher kept a watchful eye on his Monitors to see that their lessons were not too long and that they did not overstress competitiveness. We have the judgment of the Rev. Mr. Alexander Stewart of Dingwall as to how the system worked: "The mode of teaching the classes by Monitors is successfully pursued." (149) In his view the Monitors were "alert and careful." There is clear evidence that teachers did try "to follow the rules of the Guide as near as possible." (150) The first class was the Alphabet Class. (151) The Gaelic alphabet was written on large "boards" in four versions - (a) Single Roman or Upright (b) Single Italic or Sloped (c) Roman Capital and (d) Italic Capital - which were then hung on the walls of the school by a nail. The children, at this stage of learning, would stand round it, 7 as at Dochcarty (No. 253) and 40 at Bustal (No. 372), in a semi-circle with the Monitor at the side. He would point out the letters on the first board with a "small twig or switch." Sometimes he would wear the board around his necks and point to the letters with his finger. Each child would be asked a letter in turn and, if they faltered, the Monitor would tell them the letter. But this was only for the first two days, thereafter "it is not the Monitor's business to teach, but to see that the boys in the class teach each other." Thus, if a boy made a mistake with a letter the Monitor did not correct him, but asked another boy. If this other boy gives the correct response he "moves up in his position" in the class. If nobody got it right, then the Monitor would read it. All four versions of board were used and significantly, from the point of view of perception, all the letters were in the same place and order on all four boards. If a class was large it could be divided with one Monitor to every ten scholars with each group using a different board for at least 30 minutes. Thus, in

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(148) TG., p. 11.

(149) 5AR20.

(150) Ibid., p. 72.

(151) TG., pp. 12-14.

in a matter of two hours all had been seen. Motivation to learn was provided by the teacher who told the children that if they did well they would be moved to the second or Syllable Class. This class dealt with syllables of two to three letters by the use of "cards". Duplicates of these cards were in the First Book given to the children, so that a class of 20 could have ten at the cards and ten at the book. These they would exchange from time to time. As at Skelpic(No.646)they "after spelling the word, they mentioned, with a wonderful facility, the number of syllables, vowels or consonants, of which the word was composed."(152) The third class was the Reading and Spelling Class.(153) Here, the scholars used "The Guide to the Reading of the Gaelic Language" upon which their reading and spelling were based. For the first hour they were given reading and this consisted of a sentence(of three or four words)to each. While they studied this sentence the Monitor "makes sure eyes don't wander", and if a mistake was made, he asks somebody else for the correct response. The person who gave the wrong answer loses his place in the class. Then, after the sentence has been read the Monitor starts at the bottom of the class and asks a sentence from each child in turn. "In going up the class, if a scholar cannot say his lesson, he may be corrected by the child below him." If the Monitor sees any child "trifling" he was to ask, "Which was the last sentence read?" Again, if he did not know, then the Monitor had to ask the child below him. After an hour the class moved to spelling - for this they closed their books and the Monitor then asked about the lesson given out the day before. Then the first child had to spell the first word, the second child the second word and so on. If a mistake was made the Monitor did not correct, but asked the next child in line. When this is done the Monitor asks any word and goes up and down the class as he does so. If a place is gained, then that place was kept. It was a rule of the school that every lesson had to be perfect. In fact, the class reward was a new lesson. A bad lesson in the morning meant a repeat in the afternoon. This emphasis on spelling was much admired, especially by visiting ministers and they frequently commented, as at Roggie(No.590), on the "spelling with accuracy."(154) Some teachers even achieved a measure of "happy communic-

(152) 7AR5.

(153) TG.,pp.15-16.

(154) 8AR8.

communication", as did Alexander McKay at Inverasdale(No.380).(155) The fourth group was called the New Testament and Psalm Book Class and basically consisted of alternate exercises.(156) Reading the New Testament began with the easy or more interesting sections - John, Luke, Acts of the Apostle and Epistle to the Romans. Thereafter, teachers were free to pick what appealed to their interests. The class were then given two lessons for the following day, the first to be the morning lesson and the second the afternoon lesson. These had to be "fully learned or well said." All books were then closed and the Monitor had to "examine them promiscuously in spelling any word used." The Psalm Book was also used both in the morning and the afternoon. Scholars started with a four line stanza which they had to read and then "commit to memory." They had to read the single lines alternately, then each child recited the whole stanza. These were later increased to stanzas of 8, 12 and even 16 lines. Oddly enough, such homework and children usually pressed for as much of this as they could get. The children at Canna(No.117)being particularly fond of New Testament passages, while those at Langdale(No.463)preferred Paraphrases.(157) The last or fifth class was the Bible Class.(158) From 9am to 10am the children studied the "devotional or preceptive part" of the Bible - Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Lamentations. From 10am to 11am and from 2pm to 3pm they dealt with the "historical part" - Creation, Joseph, Ruth, Samuel, David, Jonathon and Daniel. When these stages were successfully mastered the class went on to "difficult Scripture history" and then the "prophetic books" starting with Isaiah. Naturally, spelling was continuously stressed and assessed. Some of these Bible classes could be large - there were 41 at Linol(No.486) and 64 at Shadir(No.630). As we have seen there was some scope for teachers to follow their particular interest and for Alexander McLeod at Edera(No.275) this was Zechariah, while for Donald McDiarmid at Bernera(No.114) it was a veritable "biblical biography."(159) The Society were highly pleased with their syllabus and methods and they shared the view of the Rev. Mr. George Shepherd of Laggan, "that the mode of instruction adopted appears to give universal satisfaction."(160)

Not only children, of course, attended these classes. Indeed, many

(155) 21AR15.

(156) TG.,p.17.

(157) 4AR41; 7AR4.

(158) TG.,p.18.

(159) 3AR41; 30AR9.

(160) 13AR27, 15/10/1823.

many were very old. At the Edinburgh Gaelic School(No.276) there was a female of 78 years of age, while at Glencalvie(No.315)there was actually a man recorded as, "Iverach, now in his 117th years, having enlisted in the army in 1715 and now suffering from failing sight."(161) Generally however, adults were loath to attend these schools at first for fear of being embarrassed through failure to read. Some turned up at school with their children and even their grandchildren: "It is agreeably amusing to see one pretty numerous class of ancients of both sexes, attending the school, provided with spectacles, struggling with all the warmth of youthful emulation through the Elementary Books."(162) At the same time, there were even four year olds at school - Culrain(No.241), Fivepenny(No.291)and Glemuig(No.337). Naturally, there was bound to be a wide age range in almost every school - boys, girls, men and women. Some teachers diverged slightly from the Teachers' Guide because of the level of their scholars' reading skills - two groups at Inverewe(No.383), three at Kershader(No.412), four at Ballallan(No.90), five at Kistle(No.446) and six at Dallas(No.244). Some teachers ran separate classes for Books 1 and 2, as at Bayble(No.105), while others, as at Triaslan(No.723)called them "Elementary Books." Throughout the higher classes memory work was continually demanded by the teachers. The children enjoyed memorising huge chunks of Scripture with amazing results - Monitors at Drimarban(No.258)memorised 35 Psalms; others at Bogrow(No.124) knew 100 Psalms; and one boy of 12 years at Drimarban in 1821 could actually "master the whole Gaelic Psalm Book."(163) The average child's greatest ambition in the Psalm Class was to commit the 119th Psalm to memory. It was the same in the New Testament Class - some at Culrain(No.241)"memorised the Epistle to the Ephesians", while others at Kinnauld(No.439)could repeat 29 chapters of Luke.(164) A boy at Kyles(No.456)memorised the whole of Job, while 29 children at Pollew(No.564)could repeat the whole of the Shorter Catechism.(165) The speed at which these children could learn was also astonishing, like the girl at Learside(No.473)who could memorise a chapter in half an hour.(166) With this enormous concentration on memory work it is not surprising to find a report on a blind boy at Shurrirree(No.642)in Caithness, who "could read."(167) Even more amazing than the feats of memory

(161) 3AR64; 5AR13-14.

(162) 16AR32.

(163) 9AR13; 14AR6-7; 10AR14.

(164) 14AR8; 17AR22.

(165) 10AR44; 14AR25.

(166) 11AR31.

(167) 17AR16, January, 1828.

memory was the extraordinary speed at which the Gaels could learn to read - "The examiners were amazed at the speed of the learning." (168) To a large extent this was due to the fact that most people thought that learning Gaelic was impossible unless English had been mastered beforehand. William Walker, teacher at Muck (No. 532) summed it up: "it was generally thought, even by the Highlanders themselves, that it was a most difficult thing to learn to read the Gaelic, without learning first to read the English; but indeed it is quite the contrary." (169) The Society soon had a shrewd idea as to how long it would take, some three months if you were of average intelligence and application, six weeks if you were bright and only three weeks if you were very bright. (170) The very young demonstrated the accuracy of these predictions. At Achinel (No. 11) a six year old boy could read the Bible, while at Grishirnish (No. 350) a seven year old girl had read the whole of the New Testament in under three months. (171) Sadly, one boy, who had excelled himself in the speedy mastery of Gaelic reading, by the name of McDonald, was hanged in Edinburgh for the murder of a policeman in 1812. (172) Some children progressed so quickly that they were able to act as assistants to the teachers. Such was the case at the Edinburgh School (No. 276) with a ten year old girl. (173) The old too were often quick to learn - a 74 year old woman at Calluch (No. 169) in Mull mastered the alphabet in two days, while a married man at Kenovay (No. 407) in Tiree, who, in November, 1813 did not even know his letters, could, within nine months read the Psalms and this only from attendance at evening classes in the winter. (174) Often, young and old would attend day classes together and there are numerous references to families turning up, as at Kyles (No. 456) where an 87 year old woman arrived with her 17 grandchildren, 14 of whom could read. (175) Much discussion went into the topic of such rapid learning and the view of the Committee did change over the years. At first, it was thought it was simply a "desire to read the Gospels", but ten years later

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- (168) 26AR17.
- (169) 3AR59.
- (170) 18AR14; 7AR3; 11AR8.
- (171) Ibid., p. 26; 12AR14.
- (172) 11AR8.
- (173) 2AR14.
- (174) 5AR52; 4AR18.
- (175) 11AR31.

later they were thinking in terms of "the absence of many of the excitements which agitate the minds of their more congregated brethren." (176) Probably both were true. Another reason, of course, was the tremendous efforts made by the Society's teachers and it is significant, that as early as 1814, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross of Lochbroom noted, that when the teacher left an area everybody "rusted a little." (177) The one thing that is hard to establish is the rate of their failures. Although they were never listed as such they must have existed and possibly in large numbers. Many must have given up the attempt to read for various reasons - too stupid, bad attendance, illness or even personality clash with the teacher. Glimpses can occasionally be had of this feature by looking carefully at the statistical returns from individual stations. For instance, Coast of Udrigil (No. 209) in June, 1833 had a roll of 110, yet only 39 are listed as reading the Bible and 15 the New Testament. (178) In other words 54 were reading and 56 were not. Of course, they might have been newcomers to the school; but, why then were they not listed as Elementary readers? In fact, this point is demonstrated by the return for Badinscally (No. 69) in January, 1834, when 12 read the Bible, 8 the New Testament and 11 were Elementary, out of a roll of 43. In other words, 12 were not listed at all. In the 24th Annual Report the Secretary gave a report on ten schools and the numbers who had learned to read between February, 1832 and March, 1834. These were -

<u>School:</u>	<u>No:</u>	<u>Readers:</u>	<u>Attendance:</u>
Clashmore	(205)	166	196
Inchrory	(377)	120	220
Carloway	(183)	120	164
Quidinish	(572)	38	60
Balmartin	(92)	72	96
Carbost	(181)	60	111
Glendale	(322)	59	148
Calluch	(169)	75	94
Kellmahlen	(401)	62	81
Balachlaven	(76)	196	280 (179)

(176) 13AR12-13; 26AR46.

(177) 3AR41.

(178) 23AR34.

(179) 24AR10-11, pp.13, 22, 24-25, 27, 33-35.

(179) If these figures are totalled we have 1,450 in attendance during the period 1832-1834 and 1,048 of them could read. As %'s this means that something close to 72% mastered reading, at various levels, and 28% did not. One can assume that these schools were fairly typical and that the results were the same. Unfortunately, it is impossible to compare these with later figures, because that type of statistic did not appear again. A hint comes from the Inspector's Report of 1857: "The teaching of the Bible in your schools is becoming more intellectual."(180)

The closure of schools is also interesting. At the end of the day the teacher would tell the Monitors to cease and get the scholars "to leave regularly, one by one."(181) Girls left first, youngest and then oldest, then the boys, also according to age. The Monitors were expected to tidy up and get any "instructions" from the teacher that he thought necessary for the following day. This day closure was always called "the dismissal." The final closure of the school was done by a three month notice in advance to the minister. Usually it was followed by a meeting of the Heads of Families and a hasty petition to Edinburgh. The Committee however had clear criteria for closure - the majority of people being able to read, a fall in the population due to emigration or clearance and the length of time a school had been placed in the community. Strathconon(No.668), for instance, was closed because 40 could read out of 52 attenders.(182) Inort(No.378) was closed in 1819 because the people "had been removed."(183) At first, schools were rarely kept for more than 18 months, but by 1856 schools often remained for several years.(184) The closure of a school was the signal for a good deal of emotion, particularly if the teacher had been well-loved. The Rev. Mr. Alexander Macbean noted, in April, 1816, that "a large party of them escorted him(the teacher) a distance of 8 miles from the glen(Glencalvie, No.315), and there parted with him, with deep regret."(185) At Calluch(No.169) in Mull the people wept and one followed the teacher on a horse for 40 miles to Oban ferry.(186) In most communities the minister and the Heads of Families were quick to select "one of the most advanced of the scholars" to continue as the local teacher.(187) Other communities sought a teacher of English.(188)

(180) 46AR7.

(181) TG., p.20.

(182) 5AR71.

(183) 8AR18.

(184) 45AR6.

(185) 6AR11, 29/4/1816.

(186) Ibid., p.21.

(187) 3AR6.

(188) Ibid., p.65.

(188) Rewards played a vital part in the Society's teaching methods and the Teachers' Guide laid great emphasis on them: "Habitually endeavour to keep the minds of your children cheerful; and by a variety of winning methods, by kind words and gentle admonitions, try to make them fond of their book. -- Let it be your daily care to gain the affections of your children for upon this depends in great degree their delight both in attendance at the school, and in subjection to you in general." (189) Stress was always put on the teacher's "smile of approbation." The basic reward was to give a good scholar promotion in his group by "raising his place", that is his seat higher up the bench. Teachers were warned not to permit "jostling or scrambling for places", but, that the children should move in "a quiet and orderly manner" at his signal. Envy was discouraged and a sense of shame stimulated. On the first Monday of the second month in each session the teacher gave out rewards for "punctual and regular attendance" in "cards of merit or honour." (190) On the previous Saturday he had marked all those who were to get a reward with an X in his register to avoid wasting time on the day of the rewards. At 2p.m. he called the roll and with the first name with an X, he added, "Airson featheamh gu maith aig an Sgoil" - for good attendance at school. The child was called out and the card hung around his neck. This was worn all day and the child allowed to take it home at night to show to his family. Next day, Tuesday, the cards were handed back to the teacher. Every month this process was repeated and if a child had a series of cards then they were allowed to keep one of them. Of course, the teacher was expected to harangue the scholars daily on the nature of these rewards. On the Monday evening the Monitor were kept behind and also rewarded with a tract - "Premium to the Monitor for attention to his duty, presented on the first Monday of the second Month in the Session --." (191) Again there was an opportunity to gain more - in the winter, Premiums No. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5; in the summer, Premiums No. 1, 11 and 111. At the end of the session the monitors were given Bibles from the teacher, minister or Visitors, inscribed, "For general good behaviour and progress in learning." These Bibles had neither note or comment within them. Teachers took great pains to comply with these regulations, as did Alexander Munro at Callach (No. 169) in Mull in December, 1815 - "I painted badges for the Monitors and I took great pains on them. I battered them on one of the

(189) TG., p. 21.

(190) Ibid., p. 22.

(191) Ibid., p. 23.

the boards and then put them out. They hang on the left breast every Sabbath and review day."(192) Of course, the non-arrival of such cards were a severe handicap to a teacher and led to many plaintive comments, such as that from Donald Munro at Pennickvannan(No.599)in August, 1815: "The cards for promotions have not yet come on."(193) That this was a real problem can be judged from the fact that on "the day of rewards" the school was always packed with scholars and their parents. Indeed, at Dingwall(No.249) no fewer than 92 from a roll of 92 were present on that day.(194) Sometimes a scholar would be so bright that he was not only moved from a lower position in a class to a higher, but to another class. "Others, of better capacity, were advanced from the first to the fifth class."(195) There were, as one might expect, other forms of reward - reading in the kirk on Sundays, or, as John Macleod did at Hearlosh(No.358)in Skye in 1814, agree to teach them English,(196) At Bogrow(No.124)and Dallas(No.244)parents would collect money to buy prizes for the best scholars.(197) Naturally, promotion and commendation were applied equally to adults, and this may explain why adult attendance could decline near the day of rewards - embarrassment at not gaining public recognition.(198) By the same token the Teachers' Guide also recognised the need for punishment, but warned that "Great severity of punishment has done much harm in education" and that "the strictest discipline meant the fewest strokes."(199) Instead, the teacher was advised to use as his weapons, esteem and disgrace. If a child did badly in school the teacher had to show coldness and pity, but avoid frequent chastisement and ill-natured chiding as "these destroy the sense of shame in children."(200) At the same time there was to be no "frequent reproofs" and "passionate or abusive chiding must be avoided as wrong in itself." The first rebuke had to be given in private and could be for "forgetfulness, apparent inadvertency or occasional dullness of capacity." These were to be dealt with by "kind, but pointed admonition." But, "deceitful spirit, a perverseness of will, or a designed disobedience" such as a lie was "a great offence". At

(192) 5AR89, 20/12/1815.

(193) Ibid.,p.79, 4/8/1815.

(194) Ibid.,p.72.

(195) 10AR44.

(196) 4AR39.

(197) 14AR7; 16AR11.

(198) 5AR70.

(199) TG.,p.23.

(200) Ibid.,p.240.

At the first offence the child was rebuked in private, although the other children were told about it. "The evil of the sin of deceit, and falsehood in the sight of God, should be pointed out, with its dangerous consequences in another world." If the offence was repeated the teacher was to say a few words to the offender and then order silence for the entire school while the child was made to read one of the following - Proverbs XII, 22; VI, 16-19; XIII, 5; Psalms CXLIX, 163; CXX, 2; Proverbs XLV, 5; ALX, 9; Revelations XXI, 8.(201) The rest of the children were then to be warned and then a card of disgrace -"Airson brug a dheanamh"(For lying)- was worn round the neck till it was obvious that he was sorry for what he had done. It was not to be removed for at least 15 or 30 minutes and might be worn "all day" till the offender "was humbled." Cleanliness was regarded in these schools as "a matter of first importance" as it affected "health, character and comfort." Children were expected to come to school with washed hands, face and neck, with clothing that was at least "neat and clean." If a child appeared dirty he lost his place in his class, if he appeared dirty again he "forfeited a place" and for a third offence he went to the bottom of his group. Children were only beaten "for obstinacy or rebellion" and thus were shamed rather than beaten. Teachers were warned that "if a child is obstinate to a proper and reasonable command you must be sure to see yourself obeyed" and "there must be no quarter on your part and no effectual resistance on his." In other words, the child must submit, "except you wish to live in obedience to this boy, and, under the threat of having every child treat you in a similar way, when he or she may be so disposed." One boy, in fact, could ruin an entire school. After a lengthy quote from Locke "On Discipline", the Teachers' Guide urged that teachers avoid "repeated beatings" and only use "the rod" if they were very disobedient. If so, a card "Airson Ceannairc"(For Obstinacy or rebellion)was hung on their back and they were forced to stand in a corner with their back to the others. If the child persisted in his stubbornness next day the whole matter was explained to the school.(202) If he was still "stubborn" after three days he was to be expelled and never allowed to return from his "exclusion."(203) Teachers were urged "to carefully study, fully understand and constantly practise all the directions, contained in this Manual." Expulsion, of course, was rarely

(201) Ibid.,p.25.

(202) Ibid.,p.26.

(203) Ibid.,p.27.

rarely used as the teachers were recommended to warn the parents if expulsion was being considered. Class control was not only sound, but wise: "Never correct in anger and a beating is the worst and the last means of correction." That these admonitions were followed implicitly by teachers can be seen from the numerous references that remark upon the "complete order" that prevailed in the schools. At Keppoch(No.410)Margaret Sinclair had "all her scholars in the most complete subjection", while at Drimarban (No.258) "the mutual understanding between the Teacher and all his charge was remarkable, an inclination of the head or of the hand, on his part, or the movement of his book was universally intelligible and instantly obeyed."(204)

Many adults could not attend these day schools because of their work commitments or because they were too embarrassed to be taught along with children. The Teachers' Guide allowed for this and recommended Evening Schools and in 1845 there were 39 such schools.(205) The total roll of these 39 schools was as high as 3,150 adults. Teachers were instructed not to be discouraged if few turned up at first, indeed, the school had to function if there was only one present.(206) The teacher was expected to urge the adults to learn as quickly as they could and thereafter teach their own children at home when the school closed. Generally, the Evening School functioned like the Day School, except, there was no gaining or losing of places. Instead there was a regular attenders' class and an irregular attenders' class and the idea was to encourage the adults to get into the former group. There was no regular size of roll and they varied enormously - Canna(No.117)had 30 and Kenovay(No.407)had 32, while Badinscally(No.69)had 150 and Capadale(No.180)had 250.(207) Many, like Glenhinsdale(No.330)were "thriving" and at Gress(No.346)classes went on to 11pm regularly.(208) At Aberdeen, some 200 Gaelic-speaking cotton workers went to the Evening School when they finished their shifts at 8pm.(209) There were, of course, several different ways of running such schools - one could meet every night, as David Munro did at Achnacarnan(No.16)with 36 adults.(210) A measure of their fear of embarrassment can be seen in the fact that only

(204) 3AR42, 1/5/1813; 9AR13, 24/9/1819.

(205) 34AR16.

(206) TG.,p.28.

(207) 4AR40, p.42; 24AR15,p.11.

(208) 9AR20; 4AR38.

(209) Ibid.,pp.44, 24.

(210) 21AR11-12.

only 8 of them turned up for the examination. The teacher at Huinliam(No. 369)met with his 18 to 22 adults only on alternate nights, while the one at Errtbole(No.281)started early at 5pm and finished at 9pm.(211) Other teachers did as James Fraser at Caipelach(No.164)and divided his area into three equal districts and ran a school in each in turn.(212) Adults were often unreliable and would slip off to English classes if the opportunity ever arose.(213) Sabbath Schools(which we take to include Sabbath Evening Schools)were operated by 44 teachers in 1845 and were attended by 6,180 adults.(214) The Guide advised the teacher to select his hours according to the services in the local kirk. If worship was at noon, then the school could function from 10am to 11.30am or from 10.30am to 11.30am, with an hour in the afternoon and a further meeting at 6pm. Usually, the aim was to have children in the morning, adults in the afternoon and both groups in the evening. The hour for the children was detailed in the Guide(215) - they had to repeat the passages given out to them on the previous Sunday from the Psalms, New Testament or Bible and recite these before their parents, if they wished to come. The adults' hour was spent in reading the Spelling Book and the Reader, which they were meant to have studied at home during the week. In the evening the teacher was to read to the assembled people from the Bible "with reverence, decorum and attention."(216) He was to read slowly and distinctly with "deliberation and feeling" so that all might understand. And he could, if he wished, reverse the order of the three meetings. At Ballallan(No.90) in 1817 the people liked Sabbath Evenings the best and "attended in crowds to hear the reading of the Scriptures."(217) When Alexander MacKenzie opened his Sabbath School at Barvas(No.102)some 300 turned up, including palsied 46 year old Kenneth McIver, widow McDonald, who was 68 years old and Donald Mitchie, who had given a boy a lamb to teach him to read.(218) MacKenzie gave out the elementary books free of charge and one woman came to his house at 3am to collect her book! He also gave away 36 pairs of spectacles and asked Edinburgh for another 60 pairs. Some teachers had a different approach, Peter Macleod at Triaslan(No.723), for

(211) 5AR8.

(212) Ibid.,p.22.

(213) 24AR10.

(214) 34AR16.

(215) TG.,p.29.

(216) Ibid.,p.30.

(217) 7AR7.

(218) 18AR33-35.

for instance, only allowed those who could read to attend his Sabbath School, in the hope that this would prove an incentive to learn.(219) Many of the adults' eyesight was inadequate and spectacles were constantly being ordered by teachers. Their enthusiasm was often astonishing - at Durin(No.271)people cried if they did not get issued with a book, while at Barvas(No.102)discussions between teacher and people often went on to 4am.(220) Sometimes, there was even sadness at such schools, one elderly female left because she could not learn the alphabet, yet could recite the 37th Psalm.(221) The Guide lists the books which teachers were to use in the various types of schools as the First Books, the Guide to the Reading of the Gaelic Language, the Psalm Book, the New Testament and the Bible.(222) The latter coming in another version of three volumes in large type for those with poor eyesight. The First Books were originally in a single book form called "First Book for Children in the Gaelic Language."(223) Written by Alexander McLaurin, who paid for the printing of 3,000 copies, it was distributed far and wide throughout the Highlands and Islands.(224) By 1817 in the second edition its title was altered to "The Elements of the Gaelic Language" and it was produced in two parts.(225) Immediately before this, in fact, in 1815, the Rev. Mr. Alexander Stewart had written "A Guide or Manual" which later became known as "The Teachers' Guide."(226) McLaurin that very year also wrote another book, "A Guide to the Reading of the Gaelic Language" and issued a further 6,000 copies of it. Scripture Extracts were also widely distributed and used in schools as a stage between Elementary Books and the Psalms. Occasionally, privately printed books were distributed, such as "Christian Economy," 1200 copies of which were paid for from McLaurin's estate after his death.(227) The cost of these various books are given elsewhere, but generally they got cheaper as the century progressed.(228) Despite the apparently never-ending stream of books from the religious presses which poured into the Highlands and Islands there were often serious snags - books were late in arriving, as at

(219) 28AR25.

(220) 4AR31; 26AR19.

(221) 13AR20.

(222) TG.,p.30.

(223) 1AR27.

(224) 50AR16.

(225) 6AR23.

(226) Ibid..

(227) 11AR49.

(228) Cf. 27AR54 and 38AR22.

NUMBER OF SCHOLARS

<u>Year:</u>	<u>High:</u>	<u>Island:</u>	<u>Total:</u>	<u>Year:</u>	<u>High:</u>	<u>Island:</u>	<u>Total:</u>
1811	-	-	-	1836	-	-	-
1812	-	-	650	1837	-	-	3115
1813	-	-	1400	1838	-	-	3305
1814	-	-	1500	1839	-	-	3141
1815	-	-	2500	1840	-	-	3027
1816	1501	2056	3557	1841	-	-	2904
1817	-	-	3100	1842	-	-	3621
1818	1521	1740	3261	1843	-	-	3123
1819	1871	2001	3872	1844	-	-	3569
1820	2140	2536	4676	1845	-	-	2797
1821	-	-	5134	1846	-	-	2628
1822	1819	2771	4590	1847	-	-	2416
1823	2155	2367	4522	1848	-	-	2280
1824	2265	2409	4674	1849	-	-	2116
1825	-	-	4635	1850	-	-	2027
1826	2004	2548	4546	1851	-	-	2518
1827	-	-	5037	1852	-	-	2298
1828	2756	3063	5819	1853	-	-	1988
1829	4086	3768	7854	1854	-	-	1727
1830	3934	4453	8387	1855	-	-	1927
1831	3273	3618	6891	1856	-	-	1898
1832	1414	1948	3362	1857	-	-	2129
1833	-	-	3374	1858	-	-	2078
1834	-	-	6	1859	-	-	1800
1835	-	-	-	1860	-	-	1668

TABLE C

at Badentarbet(No.64), or in short supply with only one book to three scholars, as at Torraston(No.711) Few were as bad as Machern(No.504) in Colonsay, which did not receive any books at all in 1815.(229) To be fair however, the Society's decision to place a Depositary at Thurso in 1820 and a further one in the Islands in 1827 meant a guarantee of regular delivery.(230)

Finally, we come to the number of children and adults taught at the schools in any one year. It would be interesting to detail the numbers by sex and by age, but this is impossible for several reasons: sex details were only given in 1816, in 1830 adults were calculated separately and no totals were given; in 1832 adults were again included and in 1849 details on sex resumed. We cannot even examine the totals by counties or islands as the bases for calculating these were altered many times. All that we can give is the total number for each year. Indeed, only the period 1816-1832 provides us with a reasonably clear picture and even here there are gaps at 1817, 1821, 1825 and 1827. The totals, not surprisingly, simply reflect the numbers of schools, given earlier. 1830 was the year with the greatest roll at 8,387 and thereafter there was a steady decline, especially marked in the crisis years 1831-1832.

(229) 2AR25; 3AR27; 5AR92.

(230) 9AR2; 16AR75.

CHAPTER 7

TEACHERS AND INSPECTION

"Your Teachers are, without exception, men of piety and zeal, who have been carefully sought out and selected, not more for their ability to teach, than for the excellence of their private characters, their love of truth, and their desire to impart it to those placed under their charges."

- 30AR10

There was only one sure way to become a teacher in a Gaelic School and that was to be recommended by a minister with a reputation for evangelicism. Degrees from a university or letters of approval from landed gentry carried very little weight compared to "such as appear to feel the value of the Sacred Oracles, and the awful importance of the salvation of their own souls."(1) But before putting forward a candidate's name a minister was expected to conduct the most rigorous inquiry into the applicant's private life. Every detail of his past life was scrutinised and he was questioned for hours as to his views on religion. When this had been done the minister would then advance his name: the following is probably a fairly typical letter of recommendation -

"My reason for writing you just now, is to recommend as a Teacher a young man of more than ordinary attainments and full of desire to devote his time and energies to the training up of youth in the way they ought to walk. He is about the age of 28 years, thoroughly imbued with sound principles, of deep and extensive Christian experience, and highly fitted to communicate knowledge to others. He is a respectable scholar, and writes a good hand, very active and judicious, in short he is just such a person as I could conscientiously recommend; being fully confident that if employed as a Gaelic School teacher he will not only give satisfaction, but become one of your most efficient men. Attached as I am to the Society, I should feel a regret in his not being immediately employed, because I believe he is highly fitted to be useful in the services of the Society, without any danger of raising any disagreeable questions by intemperate zeal. He may be safely intrusted

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(1) 15AR3.

intrusted with the management of any of your darkest and most destitute districts."(2)

The Committee would not be in a hurry to consider him as they kept a list of possible replacement teachers to fill unexpected vacancies caused by deaths or sudden resignations. Indeed, the turnover in teachers was never high and most of the Society's servants were in their employment for many years. Inevitably, the applicant, like all the others, would be called to Edinburgh for interview.(3) Travelling expenses were always refunded to the applicant, but it is quite likely that in the first instance he might have borrowed from his minister or Kirk Session. The number of candidates per annum is interesting: 22 in 1826, 9 in 1827, 17 in 1828 and 13 in 1829. The cost per candidate for these years was 49/-, 45/-, 55/- and 60/-. These, however, were the years of rapid expansion and by the late 1840's far fewer candidates were required and the total cost for 1847 was only £10.14.0 and for 1848 a mere £4.10.0. The journey to Edinburgh, in most cases, seems to have been by coach and no doubt, for many, it was their first visit to the bustling capital. The Committee, in order to avoid too much expenditure on accommodation, saw them almost immediately. It is difficult to obtain details of the process followed, but it seems likely that a sub-committee would interview and assess the applicant's general worthiness. Then came a lengthy and rigorous examination by the Gaelic Secretary of his knowledge of Gaelic idiom and the Gaelic Scriptures. This was not always done by a minister, indeed, Alexander McLaurin, retired Edinburgh Postmaster, was one of the best examiners till his death in November, 1820.(4) Apparently, the Secretary would then report back to the sub-committee and their joint recommendation for acceptance or rejection would go back to the parent Committee for endorsement. Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing the percentages accepted or rejected. The Committee's criteria for selection was clear and precise: "The Teachers were selected with the most conscientious caution. Men who are not only moral in their habits, and skilful instructors, were sought for, but who had embraced the Gospel for themselves and therefore knew how to convey it to others."(5) One of the Secretaries, the Rev. Mr. Daniel Wilkie, thought the candidates, in general, to be "faith-

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(2) 31AR9.

(3) 2AR17.

(4) 10AR52, 2/11/1820.

(5) 26AR36.

faithful men with a depth of piety along with the greatest simplicity of mind and heart."(6) In 1842 the Committee declared in their Annual Report that "In selecting your Teachers, decided piety has always been an essential qualification."(7) They certainly knew what they wanted to avoid - "a mere secular man, a man of different toned piety from your agents located in the country, a man of defective gifts."(8) Perhaps the best explanation of their view was that put forward by the Rev. Mr. Robert Buchanan at Glasgow on the 6th February, 1851 at a public meeting to raise funds for the Society: "It has always been the principal object with the Society, to select as its teachers men of known Christian character, competent to teach in the Gaelic language, and qualified to give their scholars a knowledge of the letter of the Word of God; men who themselves feel the power of the truth upon their own consciences, who love the Bible, and men who will be careful, and at the same time qualified to make those who are under their tuition, as far as human agency is concerned, to appreciate these precious blessings."(9) In most cases the applicants seem to have returned home to await the Committee's decision. This may have taken days or weeks, even months, we have no way of knowing. When confirmation of acceptance was given the candidate had to return to Edinburgh for training. At first the training offered was little more than practical advice given by McLaurin, an ex-S.S.P.C.K. teacher, but in 1814 a decided programme emerged: "All the Teachers of the Society are now made to visit a Lancasterian School and to read the account of that system before they go out to their station in the Highlands or Islands."(10) The best known such school in Edinburgh at the time was the Edinburgh Sessional School, opened in April, 1813 to teach children to read Holy Scripture.(11) Essentially based on Lancaster's ideas of small classes "they have regarded their youngest pupils, not as machines, or irrational animals, that must be driven, but as intellectual beings who may be led."(12) The methods used strongly influenced the Teachers' Guide - classes in half-circles facing the wall, monit-

(6) 28AR8-9.

(7) 31AR9.

(8) 35AR12.

(9) 41AR12.

(10) 3AR56.

(11) John Wood, "Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School." 1828, p.23.

(12) Ibid., p.2.

monitors to keep order and attention, roll-call at 2pm, alphabets on boards and a system of rewards and punishments.(13) But there the similarity ends as the Sessional School also taught Arithmetic, Geography and Writing, condemned excessive memorising and laid a heavy emphasis on military-like commands for the children to respond "by divisions."(14) In 1824 the school left the Wynd and re-opened as an Evening School in April, 1825. Classes, for which fees had to be paid, ran from 8pm to 10pm and were often attended by as many as 500-600 children and adults.(15) The change-over in function must have been a blow to the Gaelic School Society and in 1824 the Committee considered turning their Edinburgh School into "a Parochial School in one of the small parishes, to induce a Teacher of a superior cast to undertake it."(16) His function would be to make it "a Pattern School, where every Teacher, when first appointed, shall attend for two or three weeks to learn the proper mode of managing his pupils, rather from practical experience than from letters to instructions." The absence of further references to the Edinburgh School, which was in serious decline as early as 1822, make it reasonable to assume that the proposal did not materialise. In which case, teachers must simply have observed at the Edinburgh Sessional Evening School. Finally, duly appointed and trained, the teacher was appointed to his first post. The Committee were very careful to make sure that he did not serve in his native district, a view widely supported by the clergy. For example, the Rev. Mr. Hugh Mackenzie of Assynt, on the 9th October, 1820 wrote to the Committee: "I am entirely of your opinion with regard to the propriety of employing strangers rather than natives in your different stations."(17) Thus we find two Perthshire men being sent to the Islands: William Walker from Breadalbane to Canna in October, 1813 and Duncan Campbell to Jura in February, 1814.(18) Likewise, John Munro and Alexander Munro of Ross were posted to Tolsta(No.701)in Lewis and Calluch(No.169)in Mull.(19) The furthest that the Committee would go was to allow a teacher to serve in an area in which he had lived as an adult, as Donald McLeod discovered when ordered to Kirktony(No.443)in April, 1841. He had lived there between the years 1816-1819 and had considerable local knowledge of the area.(20)

(13) Ibid., pp. 73, 75, 104.

(14) Ibid., pp. 29, 54, 74.

(15) Ibid., pp. 30, 72.

(16) 11AR14.

(17) 10AR46.

(18) 3AR60; 4AR43, p.19.

(19) 5AR76, p.90.

(20) 31AR26.

(20) Appointment to another part of the country does not seem to have been much of a hardship, especially in the earlier years, when so many of the teachers had been former soldiers and accustomed to sudden postings.

(21) Neither were differences in Gaelic dialects ever mentioned as a potential stumbling block between teacher and taught - what mattered was that the former be "pious and elightened." (22) Ministers knew exactly what they wanted from their Gaelic School teachers: the Rev. Mr. Mackintosh Mackay of Laggan asked for "decided characters", while the Rev. Mr. Hector Allan of Kincardine pleaded for "a man of firmness, who would maintain authority, of mildness not to give offence and of piety above all things." (23) Even the crofters knew precisely what they wanted: those at Balaphuil (No. 79) in Tiree wanted "a teacher who fears God that not only will teach to read the Word of God, but will also lead both young and old by the example of his living a pious life, to the way of happiness;" Carloway (No. 183) in Lewis sought "a man exemplary in his conduct;" Glenmore (No. 333) in Skye asked for "a man of seriousness and good example." (24) Formally presented with his credentials and teacher's equipment - a large hand bell, large boards, syllable cards, six school books, cards of merit, placards for absentees, premium tracts, cards of disgrace and, of course, his rod he would probably be reminded of the preface in the Teachers' Guide - that "it was designed to render the duties required of the Teachers more easy and pleasant." If he had much common-sense he would have taken special note of the phrase that it was "his business to understand the method, and follow the instructions."

With the various heavy boxes which the teacher had to convey to some remote community in either the Highlands or the Islands a coach from Edinburgh was essential. This was even more so if he had wife and children to accompany him with their possessions. As for furniture there may well have been a system by which items were carried by cart. Once at a post-town, like Inverness or Perth, the teacher would then probably hire a horse and cart to reach his destination. No doubt they meditated on their remuneration. It certainly was not a princely salary, a mere £12 per annum, although the teacher in Edinburgh had £20 because of the cost of living. Of course, he could expect some kind of support from the crofters, such as milk, eggs or fish. Those at Swordlechaol (No. 683) in Argyle made a point of collecting

(21) 43AR17.

(22) 6AR13.

(23) 16AR11; 17AR40.

(24) 22AR11, p. 14; 19AR13.

collecting potatoes for their teacher.(25) Life was hard for many of them and by 1824 many were asking for special financial help from Edinburgh.(26) Many, in fact, actually taught a little English and Writing on the side to raise extra money, although this was not regarded by much favour.(27) By 1825 the Committee decided that salaries must be increased and they were raised to £25 per annum. But these were fixed salaries and nothing extra, in the way of fees or other perks, was allowed.(28) The Famine Years in the late 1840's were the hardest years for the teachers and the Committee first gave them greater security of tenure and then "greater allowances in these hard times."(29) Most teachers on arrival, like David Munro at Linset (No.488) in June, 1820 "found a school-house ready."(30) There does not seem to have been any fixed practice, possibly it depended on whether a man was a bachelor or not and on the number of children he might have. Certainly, some like Aulay McKenzie at Learside(No.473) was "lodged nearby", as was William Walker in Canna(No.177)(31) John McPhail at Tobermory(No.700) was lucky, his lodgings were "comfortable", but those posted to the Fort William area had great difficulty in finding accommodation of any sort.(32) The local minister often had to be called in to help and the Rev. Mr. John Finlayson of Cross in Lewis found two vacant houses for his teacher in March, 1841.(33) Sometimes a teacher had to live in part of the school-house itself, as did Angus McNeill at Portmahomac(No.570)(34) His minister, the Rev. Mr. David Campbell described it as "a most comfortable and commodious school-room and dwelling apartment for the teacher. There is not such another house to be had in the parish." Most teachers, however, were not young bachelors, but "middle-aged men with families."(35) As such a reasonably sized house was needed quickly. The crofters usually gathered money amongst themselves to pay for its construction, as at Mebust(No.513) in Lewis in 1856. Occasionally, an individual, as did Dr. McAllister at Strathaird(No.665) in Skye, would buy

- (25) 22AR12.
- (26) 13AR69.
- (27) 2AR26.
- (28) 14AR9.
- (29) 36AR9, p.20.
- (30) 10AR42.
- (31) 9AR10; 10AR51-52.
- (32) 11AR40; 15AR24-25.
- (33) 31AR25.
- (34) Ibid., p.26.
- (35) 16AR5.

buy a house.(36) McAllister went further and "had a house roofed and put in order, his own ground for the teacher and besides - - given him a cow's grass." The house at Inver(No.379)cost £15, while that at Coll(No.212) was described as "a comfortable house."(37) Within a few years the Committee were refusing to post teachers unless communities could solemnly promise that "We have a house fit for the reception of a Teacher and his family; we have also a house for the School."(38) Most of these houses were very well constructed: that at Inaclete(No.376)was "excellent", that at Kishorn (No.445) was "a good one", while that at Culnacnock(No.240) was "an excellent house, far superior to any of your teacher's houses in my vicinity."(39) Inevitably, some houses were bad, but teachers could, as did John Grant at Durin(No.271)move to "a larger house."(40) By the 1850's the standard of house offered to the teachers declined suddenly and by 1853 most "teachers' dwelling-houses were but turf huts."(41) This was partly due to the general rising standard of housing with slated rooves and glass windows, which were increasingly expensive to build. The Society did not have the money to house their teachers in comfort and local communities were, in the majority of cases, not prepared to pay for them either. But there was another reason put forward in the 1856 Annual Report: "The chief difficulty has been the getting of proper accommodation for your teachers. Several of the teachers are bowed down with age or with infirmities, superinduced by the laborious and migratory life of a Gaelic teacher. This has a great influence in preventing a supply of the proper men from coming forward as candidates. The greatest self-denial is necessary in young men of even ordinary endowment to enlist in your honourable and holy service, and this, of itself, is no small qualification."(42) As the years passed fewer and fewer men came forward as Gaelic School teachers and one of the reasons for this must have been the poor standard of accommodation offered to them.

Hopefully settled in his quarters the teacher's first task was to contact the minister and establish as warm relations with him as he could. This was essential as the latter not only wrote reports on the teacher's progress in the community, but spent a considerable part of his time act-

(36) 50AR10.

(37) 46AR11; 25AR31.

(38) 25AR30.

(39) 14AR30; 33AR27; 32AR28.

(40) 4AR31.

(41) 42AR11.

(42) 45AR9.

actually inspecting the school. Some ministers, like the Rev. Mr. Alexander Cameron of Kilchewan in Islay visited the school regularly and at least once a month just to see that all was well.(43) Others, like the Rev. Mr. Alexander Macbean of Kincardine, thoroughly enjoyed their visits: "I spent several hours in examining each school, and I think I may say that I never spent time more agreeably."(44) Even missionaries, like the Rev. Mr. Hector Allen of Fort William, loved to visit the schools to see the progress being made. Indeed, he reported, on the 24th September, 1819 that "I do not know when I spent a happier, and I believe I may say, more useful portion of my time."(45) In distant Barvas the Rev. Mr. William Macrae was wont to describe his examinations of the schools as "delightful."(46) If the minister had harangued the people sufficiently there was every chance that the school might have a respectable roll.

The work in a Gaelic School was always hard and the hours especially were very long. At Bayble(No.105)the teacher opened his school at 7 am, even in the winter when he did so by candlelight. His day was divided into three separate teaching periods, from 7 - 10 am, 11 am to 4 pm and from 5 - 10 pm.(47) Long hours were common: Duncan Campbell at Invergusarn (No.385)worked till 8 pm; Roderick McLeod at Jeantown(No.398)worked till 9 pm and John Grant at Durin(No.271)worked till 11 pm.(48) The experience of John McLeod at Coshladder(No.223)in Skye was pretty typical. His minister, the Rev. Mr. John Shaw described his life in a letter to the Committee on 13th April, 1813: "not a moment is the Teacher allowed to himself; even when obliged to come to his house for refreshment, people will at him to receive instructions; he is employed, almost without intermission, from 7 in the morning till 10 or 11 at night."(49) Even at night he had orders to "teach in a circle from house to house."(50) The Committee realised the strain that this placed upon their servants and they noted in 1825: "Let it be remembered that your Teachers have fixed salaries, and are therefore, in point of pecuniary compensation, without any inducement to extra labour."(51) Yet, David Munro at Clashmore(No.205)covered 80 people in

(43) 18AR21.

(44) 9AR3.

(45) Ibid., p.12.

(46) Ibid., p.15.

(47) 26AR22.

(48) 3AR50; 2AR31; 5AR7 $\frac{1}{2}$

(49) 3AR58.

(50) 2AR12.

(51) 14AR9.

in three townships after his work and in the wintry month of March, 1832. (52) Alexander Mackenzie at Arinagower (No. 47) made a point of seeing 54 people at night after his day's work. (53) Teachers were also expected to visit "the sick, the afflicted and the dying" as well as to stand in for the minister on Sundays if he could not attend service. (54) Trying to find spectacles for the elderly was a constant headache and many requests for them flooded into the Depository. (55) Sometimes a teacher would ask a minister to help find spectacles, as Margaret Sinclair did at Keppoch (No. 410) in 1814. (56) Sometimes a heritor would generously offer glasses as did Mrs Stewart Mackenzie in January, 1827 when she donated 12 pairs to a school. (57) Stornoway was the only place in Lewis where spectacles could be obtained and the price for glasses and case ranged from 10d to 1/3d. Very occasionally, a Lowland firm, like Messrs. Gilruth of Dundee, would donate spectacles to a particular school. There was also the inevitable official returns, which were detailed in the Teachers' Guide. (58) Teachers had to make at least three returns per session, that is, in the Winter Session of five months from 1st November to the 31st March, and in the Summer Session of three months from 1st June to the 15th September. The First Letters were due in December and July and had a set pattern -

FIRST LETTER OF - - - - - SESSION, 18--

Boys Girls

How many scholars are entered on your List in the first or A,B,C Class?

How many of this Class were present on Monday, ie the Day of Rewards?

How many are on the Roll in the second Class?

How many were present on the Day of Rewards?

How many are on the Roll in the third Class?

How many were present on the Day of Rewards?

How many are on the Roll in the fourth Class?

How many were present on the Day of Rewards?

- - - - -

(52) 22AR20.

(53) 5AR48.

(54) 33AR17.

(55) 17AR15-16.

(56) 3AR42.

(57) 16AR32.

(58) TG., pp. 31-35.

Rewards?

How many are on the Roll in the fifth Class?

How many were present on the Day of Rewards?

From the teacher's point of view the second letter was far more important, in that it served as a receipt for "part payment of his salary." The return, due in February and August, contained general queries to allow the Committee to deal with requests for new schools.

SECOND LETTER OF THE _____ SESSION, 18--

What is the name of the place?

Is it East, West, North or South from your present Station?

How many families may there be at the place?

How far is the place from any School at present?

Have the people ever had a School before?

How long is it since the School was given up?

What accommodation is there for a School at the place?

If there is no house fit for the purpose, will the people build one, according to the Society's plan, if a Teacher were sent to them?

How many children are expected to attend?

Will any old people attend, and how many?

Teachers were advised to consult their local minister or "any respectable Tenant near the place" if he had any difficulty in completing the queries.

The third letter was to be sent immediately after the public examination held in the last fortnight of each session. This could be held in the kirk if it were "more central" and had to be conducted by the minister or "nearest Gentleman or Tenant."

THIRD LETTER OF THE _____ SESSION, 18--

Boys Girls

Total number on the Roll, as per first Letter

Admitted since

Able to read, and therefore withdrawn

Dismissed, or withdrawn without a reason

Examination Day

Present

Boys

Girls

Learning Letters

First Class

Class

Syllables and First Book

Second Class

Guide to Reading

Third Class

Testament

Fourth Class

Bible in general

Fifth Class

Total present:

Total on lists:

What is the age of your youngest Scholar?

What is the age of the oldest person attending your School?

What is the value of the Books sold?

Is there any of this Money still due; if so, how much?

What is the value of the Books given gratis?

What is the sum which you consider as due to you of Salary, after deducting the Money received for books?

What number of books are now on hand?

What number of each will you require for next Session?

Teachers were asked to suggest how parcels of books might be sent to them, in the Islands by Leith, Glasgow or Greenock. An account of the Examination itself was to be sent in by one of the Visitors and they were "respectfully requested to state their own sentiments and impressions in regard to the School." They were asked to mention "any thing deficient, which might be improved, or ought to be corrected." The Committee also had an eye to useful propaganda and asked Visitors "If any incidents, illustrative of the good effects produced by the School, on the morals or manners of the children, or of the people themselves, can at the same time be stated, they will be peculiarly gratifying." All this was pure theory and lots of things could and did go wrong. For instance, William Walker left Breadalbane on the 26th October, 1813 to take up his post at Canna(No.177), but he did not arrive there till 1st December, 1813 as his "boat was wrecked upon the coast of Ardnamurchan."(59) Letters often took months to obtain an answer or were even lost in the post. The Rev. Mr. Hugh Mackenzie of Assynt did not reply to a letter dated 29th July, 1820 till the 9th October, 1820.(60) Worst of all, was the death of a minister.(61) Teachers therefore must have had a profound sense of isolation, as Alexander McKenzie of Barvas(No.102) who wrote to Edinburgh in April, 1828 and had no reply till late in June.(62) Perhaps it was to overcome this feeling that so many of the teachers, in

(59) 3AR71.

(60) 10AR19.

(61) 27AR11.

(62) 18AR43.

in spite of the enormous amount of work they had to do, actually did extra chores, like Donald Cameron, who, every Sunday walked miles to visit the people at his old school at Crogan(No.229)in Mull.(63) Perhaps he found consolation in identifying with them?

One significant feature emerges from a close reading of the Annual Reports over a number of years and that is the subtle change or emphasis from being "pious and godly" to "efficient and successful."(64) Here we can see the slow development of professional skill as teachers. In 1823 the Committee proudly boasted that all their teachers were trained "in all the modern improvements in reading" before being appointed to a post.(65) Many of them, like Peter Campbell at Kilchiarrow(No.419), were "enthusiasts in the cause of education."(66) Donald McRae at Culrain(No.241), for instance, was said "to win the hearts of his pupils and then he can train them as he will."(67) Some of the teachers were quite revolutionary in their techniques: William Macdonald at Strathaird(No.665)had devised his own method of teaching "a poor dumb boy", which so impressed the Inspector that he sent him details of the standard deaf and dumb language.(68) Donald Cameron at Castletirim(No.191), on the other hand, had shown that not only Gaels could learn Gaelic quickly.(69) In a few months he taught an English governess to read and understand Gaelic fluently. Father Anthony McDonald's comment on his local teacher in September, 1820 was, "his art of teaching I never before observed."(70) Most teachers were not long enough at a school to do much more than teach the majority of scholars to read. Indeed, the mobility to which Gaelic School teachers were subject was a great strain upon their health and prevented them from sinking roots in any particular place. The degree of mobility varied widely, Finlay McFarlane, for instance, had four postings - Ulva(No.733)1847-1849, Arinvougie (No.51)1850-1851, Duich(No.266)1852-1853 and Robolls(No.587)1854-1855, while Alexander MacMillan had ten - Portree(No.571)1832-1833, Camusstianivaig(No. 176)1833-1834, Mugary(No.533)1834-1837, Portree 1837-1839, Torran(No.709)

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(63) 3AR62.

(64) 33AR14, p.28.

(65) 12AR19.

(66) 30AR9-10.

(67) 12AR34.

(68) 50AR10.

(69) 13AR32.

(70) 10AR27.

(No.709)1839-1841, Fearnas(No.287)1841-1843, Castle Raasay(No.189)1843-1845, Holman(No.366)1846-1849, Fearnas 1850-1852 and Tearus Raasay(No.694) 1853. Some died in service, such as Norman McLennan, "a shining Christian", who had no fewer than eleven postings - Berneray(No.116)1827, Borge(No.137) 1828-1830, Caolisscalpa(No.179)1831, Quidinish(No.575)1832-1835, Greasabay (No.342)1835-1837, Caolisscalpa 1837-1839, Plocrepul(No.563)1839-1842, Clure (No.208)1842-1844, Stronde(No.679)1844-1846, Scalpa(No.617)1847 and Lowerbost(No.483)1848-1851 where he died on the 3rd June, 1851.(71) Another was David Munro, "a man of high abilities as a Teacher - - of Christian forbearance and kindness" who died in 1849.(72) He had had no fewer than twelve postings - Glencalvie(No.315)1814-1817, Langwell(No.466)1817-1820, Linset(No.487)1820-1821, Achmealvick(No.13)1821-1823, Lochnedd(No.496)1823-1826, Baddidarrach(No.67)1827-1828, Achnacarnan(No.16)1829-1831, Clashmore (No.205)1832-1835, Achnacarnan 1835-1838, Culkinn(No.239)1839-1841, Inverchirkay(No.382)1841-1844 and Clashmore 1844-1849. Sometimes considerable distances were involved, as Finlay Mackay discovered when he was ordered from Assynt to a post in Lewis.(73) With so much travelling and upset in their lives it is not surprising that they suffered from an undue share of ill health. Often, it was caused by a simple change of climate, like Peter MacEwan who "has not enjoyed good health since he came to Kemuachtrach(No.409)in Jura, being bred in an inland part of the country, the sea-air does not seem to agree with him."(74) Fever was a feature at Corrivaig (No.222) and measles at Ulva.(75) Illness, of course, raised problems and substitute teachers had to be found or the school closed. Alexander McLeod at Linol(No.486)used a local boy, while Norman McLeod at Stein(No.661)used his son.(76) Sick-leave was essential and a common place of recuperation was Strathpeffer. Both Mr and Mrs Macpherson convalesced here at different times in their careers.(77) Inevitably teachers were often "worn-out in the Society's service" and the Committee had to give consideration to them.(78) In 1851 allowances of £5 were given, but the problem was the absence of a Capital Fund from which money might be drawn. By 1858 the Superannuation

(71) 41AR9.

(72) 38AR10.

(73) 24AR11-12.

(74) 3AR63.

(75) 5AR28,p.52.

(76) 28AR24; 45AR13.

(77) 29AR19; 48AR9.

(78) 44AR2.

Superannuation Fund contained £48.15.5, in 1858 it was £69.12.11, in 1859 it was £128.15.9 and by 1860 it was £134.18.9. Thus, payments did slowly improve and by 1856 some teachers were able to retire on half salary. Death was the most common release from service - Norman McLennan with 25 years' service and Murdo McKenzie with only 6 years' service dying in 1851.(79) These seem to have died from old age, while others died from disease. Finlay Mackay of Tolsta(No.701)died on Wednesday 13th November, 1839 and was buried three days later. He, his wife and daughter had all fallen victim to typhus. Duncan Macpherson at Torran(No.710)also died from a fever in 1853.(80) Some had dramatic deaths, like Duncan Gillies, who was drowned at sea off Raasay in the summer of 1831.(81) Some were deeply missed, as was John Macpherson at Badantarb(No.64)who died on the 15th March, 1838. Two days later he was buried "amid the sorrowing tears of hundreds, both children and parents, of the district of Coigach lamenting their irreparable loss - - a first rate Christian - - a first rate teacher of genuine u1 piety, unaffected humility and deep self denial - - he scrupulously adhered to his instructions from the Society" since his appointment in 1833.(82) The Committee assessed him as "a real blessing in each of the three different stations successively occupied by him - - a man of sense, judgment and piety." There was little that the Committee could do for the family of the deceased except send them some money, such as George Gordon's widow who received £11.10.0 from the Directors through the British Linen Bank.(83) One feature of the degree of mobility is interesting - communities frequently asked for specific teachers, as 61 Heads of Families and the Rev. Mr. Coll Macdonald did at Portree when they requested the services of Alexander McMillan.(84) Teachers who were "zealous in their exertions for suppressing immorality and vice" were especially popular.(85) Ministers certainly believed so and their testimony on various teachers is significant: at Bayble (No.105) the teacher "showed fidelity and assiduity - - never had the slightest ground for complaint against him - - his removal was an irreparable loss"; at Baunscol(No.104) the teacher was "pious in his sentiments

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(79) 41AR9.

(80) 29AR21; 42AR11.

(81) 21AR32.

(82) 28AR20.

(83) 41AR15.

(84) 26AR55.

(85) 12AR16.

sentiments, peaceable and orderly and consistent in his life and full of unwearied industry"; at Bar(No.99) the teacher was highly regarded "although he came as a stranger amongst us, we soon looked on him as a father, a friend and a brother"; at Maleclet(No.505) the teacher was "a person of decided piety and remarkably exemplary in the general practice of his life and from his efficiencies and success in the discharge of his duty"; and at Tolsta(No.701) "a faithful, persevering conscientious teacher, he instructs also most efficiently by his pious consistent conduct, precept and counsel, which secure to him the unclaimed respect and esteem of the district in which he resides - especially his reproof of immorality and vice."(86) Some ministers openly admitted their indebtedness to their Gaelic School teachers - the Rev. Mr. Alexander Beith of Glenelg, in June, 1836 at a sermon in Edinburgh confessed, "I have been blessed by the aid which those men of God bring."(87) Perhaps the finest tribute came from the Rev. Mr. George Shepherd of Laggan: "The Schoolmaster has behaved himself with that prudence and circumspection, which has secured the esteem of both Protestants and Papists alike."(88) A whole range of adjectives describing their contribution to the communal life appear again and again - "valuable", "faithful", "amiable and courteous", "unwearied", "indefatigable and successful", "diligent", "well-informed", "judicious", "excellent", "useful", "sober and prudent", "assiduous", "attentive", "skilled", "conscientious" and "esteemed."(89) The views of their scholars are more difficult to detect, but at Culrain(No.241) the Rev. Mr. Hector Allan of Kincardine said that, "The children all seem to regard their master with the fondest affection", while those at Tulloch(No.728) were "fond of the teacher."(90) Leave was a major feature of the system operated and often it could be quite lengthy. Murdoch McLeod, for instance, took three years off to serve as a Catechist in Harris.(91) The turnover of teachers at any one school depended largely on the size of the population in the community - Gravar(No.341), Ballallan(No.90), Baddantarb(No.64), Mugary(No.533), Tob-

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(86) 22AR12; 24AR12; 26AR51-52; 33AR28; 30AR11.

(87) 26AR57.

(88) 10AR44.

(89) 22AR13,p.14; 23AR35,p.19; 24AR10,p.14; 14AR27,p.13; 20AR15; 19AR30; 3AR45; 5AR73; 8AR12; 9AR6-7; 3AR48; 31AR30.

(90) 14AR24.

(91) 25AR30.

Tobermory(No.700)and Culnacnock(No.240)all had six teachers over the years they were in operation. The later careers of the vast bulk of the teachers is virtually impossible to determine, some, like Murdo Macdonald of Tolsta went to Canada, while Andrew Munro of Badantarbhet went to the West Indies.(92) Some returned to the army, as did Aulay McKenzie at Learside(No.473) in October, 1819 "being a military man."(93) Most of the teachers at least had aspirations to follow Donald Murray of Lewis and "prosecute their studies with a view to the Holy Ministry."(94)

It is no easy task to follow the career in detail of any of the Gaelic School teachers, mainly because of the similarity in so many names. For example, in 1832 there was a Donald McDonald at Castle(No.189), one at Balaphuil(No.79)and another at Bar(No.99).Thus, trying to trace their transfers is extremely difficult. Women are the easiest to follow, because there were so few of them, no more than half a dozen. Margaret Sinclair was the earliest and the best known. The daughter of an S.S.P.C.K. teacher and the widow of a Catechist she was regarded as "pious and excellent" by everybody in Keppoch, where she taught children free of charge.(95) The Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross thought her a "female of excellent character" and put forward her name to the Committee for interview. By November, 1811 she was the official Gaelic School teacher at Keppoch(No.410)where she had 27 pupils in her small school. By May, 1813 she was of "weakly constitution and indifferent health" and she is last heard of teaching in 1815.(96) Almost fifty years later Robert Paul could still refer to the fact that "she conducted her school with great success."(97) Magdalene Sutherland was the most widely experienced of the female teachers employed by the Society, having served at Migdol(No.523)1817-1822, Altas(No.33)1822 and Linset(No.487)1823. Mrs. D. Fowler taught at Torraston(No.711)1838-1839 and Jean Gordon(probably widow to George Gordon)at Ausdale(No.59)1821. Sometimes a teacher's wife would teach sewing to the girls, like Mrs. Mcpherson at Fivepenny(No.291)1831-1832 and at Duin(No.267)1833. She appears again at Arnol(No.55)in December, 1838 where she is "very useful in this remote quarter, in teaching such branches of female education as are adapted to the circumstances of the poor natives; an improvement unknown here before."(98)

(92) 42AR11; 3AR41.

(93) 10AR15.

(94) 32AR13.

(95) 2AR27.

(96) 3AR43.

(97) 50AR16.

(98) 27AR23.

(98) By April, 1839 she was at Bragar(No.145), but here she had "a dropsical complaint and will go to Strathpeffer with her husband and four children." (99) She is last heard of at Linol(No.486)in 1859 acting as assistant while her husband recuperated at Strathpeffer.(100) Occasionally, a teacher's daughter, always unnamed, might teach the odd piece of sewing.(101) Indeed, we can follow the careers of the first three male teachers - John McLeod, Angus Macleod and Nicol Nicolson. In December, 1811 John McLeod opened the Society's first school at Badantarb(No.64). Of the 30 scholars who attended some offered to pay him a little extra if he would teach them English.(102) For some reason or another McLeod suddenly left the district. It is possible that he fell ill or perhaps he was serving in another community as a Catechist. We simply do not know. In his absence a James Munro, who had a "taste for learning" was appointed in his place in August, 1812. Then he too, in March, 1813 suddenly left for the West Indies(oddly enough he is recorded as "Andrew")and the local minister re-appointed McLeod.(103) In May, 1813 a deputation arrived at his school from Altandou(No.32)to which he was sent in June, 1813. By October, 1813 he had some 40 pupils. Thereafter McLeod served in a variety of stations - Achillibuie(No.10)1815-1816, Ullapool(No.732)1817, Ruive(No.595)1817-1818, Dorney(No.256)1818-1820, Achillibuie 1821-1822, Achandran(No.4)1823-1824, Tanera(No.638)1825-1826 and Badinscally(No.69)1827-1832. It was here that that he was told that the people of Ullapool had "an eagerness to have John McLeod in preference to any other."(104) But he was sent to Achillibuie again 1832-1833 and this was his last recorded posting. Angus Macleod at Bayble(No.105)found that "they are so anxious to learn that they would sit up day and night if their work would allow them."(105) Unfortunately, the deaths of several of his scholars saddened him greatly. In 1813 he was sent to Gress(No.346)till 1814 and then to Ness(No.538)1815-1820 and Kylesstockinish(No.457)1821-1824 and was heard of no more. Much more is known about the life of Nicol Nicolson. Born in 1782 he was posted to the parish of Gairloch - 36 miles in length and 26 miles in breadth, some 936 square miles. Spread over this vast area were 2,945 people and 2,549 of them could not read at all. "Although

(99) 29AR19.

(100) 48AR9.

(101) 49AR9.

(102) 2AR4.

(103) 3AR41.

(104) 20AR20.

(105) 2AR33.

"Although there are 324 persons capable of reading English in this parish, yet as many of them never hear a word of English but at school, or in the church, and do not fully understand what they do read, perhaps not above one half, of the above number, are capable of receiving religious instruction, in any tolerable degree in the English language."(106) The Rev. Mr. James Russel wrote to Edinburgh, "I consider Melivaig as that which claims the attention of your Society in the first place."(107) Twelve miles from the nearest kirk Melivaig had a population of 174 and it was to here that Nicolson came in January, 1812. Immediately he flung himself into his work, teaching from 7 am till 9 pm at night and then visiting each house in turn. Not surprisingly the Rev. Mr. Russel, who saw him in August, 1812, described him as "unwearied and unremitting." Nicolson's first report, on the 14th November, 1812, gave his view: "I began the School immediately after I came here and the people were never so thankful as when I told them that I was to remain with them other five months. I shall have a throng school all this winter session; all the children attend, and the grown-up people also. There is one woman about 50 years of age begun at this time; she was afraid before that she could not learn. The people of Saund were not pleased because I did not come to them." By his third session at Melivaig some 50 could read well and the Rev. Mr. Russel advised the crofters to hire a teacher and Mr. Mackenzie, tackaman, hired "one of the most advanced scholars to teach the School."(108) In June, 1813 Nicolson was at Saund(No.614)and there he stayed till 1814 in "the commodious school-house" which the people had built for him at their own expense. Thereafter came a whole series of postings - Mellon of Udrigil(No.516)1814, South Aradale(No.655)1815-1816, Port Henderson(No.569) 1817 and then he too vanished for five years. Again, it is impossible to say what happened to him. But by 1822 he was back at Skibba(No.649)and then Tormisdale(No.707)1822, Tobermory(No.700)1822-1823, Skibba 1823-1824 and then Craigfad(No.226)1825-1828. Again, he vanishes for sight and this time for seven years. He returns to Earlish(No.272)1835-1837, Kesdale(No. 414)1837-1838, Kistle(No.446)1838, Carboist(No.181)1839-1842, Urigishadder (No.735)1842-1844, Byre(No.285)1844-1846, Mugary(No.533)1847-1848. By now Nicolson was 67 years old "one of your first teachers and still one

(106) 1AR43.

(107) 31/5/1811.

(108) 3AR5-6.

one of of your most efficient teachers."(109) Soon he was off to Glenkinisdale(No.330)1849-1851 and Aadenbaine(No.1)1852-1854. His last school was Clachhamish(No.198)1855-1858 where he was described as "an eged and amiable disciple of the Lord Jesus, shewing forth a beautiful example of the great pattern, his Lord and Master."(110) His service to the Society included twenty postings! Two other teachers are worthy of special mention - Colin McIntosh and Norman Macleod. McIntosh resigned in 1855 because of increasing deafness having served some 36 years at Torriden(No.713)1819-1821, Badenvougie(No.68)1822-1823, Dibaigh(1824-1826), Arinacrinack(No.50)1827-1828, Ardyasrick(No.45)1829-1831, Calmukile(No.170)1832-1833, Badenvougie 1834-1835, Aligin(No.31)1835-1838, Kinlochewe(No.437)1839-1842, Melivaig(No.514)1842-1844, Camusluny(No.174)1844-1845, Aligin 1846-1848, Clachtol(No.200)1849-1851 and Clashmore(No.205)1852-1855. Macleod is probably one of the most important of the Gaelic School teachers in that he was also an outstanding teacher. His career began as an interim teacher at Rustal(No.372)1815-1817 and then to a series of postings - Isle of Soay(No.396)1817-1818, Carbost(No.181)1818-1822, Breakish(No.149)1822-1823, Craiknish(No.227)1823-1824, Samardale(No.605)1825-1826, Gleneynord(No.326)1827-1829, Capadale(No.180)1829-1830, Skiavaig(No.648)1830-1832, Carbost 1833, Strolumus(No.677)1834-1837 and Talaskir(No.687)1837-1838. It was at his next post, at Unish, in Skye, 1839-1842 that he established his reputation. Arriving there late in May, 1839 he opened his school, according to instructions, in mid-June, 1839. Within a few months the community experienced, what was called, "an awakening." By August, 1840 "an unusual concern among the people relative to their spiritual interests" had developed and "many cried out at the meetings in apparent distress of mind." Much of this was group hysteria and it was highly infectious. The Rev. Mr. Macleod of Sizort described it: "the most extraordinary emotions appeared among the people; some wept, and some cried aloud as if pinched in their hearts, while others fainted and fell down as if struck dead. In this state they continued together for the whole night; and instead of the teacher's going away on the morrow, as he had previously intended, such was the awakening that he remained for 16 days, reading and praying - - the people continuing to assemble with so little intermission, day or night, that he could only get about two

(109) 38AR14.

(110) 44AR14.

two hours' sleep early every morning. The state of things at Unish, as may be readily conceived, soon began to be noised abroad: and the consequence was, that numbers from various parts of the country were attracted to the scene, many of whom were similarly affected with the rest." In a matter of weeks religious enthusiasm had spread throughout the length and breadth of Skye and reports came in of similar scenes as far away as Eigg and Rum. In October, 1842, the Rev. Mr. Macleod wrote: "Night schools have been established in different districts, and hundreds, parents and children are attending them -- the whole parish is one Gaelic School this winter." (111) The Committee, in Edinburgh, no doubt thought that the ecstasy would not last. One can imagine their surprise when, in January, 1844 a letter arrived from the Rev. Norman McLeod in North Uist: "It is quite true, that a remarkable revival of religion is at present going on in North Uist. It was in the beginning of last year (1843). The attendance on the means of grace began to improve in the parish, and though no individual cases of revival were observed, the preaching of the Lord was listened to with growing attention, by daily increasing numbers, till the month of May -- much silent weeping at Paible -- an old disciple, once in the employment of your Society, and now employed as a Catechist and Exhorter, commenced labouring in the populous district of Paible and he had scarcely set his hand to the work when several, especially among the young, became sensibly distressed at his meetings under a conviction of sin, and their lost condition. From this, as a centre point, the revival has been since spreading south and north. There is hardly a sermon, or prayer meeting, but some person is newly affected, and there is every appearance of the work spreading more extensively. The external means of this remarkable work is the plain and earnest declaration of divine truth, such as man's sinful, guilty and dangerous condition, by nature and practice, and his need of regeneration, faith and repentance. No doubt, the Holy Spirit is the great and efficient agent. Persons of all ages and sexes are affected; but the majority of them are within the period called the prime of life. In this parish particularly, the numbers of children, from 8 to 14 years of age, are impressed; and it would be an affecting sight to see their parents, as I have more than once seen them, carrying them out of the meeting-house, apparently lifeless with exhaustion from over-powered feelings. Gross sins are abandoned -- carnal

carnal levities are given up, family worship, secret prayer, and the attentive perusal of the Scriptures are daily becoming more prevalent, whilst the external means of grace, such as preaching by evangelical ministers social and prayer meetings, are attended by multitudes, whenever such means are accessible."(112) In fact, Norman McLeod had been moved from Unish to Trumpan(No.727)where he served for a year, 1842-1843. He had then resigned and gone off to North Uist as a Catechist for three years. In 1846 he returned to Unish and was re-instated as teacher and served a further period, 1846-1848. Later he was at Garry(No.305)1849-1851 and finally at Stein(No.661)1852-1856. Here he was visited by the Society's Inspector, who wrote in his Journal: "On my arrival here I found the teacher, Norman McLeod, a very old man, confined to bed. He has been very poorly all winter, but the school was taught by his son. To all appearance, I think, he is on his death-bed. This is one of the very first cases I should wish to see provided for, by retiring the teacher from the active service of the Society. He is 80 to 90 years of age, and has been a long time in the service of the Society, and that with great success, in being useful to the cause of religion and Bible Knowledge, after serving his country as a soldier and bearing on his head the mark of the sword of the enemy."(113) McLeod was at once placed on a superannuated list and paid half his salary in 1856.(114) Unfortunately, he was dead within a few months.

It must not be thought that all the teachers employed by the Society were successful. As the Inspector reported in 1838: "with only two or three exceptions, all these fifty-one schools are under the charge of men of decided piety."(115) Two of these exceptions were at Tarbert(No. 691)and atBowmore(No.140). At Tarbert, Andrew Ross only taught "for a few months" and left, as he claimed, "for want of accommodation." The minister's view was "for want of patience and perseverance in himself."(116) Allan Ross at Bowmore had caused the roll to fall from 202 to 52 in only a few months. His minister summed it up: "The Teacher is not so efficient as could be desired for the station, and no desire for the school being continued was expressed."(117) These two teachers seem to have resigned.

(112) 33AR17-18.

(113) 45AR13.

(114) 46AR12.

(115) 27AR10.

(116) 8AR50.

(117) 20AR18.

resigned. The Committee were fully aware of the difficulty of keeping harmony with local ministers and heritors and they continually urged their teachers to bear that in mind. In 1834 they issued the following: "At all times the zeal of your Teachers must be a matter of warm interest to you, and it is of importance that they persevere in the sphere of their proper vocation, without overstepping the bounds prescribed by your rules for the direction of their conduct. Complaints have occasionally been made against some of them, that they violated these restrictions by becoming Preachers or Public Exhorters. Wherever such charges have been substantiated, however estimable and well-meaning persons your Teachers have been, dismissal, in cases of obstinacy, has invariably been the consequence; but, generally, a salutary admonition tendered to the violators of the rules of the Society, and due explanations given to the parties complaining, have led to a satisfactory adjustment of the matter. At the same time, your Committee have reason to believe, that valuable Teachers have sometimes been complained of without just reason, and that the stigma has been attached to their characters, which they do not merit."(118) A case to point had developed in June, 1833 as the Rev. Mr. Charles Gordon of Assynt explained: "I regret to observe, that some Gentlemen still continue to complain of your Teachers as not attending their Parish Ministers, and following divisive courses. Now, I am much inclined to think this arises in many instances from ignorance of the character of Teachers and giving heed to idle reports. When your Teacher came here, he was represented as a separatist to me, I said nothing, but kept an eye on him. I soon found that the report was most unfounded. A steadier supporter and Friend I had not in my whole Parish."(119) The teacher concerned was David Munro at Clashmore(No.205)later assessed as "faithful, indefatigable and successful."(120) There were at least two teachers who "remained obstinate" and left the Committee with no other option but to dismiss them. Ironically, they were two of the most devout of men. Clachan(No.197)in Skye opened in June, 1812 with John Beaton as teacher. The roll, at 24, soon rose to 104 and by April, 1813 was 160. Suddenly, on the 5th May, 1813 Beaton was suspended from his duties following a complaint lodged by Lord Macdonald. (121) His place was taken over by John McNab as interim Teacher. The Secretary, Christopher Anderson, was hastily dispatched to Clachan to conduct an investigation. Having interviewed Beaton and having ordered him

 (118) 23AR17.

(119) Ibid.,p.18.

(120) 24AR10.

(121) 3AR18.

him to Edinburgh he set off to discuss the matter with Lord Macdonald. In Edinburgh Beaton "was seen by a particular and patient sub-Committee", but he steadfastly refused to change his ways and he was reluctantly dismissed. This decision was approved by the monthly meeting on the 19th July, 1813 and Lord Macdonald was immediately informed. The official report of the case read: "While every degree of justice was done to the talents of the Teacher, your Committee were sorry to be informed, that he had been in the habit of going beyond the line of his instructions, in addressing the people, at considerable length, upon religious subjects. It being the original and declared intention of this Society to adhere strictly to the object of "teaching to read the Sacred Scripture in Gaelic, the Teacher was immediately suspended."(122) A somewhat similar case involved John McLeod, "one of your most exemplary Teachers, who was dismissed your service some years ago, on account of his transgressing your Regulations in reference to expanding the Scriptures and exhorting the public - - a worthy man who felt no chagrin or resentment."(123) He had been sent to Galson(No.300)in Lewis in 1820 where he had been regarded as "eminently useful in several districts of this island - - rousing sinners - - He had the glory of God and the salvation of souls ardently at heart - - a wrestler at the throne of Grace." On the 8th October, 1832 he died at Tolstachilish and at his funeral hundreds turned out to pay their last respects. His estate amounted to £150, half of which he left to his widow and half to the Society, with the proviso that on her death the residue should also go to the Society.(124)

Teachers, in the light of the above, had to expect a fair degree of supervision and this was normally done by the sessional Examinations. Quite often the teacher received very little warning as to the precise date of the "Visit", as Archibald Campbell found out at Benbicula(No.112). He was only informed on the 9th May and the Visitors arrived on the 10th. (125) The team that appeared was quite formidable - the Rev. Mr. Duncan Maclean, Duncan Campbell, Gaelic Teacher in South Uist and Donald Macquarrie, S.S.P.C.K. teacher. All manner of people were likely to turn up and even numbers were not fixed. The Rev. Mr. Finlay Macrae of North

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(122) Ibid., p.p.14-15.

(123) 22AR18.

(124) Ibid., pp.29-30.

(125) 14AR31.

North Uist appeared at Balemore(No.84)with Alexander Macdonald Yr of Vallay, Dr. Alexander McLeod of Kilphider, James Maclean of Punmore and Captain Alexander Maclean of Holsta.(126) On the other hand, Bala-phuil(No.79)was seen by Alexander Matheson, Parish Schoolmaster of Tیره and Hector Maclean, Tacksman of Haynish at the request of the Rev. Mr. Niel Maclean.(127) Military men were often invited to join the visiting dignitaries as Captain McGregor of the 78th Foot at Amat-na-Tuath.(128) An unusual grouping was necessary for the Barra schools - the Rev. Mr. Alexander Nicolson and Father Angus McDonald.(129) Here it was customary to invite along the two Gaelic School teachers from South Uist as well. Kenovay(No.407)usually had the local Session Clerk and four elders, while Kilfinichen(No.422) and Bogrow(No.124)often had ladies. The most formal visit was that made by a deputation from a Presbytery. Their report would usually read as follows: "We, a Committee of the Presbytery of Lochcarron, appointed for the examination of schools, do hereby certify that we have this day examined the Gaelic School taught by John McDonald, at Letterfearn(No.480)in this parish; - that we have much pleasure in being able to state our great satisfaction with the success which has followed the teacher's labours in this quarter, for the short period during which the School has been in operation, that in the course of eight months he has instructed many, both adults and children, to read the Scriptures with complete ease, and that from the whole appearance of the School, we feel it a duty to state our opinion that the Teacher is a most useful agent of the Gaelic School Society."(131) Many of these examinations were not held in the actual schools, but in the nearest kirk.(132) The pattern for the visit was standardised by the Committee - a religious service followed by the teacher producing his scholars and having them demonstrate their reading skills. Thereafter the names of those who wanted free books were taken and these were sent to the local minister for his decision. A large number of absences on examination day must have been a source of great embarrassment to the teachers and no doubt they made silent prayers for good weather and high attendance.

(126) 9AR16.

(127) 11AR42.

(128) 17AR21.

(129) 12AR40.

(130) 5AR87; 9AR21; 13AR27.

(131) 22AR29, 9/2/1832.

(132) 13AR28.

attendance. Usually the teacher had little cause for concern as the children actually enthused for the excitement of the occasion. The Rev. Mr. Donald Ross of Kilmuir noted that although Clachan(No.197) had been closed on the 1st April, 1813, at least 106 were present for the examination on the 5th May, 1813.(133) Most children made a great effort to be "clean and neatly dressed for the occasion" and there are numerous references to the fact that they "all behaved extremely well."(134) The Inspector noted at Galson(No.300) "the good manners of the children - no spitting nor soiling the floor, as is seen in some Highland schools and though many of them after fever had their heads shaved or pared close to the skin, their persons were cleanly and they kept their bodies in orderly and respectful attitude during the whole examination."(135) Some of the questions they were given were difficult. At Back(No.62) for instance, the Rev. Mr. John Cameron of Stornoway asked eight year old John Macdonald, "How many kings in Israel? How many were in Judah? Were more of the Kings evil than good? Where is Bethel? Who was the last king of Israel?" When he answered them all correctly he was heard to boast - "Cha do chuir e ceist orm nach do dh'fhosgail mi!"(He did not give me a question which I could not answer). Other visitors, like Alexander Forrester at Kinlochmoidart(No.438), preferred the following type of question: "What saith the Apostle Paul concerning the Scriptures? What saith St. Peter? Hath Jesus commanded us to read the Scripture and to whom was He speaking? What Books of the New Testament give an account of the life and death of Jesus Christ? For what purpose did God send His Son into the world and is there any way of salvation but for Him?"(136) Parents were encouraged to attend these examinations and they turned up in large numbers - "Most of the people of the district came to hear and see the children examined, we went to the open field. When asking the children some simple questions, some of them answered with tears rolling down their cheeks. When addressing them, I saw a number of persons, both parents and children, bathed in tears, some of them indeed crying out, "What shall we do to be saved?" (137) Again, at Culnacnock(No.240), "When the teacher addressed them there were some bathed in tears, rejoicing, others crying out, being distressed in mind."(138) Such visitations usually lasted some four or

(133) 3AR57.

(134) 10AR16, p.29.

(135) 45AR15.

(136) 17AR23.

(137) 32AR15.

(138) 33AR16.

or five hours, but occasionally, as at Dingwall (No. 249) it lasted two days, from Tuesday, 19th September, 1815 to Wednesday, 20th September, 1815. (139) It was the same at Barvasses (No. 103) in 1827. (140)

Reports from such examinations while useful gave only a fragmented view of the Society's operations as far as the Committee in Edinburgh were concerned. To obtain a more composite picture they instructed their Secretary, Christopher Anderson to make a tour in the month of July, 1813. As this was the first general inspection carried out by the Society it is given almost in full -

"July 1 - 3 Left Edinburgh, and went by the great Highland road, as far as Dalwhinnie, when, turning in a north-west direction by Laggan and Dalhullie (the residence of Duncan Macnab, Es.) I proceeded south-west through Badenoch. In the parish of Laggan, several Gaelic Schools might be advantageously appointed, in remote districts, particularly in Glentruim, Glen Shiallach, and on the banks of Loch Laggan. As time did not permit my visiting the minister of the parish, Mr. Macnab was requested to inform him of the nature and design of the Society; and, after leaving a set of Reports for each of these gentlemen, went by Moy and Keppoch, into the parish of Kilmanivaig. Round Keppoch, the people, in general, understand only the Gaelic, and are chiefly of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

July 4, 5 At Tierndrish, the residence of the Rev. Mr. Ross, minister of Kilmanivaig. This parish, which is about 63 miles in length, and marches with the counties of Ross, Inverness and Perth, enjoys several important advantages in point of education; but many parts of it are, notwithstanding, in a most destitute condition. After a good deal of conversation about the Society, Mr. Ross pointed out three stations, in each of which a Gaelic School might prove a great blessing, viz. Inverroy in Glenspean, Laggan of Glengarry and Bridge of Lundie.

Proceeded by the banks of the Caledonian Canal, and called at Stron for Captain Cameron. He was not at home; but his Lady gave a very favourable report in regard to the conduct and behavior of the Society's Teacher at Muirshealich, about a mile distant. This school could not be continued during the summer months, as the attendance was so small. The Teacher has therefore removed to the head of Locharcaig; where, in a district

(139) 5AR19.

(140) 17AR28.

district called the "Rough Bounds", the people have duly appreciated the value of his labours. The country is intersected by two rapid rivers, but, in wet weather, the children have been carried to school, across these, by their parents, so that the attendance has, upon the whole, been regular. Having thus passed through part of Badenoch and Lochaber, went by Corpach, opposite Fort William, into the parish of Kilmallie.

July 6,7. At Fassfearn, I found Mr. Cameron highly approved of the object and design of the Society. He sent for a young man, John Macmaster, who is employed at present in this parish, on the banks of Lochail, in teaching English to those who are able to pay for education. After conversing with him as to his mode of teaching, and his perusing the Reports of this Society (the first of which indeed he had previously seen), he entered warmly into its design. I requested him to think of teaching Gaelic, to those especially who were poor, and engaged, in that case, to procure for him a donation of books suitable for the purpose, which he could sell at a reduced price.

July 8. Arrived at Borrodell, near to Arisaig. Crossed Loch Aylort, in company with another gentleman, to Moidart, a country wholly inhabited by Catholics. Examined the Society's School at Glenuig. The children acquitted themselves much to the satisfaction of all present, and the parents seemed not a little gratified. A gentleman, from the opposite coast, who, coming up the Glen on business, was invited to attend, repeatedly expressed his surprise, as he had no idea such proficiency could be made in the short space of a few months. The parents and elder people were exhorted to profit by the teacher's present residence among them, and to attend the School; since which period, the greater part of the unmarried women have begun to learn to read.

The districts of Morar and Knoydart, north of this, which are also Catholic countries, have no school of any kind. An inhabitant of Knoydart, residing at Invergusarn, on the west coast, took a journey this summer to the Society's School at the head of Locharraig, for the express purpose of soliciting the teacher's residence among them, during the ensuing winter, where he said nearly one hundred people could attend. After recrossing Loch Aylort, returned to Borrodell, for the night; mentioned the object of the Society, and left Report.

July 9. Went by Arisaig to the isle of Muck, or Monk, which is from 16 to 18 miles from the Mainland. On landing, I found the Teacher had gone to

to Ardnamurchan to inquire about letters from his friends. A few of the Scholars however were collected, and examined, in his absence, and intimation given to the inhabitants of the island, that, as the Schoolmaster was to remove from them by September next, it was hoped they would pay particular attention, while he remained among them. While sailing, in the afternoon, to the isle of Eigg, met the Society's Teacher coming home, and took him with me, that I might have some conversation with him about his present School and future station.

July 10. Having landed on the Isle of Eigg, last night called upon the Rev. Mr. Maclean, Minister of the parish of "Small Isles." He was well pleased with the Society's Teacher in Muck, and considered him as faithfully discharging his duty to his constituents. The Island of Cannay, inhabited by Roman Catholics, in which there never has been a school of any description, I mentioned as the next Station where it was desirable that the Teacher should commence. Mr. Maclean, being about to leave home for Cannay, tomorrow, he kindly engaged to speak to the people, and prepare the way. He is to mention the subject to the Catholic Priest. In the afternoon, landed at Armadale in the Isle of Skye, where an opportunity presented itself, of conferring with Lord Macdonald in regard to the object of this Institution. His Lordship approved most heartily of the people being taught to read their native language, provided that the Teachers kept strictly to the office of teaching; but the misconduct of one of the Teachers, in going beyond these limits, having been represented to his Lordship by the Clergyman of the Parish, through the Commissioners on his Lordship's estate, he seemed doubtful whether this restriction had been sufficiently attended to. I stated, that the sole object of the Society was to teach the inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands to read their vernacular tongue; that the first complaint and official information respecting the conduct of this Teacher, was received towards the end of May; that it was communicated to the Committee of Directors at their first meeting in June; that, in the course of this Journey, I intended to investigate the whole business; and begged permission of his Lordship to inform him of the result. To this he most politely and readily assented. July 12, 13. Spent in the Island of Scalpa. Some good may be done, were the Committee to send a donation for books for the use of the few people who reside in this Island; and no gentleman would be more ready to second

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second the views of the Society, than the present resident proprietor, Mr. Macdonald of Scalpa.

July 14. Called at the Isle of Rasay; and, after some conversation in relation to the Society, Reports were left with the proprietor. The Isle of Ronay, belonging to this gentleman, was spoken of, where there never has been a School of any kind, as being a desirable station. Went in the afternoon by Loch Sligachan and Loch Harport, to Bracadale, where I met with the Rev. Mr. Shaw, lately presented to this parish.

July 15. Examined the Society's School in this parish, accompanied by Mr. Shaw. Owing to the long illness and subsequent death of the former Minister, this School has laboured under several disadvantages. The Children, however, acquitted themselves to Mr. Shaw's satisfaction; and other two months will make a number of them good readers. The District of Minginish, in this parish, stands in the greatest need of education, and it is strongly recommended to the attention of the Committee.

July 16. At Coshladder, in the parish of Duirnish, in company with Mr. Shaw. Here there is a numerous and flourishing School. Great satisfaction accompanied its examination, though the attendance has rather fallen off during the Summer. About 76 persons, old and young, have entered this School. Among a godly number present, I found the husband and wife learning together. There was one scholar aged 56; three men aged from 30 to 32; two women of 37, and one of 32 years of age; besides a number of young people from 18 to 25.

July 17. Went, in company with Mr. Shaw, to Dunvegan Castle. The proprietor (John Norman Macleod, Esq.) approves of the object of the Institution, but considers it of the first importance that the Teachers be confined to the teaching of reading. He has kindly ordered a Schoolhouse to be built at Roag, to which place, it is probable, the Society's Teacher at Coshladder will remove next winter.

July 19. Proceeded by Loch Greeshernish and Loch Snizort to the parish of Kilmuir. Had a full conversation with the Rev. Mr. Ross, the Minister of the parish, and John Beaton the Society's Teacher at Clachan, east side; an account of which it is unnecessary here to detail. Being fully persuaded that this Schoolmaster had repeatedly broken the following resolution or law of this Society: "The Teachers belonging to this Society shall neither be Preachers nor public Exhorters, stated or occasional, be-

belonging to any denomination whatever." I resolved that the previous suspension, by the Committee should not be removed; and, in the meanwhile, desired him to pay a visit to Edinburgh, for the satisfaction of his constituents, engaging, at the same time, that his journey expence should be paid. The Rev. Mr. Ross spoke of two men in the parish, either of whom, would answer the purpose of the Society. I requested him to send a letter on the subject, which should be laid before the Committee.

July 20. Crossed by the Ferry at Kingsboro, to Lynedale, where I had an interview with Lord Macdonald, and informed him of the result of my visit to Kilmuir. With this result, his Lordship appeared to be perfectly satisfied.

July 21, 22. Having returned through Skye, by Portrie, and the Island of Scalpa, to Broadford, where the Synod of Glenelg was assembled, I had an interview with several of the Society's Correspondents - the Rev. Dr. Ross of Lochbroom, the Rev. Mr. Macqueen of Applecross, and others. The object of the Society was introduced to the notice of the gentlemen present; and, after some explanations, Reports were left for their perusal.

July 23. Left Skye for the Mainland, and got to Jeantown, in the parish of Loch Carron, in the evening.

July 24. The Rev. Lachlan Mackenzie, Minister of the parish, and a teacher belonging to the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, accompanied me to the Gaelic School in Jeantown. About 100 persons have derived benefit from this Teacher's labours. During the vacation between the Winter and Summer Sessions, the people, of their own accord, proposed to support the teacher, at their own expense entirely, in order that they might derive more benefit during his residence among them. Few sights could be more gratifying, than to witness parents and children, old and young, assembled in the same School, and all equally interested; to hear the children, who, but a few months ago, comparatively "knew not any thing", reading the living Oracles with fluency; and the mother of children, with the youngest in her arms, hand this infant to her neighbour, while she would stand up, in her own class, consisting of mothers, to read her lesson; and all this in a fine flourishing village on the banks of Loch Carron, where the number of inhabitants is rapidly increasing.

July 26, 27. Returned by Strath Conan, Scatwell, etc. to Inverness, farther than which it is unnecessary to continue this slight and imperfect sketch."

sketch."(141)

Anderson had reached certain conclusions as a result of his tour and he set these before the Committee on his return. The first was that the Society should rather concentrate its efforts in those parishes where it was well received than have a policy of one school in every parish. Obviously, this was the result of the fact that in some parts of the country his reception had been somewhat cool. This policy, he hoped, would encourage every district to apply for schools when they saw the example of those in operation. His other suggestion was that a small volume of Scripture Extracts be produced for those who were making rapid progress in reading. Again, it would save the cost of printing more Bibles. The Book of Proverbs, he thought, might usefully be printed alone in large type. Finally, he urged the establishment of several depots, such as Oban, Broadford or Portree, Jeantown or Ullapool, where various books and boards could be retained and sold to interested parties at reduced rates. Anderson's tour was the first such national inspection and in some ways is not exactly typical. He was looking for possible sites and at the same time trying to persuade important landed proprietors, like Lord Macdonald and MacLeod of Dunvegan, that the Society's teachers were not a threat to the status quo. The next national inspection, in the year 1818 by the Rev. Mr. Angus McKellar of Pencaitland and Henry Paul (Mr. Anderson was unable to go) was of far greater interest -

"We reached the Island of Mull on the 31st of August, and immediately entered on the performance of our duties. 1. The first School we visited, was that of Craignure, of which Donald Cameron is Teacher. There were only 10 Scholars present, 3 or 4 of whom had been sent for on purpose, to afford us an opportunity of hearing them read. Five read the Bible very accurately, and 3 the Psalm Book pretty well. The rest were learning to name the letters. From what we saw or could learn of this School, it is but doing justice to the Teacher to say, that he appears to be well qualified for his office, and diligent in the discharge of his duties. But since the School has been stationary in this place for a longer period than what is usually granted by the Society, and as almost all of the inhabitants who feel disposed to avail themselves of its aid have been taught to read now, it is our opinion that another station ought to be immediately appointed.

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appointed.

Kilfinichen. Neil McPhail, Teacher - The inspection of this School took place at 7 am and owing to the early hour, and shortness of the notice given, there was not more than a third part of the total number of Scholars present. These, however, afforded a very favourable specimen of the whole School. They went through their various exercises, in a manner that reflected great credit on the abilities and zeal of the Teacher. Indeed, he appears to be an excellent young man, faithful in discharging his duties, and much respected in the place. The number of Children who attend in Summer is 34 and in Winter 60. There are several grown-up people who come occasionally to the School during the day, and who also receive lessons from the Teacher in the evenings at home. This School should be continued in the same place, at the least, for one Session more.

Ardchiavaig. Donald McInnes, Teacher. We cannot say very much about this School, since it was not properly met when we were there. The lists were very regularly kept, and the numbers marked 35 Boys and 26 Girls, total 61. The Scholars present were mere beginners; so that no accurate judgment respecting the state of the School could be formed from examining them. The Teacher is well spoken of by the Parish Minister and the School appears to be in a very proper station.

Ardnish, Coll. John Johnston, Teacher. This School was, upon the whole, in a much better state than we expected to find it. On the day of inspection there were 28 Scholars present. They acquitted themselves very well in reading and spelling, but were rather deficient in repeating Psalms. Several of the Children who attend this School are very young; and this circumstance, along with some others which it is not necessary to state to the Committee, may render it advisable to allow the School to remain in the same place for some time longer.

Kilbride. Alexander McKenzie, Teacher. The attendance on this School is at the rate of 36 Children and about 10 grown-up persons, consisting of men and women, who come occasionally. Many of the Children are employed during the Summer in looking after cattle, and in other rural occupations, which prevent their regular attendance at School. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, the whole 47, who were present on the day of inspection, acquitted themselves to our entire satisfaction. Their reading and spelling were most accurate; and they repeated Psalms and Hymns with a

a degree of seriousness, which seemed to indicate that they comprehended and felt the meaning of these compositions. The greater number of advanced Scholars could repeat from memory between 30 and 40 Hymns and portions of Scripture. Among the grown-up Scholars present, there was a man of 45 years of age, who read the New Testament tolerably well, although he had only been learning for a few months. The first lessons he ever received were from his own children, three of whom attend this School. We were told of a young girl in the neighbourhood, who had not an opportunity of coming to School, but was taught to read at home by one of her brothers, who enjoyed that advantage. We are glad to have an opportunity of expressing, in the strongest terms, the high gratification which we experienced in witnessing the state of this School. It would have been almost of itself a sufficient compensation for all the difficulties to which we were exposed through the whole course of our tour. - - It is obvious that this account warrants the highest commendation which we are able to give of the Teacher's conduct - - a considerable share of its success is to be ascribed to the countenance given to it by Alexander McLean, Esq. the proprietor of the Island - - We have also to express our gratitude to this gentleman for the many kind attentions which we received from himself and all his family, for several days during which we were detained in the island by contrary winds. On coming away, he presented us with a donation of Ten Guineas, as an additional proof of his approbation of the object and the exertions of our Society.

Cornaig, Tires. James Budge, Teacher. This is an excellent School. The general average of attendance in winter is 50 children during the day, and about 60 grown-up persons in the evening. There were present in this School, on the day of inspection, 37 Scholars. These, according to the different periods of attendance, went through their various exercises in a manner that was highly creditable to the abilities and diligence of the Teacher. The School ought to be continued in the same Station for another session at the least.

Gortendonnell. Hector Johnston, Teacher. We are happy that it is in our power to report favourably of this School also. The attendance in winter is about 60 children, and some grown-up people. There were present on the day of inspection 26 children, whose attainments in reading and spelling etc. afforded satisfactory proofs of the faithfulness of the Teacher. A-

Among the Scholars present was a man of 36 years of age. The very great rapidity of this man's progress deserves to be particularly noticed. He had only begun to learn the letters about two months before, and since that time could only attend School when the state of the weather prevented him from going to the fishing, or being employed working out of doors. In addition to this very irregular attendance at School, he enjoyed the benefit of receiving lessons from the Teacher in the evening. Such was the ardour of this man's application, as that, with these very limited advantages, he became capable, in the space of two months, of reading the New Testament with considerable ease and accuracy. When we expressed to him our hopes, that his unusual exertions had proceeded from a conviction, that to be able to read the Word of God is a great blessing? he replied, That he was persuaded he had now gained access to a treasure which would enrich him more than if he possessed the whole world. -- A large deputation of the inhabitants of a very destitute corner of the Island waited upon us, to entreat that the School might be removed to that station; and as the place was highly approved of by the Clergyman and Chamberlain of the Island, we would submit to the Committee, that the request ought to be complied with.

Machern, Colonsay. John McEacharn, Teacher. This is an exceedingly good School. The average rate of attendance is 45 Scholars; the greater number consisting of children, and the rest grown-ups. One man of 43 years of age learned to read the Scriptures. In consequence of the early hour and short notice given, there were only 26 Scholars present. The facility and accuracy with which these went through their various exercises, afforded a very favourable indication of the general state of the School. We received most satisfactory accounts of this Teacher from the Parish Minister, and from the Proprietor of the Island; and our own observations correspond with their testimony. This School appears to be doing much good; and, therefore, it ought to be continued in the Island for a considerable time to come.

Ardlussay, Jura. Malcolm McNeil, Teacher. The population of this Island is small, and scattered over a great extent of surface. Owing to this circumstance, a numerous attendance at the School could not be expected. It consisted at no time of more than 12 and on the day of inspection there were only 9 present. We were much pleased with the Teacher himself, and

and quite satisfied with the progress of the Scholars. This being the last of the Schools which we proposed to visit, as soon as the inspection was over we thought of directing our course homewards; and, by the kind Providence of God, have been brought back in safety and comfort." (142) Although periodic general inspections, such as this, by high-ranking officials in the Society, were to continue throughout the years 1811-1861, it was obvious to the Committee that it was not an efficient method of supervision. Visiting committees from Edinburgh could only carry out their inspection in the short summer months when rolls were abnormally low and teachers themselves were either on leave or in transit between schools. Again, the regularity of the visits made them somewhat artificial. Such a fragmented picture would have to be replaced by full-time inspection on the model of the S.S.P.C.K. system.

In 1822 the Committee decided to appoint an Inspector "to be constantly employed in visiting your schools." (143) But, unlike previous visitors "he is not to make regular visitations at stated times, for which the Teachers and the People might be prepared, but to make his visits without previous communication." This clearly involved extensive travelling in the winter months and there are numerous references in the Inspectors' Journals to the most foul weather. Visits were frequently postponed for weeks on end as roads were blocked by deep snow. (144) It was even possible to get stranded at an isolated settlement for several days, such as at Clashmore (No. 205) in Assynt where a storm raged continuously for four days and nights in March, 1832. (145) Some schools, the Inspectors observed, were so badly sited that they seemed to attract severe damage in the winter, as did Armisdale (No. 54) in 1818, 1819 and 1821. (146) Of one school, in 1856, the Inspector reported, "I examined old and young late in the evening with such light as entered through a hole in the roof, scarcely enough, as the evening was wet and misty. For the sake of light we must admit the wind and rain, excluding these we would have had to dispense with the light completely." (147) Vast distances were covered by the In-

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(142) 8AR33-38.

(143) 11AR14-15.

(144) 2AR25.

(145) 22AR20.

(146) 8AR11; 9AR8; 11AR29.

(147) 45AR12.

Inspectors, in 1834, for instance, Alexander Anderson left Edinburgh on the 21st April, 1834 and six months and two days later, returned on the 23rd October, 1834, having journeyed 3,000 miles and having visited 54 of the 55 schools, and all at a cost of £20.19.10¹/₄.(148) This was to prove a fairly standard rate of expense until the year 1852 when travelling costs rose to ca£30. As for salary, it fluctuated between £45-£60 according to the Inspector's experience, but, generally it was ca£50 per annum. His powers were quite considerable. At Mebust(No.513)he condemned the school building for its "wretchedness" and refused to allow any continuation of the school till things were put right to his satisfaction.(149) Threat of withdrawal of the school was usually sufficient to obtain an extra door or window in almost any building.(150) He could, in fact, order the construction of an entirely new school, as at Garry(No.305)in Skye.(151) One difficulty, feared by the Committee in the appointment of a permanent Inspector, was soon overcome. "It was feared that unfriendliness might, to some extent, be experienced from the landed proprietors."(152) Fortunately, this was not so. No doubt the average teacher looked forward to their unexpected descent with some trepidation, but the Inspectors themselves seemed to have enjoyed their work. Alexander Anderson(1802-1866) Elgin born baker's son, educated at Edinburgh University, having served as a Gaelic School teacher from 1825-1832 did a further eleven years, 1832-1843, as an Inspector, which he described as "the happiest days of my life."(153) He later went on to become the Free Church minister at the Gaelic Kirk, Rothesay.(154) Inspector Donald Murray(1795-1855)on his retiral in 1845, also to take up a Free Church post, wrote: "I shall ever have a grateful recollection of your Society as long as I shall be able to remember anything on this earth. It was in one of your schools that I first learned to read the Bible in my native language."(155) Their observations on teaching methods were invaluable, as were their comments on the teachers: "I have most earnestly to implore the Directors not to be too

(148) 24AR37-38.

(149) 45AR14.

(150) 49AR10.

(151) 29AR17.

(152) 36AR11.

(153) No.6, Appendix 1; 31AR17-18.

(154) Fasti, Vol.7, p.45.

(155) No.221, Appendix 1; 35AR11.

too hasty in making choice of any young man, until we have fully ascertained his character and qualifications; much better remain for a while, than fill up - - with the addition of any person that would afterwards give us pain"(156) All of the Inspectors experienced scenes of emotional excitement during their inspection. Alexander Anderson recorded in his 1842 Journal - "When I was addressing the children I saw some of them bedewed with tears. I asked some of them, why do you weep? Answer. Because I am without Christ. Question. How do you know that you are without Christ? Answer. The Scriptures tell me that I am by nature without God, without Christ and having no hope."(157) Occasionally, they waxed almost poetical in their accounts. Here is an extract from a report dealing with Griban(No.347)School: "Our course lay along a trackless path, rough and rocky, by the south side of the loch for several miles, and as we rounded in sight of the Atlantic, over ledges and shelvings of precipitous rocks overlooking the deep sea, impending over our heads were perpendicular mountains of rocks in inconceivable height and grandeur. Turning round this point to the south we came upon Griban, a green spot reposing in the hollow of a crescent formed of these everlasting hills, having the Atlantic with the island of Inchkenneth enclosing it to the west. And the far-famed Staffa is seen in the distance between us and the setting sun, like a sentinel lying in the ocean gate. On such an evening it was a lovely scene."(158) Like the teachers, the Inspectors were subject to the rules of the Society, and, again like the teachers, not all of them found these easy to accept. Francis MacBean, Corpach born in 1794 and a former Original Seceder student in Edinburgh, was one of these.(159) Tall and handsome, a teacher at Corpach he was greatly influenced by the Lochaber evangelist, Duncan Cameron of Achnaharry.(160) From 1820-1828 he gave "invaluable service" to the Society as their Inspector. Unfortunately, "a difference of opinion had, however, arisen in consequence of your Committee considering your 7th Regulation(not to be Preachers)as much bánding on your Superintendent as on your Teachers, and Mr. MacBean desiring a greater latitude in his intercourse with the people, during his annual visits to your schools" he resigned.(161) He was soon offered employment by the

(156) 31AR9.

(157) 32AR31-32.

(158) 46AR8.

(159) No.155, Appendix 1; John Macleod, "By-paths of Highland Church History"

(160) Ibid.,p.23.

(1965).

(161) 19AR21.

the Lady of Brahan to build schools and roads in Lewis. He ultimately became Free Church Minister at Fort Augustus and Glenmoriston. (161) Some idea of the increasing professionalism demonstrated by the Inspectors can be seen by examining extracts from the Inspector's Journal for the year 1857.

"I have the satisfaction to be able to testify, what a glance at my report this year will show, that in this respect (is educational as well as missionary), all your schools manifest an increased efficiency. Those that were inferior have very much improved since last year. The teaching of the Bible in your schools is becoming more intellectual. I noticed a great improvement in this respect, but there is still room here and there for more advancement. I had frequently to notice the peculiarity in some schools of the children being acquainted with the system of doctrine according to the standards of the Protestant Church, while at the same time they were ignorant of the letter of the Word of God itself. I impressed upon the teachers the necessity of attending to the latter, while not neglecting the former; to teach old and young to take delight in reading and studying its narrative and its characters, and treasure up its facts in the understanding and in the memory, and I am glad to say with good results. I found the schools this year in a more flourishing condition than the two previous years, and that both as to attendance and progress. Indeed, these act and re-act mutually upon each other. Increased efficiency in the teaching, and more encouraging progress in the children, affect very materially the attendance at school; and, on the other hand, a more numerous and steady attendance generally secures that the efficiency and progress will be more satisfactory. The numbers of scholars on the roll this year - 2,158, last year 1,272, showing an increase of 886. Present at examination this year - 1,327, last year 979, showing an increase of 348. Looking at this increase, and considering that appended to this report will be found a list of more than 20 stations applying for teachers, it may be taken as a further indication, not only that your work is urgent, but likewise that it is prospering; for although it might be very successful in its own sphere without being much in demand, yet it is not at all rash to conclude that when it ceases to thrive, it will cease also to be in demand.

Glenigdale, Islay. The classes underwent a thorough examination on Scripture history, from the Old and New Testament respectively, which showed

(161) Macleod, J., pp.28-29, 22.

showed they were well taught and admirably drilled. Their possession of Scripture Knowledge was extensive and accurate, and excellent order and discipline maintained which cannot fail to have a beneficial influence on the habits of the rising generation in the Highlands. The method of simultaneous as well as individual answers is used, and their readiness and correctness in both ways made it manifest that no pains had been spared in teaching, and that it was successful - - The people expressed their gratitude to the Society for the continuance of the school for another year.

Arinagour, Coll. The reading was exceedingly good in all the classes. The New Testament class showed an acquaintance with the general history of the New Testament, its writers, their characters and scope of their writings, answering many questions to which answers could scarcely be expected from them - - The men of the village, who were present all the time, deeply interested, beset the minister and your Inspector with the most importunate cries and entreaties for the continuance of the teacher among them. It was most distressing; for after I told them that it was now too late, as the teacher was appointed to another place, they seemed as if distracted from their necessity, and would keep him by any means. Elgoll, Skye. - - They are soundly and substantially taught in the knowledge of the gospel. The examination by the teacher would put one in mind of the olden time, of solemn and easy family catechising; and some of the young showed by their answers a knowledge of the doctrines of religion above their years. The services of the teacher are most invaluable and highly appreciated in the district around. To him they look for mostly all the religious instruction within their reach, for they are without the regular ministrations of the sanctuary. And here, as in the last instance reported, a deputation of men came after the school was dismissed, to press most earnestly that the teacher would be left among them - - that they would be poor indeed without any to pray with and read the Word of the Lord to them.

Ramasaig, Skye. one of the most remote and isolated spots in the Highlands - has to be reached by a long and difficult road. Leaving Glendale, which lies on the south side of Loch Dunvegan, and which is separated from that arm of the sea by a long and lofty heathy ridge of hills, we travers to the south a rugged moor, by circuitous plain, or long sloping ascents, for 5 or 6 miles, having the ground on the right rising with a gradual ascent

ascent to a greater or lesser elevation, till it ends abruptly in a lofty precipitous brow, showing a mighty boldness of front to the ocean - everlasting rocks that defy the dash of wave and the waste of time. Along the shoulder of this rising ground we come on a sudden to a somewhat deep ravine or dell, widening landwards, but narrowing towards the sea, where it has a narrow outlet between these high pinnacles of rocks. There are smoking huts, and patches of arable ground which the inhabitants were then busily labouring. The spot may look beautiful, even romantic in summer, but it must be wild and grand in the storms of winter. Further on, behind a hill, is Lowergill, another hamlet. Between the two places your school is situated, in a spot, as I am told, abounding with serpents. Your school here, which was opened in August last, and the first service of the teacher, I found in a prosperous condition. The house had been built last autumn, and though somewhat damp, seemed in part commodious, but without any outlet whatever for the smoke except the door. Old and young gathered in and soon filled the house. Of Scholars there were 25 present, who stood a very pleasant examination for two hours on the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments. They acquitted themselves altogether in an excellent manner; and considering that the school has been in existence only a few months, the progress in knowledge, as well as the correct reading and general improvement of their minds, appeared quite astonishing, evincing that the teacher was painstaking and laborious. All the audience were delighted and one or two old men stood up to express the thanks of the inhabitants for the school, which I promised to convey to the Directors. It was a delighted eye, they said, that their children were now in a fair way to become better men and women than their fathers. Some of these people go regularly to church in summer, through dreary hills and moors, a distance of 16 miles, but the visits to the sanctuary of most of them, the aged and infirm, must be few and far between, and the visits of their devoted minister to them cannot be very frequent, for it is a large parish, or three parishes of wide extent, beyond the power of any man however laborious and devoted. There are two or three other remote districts for which teachers are requested and much needed. They make now a yearly collection for the Gaelic School Society.

Melbost, Lewis. - - This school has been very much improved since last year, especially as to correct reading; and a large proportion showed a fair understanding of what they read about the dry bones in the 37th of Ezekial.

Ezekial.

Galson, Lewis. In all that constitutes good and sound education for elementary schools - in all that is calculated to elevate and save society in the rising generation, under the powerful influence of moral and religious teaching and training, this school holds a first place. And the blessing of the Lord seems to have been eminently vouchsafed, as far as the moral and social welfare of the community is concerned, and not to have been withheld even for the spiritual welfare of some, there being promising cases among the young of inquirers after the way of salvation. The school not only maintained but surpassed, its former excellence, of which I reported last year - - - the attainment of the children was excellent, and far advanced. They gave an account of the captivity - of the kings of Israel and Judah - the history of each kingdom and its kings separately - of several prophecies, both the predictions and fulfilment. I heard them repeat and sing psalms correctly.

Balallan, Lewis. There were 7 married women, one of them with an infant sucking her breast when she was reading, and one old woman spelling her way on the 1st Book. There was a vast improvement made in all the exercises of the school - the reading was better - words understood - knowledge imparted, and acquaintance with Scripture well advanced since last year.

Baingedale, Harris. In the Testament class there were two old men and three adults - parents of some of the children present and one woman with an infant at her breast. They read slowly and solemnly, and answered almost all the questions put to them on what they read, as well as on general religious knowledge, old and young answering in their turn. A gratifying and solemn sight to see in the same class the child, the parent, and the grandfather learning the word of the Lord! The men expressed their thanks to the Society, and requested the continuance of the school.

Collam, Harris. - - Two men above 40 years and several women about 20, read. The reading among the whole was of the best sort - serious, earnest, and withal, very correct. The examination of old and young was quite delightful, and testified of the efficiency and usefulness of the teaching. After worship the men expressed their thanks to the Society, and petitioned earnestly for the continuance of the teacher among them.

Inver, Ross-shire. There were 66 present on the day of examination, besides all the inhabitants of the village who were at home, chiefly females, who crowded both ends of the house and the passage. There were besides a large crowd at the door and windows, so that in fact there was a pretty

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pretty large congregation. Each class, when we were done with it, was let out to make way for the next. The examination, conducted by the Rev. Mr. Urquhart and myself, was very interesting and highly satisfactory. The reading was generally correct, according to the provincial dialect of the place. Some read with taste and understanding, and all showed great progress since the school commenced which evinced that it was taught with industry and spirit. I was highly pleased with their religious and scriptural knowledge. The readiness with which they answered - the staid and sober deportment - their pleasing acquaintance with various parts of Scripture, did not fail to impress me that the instruction was telling upon their minds; and may we not hope that it will be able to exert some potent influence for good in the life that is now and which is to come. The people bought and fitted up a house and school at the expence of more than £15 and it is by far too small for the numbers attending".(162) By the end of the period under review, 1861, the quality of the teachers and the Inspectors was certainly as high as that in the S.S.P.C.K. or in the Parish School system.

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CHAPTER 8

PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

"The poverty of the Highlanders is a topic revolting to the minds of some of their warm admirers."

- 12AR21.

The basic problem for any society engaged in a charitable enterprise is money, or rather the shortage of it. This was true of the Gaelic Schools Society throughout the entire period under review, 1811-1861. As such it has been examined in some detail in another chapter of this work. Nevertheless, there were certain crisis years when it seemed likely that the Society was not only in decline, but well on its way to extinction. 1833 was such a year. Despite the occasional embarrassment in raising sufficient funds to meet steadily rising costs the Society had experienced considerable support from the public. Then, in 1833 "the interest of at least a great portion of the public in the Society, has, for some time, been on the wane, and their exertions, generally, on its behalf, have been less zealous than when the Society had the charm of novelty to recommend it. Your Committee feel inclined to fear that there has been on the part of most, if not all the friends of the Society, a want of energy and earnestness in bringing prominently before the public - - the claims of their fellow-countrymen in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland." (1) By 1834 the crisis had passed, but the memory survived - "Last year - - from various depressing causes - - a gloom seemed to hang over the prospects of the Society, threatening even something more than an imperious necessity to curtail, to a considerable extent, their establishment - - the impending cloud has been, in a great degree, dissipated." (2) The Committee knew the reason for the reduction in support was not entirely the loss of "novelty", but "from the increased means which have been recently employed by the General Assembly's Scheme, and other agencies, it may be taken for granted by many that the field is now fully occupied. This is a great mistake - - it is a fallacy." (3) There was no improvement, in fact, 1836-

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(1) 22AR9+10.

(2) 23AR9.

(3) Ibid., p.10.

1836-1837 was worse and some of the Society's Correspondents wrote in to the Secretary expressing their concern about possible dissolution.(4) In 1836 costs were £1,606.4.5½ and income was only £1,211.0.9½. Well might the Committee admit that "this Society, after 27 years of successful labour, is engaged in a mortal struggle - a struggle for its very existence."

(5) It warned its members: "You must obtain more support, or dissolve the Society." In the 26th Annual Report the situation was fully explained - "The coldness and neglect of those from whom better things might have been expected." Examples were given of collections that once provided £90 now reduced to a mere £11 - "the failure was equally unexpected and discouraging. This was an indication of the ebbing tide in Edinburgh. In Glasgow the tide has entirely ebbed. From that large and populous - that wealthy and munificent city, from which you one year drew about £700, and many years from £400-500 - your list of contributions for 1835 does not show one single contribution of any description, individual or collective; and your last year's list only records a collection of £7.18.5, at a sermon preached by Mr. Beith, and a remittance of £54 from the Youth's Society, which was accompanied by an intimation that it was the last remittance you were to expect from that quarter. Considerable sums were collected at Perth, and remitted for many years, and now only a few straggling contributions find their way, from friends, the warmth of whose affections cannot be chilled by the surrounding coldness. At Dundee, where you had an Auxiliary Society and from which place, when it possessed not half the wealth, or half the population it now does, you received for many years sufficient to support several schools, the apathy has become so predominant as nearly to have quenched every feeling in your favour - - The Gaelic School Society is now engaged in a struggle for its very existence."(6) The note of bitterness could not be concealed - "Leaving you to pay your teachers with borrowed money, and to exhaust, in vexatious exertions to gather funds for the payment of your debts, these energies which ought, without distraction, to have been directed to the evangelisation of the destitute parts of your native lands."(7) The picture was indeed gloomy with the total income in 1836 from legacies, collections and donations only £965.0.9½, and this at a time when the annual cost of running 54 schools was at least £1,600!

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(4) 26AR55.

(5) Ibid.,p.9.

(6) Ibid.,pp.10-11.

(7) Ibid.,p.16.

£1,600! The most hurtful blow was the response from Glasgow - "Will the munificent contributions to the advancement of Christ's Church in Glasgow - the supporters of the original and powerful auxiliary to your Society, from whom a sum nearly equal to the whole of last year's ordinary receipts was transmitted in one year, - will they return to their first love, and furnish a portion of the supplies for these schools of Christ? Will the increased population and abounding wealth of Dundee give a token of a corresponding growth in benevolence towards their destitute brethren? Will Perth, so intimately connected with an interesting portion of the Highlands renew these aids it so long supplied? Will the Lowlands of Scotland, in their length and breadth, take the security of God, and lend a small pittance of their gold and their silver to the service of Him who hath blessed that division of the Kingdom with this richest blessing, by communicating to them in abundance the bread of life?"(8) While the relationship with these auxiliary societies is dealt with elsewhere it is significant to note that the withdrawal of their support in 1836-1837 made the Committee seriously consider "the entire dissolution of their activities."(9) "The close of last year found the Gaelic School Society in a state of great depression - - apparently forsaken by many of its old influential friends." This threat of closure was effective and money poured in to save the Society. Even the collections at the Annual General Meeting leapt from £6 to nearly £80. The Committee called this "a refreshing stream" and noted with pride that they had received £400 in three weeks and that their income for the year was £1,667.18.6.(10) Unfortunately, this exuberance did not last and 1839 was another crisis year and "It was accordingly proposed, and urged by some of the most tried and zealous friends of the Society, that the number of your Schools should be immediately reduced. Your Committee will remember how strenuously this proposal was resisted by one of their number(Alexander Macdougall), who has long been your faithful and successful advocate."(11) As we have already seen Macdougall, in the summer-autumn of 1839, visited Liverpool, Manchester, Bradford and London to raise £400. "When this rich supply arrived, the coffers of your Committee were entirely exhausted, the half-year's salaries were due to your teachers and it was only by means of this great and seasonable offering that your

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(8) Ibid.,p.49.

(9) 27AR7.

(10) Ibid.,p.8.

(11) 29AR7.

your Committee were enabled to meet their engagements."(12) It seemed to many that the Society would never fully recover and we read in the 30th Annual Report for 1841 that "its resources are not what they once were."(13) In 1843 the Committee mournfully admitted that their efforts were "divested of the charm of novelty" and that they had "failed to excite their wonted and proper interest."(14) The Disruption altered the perspective of many and the Society found themselves "in a better and more prosperous circumstance than they have enjoyed for many bygone years."(15) By March, 1844 a degree of confidence had returned to their public announcements - "we cannot, upon the whole, complain of any great abatement in the deep and growing interest formerly manifested in the cause of Gaelic Schools."(16) But by 1850 even Free Church enthusiasm was beginning to fade and the Committee had to admit "a considerable diminution in income."(17) Thus we can see that the Society faced a financial crisis every few years and that their resources were at all times severely limited.

Money was needed simply because the Gaels in the Highlands and Islands were so appallingly poor. Specie, in many districts, was simply non-existent and the people could neither afford to build schools nor to buy books. Such was the case at Swordlechaol(No.683)in Argyle in 1832 and at Inverasdale(No.380)in Ross in 1833.(18) Illiteracy was rife, particularly at Barvas(No.102)in Lewis and employment was hard to obtain for anyone who could neither read nor write.(19) The result was a total lack of adequate clothing, as at Strathlochie(No.671)in Inverness, where "some of them looked extremely poor and destitute of necessary clothing."(20) Lack of shoes was a common complaint at Uachdar(No.730)in Benbecula and Tapul(No.689)in Mull.(21) Even as late as 1860 Inspector Ross described visiting a settlement on "a stormy day, with snow covering the ground; the school assembled, large groups of children, many of them barefooted."(22) Malnu-

(12) Ibid.,p.8.

(13) 30AR8.

(14) 32AR7.

(15) Ibid.,p.8.

(16) 33AR8.

(17) 40AR7.

(18) 22AR12, p.16.

(19) 5AR37.

(20) 24AR20.

(21) 27AR20; 31AR28. (22) 49AR10.

Malnutrition was frequently observed by visitors to schools, as did Captain McGregor of the 78th Foot when he inspected Kinnauld(No.439)in Sutherland in 1828: "almost all of them had the appearance of want of sufficient food."(23) Inspectors were even more conscious of the poor physical shape of the children: "Visited the school at Burg, Mull - - on the roll 29. The reason assigned by the Teacher for the present small attendance was a great scarcity of provisions in the district; he stated that the parents kept their children in bed till 10 or 11 oclock in the forenoon, knowing that if they got up earlier, the cravings of nature would induce them to ask for food; when they get out of bed they are employed in fishing fountains and streams, and gathering shell-fish along the sea-shore; I was told that at present(1830)a single boll of meal could not be found amongst many families put together."(24) On the same island, at Tobermory(No.700), as late as 1853 it was noted that "People are extremely poor. Many of them, as I am afraid, are in a state of starvation."(25) This situation was general throughout the Islands, as the people at Carnish(No.187)in Lewis well knew in 1850 because "their children are compelled to collect shell-fish on the shore for sustenance."(26) Such poverty expressed itself most forcibly in the housing. Here is a description of the housing at Bragar(No.145)in Lewis, given by the Inspector, in the year 1858. "Braiger(Lewis)is about 8 miles north of Carlaway. It is very populous, being inhabited by above 80-100 families. The houses are in general very wretched, having for the most part, no means of admission for the light of day but the door and no means of outlet for the smoke but the same - whilst the inmates seem as if their wellbeing depended on smoke and darkness, with the rain dropping abundantly through; then, added to this, the presence of the cattle under the same roof, seems to render the comforts of civilised life well nigh impossible - - Most of the inhabitants, here, I believe, dont wear a pair of shoes in a life-time - - 41 raw and ragged urchins as uncultivated nature could produce - - Most of them, on my questionning them, did not know their own surnames - in short they were utterly ignorant."(27) Not surprisingly, illness was rife in such communities. No wonder, as at Uig(No.731)in Skye, they were

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(23) 17AR21.

(24) 20AR35.

(25) 42AR15.

(26) 39AR12.

(27) 47AR7.

were "so poor that they cannot furnish glass for a single window." (28) Unfortunately, even when the Gaels were removed from their isolated settlements and placed in the cities they still seemed to be poor. Those in Aberdeen in 1814 seemed to be proof that the Gaels took their poverty with them wherever they went - "almost all are persons whose lot is to labour, from 7 am to 8 pm, in a cotton mill for what is barely sufficient to furnish them with the very necessities of life." (29) While most heritors and clergymen felt some sympathy for them and thought them "poor, neglected people", others shared the view of the Rev. Mr. George Mackay of Clyne, in April, 1842, "that they were just a set of ignorant and careless" people. (30) A much more shrewd observer was the Rev. Mr. Donald Fraser of Kirkhill who inspected 15 schools of the Inverness Society in Kintail, Lochalsh, Skye, Strathspey, Strathdean and Strathglass in 1822. His opinions appeared in an issue of the "Inverness Journal" on the 14th November, 1822. (31) He blamed "the extreme poverty and wretchedness on the failure of the 1821 crop and of the herring fishing season in 1822 and the excess population." He described how people were eating limpets for survival and falling sick in the process. "The state of some districts in Skye and the neighbouring coasts, was just as wretched as Ireland - - palid looks and tattered garments - - excessive population is a widespreading cause of the wretchedness of the people." Other intelligent men echoed these views. The Rev. Mr. James Russel of Gairloch reported to the Committee in October, 1822 that the fishing had failed for several years and that the price of cattle had fallen disastrously. In June, 1824 he noted that "The high spirits by which the Highlanders were formerly distinguished, and which naturally led them to maintain their independence, is now completely broken by the pressure and misfortune of the times." (32) The Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross of Lochbroom constantly warned Edinburgh about the "rapid increase in population." (33) The Committee were perfectly aware of the problem in the light of the evidence pouring in from Snizort, Glenelg and Gairloch. (34) To take but one small example - the Rev. Mr. David Carmont of Rosskeen wrote on the 24th September, 1824 to tell them

(28) 12AR22.

(29) 4AR44.

(30) 27AR20; 33AR25; 32AR29.

(31) 12AR23.

(32) 13AR35; 14AR22.

(33) 12AR22.

(34) 10AR26; 11AR29; 13AR19-20.

them that the 1823 population estimate for his parish of 2,648 was, in 1824, now 2,700 and this included 698 under the age of twelve.(35) The Committee did not express a formal statement as to their view until the year 1839. "The extreme poverty of a great amount of our Highland population is well known. The large farm system which prevails in the west, and which is every day extending its sway, has collected the people into hamlets, formed for the most part, along the shores of our lochs, or at least where the sea is accessible. At the earliest age the labour of the children is demanded, to aid that of the parents, in procuring the means of subsistence; and often when the latter are compelled to travel to a distance, there to provide, by hiring themselves to strangers, some scanty stock against the seasons of more pressing want."(36) In fact, the reasons were far more complex and it is only today with a greater knowledge of economics that a better analysis is possible. In 1822 the public works schemes which had been running since 1803 on roads, bridges and the Caledonian Canal suddenly came to an end.(37) Unhappily, this change coincided with the collapse of the kelp industry 1817-1823. In 1787 a heavy duty imposed on the import of barilla, an impure carbonate of soda obtained by burning several marine plants grown on the east coast of Spain and used in the manufacture of soap and glass, gave Scotland a chance to develop kelp as a substitute alkali. Enormous profits were to be made - collection was £2.5.0 a ton and freighting was another £1.5.0, a total of only £3.10.0, while the selling price was £22. Soon 50,000 workers were involved in the industry and 40 ships a year sailed to London loaded with kelp. In 1814 the price began to fall and in 1822 the import duty on barilla fell from £11 to £8 and in 1823 to £5 - the kelp industry was finished and massive unemployment resulted. The effects stretched from Durin(No.271)in Sutherland, to Baliviconon(No.89)in North Uist to Arinagower(No.47)in Coll. Yet another blow came between the years 1820-1830, the end of herring fishing bounties and many small coastal communities went into rapid decline. As if all this was not enough, disease, in the form of cholera came to the Highlands, first by fishermen to Sutherland in 1832 and then by coach to Inverness.(38) Natural disasters, of

(35) 14AR26.

(36) 28AR12.

(37) J.P. Day, "Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland." 1918, pp.84-85.

(38) Ibid.,p.87.

of course, still occurred, as at Sgigursta(No.628)in Lewis, in January, 1840, when "half of the tenants thereof perished at sea in one day. Consequently, there are 25 fatherless children, besides widows."(39) Although various people had suggestions there was no co-ordinated approach to a solution. Some did not care and continued to introduce sheep-walks; for this, they had to clear the land. The Committee had ample evidence of this attitude. At Mellon of Udrigil(No.516)in 1835 they were told that "an entirely new set of tenants now occupy the lands."(40) At Scarp(No. 621) the population fell drastically as "these farms have been converted into sheep-walks."(41) At Erribole(No.281)in Sutherland, the Rev. Mr. William Findlater was informed in 1815 that "the people here will be removed next summer to another parish, the district being converted into sheep-walks."(42) On the 28th June, 1815 he wrote to the Committee that he could find no accommodation for their teacher, John Grant, "owing to the greatest part of the country being converted to sheep-walks - - several families, some 20, are proposing to emigrate to Nova Scotia; and others have been so much occupied with the confusion of removal, building houses near the shores and tending their cattle, as well as the manufacture of kelp."(43) He added the sombre information that only 18 families were left at the settlement of Durin(No.271). Even Roman Catholic districts, like Langal(No.462)in Ardnamurchan suffered as well in October, 1814 when Father Macdonald complained to the Committee that "the people had been moved."(44) One of the best examples came from the Rev. Mr. Colin Mackenzie of Shieldaig in April, 1838, "The whole population of this large district are to be dispossessed next Whitsunday, and their place occupied by sheep, when they have no alternative but to emigrate to the colonies, and this they cannot do unless assisted by Government or the Committee on the Highland Fund; for there are no fewer than 130 families have got summonses of removal on the estate of Torridon, few of whom are worth £10, or the value of it in the world. It is truly grievous to hear the lamentations of these poor creatures.(45) Some thought it more humane to transport the

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(39) 29AR33.

(40) 25AR31.

(41) 10AR50.

(42) 4AR4.

(43) 5AR9, p.68.

(44) 4AR38.

(45) 28AR21.

the people to the coast to start a new life, especially in Sutherland.(46) This attitude also prevailed in Lewis as well as in North Uist.(47) Emigration seemed a more hopeful solution and large numbers of Gaels took the opportunity to leave their homes. The Annual Reports contain scores of references to such decisions - nine children out of the 38 in attendance at Invergusarn(No.385)in 1816 left for the United States and six of them labelled as "good scholars", were presented with New Testaments.(48) In the same year the people at Sandaig(No.607)informed the Committee that they were "disposed to emigrate to Canada." In 1820 seven children left Arnisdale(No.54)School to go to the United States, while in April, 1841 huge numbers left Uig(No.731)in Skye and Trimsgary(No.725)in North Uist. (49) Some districts were almost completely denuded of people, like Linicro(No.485)in Skye where "the dolesome state of the parish is caused by a vast number of them going to America." Again and again harrowing scenes were enacted as emigrants said farewell to their relatives on wind-swept piers. Henry Nisbet of the Society witnessed such a scene in October, 1838 at Tobermory, when the ship "British King" set off for Australia. "I have had reason to know that many of them will land(if spared)in Australia without any money."(50) Fortunately, after having distributed 50 free Bibles to "the poor emigrants", Nisbet and the ship's surgeon, Dr. Arbuckle, planned a school for the voyage to teach the reading of the Gaelic Scriptures. The members of the Committee in Edinburgh were moved by such descriptions, but it was 1844 before they commented publicly on "the very important movement of emigration." They seemed to sympathise, but could see no other alternative: "The duty which the mother country owes to her emigrating children does not yet seem to have been fully considered - - The extirpation of a multitude of our brethren is an event which, in itself, must be revolting to every right feeling; but the circumstances of the social state of our country make it the least of many existing evils."(51) As more and more information percolated back to Edinburgh it became increasingly obvious to the Committee that the areas which their schools supplied were being bled dry of people. The information that by 1848 only 44 persons were left on Fladda horrified

(46) 13AR19.

(47) 16AR12; 32AR29.

(48) 5AR25.

(49) 10AR11; 31AR19.

(50) 28AR25-26.

(51) 31AR19.

horrified some members of the Committee who knew the area well.(52) By 1855 the significance of such depopulation suddenly struck the Committee: "In some instances, an extent of 20, 30 or even 40 miles, once occupied by several Gaelic Schools, are now without an inhabitant. Where are they? and where are the Gaelic Schools?"(53) The departure of 18 families from Little Bernera(No.488)in Lewis closed the school there, as did a mass exodus from Bar(No.99)in Islay.(54) "But from the extirpation of a lease, emigration and other causes, there is hardly a single family near the place of those who once enjoyed the benefits of the teacher's labours." While the motives of emigrants varied extensively as J.P. Day has clearly shown, the Committee was quite powerless to do anything to assist, direct or control this mass movement of peoples.(55) The problem was made infinitely worse by the famine of 1846-1848. The failure of a harvest was not a new phenomenon as far as the Gael was concerned; within living memory 1812 was "a severe year", 1821 "a year of very great poverty", 1835 was "a bad year", 1836 was "a worse year" and 1837 was "a dreadful year."(56) The Committee were appalled ~~when~~ ~~appalled~~ at the distressing reports presented by their teachers of "the famine in the Highlands": at Dalburgh(No. 242)in South Uist "many of the children are collecting shell fish for food; the heaps of shells lying at their doors are enough to show a traveller the extent of destitution among them"; at Galson(No.300)in Lewis "attendance on your schools - is at present very small - - the cause of which chiefly is, that many of the children are employed by the proprietors and they get meal to support them according to what they are able to do." (57) The Committee knew full well that "the Schools of Christ are now brought to the test" and the situation in Ireland, with its violence and despair, was never far from their minds.(58) Their Minutes record their deep concern: "The belief in and dependence on the good providence of God, with humble submission to His will, and assurance of His love, even in His darkest dispensations, which the Gospel proclaims, is at the moment manifesting itself in the quiet endurance of the heaviest - the most over-

(52) 37AR11.

(53) 44AR15.

(54) 23AR13; 29AR20.

(55) Day, J.P., p.26.

(56) 2AR30; 11AR5; Day, J.P., p.87.

(57) 36AR7; 37AR11.

(58) 36AR14.

overwhelming trial that has ever visited that portion of our country - throughout its whole territory."(59) The Committee were clearly convinced that the Disruption and "the striking revival of religion" had played a vital part in helping the Gael to endure his afflictions. Again and again, the Minutes refer to the nation's debt to "the great religious movement which took place four years ago." They did their best to help: teachers were urged to preach on the theme, "Be content with such things as ye have, for He hath said I will never leave thee nor forsake thee"; the Rev. Dr. Candlish and Page Reade proposed greater efforts "in this time of calamity" and to find "means for averting the horrors of famine by supplying our countrymen with the bread which perisheth."(60) One of the Vice-Presidents, Sheriff Speirs, died suddenly and left £60 "to enlarge the allowances for teachers because of the high price of provisions."(61) The Committee itself voted an extra £127 to assist their teachers in the year 1847-1848 and even in 1849 were "compelled to remit the salaries of their teachers by instalments."(62) Slowly, the crisis passed and the Committee recorded its thanks that civil upset had not occurred: "Amidst the terrible convulsions which have shaken other kingdoms to their foundation, there has been granted to this country at least a breathing time. In the good providence of God, the danger of revolution has been averted, and the pressure of commercial distress has been lightened."(63) The Rev. Mr. Thomas Maclauchlan summed it up in an address in Dundee on the 7th October, 1851 - "The religion of the people has also been severely tested. They have been visited with trials that it is no easy matter to bear. The staff of life has been withheld from them. For the last five years many families in these islands have not known what it is to be fully fed; but in the midst of all the hardships which they have suffered, there has been no increase of crime among them."(64) The outcome of this terrible ordeal was an enormous increase in poverty as J.P. Day records.(65) In 1849 one third of the entire population of Skye was on relief and by 1851 the Secretary of the Royal Patriotic Society was estimating that 50,000

(59) 36AR15.

(60) Ibid., 16, p.6.

(61) 37AR9-10.

(62) 38AR16.

(63) Ibid., p.15.

(64) 41AR15.

(65) Day, J.P., pp.96, 100-101, 110.

50,000 people in the Highlands and Islands were completely destitute. In February, 1851 the arrival of 61 persons from Barra in Inverness to squat in front of the Town House was embarrassing to the authorities as were reports that famine was again to be found in Lochmaddy in 1850 and in Portree in 1851. The only response from those in power seemed to be the erection of the first workhouse in the Highlands, at Tain in 1850. Many landowners by this time had grown impatient with the failure to find a solution to the economic problem and they decided to impose their own remedy. Copying the tactics used in the notorious Sutherland Clearances of 1807-1820 they ruthlessly cleared Glencalvie 1845, Sollas 1849, Strathconon 1850, Knoydart 1853, Greenyard 1854, South Uist and Barra 1851 and Skye 1851-1853.(66) The complexity of the social problem is shown by looking at the clearing of Sollas in North Uist by Lord Macdonald in more detail.(67) The township of 110 families comprised 603 persons, far too many for the land to support. This is shown by their rental which was only £382. Unfortunately there were arrears amounting to £624. Relief was only possible from two sources, either Lord Macdonald or the Highland Destitution Committee. The latter acted first and offered the inhabitants 20/- per adult and 10/- per child if they would emigrate to Canada. This they refused. Macdonald then offered to remit their arrears of rent, bought their crops and stock at valuation, donated money to the Highland Destitution Committee to finance their departure and clothed the poorest in distress. In July, 1849 the people met, discussed the issue and again, refused to go. The following month, August, 1849 a Sheriff and 33 Inverness police arrived in the area and in the disturbance that ensued four crofters were arrested and 10 crofts unroofed. On the 13th September, 1849 these men were brought to trial and sentenced to four months' imprisonment apiece. A year later, in September, 1850 the Highland Destitution Committee came up with a compromise - move the settlement to the south side of the island. To be called the Perth Settlement the scheme was to be financed by the H.D.C. to the sum of £1,700. Two years later, October, 1852, the Settlement collapsed. There was only one remaining solution and on Christmas Day, 1852, the crofters of Sollas sailed for Australia on the ship "Hercules." The Gaelic community at Sollas(No.653) was no more. All that the Gaelic Society could do, in 1855, was to minute - "We can point to the

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(66) Ibid.,p.97.

(67) Ibid.,pp.98-100.

the heights of Alma and Balacclava for specimens of the men whom a wretched policy is expelling from our shores."(68) Many must have wondered why a people would submit to such an outrage on their lives and not rebel. The Society's view was expressed in an issue of the "Witness" on the 3rd March, 1847 by Sheriff Speirs: "It was godliness alone that would enable a people to submit to these Providential dispensations without rebelling."(69) Not everybody shared this view and some even blamed the Society and their teachers: "An individual, on being asked to give his pence for purchasing light for the winter Sabbath Evening Meetings said, "If you had asked pence for purchasing a rope to hang the teacher, I would give them, but no pence for his meetings."(70)

The greatest and perhaps the most continual problem facing the Society was whether they should abandon the use of Gaelic as a medium of instruction and switch to English. It was a view shared by many objective commentators, like the Saxon educationist, J.G. Kohl, in 1844: "In the Highlands the Gaelic language is a great obstacle to the introduction of a good education - - The one must supplant the other - - and that rather the powerful English than the feeble Gaelic: and all that may be done by Celtic societies and Highland patriots will not preserve it from complete ruin. Indeed, one must wish, for a hundred reasons that this, however melancholy, extermination of the Celtic language should take place as soon as possible." (71) Many were indeed hoping "to subjugate the Highlands by eliminating Gaelic", but as the Committee repeatedly pointed out, "Gaelic must remain the language of the Highlands till it is vanquished by the seeping influence of commercial intercourse."(72) This judgment was based on ample evidence of the failure of all the schemes to teach only English as the first language.(73) From Skye the Rev. Mr. John Shaw reported that, "It is not uncommon for a young person to read English with tolerable propriety when he understands hardly one word of it"; from Lewis Angus McLeod reported that many children had been to English schools "but could not understand a single sentence of what they read"; from Dingwall the Rev. Mr. Alexander Stewart reported that while many could quote from the English Catechism

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(68) 44AR16.

(69) 36AR20.

(70) 42AR15.

(71) J.G. Kohl, "Travels in Scotland", 1844, pp.82-83.

(72) 11AR9.

(73) 2AR18, p.33; 6AR13; 11AR22-23; 14AR5.

Catechism "but annexed to it no ideas whatever"; from Eriboll the Rev. Mr. Robert Clark reported that "In many districts English is almost as little used as Greek or Latin - - I know many who spent several years at an English School and who are not able to translate a chapter of the New Testament"; from Abernethy the Rev. Mr. Donald Martin reported that "the young people read English as an operation learned mechanically and scarcely understand any thing at all of what they read." The Rev. Mr. John Macleod of Morven, in September, 1825, gave his opinion for this massive failure: "In the examination of our English Schools there is in general little to interest. The children may read, and often do with considerable correctness; but they read what is to them a foreign language, and they enter not into the spirit of the author. The devoted "Vision of Mirza" is torn to tatters. Nor could even the "Toll of the Curfew" be more doleful, than the drawling accents with which "The Elegy" of Gray is prolonged."(74) Despite the accumulation of such evidence it was impossible to persuade parents that it was educationally unsound. To them, English speech was a passport to a higher standard of living and they wanted it immediately. At Badantarbet(No.64) they offered to pay for English instruction, while at Bayble(No.105) they hired their own English teacher.(75) Jeantown(No. 398), Hearlosh(No.358) and Isle of Soay(No.396) were the same.(76) In Skye "the people are the more ready to give the necessary accommodation, being informed that after two years the Gaelic Schools will be followed up by English", while at Duny(No.269) "a strong desire has at the same time been kindled, in the younger part of our population especially, for that information which is to be found in English books and with the temptation of a superior Parish School just accessible."(77) The Committee's response to such demands was always the same - "As this Society is of a religious nature its proper object is not to give instructions in the knowledge of the things that pertain to the present life - not to teach the sciences and scholarship of men, or open up the way to worldly fame and fortune; but to give access to the treasures of divine truth, and to make wise unto salvation through faith that is in Christ Jesus - - the only Books read in your schools are the Holy Scriptures, or extracts from them."(78)

(74) 15AR27.

(75) 2AR4; 3AR55.

(76) 4AR11, p.39; 8AR18.

(77) 11AR22; 19AR38.

(78) 27AR13.

them." Some parents countered by suggesting that it must surely be possible to teach Gaelic and English together. The Committee were quick to reply: "The teaching of English and Gaelic would only serve to clog the wheels of the Circulating Scheme."(79) Some teachers yielded to parental pressure and they were suspended: "Some of your Teachers who, notwithstanding repeated admonitions, have persevered in teaching English in your schools."(80) This forced the Committee to be even more explicit and in 1822 they issued the statement - "It would, however, tend materially to paralyse your operations, were your Teachers permitted to teach both languages in your Schools; for the temptation to which the people would be thereby exposed, of preferring what they would deem their worldly, to what is really their eternal interest."(81) No doubt they were greatly heartened when the Rev. Mr. Alexander Beith of Glenelg gave his opinion, based on observation of local parish schools, that teaching English and Gaelic together was not successful.(82) Such comments naturally led to cooler relations with the auxiliary societies in Glasgow and Inverness which thought otherwise. The Committee sought to reassure them: "The Glasgow Society sends part of its funds to schools where English is taught. This Society resolves that if people want English then the Society will tell the Glasgow Society to settle and English School with them - - there is a general disposition to English."(83) In 1827 the Committee "hailed with pleasure the progress of these sister institutions" and in 1839 declared that "it is far from our intention to disapprove of the conduct of these institutions who propose to teach English, with other branches of education to the Highlanders. On the contray, we rejoice at their existence and heartily wish them success."(84) This reasonableness extended to some of their own schools, especially Edinburgh - "This School, however, can never be expected to be very numerously attended. Your Committee do not think that children in Edinburgh should be encouraged to prefer Gaelic to English; it must, therefore be chiefly an adult school."(85) The Committee therefore had to be continually redefining its attitude to English, "Viewed politically, therefore, the introduction of the English

(79) 7AR20.

(80) 11AR11.

(81) Ibid., p.12.

(82) 24AR18, 26/3/1834.

(83) 11AR12.

(84) 16AR4; 18AR25.

(85) 11AR13.

English language, and its propagation over all the Highlands, is a thing to be desired by every man who contemplates that portion of his country as a portion of the British Empire. Nor does there appear to your Committee to be anything in the case, when contemplated in a moral point of view, which at all rises in hostility against these political considerations - - the acquisition of the English language would be much for the advantage of the inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands, yet, until the English shall cease to be a foreign tongue, the obligation to communicate to them the knowledge of the language of their fathers remains untouched, and altogether imperative."(86) This view was repeated by Dr. McLeod at the Synod of Ulster held in Dublin in September, 1833 - "It is absolutely absurd to think, that any measures can prevent the gradual progress of the English tongue. It is the commercial, legal and fashionable medium of communication, it is extending and it must finally become the universal language of the country - - English reading and English speaking have made greater progress in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland since the system of Gaelic teaching has been acted upon - that is, during the last twenty years- than it did for centuries before then."(87) The Committee therefore based its view completely on the conviction that English could best be learned through Gaelic - "We are satisfied, that the reading of the Gaelic alone, will implant a desire for knowledge, as well as improve the understanding, you will by the method proposed, effectually insure the extension and the use of the English language."(88) This was repeatedly declared their policy, in 1822 "It does appear to your Committee, that the Gaelic language is the best and easiest channel for the acquisition of the English;" in 1826 "Gaelic is an excellent introduction to English."(89) They appealed to the clergy for their opinions and they were unanimous in their support for the Society. The Rev. Mr. Donald Ross of Fladda reported in 1814 - "People are becoming anxious for English Teachers, which confirms a principle, the truth of which had some time ago been very much disputed - that to cultivate the Gaelic language is a certain, though indirect, road to promote the study of English."(90) The Rev. Mr. John Ross of Rosskeen and

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(86) 14AR2.

(87) 24AR36.

(88) 7AR20.

(89) 11AR11; 25AR21.

(90) 4AR25.

and the Rev. Mr. C.R. Matheson of Kilmuir agreed in 1815 that "Teaching the Highlanders to read the Word of God in their mother tongue, instead of being any impediment to them in learning to read and speak English, excites them to acquire, and forwards them in the acquaintance with that language."(91) By 1821 the Rev. Mr. John Shaw of Bracadale could write to the Secretary: "I think I would say that the English thrusting out the Gaelic should be gratifying to the Society, as they were the cause of it in a great measure."(92) This still leaves the problem of why people found Gaelic so easy to learn. Various views were put forward, such as that from the Rev. Mr. William Fraser of Kilchrenan in Argyle who thought it was because "people read the Gaelic Bible with such pleasure", while the Rev. Mr. Duncan McCallum of Arisaig thought that "the Gaelic is an original language, simple in its construction; and whether purity of style occurs - - the Natives, illiterate as well as learned, young and old, perfectly understand every word in a discussion, let it be ever so parsed."(93) Most clergymen thought it had much to do with emotion, as the Rev. Mr. John McFarlane of Saddell and Skipness observed in April, 1827 - "I have contrasted the zeal and enthusiasm with which these children read their vernacular tongue with the coldness and monotony observable among such as have English books first put into their hands."(94) By 1837 the Committee, while admitting the rapid progress made by Gaelic readers was a puzzle, thought it was more likely to be due to the inhabitants' isolation or "seclusion" and the psychological fact that their schools were purely temporary.(95) It also left the even more difficult question - how could it possibly help the learning of English? The Rev. Mr Robert Clark of Eriboll thought "The reason is plain; his tongue is already habituated to the pronunciation of letters, though the pronouncement itself be a little different; and what he reads, but does not understand, he has the advantage of consulting in a language already known and familiar to him. Of necessity, then, when he comes to read his English Bible, great will he find the advantage of being previously taught to read his mother tongue - - those who had a smattering of English first, were so puffed up by their

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(91) 5AR15.

(92) 11AR33.

(93) 2AR22; 11AR30.

(94) 17AR19.

(95) 26AR20.

their false notion of that smattering, as to think Gaelic reading entirely unnecessary."(96) The Rev. Mr. Donald Fraser of Kirkhill, frequently employed by the Inverness Society to inspect their schools felt that "with the ability to read the Gaelic is born the anxiety to learn the English."(97) The Secretary agreed with this and in 1825 declared that "The ability to read the Gaelic expands the intellect, and creates an anxiety for more extensive knowledge."(98) As proof he quoted the evidence of the Inspector who had encountered a very clever little boy of five, who, having learned to read Gaelic, learned English in two weeks! By 1826 the Committee were able to state that "It is now a fact generally admitted, that to begin by teaching Gaelic is the speediest and most effectual method to excite in the Highlands and Islands a taste for English literature."(99) Despite all this the Society were continually under pressure to allow instruction in English and constant defence had to be made. In September, 1839, for instance, the Rev. Dr. Mackintosh Mackay, in an address in Liverpool, said, "It is not by attacking a language by main force, whatever its disadvantages, whatever its imperfections or its barbarisms, that we can ever eradicate it. All the affections of the human heart, are entwined round the language in which it has learnt to give utterance to its ideas; and the more any set of men, nation or province, be excluded from communication with people of other languages, the more must we expect that their affections will be riveted to that in which they can hold intercourse with one another. It will be said by many, and I deny not that it may be said with some reason, that it would be for the benefit of those parts of our empire if the Gaelic language were done away with. Be it so. I can testify as a truth, that if we ever wished to accomplish that end, the shortest and surest process would be to follow out the plan instituted by the Gaelic School Society, and to teach them in their own language first."(100) The pressure continued and in 1847 the Committee noted that "Suggestions have been made as to the propriety of some slight changes to suit the advancing views of Highlanders, particularly as to English education, but hitherto they have not been entertained."(101) Again in 1850 they had to issue

(96) 11AR24.

(97) 12AR26.

(98) 14AR5.

(99) 15AR2.

(100) 31AR13.

(101) 36AR18.

issue a further statement - "Your Committee are aware that there are those who object to this Society on the score of its confining itself in the education it affords entirely to the Gaelic language - - they are not an educational, but a missionary body."(102) Even as late as 1852, in Glasgow, the Rev. Dr. Mackellar had to make this spirited defence of the Society's policy: "I desire it to be known, that our real object is not to preserve or perpetuate the Gaelic language. I do not disparage that understanding; no true Highlander will readily do so; yet our aim is of a much higher character for we aspire to give the Highlander the proper use and right application of his language. Our Schools are not schools for the young only, though the attendance of young people is very great, and their importance, as regards them, is hardly susceptible of exaggeration; but they present a spectacle which ought to interest alike the philosopher and the Christian. Three generations may be seen receiving instruction in them - the young, the grown-up and the aged - all striving together in the acquisition of the elements of learning, and applying what they attain to the saving knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. This is a peculiarity of our Society, and it is at the same time its perfection. We acknowledge at once the truth of the accusation - that our exercises are confined to the Gaelic language; it is with us a matter of principle that they should be so. But the charge that this is unfavourable to the acquirement of English is utterly unfounded. The truth is, that instead of being a hinderance to that object, our plan is to help it. Even for the ulterior aim of inculcating a knowledge of English, the best plan is to begin by teaching Gaelic."(103) By the late 1850's those who criticised the Society's adherence to Gaelic changed their tactics and accused the Society of being actively hostile to English. In 1856 the Committee replied to the accusation: "The Society has no antipathy, as some have supposed, to the acquisition of the English language - - the reverse being the case - - It must be an instrument at the same time in creating a thirst for further knowledge, which must greatly foster and facilitate the spread of the English tongue."(104) The criticism continued and in 1858 the Committee declared that "It is a mistake to suppose that this Society desire to confine the Highlander to the knowledge of his own tongue, or to per-

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(102) 39AR13.

(103) 41AR11.

(104) 45AR5.

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in Islay would be typical - "We can hardly manage to hire a Teacher of the lowest qualifications, during the winter and spring seasons, to instruct our children."(114) The Committee's view towards the private school was very positive in that they regarded "their eventual tendency to spread the use and even promote the reading, of the English language."(115) They even offered them the facility of cheap books if they adopted the method of teaching Gaelic used by the Society.(116) Hence the fact that there was no protest from the Committee when it was discovered that their school at Canna(No.177)shared the same building as an English private school.(117) Indeed, it was Committee policy to encourage the hiring of private teachers when their schools closed down as at Tapul(No.689)in Mull, Vaterskin(No.739) in Lewis and Ranigadale(No.579)in Harris. The private teacher at Scarp(No. 621), a James Fraser, who taught both Gaelic and English, got "a little of the produce of their small farms to support him and his family."(118) The low standard of instruction which these private teachers could offer made some members of the Committee plead the case for stationary schools. In the summer of 1817 this issue was debated in Edinburgh, but the fact that they were dealing with 100,000 people scattered over 2,000,000 acres reminded the members that stationary schools were useless and that they must "seek out the people."(119) Another related problem was the scarcity of Gaelic literature. Various publications of recognised Gaelic school texts were published by the S.S.P.C.K. and the General Assembly, as well as the Society itself. These however were few in number and hard to come by. The most popular in private schools seems to have been A. Currie's "The Principles of Gaelic Grammar", published in 1828. The Society did what it could to help and encouraged various small circulating libraries of Gaelic books at Uig in Lewis in 1830.(120)

Relationships with the other Gaelic School Societies occasionally presented the Committee with headaches, but these are dealt with elsewhere in this study. Contact with the S.S.P.C.K., on the other hand, always was

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(114) 26AR51.

(115) 7AR18.

(116) 9AR27-28.

(117) 4AR40.

(118) 13AR37.

(119) 7AR15-16.

(120) 19AR79.

was cordial and friendly, indeed, many of the senior officials of the Society held parallel posts in the S.S.P.C.K., which was usually referred to as the "venerable S.S.P.C.K."(121) This is hardly surprising when we recall the debt the Society owed to the S.S.P.C.K., especially in the duplication of so many of its procedures. On many occasions S.S.P.C.K. teachers were invited to inspect Society schools, as at Benbecula(No.112) in May, 1824.(122) If the Society could not afford to settle a school at a particular site they often urged the S.S.P.C.K. to do so, as at Tarskvaig in Sleat, Skye.(123) Some of the S.S.P.C.K. teachers were much admired by the Society, especially Ebenezer Davidson, teacher in Coll from 1794, as the Rev. Mr. Daniel Dewar of Strontian said, "He teaches his Scholars to read Gaelic, on the Lancastrian Plan, with more success than any other teacher I have seen in the Highlands."(124) Other S.S.P.C.K. teachers, as the one at Barra, were not considered of great quality.(125) The greatest difficulty imposed by the S.S.P.C.K. on the Society was the former's strict adherence to their rule on accommodation - teachers were frequently withdrawn, irrespective of need, on this basis, as at Kilchrenan in Argyll and at Kishorn in Shieldaig(126) This meant that the Society had to renew its efforts to furnish schools for these areas. Some of the Society's members did important service for the S.S.P.C.K., such as the Rev. Mr. Stewart of Dingwall who wrote the official S.S.P.C.K. Spelling Book.(127) The best moment for the Committee was in 1825 when "The S.S.P.C.K. having, on observing the success of your Schools, abrogated their law, though clothed with the practice of 100 years and introduced the teaching of the Gaelic, wherever that is the vernacular tongue of the district."(128)

The Society's Annual Reports, of course, only record the doings of good heritors and naturally, there must have been plenty of the opposite sort, as the S.S.P.C.K. frequently found. However, the Committee seem to have had some sympathy for the heritors' fears on the dangers of an educated

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(121) 18AR12.

(122) 14AR31.

(123) 4AR30.

(124) 2AR23; 3AR26.

(125) 9AR17.

(126) 2AR22; 33AR27.

(127) 7AR20-21.

(128) 31AR12.

educated tenantry. Slowly, the heritors came to realise that their apprehensions were unfounded and by 1813 the Committee could record that they "no longer strongly imagined that the education of the poor would raise them above the laborious duties of their station." By 1834 the emphasis had changed from dispelling suspicion to "stirring up proprietors to laudable exertions for the good of the benighted population around them."(129) Most heritors who came into contact with the Society's schools were greatly impressed. Michael Bruce of Glenelg was probably typical in September, 1820 - "Antecedent to the period of the Teacher's nomination the inhabitants of Arnisdale were in an utter state of ignorance and deprived of even the common comfort of religion - - It has been observed by all those who are capable of forming an opinion, that a very great and beneficial change has been wrought in their morals and manners since the arrival of the Teacher - the former have been more correct and the latter more civilised."(130) He offered his "humble aid and co-operation" and expressed a desire to become a Governor. Another heritor who was so impressed that she wanted to join the Society was Lady Hood Mackenzie in 1816. (131) In her view "Caelic Schools are better than all other means" at raising moral standards.(132) Accordingly, she allowed the Society to use the vacant Parish School building at Barvas(No.102) and she sent spectacles to the aged at Barvasses(No.103)(133) Many others sent large sums of money to the Society - Lady Anderson £180, Lady Colquhoun £100, J.A. Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth £100 and the Duke of Sutherland £50. Even minor heritors sent anonymous gifts of £25 for Little Bernera(No.488) and £12 for Taransay(No.690). Others, like Sir James Riddel of Ardnamurchan offered sites for schools, while others built them - Colonel Spencer at Clachnaharry(No.199)and Dr. McAllister at Strathaird(No.665).(134) That built by the Duke of Argyle's Chamberlain was regarded as "excellent", and that built by McDonald of Boisdale as "most comfortable."(135) Others, like the Duke of Sutherland equipped schools with forms and glass windows, while Macleod of Cadboll gave timber for construction.(136) The Laird of

(129) 23AR20.

(130) 10AR11-12.

(131) 5AR75.

(132) 5AR37.

(133) 16A432.

(134) 50AR10.

(135) 9AR10; 10AR22.

(136) 24AR11; 15AR29.

of Islay paid half of the teacher's salary at Port Charlotte(No.568), while Cameron of Glenbretal offered grass for a cow to his local teacher.(137) Books were issued to various schools by Sir John McGregor Murray and Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth distributed Bibles as prizes to the best scholars.(138) Macleod of Macleod built a house for the teacher at Hearlosh(No.358), while Miss Parker of Fairlie donated clothing to the children at Uachdar(No.730) - "The appalling want of clothing and shoes - the nakedness of the children is most affecting."(139) Of course, heritors played a significant part in the annual inspection of schools - Arnisdale(No.54)seen by Macleod of Arnisdale, Kilbar(No.415)seen by Major Macdonald's factor, Mellon Charles(No.515)seen by Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and Corriavaig(No.222)seen by Sir Ewan Cameron of Fassfern and his wife.(140) Some proprietors ordered their servants to attend schools, while others gave longer leases to those of their tenants who could prove attendance.(141) Factors took their cue from their employers and Mr. Cheine of Islay, Mr Robertson of the Chishilm Estate and Mr. Stewart of the Macleod Estate were particularly active in their support of schools.(142) Some lady heritors were especially interested in female education and we find one of them giving £5 for this proposal at Duin(No.267)(143) The best in this field was Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie, who, at Fivepenny(No.291) "keeps a sewing school in the place, at her own expence, for the benefit of young women, and another reading school at a more remote part of the district of Ness, for the children that are at too great a distance to attend the public schools, besides many other schools she keeps at her own charges in the island."(144)

The Society had only a very limited amount of contact with children of the Episcopal faith and these mainly at Scatwell(No.622)in Contin, Ross. James Munro, the teacher sent to them, was received "very kindly" and, as the Rev. Mr. James Dallas reported, they were grateful for the interest shown in their isolated community.(145) Roman Catholics were quite a

(137) 46AR11-12.

(138) 9AR29, p.15.

(139) 2AR10; 27AR20.

(140) 8AR12; 9AR17; 42AR16; 5AR28.

(141) 3AR27, p.50.

(142) 33AR30; 10AR9, pp.19-20.

(143) 24AR23.

(144) 21AR19-20.

(145) 2AR28-29.

a different matter, strongly entrenched as they were in Barra, South Uist, Canna, Eigg, Glenelg and Ardnamurchan. At first the Committee passed little comment on the presence of the Roman Catholic children; indeed, there was no attempt to calculate their numbers. However, the Committee must have been surprised by the number of schools which had sizeable communities of them - Eskdale(No.282), Glenmuig(No.337), Kinloch Moidart(No.438), Kintraa(No.440), Montach(No.526), Sandavore(No.609), Strathlochie(No.671) and Uachdar(No.730). At first there was a certain reluctance on the part of parents, especially at Cliadle on Eigg(No.277), but the local priest, Father Anthony McDonald urged them to attend the school and this they did.(146) Various Roman Catholic meeting-houses at Kyles(456456)and at Langal(No.462)were offered to the Society's teachers for schools.(147) It was not long before reports came back to the Committee to indicate that although the children were very anxious to learn to read, as at Invercanish(No.381), their reading was poor, as at Samadalene(No.604)and at Redarch(No.581).(148) Soon, with good teachers, like Alexander Cameron at Kilbar(No.415) "cursing and swearing" became a thing of the past and the standard of reading, as at Boisdale(No.127)increased enormously.(149) The Roman Catholic clergy appreciated what the Society was trying to do for their parishioners. Father Dr. Norman Macdonald, wrote on the 30th November, 1813 -"The difference of our creed, I understand, makes no difference in the universal benevolence you shew towards all mankind."(150) Later, he wrote in Gaelic - "Gu dthugadh Dia mor nargras paidh dhaibh a nach urain sinn a dheanamh!"(May the great God of grace reward you, as we cannot, which will be our constant prayer."(151) Father Angus McDonald of Barra wrote, "As a Catholic clergyman, I return thanks to the Society for their liberality of sentiment, set forth in their instructions to teaching alone, abstracting from controversial points, and giving trouble to such as are a different persuasion, at some time affording equal advantages of education."

(152) Father Anthony McDonald of Eigg agreed: "I can testify that a won-

(146) 5AR85.

(147) 11AR30; 3AR54.

(148) 24AR19.

(149) 8AR15-16.

(150) 3AR54.

(151) 4AR12.

(152) 12AR40.

wonderful change has been introduced in the habits of the people; their improvement in morals is most visible and striking; formerly they devoted the Sabbath entirely to idle conversation and frivolous amusements."(153) As far as teachers were concerned they had no problems with their Roman Catholic scholars. William Walker at Canna(No.177)admitted that he had been dubious about his reception when posted to the island in December, 1813. But "they make no scruple in learning anything I request" and his roll soon rose from 12 to 88, meeting as they did in the local chapel.(154) Although there had never been a Bible on the island before, the children now clamoured for more home-work and when he left in 1815 they hired a boy to continue his work.(155) Inspectors shared the teachers' optimism and pleasure. Inspector Murray recorded about Dalburgh(No.242) - "they manifested a clear perception of the doctrines of the Gospel, explained several passages of scripture with perfect intelligence, and referred with promptitude to parallel texts in elucidation of their import."(156) Only the ministers seemed to have reservations: the Rev, Mr. Neil Maclean of the Small Isles reported in September, 1812 about Canna - "their minds are strongly biassed by religious prejudices, and are remarkably tenacious of their own opinions."(157) The Rev. Mr. Angus Martin of Boisdale in March, 1842 was even more concerned about Dalburgh - "I do not know how far the priest would countenance one of your Teachers. It is very probable he would not give him any cordial welcome - - The females have been shamefully neglected in regard to education(although there are three English schools) - - Many ignorant Protestant females marry R.C. men-- Your Society has not done much for this part of South Uist."(158) Perhaps he was right, there had not been a school there run by the Society since 1827. The Committee appeared to be careful not to irritate Roman Catholics and always to avoid derogatory terms. It was usually a minister, like the Rev. Mr. George Shepherd of Laggan who described Roman Catholics at Sherramore(No.635) as "papists." Close relations with the Roman Catholic commun-

(153) 11AR41.

(154) 3AR60.

(155) 4AR41.

(156) 33AR13.

(157) 2AR20.

(158) 32AR26-27.

community was really established in October, 1821 when the Rev. Bishop of the Isles, Ranald Macdonald of Lismore, called the Society "a laudable Institution" and urged his priests to co-operate to the full.(159) With the repeal of the Penal Code against Roman Catholics in 1829 a change in the R.C. attitude was noted. The Rev. Mr. John MacIntyre of Kilmanivaig described the situation at Laggan Achdroma - "The priest now begins to have a Sabbath School of his own and parents are prohibited, under pain and penalties from allowing their children to come to any of our Sabbath Schools."(160) Other areas continued to co-operate - at Stonibridge(No. 663) Father John Macdonald collected cash for the Society; at Eigg(No.277) Father Anthony McDonald inspected the school with the minister; at Invergusarn(No.385) "the priest was so good as to admonish the people from the pulpit to pay attention to the school."(161) The Committee merely noted with some wryness that "the Popery of the Highlands has, with the elasticity peculiar to itself, been modified, so as to allow the people to attend your schools." There was in fact no hatred for Roman Catholics and the Committee recorded their realistic view, that "during the civil wars, the Highlanders professed Popery or Protestantism as their leaders favoured the Houses of Stuart or Hanover."(162) But, by 1843, a drastic change came over the Committee's attitude - "it is well known that a very large portion of native Scottish Popery is found among these distant glens and sea-girt islands(If £3,000 was made available?). At present they must content themselves, in a great measure, with confining their operations to the districts nominally Protestant."(163) The Rev. Mr. Thomas Maclauchlan, in an address at Dundee on the 7th October, 1851, spelled out the Society's official view: "In these parts also a great portion of our native Popery is to be found. In some of the islands Popery is as dominant as in some of the darkest spots of Ireland, and what is so well fitted to deal with this deadly error, as the system pursued by the Gaelic School Society?"(164) It is not hard to see the reason for this. The "awakening" of the 7th August, 1842 was greeted by Roman Catholics with contemptuous derision, it

(159) 11AR43.

(160) 19AR17.

(161) 10AR27; 3AR50.

(162) 41AR15.

(163) 40AR14.

(164) 41AR15.

it was "the work of the devil" and a "kind of temporary sickness - a braxy."

(165) This ridicule stung the Society into a bitter mood of resentment. As did stories of the treatment of their teachers, such as Donald Mackinnon who was denied proper accommodation on Eigg and compelled to live in "a miserable hut" for 22 weeks. By the late 1850's the Annual Reports contain few references to Roman Catholics, but when they do they are usually like that from Griban(No.347) - "A popish family have been brought to be earnest and constant attendants upon all meetings for worship with the Teacher at week-nights and Sabbaths. Another popish woman, living in the end of the school-house, from making all sorts of noise during the time of prayer, came to be a quiet listener, and to attend the meetings to hear the tidings which she was not wont to hear."(166)

The Society's contact with Church of Scotland ministers was strictly limited to those with evangelical sympathies. Those who lacked such views simply ignored the Society's very existence and never replied to any of their circulars. Those who did were often very active in their support, like the Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross of Lochbroom, who pressurised parents to send their children to the Gaelic Schools or the Rev. Mr. Charles J. Bayne of Fort William, who raised cash by collections.(167) The Rev. Mr. Hugh Macleod Linset(No.487)nearly every day, while the Rev. Mr. Alexander McLeod at Aadenbaine(No.1)bought a house for the teacher's use.(169) The Rev. Mr. Colin Mackenzie at Aligin(No.31)built a school at his own expense because the people refused to do so, and the Rev. William Findlater of Duiness, Sutherland started a Gaelic Evening Class himself with the aid of two young boys.(169) They did not always agree with the Committee's decisions on the placing of schools and many of them, like the Rev. Mr. Coll Macdonald of Portree, furiously attacked the Committee for disagreeing with them.(170) Most, if not all, would have agreed with the Rev. Mr. Robert Finlayson of Lochs, Lewis when he wrote, "There has been an evident change in the sentiments, habits and morals of the people, and that has been effected in a certain measure, by the instrumentality of the Gaelic

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school

(165) 32AR31.

(166) 46AR48.

(167) 15AR24-25.

(168) 10AR42; 42AR16.

(169) 28AR21; 3AR38.

(170) 11AR37.

Gaelic Teachers, who instructed them to read the Word of God in their vernacular tongue - - The Gaelic Schoolmaster paves the way before me."(171) Of course, parish ministers, even those with evangelical interests, had more interest in their local parish schools over which they virtually had full control. The Society's view of the inadequacy of the system was well summed up by the Rev. Dr. Robert Buchanan at Glasgow on the 6th February, 1851: "A single parish school being of course, a most inadequate provision for the educational wants of such a community."(172) Many parishes actually had no parish school at all, like Barra in 1819 or Kilberry in 1825. (173) Those that did frequently charged fees that were too high for poor families, or ignored Gaelic as a language completely or were simply inefficient.(174) In fact, some heritors almost despised their local parish schools and treated them with considerable contempt.(175) Much more important for the Committee was their contact with the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, especially after 1824 when the General Assembly decided to set up its own schools, General Assembly Schools. At first, ties were exceedingly close, one Secretary and the Treasurer, for instance, in 1826, were both members of the General Assembly Committee of Management. (176) The Committee even gave way in selecting sites for schools if the General Assembly were considering a particular site, as happened at Benbecula(No.112) and at Grenatot(No.345), North Uist.(177) The Committee did not see these schools as rivals: "There is ample scope in the Highlands and Islands of our country for the well-directed energies of both - - anyway, these schools are not free."(178) The General Assembly decided to investigate the numbers still unable to read 1831-1833 and in the following year they published their results - of 504,955 people in the Highlands and Islands, 83,397 could not read. That meant that at least another 384 schools were still required. If teachers were paid £20 per annum the total was the vast sum of £8,680 per annum! The General Assembly calculated that

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(171) 41AR16.

(172) Ibid.,p.14.

(173) 9AR18; 15AR23.

(174) 26ARR54; 2AR19; 29AR22.

(175) 5AR37.

(176) 15AR14.

(177) 17AR27; 28AR22.

(178) 19AR24.

that if they raised £2,000, the S.S.P.C.K. £2,000, the Gaelic School Society £2,000 and the Inverness and Glasgow Societies £2,680 between them, the money could be raised.(179) Such sums were quite impossible for the Societies and the proposal had to be rejected. The Committee's impression of relationships was friendly - "It is pleasing to remark, that the utmost harmony and good-will exist among all the institutions that are now in operation for the education and religious instruction of the Highlands."(180) Unfortunately, the General Assembly decided to do what it could on its own and money, formerly donated to the Gaelic School Society, now found its way to the General Assembly Education Scheme. To many people it seemed as if the two schemes were in direct competition. The Committee decided to issue a statement of clarification: "- - the supposed collision between the Gaelic Schools and the schools on the General Assembly's scheme" are not rivals. Yet, there had been some friction - "The evil was in some measure occasioned by the Assembly Schools being at the outset frequently designated "The Gaelic Schools" and yet these schools teach English rather than Gaelic itself."(181) The Committee decided to spell out the differences between the two schemes - "The Assembly's Schools have been introduced with the view of supplying in the Highlands and Islands, the want of that parochial education which has proved such a blessing to the population of the lower districts of Scotland: but the Constitution of the Assembly's Schools contains some excellent provisions, which, so far as your Committee know, are not found in the regulations of the parochial system. The Assembly's Teachers are enjoined to insist on all the scholars whose vernacular language is Gaelic, beginning with the Gaelic, and being able to read it before commencing English; and to have connected with their day schools, Sabbath Evening Schools for religious instruction. The Assembly's Sub-Committee pay more attention to the religious principles of their Teachers, than is perhaps usually done in the election of parochial Teachers; and there is more religious instruction in their daily services; besides which, there are lending libraries attached to a large number of schools, containing some well-selected books in both languages. In all these particulars it may be easily understood that the Assembly's Schools

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(179) 23AR11.

(180) Ibid., p.12.

(181) 26AR42.

Schools form an establishment of great value, which deserves much more support than it receives; and which your Committee, and every member of your Society who is earnest in his desire for promoting the best interests of his country, would be rejoiced to see in the receipt of a larger income. This statement, it is hoped, will be sufficient to remove any impression that the Society for Gaelic Schools is hostile in its feeling to the scheme of the General Assembly."(182) The Committee took pains to emphasise again their purely religious intentions: "Gaelic Schools have more direct religious influence and are palpably better adapted to the scattered population of sequestered glens - - Your Schools have but one object, viz. to bring the people to the knowledge of the Word of God, in the only language in which they can understand it - - Your Committee have occasionally refused to establish Gaelic Schools in populous districts, and aided the application for schools on the Assembly's Scheme."(183) Having declared that there was no rivalry and no competition the Committee "hoped you will hear no more of a collision with, or absorption by the Assembly's Schools. Both establishments are evidently required. Indeed, your Committee look on your schools as necessary appendages to them, and to all the others."(184) Unfortunately, this frank statement of policy did little or nothing to dispel the feeling among the public that so many societies were unnecessary. In 1839 the Committee were again forced to state their view: "It is feared that an impression is gaining ground in the minds of some, that the extension of the operations of other schemes, which have, as their object, the moral and intellectual improvement of the Highlands, may now, or at least very soon hereafter, safely supersede the labours of your Society - - These schemes and your Society are not rival institutions competing for pre-eminence in the same line of exertion - - As in building, there are those who polish and adorn the stones employed, according to the rules of art - those who place them in their respective situations and those who prepare and furnish the mortar by which they are cemented - - You do not interfere with other institutions whose efforts are directed to the improvement of Highlanders, in as much as the communication of secular education constitutes a great part of the end they propose to accomplish - - Let the operations of these institutions which go so much further than your Society have their

(182) Ibid.,p.43.

(183) Ibid.,pp.44-45.

(184) Ibid.,p.47.

their full effect - let them be hailed and encouraged; but let not the labours of the Gaelic Schools, in other circumstances, be deprecated - - let it not be said that they may be superseded by any scheme of education however perfect - - Though your schools were tripled in number they would not interfere with those of other institutions - - your single and simple object is to communicate to your countrymen the power to read the Word of God in the language which they always love best and which alone they thoroughly understand - - You make no demand of accommodation, in the usual sense of the term, for your Teachers, nor of school fees, and above all, you do not make any condition of a certain amount of attendance to secure the grant of a school. You require, indeed, a place in which the children may be taught, and a room for their instruction; but you ask no more - - Except the manual labour required in rearing a place to shelter himself and his youthful charge, he has no demand on the impoverished and scanty population among whom his lot is cast."(185) This powerful declaration of intent did not enlighten the public, especially by 1842 when the General Assembly began to lay greater emphasis on their own itinerating schools.(186) With growing dismay the Committee published their final comment: "Your Institution is still confounded with the General Assembly's Educational Scheme; so much so - - the opinion that they are nearly the same, and being so that the Church should be preferred has shut out your Society from almost all the parochial collections which used to lend such a powerful and steady support to your finances. In the same manner, the Glasgow Society, under an erroneous impression in this respect, insisted that their schools for teaching English, Writing, Arithmetic and Gaelic, were similar to yours, although, as well as the Assembly Schools, their Schools are educational, accompanied with religious instruction."(187) The General Assembly's Education Committee tried to pacify the Committee's fears - "we acknowledge the fitness of your Institution for meeting the wants of the scattered Highland population which cannot so adequately be obviated by that of the General Assembly - - We have our itinerating schools too, but they are few in number, because that kind of school is so well, and to so considerable an extent employed by the Gaelic School Society." The flattering phrases were

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(185) 28AR10-11, pp.14-16.

(186) 31AR9.

(187) Ibid., pp.7-8.

were not enough and a deep feeling of suspicion and distrust had been sown between the General Assembly and the Gaelic School Society. It was to bear fruit soon with the Disruption.

Although the central issue of this "great ecclesiastical earthquake" was undoubtedly the question of patronage, there were other factors involved. J.A. Wylie's comment in 1881 is still the most compact observation: "The people of Scotland can scarcely require to be reminded of the theology, the policy, the literature, and the preaching of the party in the Church known as 'Moderates'. The sad results of the reign and the fruits of Moderation are well known. Yet it was a potent and distinguished party. Its culture was attractive and commendable, and procured for it a general acceptance among the upper classes; but its influence on religious conviction, sentiment, and character, was chilling and withering. Under the ascendancy of this 'Moderate' party, the Church of Scotland, as established and endowed by the State, became a great political institution; and accordingly, the advantage of State connection rose higher and higher in ecclesiastical estimation. On the other hand, the Church, in its own peculiar and essential character as a Church of Christ, apart from its establishment - the Church, as a witness-bearer, and a message-bearer, and a missionary institution - was lowered and weakened in purity, power, and acceptance, by the prevalence and the influence of the Moderate party. But there was another party in the Church, called by some in derision 'the Wild' and known by the people as the 'Evangelical', - a party whose theology was in accordance with the standards of the first and second Reformation, and whose principles were those of the Puritans and the Covenanters, and whose preaching, faithful and fervent, had the scarlet thread through it, and the blood-bought salvation in its freeness and fullness, as its constant and urgent theme." (188) The reaction of the people living in the Highlands was "to range themselves en masse - - beneath the banner of the Free Protestant Church of Scotland" and demonstrate their passionate hatred for the heritors who had indulged in "Clearances." The Rev. Dr. Mackay of Dunoon gave a picture of the situation in October, 1843: "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper has not been administered in the county of Sutherland by the Establishment in any one parish since the Disruption took place - - I am credibly informed, on authority, that in the county of Sutherland, consisting of seventeen parishes, and with a population of 24,666 souls

(188) J.A. Wylie, "Disruption Worthies", Vol. 1, 1881, pp.xiv-xv.

souls, there are not fifty communicants in the Established Church."(189) The situation in Ross and Caithness was exactly the same as the northern counties of the Mainland united in a massive rejection of the old landed gentry and their values. "But the fidelity of the Highlanders was severely tried. The people were on one side; the great owners of the soil on the other. The latter entirely misconceived the tendency of the Disruption; they thought it was precipitating the country upon revolution, and they resolved that the Free Church should not, if they could prevent it, build a single manse, nor rear a single sanctuary in the domain over which they bore sway. The ministers who had come out were warned off their former parishes; no friend dare give them a night's lodging but at the risk of incurring the frown, or heavier infliction, it might be, of his landlord. Banished to a distance, in some instances of sixty or eighty miles from their flocks, the pastors were unable to visit them, or minister to them consolation or advice save at long and uncertain intervals. The people who had lost their old churches were denied sites on which to erect new ones. Even the right of assembling in the open air, in strath or on hill-side for the purpose of public worship was forbidden to them. They bethought them of their churchyards. Surely amid the graves of their fathers they would be left undisturbed to sing their psalm and offer their prayer to their fathers' God? But no; they were chased even from the churchyard."(190) Given these circumstances the hatred ran deep and Mackay's picturesque description conveys the result - "the parish edifices stood empty, the pathways leading to them were grass-grown." The statistics were terrifying - of 206 Gaelic-speaking ministers in the Church of Scotland in 1843, 101 left to join the Free Church; of the 105 parishes where the ministers stayed in the Church of Scotland their congregations came out.(191) The situation facing the Gaelic School Society was fraught with dangers; they relied on support from a wide spectrum of religious denominations and they strove to avoid committing themselves to or identifying themselves with any particular group. It was not to be. In 1844 the Committee reported that "Several complaints having been made against some of your Teachers, on the grounds

(189) Ibid., pp. lxxv-lxxvi.

(190) Ibid., p. lxxvii.

(191) Ibid., p. lxxviii.

grounds of undue interference with the Established Church."(192) In these northern parishes where ministers had joined the Free Church and been ousted the Gaelic School Society teachers were offering them accommodation and even acting in their place with open-air services. The Church of Scotland ministers objected strongly to this and urged their feudal superiors to lodge protests with the Society in Edinburgh. The ministers themselves deluged the General Assembly with a stream of complaints and protestations. At first, the Committee gently chided its teachers and reminded them that "the purpose of gratuitously teaching the inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland to read the Scriptures in their native language" was their only object. A fuller statement was required for the heritor class in general: "One of the fundamental rules of the Society is that the Teachers to be employed shall neither be preachers nor public exhorters, stated or occasional, of any denomination whatever. They are not Missionaries. Their duty is to teach all who attend their schools to read the Gaelic Scriptures. It is incumbent on them to teach, all those children whose regular attendance is secured by their parents, and to teach in the evening of every lawful day such persons advanced in life as are desirous of instruction in the Gaelic tongue; and the meetings of the classes are to commence and end with prayer and praise. On Sabbath evenings the teachers are required to assemble their Scholars, and such of the parents and neighbours as may be disposed to come, for the purpose of hearing the Scriptures read, and the children catechised, particularly from the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. In cases where public worship is not celebrated at an accessible distance from the school-house, the teachers are allowed to have similar meetings on the other parts of the Sabbath; and though not required, are permitted on these occasions to read such pious books (but none of a controversial description) as are approved by the Directors, and may tend to edify the hearers, and these exercises also are begun and ended with prayer and praise."(193) Many seemed to think that the Society's teachers needed a more direct warning rather than a mild rebuke and to meet this view a "Circular Addressed to the Teachers" was issued by Alexander Hutchison, Assistant Secretary on February, 26th, 1844 -

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(192) 33AR31.

(193) Ibid., p.33.

1844 -

"I am instructed by the Committee of the Gaelic School Society to direct your attention to the foregoing statement of the objects of the Society, and of the duties of its Teachers, which (with the exception of the last paragraph) was approved of and circulated by the Committee in 1832; and I am further desired to urge upon you great caution and circumspection in the present time in reference to Ecclesiastical controversies. The Directors do not at all wish to interfere with your private feelings and convictions, nor with your attaching yourself to any Christian church in particular, their only desire being to employ, so far as they can judge, godly men and efficient teachers; but, as the Society is composed of members of various denominations, and as the Schools are open alike to the children of all, the Directors require you to apply yourself strictly to your important duties as their Teacher, least, by any undue interference in other matters, you may impair your own usefulness and injure the Society in the estimation of the public." There was some urgency in the need to publish clarification as to the Society's position as there were already signs that their financial support was ebbing away. (194) In some exasperation the Committee went over "the very loose and erroneous views regarding the constitution of the Society. Your Society is in every respect - - catholic in the highest degree. We belong to no church as a Society. We press our claims for support on the heart and conscience of every member of every evangelical denomination in the land - - All denominations had access to our schools - - In the districts in which your schools are circulating the mass of the population, till very recently, were adherents of the Established Church. We owe much to different bodies of Christians, and, amongst our members, we can discern fitting representatives of all who hold the Head. Inasmuch as the Established Church was chiefly conversant with the spiritual destitution of the Highlands, and as they were the only Protestant body, who, up to a very recent date, had any considerable footing in the districts to which the beneficial effects of your Society extend, it was natural that they should form a large majority of the Society, and take the lead, both in the support and management of it - - It were desirable to enlist the Christian benevolence of other denominations to a greater extent than hitherto - - without the slightest fear of compromising one pec-

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(194) Ibid., p. 8.

peculiarity of the creed to which he is conscientiously attached -- Your teachers, provided that they be men of God, of approved piety, and of the requisite gifts, may belong to any evangelical denomination. The truth is, that we all along have had teachers of different religious persuasions though -- the great proportion of them formerly belonged to the Established Church. Whatever change in this respect may have come over them, can no more form a ground for instituting proceedings for their expulsion than we could expel the Independent and the Baptist teachers, who have long been upon our list. Did the change to which we refer imply immorality in character, heresy in sentiment, or neglect of official duty, your Committee would be unanimous in deposing them from their office. But we have no cause of exception to them in the mere fact that they quit one religious denomination for another. Nor is the election which they may have made between the two bodies, into which the population of the Highlands is now divided, at all subject to our overview. We have only to deal with them as men of God, and attentive to the duties which they engage to perform and we ask no further questions." (195) While this was a reasonable explanation of the Committee's view it did not explain those incidents in which complaints were justified. The Committee therefore had to face this issue next: "In the excitement of religious controversy which has recently swept over our country like a flood, and while as yet we scarcely mark any ebb of the surge, it were vain to imagine that your teachers could remain placid and passive spectators. But they have suffered themselves to be borne away on the current, to the neglect of their duties to this Society, and that they have perverted their official influence to the end of mere partizanship, is a charge which has not yet been substantiated. Your Committee feel that it would peril the whole influence for good which your Society wields in the north, to adopt such harsh measures or put a construction of needless rigour upon the doings of men who command the veneration of their countrymen. While, therefore, some of their number have thought that one or two of your teachers have not been altogether free from blame, your Committee have contented themselves with republishing and circulating an address enforcing the law of the Society, which interdicts the teachers from wandering beyond the sphere of their proper duties by preaching and exhorting. Any infringement of it will be visited -- whenever a case is proved by

by competent testimony - with the rebuke of the Committee; and we do trust that right-hearted men, unbiassed by the jealousies of sect and party, will appreciate our difficulty in endeavouring to hold the balance at a time when so much keenness of feeling prevails - - Your Committee has long embodied representatives from all evangelical churches; and in this respect there is no change in the constitution of the Society. We have no wish to interrupt or disturb the spirit of friendly agreement for a common end which has hitherto activated us. The object is so simple, and by universal confession so worthy of countenance and support that the promotion of it need not interfere with any man's principles or prejudices unless he travels out of his way in search of some point of collision. On the broad basis of that charity which thinketh no evil, and would overcome evil with good, we can surely unite to teach our Highland population to read the Scriptures of truth in their native tongue. Your Society is not the pendicle of a sect. It is common ground on which all true Christians may meet, and feel that, to whatever section of Christ's Church they belong, the fence that separates them in the vineyard of their common Master is neither so thick nor so high but they can stretch hands across it, grasp them in pledge of mutual friendship, and cheer each other onward in the work of the Lord. With these explanations, we trust that nothing henceforth may occur to mar the harmony, impede the operations, or circumscribe the usefulness of your Society."(196) Unfortunately, while this passionate and eloquent plea for unity may have softened the hearts of the ministers of the Church of Scotland and their heritors, the February Circular of 1844 merely served to anger the teachers. Feeling that their personal freedom as Christians was being threatened and their work as teachers restricted many of them sent petitions of protest into the Committee.(197) Alarmed at the turn of events the Committee held a special meeting to consider these complaints and a Sub-Committee was formed "to draw up a minute expressive of the sense in which the circular was to be understood." This was quickly approved by the General Committee: "The Circular of February, 1844 was not meant to abridge any measure of Christian liberty which the Society's Teachers had previously enjoyed; or to interfere with any methods of imparting religious knowledge to their

(196) Ibid., pp.22-23.

(197) 34AR17.

their pupils, or neighbour, which, with the sanction of the Directors, and in accordance with the constitution and rules of the Society, they had previously followed: but simply to guard them in the then state of religious excitement in the Highlands and Islands, from assuming to themselves the functions of the pastoral office, or, as the leaders of any movement which might take place, bringing themselves unnecessarily into collision with other denominations of Christians."(198) The Sub-Committee also suggested a further resolution - "That rule 7th of the Society's Regulations(namely that the teachers to be employed shall neither be Preachers nor Public Exhorters, stated or occasional of any denomination whatever) being a fundamental rule of the Institution, cannot be altered by the Directors; and it is their decided conviction that an attempt to alter said rule, even by the constitutional means which the Society provides, would be injurious to its best interests; that while the Circular of last year urged upon the Teachers 'to apply themselves strictly to their important duties as Teachers', it was not intended to interfere, in the remotest degree, with any liberty which they may have hitherto enjoyed, particularly with their attending and conducting prayer meetings with the pious in their districts: and although prayer and the reading of the Scriptures ought to form the principal exercises at such meetings, the Directors would not be understood as interposing their authority to prevent any of the teachers from making such remarks as may tend to explain and enforce the truths contained in the passage of Scripture which may be read; and that while the Directors cheerfully make this explanation, and rejoice in the spiritual benefit which may have flowed from engaging in such exercises, they beg to impress upon the mind of the Teachers, that their great duty is to teach all who attend their schools to read the Gaelic Scriptures, and to make the children acquainted with the great doctrines of the gospel, through the medium of Scripture reading and catechetical instruction; and they earnestly hope that the Teachers will keep these objects constantly in view - - all the Reports showing that this has been the great instrument of the success with which God has blessed the Society's efforts; and the Directors trust that in this way they will still be eminently blessed in promoting the cause of the Redeemer and the good of souls in their respective districts."(199) Clearly, the Committee were in an extremely difficult pos-

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(198) Ibid..

(199) Ibid.,p.18.

position caught as they were between their own teachers and the ministers of the Church of Scotland. Unless great care was taken the Society was in grave danger of being split asunder.

On the 12th January, 1846 it was obvious that with the coming retiral in order of six members of the Committee that nominations would soon be due. In view of the "peculiar delicacy of the Society's position with reference to existing divisions" it was decided to appoint a Sub-Committee, under Mr. Hutchison as Convener, to consider nominations and lay a list of suggestions before the General Committee. The caution and care shown so clearly at this stage was completely useless: for whatever reason, Mr. Hutchison never called a meeting of the Sub-Committee. The General Committee met in due course on the 14th February, 1846, but was "very thinly attended." (200) The discussion was long and uninspiring and the bulk of the meeting had dispersed when Dr. Huie rose to his feet and submitted a list of names for the six vacancies on the Committee, two of which were ministers in the Church of Scotland. The Rev. Mr. Beith and his friends Elder, Noble and McQueen were taken "very much by surprise" by this development. Before they could recover their wits Mr. Hutchison announced that as three other Directors had resigned the number of vacancies was now nine. Dr. Huie pointed out that this was a rather large number for a Committee of 24 and demanded a vote on his suggested list. It was accepted five votes to four. Beith and his friends, who might well have demanded that the Sub-Committee be allowed to submit its report first, got flustered and rose to suggest "a list in opposition" that omitted the names of the two members of the Established Church. This second list was rejected and Beith said that he would submit it to a General Committee meeting as soon as possible. He proposed that such a "special meeting" be called on the 17th February, 1846 and this was seconded by Noble. Both parties stressed to the Assistant Secretary that it was to be "very special and very urgent." During the following week a good deal of speculation was rife in Edinburgh's circle of evangelists - had Dr. Huie been in order? Had there been some kind of "concert" on the part of Huie and his friends to rush through the list at the end of the meeting? Many were soon convinced that something devious was afoot and that Huie had been both "informal and irregular." (201) The Special Meeting on the

((200) 35AR25-26.

(201) Ibid., p.30.

the 17th February, 1846 was "very fully attended" and the atmosphere was tense and electric. The Annual Report described it well - "both parties felt themselves constrained to debate the point in Committee and the debate, as might have been anticipated, was painful, alike in its progress and its consequences." (202) Many were clearly convinced that Dr. Huie's proposal had been like "casting a firebrand into the Committee and placing the Society in a false position; and be the views and feelings of the majority right or wrong in themselves, it was no friendly act towards the Society and the cause, to force the Committee into a difficult and invidious attitude of controversy, which a little forbearance, on the part of those who profess to be the more catholic and liberal members, towards the prejudices of their weaker brethren, might have gone far to obviate and prevent." Several rose to point out that "the resolution to prefer the list not containing the names of ministers of the Establishment, did not proceed and was not advocated, on any general principle respecting co-operation among different bodies of Christians." At this stage Mr. Beith rose to his feet and said that he had absolutely no intention of co-operating with any minister of the Church of Scotland. This was, he argued, also the view of the Society's Secretaries, many in the Committee and all the teachers and the Inspector. (203) Another rose to put the more conciliatory view that the moment was not quite ripe to accept Church of Scotland ministers in "regard to the continued well-being and even existence of the Society, which demanded the exclusion, for the present, of Established ministers; and that such was the state of things in the Highland districts, that the whole moral and spiritual influence of the Society would be endangered, were the new element introduced which some of its friends were forcing on it." Six other members talked to this point, while only one agreed with Beith that it should be a matter of principle. Huie and his supporters immediately directed their attack on Beith's principle and assumed that this was shared by many there. The Committee's later report on the meeting said that "the speakers among the minority did nothing else than hunt down Mr. Beith's principle; and this, it seems, is to be conclusive proof that they had nothing else to do. In other words, they miss all the real arguments of the case; they get up a light against a

(202) Ibid., pp. 31-32.

(203) Ibid., p. 33.

a principle which Mr. Beith himself declared he did not ask the Committee to adopt; and then they calmly turn round and allege, that, because they found it convenient to make that principle their object of attack, therefore it must be held to have been the real and only argument they had to grapple with."(204) For more than two hours the discussion waxed hot and furious, with the majority trying to concentrate on the "other considerations", while Haie tried to pin them down to whether or not Church of Scotland ministers were eligible for the Committee. Dr. Mackellar reminded members that in 1845 the Committee had invited two Church of Scotland ministers to join them as Directors, but they refused. The invitation, he argued, had annoyed many of the teachers and even more of the people and was a mistake, "the result would have been very injurious to the Society."(205) He read extracts from the 34th Annual Report for 1845 which had said, "during the last year(1844)the vexatious opposition of the ministers of the Establishment in the north had been rather increasing than diminishing."(206) Mackellar admitted that this was an error, that it should have read - "in consequence of the explanatory minute regarding the duties of the teachers, they were generally satisfied and complaints had almost entirely ceased, the teachers being permitted to proceed with their work, in most instances, in quiet, and without molestation from the parties who had complained of them." Having apologised for this mistake Mackellar launched himself into the attack: "Complaints of Established ministers against the Society's teachers have not been so numerous as in former years; and the teachers, on the whole, are better satisfied. But what is the cause of this? It is to be ascribed, in no small degree, or rather, entirely, to the fact, that the Established ministers in the north have ceased to expect that the Committee will give a ready ear to their complaints, and the teachers have confidence that injurious representations against them will not be listened to -- If people thought that the Committee has studiously solicited ministers of the Establishment to become Directors -- it would infallibly be the signal for the revival of the system of vexatious complaints by ministers, and the awakening of new suspicion and alarm in the breasts of the very best of our teachers. It is right, also, to

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(204) Ibid.,p.34.

(205) Ibid.,p.35.

(206) Ibid.,p.36.

to repeat, that these men of God, whose labours in their schools and among the people have been so signally blessed, are still maintained in their spheres of influence, in opposition to the wishes and efforts of the Established ministers, who with scarcely a single exception, look upon these humble labourers with the same jealousy with which they have always been looked upon by the moderate clergy in the Highlands. They may not complain so badly to the Committee as they once did, and the teachers may, in that respect, be less molested; but there is not the least appearance of diminished hostility. "(207) Mackellar went on to quote examples of persecution - "Morvern, Ardnamurchan and other wide tracts of country, throughout which, formerly, your teachers were literally rooted out by the enmity of the parish ministers; while their ministers are full of complaints as can be seen in the minutes - complaints from Skye, Lochcarron and the Long Island - - almost the entire influence of the Establishment in the Highlands, with the proprietors and other parties, is directed against your schools. Nor is it all likely that the admission of Established ministers into the Committee would have had any other effect than encouraging renewed efforts to get rid of the present teachers - whose zeal in the revival of religion, no less than their adherence to the Free Church, renders them obnoxious - - and to introduce a class of labourers more congenial to the character of the Establishment as it exists in the north, but less welcome to the godly people, and less likely to promote the godly upbringing of youth - - there would have been no objection whatever to the proposal of individuals of the same religious denominations with the retiring Directors, man for man - - Some argue that the 1844 Report was a pledge to admit Established Ministers into the Committee, whensoever and however they may be proposed - - that Report, which was prepared by one of the dissentients was vague and indefinite."(208) Mackellar had thus made the issue crystal clear - either please the Church of Scotland or lose all of their teachers and most of their scholars. There could only be one result: the Committee voted in favour of Beith's list by 17 to 9, however, nine of the former did not speak to the motion, a sure sign that they had voted with some degree of reluctance. The teachers had been saved, the vast mass of the scholars had been saved, but it was pretty clear that the Committee

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(207) Ibid., p. 37.

(208) Ibid., pp. 38-40.

Committee was in very serious danger of a complete split. The Committee were well aware of this and held a hasty meeting on the 20th February, 1846 to discuss the matter and make a formal statement. The problem revolved around the matter of two lists of new Directors, one of which contained the names of two Church of Scotland ministers. The vote had gone against this list and eight members of the Committee had resigned in protest. After a prolonged discussion the Committee issued a statement containing five central points. First, nothing had been said at the last meeting about the motions put forward, only the votes had been discussed. The question of principle therefore was still unresolved. Second, there was no principle that members of the Free Church should not co-operate with members of the Church of Scotland. Strong views had been expressed by individuals, but this was their right and it was not the view of the bulk of the Committee. The Society were in a dangerous position, if they accepted the Church of Scotland ministers many would have resigned. The minority group were wrong to assume that the central issue was refusal to co-operate. Third, the Society's constitution has never laid down any ruling about a person's denominational beliefs. Thus, fourthly, there is no need to have Church of Scotland ministers as such. Lastly, the Evangelical Party in the Society gave it "heartly countenance", while the Moderate Party "being not only cold and lukewarm, but vexatious opponents, bent on thwarting the labours of the teachers, and undermining their influence - the Establishment, since the Disruption, is really nothing more than the old Moderate Party; its ministers, generally, are not friendly to the labours of the Society and its teachers; it has, in a great measure, lost the confidence of the godly people in these parts; the mass of the population not only has left its communion, but has come to look upon it as opposed to such evangelical instruction and works of revival." The statement estimated that of the 57 teachers on the staff, some 55 are Free Church and only 2 are Church of Scotland and the majority are continually "thwarted in their labours by these ministers." To elect such men as members of the Committee would feed "the suspicion that farther conciliation was contemplated" and it was significant that an invitation had been extended to two ministers in the previous year. "To select men on a denominational basis is real sectarianism." (209) The statement was signed by William Stothert.

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(209) Ibid., pp. 43-46.

Stothert. Such a statement was highly unlikely to be much of a sop to those who had resigned from the Committee and almost immediately they, in their turn issued a statement called "Reasons of Dissent and Protest." (210) There were seven points in their statement. First, the proposer and the seconder of the new list of names said, "they never could sit at the board of a religious society with a minister of the Established Church of Scotland." The new list had not only excluded the two ministers, but substituted a Free Church minister and elder. Second, the original aim of the Society had been "all Christian men should be eligible." Had this been changed? Third, there had not been a single objection to any name on the new list. Were they to assume that all Church of Scotland members were, in future, to be excluded? Fourthly, they quoted widely from the 33rd Annual Report that had stressed the catholicity of the Society's composition and the debt owed to the Church of Scotland for its efforts in the past. Fifthly, they pointed out that the 1845 proposal to invite two Church of Scotland ministers into the Committee had come from Free Church people and not from those who adhered to the Established church. Sixthly, the decision to exclude the ministers only intensified the danger of the heritors refusing accommodation for teachers or sites for the schools. Lastly, they strongly denied that their action had been motivated by expediency. Further, they were not satisfied by the full Committee's statement of explanation - "The gentleman who gave this reply, coupled it with strong expression of regard for his brethren of the Free Church - - and not one of us had entered into any concert with another on the subject of New Directors, before the list now rejected had been proposed and carried at a preceding meeting of the Committee - - it is the fact that we voted against a motion avowedly intended to exclude Church of Scotland ministers as such." The statement concluded that at a full meeting of the Society's members "we anticipate with confidence a decision in our favour." The statement was signed by George Johnston, W.H. Gould, James Cornwall, James Troup, Dr. Richard Huie, Edward Cruickshank, Patrick Arklay and William Oliphant. The full meeting of the Society was fully reported in the "Witness" issue for the 21st March, 1846. The meeting in the Hopetoun Rooms was "numerous" and almost every person of note in the Society was present - Campbell of Monzie, Christie of Durie, Stothert of Cargen, Alexander Dunlop, Alexander Macdougall, James Cunningham, W.B. Douglas, Rev. Dr. Makellar, Rev. Dr. Candlish, Professor McCrie, Patrick Arklay and a host of ministers -

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ministers - Elder, Davidson, Beith, Moody Stuart, Noble, Jaffray, Johnston, Goold, Symington and many more.(211) After prayer the Rev. Mr. Makellar proposed that the Chair be taken by Campbell of Monzie. This he did, but only after reminding members that the Society was passing through a "difficult and trying time." The Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Beith, then read the 35th Annual Report together with the names of the new Committee. The Rev. Mr. McCrie rose to move acceptance of the Report. He stressed that now, more than ever, the people needed spiritual assistance and if they were too far off from a church, then they had the right to seek the aid of their teachers. If the people did not want to have anything to do with the Established Church they should not be compelled to do so. He condemned "the parade of learning and vain philosophy" which the people had rejected for the "heart-moving and soul-saving doctrines of the Cross." He stressed that the Society were sticking to their policy of non-intervention, there had been no instructions given to any teacher to act in place of the Church of Scotland ministers. Alexander Dunlop, advocate seconded the motion, although he made it perfectly clear that he dissociated himself from the extremist views of the Rev. Mr. Beith. "Although I admire his manly firmness, his candour, his honesty, his sincerity." He disliked intensely the way that the rejected list had been introduced without previous intimation and he reminded the members that there was massive evidence to substantiate claims of persecution by heritors and the Established Church in the north. Three of the dissentients were quick to reply - the Rev. Mr. George Johnston, United Presbyterian, the Rev. Mr. W.H. Goold, Reformed Presbyterian and Patrick Arklay, advocate, all argued that there had been a "practical violation of the constitution" by the exclusion of Church of Scotland ministers as such. The Rev. Dr. Candlish rose to demolish their arguments with great oratorical skill. He admitted that he worked with Established Church ministers in many committees, but he doubted if the Gaelic School Society was a suitable place for them. Was not the Society the product of the Evangelical Party itself? Had any Established minister recently shown any zeal or enthusiasm for the Society and its aims? The decision to exclude these ministers would "send a flood of relief and joy throughout the Highlands and Islands of Scotland." Anyway, whatever they did would not win them any new friends or lose them any real old friends. All his points were punctuated by stormy applause. Several other speakers



THOMAS MCCRIE, D.D.

speakers had the floor, but the issue was settled - Candlish had gained the enthusiastic support of the vast bulk of the ordinary and uncommitted members of the Society. The most active of the dissentients were not Church of Scotland clergymen or elders, but men who sincerely believed that the Gaelic School Society had moved far too close to the Free Church. They were, of course, absolutely correct. Like the mass of the Gaels and their teachers, the members of the Gaelic School Society had become permanent allies of the Free Church. The days when the members of the Committee belonged to a wide spectrum of the Christian Church were fast slipping away for good. The effect, in many ways, was immediate. The Edinburgh Ladies subscriptions and donations fell in 1846-1847 from £956 to £765 and their membership dropped from 228 to 132 as the ladies of Edinburgh society withdrew their financial support. After 1846 the list of lady contributors no longer reads like a page from Burke's Peerages. To an amazing extent, however, they did recover, thanks mainly to the Duchess of Gordon, who remained a pillar of strength to the Society. The Society's own subscriptions, in the same period, also fell in value from £494 to £413.

It did not take the Church of Scotland long to retaliate and we find the 36th Annual Report bemoaning "the Educational Scheme of the Established Church having in the course of last summer, assumed a position adverse to this Society, by issuing a printed statement and circular describing their "Gaelic Schools" and a "Ladies Association for the Support of Gaelic Schools" - thus assuming names, originally appropriated by this Society, and for more than 30 years, used as its proper designation."(212) The Committee were quick to warn the public to be "upon their guard against giving their contributions to this new scheme under the belief that they were contributing to their own long cherished and valued Society." As usual they stressed the fact that they concentrated only on Gaelic, while the Assembly Schools covered English, Writing and Arithmetic. Defiantly, the Committee issued a statement: "Keeping steadily in view the practical usefulness of the Society we hope it will be ever guided; as it has hitherto been, in the selection of its Directors by the evangelical character of the individuals, and not by the denomination to which they belong; and that it will consider all attempts on the part of any Church to claim a right to be represented in the Directorship, as prompted by a latent de-

desire to manage its affairs in subscribing to the interests of a party. And keeping in mind the strictly religious end proposed by the Society, it will not be considered that our teachers are going beyond their proper sphere, when they embrace opportunities, in the more remote districts, of holding Sabbath Evening Schools, and occasional meetings for prayer, and reading the Scripture. Ours were meant to be Schools of religious instruction; and while it will be the care of the Directors to prevent them from becoming either the nuclei of disaffection, or the pendicles of any church." (213) Before long the Church of Scotland had renamed their Ladies Association for the Support of Gaelic Schools to The Ladies' Association in support of Gaelic Schools in connection with the Church of Scotland and added the ruling - "That aid shall in no case be given except to schools in connection with the Established Church of Scotland, and in any case of separation of school or teacher from this church, the benefits conferred by the Association shall, ipso facto, cease and be withdrawn." (214) The Committee were quick to point out that "it now appears that the charges of sectarianism and partiality which they brought against the management of the Society, and which they make a faint attempt to revive in their Report, were a mere pretext, and that the real object was that which they now openly avow, the conversion of our schools into mere parts and pendicles of the Establishment." The "faint attempt" mentioned is to be found in the Church of Scotland Annual Report for 1848 - "The promoters have been led to commit it closely with the Church of Scotland, for many reasons, and among others, from the experience which they derived from several years' observations of the affairs of the old Gaelic School Society, that when the teachers are independent of all restraint or control by the clergymen of the parish, they are but too prone to deviate from their duties as teachers, and to form the nuclei of discontent and opposition to his spiritual superintendence." (215) Difficult years lay ahead for the Society, but the crisis years were over, its development lay along sure lines. Certainly, there was a continual drain of trained teachers leaving to become ministers in the Free Church, in 1849, some eight left at one time - Angus McLeod, Alexander McLeod, William Campbell, Peter McLeod, Donald Cameron, Donald Cameron, Donald McDonald and James Matheson. (216). Certainly, there were clashes with heritors as at Sannak-

(213) Ibid., p.15.

(214) Ibid., p.17.

(215) Ibid., p.18.

(216) 39AR24-25.

Sannakuhor(No.612), Fisherfield(No.289) and Meilon Charles(No.515).(217)

But these were not threats to the heart of the Society itself. The Society had overcome its great problems and survived. The quarrel with the Church of Scotland would not last forever and the slow expansion of the State's responsibilities and concern would lessen the need for the Society's being. "In time," as J.A. Wyllie, so rightly said, "the misconception and prejudice which had obscured both themselves and their cause began to clear away."(218)

(217) Ibid., p.11; 45AR11.

(218) Wyllie, J.A., p.lxvii.

CHAPTER 9

ASSESSMENT

"They have nothing of a particularly novel or striking character to narrate. A work like theirs seldom presents such incidents. They have to speak not of occasional instances of very marked success, appearing like a flash of light, and awakening feelings of admiration and high enthusiasm, but of a steady persistent course of operations, sapping imperceptibly the foundations of ignorance, and extending by a process slow but sure, the limits of knowledge and sound religion."

- 46AR5.

How then do we assess the work of the Gaelic School Society during the period 1811-1861? Before attempting to answer that question let us look at the Society's own self-assessment. On Friday, 21st February, 1861 at 2 p.m. in the Upper Room, Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh, the members of the Society met to celebrate their fiftieth anniversary. The proceedings were reported in detail in the issue of the "Witness" two days later. Before a crowded gathering of distinguished supporters - the Rev. Drs. Candlish and Beith, the Rev. Messrs. Maclauchlan and Fraser, Messrs. William McGrie, Alexander Stuart, J.H. Skinner, William Cowan, Thomas Martin, Kenneth McQueen, W.P. Kennedy and J.A. Rankin, (1) Mr. Robert Paul, "one of the three founders of the Institution that still survived" gave a summary of the Society's history and its achievements. In 1817 the Society had made an early assessment of their immediate effect on the Highlands and Islands of Scotland as having earned the gratitude of the people for changing their attitudes to religion and morality. (2) Now, in 1861, they measured their success in statistics. They were most impressive. Mr. Paul estimated that in the previous fifty years the Society had been instrumental in teaching 110,360 people to read and many of them had carried this new-found skill abroad to a new life in the United States of America and to Australia. They had also distributed something

(1) 50AR14.

(2) 6AR16-19.

something like 118,884 Elementary books and Scriptural Extracts, together with 82,346 Bibles and Testaments, a grand total of 201,230 volumes and tracts. Lastly, that they had operated 1,008 schools, averaging 2.7 years apiece at 687 different stations.(3) In other words some 2,000 people had been taught every year for half a century. It is difficult to comment on these figures because the Society's rate of growth and expansion had not been regular. Certainly, the greater part of their work had been done before 1850. Indeed, in the 1850's, the Society encountered a new problem, "timid and backward Gaelic readers."(4) Whether this was due to the fact that the Society was now reaching a wider spectrum of ability or more accurate and realistic reports from Inspectors is not clear. But teachers, Inspector and ministers were united in their comments that the much-publicised, dramatic reading successes were things of the past.(5) One significant point emerges from Mr. Paul's speech - nowhere does he lay any claim to having done anything to preserve Gaelic as a language or even as part of a culture. In fact, the preservation of Gaelic for its intrinsic linguistic charms, even for its history and poetry never occurred to most members of the Society. In a careful reading of all fifty Annual Reports only one Committee member expressed any real feeling for the language; the vast majority of the Society members, even those who were Gaels themselves, were quite prepared to have the language decay and slide into limbo. It is wrong therefore to assume that the subsequent neglect of Gaelic by School Boards was a drastic change of policy. This disdain for Gaelic was not unique to Scotland as many Gaels like to think; in Wales too, both Griffith Jones and Thomas Charles had not been concerned in the least with Welsh as a language, "saving of souls" was all.(6) Not even education itself was an aim and constant stress was laid on the basic principle that the Society was not educational, but religious.(7) Its only "object is to teach Highlanders the art of reading the Holy Scriptures in their own tongue."(8) Thus, even educational criteria cannot be used to

(3) Appendix ii lists 740. The discrepancy is due to the definition of "stations."

(4) 45AR13.

(5) Ibid., pp.15-16; 46AR7, 11.

(6) D. Williams, "A History of Modern Wales", 1965, p.146.

(7) 49AR7.

(8) 26AR55.

to assess the Society's achievement. If neither linguistic nor educational yardsticks are to be used, how can we measure the Society's impact? We must first go back and examine the state of affairs in Scotland at the end of the 18th century.

The late 18th century was the age of the Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions, an age in which intelligent application was changing the face of the countryside. It was also the age of Scepticism and Rationalism, an age in which all moral and social problems could be solved by objective logical analysis. It was, in short, a secular rather than a religious age. This was no narrow parochial phenomenon confined to Scotland, but part of a European movement - England had its Latitudinarianism, Germany its Aufklärung, France its Newtonianism and Scotland its Moderatism.(9) As we have already seen the Moderates had little interest in Theology as a subject and no passionate desire to preach the Gospel to the poor. In fact, as H. Escott said, "They preferred Francis Hitcheson to John Calvin." Their sermons, cold and uninspiring, were sprinkled with quotations from the Classics and Literature and delivered in a legalistic and formal manner. Firm believers in the worth of patronage, they were anti-democratic and could scarcely conceal their contempt for the masses. Concerned for their own material comfort they had no hesitation in playing cards, watching a play or dancing at an assembly.(10) Their creed, tinged with deism, was based on natural goodness rather than on original sin. They stressed the Bible's "ethical charms" and ignored its mysteries as absurd. Their ideal virtue was "a sanctified commonsense nurtured by general culture." Inevitably, church attendances steadily fell and even family worship began to decline. The masses were left with no message of hope and no spiritual balm to compensate for their discomfort and misery. They could not even turn to the Seceders, enmeshed as they were in "the minutiae of their peculiar doctrines."(11) The first cracks in the Moderate armour appeared in 1781 with the publication of Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" and men of feeling began to wonder if there might not be a deeper meaning to life. The masses, quite unaware of the demolition of rationalistic

(9) H. Escott, "A History of Scottish Congregationalism", 1960, p.46.

(10) J. Anderson, "A History of Edinburgh," 1856, pp.355-357.

(11) Escott, H., p.49.

rationalistic philosophy were unmoved. It was different with the year 1789 and the French Revolution, the crack had become a gaping void. Most men throughout Europe felt that something momentous had happened, that it was a time to take stock of one's life, a time to change things. Not only poets and radicals felt this stirring in their hearts, but serious-minded, responsible men, like the Haldanes and Thomas McCrie. Both admitted that the revolution in France had fundamentally changed their lives.(12) Robert Haldane noted how the event had "aroused him from the sleep of spiritual death."(13) Would-be missionaries to India, rejected on the grounds of ill-health, saw it as a new challenge for their frustrated energies. It is interesting to speculate how different our national history might have been if Scottish passions had been diverted into political reform and not into Sabbath Schools, Missionary Societies and Chapels of Ease. Religion however, and not politics makes the greater appeal to the Scottish psyche. In many ways the time was ripe for religious change. Christopher Anderson used to relate the tale of the 80 year old Elgin Anti-Burgher minister who said, "It is my opinion that there is a fermentation going on at present, and good men of various minds are engaged in doing good."(14) Others felt it too: the Rev. Mr. John Shaw of Duirnish in Skye wrote, "The present seems to be the set time for the improvement of the Highlands; they seem, to my view, ripe for it."(15) Not only was there a cheap version of the Bible newly published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1811, but the Highlands and Islands had become, through religious neglect, a semi-pagan region in which ministers rarely preached and never with conviction. Lay-preachers or reformers were condemned as seditious and an appeal to the powerful landlords often meant prosecution for those who felt deeply about their religion. Discontent, as well as ignorance, was rife in the land of the Gaels. At Fearn the parishioners hated the Rev. Mr. Hugh Ross; there was a riot at Assynt when the Rev. Mr. Duncan McGillivray was settled by Elizabeth, Marchioness of Stafford and three men were sent to prison at the Inverness Circuit Court; the Rev. Mr. Walter Ross

(12) J. Ross, "A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland", 1900, p.44; Thomas McCrie, "Life of Thomas McCrie, D.D.", 1840, p.20.

(13) Escott, H., p.52.

(14) Hugh Anderson, "The Life and Letters of Christopher Anderson", 1854, p.112

(15) 2AR13.

Ross was nearly murdered in a fight at his Presbytery; the Rev. John McKinnon of Tiree never attended a Presbytery Court and the Rev. Mr. Duncan MacIntyre of Kilmallie, although ordained in 1812 was not admitted till 1816.(16) But, even more serious than the alienation of the people from the Church was the fact, that despite the efforts of Parish Schools and S.S.P.C.K. Schools there were nearly 300,000 Gaelic-speaking people who were illiterate. Something had to be done for them and done quickly.

We have already seen how difficult it was to trace the roots of the Society and how various persons have received, at different times and from different writers, the praise and the credit. In reality, the founding of the Society was like a scientific discovery - it was the work of a team. Of people who shared a common purpose in life - John Campbell, the first to make contact with the Rev. Mr. Thomas Charles of Bala in Wales; the Rev. Mr. James Haldane, the first to conduct a Highland tour of lay-preaching; the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Brown, the first to suggest the idea of a society; the Rev. Christopher Anderson, the man who did almost all the actual work and the Rev. Dr. Charles Stuart, the man who apparently financed the Society and set it in motion. All of these men deserve credit for their own individual contribution. The least well known, Charles Stuart, sought obscurity after 1822, the year in which his son stood trial for murder. The common denominator shared by all these men was the simple fact that they regarded themselves as Evangelicals. This movement was not unique to Scotland, indeed, the British Isles shared its passion completely and a wide range of prominent persons gave the movement their total support - Queen Victoria, W.E. Gladstone, Lord Macaulay, Sir Robert Peel, General George Gordon, John Henry Newman, Henry Manning, Sir Henry Havelock, George Gilbert Scott, F.H. Bradley, T.H. Green, John Ruskin, Charles Kingsley, George Eliot, Samuel Butler, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and the Bronte Sisters. Royalty, politicians, historians, philosophers, architects, clergymen, poets, generals and authors had an almost "demonic desire to convert."(17) Contemporary writers, like John Stuart Mill and Matthew Arnold, were often critical of it as a force in the national life; Mill said it was responsible for the cult of respectability and conformity, while Arnold accused it of

(16) Fasti., Vol. 8, pp.57, 78, 80; Vol. 4, pp.120-121, 135.

(17) Ian Bradley, "The Call to Seriousness", 1976, pp.13-14.

of narrow philistinism and middle-class puritanism.(18) Fiction writers parodied the over zealous Evangelical into stock characters - Thackeray in "The Newcomers", Dickens in "Bleak House" and Collins in "The Moonstone." Evangelicalism therefore put its stamp on the 19th century just as effectively as the Moderates had on the previous century, and it would not be far off the mark to equate the movement with what is understood as Victorianism. Ian Bradley gives an excellent definition of Evangelicalism - "a mixture of piety, prudery, imperialistic sentiment, philanthropic endeavour and obsession with proper conduct."(19) There is no doubt that the Evangelicals made piety fashionable and philanthropy a cult; just as there can be no doubt that their missionary zeal was harnessed by the State and played a vital part in the building of the Empire. The crusading mission to convert ignorant savages was just as strong in Highland glen as it was in the densest jungles of Africa. The Evangelicals therefore revelled in emotionalism, especially in the thought that Christ's atoning death guaranteed salvation. Their intense feeling of sin stands in vivid contrast to the considered objectivity of deists and rationalists. To them, being an "Evangelical" meant being imbued with the spirit of the Gospel in all its fire and fury. At first, it was a term of derision, but soon, as so often happens, the insult became a battle cry. They did a great deal of good work in the sphere of social problems - William Wilberforce laboured to abolish the slave trade and then slavery itself, while Anthony Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury struggled for factory reforms. Their opponents saw them as obscurantists, fanatical, bigoted, consumed with cant and desperately narrow-minded; their admirers saw them as dynamic, intense, urgent and consumed with faith. They did much to contribute to the Victorian belief in seriousness and highmindedness.(20) Evangelicals despised all forms of worldliness and any kind of complacency as had been demonstrated by the Moderates. They saw the Moderates as indulging in a vague kind of Christian faith, undemanding, over-intellectual and far too rational. They never hesitated to admit their unashamed emotionality.(21) Lip service was unworthy of a Christian, only total commitment counted. Their theol-

(18) J.S. Mill, "On Liberty", 1859; M. Arnold, "Culture and Anarchy", 1858.

(19) Bradley, I., Introduction.

(20) Ibid., pp.16-18.

(21) Ibid., p.20.

theology was simple to the point of being almost primitive and it is not surprising that their opponents considered them anti-intellectual. Their view was that all men are sinful and in certain danger of Hell. Fortunately, Christ's death atones for this and we must accept the offer of salvation. Thus, whereas the Moderates had viewed man with confidence, the Evangelicals viewed man as totally depraved. The doctrine of conversion therefore was absolutely essential to their mind and it must be accompanied with intense and often dramatic suffering. Many Evangelicals were converted after serious illness or the death of a loved one. Charles Simeon of Cambridge often preached on the text: "He is no Christian who does not see the hand of God constantly." (22) Evangelicalism therefore was more a way of life than a system of theology. It was never a logical set of beliefs, but rather a series of vivid and compelling personal experiences. God was a God of Wrath and man had to have a perpetual sense of accountability for his lapses. The Day of Judgment was a reality to Evangelicals and this led to agonizing self-examinations and never-ending soul-searching. This could, and often did, lead to a virtual orgy of self-criticism. It was a highly introspective kind of religion and this explains the absolute passion for diaries filled with self-reproach and protestations of unworthiness. Obviously, this led to almost obsessive concern for self and to our generation these diaries make distasteful reading. Evangelicals regarded life as a challenge and almost all of them were early risers. Addicted to hard work it was no accident that so many of them were bankers and solicitors devoted to abstinence, thrift and self-control, critical of any form of self-indulgence and self-pampering. The highlight of their week was the Sabbath and strict Church-going and serious reading were essential activities. Their critics recognised their enthusiasm and separation from the world of theatres, assemblies and light reading, but deplored their hyper-sanctity and censoriousness, their self-righteousness and their pride. But most all their critics detested their affected sentimentality and their histrionic behavior, their "solemn uplifting of the eyes, artificial impulses of the breath, grotesque and regulated gestures and postures in religious exercises and an affected faltering of the voice." (23) Their power was enormous as was their determination to convert the

(22) Ibid., p.22.

(23) Ibid., p.27.

the nation and if possible, the world. Their methods were standard: issue tracts, convert royalty, gain the support of the aristocracy, encourage children to convert their parents, don't ignore the part that can be played by women and raise the level of literacy. Their strength lay in their inexhaustible missionary zeal and their determination to conquer.

The Gaelic School Society deliberately intended to use their schools to cultivate an emotional reaction among the people and accounts of such happenings were received with great joy - "The Reports of the Society form a sort of romantic writing, in the details they give of the gladness and joy that these schools diffused over every part of the Highlands." (24) On the 7th October, 1851 the Rev. Mr. Thomas Maclauchlan admitted that this was the aim of the Society in a public address in Dundee - "The revival in Lewis took place chiefly through the instrumentality of this Society and by the simple teaching of the Word of God. The revival extended into Skye and into the Mainland." (25) As the 19th century moved into the 1860's Evangelicalism held a tight hold on every denomination in Scotland and every Church welcomed these scenes of emotional delight, indeed, they all claimed credit for them. In May, 1860 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland recorded the "gratifying evidence of an increased anxiety about salvation and a deepening interest in religious ordinances and we record our gratitude to Almighty God." The same month, the General Assembly of the Free Church declared, "We as a Church, accept the Revival as a great and blessed fact." Also in May, 1860, we find the Synod of the United Presbyterians noting that they "recognise the hand of God in the measures of new life outpoured upon our churches." (26) The truth of the matter is that these great scenes of religious emotion were common in the late 18th century, especially in areas that had Na Daoine - "The Men." (27) Evangelical laymen, strangely like 17th century Lowland Covenanters, they were held in high regard by the people for the purity of their lives. Their lay-preaching and prayer-meetings earned them the scorn of the Moderate ministry, but the gratitude of the masses. Lonely, isolated individuals they identified themselves by wearing long blue cloaks and spotted handkerchiefs around their long hair. (28) The Gaelic School

(24) 50AR16.

(25) 41AR15.

(26) J.E. Orr, "The Light of the Nations," 1965.

(27) J. Hunter, "The Making of the Crofting Community", 1976, pp.100-101.

(28) G.B. Burnet, "The Holy Communion", 1960.

School Society drew a clear distinction between what they called an "awakening" and a "revival." The former was a spasmodic reaction to a religious experience which rarely lasted; the latter was a sustained and permanent conversion.(29) Revivals were reported from Skye 1817, 1840; Lewis 1828; Islay 1828, 1861; Tiree 1835; Mull 1839; Eigg 1842 and Argyle 1843, 1844 and 1859. Awakenings, on the other hand, were reported from virtually every part of the Highlands and Islands during the period 1811-1861. The generation of human emotion was on a remarkable scale: at Lochcarron, in April, 1843 "Scenes of deep emotion ensued whenever anyone addressed the children - - The voice of the speaker would sometimes be drowned in the general sobs of anguish and contrition that pervaded the whole meeting - - Some boys built a small hut in a retired spot that they might hold regular meetings for prayer in it. They collected their scanty pence and expended them in the purchase of candles to be used when the shades of evening darkened on their little meeting."(30) Within days this wave of religious hysteria had spread throughout Shieldaig, Applecross and across to Eigg. At Stornoway "frantic consternation" was reported when the Bible was read, while at Islay the Inspector reported that "some of the scholars were bathed in tears when speaking to them about precious Christ and the way of salvation - - they stood in a group weeping about the school-house."(31) In Lewis it was said that children "when reading about Christ's sufferings, seven of them fell down on the floor, shedding tears and crying out. When I asked them what was the matter with them, they answered that they were crucifying Christ with their lives. These scholars were from 10 to 12 years of age. On Wednesday night after that, I had a meeting at the school-house, and 17 of my scholars began to shed tears, and to cry, and some of them were not able to go home without the help of others."(32) While English-speaking worshippers in Islay were unaffected, at Gaelic services there was "weeping, crying and fainting - - very often the voices of the speakers, either praying or preaching are drowned by the voices of the people praying and crying for mercy for themselves - - people swoon and are carried off."(33)

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(29) 33AR14.

(30) Ibid., p.15.

(31) 18AR21; 23AR36.

(32) 49AR12-13.

(33) 50AR13.

off." Ministers noted with pleasure the effect upon their congregations and the Rev. Mr. Gordon wrote to the Committee of the Gaelic School Society in February, 1841 - "Many young persons of both sexes were deeply and painfully impressed with an alarming sence(sic) of guilt and danger, and, no doubt, much excitement prevailed." (34) Teachers also had first-hand experience of the traumatic effects of their teachings, like Donald Mackinnon at Bigg (No. 277), who noted - "more women have been impressed with a sense of their sins and mercy and cried aloud for mercy - - At the meeting-house there are generally two kinds of weeping, viz. weeping for fear of hell, by those who are under the spirit of bondage; and others weeping for joy and which is more desirable, and which some of them count their life and health." (35) Men talked of "bliadhn' an aomaidh" - the year of the swooning as the hysteria spread across the country like an infection. (36) Not only children were involved, but parents too - "I saw a number both of the children and of the parents deeply impressed and bedewed with tears, and some crying out." (37) In almost every Annual Report there are literally scores of such incidents - "I saw a number of the people bathed in tears listening to the Word of God" and "I never saw such a general weeping and crying in any congregation as I saw and heard there." (38) While the immediate reaction to such scenes, especially in the modern mind, is a feeling of revulsion at such blatant hysteria, the Gaelic School Society must be judged on the ends that these means finally achieved. What changes, if any, did they produce on the life of the Gael?

The Church of Scotland ministers were the first to observe the general changes. In Mull, the Rev. Mr. Donald Campbell of Ardtun reported, "Of late, I have observed a great change both in the manners and customs of the people situated in the vicinity of our Gaelic School. Those vices of swearing and Sabbath-breaking, which were all at one time too frequent among them, are now in a great measure abandoned. In place of wandering about from farm to farm, and visiting their neighbours on the Lord's Day they confine themselves at home and take much pleasure in reading the Scriptures." (39) In Skye, the Rev. Mr. John Nicolson of Minginish noted

(34) 31AR16-17.

(35) 31AR30-31.

(36) John Mackay, "The Church in the Highlands", p.248. (1914)

(37) 32AR14.

(38) Ibid., pp.31-32.

(39) 11AR39.

noted "a wonderful change has been produced on the habits of the people. Their improvement in morals is most visible and striking. Formerly they devoted the Sabbath entirely to idle conversation, or frivolous amusements, as they had nothing of a serious nature to engage their attention; but now they regularly attend Divine worship, and read the Scriptures in their private families."(40) In South Uist, the Rev. Mr. Roderick McLean said that "Common swearing, a practice too prevalent before the introduction of your schools, is in a great measure wearing off; that the children, instead of vicious and naughty play and sport on the Sabbath, meet in their respective school-houses to read, and hear portions of the Holy Scriptures read by their masters; and that when at home, they attend to their books, instead of rambling through the fields as they used to do." (41) In Sutherland, the Rev. Mr. David Mackenzie of Farr rejoiced that the Gaelic Schools had "checked levity and folly in improper waste of time particularly in the winter."(42) In Ross-shire, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross observed that the people "read the Bible with a facility and self-command, with a distinctiveness of enunciation, and an energy and simplicity of pathos, which astonished everyone."(43) The Society prided itself on the fact that those parishes without Gaelic Schools were still "ignorant and superstitious - - The bagpipe may still be heard at their funerals, drinking and fighting still disgrace the hours of mourning and in March, 1827 the internment of a lady was disgraced by a fight in the parish of Sleat."(44) The specific changes in conduct can easily be traced - such as improvements in sexual morality and conduct in Skye, Colonsay and Lewis. (45) The Rev. Mr. James Russel of Gairloch in June, 1828 reported to the Committee that "During the sixteen years which your schools have operated in this parish, no one of the many hundreds, who have been taught at them, has fallen under Church censure, nor been guilty of any gross delinquency." (46) This was an opinion shared by the Rev. Mr. William Findlater of Duirness - "vice and immorality and ignorance and idleness are gradually disappearing"; the Rev. Dr. Thomas Ross of Lochbroom - "visible changes to

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- (40) 8AR17.
- (41) 26AR34.
- (42) 8AR6.
- (43) 17AR20.
- (44) 26AR36.
- (45) 9AR20, p.23; 3AR12-13.
- (46) 18AR18.

to the better all round"; the Rev. Mr. John Bethune of Harris "vice and immorality are suppressed."(47) Poaching and thieving were greatly reduced, a change much appreciated by heritors and magistrates - William Robertson Yr of Moidart and Alexander Chisholm, J.P..(48) Mr. Stewart, the Harris Factor commented on "the favourable change in morals and habits", while Lewis McIver, Tacksman of Gress remarked that "the change is very evident."(49) Donald Stewart, J.P. in Harris wrote to the Society in February, 1824 to draw to their attention that previously 400 sheep per annum were rustled in Harris, but that that had now ceased.(50) From Dingwall the Rev. Mr. Alexander Stewart drew the attention of the Committee to the fact that "In some instances that occurred of plundering gardens, it was ascertained, that none of these who attended the Gaelic School were concerned in the depredation."(51) While in Skye, all the authorities, both civil and religious were unanimous in congratulating the Society for their part in reducing theft in the island.(52) A higher standard of law-abiding behaviour was soon noticed in any area which opened a Gaelic School - "In one place, where our teacher, when he began, could scarcely live, owing to their fighting, swearing and drinking whisky. He put a stop to all that."(53) Skye, in particular, was reported to be a much more sober place after the advent of Gaelic Schools and superstition generally throughout the Highlands and Islands rapidly vanished after 1811.(54) Swearing and blaspheming were among the early targets of the Gaelic School teachers and against these they had enormous success as the Rev. Mr. John Shaw of Brcadale could testify: "I could see a manifest improvement in the people of this glen. They have given up many vices, to which they were formerly much addicted, and are become remarkable for decency and propriety of conduct."(55) Harris and South Uist also saw the elimination of foul oaths and curses.(56) Hygiene was another area upon which the

(47) 5AR63; 6AR9; 12AR16.

(48) 10AR44.

(49) 15AR11; 4AR15.

(50) 13AR37.

(51) 6AR15.

(52) 23AR19.

(53) 4AR16

(54) 23AR19, p.23.

(55) 7AR11.

(56) 12AR16, p.14.

the teachers concentrated their efforts. The Rev. Mr. Alexander Macbean of Kincardine approved of "the ameliorating effects of your schools which are conspicuous as to external cleanliness of person, dress and furniture. Even in the school-room, neatness and cleanliness are visible. The very desks and forms were scoured as clean as when they came from the maker."(57) The same was observed by the Rev. Mr. Angus Kennedy of Dornoch - "a great attention to cleanliness and decency in their clothing and a desire to improve their advantages" and by the Rev. Mr. Donald Maclean of the Small Isles who praised the "cleanliness and the neatness."(58) Even idleness was replaced by "habits of industry" in many parts of the Highlands and Islands.(59) "Sabbath sauntering" was soon looked upon as a sin and, as the Rev. Mr. Angus Mackellar said, "The Highlander was taught to venerate the name of the Sabbath Day."(60) In South Uist the "vicious and naughty play and sport on the Sabbath came to an end", as did the "roving about the woods, the glens and the sea-shore" in Argyle.(61) Sabbaths had become days for serious thoughts and prayer - in Harris, in the Gairloch, in Skye, in North Uist.(62) Accordingly, Church attendance rose dramatically in every parish with a Gaelic School. The Rev. Mr. Patrick Butter of Fort William confessed to the Committee in December, 1848 that his average congregation used to number five or six people till the opening of the Gaelic School. Now his kirk was "crowded" and he had to hold evening prayer meetings to cope with his people's demands.(63) Even the smallest churches found that their average congregation could be numbered in hundreds, while whole families appeared regularly for worship every Sunday.(64) In North Uist the Rev. Mr. Finlay McRae found that the children at the Gaelic School competed to read the lesson in his church, while in Argyle, school children claimed that the best part of their year was when they celebrated communion.(65) At Tolsta, where the people had not had a sermon for over twenty years they approached their minister and begged

(57) 9AR4.

(58) 12AR15; 11AR42.

(59) 26AR24; 23AR19.

(60) 20AR12.

(61) 12AR15; 11AR32.

(62) 12AR16; 13AR16; 3AR57; 10AR20.

(63) 18AR30-31.

(64) 12AR16; 5AR63.

(65) 15AR11; 26AR31.

begged that they have longer services.(66) At home, most families began to have daily Bible readings and family prayers in the evenings. The Rev. Mr. Alexander Ross, Missionary at Lochbroom, remarked that "The Worship of God is now kept daily in their families and a portion of Scriptures is read twice a day."(67) By 1829 the Committee proudly announced in their 18th Annual Report that throughout the Highlands and Islands there had been "a considerable increase of the exercises of secret devotion and of family worship."(68) One of the greatest single effects of the presence of any Gaelic School was the tremendous desire to learn to read. Indeed, as the Rev. Mr. Alexander McLeod related, it was common in Skye for children to argue passionately as to whose turn it was to carry the Bible to school.(69) Children were known to walk miles each day to school across the roughest possible country.(70) The Rev. Mr. Alexander Stewart of Dingwall quoted the case of a young girl who walked four miles to present her former Gaelic School teacher with a gift of eggs and berries.(71) The Rev. Mr. William Robertson of Port William in April, 1815 told the Committee that children in his area were known to weep bitterly if they could not get to school because of ill health or bad weather.(72) The news that a school was to close and the teacher to leave the district often produced scenes of despair and distress among the children.(73) The acquisition of a Bible became the ambition of almost every adult and child throughout the Highlands and Islands. This was, in itself, a tremendous change from the days when there was scarcely a Bible to be found in an entire parish. Southend, in Argyle, is a good example; in 1735 this populous area had but one Bible and it was in Erse!(74) Within a few years of 1811 those parishes in which the Society were strongly entrenched, such as Lochbroom, could boast that "there was hardly a house in the parish without a Bible."(75) As the Bible was about the only printed matter that

(66) 8AR13.

(67) 10AR8.

(68) 18AR16.

(69) 15AR9.

(70) 26AR18.

(71) 8AR9.

(72) 5AR27.

(73) 30AR9.

(74) 10AR18.

(75) 5AR10.

that the bulk of the people could lay their hands on with any ease, it was inevitable that it was read and reread and virtually digested over the years. A knowledge of the Scriptures soon became the mark of a well-read Gael and as the Rev. Mr. Lachlan Mackenzie of Jeantown said, "People have a relish for the Word." (76) This was a phenomenon which was very widespread and it attracted a considerable amount of comment from ministers and outside travellers who passed through the region: in Dornoch there was "a desire for reading"; in Eriboll there was "a thirst for knowledge"; in Farr "Scripture Knowledge was greatly increased"; in Kincardine there was "an eager desire to learn"; in Shabost a "fondness for reading was spreading", while in North Uist there was "an increased desire for knowledge in every direction." (77) All this was the product of the aggressive zeal of the Evangelicals. As one of their number had written in an early issue of their "Missionary Magazine" in July, 1797 - "Flee the wrath to come and rest not in an empty profession of religion." (78) Where the Moderate ministers in the Highlands had stressed honesty, kindness and good neighbourliness, the Evangelicals thundered against sin and the urgent need for grace and redemption. If it were nothing else, it was certainly exciting.

Of course, all this goodness was bound to have an effect upon the national character of the Gael. At one time they had been a rowdy, brave, outspoken even riotous people, but the social decay of their culture in the late 18th century had weakened their resolve considerably. The Gaelic School Society and other Evangelicals in the 19th century fed them on a diet of prayer and Bible reading with the result that they believed fervently in Revelation, a sense of Providence, human corruption, God's justice, piety and a passion for salvation. Clergy and teachers combined to destroy the last vestiges of their ancient folk-tales and even their music. J. MacKenzie's "Catalogue of Gaelic M.S.S." (1973) has several references to teachers reluctant to serve as bards for "religious scruples." (79) Thus, when the Clearances came, almost as a punishment from God, they were at their most vulnerable - inhibited, tender-minded, prudish, even drab. The

(76) 3AR49.

(77) 14AR21; 11AR22; 8AR6; 5AR70, p.37; 11AR35.

(78) Escott., H., p.57.

(79) J. Mackenzie, "Catalogue of Gaelic M.S.S.", 1973, p.51, No.404, 30/4/1860; p.49. No.364, 18/11/1859.

The confusion created by the Clearances is reflected in Scottish fiction: Neil Gunn in his "Butcher's Broom" in 1934 saw it as a sensational and almost melodramatic event overwhelming a still relatively pagan people; Fionn MacColla in his "And the Cock Crew" in 1945 portrayed Byers, the factor, who detested Gaelic as a language and a culture and Maighstir Sachari, the Church of Scotland minister, who could not make up his mind what he ought to do; Iain Crichton Smith in his "Consider the Lilies" in 1968 in which he analyses the reactions of the radical of Strathnaver, Donald Macleod. Historians are much more unanimous in their interpretation, to them it was a simple case of heroic stoicism: H.J. Hanham saw the Highlanders as "notoriously God-fearing, law-abiding, unwilling to cause trouble"; Eric Linklater remarked on "the absence of resistance"; William Ferguson noted that "there was little resistance, the people were leaderless and stunned, the clergy for the most part siding with the lairds"; Rosalind Mitchison emphasised "the traditional submissiveness of the Highlander to civil and religious authority".(80) These views are hardly original, as far back as 1885 John Stuart Blackie claimed that "the Highland people were, by the double influence of tradition and religion, by far the most loyal and law-abiding of her Majesty's subjects", a view echoed by W.C. Mackenzie in 1907- "With remarkable patience - the result of their religious training, and the torpor into which they had fallen through the hopelessness of their cause - the crofters had endured for generations their hardships, without open resistance to the oppressions of some proprietors, or, far worse, those of their tyrannical factors.(81) T.C. Smout is the most persuasive of these historians and his theory is the most consistent - the kirk was a refuge into which passions were channelled away from violent opposition to the landlords and anyway, "there was no reasoned economic argument against clearance."(82) There is much truth in this point of view.

(1969) (80) H.J. Hanham, "The Problem of Highland Discontent, 1830-1835", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, 19, pp.21-23; I. Grimble, "The Trial of Patrick Sellar", 1962, p.XIII; William Ferguson, "Scotland, 1689 to the Present Day", 1968, p.276; Rosalind Mitchison, "A History of Scotland", 1970, p.393.

(81) J.S. Blackie, "The Scottish Highlands and the Land Laws, an Historical Enquiry", 1885, p.192; W.C. Mackenzie, "A Short History of the Scottish Highlands and Islands", 1907, p.321.

(82) T.C. Smout, "A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830", 1969, p.325.

view. An authoritarian kirk was little different from an authoritarian clan chief and both regarded the Clearances as improvements. W.C. Mackenzie puts the blame squarely on the shoulders of the ministers: "The attitude of the clergy during the expatriation of the Highlands was almost uniform in the absence of outspoken denunciation of an iniquitous injustice; in others they were passive spectators of it; with hardly an exception they showed themselves unworthy of their calling." (83) The plight of the Gael was truly terrible, their traditional community leaders, the tacksmen, were redundant, increased rents had depersonalised relationships and they were constantly told it was the wrath of God at work. Their economic and social balance had been shattered. It was left to the sheep to turn the viable land into bracken fields and grouse moors. Recently a new theory has been suggested by Eric Richards. (84) He argues that the old version of "pathetic peasant stoicism till the Battle of the Braes in 1882" is inaccurate and ignores the confrontations at Kildonan in February, 1813 and at Culrain in March, 1820. At the former the valuers were chased off and troops were called out from Fort George and Inverness and sanity only restored when the over-excited authorities found themselves the centre of public interest. There were also the numerous near-riots involving women at Burness 1840, Sollas 1849, Lochshiel 1842, Glencalvie 1843, Greenyards 1854, Knockan-Elphin 1852 and Coigach-Ullapool 1853. There was intimidation of English shepherds 1813, the killing of sheep 1816 and the odd case of arson. Even Hugh Miller advocated violence in the year 1846! Richards argues that the passive resistance offered by the crofters was far more effective than hitherto appreciated. If so, it is certainly the line that many of the teachers in the Gaelic School Society would have advocated.

One must inevitably ask oneself the question - just how deep an impact did the Society make on the Gael? The only criterion that we have to make a judgment is the numbers that really did acquire reading skills. Unfortunately, there are few objective and external sources by which we can validate the Society's claims. However, there is one, the 1822 survey carried out by the Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands. Published in 1826 as "Moral Statistics" it was intended to cover

(83) Mackenzie, W.C., p.289.

(84) Eric Richards, "How tame were the Highlanders during the Clearances?" Scottish Studies, Vol. 17, Part 1, 1973, pp.35-50.

cover 171 parishes with a population of 416,000 according to the 1821 Census. The questions were printed on 8-12 page quarto sheets and 1,200 were printed and circulated. Sadly, only 600 completed schedules were returned, none from Perthshire and from only four of Argyle's 38 parishes. Despite this, the evidence was overwhelming - very little impact had as then been made by the Gaelic School Society - 70% could not read in the Hebrides, West Inverness and West Ross; 40% could not read in East Inverness, East Ross, Nairn, Moray and Sutherland; 30% could not read in Perth and Argyle Gaelic districts. Even the distribution of Scripture fell far short of what had been hoped for with 100,000 still without Bibles. The problem was due to the rising population which always exceeded the provision of schools. As the Rev. Mr. Robert Clark of Eriboll said to the Committee in a letter on the 20th October, 1821: "Much remains to be done." The next really significant piece of evidence comes from outwith our period, the 1865-1867 Report of the Scotch Education Committee.⁽⁸⁵⁾ In Inverness 37.6% were not in attendance at any school; the figures for the three other counties were - Argyle 34.1%, Ross and Cromarty 32.8% and Sutherland 30.8%. Although the Gaelic School Society clearly did not make as great an impact as their Annual Reports would suggest they did stimulate, what D. Thomson has called "a stream of Gaelic periodicals" after the year 1830.⁽⁸⁶⁾ In fact, the metaphor should read flood - 1830-1840 some 106 titles, 1840-1850 164 titles, 1850-1860 115 titles, 1860-1870 142 titles, 1870-1880 169 titles, 1880-1890 98 titles, 1890-1900 111 titles and 1900-1914 just under a 100 titles. Publishing houses produced nothing else but Gaelic works - Norman Macleod of Edinburgh, Aeneas Mackay of Stirling, Archibald Sinclair and Alexander MacLaren, both of Glasgow. Magnus Maclean analysed the reading tastes of the Gael to the year 1906 - 80 editions of the Psalter, 70 of the Shorter Catechism, 11 of the Confession of Faith and of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." There were 9 editions of Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted," 7 of the "World to Come," 5 of the "Water of Life," 4 of "Visions of Heaven and Hell" and 3 of "Grace Abounding." Almost every literate Gael in the late 19th century was familiar with Alleine's "The Sinners' Alarm", Boston's

(85) J.P. Day, "Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland", 1918, pp.150-152.

(86) D. Thomson, "Literature and the Arts" in "The Future of the Highlands", D. Thomson and I. Grimble, 1968, pp.205-240.

Boston's "The Fourfold Estate", Doddridge's "The Rise and Progress of Religion of the Soul", Dyer's "Christ's Famous Titles" and Edward's "Doomed Sinners." Hundreds of tracts - "Death of Mr. Badman", "Barren Fig-Tree", "Holy War", "Heavenly Footman", "Christ is all", "Apples of Gold", "Rose of Sharon" and "The Believer's Hope" made their way into the most isolated croft and glen.(87) The sombre quality of this reading material is obvious and helped to shape part of the Gael's stereotyped character - gloomy, morbid, narrow-minded, uncharitable and self-righteous. At least it saved him from the passionate love of politics which has brought so much sadness to his fellow-Celts in Ireland. The other side of the Gael's nature - his love of poetry, song, tradition - was for long neglected, but as Magnus Maclean points out this was less so after 1841. The Gaelic School Society no doubt did not regard this trend very highly.

One aspect of the Society's development continually astonished the members on the Committee and that was the fact that it had lasted so long - "It has outlived the period of existence allotted to many similar institutions."(88) This was probably due to their being so skilful in handling propaganda and giving the public an insight into Highland poverty; this was certainly so with statistics - "When the Society first commenced its career of usefulness, the educational statistics of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland were comparatively but little known - - The Gaelic School Society was among the first to discover the destitute state of the Highlands."(89) Most Evangelicals had a flair for propaganda and they made excellent use of newspapers as a medium to spread their ideas. Education did not appear as a separate topic in its own right till 1824 in Scottish newspapers and the first series of articles dealing exclusively with it were in the December, 1828 issues of "The Scotsman." In that field the Gaelic School Society had a clear lead. Although they never laid too much stress on their educational activities they did have a significant influence on Scottish education - their influence on the S.S.P.C.K. and General Assembly Schools in particular. Of even greater importance was the part they played in "the increased desire for female education - - Not many years ago, daughters were wholly neglected in the matter of ed-

(87) M. Maclean, "Literature of the Celts", 1906, pp.333-334.

(88) 42AR7.

(89) 25AR9.

(90) R.M.W. Cowan, "The Newspaper in Scotland", 1946, pp.121-122.

education, whilst some effort was made to send the boys to school, scarcely any was made to send the girls. A great change in this has, however, come over the minds of the parents; and now, the females are thought worthy not only to be taught to read, but also to be instructed in writing and arithmetic."(91) Perhaps the Society should have greater credit for its part in the liberation of the Highland female in the 19th century? If so, then the Gaelic School Society might well have been directly responsible for the important part taken by women in their opposition to the Clearances. The Society's main attraction to politicians and business men was its very cheapness - "No large sums of money have been expended."(92) Indeed, it was estimated in 1861 that the cost per pupil had been as low as £1.(93) Perhaps it was this cost-effectiveness that encouraged so many abroad to take an interest in their activities. This was certainly the line taken by the Baron de Strandman in his tour of Switzerland - Italy 1818-1819. A former Secretary of Legation to the Russian Embassy in London he distributed copies of the Society's Annual Reports throughout Europe. In Paris a Society for Elementary Education by Reciprocal Mutual Instruction was founded in 1819 and schools in Paris and Pau were funded by the French Government. In Madrid a similar school was established by the Duke of Infantado and in Germany by the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar. Schools also appeared at Hofwyl near Berne, Geneva, Lausanne, Vaudois, Turin, Genoa, Pisa, Milan and Elba. In Florence the great educationist Pestalozzi was interested and a Count Bardi opened a school for 160 boys. One of the best Continental schools using the Gaelic School methods was Mr. Heard's School at Homeln in Prussia on the estate of Count Romanzoff, Prussian Chancellor.(94) Even such unlikely places as Demerara in South America and Mexico showed an interest in their schools. Indeed, the Rev. Dr. Thomson reported that the Gaelic School system was employed with Otomi Indians in Mexico in 1845.(95) Canada probably responded more to the Society's ideas than any other part of the world because of the large number of Gaels who had emigrated there and there is no doubt that it had a special place in the hearts of the Committee members, even if they

(91) 50AR10.

(92) 19AR12.

(93) 50AR17.

(94) 8AR2; 9AR37-44.

(95) 3AR67; 34AR11-12.

they thought that "Canada is a moral wilderness in religion." (96) The Rev. Mr. J. MacGregor of Pictou in Nova Scotia wrote to the Society in September, 1813 that "We intend to try the setting up of Gaelic Schools here, in hope that some adults may learn to read Gaelic." (97) In 1851 the "Quebec Times" joined in the condemnation of the partial clearance of Barra by Colonel Gordon of Cluny. Australia and India also expressed interest in the Society. (98) Even Ireland owed the Society a debt. In 1818 money was sent to start a Society for Irish Gaelic Schools and by 1827 it employed 700 teachers, more than half of whom "had openly abjured Popery and professed Protestantism." (99) The Irish Episcopal Church copied the idea in 1819 and the Baptist Irish Society, founded in London 1814 to teach Erse in Ireland, praised the Gaelic School Society for leading the way. In Scotland itself the Society's ideas were copied by the Ladies Highland Association formed in 1850 under the influence of the Rev. Dr. Mackintosh Mackay of Dunoon. (100) Miss Barbara Abercrombie and Miss Christina Rainy virtually duplicated the methods of the Gaelic School Society - a school on St. Kilda, clothing for poor children, sewing schools for girls and encouragement to emigration.

Finally, a last word must be said about Gaelic itself. As we have seen the Society cared nothing for it as a language, indeed, they thought that it would probably be extinct by the end of the 19th century. The Committee would be amazed to learn that it still survives today. It certainly seemed doomed - it was not even mentioned in the 1872 Education Act, many School Inspectors were bitterly opposed to it being taught at all. Mr. Jolly, H.M.I. said that it was "educational heresy" to start reading with Gaelic. In 1876 many School Boards, even Coll, Glengarry, Glenshiel, Eochcarron, Sleat and Strath, voted against its retention. It took as long as 1918 before it was even a Special Subject or even taught officially in Primary Schools. Not surprisingly, the number of Gaelic speakers declined at an astonishing rate. J.A. Smith estimates that there were 231,594 Gaelic speakers in 1881 and only 80,604 by 1961. (101) Gaelic's retreat was most

(96) 31AR20.

(97) 3AR68.

(98) 41AR15; 8AR3.

(99) 5AR72; 26AR44; 27AR8; 31AR16.

(100) Mrs. J. Watson, "Pathmakers in the Isles 1850-1949", 1949.

(101) J.A. Smith, "The Position of Gaelic and Gaelic Culture in Scottish Education", in D.T. Thomson and I. Grimble, pp.59-91.

9 most marked in the mainland and its stronghold is now in the Western Isles. And yet, that is not strictly true. K. MacDonald points out that there are an estimated 11,165 Gaelic speakers in the city of Glasgow and thus, by an ironic twist of fate, Gaelic might be said to be an urban language in the 20th century.(102) K. MacDonald gives a table which shows the huge drop in Gaelic-only speakers, from 43,738 in 1891 to 974 in 1961. Or, to look at it another way, only 1.64% of the Scottish people have any knowledge of Gaelic as a spoken language. The outlook seems bleak, but then, that is exactly what they said in 1880!

(102) Ibid., K. MacDonald, "The Gaelic Language and its study and development", pp.177-199.

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SCOILEAN CHRÍOSD 1811-1861

A Study of the Edinburgh Society for
the Support of Gaelic Schools

By
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Thesis presented for the Degree of M. Litt.

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Appendix i

List of Officials

"The Gaelic School Society is - - more of a religious than a literary association."

- 25AR21.

Explanatory Notes

The following information is greatly condensed and presented in a standard form.

1. Each official's name is underlined in the form in which it appears in the Society's Annual Reports. Sometimes surnames were changed for legal reasons and titles frequently so. In the earlier years of the Society's history great emphasis was placed on social status and distinctions between esquires and "others" were clearly drawn. These are ignored in the following lists.
2. The position held in the Society is given together with the years of office, e.g. No. 1 Sir Robert Abercromby of Airthrey, K.G.C.B., Governor 1821-1827.
3. If known, the official's years of birth and death are given, e.g., Abercromby was born in 1740 and died in 1827.
4. If known, the official's profession or trade is given, e.g. No. 13, William Arnot was a bookseller.
5. If little information is available, then the home address is given(if possible), e.g. No. 14, George Baillie, lived at 3, Atholl Crescent, Edinburgh.
6. As for the sources, only the most detailed are given. Some are unreliable and an attempt has been made to correct inconsistencies.

1. Sir Robert Abercromby of Airthrey, K.G.C.B.

Governor 1821-1827

(1740-1827) Military Commander, born at Tullibody, younger brother of Sir Ralph Abercromby destined to be killed at the Battle of Alexandria, 1801. Robert volunteered for service in Canada against the French and fought gallantly at Ticonderoga, Niagara and the capture of Montreal. When the war finished in 1763 he retired as a Captain on half-pay and went home to live quietly in Scotland. When the American Colonies rebelled he again offered his services and fought at Brooklyn (where his brother, James, was killed), Brandywine, Germantown, the capture of Charleston and the surrender at Yorktown. By the end of the war he was a Colonel and an aide-de-camp to George III. In 1788 he went to India and by 1790 he was a Major-General, Governor and C-in-C at Bombay. Sent by Lord Cornwallis against Mysore he occupied the Malabar Coast and in 1792 helped to defeat Tippoo Sultan. He was made a Knight of the Bath. He had many adventures in the 2nd Rohilla War and in the Mutiny by E.I.C. officers. In 1794 he tracked down the murdered Gholam Mahommed and defeated him at Battina. The Governor-General, Sir John Shore, described all his actions as "mild, conciliatory and unassuming - - honourable, upright and zealous." In 1797 an eye-disease invalidated him home. In 1797 he was appointed Lieutenant-General and the following year he replaced his brother, Ralph as M.P. for Clackmannan. In 1802 he became a General while Governor of Edinburgh Castle. Blindness forced his resignation from Parliament in 1802. He died at the age of 87 at Airthrey, near Stirling (his niece had married J. Alexander Haldane, whose brother, Robert Haldane had sold him Airthrey Estate to raise funds for mission-work in India) the oldest general in the Army. Unlike so many others he had refused to make money for himself while serving in India.

(D.N.B., Vol. 1, pp 47-48; "The Scottish Nation", William Anderson, 1880, Vol. 1, p. 14)

2. Earl of Aboyne

Vice-President 1838-1845

(1761-1853) George Gordon, son of Charles 4th Earl of Aboyne and Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of Earl of Galloway. Born at Edinburgh he joined the 1st Foot as an Ensign and in 1777 was transferred to the 81st Highlanders. By 1780 he was an aide-de-camp to the Earl of Carlisle. In 1789 he was a Lieut-Colonel in the 35th Foot before joining the Coldstreams. In 1792 he

retired from the Army. In 1794 he became 5th Earl of Aboyne and was elected a representative peer of Scotland 1796, 1802, 1807 and 1812. In 1815 he became Baron Meldrum of Morven and in 1827 a Knight of the Order of the Thistle. Following the death of George, Duke of Gordon he became 9th Marquess of Huntly and 14th Earl in 1838. He died in Grosvenor Square, London at the age of 91. (Cf. Marquess of Huntly) (D.N.B., Vol. VIII, pp. 199-200; "The Scots Peerage", ed. Sir James Balfour Paul, 1907, Vol. IV, p. 559)

3. Rev. Robert Adam

Committee 1816-1818

(1770-1826) Episcopal clergyman, born at Udney, Aberdeenshire of poor parents. Educated at Aberdeen and Oxford Universities and ordained priest. In 1801 he became assistant to Dr. Drummond, titular Bishop of Glasgow, whom he succeeded as minister of Blackfriars' Wynd Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh. Later Chaplain to the Earl of Kellie. In 1809 he published 3 volumes "The Religious World Displayed." Appointed to a church in the Danish islands of St. Croix he was subsequently ordered to leave by the Danish authorities. Failing to get redress he returned to London to join the newly appointed Bishop of Barbadoes to the West Indies in 1825. Died while interim pastor at Tobago. ("The Scottish Nation", William Anderson, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 23-24)

4. Sir Andrew Agnew

Committee 1839-1842

(1793-1849) Member of Parliament, born at Kinsale, Ireland. Educated by tutors and at Edinburgh University. Improved his estates and in 1830 was elected M.P. for Wigton as "a moderate reformer." In 1832 he was active in a campaign to safeguard the Sabbath and later proposed legislation vs all open labour on Sundays. The death of William IV ruined his measure. He died of scarlet fever at the age of 56.

(D.N.B., Vol. I, p. 178; "Members of Parliament (Scotland) 1357-1882", Joseph Foster, 1882, p. 8)

5. Rev. John Aikman

Committee 1822-1824

(1770-1834) Preacher, born at Borrowstounness he inherited his uncle's business in Jamaica as a youth. He planned a circulating library and returned

home to select books. He read "Cardiphonia, or Utterance of the Heart" by Newton, which he had thought was a novel, and was converted. He went back to Jamaica to sell his business and then returned to Edinburgh to study to become a Preacher of the Gospel. Like his friend James Haldane he began his preaching at Gilmerton. Later he toured Caithness and Orkney. Although the "Pastoral Admonition" of the General Assembly was vs itinerating preachers many ministers received him kindly. He and Haldane both preached in the Circus till 1801 when he built his own chapel in Argyle Square. Not of robust health he preached to French P.O.W.'s at Edinburgh Castle and at Greenlaw Barracks, Pennycuik. Having been a Director in the Edinburgh Missionary Society since 1797 he left most of his money to missions. ("Original Portraits", John Kay, 1842, Vol. 1, pp. 300, 334; Vol. 11, pp. 40-41).

6. Alexander Anderson

Interim Inspector of Schools 1831-1838

Inspector of Schools 1839-1841

In November, 1825 he was appointed to Barvasses School, Lewis, which by 1827-1828 had the biggest roll of all the Gaelic Schools - 368, of whom no fewer than 224 were adults. In 1831 he became Interim Inspector and in 1839 Inspector of Schools. He appears to have retired early in 1842 and to have become a preacher.

(16AR50-51; 17AR53, 61; 18AR54-55, 57; 19AR58-59; 32AR13).

7. Archibald Anderson

Committee 1813-1815, 1824-1825

Edinburgh merchant.

8. Christopher Anderson

Secretary 1811-1814

Highland Secretary 1815-1820

Life Director 1821-1852

(1782-1852) Theological Writer and Preacher, born at the West Bow, Edinburgh, youngest son of William Anderson, Ironmonger. Clerk in a Friendly Insurance Office 1800-1804 he longed to become a foreign missionary. Greatly influenced by Robert and James Haldane he studied hard to achieve his ambition, but he was far from robust and had to be content to become minister to a small

congregation of "English Baptists" in 1808. He founded the Edinburgh Bible Society in October, 1810, an independent association and not a mere branch of the British and Foreign Society. Interested in the problem of the Highlands he "was a founder of the Gaelic School Society." He was an enthusiastic supporter of the Serampore Mission in India and often lectured on its behalf. He published two memorials on the diffusion of the Scriptures in the Celtic dialects and in 1828 "Historical Sketches of the Native Irish." However, his chief work was "Annals of the English Bible" in two volumes 1837-1845, which made him famous. His "The Domestic Constitution" argued that a Christian home was the best moulder of character and this had a great influence on his contemporaries. He died in Edinburgh without ever having received any public recognition for all his work. (D.N.B., Vol. 1, p. 373; Boase, Vol. 1, p. 59).

9. John Anderson

Committee 1846

Lived in Bruntsfield Place.

10. Lady Anderson

Governor 1844-1861

Lived in Princes Street 1844-1845, Duddingston 1846 and Woodlands, Portobello 1847-1861.

11. T.S. Anderson

Committee 1844-1847

A Writer to the Signet he lived at 1, Atholl Place.

12. Patrick Arklay

Committee 1841-1845

Advocate.

13. William Arnot

Depository Keeper 1820-1838

Bookseller.

14. George Baillie

Committee 1850-1854

Lived at 3, Atholl Crescent.

15. Andrew Balfour

Committee 1817-1820

Edinburgh Printer.

16. Professor J.H. Balfour

Committee 1855-1857

(1808-1884) Surgeon and Botanist born at Edinburgh and educated at the High School and University. M.D.(1832), M.A., LL.D.. he was apprenticed to Sir George Ballingall. He was President of the Royal Medical Society 1831-1833. LL.D.(Glas), LL.D.(St.And.), M.R.C.S.(Edin)(1833) and F.R.C.S. (1835) he practised in Edinburgh 1834-1841. He founded the Botanical Society of Edinburgh at his house, 15 Dundas Street, in February, 1836 and lectured on Botany in Surgeon Square in 1840. By 1841 he was Professor of Botany at Glasgow University and then in Edinburgh 1845-1879. He was Regius Keeper of Royal Botanic Garden and Queen's Botanist for Scotland 1845-1879. F.R.S(Edin)(1835), F.L.S.(1844) and F.R.S.(1856) he was also Dean of the Medical Faculty. He wrote many famous text-books - "Annals of Natural History", 1842-1857, "Class Book of Botany"(1854) and "Introduction to a study of Palaeontological Botany"(1872) and died at Inverleith House in Edinburgh after a very distinguished career.

(Boase, Vol. 1, p. 144)

17. Dr. William Beilby

Committee 1819-1825, 1834-1836

(1783-1849) Physician, born at Sheffield, he was a partner in a Dublin linen firm in 1807. He came to Edinburgh in 1813 to study medicine and qualified M.D. in 1816. He specialised in midwifery and earned a high reputation for his philanthropic work in the New Town Dispensary. Interested in benevolent and religious matters he was involved in the Evangelical Alliance and was first President of the Medical Missionary Society.

(D.N.B., Vol. 11, p. 133).

18. Rev. Alexander Beith

Secretary 1845-1861

(1799-1891) Minister, born at Campbeltown, son of a land-agent and merchant. Educated at Glasgow University he was licensed by the Presbytery of Kintyre in 1821 and served at Oban Chapel 1822, Hope Street Gaelic Chapel, Glasgow 1824, Ailbrandon 1826, Glenelg 1830 and East Church, Stirling 1839. One

of the seven ministers who preached at Strathbogie in defiance of the civil courts he was declared to be no longer a minister in May, 1843. He joined the Free Church and served at Stirling North F.C. 1843-1891. A D.D. of Princeton, New Jersey, 1850 he was Moderator of the F.C. Assembly in 1858. He died in Edinburgh the author of many books including two in Gaelic - "On the Baptist Controversy"(1823) and "A Catechism on Baptism" (1824). Among others were - "Account of the Revivals of Religion in the Isle of Skye"(1837), "Letter to Patrick Arklay, Esq.,"(1846), "Disruption Facts and Principles"(1859), "To the Men of the North"(1876) and "A Highland Tour with Dr. Candlish".
(Fasti, Vol. 1V, pp. 322-323; Boase, Vol. 1V, pp. 343-344; Ewing, Vol. 1, p. 94)

19. Donald Beith

Committee 1851-1861

In 1855 he lived at 50, Castle Street and in 1861 at 43, Castle Street, Edinburgh.

20. D.C. Bell

Committee 1848-1854

Lived at 7, Darnaway Street.

21. George Bell

Committee 1816-1819

Edinburgh Surgeon.

22. Divie Bethune

Governor 1813-1824

Lived in New York, U.S.A..

23. J.S. Blackwood

Committee 1821-1822

24. Andrew Bonar

Committee 1827-1830

Governor 1832-1847

Edinburgh Banker, worked with Ramsay, Bonar and Company and was father of William Bonar.

(Boase, Vol. 1, p. 331)

25. Archibald Bonar
Governor 1848-1861
Edinburgh Banker.

26. William Bonar
Committee 1823-1826
Governor 1830-1861
(1798-1866) Edinburgh Banker, born at Edinburgh and educated at the High School and University. A partner in Ramsay, Bonar and Company in 1817 which finally merged with the Bank of Scotland. Writer and publisher of numerous religious tracts he employed a Missionary for the Neglected Poor of Edinburgh. He was elected F.R.S.(Edin) in 1822.
(Boase, Vol. 1, p. 331)

27. John Boyd
Committee 1848-1861
Lived at 2, York Place.

28. Thomas J. Boyd
Committee 1858-1861
Lived at 11, Regent Terrace.

29. William Braidwood
Committee 1821-1824
Edinburgh Upholsterer.

30. Earl of Breadalbane
Vice-President 1813-1834
(1762-1834) John Campbell, son of Colin Campbell of Carwhin, educated at Westminster School and lived at Lausanne, Switzerland. His cousin died in 1783 and he became 4th Earl of Breadalbane. The following year he became a Peer of Scotland and in 1806 a United Kingdom Peer with the title Baron Breadalbane of Taymouth. In 1793 he raised the Breadalbane Fencibles and by 1809 was a Major-General and by 1814 a Lieut-General. William IV made him 1st Marquis of Breadalbane (and so he is listed 1832-1834) and Earl of Ormelie. He improved his estates greatly and won a Gold Medal for his splendid plantations at Kenmore. It was said that he could "call out" 2,000 men if he so wished. He died at 72 at Taymouth Castle.

("Original Portraits", John Kay, 1842, Vol. 11, pp. 233-234; "The Scottish Family History", James MacVeigh, 1891, Vol. 1, p. 377; "The Scottish Nation", William Anderson, 1880, Vol. 1, p. 377; "The Scots Peerage", ed. Sir J.B. Paul, 1905, Vol. 11, pp. 209-210).

31. Viscount Glenorchy

Governor 1828-1832

Vice-President 1835-1846

President 1847-1861

(1796-1862) John Campbell, son of 1st Marquis of Breadalbane was born at Dundee and educated at Eton where he was known as Lord Glenorchy. Liberal M.P. for Okehampton 1820-1826 he was known as the Earl of Ormelie after 1831. Defeating Sir George Murray in a famous contest he became M.P. for Perthshire 1832-1834. On the death of his father and his succeeding to the title of 2nd Marquis of Breadalbane in 1834 he moved to the House of Lords. Lord Lieutenant of Argyll in 1839 and Lord Chamberlain 1848-1852 and 1853-1858 he had been Rector of Glasgow University 1840-1842 and a champion of non-intrusion in the Lords. He entertained Queen Victoria at Taymouth Castle in 1842, joined the Free Church in 1843 and spent £4,000 on manse and in 1848 became a Privy Councillor. An enthusiast for the Volunteer movement he was Envoy Extraordinary to Prussia in 1861 and died at Lausanne having been a KT(1838), an F.R.S. and President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

(D.N.B., Vol. 111, p. 838; "The Scots Peerage", ed Sir J.B. Paul, 1905, Vol. 11, p. 211; "Disruption Worthies", J.A. Wylie, 1881, pp. 53-58).

32. James Bridges

Committee 1826-1829

Writer to the Signet.

33. Dr. Thomas Brown

Committee 1815-1818

(1778-1820) Professor of Moral Philosophy, born at Kirkmabreck, Galloway, his minister-father dying while he was still an infant. He was reading the Scriptures by 4 years of age and he entered Edinburgh University at 14. With Brougham, Horner, Smith and Jeffrey he formed the "Edinburgh Review" and while studying law for two years he studied medicine for another five. His ambition however was to be a poet, but he was disliked by Church of Scotland

and Tory interests and lost his chance to be Professor of Rhetoric 1799 and of Logic 1808. Nonetheless, he lectured in Philosophy 1808-1809 and he was appointed Professor 1810. He wrote many books - "Paradise of Coquettes"(1814), "Wanderer in Norway"(1815), "Bower of Spring"(1817), "Agnes"(1818) and "Emily"(1819) before his health broke and his sudden death in London. Henry Cockburn called him "acute and original." (D.N.B., Vol. 111, pp. 31-33; "The Scottish Family History", James MacVeigh, 1891, Vol. 1, pp. 395-396; "A History of Edinburgh", John Anderson, 1856, pp. 361-362; "Memorials of his Time", Henry Cockburn, 1872, p. 217)

34. Walter Brown

Committee 1811-1812, 1818-1820

Auditor 1813-1822

Edinburgh Merchant, who became Lord Provost of Edinburgh by June, 1828.

There is a notice in the "Courant"(9/6/1828) of various gentlemen meeting in the Waterloo Tavern with "Lord Provost Walter Brown."

("Original Portraits", John Kay, Vol. 11, p. 105)

N.B. There are two Walter Browns listed erroneously in the A.R. 1819-1820.

35. Alexander Bruce. Senior

Committee 1811-1812

Edinburgh Upholsterer.

36. Michael Bruce of Glenelg

Governor 1822-1826

37. George Brunton

Committee 1811-1812

Edinburgh Merchant.

38. George Buchan of Kelloe

Vice-President 1825-1855

(1775-1856) Born at Edinburgh he became a Writer in the Madras Civil Service 1792. Although shipwrecked on Madagascar and captured by French privateers he rose to become Chief Secretary 1803-1809 and Private Secretary to the Governor 1809-1810. Retiring in 1814 he returned to Scotland to be ordained an elder at Edrom Parish Church. A frequent attender at General Assemblies he was persuaded by a near relative, Robert Cathcart of Drum, to join the Gaelic School Society and Kelloe House, Berwickshire became a

rendezvous for Evangelicals. A friend of Candlish, he joined the Free Church in 1843, the very year in which he was lamed in a bad fall from a horse. He wrote pamphlets vs duelling, gave £3,000 to the F.C. Sustentation Fund and £5,000 to Missionary Schemes he died at the age of 81. (Boase, Vol. 1V, p. 528; "Disruption Worthies", J.A. Wylie, 1881, pp. 87-94).

39. Rev. Dr. Buchanan

Committee 1817-1819

(1755-1832) Minister, Walter Buchanan was the son of a Glasgow maltman and was educated at Glasgow University where he took an M.A. in 1774. Licensed by the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1778 he was ordained at Stirling 1780 and moved to the Canongate in Edinburgh in 1789. His appointment caused great division in the parish as he was a noted evangelical preacher with a reputation for simple language but plain and impressive oratory. D.D. from Edinburgh in 1805 he wrote "The Beneficial Influence of the Gospel" (1804) and edited "The Religious Monitor" till 1819. Secretary of the Edinburgh Missionary Society he helped found New Street Chapel in the Canongate and was a close friend of Charles Simeon of Cambridge, James Haldane and Dr. Dickson.

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 29; "Original Portraits", John Kay, Vol. 11, pp. 152-154; "The Kirk in the Canongate", R.S. Wright, 1956, pp. 86, 88).

40. James Burgess

Committee 1842-1843

41. John Burnett of Kemnay

Committee 1811-1812

Vice-President 1813-1816

Governor 1818-1847

(1786-1847) Aberdeenshire Laird who married Mary, daughter of Charles Stuart of Dunearn.

(Boase, Vol. 1V, p. 549)

N.B. He tended to spell his name Burnet after 1827.

42. Marquis of Bute

Vice-President 1840-1848

(1793-1848) John Crichton-Stuart, lost his parents while still young and became Earl of Dumfries at the age of 9. Educated at Cambridge he took his M.A. in 1812 and travelled extensively in Europe for many years till

1834 when he became 2nd Marquis of Bute. D.C.L.(Oxon) in 1834 and LL.D.(Camb) in 1835 he was Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly in 1844. A KT, and an F.R.S. he supported Wellington and Peel and advocated R.C. Emancipation. He developed his estates and the port of Cardiff and died at Cardiff Castle.

("The Scots Peerage", ed. Sir J.B. Paul, 1905, Vol. 11, pp. 309-310).

43. Colonel Charles Cadell

Committee 1842-1850

(1786-1866) Soldier, born at Prestonpans he joined the 28th Foot as an Ensign in 1804 and served in the Peninsular War 1811-1814. He commanded his regiment at Waterloo and by 1833 was a half-pay Lieut-Colonel. He wrote "Narrative of the Campaigns of the 28th Regiment since their return from Egypt in 1802"(1835) and died at St. Heliers.

(Boase, Vol. 1V, p. 570).

44. John Cameron

Committee 1829-1837, 1839-1846

Edinburgh Clothier.

45. Alexander Campbell of Monzie

Vice-President 1847-1861

(1811-1869) Member of Parliament, eldest son of Lieut-General Alexander Campbell of Monzie, he was educated at Sandhurst and served in Canada with the 32nd Foot. He left the Army in 1835 after a period with the 15th Hussars. M.P. for Argyll 1841-1843 he brought in a bill to regulate Church patronage in Scotland in 1842 and was a staunch supporter of the Free Church. A liberal Conservative he refused to join Peel because he did not believe in political parties and advocated Free Trade and vote by Ballot. With residences at Monzie Castle, Perthshire and Inverawe, Argyll, he was known as a generous donor to good causes. He died at Leamington at the age of 57.

(Boase, Vol. 1, p. 527; "Members of Parliament(Scotland)1357-1882, Joseph Foster, 1882, p. 46; "Disruption Worthies", J.A. Wylie, 1881, pp. 125-130)

46. Colin Campbell of Jura

Committee 1836-1838

(1772-1848) Laird, 7th of Jura and Craginish. D.L. and J.P.

("Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry", ed.

Peter Townend, 1965, p. 363)

47. John Campbell of Warriston

Committee 1811-1812

Vice-President 1816-1829

Life Director 1827-1843

Writer to the Signet.

N.B. Listed as Jnr. 1827-1829.

48. John Campbell

Gaelic Secretary 1811-1814

Involved in Highland Society.

49. John Campbell of Carbrook. Tertius

Treasurer 1811-1821

Secretary 1822-1826

(1788-1866) Writer to the Signet, eldest son of John Campbell of the Citadel, Leith. Qualified as a W.S. in 1813 he became Joint Crown Agent 1813-1816 and later Sheriff Clerk of Midlothian 1843-1859. An F.R.S. (Edin) from 1837 he helped "to found some of the most thriving institutions in Edinburgh."

50. Mrs. Campbell

Governor 1856-1861

Lived at Abercromby Place.

51. William Campbell of Tilliechewan

Governor 1852-1861

(1793-1864) Glasgow merchant, born at Port of Monteith, he moved to Glasgow in 1805 to work for John Craig, Clothier, in the High Street. By 1815 he had his own business in the Saltmarket and later he went into partnership with his brother James (later Sir James Campbell) at Candleriggs. A member of Glasgow Town Council he gave away £90,000 to charity. He actively promoted 20 new F.C. churches in Glasgow and assisted 200 others throughout Scotland. A devout Sabbatarian he sponsored the Botanic Gardens and Glasgow Night Asylum for the Homeless. He died at Tilliechewan Castle at the age of 71.

(Boase, Vol. 1, p. 534; "Disruption Worthies", J.A. Wylie, 1881, pp. 131-138).

52. Rev. Dr. Robert S. Candlish

Committee 1846-1861

(1806-1873) Minister, born at Edinburgh, son of James Candlish, teacher of medicine and Jane Smith, "the Mauchline belle", friends of Robert Burns. Father died when an infant and he was educated at Glasgow University. Became private tutor for three years at Eton to the family of Sir Hugh Campbell of Marchmont. Licensed by the Presbytery of Glasgow he served at St. Andrews, Glasgow 1829-1831, Bonhill, Loch Lomond 1831-1833 and St. George's, Edinburgh 1834. In 1841 he was offered the Chair of Divinity and Biblical Criticism at Edinburgh University by the Home Secretary as well as Deanery of the Chapel Royal. Lord Aberdeen objected to this in the House of Lords on the grounds of the part he had played in the Non-Intrusion Controversy. The offers were withdrawn. D.D.(Princeton) 1841 he played a leading part in the exciting days of 1842 and the formation of the Free Church. Having suggested Hugh Miller of Cromarty as editor of "The Witness" he served at St. George's F.C., Edinburgh and in 1845 founded the Evangelical Alliance which aimed at the union of the Free Church, the United Presbyterians, the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Reformed Presbyterian Church of England, but despite his efforts the scheme was ruined by Rev. Dr. Begg. In 1847 he was offered the Chair of Divinity at New College, but he declined in order to remain with his congregation. After the death of Thomas Chalmers in 1847 he became the leading figure in the Free Church. Moderator in 1861 he was appointed Principal of New College in 1862. D.D.(Edin) in 1865 he urged the transfer of all F.C. schools to the nation in 1872. During a busy career he wrote many books - "The Word of God the Instrument of the Propagation of the Gospel"(1843), "Reason and Revelation"(1854), "Man's Right to the Sabbath"(1856), "Life in a Risen Saviour"(1858), "The Atonement"(1860) and "The Fatherhood of God"(1865 and many more. (Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 106; Ewing, Vol. 1, pp. 116-117; D.N.B., Vol. 111, pp. 857-860; "Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, pp. 604-606; "Disruption Worthies", J.A. Wylie, 1881, pp. 139-146).

53. John Carment

Committee 1860-1861

Lived at 36, Great King Street.

54. Miss Agnes Carnegie

Governor 1839-1861

55. Robert Cathcart

Committee 1811-1812

Auditor 1811-1812

Writer to the Signet.

56. Charles M. Christie of Durie

Committee 1832-1835

Governor 1835-1836

Vice-President 1836-1861

Laird, 2nd of Durie, born 1785, served as an officer in Germany and in the Peninsula. D.L. and J.P..

(Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry", ed. Peter Townend, 1965, p. 442).

57. Robert Christie

Committee 1838

58. Sheriff Thomas Cleghorn

Committee 1860-1861

(1818-1874) Sheriff, born at Edinburgh, son of Alexander Cleghorn, Collector of Customs. Educated at Edinburgh Academy and University he was called to the Scottish bar in 1839. Advocate Depute, Registrar of Friendly Societies and then Sheriff of Argyll 1855-1874. Legal adviser to the Free Church in 1871 he founded Wellington School for the Reformation of Young Criminals. With Robert Balfour he wrote the "History of the Speculative Society" and articles for the "North British Review." He revised Cockburn's "Journal" in 1874.

(Boase, Vol. 1, p. 644).

59. Lady Colquhoun of Luss

Governor 1842-1846

(1781-1846) Janet Sinclair, daughter of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, was born in London and brought up at Thurso Castle, Canongate and Stoke Newington. She returned to Edinburgh in 1796 and three years later married Major James Colquhoun, M.P. for Dunbartonshire, and lived at Rossdhu, Loch Lomond, where she took an active interest in the Luss and Arrochar Bible Society. In 1805 her husband inherited his title. In 1820 she fell ill and had to withdraw from many of her interests. She published many works anonymously - "Despair and Hope"(1820), "Thoughts

on the Religious Profession"(1823) and "Impressions of the Heart"
(1825). A strong supporter of the Free Church she died at Helensburgh.
(D.N.B., Vol. 1V, pp. 857-858)

60. Miss Colquhoun of Luss
Governor 1842-1861

61. Walter Cook
Committee 1819-1822
Writer to the Signet.

62. James Cornwall
Committee 1841-1845
Lived at 22, Royal Circus.

63. William Cowan
Committee 1854-1861
Lived at 15, Princes Street.

64. Rev. Edward Craig
Committee 1819-1821, 1831-1833

65. James Crawford, Jnr.
Committee 1846-1848
(1808-1863) Writer to the Signet, born at North Berwick, qualified W.S.
in 1833. Planned Presbyterian Review 1831 and was Depute Clerk of Free
Church Assembly 1843-1863. One of the editors of "The Book of Styles
and of the Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland" in
1843.
(Boase, Vol. 1V, p. 795).

66. Alexander Cruickshank
Committee 1813-1816, 1822-1824, 1835-1837
Edinburgh Hosier.

67. Edward Cruickshank
Committee 1842-1845
Lived in George Street.

68. James Cunningham

Committee 1842-1858

Governor 1850-1861

Writer to the Signet.

69. Rev. Robert Cunningham

Committee 1857-1859

(1799-1883) Minister, born at Stranraer and educated at Edinburgh University. Licensed by the Presbytery of Haddington in 1825 he was interested in education. In 1827 he was made a Governor of George Watson's Hospital and in 1832 he founded the Edinburgh Institution. From 1837-1839 he was Vice-Principal of Lafayette College, U.S.A.. Appointed Rector of Glasgow Normal Seminary he founded Blairlodge Academy. He joined the Free Church and was ordained in 1843 at Polmont. In 1851 he retired from Blairlodge and lived in Edinburgh till 1859, when he moved to Stranraer where he lived till his death.

(Ewing, Vol. 1, p. 131)

70. Rev. G.R. Davidson

Committee 1843-1848

(1801-1890) Minister, born at Brechin and educated at the Grammar School there and at St. Andrews University where he took his M.A. 1820. Licensed by the Presbytery of St. Andrews in 1823 he was ordained at Drumblade in 1828. Transferred to Lady Glenorchy's, Edinburgh in 1842. He joined the Free Church, was awarded a D.D. (St. And.) and wrote "Privilege and Duty, a Pastoral Address"(1845).

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 80; Ewing, Vol. 1, p. 134).

71. Harry Davidson

Committee 1819-1821

Writer to the Signet and Sheriff Substitute.

72. William Davidson

Governor 1813-1861

Lived at Kensington, London.

73. Rev. David Dickson Jnr.

Committee 1813-1816, 1819-1821

(1780-1842) Minister, born at Liberton in Lanarkshire the son of a min-

ister, he was educated at Edinburgh University and licensed by the local Presbytery in 1801. He served at Kilmarnock 1802-1803 and then at St. Cuthbert's, Bonnington 1803-1842. A D.D.(Edin) in 1824 he was Secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society and "an indefatigable advocate of all benevolent and missionary work." A Hebrew scholar, he wrote "The Influence of Learning on Religion"(1814) and contributed to the "Edinburgh Encyclopaedia" and the "Christian Instructor." Of a genial nature he hated polemics and avoided the controversies that led to the Disruption. He conducted the funeral service of Scott at Abbotsford.

(Fasti, Vol. 1, pp. 102-103; D.N.B., Vol. V, p. 948; "Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, pp. 80-81).

N.B. He did not use Jnr. after 1819.

74. James Jobson Dickson

Auditor 1834-1846

75. William Dickson

Committee 1859-1861

Lived at 10, South St. Andrew Street.

76. Hay Donaldson

Committee 1814-1817

Writer to the Signet.

77. Francis Brown Douglas

Committee 1840-1847, 1849-1861

Governor 1841-1861

(1814-1886) Advocate, educated at Edinburgh University, called to the bar in 1837. As he was wealthy he turned his interest to public affairs. In 1850 he entered the Town Council and in 1855 became a magistrate. In 1859 he was elected Lord Provost 1859-1862. During this period he opened Cockburn Street, persuaded H.M.G. to do something about the ruinous state of Edinburgh Castle and helped to found the Post Office and Museum. A Liberal in politics he failed against Adam Black in Edinburgh in 1856 and later at St. Andrews Burghs. A member of the first School Board in 1872 he retired in 1884. A generous benefactor of the Free Church he died at Melville House in Fife.

("Lord Provosts of Edinburgh, 1296-1932", 1932, p. 125).

78. Lady Grace Douglas
Governor 1839, 1845

79. James Douglas of Cavers
Vice-President 1816-1861

Laird, Congregationalist with "strong evangelistic sympathies", he supported Cavers Mission at Selkirk.

("A History of Scottish Congregationalism", Harry Scott, 1960, pp. 333-335).

80. Robert Downie of Appin
Vice-President 1816-1841

(1771-1841) Member of Parliament for Stirling burghs 1820-1826 and 1826-1830.

("Members of Parliament(Scotland)1357-1882", Joseph Foster, 1882, p. 104.)

81. Rev. D.T.K. Drummond
Committee 1837-1840

Minister at St. Thomas's English Episcopal Church.

82. John Dryburgh
Committee 1860-1861

Lived at 9, Clarendon Crescent in 1860 and Coates Crescent in 1861.

83. John Dymock
Secretary 1831-1832
Committee 1833-1834

Writer to the Signet.

84. Rev. Robert Elder
Secretary 1839-1845
Committee 1846-1847
Life Director 1848-1861

(1808-1892) Minister, born at Inveraray and educated at Campbeltown Grammar School and Glasgow University where he took his M.A. in 1825. Licensed by the Presbytery of Kintyre 1829 he was ordained at Kilbrandon 1831. Transferred to Killin 1834 and then to St. Paul's, Edinburgh in 1838. He joined the Free Church and was minister at St. Paul's F.C. 1843-1847 until he went to Rothesay F.C. in 1847. A DD(Glas) in 1871

he was also Moderator of the F.C. Assembly that year. In 1882 he retired and he died in Edinburgh. He was the author of many works - "Non-Intrusion"(1840), "Danger of Spiritual Ignorance"(1841), "On the Conversion of the Jews"(1842), "Thesis on the Doctrine of the Sacraments"(1871) and "Free Church Principles"(1877). (Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 188; Ewing, Vol. 1, 1914, p. 147).

85. James Erskine of Linlathen

Committee 1811-1812

Governor 1813-1816

Laird, who died in 1816.

86. Thomas Erskine of Linlathen

Committee 1813-1816

Governor 1818-1820

(1788-1870) Advocate, youngest son of David Erskine of Linlathen was born in Edinburgh. Educated at the High School and University he was an Advocate 1810-1816 when he inherited his family estate. He retired and studied theology. A friend of Thomas Carlyle and Dean Stanley he was an Episcopalian evangelist interested in Sunday Schools. Although a friend of Chalmers he challenged the General Assembly in 1831 for dismissing the Rev. J. McLeod Campbell for preaching "universal atonement and pardon through the death of Christ." Despite the fact that he was opposed to democracy he gave his workers employment during the 1848 depression. He wrote many books - "Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion"(1820), "An Essay on Faith"(1822), "The Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel"(1828), "The Brazen Serpent"(1831) and "The Doctrine of Election."(1837)

(D.N.B., Vol. VI, pp. 862-863; Boase, Vol. 1, pp. 996-997; "Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen", Joseph Irving, 1882, p. 133; "Some 19th c. Scotsmen", W. Knight, 1903, pp. 177-191).

87. James Evans

Committee 1820-1825

Lived at Canaan Park.

88. Adam Ferguson

Committee 1830

89. Charles Forbes

Committee 1838-1839, 1844-1845

Life Director 1840-1843

Edinburgh Banker.

90. Sir Charles Forbes

Governor 1826-1850

(1774-1849) Member of Parliament, son of a minister and educated at Aberdeen University. Went to India and worked with Forbes and Company, Bombay, where he was known as a man of high character. M.P. for Beverley 1812-1818 and for Malmesbury 1818-1832 he was a Tory with a strong love of justice. He supported the emancipation of R.C.'s and female franchise, but was against the Reform Bill 1832. When he stood for Middlesex he failed. He contributed to many charities and gave Bengal pure water. In 1823 he received a baronetcy and he died in London. (D.N.B., Vol. VII, pp. 380-381; "The Scottish Family History", James MacVeigh, 1891, Vol. 11, p. 233).

91. George Forbes

Governor 1834-1861

Lived at Fitzroy Square, London.

92. James Forsyth

Committee 1840-1843

93. Rev. Hugh Fraser

Committee 1858-1861

(1780-1865) Minister, born at Croy, Inverness and educated at Aberdeen and Edinburgh Universities. Licensed by the Presbytery of Nairn 1805 he served at Oban Chapel 1807-1809, Kilmore 1809-1817, Ardchattan 1817-1843. He joined the Free Church and was minister there 1843-1851. He died in Edinburgh. As a young man he translated into Gaelic "A Catechism on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." (1813) (Fasti, Vol. 1V, pp. 82-83).

94. William Fraser

Committee 1814-1817

Lived at Pilrig Street.

95. Miss Fryer

Governor 1848-1861

Lived at Brighton.

96. Andrew Fyfe

Committee 1861

Lived at 21, St. Andrew Square.

97. James Gammell

Committee 1838-1839

98. George IV

Patron 1822-1830

99. George Gibson

Committee 1811-1815

Leith Merchant.

100. Mrs. Gladstone

Governor 1833-1850

Anne Robertson, daughter of the Provost of Dingwall, married John Gladstone in 1800 and went to live in Liverpool, where she became the mother of W.E. Gladstone, the future Prime Minister.

(D.N.B., Vol. VII, p. 1285)

101. Earl of Glasgow

Vice-President 1830-1845

(1766-1843) Soldier; George Boyle was a Captain in the West Lowland Fencibles in 1793, a Major in the Angus Fencibles, a Lieut-Colonel in the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles. Later he was a Colonel in the Ayr and Renfrew Militia and then in the Renfrewshire Militia. In 1810 he was Lord Lieutenant of Renfrew and in 1815 a British peer.

("The Scottish Family History", James MacVeigh, 1891, Vol. 11, p. 309).

102. Rev. Benjamin Golding

Committee 1828

103. Rev. Wm. Henry Goold

Committee 1842-1845

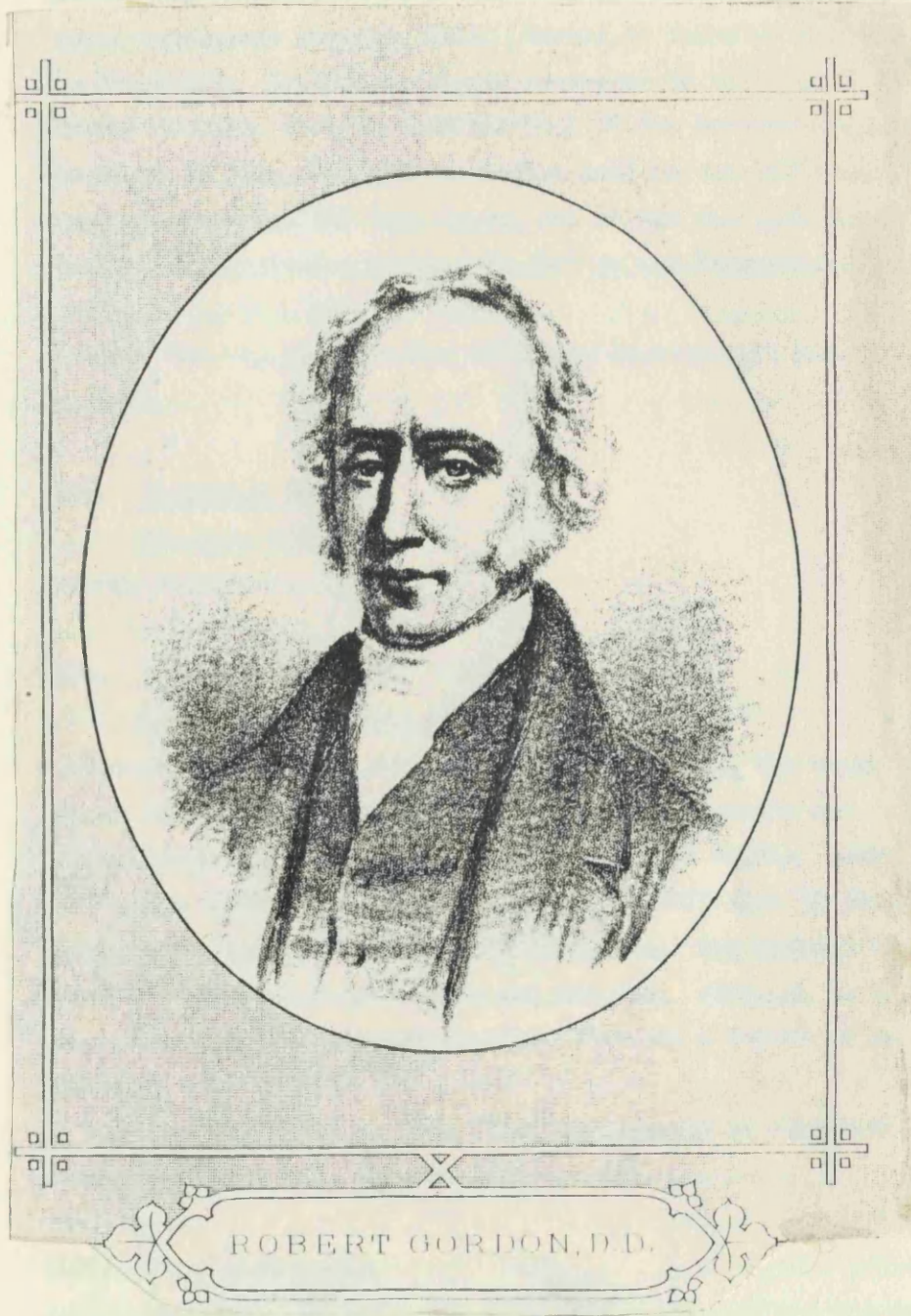


PLATE 8.

(1815-1897) Minister, born at Edinburgh, son of Rev. W. Goold. Educated at the High School, where he was Dux, and at the University and the Reformed Presbytery Divinity Hall. Served 57 years at the Martyr's Church in Edinburgh. In 1853 he became Professor of Biblical Literature and Church History, a D.D., and Secretary of the National Bible Society of Scotland in 1861. He took a leading part in the 1876 union of Reformed Presbyterians and the Free Church and he was the last Moderator of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod. In 1877 he was Moderator of the F.C. Assembly.

(Ewing, Vol. 1, pp. 170-171; "Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, p. 644).

104. Alexander Gordon

Governor 1834-1861

London Solicitor.

105. Duchess of Gordon

Governor 1833-1861

(1794-1864) Elizabeth Brodie was born in London, the daughter of Alexander Brodie of Brodie. Carefully educated, wealthy and "a handsome figure" she married George Gordon, Marquis of Huntly, later 5th Duke of Gordon in 1813. She became Duchess in 1827 when 33 years of age and devoted her life to the study of the Bible. Her husband died in 1836 and she supported many schools and chapels. Although an Episcopalian, she joined the Free Church in 1843. She was a friend of Dr. Stuart of Duncarn. She died at 70.

(D.N.B., Vol. VIII, p. 177; "Life and Letters of Elizabeth, last Duchess of Gordon", A.M. Stuart, 1865, p. 48).

106. James Gordon Jnr.

Assistant Secretary and Clerk 1847-1861

Writer to the Signet.

107. James Farquhar Gordon

Committee 1811-1813, 1817-1820, 1822-1824, 1831-1834

Writer to the Signet. Nephew of Dr. C. Stuart of Duncarn and married to the only daughter of Robert Haldane.

108. Rev. Dr. Robert Gordon

Committee 1848-1853

(1786-1853) Minister, born at Glencairn, the only son of a teacher, he studied at Edinburgh and Aberdeen Universities. Having taught at Perth Academy he was licensed by the Presbytery of Perth in 1814 and served at Kinfauns 1816-1821, Buccleuch Chapel, Edinburgh 1822-1823, Hope Park Chapel 1824-1825, New North Chapel, Brighton Street 1825-1830, High Church 1830-1843 during which time he was Collector of the Widows' Fund and Moderator of the General Assembly in 1841. He joined the Free Church and served at the Free High on the Mound. After Chalmers left he was Professor of Divinity. He invented a self-registering hygrometer and wrote four volumes of "Christ as made known to the Ancient Church" (1855). (Ewing, Vol. 1, p. 172; Boase, Vol. 1, p. 1183; Fasti, Vol. 1, pp. 61-62).

109. Walter Graham

Committee 1836-1839

Lived at Merchiston Lodge.

110. John Grahame of Gartur

Governor 1821

111. Charles Grant of Waternish

Vice-President 1817-1823

(1746-1823) Member of Parliament, born at Aldourie, Dores, his Jacobite father was killed at Culloden and he was adopted by his uncle who had him educated in Elgin. In 1767 he went to India and returned home to marry 1770-1772. By 1773 he was back in Calcutta and after 1781 became very prosperous in the silk trade. A friend of Governor-General Cornwallis he came home in 1790 to write pamphlets on missionary work in India. M.P. for Inverness-shire 1802-1818 he was Chairman of the East India Company Directors 1805 and opposed Wellington's warlike policy towards the Mahrattas 1805-1808, so much so that he wanted him impeached 1808. A friend of Wilberforce he was interested in education in India in 1813. Director of the South Sea Company he bought an estate at Waternish in Skye and encouraged the building of the Caledonian Canal and better roads and bridges throughout the Highlands. An enthusiast for Sunday Schools and Indian Missions he was a member of the evangelical Clapham Sect and knew Zachary Macaulay, the Thorntons and John Venn. He was also a Director in the Sierra Leone Company for freed slaves, Vice-President of the British and Foreign Bible Society as well as a promoter of the Church Mission-

ary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel . He even conceived the plan for Haileybury College in Hertfordshire where young men were trained for service in India. Two of his sons became M.P.'s. He died at 77 in London.

(D.N.B., Vol. VIII, pp. 378-380; "The Scottish Nation", W. Anderson, 1830, Vol. 11, pp. 366-367).

112. James Grant

Committee 1819-1821

Writer to the Signet.

113. James Gray

Committee 1847-1859

Lived at 60, Princes Street till 1855 and then at 124, George Street.

114. Lord Gray

Vice-President 1819-1845

(1765-1842) Francis Gray, born at Edinburgh, he was a Major in the 1st Breadalbane Fencibles 1793. From 1807-1810 he was Postmaster General of Scotland. He inherited his title in 1807 and built Kinfauns Castle in 1822.

("The Scottish Family History", James MacVeigh, 1891, Vol. 11, p. 374).

115. Robert Gray

Committee 1813-1816

Governor 1821-1861

Edinburgh Merchant.

116. Rev. Henry Grey

Committee 1814-1817, 1821-1823, 1826-1829

(1778-1859) Minister, born at Alnwick, son of a physician. Educated at Edinburgh University he was licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh 1800 and served at Stenton 1801, St. Cuthbert's Chapel of Ease 1812 and North Parish Church 1820. He joined the Free Church and served at St. Mary's F.C. 1843 till his death. An evangelist he began the practice of having numerous communions. Very scholarly and eloquent he challenged Dr. Andrew Thomson on the Apocrypha Controversy and was active in the Free Church Assembly vs slavery and for political reform.

(Fasti, Vol. 1, pp. 112-113; D.N.B., Vol. VIII, pp. 631-632).

117. Francis Grove

Committee 1838-1841

118. Rev. Thomas Guthrie

Committee 1840-1842

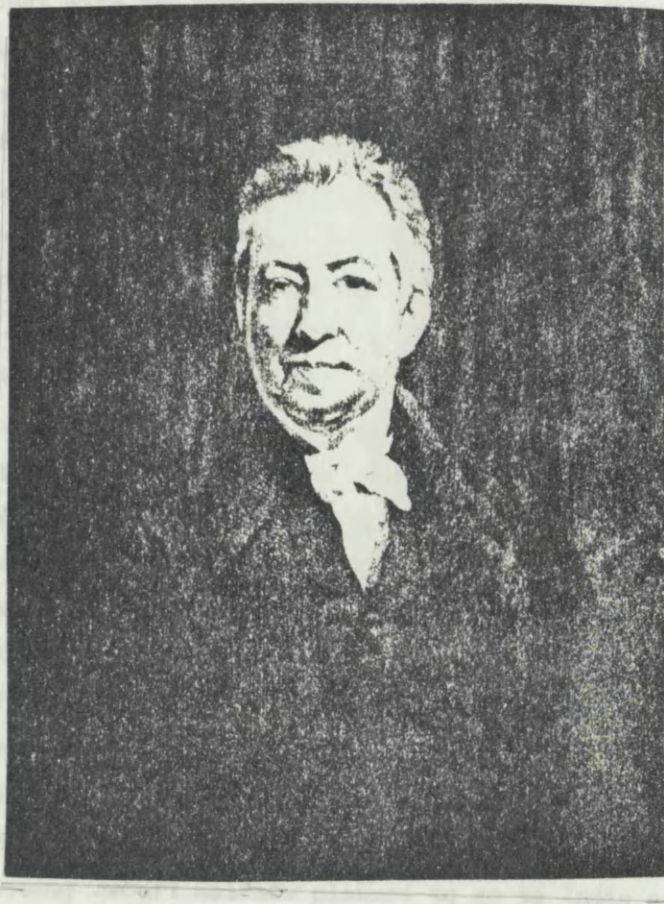
(1803-1873) Minister, born at Brechin, the son of David Guthrie, Banker and Provost. Educated at Brechin and Edinburgh University and licensed by the Presbytery of Brechin 1825 he studied medicine in Paris 1825-1827 and returned to be manager of a Brechin bank 1827-1829. Ordained to Arbirlot 1830 he started a Savings Bank, a Sunday School and a Parish Library. By 1837 he was in Edinburgh at Old Greyfriars, where he became a strong supporter of Thomas Chalmers. In 1840 he moved to St. John's and it was from there that he joined the Free Church. After 1843 he served in St. John's F.C.. Between July, 1845 and June, 1846 he collected £116,000 for the new Church. In 1844 he declared himself a total abstainer and he did much to achieve the Forbes Mackenzie Act 1853 which led to Sunday closing. Very ill from heart disease in 1847 he recovered to receive a D.D.(Edin) in 1849. Moderator of the F.C. Assembly 1862 he retired in 1864 to devote his remaining years to editing "The Sunday Magazine." An eloquent preacher, prolific writer, friend of Thackeray and Ruskin, he was a Liberal in politics and as such he had a firm belief in the need for a national system of education backed by compulsion. "The Apostle of the Ragged School Movement rather than its founder" he did a great deal for Edinburgh's Industrial Schools. An F.R.S.E.(1869) he spent his quieter moments of leisure in fishing. His many works include - "A Short Plea for the Public and Free Use of the Bible in Ragged Schools"(1847), "A Plea for Ragged Schools"(1848), "A Second Plea for Ragged Schools"(1849), "A Plea on Behalf of Drunkards and against Drunkenness"(1851), "Lost and Found" (1853), "The City, its Sins and Sorrows"(1857), "The Disruption - its Obligations and Responsibilities"(1862), "Speaking to the Heart"(1863), "Man and the Gospel"(1865), "Out of Harness"(1867) and "Sundays Abroad" (1871).

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 108; D.N.B., Vol. VIII, pp. 823-825; Boase, Vol. 1, p. 1265; Ewing, Vol. 1, p. 179).

119. Rev. James Haldane

Committee 1819-1826

(1798-1853), Minister, born at Dundee, youngest son of Captain James Haldane of Edinburgh and nephew of Andrew Haldane of Compton. Education at Dundee Grammar School and Edinburgh High School; he went to Edinburgh University in 1811. In 1799 at the age of 17 he joined "The Sons of Freedom", an anti-slavery society, as a member and only four trips to India and China. He was captain of the "Melville Castle".



JAMES HALDANE

He was a missionary with the Rev. John and the Rev. Andrew Haldane. The East India Company, however, was not available and the Haldanes built a ship with free sailing for 3,000. In 1800 James Haldane left his congregation when he became a Baptist. Between the years 1811 and 1817 he was involved in a continual and bitter tract war with the other Baptists.

(Haldane, John, J. p. 10. Vol. 1, pp. 297-300; "Pilgrimage that Spoke", R. J. Haldane, 1971, pp. 29-30).

18. Haldane, John
Glasgow 1814-1817

(1793-1866) Minister, born at Collieston, near Glasgow, in a domestic family. Educated at Glasgow University and influenced by John Brown

(1768-1851) Minister, born at Dundee, youngest son of Captain James Haldane of Airthrey and nephew of Admiral Duncan of Camperdown. Educated at Dundee Grammar School and Edinburgh High School he went to Edinburgh University in 1781. In 1785 at the age of 17 he joined "The Duke of Montrose", an East Indiaman, as a midshipman and made four trips to India and China. At 24 he was captain of the "Melville Castle". Contact with the Rev. David Bogue of Gosport turned his mind to more serious things and in 1794 he gave up the sea and retired to Edinburgh. There, the Rev. Dr. Walter Buchanan of the Canongate sought his help with the poor. Despite growing opposition from the clergy he held religious meetings and to gather data toured the Highlands with Charles Simeon of King's College, Cambridge in 1796. Convinced that he had something to offer he preached at Gilmerton, near Edinburgh, in May, 1797. Dr Stuart of Dunearn was there and was much impressed by his sincerity. Before long he was preaching to as many as 10,000 on Calton Hill. In 1797, in the summer, he went off with the Rev. Aikman on an evangelistic tour, which persuaded him to found the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. Haldane's lay-preaching had caused a sensation and many of the clergy were disturbed. The General Assembly therefore issued a Pastoral Admonition and James Haldane, with his brother, Robert, and the Rev. Aikman, left the Church of Scotland, 1799. James founded the first Congregational Church in Scotland and was ordained its pastor. He refused to accept a salary and the income of the church went to the support of the Society with its work in non-sectarian, itinerant preaching with tract distribution. Having sold Airthrey to Sir Robert Abercromby Robert Haldane planned to go to India as a missionary with the Rev. Innes and the Rev. Greville Ewing. The East India Company, however, refused them permission. Money was therefore available and the Haldanes built Leith Walk Tabernacle with free seating for 3,000. In 1808 James Haldane split his congregation when he became a Baptist. Between the years 1811 and 1847 he was involved in a continual and bitter tract war with his fellow-Baptists. (Boase, Vol. 1, p. 1277; D.N.B., Vol. VIII, pp. 897-898; "Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, pp. 85-86).

120. Rev. James Hall

Committee 1814-1817

(1755-1826) Minister, born at Cathcart, near Glasgow, in a secession family. Educated at Glasgow University and influenced by John Brown

of Haddington he was licensed 1776 by the Associated Presbytery of Glasgow. In 1777 he became pastor at Cumnock until 1786 when he moved to the "New Edinburgh Secession Church" in Rose Street. Of high intelligence and polished manners his eloquence as a preacher made him a Society idol. A D.D.(New York) in 1812 he moved to the wealthy Broughton Place, where he expressed his support for missionary work. Moderator of the Synod in 1821 he was Chairman of the Committee which brought union among seceders.

(D.N.B., Vol. VIII, p. 952: "Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, pp. 618-619).

121. Rev. James Hamilton

Committee 1841-1842

(1814-1867) Minister, born at Paisley, eldest son of Rev. Dr. William Hamilton of Strathblane. Educated privately and at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities. M.A.(Glas) in 1835 he was licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh 1839. Assistant to Rev. Dr. Candlish at St. George's, Edinburgh. Served at Abernyte and in 1841 at Roxburgh Place Chapel. Inducted to National Scottish Church, Regent Square, London. D.D.(New Jersey) 1848 and an F.L.S., he edited "Presbyterian Messenger" and "Evangelical Christendom", the organ of the Evangelical Alliance. Among his numerous writings were "Life in Earnest"(1845), "The Mount of Olives" (1846), "Lessons from the Great Biography"(1857), "A Morning beside the Lake of Galilee"(1863) and "The Psalter and the Hymn Book"(1865). (Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 187; D.N.B., Vol. VIII, p. 1072).

122. Hugh Handyside

Committee 1832

(1790-1833)

("Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, p. 695).

123. J. Hawkins

Committee 1852-1855

Lived at 2, Regent Terrace.

124. Robert Hepburne of Clarkington

Committee 1819-1821, 1825-1828

N.B. Listed as Hepburn after 1826.

125. William Home

Committee 1839-1841

Writer to the Signet.

126. Dr. Richard Huie

Committee 1823-1827

Secretary 1827-1829

Life Director 1830-1846

(1795-1867) Surgeon, born at Aberdeen, son of James Huie, Collector of Taxes. Educated at Edinburgh High School and qualified as a Surgeon in 1815. Worked in London and Dundee till he settled in George Square, Edinburgh in 1822. Senior Fellow in the Royal College of Surgeons he became President in 1840. Fond of poetry he wrote hymns and published "Sacred Lyrics" in 1843. He also wrote for a magazine "Olive Branch." ("Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, p. 689; Edinburgh Medical Journal, 1868, p. 195).

N.B. Listed as Alexander in 1827.

127. Rev. John Hunter

Governor 1828-1861

Lived at Leamington.

128. Miss Hunter

Governor 1843-1861

Lived at Minto Street.

129. Marquis of Huntly

Vice-President 1846-1853

Cf. Earl of Aboyne.

130. Alexander Hutchison

Clerk 1811-1845

Committee 1818-1820

Assistant Secretary 1821-1845

Superintendent of Schools 1830

Writer.

131. George Inglis

Governor 1830-1841

132. Rev. William Innes

Committee 1811-1813, 1817-1820, 1826-1829

(1770-1855) Minister, son of minister at Yester, educated at Edinburgh University and licensed by the Presbytery of Haddington in 1793. Chaplain at Stirling Castle he hoped to become a Missionary in Bengal but was frustrated by the Directors of the E.I.C.. He became independent in view and resigned. The General Assembly ordered him to return, but he refused and was libelled and deposed 1799. At the Tabernacle in Dundee 1800 he became a Baptist Minister and moved to Elder Street, Edinburgh where he also earned his living as a bookseller. A D.D.(Penn) in 1848 he had many publications - "Reasons for separating from the Church of Scotland"(1804), "Remarks on Christian Union"(1811), "Thoughts on Christian Union"(1813), "The Importance of Christian Union"(1819), "Instructions for Young Enquirers" translated to Gaelic in 1827, "The Sabbath"(1849) and "Hints on Church Government"(1852). (Fasti, Vol. 1V, pp. 325-326).

133. Andrew Jack

Committee 1846-1851

Lived at 36, Niddry Street.

134. Rev. James Jaffray

Committee 1842-1843

Lived at Hanover Street.

135. Sheriff Andrew Jameson

Committee 1846-1849

(1811-1870) Sheriff, son of Andrew Jameson, Sheriff Substitute of Fife. Called to the Bar 1835 and appointed Sheriff Substitute of Ayrshire 1843-1845 and then Midlothian 1845-1865. He was Sheriff of Aberdeen 1865-1870. In 1854 he framed the Civil and Criminal Code for Malta. (Boase, Vol. 11, p. 55).

136. Rev. Dr. John Jamieson

Committee 1811-1813, 1815-1817, 1821-1823

(1759-1838) Minister, born at Glasgow, son of an Anti-Burgher minister. Entered Glasgow University at 9 and was licensed 1781. Anti-Burgher Minister at Forfar 1781-1797 where he made his reputation as an evan-

gelist earning a D.D. (New Jersey) in 1788. Transferred to the Nicolson Street Anti-Burgher Church, Edinburgh, he lived in George Square. A close friend of Scott he dedicated a 192 line ballad, "The Water Kelpie" to him. Scott regarded him as "an excellent good man and full of auld Scottish cracks, which amuse me - - A little prolix and heavy is the good Doctor, somewhat prosaic, and accustomed to much attention." In 1820 he was delighted with the union of the Burghers and the Anti-Burghers and he retired in 1830. Father of many children his main interests were philology and antiquaries. He wrote a four volumed work "Etymological Dictionary of the Scotch Language" (1808-1825) and "An Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees of Iona" (1821), which got him a membership of the Bannatyne Club. He also wrote a pamphlet in 1789 entitled "The Sorrows of Slavery." (D.N.B., Vol. X, p.p. 674-675; "Sir Walter Scott, 1771-1821", Edgar Johnson, 1970, pp. 195, 994; "Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, pp. 73-74).

137. Rev. Dr. David Johnston

Vice-President 1811-1821

(1734-1824) Minister, born at Arngask, son of the minister, educated at Edinburgh and licensed by Presbytery of Selkirk 1757, he served at Langton, Berwickshire 1758 and after 1765 at North Leith. A D.D. (Edin) 1781 he was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to George III 1793 and gathered funds for the Asylum for the Industrial Blind in Edinburgh, although this was the original idea of Dr. Thomas Blacklock and David Miller, who were both blind. Opened in September, 1793 Johnston was the Secretary of the Asylum. Very popular in Edinburgh the Newhaven fishwives called him "The Bonnie Doctor." He persuaded his Kirk Session to feu their glebe to merchants and he made a great deal of money for his church. Preses at the Gaelic Schools' Society 1810-1811 he refused a knighthood in 1812. He moved to a new church in Madeira Street in 1816 and died at Leith aged 90 "Father of the Church of Scotland." (D.N.B., Vol. X, p. 948).

138. Rev. George Johnston

Committee 1844-1845

(1800-1871) Minister, from Ayton, he became U.P. pastor at Ecclefechan in 1826. In 1831 he moved to Nicolson Street Church, Edinburgh, where

he doubled the membership to 1,100 and earned for himself the handsome stipend of £250 per annum. Moderator of the Synod 1852 he was awarded a D.D.(New Jersey) in 1854.

("History of the Congregations of the U.P. Church, 1733-1900", Rev. R. Small, 1904, Vol. 1, p. 45; "Annals and Statistics of the U.P. Church", Rev. W. Mackelvie, 1873, p. 192)

139. Rev. John Johnston

Committee 1811-1813

(1780-1833) Minister born at Edinburgh and educated at Edinburgh University where he took his M.A. he was tutor to Gordon of Cluny and Millar of Balmain. Licensed by the Relief Presbytery in 1807 he served at Roxburgh Place Relief Church, built in 1810. He installed an organ and the Relief Synod in 1829 asked him to remove it. As a result, in 1833, he and his congregation joined the Church of Scotland. His health broke down and he died at Perth aged 49.

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 187; "Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, pp. 111-113).

140. Rev. Dr. Thomas Snell Jones

Committee 1811-1814, 1816-1818

(1754-1837) Minister, born at Gloucester a Wesleyan Methodist and educated at Trevecca Academy, Brecknock, South Wales 1772-1776. Ministered at Plymouth 1776-1778. He knew Lady Glenorchy who invited him to her Chapel in Edinburgh. He accepted and served there for 58 years. The Presbytery of Edinburgh however were annoyed and he had to be ordained by the Scotch Presbytery in London. A very popular preacher in Edinburgh he was described as "impressive and commanding" with "originality of thought, earnestness and zeal." He never read his sermons and although kind and urbane was "exceedingly animated" in the pulpit. Some thought his articulation indistinct and his "phraseology peculiar."

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 79; "Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, pp. 113-114).

141. Sultan Alexander Katte-Chory, Krim-Chory

Foreign/Corresponding Agent in the Caucasus 1819-1820, 1827 and Caucasus and Crimea 1821-1826

142. Andrew Kedslie

Committee 1811-1813

Lived at Stockbridge Mills near Edinburgh.

143. W.P. Kennedy

Treasurer 1846-1861

Lived at 15, South St. Andrews Street till 1861 and then at 79, George St.

144. John G. Kinnear

Committee 1827

Treasurer 1828-1834

Banker, Royal Exchange.

145. Rev. James Kirkwood

Committee 1822-1823

(1789-1877) Minister, son of Strathaven minister. Took his M.A. and was ordained at Kilmarnock in 1811. In 1818 he went to St. James Place Relief Church, Edinburgh, where he served for 56 years. By 1836 he had 1,200 communicants and a stipend of £350. He was Moderator of the first U.P. Synod in 1847.

("History of the Congregations of the U.P. Church, 1733-1900", Rev. R. Small, 1904, Vol. 1, p. 449, Vol. 11, p. 291).

146. W.F.H. Laurie

Committee 1840-1841

N.B. Listed as Lawrie in 1841.

147. Rev. Dr. John Lee

Committee 1823-1825

(1779-1859) Minister, born near Stow in Mēdlothian. A weaver's son he attended Edinburgh University (where he took his MD 1801 and was praised for his elegant Latin) and at St. Andrews University (where he took his M.A.). After serving in an Army Service Hospital he was licensed by the Presbytery of Dalkeith in 1804 and then went to London 1807 and then to Peebles 1808. In 1812 he was Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History at St. Andrews and by 1820 Professor of Moral Philosophy in Aberdeen. By 1823 he was a minister at the Canongate and a D.D. (St. And) and an F.R.S.E.. At Lady Yesyer's Church in 1825 he was Principal Clerk of the General Assembly in 1827 and a Chaplain in Ordinary to George IV in 1830. Minister at St. Giles in

1834 he was Principal of St. Andrews University 1837 and of Edinburgh University in 1840. He was also Professor of Divinity at the latter and was renowned for his 20,000 volume library. In 1844 he was Moderator of the General Assembly. His health then failed and he had little energy left for his interests. He wrote "Memorials of the Bible Societies of Scotland"(1824-1826) and "Refutation of Charges by Dr. Chalmers"(1837).

("Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, pp. 91-92; Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 73; Boase, Vol. 11, p. 353; DN.B., Vol. XI, pp. 802-803).

148. Joseph Liddle
Committee 1833

149. John Lindsay
Committee 1840

150. Josiah Livingstone
Committee 1859-1861
Lived at 7, Roxburgh Place.

151. General Sir John Low
Governor 1859-1861

(1788-1880) Soldier, born at Clatto, Cupar, Fife, eldest son of Robert Low of Clatto. Educated at St. Andrews University 1802-1803 and entered the Army 1804. By 1807 he was a Lieutenant in the 24th Madras Native Infantry and a Captain by 1820. In 1828 he was a Major in the 17th N.I. and then a Lieut-Colonel in the 16th N.I. 1834-1837, the 19th N.I. 1837-1840, the 45th N.I. 1840-1841 and the 36th N.I. 1841-1845. From 1845-1848 he was Colonel of the 8th N.I. and then of the 1st from 1848 till his death. In 1867 he retired as a General. He had a wide experience of India - resident at Bithar, near Cawnpore, 6 years, political agent Jeypore 1825, Gwalior 1830, resident at Lucknow 1831-1842. In 1838 he installed the son of the King of Oude on his throne and was Governor-General's agent in Rajpootana and then Commissioner at Ajmere and Mhairwar 1848-1852. Resident at Hyderabad 1852 he was a member of the Supreme Council of India 1853-1858. He had a C.B.(1838), a K.C.B. (1862) and a G.C.S.I.(1873). He died at Strathallan, Upper Norwood, Surrey and was buried at Kemback in Fife.

(Boase, Vol. 11, p. 509).

152. George Lyon

Committee 1815-1818

Writer to the Signet.

153. Rev. John Macalister

Committee 1832

Secretary 1833-1837

(1789-1844) Minister, born at Arran and educated at Glasgow University. Ordained at Glenlyon 1824 he moved to Gaelic Chapel, Horse Wynd, Edinburgh in 1831 being nominated by the S.P.C.K.. He helped to prepare the new edition of the Gaelic Scriptures and in 1837 was moved to Nigg. In 1843 he joined the Free Church and had to hold his services in a barn. In 1844 he was minister at Brodick when he died in an accident.

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 31; Ewing, Vol. 1, p. 213).

154. Thomas Babington Macaulay

Governor 1837-1859

(1800-1859) Member of Parliament, born at Rothley Temple, Leicester, eldest child of Zachary Macaulay, philanthropist. Educated at Cambridge University where he took his B.A. and M.A. he was a Fellow 1824-1831. D.C.L.(Oxon) in 1853. A Barrister in 1826 he wrote for the "Edinburgh Review" 1825-1845. Bankruptcy Commissioner 1828-1831 he was also M.P. for Colne 1830-1832, Leeds 1832-1834 and Edinburgh 1839-1847 and 1852-1856. Commissioner of the Board of Control 1832 and then Secretary 1832-1833 he was fifth member of the Supreme Council of India at Calcutta 1833-1838. Compiled a Criminal Code for India 1835-1837. Secretary for War and in the Cabinet 1839-1841 he proposed a copyright 42 year law in 1842. Paymaster General 1846-1848 he was Rector of Glasgow University 1848 and an F.R.S. 1849. Professor of Ancient History in the Royal Academy 1850 he became 1st Baron Macaulay of Rothley in 1857. High Steward of Cambridge Borough he lived in Piccadilly 1840-1856 and then at Kensington till his death. Buried in Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey he wrote many scholarly works - "Critical and Miscellaneous Essays" in five volumes(1841-1844), "Lays of Ancient Rome"(1842) and "History of England" in five volumes(1849-1861).

(Boase, Vol. 11, pp. 562-563).

155. Francis MacBean

Superintendent of Schools 1828-1829

Former School-master near Ft. William. Seems to have been employed in a semi-official capacity as early as 1820(11AR15).

156. Rev. Duncan McCaig

Committee 1825-1828

Born 1796 and ordained by the Presbytery of Abertarff 1822 he was sent as Missionary to Ft. William. In 1823 he was nominated by the S.P.C.K. to the Gaelic Chapel, Edinburgh, from which he was deposed 1831. He went to Van Diemen's Land as a teacher and died there. He translated the Shorter Catechism into Gaelic.

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 31).

157. Rev. Thomas McCrie

Committee 1811-1814, 1816-1819

(1772-1835) Ecclesiastical Historian, born at Duns, son of a linen-weaver. Worked as an elementary teacher and entered Edinburgh University 1788, but never graduated. Taught at an Anti-Burgher School in Brechin and was then licensed by the Associate Presbytery of Kelso 1795. Served at Potterrow, Edinburgh 1796-1806 when he was deposed. He formed his own Constitutional Associate Presbytery and by 1827 they called themselves "Original Seceders". In 1813 he became the first Scottish dissenter to get a D.D. from Edinburgh University. Professor of Divinity 1816-1818 he quarrelled in the "Christian Instructor" in 1817 with Scott's interpretation of Covenanters in his "Old Mortality." He wrote for Blackwood's Magazine, edited "The Christian Magazine", wrote "Life of Knox"(1811) and "Life of Melville" (1819).

(Boase, Vol. 11, p. 578; D.N.B., Vol. XII, pp. 456-458).

158. Rev. Thomas McCrie

Committee 1837-1840, 1846-1856

(1797-1875) Born at Edinburgh, eldest son of the above. Educated at the High School, University and Theological Hall of the Original Secession Church. Served at Crieff 1820, Clola, in Aberdeenshire, 1829. Succeeded his father at Davie Street Church, Edinburgh in 1836 and was also made Professor of Theology at the Original Secession Hall. In 1852 he joined the Free Church and in 1856 was Moderator of the

F.C. Assembly. That year he was also appointed Professor of Church History and Systematic Theology at the London College of the English Presbyterian Church. Failing sight led him to retire to Gullane in 1866 and later to Edinburgh. He was a D.D.(Aber) and an LL.D.(Glas). He wrote - "Life of Thomas McCrie"(1840), "Sketches of Scottish Church History"(1841), "Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew"(1850) and "Annals of English Presbyterianism"(1872). (D.N.B., Vol. XII, p. 458).

159. William McCrie

Committee 1846-1861

Lived at 23, George Street till 1850 and then at 22, Leith Walk.

160. Duncan McCuaig

Committee 1835-1836

Lived at 6, Frederick Street.

161. Alexander McDonald

Committee 1826-1829, 1831-1837

Edinburgh Writer.

162. John MacDonald

Committee 1845-1858

Lived at 38, York Place till 1854 and then at 58, Frederick Street.

163. Murdo McDonald

Inspector of Schools 1846-1853

164. Lord MacDonald

Vice-President 1825-1832

(1775-1832) Soldier, born at Edinburgh, he entered the 60th Foot as an Ensign in 1795 and rose to be Lieut-Colonel in the 1st Foot Guards and eventually Lieut-General. He saw service in the Low Countries, West Indies, Cape of Good Hope and the Peninsula. In 1814 he inherited the English estates of his uncle, William Bosville of Thorpe and he changed his name to Bosville. In 1824 his brother, the 2nd Lord MacDonald died leaving him his Scottish estates and he changed his name again to Bosville MacDonald. He was then 3rd Lord MacDonald and 11th Baronet of Bosville MacDonald of Sleat. His later years were spent in

complex negotiations to provide for his three natural children.
 ("Burke's Peerage and Baronetage", 1975, pp. 1694-1695)

165. Matthew N. McDonald

Committee 1824-1830

Writer to the Signet.

166. R.G. McDonald of Clanranald, M.P.

Vice-President 1823-1836

(1788-1873) Member of Parliament. Ranald George McDonald of Clanranald, 20th Chief and Captain of Clanranald and 7th of Benbecula. D.L., J.P. and M.P. for Plymouth 1812-1824 he had to sell his estates because of financial difficulties 1813-1830. Educated at Eton he inherited his title in 1810.

("Burkes's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry", ed. Peter Townend, 1972, pp. 571-572).

167. Ranald McDonald of Staffa

Vice-President 1821-1829

Laird, entertained Scott in Mull.

("Sir Walter Scott, 1771-1821", Edgar Johnson, 1970, p. 332).

168. Major-General McDouall, C.B.

Vice-President 1847-1848

Soldier, lived at Parkhouse, Stranraer.

169. Alexander Macdougall

Committee 1836-1839

Life Director 1840-1855

Writer to the Signet.

N.B. Listed as Macdougall after 1839.

170. Captain James Macdougall

Committee 1838-1841

171. Alexander MacDuff

Committee 1839-1841, 1843-1844

Writer to the Signet.

172. John McFarlan

Committee 1831-1833, 1836-1839

N.B. Listed McFarlane after 1836. *Surgeon.*173. Captain M. McGregor

Committee 1829-1832, 1834-1842

Officer in the 78th Foot. Promoted Major in 1834.

174. Sir Evan John Murray McGregor of McGregor

Vice-President 1823-1844

(1785-1841) Soldier. Major-General, K.C.B. and G.C.H.. Governor
General of the Windward Islands.

("The Scottish Family History", James MacVeigh, 1891, Vol. 11, p. 744).

175. James McInnes

Committee 1823-1826

176. Aeneas McIntosh

Governor 1830-1861

London Merchant.

177. Alexander MacKay

Committee 1829-1840

Edinburgh Bookseller.

178. John MacKay

Committee 1820, 1825-1828, 1830-1837

N.B. Listed as James 1825-1826.

179. Rev. Angus McKellar

Committee 1816-1818

Gaelic Secretary 1819-1835

Governor 1831-1836

Vice-President 1836-1859

(1780-1859) Minister, born at Glassary, son of a farmer. Educated at Glasgow University and licensed by Glasgow Presbytery 1810. Served at Carmunnock 1812 and Pencaitland from 1814. A D.D.(Glas) in 1835 he became Moderator of the General Assembly. In 1843 he joined the Free Church and was Moderator of the F.C. Assembly 1852. Died in

Edinburgh at 79.

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 387)

180. Duncan Mackellar

Committee 1840-1844

181. Augusta MacKenzie of Seaforth

Governor 1833-1856

Daughter of Lord Seaforth, she died in 1856.

("The Scots Peerage", ed. Sir J.B. Paul, Vol. VII, p. 514).

182. Charlotte MacKenzie of Seaforth

Governor 1833-1858

Daughter of Lord Seaforth, she died in 1857.

("The Scots Peerage", ed. Sir J.B. Paul, Vol. VII, p. 514).

183. John MacKenzie

Committee 1833-1840

N.B. Listed as James after 1837.

184. J.A. Stewart MacKenzie of Seaforth

Vice-President 1819-1843

James Alexander Stewart of Glasserton married Mary MacKenzie of Seaforth in 1817. She was the daughter of Lord Seaforth and J.A. Stewart adopted the name Mackenzie. He was an M.P. 1833-1837 and died 1843.

("The Scots Peerage", ed. Sir James B. Paul, 1910, Vol. VII, p. 514).

185. Mrs. Steawrt MacKenzie of Seaforth

Governor 1833-1861

(1783-1862) Mary Frederica Elizabeth MacKenzie, daughter of Lord Seaforth, she married Admiral Sir Samuel Hood in 1804. Widowed in 1814 she married James Alexander Stewart of Glasserton in 1817 who took her name.

("The Scots Peerage", ed. Sir J.B. Paul, 1910, Vol. VII, p. 514).

186. Miss MacKenzie

Governor 1845-1853

Lived at 9, Doune Terrace.

187. Mrs. MacKenzie

Governor 1848-1861

Lived at Belmont. Then Edinburgh after 1857.

188. Colonel Maclachlan

Committee 1837-1838

189. Captain Maclaren

Committee 1826-1827

Governor 1828-1861

Listed as living at Portobello and Madras 1828-1829.

190. Donald McLaren

Governor 1850-1854

Lived at Callender.

191. Duncan McLaren

Committee 1831-1834

Governor 1832-1861

(1800-1886) Draper, born at Renton, Dumbartonshire, son of a farmer. At 12 he was a draper's apprentice at Dunbar and then Haddington. He worked in Edinburgh 1818-1824 at John Lauder and Company, High Street. In 1824 he started his own business in a shop opposite St. Giles. In 1833 he entered the Town Council and was Lord Provost 1851-1854 bringing the city through a financial crisis. In 1852 he failed to win Edinburgh as a Liberal. In an action vs "The Scotsman" for libel he got £500 damages which he gave to charity. M.P. 1865-1881 he founded Heriot's Free School in 1836. His third wife was Priscilla Bright, sister of John Bright, statesman. He died at Newington House at 86. ("Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, p. 105; Boase, Vol. 11, p. 645; D.N.B., Vol. XII, pp. 638-639).

192. Rev. Thomas Maclauchlan

Gaelic Secretary 1850-1861

(1816-1886) Minister, born at Moy, Inverness, son of a minister. Educated at Aberdeen University he took his M.A. 1833. Licensed by the Presbytery of Inverness 1837 he assisted his father 1837-1843. He joined the Free Church and served at Moy 1843-1844, Stratherrick F.C., Loch Ness 1844-1849 and St. Columba's F.C., Edinburgh 1849-1886. Con-

vener of the 1850 Committee on the Highlands and Islands, he received an LL.D.(Aber) in 1864 and was Moderator of the F.C. Assembly 1876. Among his writings were - "The Depopulation System in the Highlands" (1849), "The Way to God"(1853), "Celtic Gleanings"(1857), "Poems of Ossian" in Gaelic(1859), "The Dean of Lismore's Book"(1862) with W.F. Skene, "Recent Highland ejections considered"(1850), "Criosd an t-eadar mheadhonair 'na Rìgh"(1860) and "The Gaelic Reference Bible"(1860). (Boase, Vol. 11, pp. 646; Fasti, Vol. VI, p. 477).

193. Alexander McLaurin

Committee 1811-1814, 1818-1820

(1740-1820) Edinburgh Postmaster, born at Cultybraggan, Comrie and educated at the local S.P.C.K. school, he was sent by MacLaurin of Broich to Crieff Parish School. In 1757 he was Preceptor to a Breadalbane family and then taught three years in an S.P.C.K. school in Strathbraan. In 1767 he moved to Edinburgh as Postmaster or "letter of horses", a post he held till 1809 when he retired to study Gaelic. "One of the original promoters of the Society" he translated Dodsley's "Economy of Human Life" and "The Christian Economy" as well as the last part of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress"(which he printed at his own expence) into Gaelic along with Sherian's Dictionary. He attended many of the Society's early meetings and wrote many letters on its behalf. He composed the "First Book" for the schools. In its 2nd edition the title was changed to "The Elements of the Gaelic Language, Parts 1st and 2nd." He also examined prospective teacher candidates in Gaelic. He died at 80 and left £1,000 to the Society together with half of the residue of his estate. He lived at the Cowgate Port. (6AR23; 10AR52).

194. Alexander Maclean of Ardgour

Vice-President 1823-1855

(1764-1855) Laird, 13th Chief of Ardgour. Colonel in Argyllshire Militia, he married the daughter of the Earl of Hopetoun. ("Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry", ed. Peter Townend, 1952, p. 1650).

195. Hugh Maclean

Committee 1836-1838

196. Alexander MacLeod
Gaelic Secretary 1815

197. A.N. MacLeod of Harris
Vice-President 1826-1834

198. Colonel McLeod of St. Kilda
Committee 1811-1813

Soldier, his rent from the 130 inhabitants of the island of St. Kilda 1814-1815 was 140 stones of feathers ie the produce of 46,000 sea birds. By 1819 the rent was only a mere £40 per annum.
("The Life and Death of St. Kilda", Tom Steel, 1975, pp. 144, 185).

199. Rev. Hugh McLeod
Secretary 1838-1839

(1803-1894) Minister, born at Tongue and educated there and at Aberdeen University where he took his M.A. in 1826. School-master at Tongue 1827 he was licensed by the local Presbytery in 1831 and sent as a Missionary to Melness and Erriboll 1833. Nominated by the S.P.C.K. he went to the Gaelic Chapel in Edinburgh in 1837 and then in 1839 to Logie-Easter, Tain, where he joined the Free Church. F.C. Minister there 1843-1850 he went to Canada 1845 and in 1848 he was the Free Church deputy to the Highland settlers in Eastern Province. In 1850 he was minister at Mira Ferry F.C. in Cape Breton. A.D.D. in 1857 he was Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Canada 1877.
(Fasti, Vol. VII, p. 64).

200. William Macleod
Life Director 1840-1845

201. Colin McNab
Committee 1824-1827

202. Kenneth McQueen
Committee 1841-1861

Former member of the East Indian Civil Service and lived at 9, Royal Circus.

203. J.A. Macrae

Committee 1843

204. Rev. Thomas Main

Committee 1859-1861

(1806-1881) Minister, served at Kilmarnock 1839-1843. Joined the Free Church and served at Kilmarnock F.C. 1843-1857 and then at St. Mary's F.C., Edinburgh 1857-1881. Moderator of F.C. Assembly 1880 and a D.D.. Died in Edinburgh.

(Boase Vol. 11, p. 697; "Our Scottish Clergy", J. Smith, 1851, pp. 55-62).

205. Rev. Dr. William Manuel

Committee 1831-1836, 1839-1841

(1785-1859) Minister, born at Airth, a farmer's son. Educated at Glasgow University he had a charge in London 1815-1826. He resigned and lived at Dunsyre. He had a D.D.(Glas) in 1818.

(Fasti, Vol. VII, p. 491)

206. Earl of Mar

Vice-President 1825

(1772-1828) John Thomas Erskine, born at Alloa House. 8th Earl of Mar.

("The Scots Peerage", ed. Sir J.B. Paul, 1908, Vol. V, p. 635).

207. Colonel Martin

Committee 1840-1846

Lived at 33, Regent Terrace.

208. Thomas Martin

Assistant Secretary and Clerk 1846, 1854-1861

Auditor 1847-1852

Committee 1852-1853

Listed as 14, Young Street 1848, 21, Castle Street 1856, 49, Castle Street 1857 and 20, George Street 1860.

209. Rev. C.R. Matheson

Committee 1814-1815

(1786-1866) Minister, son of minister at Kilmuir-Easter. Educated at Aberdeen University he took his M.A. in 1804. Licensed by the Presbytery of Tain 1809 he assisted his father 1812. He served at the Gaelic

Church, Edinburgh 1813 and returned to Kilmuir-Easter in 1814. He joined the Free Church 1843 and served at Kilmuir 1843-1866.
(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 31)

210. Sir Charles T. Metcalfe

Governor 1837-1847

(1785-1846) Provisional Governor-General of India, born at Calcutta, son of Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, Major in the Bengal Army (later a Director of the East India Company and a baronet in 1802). He attended a Preparatory School at Bromley in Middlesex and in 1796 went to Eton where he hated sports. He left in 1800 to be a Writer in Bengal. Studied oriental languages at Lord Wellesley's College of Ft. William. Assistant to the embassy to the Arab States 1801, but went to Scindiah's court instead. Quarrelled with Colonel Collins, the Resident. In 1802 he was an Assistant to the Chief Secretary, Calcutta and 1803 to the Governor-General. In 1804 he was Political Assistant to Lake's army and volunteered for the attack on Deeg fortress. Political agent to General Smith and General Dowdeswell. By 1806 he was at Holkar and then 1st Assistant to the Delhi Resident. In 1808 he was on a mission to Lahore and arranged the Treaty of Umritsur 1809. By the age of 24 he was a famous diplomat. From 1809-1810 he was Deputy Secretary to Lord Minto and then acting Resident to Scindiah court. In 1811 he became Resident in Delhi where he influenced Lord Moira, Marquis of Hastings. In 1816 he refused the post of Financial Secretary but by 1819 was Secretary of Secret and Political Department as well as private secretary to the Governor-General. In 1820 he was Resident at Hyderabad and in 1822 with the death of his brother he became Baron Metcalfe. In 1825 Resident in Delhi and by 1827 Member of the Supreme Council. Depute-Governor of Bengal 1833 he earned the G.C.B. in 1836 and was appointed Lieut-Governor of the N.W. Provinces. In 1838 he resigned and lived at Windsor in 1838. By 1839 he was Governor of Jamaica and was back in the U.K. by 1842. In 1843 he served as Governor-General of Canada. Was described as "an able and sagacious administrator, untiring and possessed of integrity."

(D.N.B., Vol. XLII, pp. 303-306)

211. Professor Miller

Committee 1855-1858

(1812-1864) Surgeon, son of Rev. James Miller and born at Essie Manse,

Forfar. Educated at St. Andrews University 1824-1827, he was an L.R.C.S.(Edin) and an F.R.C.S.(Edin). Assistant to Robert Liston he got his own practice 1834. In 1842-1864 he was Professor of Surgery at Edinburgh University and in 1847 Surgeon in Ordinary(Scotland) to Prince Albert and the following year to the Queen. He was an F.R.S., Surgeon to Edinburgh Royal Infirmary and Professor of Pictorial Anatomy. He wrote "A system of Surgery"(1864), "Surgical Experience of Chlæroform"(1848) and "Prostitution in relation to its cause and cure" (1859). He died at Pinkhill, near Edinburgh.

212. Robert Miller

Committee 1835-1836

Edinburgh Merchant.

213. John Moncrieff

Committee 1818-1820

214. John Scott Moncrieff

Auditor 1847-1861

Listed at 4, Albyn Place, then at 15, India Street 1848 and 20, India Street 1854.

215. Robert Scott Moncrieff

Vice-President 1811-1815

Committee 1821-1822

Lived at Newhalls.

216. William Scott Moncrieff

Auditor 1811-1846

Committee 1811-1815

Accountant.

217. Earl of Moray

President 1811-1846

(1771-1848) Francis, 10th Earl of Moray, inherited title in 1810. Was Knight of the Thistle 1827 and Lord Lieutenant of Elgin. Died at Darnaway Castle.

("The Scots Peerage", ed. Sir J.B. Paul, Vol. VI, pp. 327-328)

218. Colonel W. Morrison

Governor 1837-1861

Listed as a Member of the Council, Calcutta till 1845.

219. Rev. Dr. William Muir

Committee 1823-1825, 1829-1832, 1834-1836

(1787-1869) Minister, born at Glasgow, son of a merchant. Educated at Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities he was licensed by the Presbytery of Glasgow 1810. An LL.D.(Glas) in 1812 he served at St. George's Glasgow 1812 and obtained a D.D.(Glas) in 1820. New Greyfriars, Edinburgh 1822-1829, then St. Stephen's, Edinburgh 1829-1869. Moderator of the General Assembly 1838 he tried to reconcile Cook vs Chalmers in the non-intrusion debate in May, 1839. Chaplain in ordinary to Queen Victoria he was made Dean of the Order of the Thistle in 1845. In 1867 he went blind. He wrote - "Discourses on the Epistle of Jude" (1822), "Memoir and Letters of the Rev. William Guthrie"(1827), "Sermons on the Seven Churches in Asia"(1830) among others. (Fasti, Vol. 1, pp. 115-116; D.N.B., Vol. XLII, pp. 1166-1167)

220. Alexander Murray of Ayton

Governor 1822-1829

221. Donald Murray

Inspector of Schools 1843-1844

(1795-1855) Minister, born at Drumbuddin, Resolis, son of a farmer. Educated at Aberdeen University he taught in the Gaelic School at Samadalen 1834-1837 and then at Corrary 1837-1838, both in Glenelg. After employment as an Inspector of Schools he was ordained in 1845 to Shieldaig Q.S. parish by the Presbytery of Lochcarron. (Fasti, Vol. VII, pp. 164-165; 24AR49, 25AR40, 26AR63, 27AR30, 28AR28, 32AR13)

222. William Murray

Committee 1815-1818, 1821-1822

Edinburgh Banker.

223. James Nisbet

Committee 1834-1835

Secretary 1836-1843

Lived at 17, Pettes Row till 1839 and then at 26, Northumberland Street.

224. Rev. James Noble

Gaelic Secretary 1841-1849

(1805-1864) Minister, born at Killearnan and educated at Aberdeen University 1819-1824 and then at Edinburgh University 1824-1826. School-master at Lochbroom 1826-1838 he was licensed by the Presbytery of Lochcarron 1834 and served at Lybster 1839. In 1840 he went to St. Oran's Gaelic Chapel in Edinburgh. He joined the Free Church in 1843 and served at Poolewe from 1848. In 1859 he went to Canada as a deputy of the Free Church.

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 31; Ewing, Vol. 1, p. 284)

225. Rev. Gerard Noel

Vice-President 1818-1861

(1782-1851) Clergyman, born Gerard Thomas Noel, son of Sir Gerard Noel-Noel, 2nd baronet and brother to the Earl of Gainsborough, he was educated at Edinburgh and Cambridge Universities, where he took his B.A. 1805 and his M.A. 1808. Canon of Radwell, Herts., then Canon of Rainham, Essex, he was made Hon. Canon at Winchester 1834-1851 and Vicar of Romsey, Hamps., 1840-1841. A close friend of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce he wrote "A selection of Psalms and Hymns" (1820) and "Sermons for the use of Families" (1826-1827).

(Boase, Vol. 11, p. 1160; B.N.B., Vol. XIV, pp. 536-537)

226. George Ogilvie

Committee 1829-1830

227. James Oliphant of Gask

Governor 1830-1847

(1804-1847) 10th Laird of Gask, born at Edinburgh. A friend of Dr. Chalmers and W.F. Skene he was a Royal Scottish Archer and escorted Queen Victoria on her visit to Edinburgh.

("The Oliphants of Gask", E.M. Graham, 1900, pp. 362, 405; "The Jacobite Lairds of Gask", T.L.K. Oliphant, 1870, pp. 447-448)

228. William Oliphant

Committee 1821-1823, 1827-1830, 1832-1835, 1838-1845

229. Countess of Ormelie

Governor 1833-1861

(1803-1861) Eliza Baillie of Jerviswood, sister of George, 10th Earl of Haddington, married John Campbell, Lord Glenorchy in 1821. After 1835 she was listed as the Marchioness of Breadalbane. She died in Park Lane, London.

(D.N.B., Vol. 111, p.838; "The Scots Peerage", ed. Sir J.B.Paul, 1905, Vol. 11, p. 211)

230. H.T. Owen

Governor 1842-1861

Listed as living at Meerutt, Bengal.

231. James Paterson

Committee 1827-1830, 1833-1835

Edinburgh Watchmaker

232. Robert Paul

Secretary 1811-1812

Committee 1813-1816

Treasurer 1822-1827

Life Director 1829-1861

(1788-1866) Born at Edinburgh, son of minister at West Kirk. Educated at Edinburgh University. Entered Commercial Bank as a Clerk 1807, was Secretary by 1823, then Manager and retired as a Director in 1853. An Elder from 1816 he joined the Free Church and served as an elder in Dr. Candlish's Church of St. George's, Edinburgh, where he helped to promote Free Church schemes for a Theological College, a Library, a Society for Training the Children of Ministers and Missionaries as well as an Orphan Hospital. He kept a diary for 50 years and described himself as "too keen on politics", irritated by trifles and always having to have the last word. Author of "The Finest of Wheat"(1849) he died at Kirkland Lodge, near Edinburgh.

(Boase, Vol. 11, p. 1395; "Scottish and Irish Diaries from 16th-19thc", Arthur Ponsonby, 1927, pp. 14-15; "Disruption Worthies", J.A. Wylie, 1881, pp. 429-434)

233. William Paul

Secretary 1813-1817

Committee 1818-1820

Auditor 1827-1834

Life Director 1821-1832

Governor 1830-1847

Edinburgh Accountant.

234. Rev. George Paxton

Committee 1811-1814, 1817-1819, 1821-1824, 1826-1833

(1762-1837) Minister, born at East Lothian, son of a joiner. Educated at Kelso and Edinburgh University he went to Alloa to study Divinity in 1784 under Rev. William Moncrieff and was "a firm seceder." Licensed by the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh 1788 he served at Anti-Burgher churches at Stewarton 1789 and Kilmaurs 1791. Very ill 1805-1807 he went to live in Edinburgh and was made Professor of Divinity in the General Associate Church. He resigned in 1820 as he was opposed to union with the Burghers. Some of his congregation seceded with him and they obtained a place under Castle Hill in the Grassmarket and then in Infirmary Street. He later united with Dr. McCrie's church to form the Associate Synod of Original Seceders. In 1832 he had a paralytic stroke. In 1834 he received a D.D.(St. And).. He wrote "Inquiry into the Obligation of Religious Covenants upon Posterity"(1801) and a poem, "The Villager"(1813).

235. Rev. James Peddie

Committee 1811-1814, 1817-1819, 1821-1823, 1828-1831

(1758-1845) Minister, born at Perth, son of a brewer and educated at Edinburgh University 1775. Licensed 1782 to Bristo Street Secession Church he was twice Moderator of Synod 1789 and 1825. An authority on Poor Relief 1791-1836 he founded Edinburgh Subscription Library. Playing a prominent part in the Old vs New Lights controversy he joined the New Lights in 1795 for toleration and liberty. Suspected as a Jacobin he wrote directly to Pitt "A Defence of the Associate Synod against the Charge of Sedition." Editor of "Christian Magazine" 1799-1802 he had an Aberdeen D.D. in 1818. He wrote "The Revolution, the Work of God and a Cause of Joy." (D.N.B., Vol. XV, pp. 648-649)

236. Captain Petley

Committee 1847-1853

Listed as living at Mount Esk from 1850.

237. Rev. Dr. Robert Pinkerton

Foreign/Corresponding, Russia 1819-1826, F/C 1827

238. Robert Plenderleath

Committee 1815-1818

Edinburgh Merchant.

239. John Pollock

Committee 1811-1814

Writer to the Signet and Edinburgh Banker.

240. Viscount Powerscourt

Governor 1824-1828

241. Captain Pringle

Committee 1823

Visited Abbotsford 1823 and described as "fiercely bewiskered."

("Sir Walter Scott", Edgar Johnson, 1970, 1821-1832, p. 851)

242. John A. Pringle

Committee 1837-1838

Edinburgh Writer.

243. Robert Pringle

Committee 1836-1838

Lived at Montague Street.

244. William Pringle

Committee 1811-1815

Depute Clerk of Session.

245. Mrs. Puget

Governor 1833-1861

Lived in London.

246. George Rainy of Raasay

Governor 1848-1861

247. John Ramsay of Islay
Governor 1851-1861

248. John A. Rankin
Committee 1856-1861
Lived at 23, Regent Terrace.

249. Mrs. Page Reade
Governor 1850-1853
Lived at Sutton House, Ipswich.

250. Rev. William Reid
Committee 1857-1861
Lived at Merchiston Park.

251. John Richardson of Pitfour
Governor 1821-1823, 1830-1861
(1797-1881) Laird, born at Pitfour Castle, Perthshire and educated at Edinburgh University. Called to the Scottish Bar 1820 he became Sir John and 13th Baronet in 1837. Secretary to the Order of the Thistle 1843-1875 he was the author of "The rod, the net and the public, hints for regulating the times and seasons of salmon fishing"(1864).
(Boase, Vol. 111, p.

252. Alexander Riddell
Governor 1811-1859
Listed as Riddel 1847-1855.

253. Sir James Miles Riddell
Vice-President 1811-1812, 1823-1861
(1787-1861) 2nd Baronet of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, born at Shaw Park, Clackmannan, he succeeded his grandfather in 1797. Educated at Oxford, where he took his B.A. 1807, he became a Lieut-Colonel in the 1st Argyll Militia before 1810. He died at Brook House, Leamington.
(Boase, Vol. VI, pp. 469-470)

254. Rev. Dr. John Ritchie
Committee 1828-1831
(1781-1861) Minister, he served twelve years at Clerk's Lane Church, Kil-

marnock. In 1825 he was offered Hope Street, Edinburgh at a stipend of £280. In 1829 he gained a D.D.(N.J.) and was soon deeply involved in the Voluntary Controversy. He was also a prominent lecturer on Temperance. He was a contributor to the ultra-Calvinistic "Dalrymple's Secession Magazine" and quarrelled frequently with Edinburgh Presbytery. His methods were often described as "ill-judged." In 1845 he was suspended by his Synod for three months and in 1849 he resigned. ("History of the Congregations of the U.P. Church 1733-1900", Rev. Robert Small, Vol. 1, pp. 446-447)

255. James Ritchie

Committee 1835-1837

Lived in India Street.

256. George Robertson

Governor 1824-1853

Lived at 28, Albany Street.

257. William Robertson

Governor 1824-1858

Lived at Great King Street till 1826 and then at Moray Place.

258. William Robertson

Committee 1824-1826, 1836-1839

Edinburgh Advocate.

259. Hugh Rose

Committee 1828, 1831-1834, 1841-1843

Lived in Scotland Street.

260. Lieut. Rose

Committee 1825-1827

Lived at Calton Hill.

261. Alexander Ross

Governor 1837-1856

Listed as a Member of the Council, Calcutta till 1848.

262. George Ross

Committee 1814-1817, 1823-1826, 1828-1831, 1833-1834
 (1775-1861) Advocate in 1797 and later Judge of Consistory Court.
 (Boase, Vol. 111, p. 294)

263. James Ross

Inspector of Schools 1854-1861

264. Robert Saunders

Committee 1828-1831, 1833-1835

Edinburgh Baker.

265. Earl of Selkirk

Vice-President 1813-1820

(1771-1820) 5th Earl of Selkirk, born at Kirkcudbright and educated at Edinburgh University. He formed "The Club" with Scott to discuss social and political issues. Toured the Highlands in 1792 and had "a warm interest in the fate of the natives." Emigration, in his view, was unavoidable. In 1799 he inherited his title. In 1802 he decided to found a colony in either Red River in Manitoba or Prince Edward Island. He decided on the latter in 1803 and sent 800 settlers (he already had Baldoon in Ontario). In 1805 he wrote "Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland with a View of the Causes and Probable Consequences of Emigration." This was debated in the House of Lords 1806-1807. In 1806 he wrote "On the necessity of a more Effectual System of National Defence" and in 1809 on "Parliamentary Reform." In 1810 he bought stock in Hudson Bay Company and in 1811 obtained 45,000, 000 acres in Red River Valley (Manitoba and Minnesota) which annoyed the North West Fur Company. In 1811 he sent Miles MacDonell from Stornoway with settlers and they spent a miserable winter 1812-1813 and later a war with the N.W.F.C. 1814-1816. Robert Semple was killed by them. In 1816 he wrote "Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America" and this led to more fighting 1816-1817. He was tried in 1818 and fined £2,000, but it was a legal farce as some of his judges were related to his opponents. He died at Pau.

(D.N.B., Vol. V, pp. 1255-1258)

266. Sir W.C. Seton

Committee 1836-1838

(1808-1880) 7th Baronet, only son of Major James Seton of the 92nd Foot.

Succeeded his grandfather in 1818 and was educated at Edinburgh University. In 1831 he qualified as an Advocate. Served as a Captain in the 2nd Aberdeen Royal Volunteers 1861 and was a Lieut-Colonel 1863-1871. Governor of the National Co-operative Bank, Lombard Street, London 1875-1877. Died at Portobello.
(Boase, Vol. VI, p. 542)

267. S.W. Silver

Life Director 1849-1861

268. William Sim

Committee 1857-1859

Lived at 2, East Preston Street.

269. Rev. Robert Simpson

Committee 1825-1828, 1830-1832

(1795-1867) Minister, born at Edinburgh and educated at Edinburgh University. Trained at the Theological Hall of the Secession Church at Selkirk. Minister at Sanquhar 1820-1867 he had a D.D.(Princeton) 1853. Wrote "Traditions of the Covenanters."
(Boase, Vol. III, p. 585)

270. George Sinclair of Ulbster

Committee 1830-1832

(1790-1868) Laird, eldest son of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster and Diana, daughter of Alexander Macdonald, 1st Lord Macdonald. Born at Edinburgh he attended Harrow with Lord Byron and Sir Robert Peel, where he was considered brilliant. In 1806 he went to Gottingen, was arrested as a spy and taken before Napoleon. He was released. In 1811 he became a Whig M.P. for Caithness and again in 1818. A friend of Joseph Hume and Sir Francis Burdett he wanted Catholic Emancipation and freedom for the West Indian slaves. He often came to Edinburgh to attend lectures. M.P. for Caithness again 1831-1841. He supported the Reform Bill of 1832 and refused to dine with William IV on a Sunday. In 1835 he inherited his father's title. Strongly anti-patronage and a member of the Free Church he was called "a friend to the Church, the King and the People." He spent his last years at Thurso Castle, Torquay and Cannes, but died in Edinburgh. He wrote - "Travels in Germany"(2 vols), "Letter on the Church Question"(1843), "Observations on the new Scottish Poor

Law"(1849) and "Miscellaneous Thoughts"(1853).
(D.N.B., Vol. XVIII, pp. 295-296)

271. Rev. John Sinclair
Committee 1823-1825, 1829-1831

272. William Forbes Skene
Committee 1838-1840, 1844-1846, 1854-1860
(1809-1892) Author, born in Knoydart and educated at Edinburgh High School. Qualified as a Writer to the Signet 1832 and became Clerk of the Bills in the Bill Chamber of the Court of Session till 1865. Secretary for the Relief Committee in the Highlands after the Potato Famine 1846-1850. Historiographer Royal for Scotland 1881-1892 he was author of "The Highlanders of Scotland, their origin, history and antiquities" (1837), "Celtic Scotland" and "History of Ancient Alban" in 3 vols(1876-1880). He died in Edinburgh.
(Boase, Vol. III, p. 595)

273. John Holt Skinner
Committee 1845-1857
Lived at 18, Carlton Terrace.

274. Archibald Smith
Committee 1820-1822
Edinburgh Accountant.

275. Maria W. Smith
Governor 1833-1861
Lived in London.

276. George Smyttan M.D.
Governor 1838-1861
Committee 1840-1861
Member of Bombay Medical Board till 1848 and then listed at 20, Melville Street. Died at Canaan Park, Edinburgh 1863.
(Boase, Vol. VI, p. 591)

277. Francis Spalding
Committee 1829-1830

278. John Spear

Committee 1821-1822

279. Robert Spear

Governor 1811-1816

Vice-President 1817-1819

Listed as living at Millbank, near Warrington in Lancashire.

280. Sheriff Graham Speirs

Vice-President 1847

(1797-1847) Sheriff, son of Peter Speirs of Culcreuch. Educated at Edinburgh High School and at Warwick till 1811. Served in the Royal Navy for five years and then studied law. Called to the Bar 1820 he was a noted Liberal. By 1830 he was Advocate-Depute, then Sheriff of Elgin and Mairn and by 1840 Sheriff of Edinburgh. A friend of the Rev. Dr. Gordon of the High Church he took an active part in the Prison Reform Society(1835), Ragged Schools and Sabbath Schools. ("Disruption Worthies", J.W. Wylie, 1881, pp. 447-454)

281. James Stevenson

Committee 1859-1861

Governor 1860-1861

Lived at 12, Royal Circus till 1860 when he moved to 13, Randolph Crescent.

282. Dr. William Stevenson

Committee 1849-1850

Lived at 23, Melville Street.

283. Rev. Alexander Stewart

Secretary 1821

(1764-1821) Minister, born at Blair Atholl, son of the minister there. Educated at St. Andrews University he was appointed to Moulin Parish Church 1786. There he met the Rev. Charles Simeon of Cambridge and James Haldane and they led him to evangelism. In a letter(29/6/1812) he wrote: "It was no revival, for I had not lived till then." Health reasons took him to serve at Dingwall in 1805 and eventually to the Canongate, Edinburgh, 1820. A Gaelic scholar he revised the translation of the Scriptures for the S.P.C.K. and was thanked by the General Assembly in 1819 and 1820. Not only did he revive the original of Ossian,

but he wrote "Elements of Gaelic Grammar"(1801), "An Account of the late Revival of Religion in a Part of the Highlands"(1802), "A Primer or Spelling Book in Gaelic" and "Sermons and Memoir"(1822). He also translated Isaac Watt's "Preservation from Vice and Folly" into Gaelic and supported Sunday Schools. He was regarded as "an excellent man" and "a steady and a warm friend."

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 26; "Silences that Speak", W.P. Anderson, 1931, pp. 545-546; "The Church in the Highlands", John Mackay, 1914, p. 225; IJAR 16-17)

284. Charles Stewart

Committee 1811-1815, 1820-1822

Printer to the University of Edinburgh.

285. Archibald Stirling of Kenmure

Vice-President 1821-1847

(1769-1847) Born at Cawder he went to Jamaica as a planter 1789-1814 and returned to buy Kenmure Estate from his brother. When his wife died in 1822 he moved to Edinburgh. In 1831 he succeeded James Stirling to the Keir Estate and lived there till his death. He drained his lands, bred cattle and discovered iron and coal.

("The Stirlings of Keir", William Fraser, 1858, p. 81)

286. James Stirling of Keir

Vice-President 1819-1831

(1766-1831) Born at Cawder he entered the 11th Dragoons in 1787 and resigned in 1793 when he succeeded his father. Sent to Sicily for his health 1812-1813 he was very fond of field sports, especially coursing. A good farmer he bred fine cattle and embellished his estate by planting trees. He died a bachelor and was buried at Lecropt.

("The Stirlings of Keir", William Fraser, 1858, p. 80)

287. Jane Stirling of Keir

Governor 1833-1835

288. Miss Stirling of Keir

Governor 1833-1842

(1774-1842) Marion Stirling, born at Cawder, she kept house for her two brothers for 50 years and died a spinster.

("The Stirlings of Keir", William Fraser, 1858, p. 78)

289. William Stirling

Committee 1824-1827

290. William Stothert of Cargen

Vice-President 1821-1861

N.B. Listed as Stothart 1824-1831.

291. Baron de Strandman

Foreign/Corresponding, Switzerland 1819, Italy 1820-1827

Formerly Secretary of Legation to the Russian Embassy at the British Court.

(8AR2)

292. Lord Strathavon M.P.

Vice-President 1824-1837

N.B. Listed as Strathaven 1827-1828 and no longer an M.P. after 1833.

293. Alexander Stuart

Committee 1827-1830, 1832-1835, 1839-1845

Secretary 1846-1861

Life Director 1853-1861

Writer to the Signet he is listed as living at 26, London Street in 1847, at 17, Nelson Street in 1848, at 14, Forth Street in 1853, at Grange Road in 1857 and at 11, Young Street in 1861.

294. Charles Stuart. M.D. of Dunearn

Vice-President 1811-1814, 1818-1826

Committee 1815-1818

(1745-1826) Minister/Physician, son of James Stuart, Lord Provost of Edinburgh. Licensed in London he was brought to Edinburgh by Lady Glenorchy 1772 and by 1773 he was minister at Cramond. He also qualified M.D. in 1781 as a physician. He resigned from his parish 1796 and founded a small Anabaptist congregation which soon dissolved. The Rev. Thomas McCrie called him "the parent of the Institute." His son, James Stuart, W.S., killed Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck in a duel at Auchtertool in 1822, was tried for murder and acquitted.

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 12; "Memorials of Henry Cockburn", 1872, pp. 340-341)

295. Rev. Alexander Moody-Stuart

Committee 1837-1840, 1846-1861

(1809-1898) Minister, born Alexander Moody at Paisley, son of a banker. Educated at Glasgow University and Edinburgh Theological Hall he was licensed by Glasgow Presbytery 1831. At the request of Mr. Buchan of Kelloe he went as a Missionary to Holy Isle, Northumberland 1831-1835. Returned to St. Luke's Q.S. in Edinburgh. In 1843 he joined the Free Church and served at St. Luke's F.C.. From 1847-1889 he was Convener of the F.C. Mission to the Jews. In 1875 he was Moderator of the F.C. Assembly and a D.D.(Edin). Opposed to union with the U.P. he married Miss Jessie Stuart of Annat in 1839 and assumed her name in 1840. He died at Crieff. Among his numerous works were - "A Pastoral Letter"(1840, "Ireland, open to the Gospel"(1847), "Inquiry into the Present Educational Connection between the Free Church and the Government"(1848).
(Fasti, Vol. 1, pp. 110-111; Ewing, Vol. 1, p. 333)

296. George Symmers

Governor 1839-1840

Lived at Cults, Aberdeenshire.

297. Andrew Tait

Committee 1846-1849

Lived at 33, Rose Street.

298. J.R. Tait

Committee 1850-1861

Lived at 9, Queensferry Street till 1856, then at No. 2.

299. Rev. Walter Tait

Committee 1816-1818

Secretary 1819-1830

Life Director 1831-1841

(1771-1841) Minister, born at Glasgow, son of a merchant and nephew of Admiral Viscount Duncan. Educated at Glasgow University he took his M.A. 1786. He served at Lundie and Foulis 1795-1797 and at Tealing 1797-1813, he moved to Trinity, Edinburgh, where he adopted the teaching of Campbell of Row and Edward Irving. In 1833 the Presbytery denounced him to the General Assembly and he was deposed 1833 to become Pastor of the Edinburgh Church of the Catholic Apostolic Church.
(Fasti, Vol. 1, pp. 128-129)

300. Andrew Tawse

Committee 1825-1828

Writer to the Signet.

301. Patrick Tennant

Committee 1826-1833

Writer to the Signet.

N.B. Listed as Tennent after 1828.

302. John Thom

Committee 1820-1824

Portobello Merchant.

303. W. Thorburn

Committee 1822-1823

Leith Merchant.

304. Henry Tod

Committee 1831-1834, 1839, 1841

Writer to the Signet.

305. George Todd

Committee 1847-1861

Auditor 1854-1861

Listed as living at 4, Nicholson Square till 1849, then Brandon Street in 1850, Inverleith Row in 1853 and then at 3, George Street in 1854.

306. Rev. Alexander Topp

Committee 1854-1858

(1814-1879) Minister, born at Sheriffmill, Elgin, a farmer's son, he was educated at Elgin Academy, Aberdeen University where he obtained his M.A. in 1831. Licensed by the Presbytery of Fordyce 1836 he was tutor to the family of Gordon of Cairnfield. He served at Elgin High Church as an assistant in 1838 and as senior minister 1841. He joined the Free Church and then served at the F.C. High 1843-1852 when he moved to Roxburgh F.C. in Edinburgh 1852-1858. He moved to Knox F.C. in Toronto 1858-1879 and while there received a D.D.(Aber) 1870 and was twice Moderator of the Canadian F.C. Assembly. He played a major part in discussions leading to the union of the four Canadian synods in Montreal. He died in Toronto.

(Ewing, Vol. 1, p. 345; Fasti, Vol. VI, p. 39)

307. Kenneth Treasurer

Committee 1818-1822, 1824-1830, 1832-1835

Edinburgh Tailor.

308. James Troup

Committee 1843-1845

Lived in Windsor Street.

309. Rev. W.K. Tweedie

Committee 1843-1845

(1803-1863) Minister, born at Ayr and educated at Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews Universities. Licensed by the Presbytery of Arbroath 1828, he was ordained at the Scots Church, London Wall, 1832 and later transferred to South Parish, Aberdeen in 1836. By 1842 he was at the Tolbooth Kirk in Edinburgh. In 1843 he joined the Free Church and assisted Dr. Chalmers in the F.C. Sustentation Fund. He was Convener 1845-1847. He was also Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee 1848-1862. A D.D.(St. And) in 1852 he wrote many books - "Man by Nature and Grace"(1850), "A Lamp to the Path"(1853), "Glad Tidings"(1853), "The Hand of God in War" (1854), "Man and his Money"(1855), "Daily Devotion"(1861), "Satan as revealed in Scripture"(1862)

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 121)

310. Victoria

Patroness 1839-1861

311. Henry Walker of Blythshall

Governor 1826-1861

Lived in Nottinghamshire.

312. Rev. J.A. Wallace

Committee 1856

Governor 1857-1861

(1802-1870) Minister, son of a gunmaker, born in Edinburgh. Licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh he served at Burntisland 1827-1833, then at Hawick. He joined the Free Church and served at Hawick F.C. 1843-1870. Wrote "Pastoral Recollections"(1853), "Waymarks for the guiding

of little feet"(1866)
(Boase, Vol. VI, pp. 765-766)

313. James Warden

Committee 1847-1850

Lived at 61, Clerk Street.

314. Robert Warden

Governor 1814-1835

Lived in Morayshire.

315. Alexander Wardrop

Committee 1811-1815

Banker

316. Rev. Dr. Charles Watson

Committee 1844-1856

(1794-1866) Minister, born at Edinburgh, son of a cabinet-maker. Educated at the High School and University he took his M.A. in 1833. Licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh 1817 he served at Burntisland 1820-1837 when he was demitted on account of his weak voice. A D.D.(Aber) in 1833 he joined the Free Church. He wrote - "Hints on Christian Experience"(1825), "Preparation for Death"(1828), "Prayers for Young Persons"(1831), "A Help to Family Prayer"(1839).

(Fasti, Vol. IV, pp. 83-84)

317. Captain Wauchope, R.N.

Committee 1822-1824

Robert Wauchope, son of Andrew Wauchope of Niddrie in Midlothian, joined the Royal Navy in 1805. By 1814 he was a Captain. From 1834-1838 he was in the Cape of Good Hope where he invented a Time Ball for rates of chronometers. He died in 1862.

(Boase, Vol. III, p. 1236)

318. John Waugh

Committee 1816-1819

Edinburgh Bookseller.

319. William Wemyss

Committee 1836-1839

Commisary-General.

320. William Whyte

Committee 1813-1816

Edinburgh Bookseller.

321. Richard Whytock

Committee 1834-1837, 1845-1856

Lived at 7, George Street till 1854, then at No. 9 by 1855.

322. William Whytock

Committee 1835-1837, 1841-1842, 1844

Register Office.

323. John Wigham, Jr.

Committee 1820-1822, 1828-1831, 1833-1835 Shawl Manufacturer

324. Henry Wight

Committee 1830

Member of the Scottish Bar and of good social standing he was an elder at Trinity College Parish Church. In 1830 he felt a call to preach in the streets and visit homes. This annoyed the Presbytery of Edinburgh and they banned him from public exhortation. He refused to accept this and he resigned his eldership to become a pastor. In 1832 he opened his own church. By 1834 he operated from Richmond Court Chapel without any denominational links. In 1837 he applied to the Congregational Church for acceptance.

("A History of Scottish Congregationalism", Harry Escott, 1960, pp. 286-287)

325. Rev. Daniel Wilkie

Secretary 1831-1838

(1781-1838) Minister, educated at Haddington and Edinburgh University, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Haddington in 1806. He served at Stonehouse 1806, Yester 1821 and New Greyfriars 1829. He died of a malignant fever while visiting the poor. His task as Secretary of the Society was to examine all the applicants for teaching posts.

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 35; 28AR8-9)

326. William IV

Patron 1830-1837

327. J. Broadly Wilson

Governor 1821-1834

Lived at Clapham.

328. Misses Wilson

Governors 1838-1861

They lived at St. Andrews.

329. Rev. James Julius Wood

Committee 1842-1843

(1800-1877) Minister, born at Jedburgh, son of a physician. Educated at Glasgow University where he took his M.A. he was licensed by the Presbytery of Jedburgh 1825 and served at Newton-on-Ayr 1827, Stirling(1st Charge) 1836 and New Greyfriars 1839. On leave of absence for ill-health he went as Chaplain to the 42nd Highlanders in Malta 1842. He joined the Free Church, but was not given a church as he was ill. He had to spend two years in Madeira. He later assisted Dr. Guthrie and Dr. Clason. In 1848 he served at Dumfries F.C.. A D.D.(Glas) in 1856 he was Moderator of the F.C. Assembly in 1857.

(Fasti, Vol. 1, p. 35)

330. James Wright

Committee 1851-1861

Lived at 13, Ainslie Place.

331. William Young

Committee 1824-1827

Edinburgh Builder.

Addenda

No doubt more information will be found about the foregoing persons.

The following has emerged since the completion of the Appendix -

No.6 Alexander Anderson(1802-1866), born in Elgin, baker's son; educated at Edinburgh University; ordained at Kinlochluichart Q.S. in Dingwall Presbytery; joined F.C. 1843; Rev. at Gaelic F.C. Rothesay 1844-1866(Fasti

No.24 Andrew Bonar, Leith agent of Royal Bank of Scotland; kept a false register for Inspector for three years; delirium, head shaved, bled and blistered in 1844(S.G. Checkland, "Scottish Banking, A History, 1695-1973", 1975) p.380).

No.185 Mrs Mary Stewart Mackenzie let land directly to the crofters through tacksmen(W.C. Mackenzie, "History of the Outer Hebrides", 1903, p.492).

No.198 Colonel Macleod of St Kilda was Donald Macleod of Achnagoyle, who bought the island in 1804 for £1,350(W.C. Mackenzie, "History of the Outer Hebrides", 1903, p.485).

No.239 John Pollock, First Manager of Commercial Bank of Scotland; salary £1,000 p.a.; no banking experience; unpunctual, slow to learn, overbearing; January, 1812 forced by Sheriff to yield keys and engaged in lawsuit till 1831(S.G. Checkland, "Scottish Banking, A History, 1695-1973, 1975, pp.290-291).

No.323 John Wigham, shawl manufacturer in Society of Friends(Boase,V1,867-868). James Maitland Hog of Newliston(1799-1858)was D.L., J.P., strongly F.C.(Burke's Landed Gentry, 1952, p.1251).

Duncan Darroch, 3rd of Cowrock(1800-1864)was D?L., J.P., and Major(Ibis.,p.608).

No.253 Sir James Riddell, Episcopalian land-owner, refused the F.C. even a tent in his 40 mile estate. An iron church was built at Port Glasgow and towed to Loch Sunart in 1845(G.B. Burnet, "The Holy Communion", 1960, p.274).

No.246 George Rainy, Lowlander, bought Raasay by auction in London in 1843 for 35,000g; he could not help tenants and turned to sheep; cleared at least 12 townships 1852-1854; died in London, June, 1863(R. Sharpe, "Raasay, a study in Island History", 1977, pp.62-63.)

Appendix iiList of Gaelic Schools

"It is melancholy to reflect, that in a few cases he (Secretary) has found it impossible to discover the locality given in the Old Report. Many years ago, under the system that has been depriving the Highlands of their population, these hamlets have been swept away, and their very names have now perished from the memories of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood."

- 42AR9, 1 March, 1853.

Explanatory Notes

The following information is greatly condensed and presented in a standard form.

1. Each school is numbered and its location may be found on the lettered map appropriate to the school, e.g. No. 1 Aadenbaine (Q).
2. The spelling of the underlined school is that used by the Society when the school was first registered, e.g. Aadenbaine was the spelling on 1/11/1819.
3. Subsequent variations in spelling are given with dates and source, e.g. Edinbaine 1820(10AR25); Aidenbain 1822(12AR60); Aadinbaine 1825(15AR40); Aodenbain 1827(17AR58); Adanbain 1829(19AR53) and Edinbain 1834(24AR49).
4. The underlined parish indicates the parish in which the school was located at the earliest date, e.g. Duirinish 1/11/1819.
5. The same school may be listed in other parishes at later dates e. g. Snizort 1823(13AR44) and Dunvegan 1852(42AR23).
6. The underlined island or county is exactly the same.
7. The names of the teachers are given together with their dates of service, the school roll, sex division, age range, standard of Gaelic reading, e.g. Fergus Fergusson served at Aadenbaine from 1/11/1819 to 1/11/1820 teaching 94 scholars, of whom 51 were male and 43 female. Their ages ranged from 5/24 years and 71 were reading at the Elementary Stage, 21 were on the New Testament and 2 could read the Bible(10AR62-63).
8. If the school received any special financial help this is recorded, e.g. Aadenbaine was supported by the congregation of St. George's F.C., Edinburgh 1853-1854.

1. Aadenbaine (Q)P. DuirinishSkve

Edinbaine 1820(10AR25); Aidenbain 1822(12AR60); Aadinbaine 1825(15AR40);
Aodanbain 1827(17AR58); Adanbain 1829(19AR53); Edinbain 1834(24AR49).

P. Snizort 1823(13AR44); P. Dunvegan 1852(42AR23)

Fergus Ferguson 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 94 - 51m and 43f @ 5/24 yrs with
71E1., 21NT and 2B(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 42 -
23m and 19f @ 6/30 yrs with 14E1 and 28B(12AR60-61).

Malcolm McKay 1834-1835 with 138(24AR28,49); 1835-1836(25AR40); 1836-1837
(26AR63).

Nicol Nicolson 1852 with 82 - 40m and 42f(42AR23); 1853 with 49 - 26m and
23f supported by St. George's F.C., Edinburgh(43AR29); 1854 with 50 - 30m
and 20f supported by St. George's F.C., Edinburgh(44AR25).

2. Aberdeen City

Opened November, 1814 for Gaels in the cotton works(4AR24,43). The last
reference to the school is 9/8/1816(6AR22).

3. Achachaoin (L)P. Kilcalmonell/KilberryArayle

First mentioned as closed by November, 1827 there are few references to
this school(17AR56, 18AR47, 19AR51, 20AR46).

4. Achandrean (C)P. LochbroomRoss

Achadrean 1823(13AR33); Ardrean 1826(16AR8); Ardandrean 1827(17AR20).

John McLeod 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 54 - 27m and 27f with 12E1 and 42B
(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 48 - 26m and 22f and 5E1 and 43B
(14AR48-49).

John McMillan 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 107 - 53m and 54f and 66E1 and 41B
(16AR48-49); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 108 - 50m and 58f and 29E1 and 79B
(18AR52-53).

5. Achantrad (E) P. Shieldaig Inverness

The only mention of this school was that the teacher was useful in 1844 (34AR13).

6. Acharimsdale (D) P. Clyne Sutherland

John McLean 1843-1844 with 52 and in 1844 with 55(33AR38, 34AR24).

7. Acharry (D) P. Creich Ross

Achary 1822(12AR58)

Sutherland 1822(12AR58)

Duncan McDonald 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 62 - 28m and 34f @ 4/24 yrs and 13E1 and 49B(11AR54, 12AR58-59).

8. Achdaphubil (I) P. Kilmallie Inverness

Achdophuibil 1832(22AR36)

Kenneth Ross 1832 with 32 - 14m and 18f and 11E1 and 21NT/B(22AR36-37); 1833 with 37 - 18m and 19f and 9E1 and 28NT/B(23AR42).

9. Achilibster (B) P. Halkirk Caithness

Achlibster 1828(19AR33)

Malcolm McKinnon 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 40 and all at Bible(16AR48-49).

10. Achillibuie (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

Achiltibuie 1820(10AR60); Achilliebuie 1832(22AR40)

This school is first mentioned in the summer of 1815 with 50 - 20Ps/BkI

and 30B(5AR10). The teacher was probably John Macleod 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 50 - 20Ps and 30B(6AR34-35); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 44 - 20m and 24f @ 4/28 yrs(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 51 - 23m and 28f @ 5/18 yrs and 20E1 and 31B(12AR58-59); 1832-1833(22AR40); 1833 with 53 - 24m and 29f and 25E1 and 28NT/B(23AR42).

11. Achinell (D) P. Dornoch Sutherland

Auchinell 1820(9AR54); Auchinell 1820(10AR60); Achineel 1822(11AR50); Auchineel 1823(13AR42).

Duncan Ross 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 88 - 44m and 44f @ 5/50 yrs(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 72 - 39m and 33f @ 6/55 yrs and 11E1, 44NT and 170T(10AR60-61); 22/3/1821(11AR26).

12. Achlunachan (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

Alexander MacIennan 1817(6AR38).

13. Achmealvick (C) P. Assynt Sutherland

Achmealvich 1822(11AR54); Achmelvich 1823(12AR62); Achamelvich 1826(16AR27)

A. Macdonald 1821(10AR64)

David Munro 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 61 - 30m and 31f @ 4/36 yrs and 23E1 and 38B(12AR58-59); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 69 - 30m and 39f and 12E1 and 57B(13AR46-47).

John McDonald 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 58 - 27m and 31f and 10E1 and 48B (18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56); 1830 with 101 - 47m and 54f(18 adult) and 16E1 and 85NT/B(19AR56-57); 24/3/1830 with 76 and 11E1 and 40B(20AR16).

14. Achmore (E) P. Lochalsh Ross

There were 54 in 1839-1840(29AR32). Presumably the teacher was Alexander McLeod who had 38 in 1840-1841(30AR22).

15. Achna (B)P. FarrSutherland

Achna 1827(17AR54)

Donald McLeod 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 35 - 10m and 25f and 10E1 and 20B (16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52); 1842-1843 with 91(32AR38); 1843-1844 with 71 (33AR38). By 1844 there were 30(34AR24).

16. Achnacarnan (A)P. AssyntSutherland

Achnacarnan 1830(20AR16); Achnacarnan 1831(21AR11).

P. Store 1835(25AR24).

Ewen McDonald 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 103 - 51m and 52f and 68E1 and 35B (18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

David Munro 1830 with 102 - 23m and 79f(12 adult) and 44E1 and 58NT/B(19AR 56-57); 1831 with 144(42 adult) and 76E1 and 63NT/B(20AR52-53); 1835-1836 (25AR40); 1836-1837(26AR63); 1837-1838(27AR33); 1837 with 61(27AR30); 1838 with 70. School closed 15/5/1838(28AR28).

17. Achnagart (D)P. KincardineRoss

Alexander McKenzie 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 35 - 20m and 15f(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 35 - 21m and 14f @ 5/41 yrs and 11E1 and 24B(12AR58-59).

18. Achnahard (C)P. LochbroomRoss

P. Ullapool 1833(24AR14)

John McPherson July, 1833 and by 13/1/1834 had 43 - 11E1, 8NT and 12B and closed June, 1834(23AR44, 24AR15).

19. Achnarras (B)P. HalkirkCaithness

John Sutherland 1830 with 85 - 41m and 44f(11 adult) and 56E1 and 29NT/B (19AR56-57); 1831 with 101 - 49m and 52f(10 adult) and 42E1 and 59NT/B

(20AR52-53).

20. Achrachkill (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Ashrakill 1830(20AR46)

Hugh Dewar 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 39 - 18m and 21f and 1E1 and 38B(13AR 46-47).

21. Achtarsing (J) P. Fortingall Perth

Achatarsin 1828(17AR60)

Donald McDiarmid 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 58 - 30m and 38f and 23E1 and 35B (18AR52-53); 1829(18AR59); 1830 with 88 - 43m and 45f(13 adult) and 24E1 and 64B(19AR56-57).

22. Achurain (I) P. Appin/Lismore Argyle

P. Ardnamurchan 1823(13AR43)

Donald McLachlan 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 68 - 37m and 31f @ 5/20 yrs and 20E1 and 48B(12AR58-59).

23. Achuinibest (B) P. Reav Caithness

In the summer of 1815 there were 26 at the school(5AR6). Presumably the teacher was Arthur Forbes 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 73 - 35m and 38f @ 5/40 yrs and 33Ps and 40NT/OT(6AR34-35); 1817(6AR38).

24. Achurn (A) P. Glenelg Inverness

Donald McDiarmid 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63).

25. Achridhiskill (A) P. Edderachillis Sutherland

Achridhiskill 1822(12AR58)

George Campbell 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 70 - 34m and 36f @ 5/50 yrs and 38E1 and 32B(11AR54, 12AR58-59); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 65 - 30m and 35 f and 65B(13AR46-47).

26. Aird of Sleat (2) P. Sleat Skye

Aird of Slate 1822(12AR57); Aird of Sleate 1828(18AR49).

P. Bracadale 1819(9AR49)

Donald McGillivray 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 62(8AR46-47); 1819(9AR49).

27. Aird of Tong (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

Aird of Tongue 1844(34AR24)

John Munro 1830 with 100 - 54m and 40f(30 adult) and 96E1 and 4B(19AR58-59); 1831 with 104 - 57m and 47f(30 adult) and 38E1 and 66NT/B(20AR54-55); 1832 with 43 - 26m and 17f and 6E1 and 37NT/B closing May, 1832(22AR38-39).

Murdo McKenzie 1844 with 59 and 1845 with 44 and the school supported both years by Lady Anderson(34AR24, 35AR54); 1846 with 32 and 1847 with 32(36AR 25, 37AR23); 1851 with 82 - 45m and 37f(41AR25); 1852 with 87 - 42m and 45f (42AR22); 1853 with 49 - 30m and 19f(43AR28).

28. Aird of Tuimpan (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

Malcolm McRitchie in June, 1833 had 88 and 58NT(24AR21); 1833-1834 and 1834-1835(23AR44, 24AR49).

29. Airde (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

Airda 1850(40AR21); Airds 1852(42AR22)

P. Knock 1850(40AR21)

Niel Murray 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 28 - 12m and 16f(10AR62-63)

Ewen McDonald 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 32 - 25m and 7f @ 6/36 yrs and 8E1

and 24B(12AR60-61).

Kenneth McPherson 1850 with 53 - 27m and 26f(40AR21); 1851 with 61 - 33m and 28f(41AR25); 1852 with 49 - 27m and 22f(42AR22).

30. Aldbria (c)

P. Poolewe

Ross

Aldbea 1857(47AR14)

John McDonald with 41 - 17m and 24f(46AR14); 1857 with 40 - 13m and 27f(47AR14).

31. Alagin (e)

P. Shieldair

Inverness

Alagin 1846(36AR24)

P. Applecross 1837(27AR30)

Galina McIntosh 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63); 1837 with 43 and 1838 with 41 when the school served a Government Church area(27AR30, 28AR28); 1839 with 40(28AR21); 1846 with 48(36AR24); 1847 with 34(37AR22); 1848 with 31(38AR20).

32. Altandou (c)

P. Lochbroom

Ross

Altandon 1821(11AR50); Auldandow 1825(14AR52); Altandow 1826(16AR25)

John McLeod 11/10/1813 and 29/11/1814 with 40(3AR42, 4AR49). School was closed 30/11/1815(5AR102).

Angus McLeod 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 54 - 30m and 24f and 12El and 42B(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52).

33. Altas (b)

P. Creich

Sutherland

Magdalene Sutherland 1823(12AR62).

34. Amat-na-Tuath (c)

P. Kincardine

Ross

Donald McRae 1/11/1825-1/11/1826 and 28/1/1827 with 42 and 3BkI, 1Sc/Ex, and 4NT(16AR48-49, 28); 30/4/1827 with 40(17AR21).

35. Arboll (D) P. Tarbat Ross

Angus McNeill 1842-1843 with 99 and 1843-1844 with 52(32AR38, 33AR38).

36. Ardchiavaig (S) P. Kilfinichen Mull

Ardsheavaig 1815(5AR92)

Donald McInnes August, 1815 with 20 @ 4/15 yrs and 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 83 - 57m and 26f @ 5/16 yrs(5AR54, 6AR36-37); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 71 - 41m and 30f @ 4/19 yrs and 45E1 and 26NT/B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 71 - 48m and 23f @ 5/17 yrs and 27E1, 37NT and 7B(9AR52-53). Niel McPhail 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 115 - 72m and 43f @ 6/22 yrs and 66E1, 24NT and 25B(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

37. Ardelve (E) P. Lochalsh Inverness

Roderick McLeod 1841-1842 with 42(31AR34); 1842-1843 with 67(32AR38); 1843-1844 with 52(33AR38); 1844 with 35(34AR24).

38. Ardlussay (T) P. Jura Jura

Ardliessa 1818(8AR46); Ardlussa 1819(8AR49)

Malcolm McNeill 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 20 - 13m and 7f and 18E1 and 2NT (8AR34, 46-47); 1819(8AR49).

39. Ardmore (S) P. Kilmore Mull

P. Tobermory 1835(24AR33)

Angus McPherson 1834-1835 and 1835-1836(24AR49, 25AR40); 1835 with 53 (24AR33).

40. Ardnish (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Donald Cameron 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 33 - 16m and 17f @ 5/20 yrs and 2E1 and 31B(12AR58-59); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 35 - 16m and 19f and 5E1 and 30B(13AR46-47).

41. Ardnish (P) P. Coll/Tiree Coll

John Johnston 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 37 - 32m and 5f and 27E1 and 5NT and 5B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 68 - 23Ps, 15NT and 30B(9AR52-53).

42. Ardow (S) P. Kilninian Mull

Murdoch Fraser 1857 with 24 - 12m and 12f(47AR15); 1858 with 22 - 9m and 13f(48AR15).

43. Ardtun (S) P. Kilfinichen Mull

John Macdonald 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 89 - 56m and 33f @ 6/17 yrs(9AR52-53); 26/5/1819 with 89 - 56m and 33f and 62 there(9AR22); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 63 - 46m and 17f @ 5/15 yrs and 25E1, 23NT and 15B(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

John Dewar 1841-1842 with 65(31AR35); 1842-1843 with 65(32AR39); 1843-1844 with 46(33AR39); 1844 with 52(34AR25).

John McDougall 1850 with 69 - 38m and 31f(40AR21); 1851 with 62 - 37m and 25f(41AR25); 1852 with 48 - 25m and 23f(42AR23).

John Gillanders 1853 with 54 - 28m and 26f(43AR29); 1854 with 54 - 31m and 23f(44AR25).

44. Ardvargnish (S) P. Torosay Mull

P. Kilfinichen 1826(16AR50-51)

Ebenezer Rose 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 22 - 14m and 8f and 5E1 and 17B(15AR43, 16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53).

45. Ardvasrick (G) P. Ardnamurchan Aravle

Colin McIntosh 1830 with 25 - 16m and 9f and 18E1 and 7B(19AR56-57); 1831

19m and 12f and 13E1 and 18NT/B(20AR52-53).

46. Aribhruach (M) P. Lochs Lewis

Duncan Morrison 1853 with 28 - 14m and 14f(43AR28); 1854 with 28 - 14m and 14f(44AR24); 1855 with 36 - 18m and 18f(45AR22).

47. Arinagower (P) P. Coll/Tiree Coll

Arinagowr 1849(39AR25); Arinagour 1854(44AR14)

Alexander Mackenzie 15/9/1814(4AR42); re-opened January, 1815 and by April 74 and by July 30(5AR48); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 78 - 45m and 33f(6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39).

Donald Fowler 1834-1835, 1835-1836, 1836-1837(24AR49, 25AR49, 26AR63); 1835 with 56(24AR33).

James Hood 1849 with 59 - 32m and 27f(39AR25); 1850 with 72 - 37m and 35f(40AR21); 1851 with 83 - 45m and 38f(41AR25); 1852 with 62 - 34m and 28f(42AR23); 1853 with 53 - 26m and 27f(43AR29); 1854 with 60 - 30m and 30f(44AR25); 1855 with 50 - 26m and 24f(45AR73).

48. Arrin-Callach (S) P. Kilmore Mull

Arrin-Callach 1816(6AR19); Arn-Callach 1834(24AR33)

Angus McPherson 1832 with 73 - 31m and 42f and 18E1 and 51NT/B(22AR38-39); 1832-1833(22AR41); 1833 with 94 - 41m and 53f and 41E1 and 53NT/B(23AR43); 1833-1834(23AR44). Closed June, 1834 with 12NT and 63B(23AR44).

49. Airinish (Q) P. Portree Reasay

Airinish 1824(15AR39)

Angus McDonald 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 26 - 10m and 16f and 16E1 and 10B(14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53).

50. Arinucrinach (E) P. Applecross Ross

Arinucrinach 1815(5AR17); Arinacrinach 1824(15AR37); Arinacrianach 1827

(16AR52); Arinaccreanach 1828(18AR52-53); Airinancrionachd 1838(28AR21);
Arinachrinach 1841(30AR22); Arinacruineachd 1846(36AR24).

Inverness 1815(5AR17)

Hugh Fraser November, 1813, 26/4/1814 and 21/11/1814 with 60 in 1814 and
58 in 1815(3AR8, 4AR10, 35, 5AR17).

Colin McIntosh 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 59 - 40m and 19f and 17E1 and 42B
(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

Donald McGillivray 1840-1841 with 37 and 1841-1842 with 39(30AR22, 31AR34).

John Shaw 1846 with 37, 1847 with 39 and 1848 with 47(36AR24, 37AR22, 38AR
20); 1849 with 53 - 29m and 24f(39AR24).

Murdo McPherson 1854 with 20 - 6m and 14f(44AR24); 1855 with 10 - 3m and
7f(45AR22); 1856 with 8 - 3m and 5f(46AR14); 1857 with 15 - 6m and 9f(47
AR14)

51. Arinvougie (1) P. Bowmore Islay

Aventoggie 1851(41AR25)

P. Kilarrow 1843(32AR39); P. Kildalton 1844(33AR39)

Alexander Grant 1841-1842 with 88, 1842-1843 with 96 and 1843-1844 with
79(31AR35, 32AR39, 33AR39).

Finlay McFarlane 1850 with 25 - 15m and 10f(40AR21); 1851 with 46 - 21m
and 25f(41AR25).

52. Armidale (B) P. Farr Sutherland

Armidale 1827(17AR42)

Donald McLeod 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 53 - 17m and 36f and 35E1 and 18B
(18AR52-53); 1829(19AR56).

53. Armaelcrinachd (E) P. Applecross Ross

This school had 81 in 1839-1840.

54. Arnisdale (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

Arnsdale 1821(11AR28)

P. Laggan 1827(17AR56)

Duncan Campbell 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 129 - 79m and 50f @ 5/36 yrs and 82E1, 41Ps/NT and 6B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 141 - 86m and 55f @ 4/20 yrs and 54E1, 71NT and 160T(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 97 - 61m and 36f @ 5/30 yrs and 22E1, 52 NT and 230T(10AR60-61); 150 with 97B on 20/9/1820(10AR11); 17/3/1821 92 and 67 there with 7Ps, 200T and 24B(11AR28-29).

Malcolm McLeod 1830 with 80 - 32m and 48f(7 adult) and 72E1 and 8NT/B (19AR56-57).

Donald McKinnon 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63).

Alexander McLeod 1845 with 35(35AR54); 1846 with 46(36AR24); 1847 with 36(37AR22); 1848 with 27(37AR20); 1849 with 27 - 15m and 12f(39 AR24).

55. Arnol (M)

P. Barvas

Lewis

Murdoch McPherson 1835-1836, 1836-1837 and 1837-1838(25AR40, 26AR63, 27AR33); 22/3/1837 with 104 - 27E1, 22NT and 55B(27AR19); Mrs McPherson teaches sewing; 10/12/1838 with 56 - 9E1, 14NT and 33B(28AR23). John Munro 1847 with 22(37AR22); 1848 with 32(38AR20); 1849 with 29 - 15m and 14f(39AR24).

56. Ashir (A)

P. Eddrachillis

Sutherland

Asheriemore 1829(18AR56)

Planned for November, 1815, but cancelled(5AR9, 100).

George Campbell 1829 and 1830 with 136(25 adult) and 69E1 and 67NT/B (18AR56, 19AR56-57); 1831 with 136(25 adult) and 69E1 and 67NT/B(20AR 52-53).

57. Athlinne (N)

P. Lochs

Lewis

Neil Matheson 1827(16AR53).

58. Achnacloich (F) P. Rosskeen Ross

Achnacloiche 1827(17AR55)

Alexander McKay 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 71 - 36m and 35f @ 5/30 yrs and 13El, 36Ps/NT and 22B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 70 - 32 m and 38f @ 5/27 yrs and 18El, 16NT and 36OT(9AR50-51)

59. Ausdale (D) P. Greich Sutherland

William Gordon 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 33 - 20m and 13f @ 3/16 yrs and 17El, 13NT and 30OT(10AR60-61).

Jean Gordon 1821(10AR64).

60. Avernish (E) P. Lochalsh Inverness

Roderick McLeod 1845 with 55 and 1846 with 51(35AR54, 36AR24).

61. Aviemore (H) P. Duthil Inverness

Hugh Barnett 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 42 - 16m and 26f and 28El and 14B(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56); 1830 with 62 - 27m and 35f(9 adult) and 29El and 33NT/B(19AR56-57).

62. Back (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

John McDonald 1838 with 170 and 1838-1839 with 101 on roll, but 130 there - 58El, 34NT and 38B(28AR28, 30, 29AR21, 24-25); 1839-1840 with 119(29AR33); 1840-1841 with 80(30AR23).

Angus McLeod 1852 with 45 - 12m and 33f(42AR23); 1853 with 64 - 33m and 31f(43AR29); 1854 with 65 - 33m and 32f(44AR25); 1855 with 82 - 41m and 41f(45AR23)

63. Badachlavan (L) P. Thurso Caithness

Badachlaven 1823(12AR62)

This school opened June, 1821(12AR13). Presumably the teacher was

Donald Hood 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 92 - 54m and 38f and 6E1 and 86B(13AR46-47).

64. Badantarbet (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

Bedantabet 1818(18AR45); Bad entarbet 1830(20AR20); Badentarbet 1831 (20AR52).

P. Ullapool 1837(26AR63)

First school to be established with John McLeod at a salary of £12.10.0 per annum and in operation by 29/11/1811(2AR3, 1AR28, 71). By the summer of 1812 with 30 - 8Sp, 6Ps, 8NT and 70T(2AR3-4).

James Munro 24/8/1812 and 29/11/1812(2AR26, 4AR46).

Andrew(sic) Munro leaves 8/6/1813 and John McLeod returns with 46 and 40 there(3AR41). School closed November, 1813(3AR70).

James McNeath 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 53 - 21m and 32f and 7E1 and 46B (16AR48-49).

John McLeod 20/7/1830 and 1831 with 59 - 22m and 37f(12 adult) and 32E1 and 27NT/B(20AR20, 52-53); 1832 with 64 - 21m and 43f and 21E1 and 43 NT/B and closed May, 1832(22AR36-37).

John McPherson 1836-1837(26AR63); 1837 with 81 and 1837-1838 as a school for a Government Church area(27AR30, 33).

Duncan Morison 1837 with 101 and 1838-1839 as a school for a Government Church area(28AR28, 30).

65. Badcall (H) P. Edderachillis Sutherland

George Campbell October, 1833 and 1833-1834 and 1834-1835 with 42(24AR 10, 23AR44, 24AR49).

66. Baddan (F) P. Alness Ross

Badden 1822(12AR58)

Norman Bruce 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 35 - 15m and 20f @ 8/40 yrs and 4E1 and 31B(11AR54, 12AR58-59); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 41 - 19m and

22f and 12E1 and 29B(13AR46-47).

67. Baddidarrach (C) P. Assynt Sutherland

Baddidaroch 1827(16AR27); Baddydarach 1829(19AR31)

David Munro 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 62 - 12m and 50f and 10E1 and 52B(18AR52-53); 19/3/1829 with 58 and 48 there and 30m and 18f and 7NT(19AR31).

68. Badenvougie (E) P. Applecross Ross

P. Shioldaig in Inverness 1835(24AR19)

Colin McIntosh 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 53 - 22m and 31f @ 5/30 yrs and 17E1 and 36B(12AR58-59); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 39 - 15m and 24f and 11E1 and 28B(13AR46-47); 1833-1834(23AR44); 1834-1835 with 39(24AR9, 19).

69. Badinscally (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

Ballinscally 1819(8AR48); Badinsally 1819(8AR50-51); Ballinsally 1821(11AR50); Bedanscally 1827(16AR52); Baddanscally 1827(16AR26); Badenscally 1834(23AR15); Badincally 1835(24AR14).

P. Ullapool 1835 and 1843(24AR49, 32AR38)

Angus McLeod 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 84 - 34m and 50f and 60E1, 19NT and 5B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 89 - 40m and 49f @ 5/60 yrs and 31E1, 34NT and 24OT(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 70 - 38m and 32f @ 5/60 yrs and 28E1, 19NT and 23OT(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR 64).

John McLeod 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 61 - 25m and 36f and 35E1 and 26 B(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56); 1830 with 93(32 adult) and 47E1 and 46NT/B (19AR56-57).

John McPherson 1834-1835 and 1835-1836 with 114 in 1834(24AR49, 15, 25AR40).

Duncan Morrison 1842-1843 with 45(32AR38); 1843-1844 with 41(33AR38);

1844 with 16(34AR24).

70. Bael Shear (O) P. North Uist North Uist

Ballshear 1823(13AR48); Bal-shear 1824(15AR39); Baleshear 1827(17AR57)

Norman Morison 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 78 - 58m and 20f @ 6/45 yrs and 69E1 and 9B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 51 - 36m and 15f and 10E1 and 41B(13AR48-49).

71. Baghavoulin (K) P. Craignish Argyle

Baghavoulin 1827(17AR56)

Angus McCaffer 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 31 - 21m and 10f and 3E1 and 28B(13AR46-47).

72. Baikies (D) P. Golspie Sutherland

George Gordon 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 61 - 31m and 30f and 13E1 and 56B(sic)(16AR48-49).

73. Bailegrant (T) P. Kilmenvy Islay

Balligrant 1834(24AR34); Bailigrant 1835(24AR49)

Donald McDonald July, 1833 and by April, 1834 with 83(24AR34); 1834-1835 and 1835-1836(24AR49, 25AR40); by 1835 there were 85 with 53 there with 19NT and 150T(25AR25).

74. Baillehaugh (P) P. Coll Coll

Donald McKinnon 1854 with 18 - 8m and 10f(44AR25).

75. Baille Mhic Ghille Riaich (Q) P. Kilmuir Skye

Baille Mhic Ghille Riaich 1820(9AR55); Baille Mhic Ghille Riach 1820(10AR58).

Donald Munro 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 70 - 52m and 18f @ 5/20 yrs (8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 56 - 38m and 18f @ 4/22 yrs and 28E1, 16Ps and 2NT(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 63 - 49m and 14f @ 4/24 yrs and 22E1 and 41NT/B(10AR62-63).

76. Balachlaven (T) P. Bowmore Islay

Ballochlaven 1831(24AR34); Ballachlaven 1833(24AR41); Ballichlaven 1836(25AR26)

P. Kilmeny 1831(24AR34)

Duncan Gillies 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 97 - 45m and 52f and 38E1 and 59B(18AR54-55).

John McSween November, 1831(24AR34); 1832 with 117 - 63m and 54f and 27E1 and 90NT/B(22AR38-39); 1832-1833 and 1833 with 125 - 62m and 63f and 37E1 and 88NT/B(22AR41, 23AR43); 1833-1834 and 1834-1835(23AR44, 24AR49); 17/3/1835 with 113 and 70 there and 350T and 16NT(25AR26).

77. Balagown (H) P. Laggan Inverness

Balgowan 1831(20AR52)

Angus McPherson 1830 with 49 - 26m and 23f and 38E1 and 11NT/B(19AR 56-57); 1831 with 63 - 29m and 33f and 24E1 and 39NT/B(20AR52-53); 1832 with 77 - 34m and 43f and 19E1 and 58NT/B and closed May, 1832 (22AR36-37).

78. Balamartin (P) P. Coll/Tiree Tiree

Malcolm McNeill 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 116 - 63m and 53f and 85E1 and 31B(16AR50-51); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 83 - 43m and 40f and 44 E1 and 39B(18AR54-55).

Donald McDonald 1843-1844 with 101(33AR39); 1844 with 101(34AR39); 1845 with 101(35AR55)

79. Balaphuil (P) P. Coll/Tiree Tiree

Balephuill 1821(11AR42); Balaphuill 1827(17AR59); Bailephuill 1833
(22AR10)

P. Tíree 1842(31AR35)

Hector Johnston 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 69 - 39m and 30f @ 5/45 yrs
and 54E1, 11NT and 4B(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 101 @ 52m
and 49f @ 6/58 yrs and 50E1, 27NT and 24B(10AR62-63); 1821(9AR55).
Lachlan Black 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 47 - 21m and 26f @ 5/45 yrs
and 12E1 and 35B(12AR60-61).

Donald McDonald July, 1832(24AR32); 1832-1833 and 1833 with 101 - 61m
and 40f and 44E1 and 57NT/B(22AR41, 23AR41); 1833-1834 and 1834-1835
(23AR44, 24AR49); 1840-1841 with 75(30AR23); 1841-1842 with 70(31AR35);
1842-1843 with 76(32AR39).

80. Balatarsin (T) P. Kilarow Islay

P. Bowmore 1838(28AR29)

Donald Hood 1837 with 85(27AR31); 1837-1838 and 1838 with 68(27AR33,
28AR29); 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 with 71(28AR30, 29AR33).

81. Balavoulin (S) P. Kilfinichen Mull

John McDonald 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 43 - 22m and 21f and 25E1 and
18B(13AR48-49).

82. Balmeanach (Q) P. Portree Skye

Bailmeanoch 1842(32AR28); Balmeanach 1843(32AR39); Balmeanoch 1846
(36AR25)

Angus Munro 1840-1841 with 70(30AR23); 1841-1842 with 70(31AR35);
1842-1843 with 53(32AR39)

Hugh Urquhart 1846 with 27(36AR25); 1847 with 25(37AR23); 1848 with
19(38AR21).

83. Balemhichdmhaith (Q) P. Snizort Skye

Balmhichaith 1833(22AR41); Bailvickva 1833(23AR43); Ballivicha 1834 (24AR29).

Peter McLeod 1831 with 50 - 23m and 27f and 50E1(20AR54-55); 1832-1833 and 1833 with 81 - 41m and 40f and 66E1 and 15NT/B(22AR41, 23AR 43); 1833-1834 and closed May, 1834(23AR44, 24AR29).

84. Balemore (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Ballemore 1828(17AR61)

Donald McDonald 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 79 - 75m and 4f and 55E1, 21NT and 3B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 67 - 3m and 64f @ 6/42 yrs and 23E1, 34NT and 10B(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 70 - 66m and 4f(10AR62-63).

Archibald Campbell 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 138 - 86m and 52f and 54 E1 and 84B(18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57).

85. Balichatrikin (T) P. Kildalton Islay

Balichatricken 1824(15AR41); Balachatrickin 1825(14AR53); Ballychattrichen 1844(34AR25); Bailechatrychan 1851(41AR25); Balychatrigan 1854 (44AR14).

P. Kilcoman 1844(34AR25); P. Oos 1851(41AR25); P. Ooa 1852(42AR23); P. Oa(1853)(43AR29).

Angus Lamont 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 61 - 38m and 23f and 7E1 and 54B(14AR50-51).

John McCallum 1825(14AR53).

John Martin 1844 with 48 and 1845 with 30 supported by Lady Anderson (34AR25, 35AR55); 1846 with 52(36AR25).

John McSween 1851 with 85 - 42m and 43f, 1852 with 112 - 54m and 58f and 1853 with 74 - 37m and 37f and supported by St. Luke's F.C., Edinburgh(41AR25, 42AR23, 43AR29).

Alexander McDonald 1859 with 23 - 9m and 14f and 1860 with 38 - 15m and 23f and supported by Aberdeen Auxiliary Association(49AR15, 50

AR19).

86. Balinacra (E) P. Lochcarron Ross

Balinacraa 1823(13AR46); Balanacra 1824(14AR21)

Donald McKenzie 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 56 e 31m and 25f and 31E1 and 25B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 54 - 32m and 22f and 54B(14AR48-49).

87. Balinaseilag (Q) P. Kilmuir Skve

Lachlan Black 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 52 - 36m and 16f and 12E1 and 40B(14AR50-51).

88. Balintore (F) P. Fearn Ross

John McLean 1851 with 42 - 16m and 26f(41AR24); 1852 with 82 - 32m and 50f(42AR22); 1853 with 40 - 16m and 24f(43AR28).

89. Balivieconon (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Ballivieconon 1820(10AR62-63); Bale-vic-Connon 1820(10AR20)

Orchibald McKinnon 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 123 - 79m and 34f @ 5/25 yrs and 74E1, 33NT and 16B(10AR62-63); 1821 with 26/2/1821 with 100 - @ 5/25 yrs and 95 there - 44BkI and BkII, 27NT and 24B(10AR65, 11AR 34); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 77 - 49m and 28f @ 3/35 yrs and 29E1 and 48B(12AR60-61).

90. Ballallan (n) P. Lochs Lewis

Ballallin 1819(9AR49); Balallan 1817(7AR6); Bail Alain 1828(17AR61)

Murdo Mackenzie 30/11/1815(5AR38, 101).

Murdo McLeod 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 30 - 23m and 7f @ 6/24 yrs and 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 26 - 18m and 8f @ 5/19 yrs and 3BkI, 11Ps and 12B(8AR46-47).

Neil Matheson 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 143 - 74m and 69f and 93~~El~~
and 50B(18AR54-55);

Angus McLeod 1829 and 1832-1833 with 1833 with 78 - 45m and 33f and
34~~El~~ and 14NT/B(18AR57, 22AR40, 23AR42); 1833-1834 with 98 and 94
there - 36~~El~~, 16Sc/Ex, 18NT and 24B(23AR14, 32); closed May, 1834
(24AR22).

Donald McFarlane 1843-1844 with 63 and 1844 with 61(33AR38, 34AR24);
1845 with 33 supported by Lady Anderson(34AR54).

Malcolm Morrison 1854 with 101 - 42m and 59f(44AR24); 1855 with 101
- 39m and 62f(45AR22); 1856 with 100 - 38m and 62f(46AR14); 1857 with
81 - 26m and 55f(47AR14)

91. Balmartin (P) P. Tiree Tiree

Mull 1852(42AR23)

John Shaw 1852 with 58 - 26m and 32f(42AR23); 1853 with 57 - 28m and
29f(43AR29); 1854 with 48 - 18m and 30f(44AR25); 1855 with 45 - 18m
and 27f(45AR23).

92. Balmartin (N) P. North Uist North Uist

John Montgomery 1832 with 58 - 34m and 24f and 29~~El~~ and 29NT/B(22AR
38-39); 1832-1833(22AR40); 1833 with 39 - 30m and 9f and 14~~El~~ and 25
NT/B(23AR43); 1833-1834 and closed May, 1834(23AR44, 24AR25).

93. Balnicol (M) P. Lochs Lewis

P. Stornoway 1826(16AR50)

William Urquhart 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 36 - 31m and 5f and 7~~El~~
and 29B(16AR50-51).

94. Baluive (T) P. Kilmeny Islay

Donald McDonald 1836-1837(26AR63).

95. Balvairde (F) P. Rosskeen Ross

BalvBalde 1815(5AR70)

Alexander MacKay 29/11/1814 with 35 in summer and 38 in winter (4AR49, 5AR15); 17/4/1815 and 15/9/1815(5AR70-71); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 52 @ 5/34 yrs and 24G and 28B(63AR34-35).

96. Balvulin (P) P. Tiree Tiree

Balivulin 1845(35AR55)

Angus McNeill 1844 with 145 and 1845 with 97 and supported by Lady Anderson(34AR25, 34AR55); 1846 with 123 and 1847 with 98(36AR25, 37AR23).

97. Balvraidmuirs (D) P. Dornoch Sutherland

Balvraidmiurs 1826(15AR42); Balavraidmiurs 1827(16AR52)

Angus McLeod 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 48 and 22E1 and 26B(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 87 - 33m and 54f and 21E1 and 60B(18AR52-53).

98. Banvie (G) P. Kilmallie Inverness

Banavie 1823(12AR62)

Dougal Duncan 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 47 @ 5/38 yrs and 15G and 32B(6AR34-35); 1817(6AR38).

Duncan McDonald 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 108 - 64m and 44f and 25E1 and 83B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 84 - 45m and 39f and 20E1 and 64B(14AR48-49).

99. Barr (T) P. Bowmore Islay

Barr 1830(19AR58)

P. Kilarrow 1843(32AR39)

Donald McDonald 1829(18AR57); 1830 with 145 - 86m and 59f(41 adult) and 80E1 and 65B(19AR58-59); 1831 with 186 - 106m and 80f(53 adult) and 84E1 and 102NT/B(20AR54-55); 1832 with 70 - 33m and 37f and 20 E1 and 42NT/B(sic); 1832-1833 with 1833 with 69 - 34m and 35f and 14E1 and 55NT/B(22AR43, 23AR43).

Angus McFarlane 1841-1842 with 67 and 1842-1843 with 57 and 1843-1844 with 36(31AR35, 32AR39, 33AR39).

Donald Hood 1846 with 35 and 1847 with 29 and 1848 with 28 and 1849 with 26 - 7m and 19f(36AR25, 37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25).

100. Barbraville (F) P. Kilmuir Ross

Barbaraville 1824(15AR37)

William McLean 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 54 - 28m and 26f and 37E1 and 17B(14AR48-49); 1825(k4AR52)

101. Barony of Dunachton (H) P. Alvie Inverness

Alexander Cameron 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 25 - 9m and 16f and 9E1 and 16B(16AR48-49).

102. Barvas (M) P. Barvas Lewis

Borves 1822(11AR55), Bavvas 1843(32AR38)

P. Stornoway 1821(10AR58)

Hector Macdonald 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 57 - 46m and 11f @ 6/30 yrs and 14Ps/NT in the vacant parish school(6AR36-37, 5AR37); 1817 (6AR39).

Hugh McDougall 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 50 - 38m and 12f @ 7/20 yrs and 39E1 and 11B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 42 - 25m and 17f and 4E1 and 38B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 71 - 31m and 37f and 4E1 and 67B(14AR50-51).

Alexander McKenzie 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 75 - 34m and 41f and 62 E1 and 13B(18AR54-55); 23/12/1828(18AR33); 1829(18AR57); 1830 with

123 - 57m and 66f(23 adult) and 28E1 and 95B(19AR58-59).

John Munro 1838 with 129(28AR28); 1838-1839 with 3/4/1839 with 68 - 20E1, 3Sc/Ex, 15NT and 30B(28AR30); 1/11/1838-1/11/1839 with 101 yet only 46 on list(29AR19); 1839-1840 with 71 and 1840-1841 with 50 (29AR33, 30AR22); 1841-1842 with 107 and 1842-1843 with 79 and 1843-1844 with 69(31AR34, 32AR38, 33AR38); 1853 with 43 - 6m and 37f(43AR28)

103. Barvasses (M) P. Barvas Lewis

Barvass 1828(18AR54)

P. Stornoway 1826(16AR50)

Hugh McDougall 1826(15AR43)

Alexander Anderson 1/11/1825-1/11/1826 with 221 and 164E1 and 57B (16AR50-51); 25/1/1827 with 220(120 adult)(16AR32); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 368(224 adult- and 141E1 and 227B(18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57); 1830 with 330 - 145m and 185f\180 adult) and 62E1 and 268B(19AR58-59).

104. Baunscol (D) P. Rogart Sutherland

George Gordon September, 1833-March, 1834 with 37 and 25 there - 10E1, 15NT/B(23AR44, 24AR12).

105. Bayble (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

Pebble 1811(1AR27); Payble 1847(37AR23)

P. Knock 1847(37AR23)

Angus McLeod arrives here 12/12/1811, but has no books till February, 1812(2AR34); by 26/2/1812 he had 40 by day and 60 by night(2AR33); 5/5/1812 he had 50 - 21BkI, 24Ps, 18NT and 30T(sic)(2AR9); 27/11/1812 (4AR46); closed November, 1814(4AR50).

John McDonald 1830 with 62 - 31m and 31f(2 adult) and 38E1 and 24B (19AR58-59).

Malcolm McRitchie 1831 with 77 - 34m and 43f(5 adult) and 27E1 and

50NT/B(20AR54-55); 1832 with 163 - 68m and 95f and 51E1 and 112NT/B (22AR38-39); 1832-1833(22AR40); 1833 with 168 - 73m and 95f and 45E1 and 123NT/B(23AR42).

Donald Ross with 88 in 1838, 1838-1839, 1839-1840 with 52 and 1840-1841 with 49 as a school serving a Government Church area(28AR29, 30, 29AR33, 30AR23).

Kenneth McPherson 1847 with 51 and 1848 with 52(37AR23, 38AR21); 1849 with 44 - 17m and 27f(29AR25).

Donald Ross 1857 with 120 - 41m and 79f(47AR14); 1858 with 60 - 15m and 45f(48AR14); 1859 with 50 - 7m and 43f(49AR14); 1860 with 64 - 28m and 36f(50AR18).

106. Bayhead (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

The first reference to this school is that it was closed by November, 1824(15AR39).

William McDonald 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 116 - 36m and 80f and 106E1 and 10B(16AR50-51); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 126 - 54m and 72f and 45 E1 and 81B(18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57); 1830 with 221 - 93m and 118f(42 adult) and 82E1 and 129B(19AR58-59).

John McDonald 1841-1842 with 126 and 1842-1843 with 63(31AR35, 32AR39)

107. Bays (N) P. North Uist North Uist

John McLeod 1832 with 35 - 21m and 14f and 18E1 and 17NT/B(22AR38-39); 1832-1833(22AR40); 1833 with 20 - 14m and 6f and 2E1 and 18NT/B (23AR43).

108. Bays of Uig (M) P. Uig Lewis

Malcolm McKenzie 1858 with 52 - 26m and 26f(48AR14); 1859 with 63 - 36m and 27f(49AR14); 1860 with 36 - 23m and 13f(50AR18)

109. Beach (S) P. Kilfinichen Mull

John McDonald 1825(14AR53)

Duncan Gillies 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 36 - 19m and 17f and 11E1 and 25B(16AR50-51).

110. Begnagerry (M) P. Barvas Lewis

Begnagery 1826(15AR43); Begnegary 1826(16AR50); Begnageary 1826 (16AR31); Bignagery 1827(16AR57).

Alexander McKenzie 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 74 - 48m and 26f and 23E1 and 51B(14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53); 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 94 - 47m and 47f and 15E1 and 79B(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53).

111. Balnahuay (K) P. Jura Balnahuay

Balnahuay 1820(10AR62)

Hugh McDougall 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 19 - 10m and 9f @ 5/18 yrs (10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

112. Benbicula (O) P. South Uist Benbecula

Aird 1827(16AR53)

Archibald Campbell 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 142 - 117m and 25f @ 6/51 yrs and 63E1 and 79B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 52 - 38m and 14f and 17E1 and 35B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 113 - 95m and 18f and 4E1 and 109B(14AR50-51); 1827(16AR53)
Donald Cameron 1847 with 41, 1848 with 42 and 1849 with 22 - 5m and 17f(37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25).

113. Benmore (S) P. Kilninian Mull

Alexander Munro 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 55 - 40m and 15f(8AR46-47).

114. Bernera (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

Donald McDiarmid 1837 with 64, 1837-1838, 1838 with 48, 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 with 51(27AR30, 28AR28, 30, 29AR32).

115. Bernera (M) P. Uig Lewis

Malcolm McKenzie 1849 with 23 - 5m and 18f(39AR24); 1850 with 62 - 24m and 38f(40AR20); 1851 with 96 - 50m and 46f(41AR24); 1852 with 56 - 26m and 30f(42AR22); 1853 with 96 - 50m and 46f(43AR28). Hector Morrison 1855 with 49 - 22m and 27f, 1856 with 42 - 20m and 22f, 1857 with 47 - 27m and 20f, 1858 with 28 - 19m and 9f and supported by Aberdeen Auxiliary Association(45AR22, 46AR14, 47AR14, 48AR14).

116. Berneray (N) P. Harris Berneray

Barnera 1820(10AR48); Barnera 1820(10AR51)

Donald Morrison 1820(10AR51)

Malcolm Nicolson 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 37 - 18m and 19f and 7E1 and 30B(14AR50-51).

Ewen McDonald 1825(14AR53); 30/9/1826 with 40 - 29m and 11f and 12E1 and 28B(16AR50-51).

Norman McLennan 1827(16AR57)

Fergus Ferguson 1832 with 59 - 38m and 21f and 34E1 and 25NT/B(22AR 38-39); 1832-1833 and 1833 with 69 - 44m and 25f and 26E1 and 33NT/B (sic)(22AR40, 23AR43).

117. Bernisdale (Q) P. Snizort Skve

Barnisdale 1820(10AR62-63)

Peter McLeod 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 79 - 56m and 23f @ 5/24 yrs and 22E1, 46NT and 11B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 54 - 39m and 15f @ 5/30 yrs and 27E1, 16Ps/NT and 11B(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 76 - 57m and 19f @ 5/23 yrs and 32E1 and 19NT and 25B(10AR62-63).

118. Bighouse (A) P. Reay Sutherland

Mr. Gordon October, 1841 and by 7/2/1842 there were 46 and 36 were there - 4BkI, 10NT and 22B(32AR29); 1842-1843 with 23(32AR38).

119. Bindal (D) P. Tarbart Hass

Donald McGillivray 1849 with 76 - 38m and 38f(39AR24); 1850 with 76 - 31m and 45f(40AR20); 1851 with 50 - 19m and 31f(41AR24); 1852 with 39 - 14m and 25f(42AR22).

120. Birichen (D) P. Dornoch Sutherland

Birichin 1823(13AR50)

Duncan Ross 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 110 - 44m and 66f @ 5/44 yrs and 45E1 and 65B(12AR58-59); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 86 - 43m and 43f and 22E1 and 64B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 101 - 46m and 55f and 22E1 and 79B(14AR48-49).

121. Blain (I) P. Ardnamurchan Inverness

Blair 1816(6AR34-35); Bluin 1816(6AR32)

Donald Cameron 14/11/1814 with 20 and soon 47(4AR38, 49); 13/9/1815 with 51 - 41m and 10f @ 5/27 yrs(5AR30); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 56 - 49m and 7f @ 4/27 yrs and 23G and 33B(6AR34-35).

122. Blarmacfolach (G) P. Kilmallie Inverness

Blarmafoilach 1815(5AR26); Blarmacfoilach 1815(6AR32); Blarmacfoil-each 1826(16AR44); Blairmacfaoldich 1828(18AR30); Blarmacfaileach 1829(18AR56); Blarmacfaoliach 1829(19AR50).

Archibald Macnab arrived here 24/11/1814 and started 28/11/1814 with 33 @ 5/20 yrs(4AR37, 49); 3/4/1815 @ 4½/28 yrs(5AR26-27); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 51 - 31m and 20f and 23G and 28B(6AR34-35).

Finlay McKay 1829(18AR56).

123. Boghreachdich (F) P. Dingwall Ross

Bogreach 1822(12AR55)

David Ross 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 36 - 21m and 15f @ 5/24 yrs and

15E1 and 21B(12AR58-59).

124. Bogrow (D) P. Edderton Sutherland

Bogroy 1830(19AR56)

John McPherson 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 and 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 78 - 31m and 47f and 11E1 and 67B(13AR46-47, 14AR48-49); 1830 with 173 - 82m and 91f(45 adult) and 88E1 and 85NT/B(19AR56-57); 1831 with 221 - 109m and 112f(52 adult) and 83E1 and 138NT/B(20AR52-53).

125. Bohally (J) P. Dull Perth

Peter McCaill 1832 with 40 - 25m and 15f and 5E1 and 35NT/B and closed May, 1832(22AR36-37).

126. Bohespec (J) P. Blair Atholl Perth

Bohespeg 1827(16AR52); Bohespice 1827(16AR28)

Peter McCaill 1/11/1825-1/11/1826 with 47 - 26m and 21f and 13E1 and 34B(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 56 - 29m and 27f and 26E1 and 30B(18AR52-53).

127. Boisdale (b) P. South Uist South Uist

John McNabb 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 143(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65); April, 1821 with 90(11AR36); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 73 - 52m and 21f @ 4/30 yrs and 16E1 and 57B(12AR60-61); 1823(12AR63).

128. Bolivicar (r) P. Kildalton Islay

Balavicar 1827(17AR59)

John McCallum 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 42 - 9m and 33f and 9E1 and 33B(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53).

129. Boreray (N) P. North Uist Boreray

Borreray 1823(13AR48); Isle Boreray 1833(23AR43)

Hugh Barnett 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 57 - 26m and 31f @ 5/34 yrs and 26El and 31B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 36 - 21m and 15f and 7El and 29B(13AR48-49)

Ewen McDonald 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 66 - 40m and 26f and 26El and 40B(14AR50-51).

Thomas Noble December, 1833 with 38 - 19m and 19f and 38El(23AR43, 24AR26); 1833-1834, 1834-1835, 1835-1836, 1836-1837(23AR44, 24AR49, 25AR40, 26AR63).

130. Borgue (S) P. Kilninian Mull

Borg 1860(50AR9)

Murdoch Fraser 1859 with 22 - 8m and 14f(49AR15); 1860 with 36 - 23m and 13f(50AR19)

131. Boriston (M) P. Lochs Lewis

Borroston 1839(28AR30)

John Shaw 1838 with 88 and 1838-1839(28AR29-30); 1839-1840 with 61 and 1840-1841 with 57(29AR33, 30AR23).

132. Borodale (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyll

John McEachern 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 11 - 6m and 5f and 5El and 6B(13AR46-47).

133. Bornaskitair (Q) P. Kilmuir Skye

Angus McLeod 1842-1843 with 81, 1843-1844 with 82, 1844 with 83 and 1845 with 53(32AR3, 33AR39, 34AR25, 35AR55).

134. Borodh (N) P. Harris Bernera

James Fraser 1821(10AR35); 6/3/1821 with 80 and 60 there - 46BkI/II, 6NT and 8B(11AR34-35); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 49 - 30m and 19f @ 6' 24 yrs and 15E1 and 34B(12AR60-61).

135. Borreraig (Q) P. Strath Skye

Borreraig 1820(10AR65); Borreraig 1820(10AR25)

P. Bracadale 1819(9AR49); P. Duirinish 1820(9AR55)

John McKinnon 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 51 - 40m and 11f @ 7/27 yrs and 43E1 and 8NT(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 32 - 30m and 2f @ 8/18 yrs(9AR52-53).

Donald Mathieson 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 52 - 38m and 14f @ 4/30 yrs and 23E1, 21NT and 8B(10AR62-63).

Niel Mathieson 1820(10AR25).

Donald McGilivray 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 41 - 22m and 19f @ 5/25 yrs and 15E1 and 26B(12AR60-61).

136. Borve (N) P. Harris Harris

Norman McLennan 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 60 - 42m and 18f and 36E1 and 24B(18AR54-55); 1829 and 1830 with 109 - 59m and 50f(34 adult) and 65E1 and 44B(18AR57, 19AR58-59).

137. Borve (Q) P. Snizort Skye

Murdoch McMillan 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 60 - 34m and 26f and 27E1 and 33B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 86 - 38m and 48f and 54E1 and 32B(14AR50-51).

Peter McLeod 1832 with 22 - 8m and 14f and 4E1 and 18NT/B and closed May, 1832(22AR38-39).

138. Bosta (M) P. Uig Lewis

P. Stornoway 1826(16AR50)

Donald Morison 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 61 - 45m and 16f and 1E1 and 60B(14AR50-51).

Neil McLeod 1825(14AR53).

Malcolm McRitchie 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 97 - 36m and 61f and 10E1 and 87B(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53).

139. Botacks (F) P. Fodderty Ross

Alexander McLeod 1834-1835 with 93(24AR49, 13); 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63).

140. Bowmore (T) P. Bowmore Islay

Duncan Ferguson 1827(16AR53).

Hector Ferguson 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 interim with 119 - 34m and 85f and 62E1 and 57B(16AR53, 17AR61); 1829(18AR57).

Alexander McKenzie 1830 with 202\5 adult) and 119E1 and 83B(19AR58-59).

Allan Ross April, 1830 with 52 and 45 there - 15B and 12NT(20AR50).
Closed November, 1830(20AR50).

141. Brackletter (G) P. Kilmanivaig Inverness

Brachdleitir 1827(17AR56)

Dugald Duncan 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 42 - 20m and 22f and 11E1 and 31OT(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 30 - 12m and 18f @ 5/12 yrs(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64).

142. Braes of Portree (Q) P. Portree Skye

Braes 1859(49AR15)

Alexander Munro November, 1812(2AR42); summer, 1815 with 13 and then 40(5AR43); 6/10/1815 with 41(5AR82)

Malcolm Nicolson 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 32 - 25m and 7f @ 6/32 yrs (6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39).

Malcolm McKay 1830 with 129 - 61m and 68f(18 adult) and 91E1 and 28B(19AR58-59); 1831 with 198 - 79m and 119f(25 adult) and 147E1 and 51NT/B(20AR54-55); 1832 with 31 - 15m and 16f and 13E1 and 18NT/B and closed May, 1832(22AR38-39).

Walter McKay 1859 with 36 - 26m and 10f(49AR15); 1860 with 65 - 39m and 26f(50AR19).

143. Braes of Strathpeffer (F) P. Dingwall Ross

Malcolm McKenzie 1854 with 41 - 20m and 21f(44AR24); 1855 with 38 - 17m and 21f(45AR22).

144. Braetongue (A) P. Tongue Sutherland

Angus Mackay 1838-1839(28AR30); 1839-1840 with 47 and 1840-1841 with 56(29AR32, 30AR22).

145. Bragar (M) P. Barvas Lewis

Brager 1832(23AR43); Braiger 1857(47AR14); Braiger 1857(47AR7).

P. Barras 1832(22AR40)

John McRae 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 50 - 40m and 10f and 25NT(6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 28(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 34(9AR50-51).

John Shaw 1831 with 263 - 130m and 133f(98 adult) and 137E1 and 126 NT/B(20AR54-55); 1832 with 207 - 100m and 107f and 48E1 and 159NT/B(22AR38-39); 1832-1833(22AR40); 1832 with 159 - 65m and 94f and 64 E1 and 95NT/B(23AR43).

Murdoch McPherson 1838 with 108 and 1838-1839(28AR28, 30); 4/4/1839 with 96 - 43BkI/II, 7Sc/Ex, 10NT and 36B while Mrs McPherson taught needlework to 25f(29AR19); 1839-1840 with 70 and 1840-1841 with 70 (29AR33, 30AR22).

Malcolm McKay 1845 with 80 and 1846 with 50 and 1847 with 29(35AR54, 36AR24, 37AR22).

John Munro 1850 with 31 - 22m and 9f(40AR20); 1851 with 66 - 45m and 21f(41AR24); 1852 with 67 - 40m and 27f(42AR22).

John McLean 1857 with 110 - 56m and 54f(47AR14); 1858 with 63 - 35m and 28f and 17BkI, 10G and 8B(48AR10, 14).

146. Braigo (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

Alexander McDonald 1851 with 65 - 41m and 24f(41AR25); 1852 with 55 - 38m and 17f(42AR23).

Donald McLean 1853 with 74 - 45m and 26f(43AR29); 1854 with 56 - 37m and 19f(44AR25).

147. Braiklet (M) P. Uig Lewis

Donald Morison 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 61 - 36m and 25f @ 5/40 yrs and 26E1 and 35B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 65 - 37m and 28f and 17E1 and 48B(13AR48-49).

148. Braulbin (B) P. Reay Caithness

Brawlbin 1830(19AR56)

Arthur Forbes 1829 and 1830 with 51 - 26m and 25f(12 adult) and 17E1 and 34NT/B(18AR56, 19AR56-57).

149. Breakish (R) P. Strath Skye

Braikish 1823(13AR48)

P. Bracadale 1819(9AR9)

John Mackinnon 29/11/1814(4AR49); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 48 - 41m and 7f(6AR36-37); 22/12/1815 with 36 - BkI, 14Ps, 8NT and 5B(5AR83)
Norman McLeod 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 42(sic) - 26m and 22f and 12 E1 and 30B(13AR48-49).

John McDonald 1837 with 183, 1837-1837 and 1838 with 105(27AR31, 33, 28AR29); 1838-1839 with 33 and 1839-1840 with 26 in summer, 1840 (28AR30, 29AR33, 30AR8).

150. Brearruthven (H) P. Kingussie Inverness

Brearruthven 1828(17AR60), Braeruthven 1828(18AR46)

Angus McPherson 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 38 - 17m and 21f and 33
E1 and 5B(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52).

Duncan McDonald 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 65 - 35m and 30f and 23
E1 and 42B(18AR52-53).

151. Brebost (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

Braebost 1816(6AR36)

Alexander Mackenzie 15/6/1815 and by July, 1815 with 46 - 20E1,
16Sp and 10NT and by September, 1815 with 55(5AR41); 1/11/1815-
1/11/1816 with 70(6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39).

152. Brenish (M) P. Uig Lewis

Braenise 1843(33AR38)

Neil Murray 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 56 - 40m and 16f @ 7/34 yrs
and 5E1 and 51B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 72 - 44m and
28f and 12E1 and 50B(13AR48-49).

Hector Morison 1832-1833 and 1833 with 62 - 36m and 26f and 17E1
and 45NT/B(22AR40, 23AR43); 1833-1834 and September, 1834 with 54,
1834-1835, 1835-1836(23AR44, 24AR24, 49, 25AR40).

Malcolm McKay 1839-1840 with 56, 1840-1841 with 40 and 1841-1842
with 38(29AR33, 30AR22, 31AR34).

Hector Morison 1843-1844 with 41 and 1844 with 43(33AR38, 34AR24).

Malcolm McKay 1850 with 28 - 17m and 11f(40AR20); 1851 with 60 -
26m and 34f(41AR24); 1852 with 42 - 26m and 16f(42AR22).

153. Brettie (R) P. Bracadale Skye

Glenbrettie 1817(7AR9); Brittle 1818(8AR46); Glenbrettie 1836(26AR30)

Alexander McPherson 7/4/1817 with 27 and 7Sp and 12NT(7AR9-10);
1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 29 - 22m and 7f @ 5/40 yrs and 12E1 and

17NT(8AR46-47).

Angus Munro 1836-1837 and 1837 with 25 and 1837-1838(26AR63, 27AR 31, 33).

154. Bridgend (F) P. Rosskeen Ross

Bridge of Alness 1849(39AR14); Bridgend of Alness 1850(40AR20)

Donald Fowler 1/11/1825-1/11/1826 with 54 - 23m and 31f and 15E1 and 39B(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 29 - 15m and 14f and 9E1 and 20B(18AR52-53).

Walter Campbell 1849 with 44 - 22m and 22f(39AR24); 1850 with 34 - 10m and 24f(40AR20); 1851 with 37 - 22m and 15f(41AR24).

155. Brimms (B) P. Thurso Caithness

Brimms 1826(16AR25)

Donald Hood 1/11/1825-1/11/1826 with 28 and 10E1 and 18B(16AR48-49); 9/3/1826 with 56 and 28 there @ 8/33 yrs and 5E1, 15NT and 8B(16AR 25); 1827(16AR52).

156. Broraig (Q) P. Stenscholl Skye

Angus Munro with 79 in 1847, 66 in 1848 and 35 - 11m and 24f in 1849 supported by St. George's F.C., Edinburgh(37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR 25).

Peter McLeod 1860 with 76 - 30m and 46f(50AR19).

157. Brolas (S) P. Kilfinichen Mull

John Dewar 1837 with 61, 1837-1838, 1838 with 37, 1838-1839, 1839-1840 with 36 and 1840-1841 with 35(27AR31, 33, 28AR29-30, 29AR33, 30AR23).

158. Brora (D) P. Clvne Sutherland

Donald McLeod 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 120 - 49m and 71f and 64 E1 and 56B(18AR52-53); 10/3/1829 with 149 and 134 there - 3BkI, 1BkII, 27Sc/Ex, 60NT and 43B(19AR29-30); 1830 with 259 - 117m and 142f(68 adult) and 86E1 and 173NT/B(19AR56-57); 1831 with 240 - 98m and 142f(74 adult) and 72E1 and 168NT/B(20AR52-53); 1832 with 69 - 29m and 35f(sic) and 15E1 and 54NT/B and closed May, 1832 22AR36-37).

John McLean 1840-1841 with 179, 1841-1842 with 101 and 1842-1843 with 73(30AR22, 31AR34, 32AR38); 1847 with 75 and 1848 with 63 (37AR22, 20).

159. Brosdale (T) P. Jura Jura

Malcolm McNeill 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 32 - 15m and 17f @ 4/20 yrs and 30E1 and 2NT(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 44 - 22m and 22f @ 4/10 yrs and 34E1 and 7NT/B(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

160. Brough (B) P. Dunnet Caithness

John Sutherland 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 58 - 38m and 20f and 26E1 and 32B(16AR48-49).

161. Bru (H) P. Barvas Lewis

Murdoch McPherson 1841-1842 with 38 and 1842-1843 with 23(31AR34, 32AR58).

162. Bruinish (P) P. Barra Barra

John McLeod 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 41 - 24m and 17f @ 5/40 yrs and 9E1 and 32B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 26 - 15m and 11f and 3E1 and 23B(13AR48-49)

163. Burg (S) P. Kilmore Mull

Burg Torloisg 1848(38AR21)

P. Slate 1830(19AR58); P. Kilninian 1848(38AR21); P. Tobermory 1849(39AR25).

Donald McDonald 1830 with 67 - 32m and 35f(12 adult) and 57E1 and 10B(19AR58-59); 1831 with 70 - 39m and 31f(11 adult) and 33E1 and 37NT/B(20AR54-55).

Donald McKinnon 1848 with 16 and 1849 with 19 - 12m and 7f and supported by the Rev. Mr. Makail's Church, Calcutta(38AR21, 39AR25)

164. Caipelach (F) P. Kirkhill Inverness

James Fraser 29/11/1814(4AR49); 31/3/1815 with 34 and 13/9/1815 with 46 and 32 there - 12m and 20f and 10BkI, 17NT and 5B(5AR21-22); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 43 - 18m and 25f @ 6/50 yrs(6AR34-35); 1817(6AR38).

165. Colbost (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

Colbost 1837(27AR31)

Malcolm McKay June, 1832, 1832-1833 and 1833 with 35 - 22m and 13f and 21E1 and 16NT/B(sic)(22AR41, 23AR43); 1833-1834 and closed June, 1834(23AR44, 24AR27).

Thomas Noble 1837 with 49, 1837-1838, 1838 with 28, 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 with 26(27AR31, 33, 28AR29-30, 29AR33); 1849 with 38 - 15m and 23f(3AR25); 1850 with 34 - 14m and 20f(40AR21); 1851 with 50 - 26m and 24f(41AR25).

166. Colbost (M) P. Lochs Lewis

Malcolm Morrison 1848 with 39(38AR21); 1849 with 40 - 18m and 22f(39AR25); 1850 with 35 - 18m and 17f(40AR20).

167. Callernish (M) P. Uig Lewis

Murdoch McLeod 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 96 - 51m and 45f and 27E1 and 69B(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 103 -

52m and 51f and 28E1 and 75B(18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57).

168. Calligary (R) P. Sleat Skye

Calligarry 1823(13AR44); Callegary 1827(17AR59)

Donald McGilivray 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 65 - 26m and 39f @ 4/23 yrs and 33E1 and 30NT and 2B(9AR52-53); 1' 11/1819-1/11/1820 with 44 - 21m and 23f @ 5/25 yrs and 15E1 and 28NT/B(10AR62-63); 1821 (10AR65).

169. Calluch (S) P. Kilninian Mull

Caillach 1816(6AR33); Cailleach 1824(15AR41)

P. Torosay 1816(6AR33)

Alexander Munro June, 1815 with 9, then 47, then 69, then 105(6AR 19); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 101 - 67m and 34f(6AR36-37).

170. Calnukile (E) P. Applecross Ross

Calnuckyle 1819(9AR48); Calnucyle 1827(17AR55); Calnyskyle 1832 (22AR36); Kynakile 1841(30AR22); Kyleneakile 1842(31AR34); Kyleneakilne 1843(32AR38); Calnakill 1843(33AR27).

Hugh Fraser 27/11/1812 and 5/4/1813 with 50 - 5Ps, 21BkI, 17NT and 40T and closed November, 1813(3AR47-48, 4AR46).

Colin McIntosh 1832 with 41 - 17m and 24f and 14E1 and 27NT/B(22AR 36-37); 1832-1833 and 1833-1834 with 41 - 17m and 24f and 7E1 and 34NT/B (22AR36-37).

Angus McLean 1840-1841 with 41, 1841-1842 with 44, 1842-1843 with 44(30AR12, 31AR34, 32AR38).

171. Camagouran (J) P. Fortingall Perth

Camghouran 1831(21AR12); Camgouran 1831(20AR52); Cameghouran 1832

(22AR36-37)

William Swanson 1830 with 45 - 21m and 24f(5 adult) and 29E1 and 16NT/B (19AR56-57); 1831 with 93 - 49m and 44f(40 adult) and 26E1 and 67NT/B (20AR52-53); 1832 with 46 - 26m and 20f and 8E1 and 38NT/B and closed May, 1832(22AR36-37).

172. Camiscross (R) P. Sleat Skye

Camiscross 1824(15AR40)

P. Sleate 1824(15AR40); P. Slate 1830(19AR58)

Neil MacIure 29/11/1814 and by September, 1815 with 50 - 16NT and 15B (4AR49, 5AR44).

David MacGilivray 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 59(sic) - 39m and 18f @ 5/28 yrs(6AR36).

Angus Munro 1830 with 54 - 14m and 40f and 51E1 and 3B(19AR58-59); 1831 with 89 - 37m and 52f(6 adult) and 51E1 and 38NT/B(20AR54-55); 1832 with 25 - 10m and 15f and 9E1 and 16NT/B and closed May, 1832(22AR38-39).

173. Camusbain (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

Camusbane 1827(27AR30)

Murdoch McMillan 1831 with 45 - 20m and 25f(10 adult) and 25E1 and 20NT/B (20AR52-53).

Donald McKinnon 1837 with 41 and 1837-1838(27AR30, 33).

174. Camuslunv (E) P. Lochalsh Inverness

Colin McIntosh 1844 with 20 and 1845 with 24(34AR24, 35AR54).

175. Camusnaherie (I) P. Kilmallie Inverness

Camusnaher 1823(13AR46); Commusnaheire 1829(19AR50)

Archibald McNab 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 29 - 15m and 14f @ 4/72 yrs and

6E1 and 23B(12AR58-59); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 22 - 10m and 12f and 1E1 and 21B(13AR46-47).

176. Camusstianavaig (A) P. Portree Skye

Camustinavaig 1823(13AR48-49); Camastinavaig 1826(15AR43); Camstianavaig 1827(16AR53); Camus-stianavaig 1827(17AR58)

Malcolm Nicolson 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 63 - 34m and 29f and 14E1 and 49B(13AR48-49).

Angus McDonald 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 61 - 40m and 21f and 22E1 and 39B(13AR50-51); 1827(16AR53).

Alexander McMillan 1833-1834 and closed June, 1834(23AR44, 24AR30).

177. Canna (R) P. Small Isles Canna

Cannay 1813(4AR48)

William Walker 30/11/1813 and by December, 1813 with 12, then 16, then 30 (4AR48, 3AR60); summer, 1814 with 88 - 32NT and 500T(4AR16); 3/9/1814 and 29/11/1814(4AR41, 49); by 1815 only 36(6AR37).

Donald Fraser interim teacher 30/11/1815 with 96 - 62m and 34f and 42BkI, 39NT and 15B(5AR101, 47); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 36 - 25E1 and 13Adv (6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39).

178. Caolis (P) P. Coll/Tiree Coll

Caolis and Skestle 1821(10AR65); Calois 1827(17AR59)

John Johnston 1817(6AR39).

John Nicholson 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 42 - 28m and 14f @ 5/50 yrs and 15E1 and 27NT/B(10AR62-63).

Malcolm Buchanan 1821(10AR65).

179. Caolisscalpa (N) P. Harris Harris

Caolas Scalpay 1824(13AR30); Caoliscalpa 1824(13AR51); Caolas-scalpa 1827

(17AR57).

James Fraser 1/11/1822-1' 11/1823 with 39 - 21m and 18f and 22E1 and 17B (13AR48-49).

Murdoch Ross 1/11/1823-1' 11/1824 with 35 - 28m and 7f and 1E1 and 34B (14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53).

Norman McLennan 1831 with 94 - 36m and 58f(8 adult) and 80E1 and 14NT/B (20AR54-55).

Murdoch McLeod 1832 with 17 - 7m and 10f and 17NT/B(22AR38-39).

Norman McLennan 1837 with 33 and 1837-1838 and 1838 with 27 and 1838-1839(27AR31, 33, 28AR29-30).

180. Capadale (M)

P. Uig

Lewis

Capital 1827(17AR57); Capidale 1831(21AR14); Capitale 1834(22AR44)

P. Stornoway 1826(16AR50)

Neil Murray 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 64 - 38m and 26f and 20E1 and 44B (14AR50-51).

Donald McLeod 1825(14AR53); 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 80 - 39m and 41f and 18E1 and 62B(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53).

Norman McLeod 1830 with 100(28 adult) and 80E1 and 20B(19AR58-59).

Malcolm McLeod 1831 with 89 - 42m and 47f and 42E1 and 47NT/B(20AR54-55); 24/3/1831(21AR14); 1832 with 50 - 24m and 26f and 12E1 and 38NT/B(22AR38-39).

Donald McFarlane 1833-1834 and 79 by September, 1834 with 32NT and 34B (22AR44, 24AR23); 1834-1835(24AR49); 25⁰ at Sabbath School(25AR11).

181. Carbost (Q)

P. Snizort

Skye

Carabost 1820(9AR55)

P. Bracadale 1818(9AR52)

Peter McLeod summer, 1815 with 30 and 18 there and 8Ps and by 17/7/1815 with 22 @ 6/20 yrs and by 18/12/1815 with 48(5AR42, 81, 101); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 30 - 19m and 11f @ 6/23 yrs and 1817(6AR36-37, 39).

Norman McLeod 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 100 - 65m and 35f @ 6/54 yrs and

64E1 and 20NT and 16B(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 48 - 31m and 17f @ 4/48 yrs and 12E1, 20NT and 16B(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 28 - 15m and 13f @ 5/26 yrs and 18E1 and 10B(10AR60-61); June, 1832-1833 and 1833 with 90 - 45m and 45f and 39E1 and 51NT/B(22AR 40, 23AR43); 1833-1834(23AR44) closed May, 1834(24AR27).
Nicol Nicolson 1839-1840 with 120 and 1840-1841 with 70 and 1841-1842 with 43(29AR33, 30AR23, 31AR35).

182. Carinish (o) P. North Uist North Uist

John McLeod 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 49 - 35m and 14f and 22E1 and 27B (14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53).
Neil Gillies 1846 with 25, 1847 with 29, 1848 with 27, 1849 with 25 - 10m and 15f(36AR25, 37AR23, 3'AR21, 39AR25).

183. Carloway (H) P. Lochs Lewis

P. Uig 1826(14AR43); P. Stornoway 1826(16AR50)

John Macrae 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 32 - 29m and 3f @ 5/19 yrs and 1821 (10AR62-63, 65).

Angus Munro 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 82 - 44m and 38f and 50E1 and 32B (16AR50-51).

Angus Matheson 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 102 - 52m and 50f and 57E1 and 45 B(18AR54-55); 1829 and 1830 with 182 - ~~201~~mand 81f(63 adult) and 92E1 and 90B(19AR58-59).

John Shaw June, 1833 and 1833-1834, 1834-1835 and 1835-1836 with 130(24AR 22, 23AR44, 24AR49, 25AR40, 13).

Alexander McDonald 1845 with 45 and 1846 with 35(35AR54, 36AR24).

184. Carna (i) P. Morvern Argyle

Peter Nicolson 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 29 - 11m and 18f and 4E1 and 25B (18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

Alexander McMillan 1831 with 23 - 10m and 13f and 9E1 and 14NT/B(20AR52-53)

185. Carnach (i) P. Appin/Lismore Argyle

Archibald McNab 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 52 - 20m and 32f and 13E1 and 39B(14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52); 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 47 - 16m and 31f and 26E1 and 21B(16AR48-49).

186. Carnach (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

Murdoch McMillan 1830 with 17 - 15m and 2f and 13E1 and 4NT/B(19AR56-57).

187. Carnish (H) P. Uig Lewis

Carinish 1842(31AR35)

Donald McDonald 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 60 - 25m and 35f and 12E1 and 48B (18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57).

Malcolm Morison 1840-1841 with 53 and 1841-1842 with 44 and 1842-1843 with 21(30AR23, 31AR35, 32AR38).

188. Carsaig (C) P. Kilfinichen Mill

Malcolm McNeil 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 19 - 11m and 8f and 7E1 and 12B (13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 40 - 22m and 18f and 19E1 and 21B (14AR50-51).

189. Castle Raasay (Q) P. Portree Raasay

Rasay 1816(6AR36); South Rasay 1817(7AR9); Isle of Rasay 1819(8AR49); Rasay 1819(9AR49); Castle 1821(12AR63); Rassy 1824(14AR46).

Angus Macdonald 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 69 - 56m and 13f @ 13/21 yrs (6AR36-37); 43 in June, 1817(7AR9); 1819(8AR49); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 35 - 25m and 10f @ 5/24 yrs and 18E1 and 17B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 41 - 31m and 10f and 8E1 and 33B(13AR48-49).

Donald McDonald 1832 with 77 - 42m and 25f and 23E1 and 54NT/B(22AR38-39); 1832-1833 and 1833 with 41 - 19m and 22f and 8E1 and 33NT/B(22AR41, 23AR43); 1833-1834 and closed June, 1834(23AR44, 24AR31).

Alexander McMillan 1843-1844 with 30, 1844 with 28 and 1845 with 19(33AR 39, 34AR25, 35AR55).

190. Castleswin (K) P. North Knapdale Argyle

Castle Sween 1830(19AR56)

Roderick McLeod 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 50 - 25m and 25f(18AR52-53);
1829 and 1830 with 103 ♀ 55m and 48f(26 adult) and 21E1 and 82B(18AR56,
19AR56-57).

191. Castletirim (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Castletirrim 1824(18AR48)

Donald Cameron 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 70 - 36m and 34f(14AR48-49); 1825
(14AR52).

192. Cat lodge (H) P. Laggan Inverness

Cat lodge 1830(20AR45)

James Davidson January, 1827 and 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 43 - 21m and
22f and 14E1 and 29B(17AR24, 18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

193. Ceandrochat (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

Ceandrochaid 1827(16AR53), Ceandrocheid 1828(17AR61)

Hector McDonald 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 65 - 31m and 34f and 46E1 and
17B(sic)(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 53 - 31m
and 22f and 17E1 and 36B(18AR54-55).

194. Ceannloch (H) P. Duthil Inverness

Alexander McKenzie 1831 with 45 - 25m and 20f(8 adult) and 36E1 and 9NT/B
(20AR52-53); 1832 with 31 - 19m and 12f and 31NT/B and closed May, 1832
(22AR36-37).

195. Ceantulavaig (N) P. Harris Harris

Ceantulavaig 1831(20AR54)

Murdoch McLeod 1830 with 55 - 28m and 27f(7 adult) and 35E1 and 20B (19AR58-59); 1831 with 76 - 43m and 33f(10 adult) and 31E1 and 45NT/B (20AR54-55).

196. Cheesebay (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Cheasbay 1836(25AR15)

Alexander McDonald 1834-1835 with 43(24AR26, 49); 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63).

197. Clachan (Q) P. Kilmuir Skye

P. Stenscholl 1850(40AR21)

School opened 15/6/1812 with 24 and rose to 104 by 15/9/1812(2AR10, 35); presumably the teacher was John Beaton, who, by 7/4/1813 had 160 - 96 BkI, 40NT and 24B(2AR42, 3AR57); he was suspended after 5/5/1813 and replaced by John McNab(3AR14-15, 57, 69). Mr. Anderson, Secretary, met Beaton 19/7/1813 re a complaint from Lord Macdonald in May, 1813 which was considered by the Committee in June, 1813(3AR32, 4AR46). Beaton was sent to Edinburgh with costs 19/7/1813 and Macdonald was informed 20/7/1813(3AR33).

Angus Munro 1850 with 69 - 27m and 42f(40AR21); 1851 with 70 - 24m and 46f and supported by St. George's F.C., Edinburgh(41AR25); 1852 with 61 - 13m and 48f(42AR23).

198. Clachhamish (Q) P. Snizort Skye

Nicol Nicolson 1855 with 62 - 32m and 30f(45AR23); 1856 with 31 - 12m and 19f(46AR15); 1857 with 49 - 23m and 26f(47AR15); 1858 with 27 - 10m and 17f(48AR15).

199. Clachnaharry (F) P. Inverness Inverness

Donald McGillivray 1859 with 102 - 49m and 53f(49AR14); 1860 with 77 - 40m and 37f(50AR18).

200. Clachtol (C) P. Stoer Sutherland

Clachtoll 1854(44AR24)

Colin McIntosh 1849 with 39 - 19m and 20f(39AR24); 1850 with 35 - 15m and 20f(40AR20); 1851 with 23 - 7m and 16f(41AR24).

Angus Murray 1854 with 41 - 20m and 21f(44AR24); 1855 with 37 - 12m and 25f(45AR22); 1856 with 26 - 12m and 14f(46AR14); 1857 with 19 - 3m and 16f(47AR14).

201. Cladach (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Cladach of Balyshare 1857(47AR15)

Hugh McDonald 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 52 - 38m and 14f and 20E1 and 32B (18AR54-55).

John Montgomery 1837 with 42, 1837-1838, 1838 with 38, 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 with 35(27AR31, 33, 28AR29-30, 29AR33).

Neil Gillies 1857 with 21 - 3m and 18f(47AR15); 1858 with 34 - 19m and 15f(48AR15); 1859 with 30 - 10m and 20f(49AR15); 1860 with 15 - 2m and 13f(50AR19).

202. Clagen (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

Claigen 1822(12AR60); Clagen 1829(19AR48); Claghan 1837(27AR21)

Donald Ross 25/4/1821 with 38(11AR38); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 29 - 23m and 6f @ 6/47 yrs(12AR60-61).

Thomas Noble 1840-1841 with 32(30AR23).

203. Claigen (I) P. Morvern Argyle

Donald McDonald 1829 and 1830 with 63 - 39m and 24f(6 adult) and 26E1 and 37B(19AR36-37).

204. Clare (F) P. Kiltearn Ross

Walter Campbell 1844 with 39, 1845 with 55 and 1846 with 33(34AR24, 35AR

54, 36AR24).

205. Clashmore (R) P. Assynt Sutherland

Claismore 1844(33AR30)

P. Store 1835(24AR10); P. Stoer 1852(42AR22)

David Munro February, 1832 with 66 - 25m and 41f and 36E1 and 30NT/B (22AR36-37, 24AR10); 1832-1833 and 28/3/1832 with 115 there and a roll of 124 - 26E1, 1Ps, 39NT and 49B(22AR20, 40); 1833 with 82 - 29m and 53f and 25E1 and 57NT/B(23AR42); 1833-1834 and 20/3/1834 with 84 and 63 there and 11E1, 15NT and 37B(23AR44, 24AR10); 1834-1835(24AR49); 1844 with 71 and 1845 with 61(34AR24, 35AR54); 1846 with 62(36AR24). Colin McIntosh 1852 with 36 - 15m and 21f and 1853 with 36 - 16m and 20f(42AR22, 43AR28).

206. Clashnabuiag (F) P. Alness Ross

Duncan Black 1827(16AR52).

Donald Hood 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 52 - 21m and 31f and 11E1 and 41B (18AR52-53); 1829 and 1830 with 83 - 40m and 43f(24 adult) and 12E1 and 71NT/B(18AR56, 19AR56-57).

207. Clashnessie (R) P. Assynt Sutherland

P. Stoer 1848(38AR20)

David Munro 1847 with 49 and 1848 with 44 and supported by a lady in Calcutta(37AR22, 38AR20).

208. Clure (N) P. Harris Harris

Norman McLennan 1842-1843 with 48 and 1843-1844 with 20(32AR39, 33AR39)

209. Coast of Udrigil (C) P. Gairloch Ross

Coast of Udrigle 1833(23AR34)

Hugh Fraser 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 68 - 35m and 33f and 33El and 35B(16AR48-49).

James Ross 1827(16AR52)

William Urquhart 19/10/1831 with 64 - 4BkI, 11BkII, 17NT and 33B(sic) (21AR15-16); 16/3/1833 with 110 - 15NT and 39B(23AR34); 1838 with 97 - and 1838-1839 and 3/3/1840 with 67 - 12El, 3NT and 52B and 1839-1840 with 72 and serving a Government Church area(28AR28, 30, 29AR28, 32).

210. Coiloag (D) P. Greich Sutherland

Roderick McLeod 1853 with 20 - 4m and 16f and 1854 with 26 - 8m and 18f (43AR28, 44AR24).

211. Coillemore (S) P. Kilmore Mull

The first reference to this school was that it had closed by November, 1827(17AR59). There are only three other references to it(18AR49, 19AR54, 20AR50).

212. Coll (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

John Munro 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 43 - 25m and 18f @ 5/34 yrs with 6El, 23NT and 14B(10AR62-63); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 99 - 82m and 17f @ 5/47 yrs and 4El and 95B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 157 - 94m and 63f and 64El and 93B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 130 - 64m and 66f and 16El and 114B(14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53); 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 132 - 50El and 82B(16AR50-51).

Murdo McKenzie 1848 with 47 and 1849 with 75 - 31m and 44f(38AR21, 39AR25); 1850 with 81 - 34m and 47f(40AR21).

213. Collam (N) P. Harris Harris

Collam 1853(43AR29)

Angus McLean 1849 with 34 - 17m and 17f and 1850 with 64 - 35m and 29f (39AR25, 40AR21).

Murdo McPherson 1852 with 12 - 7m and 5f and 1853 with 30 - 11m and 19f

(42AR23, 43AR29).

Donald McDonald 1856 with 40 - 22m and 18f and 1857 with 31 - 18m and 13f and 1858 with 48 - 26m and 22f(46AR15, 47AR15, 48AR15).

214. Conmar (E) P. Kilmorack Inverness

John McDonald November, 1820 and 1821(10AR10, 64)

215. Conardan (Q) P. Portree Skye

Conardan 1838(28AR29)

Angus Munro 1837 and 1838 with 57(27AR17, 28AR29); 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 with 40(28AR30, 29AR33).

216. Contlich (F) P. Alness Ross

George Wallace 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 87 - 47m and 40f and 39E1 and 48B(14AR48-49).

John Corbet 1825(14AR52).

217. Cornaig (P) P. Coll/Tiree Tiree

Isle Coll 1832(22AR41)

Donald Fowler 1831 with 40 - 22m and 18f(1 adult) and 38E1 and 2NT/B(20AR54-55); 1832 with 42 - 19m and 22f and 20E1 and 22NT/B(22AR38-39); 1832-1833 and 1833 with 40 - 20m and 20f and 18E1 and 22NT/B(23AR43).

John McLean 1846 with 44(36AR25).

James Hood 1847 with 33 and 1848 with 42(37AR23, 38AR21).

218. Cornaigmore (P) P. Coll/Tiree Tiree

James Budge 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 50 @ 5/16 yrs and 38E1 and 10Ps/NT and 2B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 35 - 25m and 10f and 20E1, 10Ps/NT and 5B(9AR52-53).

219. Corrary (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

Donald Murray 1837 with 33 and 1837-1838 and 1838 with 23 and closed 15/5/1838(27AR30, 33, 28AR28).

220. Corrievoulin (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Corrievoulin 1828(18AR52); Corrievoulin 1830(19AR56).

Angus McIver 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 67 - 30m and 37f and 16E1 and 51B (18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

John McDougall 1830 with 77 - 35m and 42f(12 adult) and 21E1 and 56B (19AR56-57).

221. Corrievoulish (E) P. Contin Ross

P. Kinlochmoidart 1834(24AR13)

Angus McLeod 1831 with 43 - 24m and 19f(3 adult) and 41E1 and 1NT/B (20AR52-53); 1832 with 45 - 19m and 26f and 21E1 and 24NT/B(22AR36-37); 1833 with 45 - 28m and 17f and 21E1 and 24NT/B(23AR43); 1833-1834 with 56 and 52 there - 21E1, 12NT and 19B(23AR44, 24AR13). Closed 15/5/1834 (24AR14).

222. Corrivaig (G) P. Kilmallie Inverness

Dugald Duncan 29/11/1814 and 7/9/1815 with 30(4AR49, 5AR28).

223. Coshladder (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

Cushledder 1823(13AR38); Coshledder 1824(15AR40)

John McLeod 27/11/1812 with 80 - 50m and 30f @ 5/56 yrs(4AR46, 3AR15); 13/4/1813 with 76 - 53m and 23f and 6NT and 4OT(3AR58); Closed November, 1813(3AR70).

224. Cove (C) P. Gairloch Ross

William Urquhart June, 1848 with 50 and 1849 with 39 - 19m and 20f
(38AR20, 39AR24); 1850 with 31 - 19m and 12f(40AR20).

225. Graignure (S) P. Torosay Mull

Graignure 1823(13AR45)

Donald Cameron 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 18 - 16m and 2f @ 5/17 yrs
and 8E1, 6NT and 4B(8AR46-47); 1819(8AR49).

226. Craigfad (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

Nicol Nicolson 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 102 - 52m and 50f and 41E1
and 61B(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 89 - 47m
and 42f and 31E1 and 58B(18AR54-55).

227. Craiknish (R) P. Bracadale Skye

Norman McLeod 1/11/1825-1/11/1824 with 61 - 32m and 29f and 15E1 and
46B(14AR50-51).

228. Crathy (H) P. Laggan Inverness

Dougald Duncan 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 29 - 7m and 22f @ 5/14 yrs and
7E1 and 22B(12AR58-59).

Angus McPherson 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 46 - 12m and 34f and 5E1 and
41B(13AR46-47); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 35 - 24m and 11f and 27E1 and
8B(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

229. Crogan (S) P. Torosay Mull

Donald Cameron in the summer of 1812 with 74 @ 5/40 yrs(2AR11-12):
14/4/1813(3AR61).

230. Crolin (E) P. Applecross Ross

John Shaw 1850 with 54 - 31m and 23f and 1851 with 24 - 14m and 10f
(40AR20, 41AR24).

231. Crolowick (M) P. Uig Lewis

Malcolm Morison 1860(50AR18).

232. Cromore (M) P. Lochs Lewis

Angus McLeod 1830 with 72 - 29m and 43f(9 adult) and 47E1 and 25B(19 AR58-59); 1831 with 75 - 32m and 43f(12 adult) and 19E1 and 56NT/B (20AR54-55); 1832 with 39 - 18m and 21f and 39NT/B and closed May, 1832 (22AR38-39).

Finlay Mackay 1836-1837 and 1837 with 45 and 1837-1838(26AR63, 27AR33).
Malcolm Morrison 1851 with 38 - 19m and 19f; 1852 with 62 - 32m and 30f; 1853 with 39 - 17m and 22f(41AR24, 42AR22, 43AR28).

233. Croshernish (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

John Munro 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 48 - 28m and 20f and 25E1 and 23B (18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57).

234. Crossmount (J) P. Fortingall Perth

James Matheson 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 40 - 21m and 19f and 18E1 and 22B(16AR48-49).

235. Croulista (M) P. Uig Lewis

Crowlista 1837(27AR30)

Malcolm McRitchie 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 82 - 25m and 57f and 46E1 and 36B(18AR54-55).

Hector Morison 1836-1837 and 1837 with 53 and 1837-1838(26AR63, 27AR30, 33).

John McLean 1845 with 32 and 1846 with 35(35AR54, 36AR24).

Malcolm McKay 1853 with 39 - 5m and 34f; 1854 with 29 - 3m and 26f (43AR28, 44AR24).

236. Croy (F) P. Croy Nairn

James Hood 1858 with 66 - 37m and 29f; 1859 with 44 - 20m and 24f;
1860 with 32 - 12m and 20f(48AR14, 49AR14, 50AR18).

237. Cuaig (E) P. Applecross Ross

Murdo McPherson 1858 with 23 - 9m and 14f; 1859 with 21 - 10m and 11f; 1860 with 17 - 11m and 6f(48AR14, 49AR14, 50AR18).

238. Culduin (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

Alexander Ghisholm 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 85 - 49m and 36f and 30el and 55B(18AR54-55).

John McSween 1829 and 1830 with 151 - 33m and 68f(sic)(15 adult) and 78E1 and 73B(19AR58-59); 1831 with 173 - 102m and 71f(25 adult) and 67E1 and 116NT/B(20AR54-55); 1838 with 96, 1838-1839(28AR29-30); 1839-1840 with 79 as a Government Church area school(29AR33); 1845 with 51 (35AR55); 1846 with 60 and 1847 with 45 supported by St. Luke's F.C. congregation, Edinburgh(36AR25, 37AR23).

239. Culkinn (A) P. Assynt Sutherland

Kulkinn 1840(29AR32)

David Munro 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 with 92(28AR30, 29AR32); 1840-1841 with 81 serving a Government Church area(30AR22).

240. Culnacnock (Q) P. Kilmuir Skye

Culnacnock 1815(6AR36); Culnacnoc 1829(18AR57); Culnanenoe 1830(19AR 58); Culnacnock 1832(22AR41); Culnacnock 1833(23AR19); Culnacnock 1834 (24AR28).

P. Stenscholl 1853(43AR29)

John McNab 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 74 - 56m and 18f @ 6/24 yrs and 35B(6AR36-37); 1817(6AR38).

John McLeod 1829 and 1830 with 132 - 70m and 62f(23 adult) and 56E1

and 76NT/B(18AR76T/191858579); 1858-59; 1831-1832 with 132 627(23 adult) and 56E1 and 76NT/B(20AR54-55).

Donald McLeod 1832 with 41 - 20m and 21f and 17E1 and 24NT/B(22AR38-39); 1832-1833 and 1833 with 39 - 20m and 19f and 21E1 and 18NT/B(22AR41, 23AR43); 1833-1834(23AR44). Served as a Government Church area school and closed May, 1834(24AR28); 1837 with 63 and 1837-1838(27AR31, 33); 1838 with 62 and 1838-1839 as a Government Church area(28AR29-30).

Hugh Urquhart 1842-1843 with 109, 1843-1844 with 101, 1844 with 68 and 1845 with 62(32AR39, 34AR25, 35AR55).

Walter Campbell 1853 with 61 - 24m and 37f and 1854 with 33 - 15m and 18f(43AR29, 44AR25).

Angus Munro 1857 with 34 - 9m and 25f and 1858 with 47 - 21m and 20f(47AR15, 48AR15).

241. Culrain (P) P. Kincardine Ross

Donald McRae 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 54 - 32m and 22f and 4E1 and 50B(13AR46-57); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 52 - 32m and 20f and 10E1 and 42B(14AR48-49).

242. Dalburgh (O) P. South Uist South Uist

Dalbrog 1843(32AR26); Dalbroag 1846(36AR25); Dalibroag 1847(37AR11)

Duncan Campbell 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 73 - 62m and 11f and 10E1 and 62B(sic)(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53).

Alexander McDonald 1842-1843 with 126, 1843-1844 with 60, 1844 with 65(32AR39, 33AR39, 34AR25).

Peter McLeod 1846 with 55 and 1847 with 35 and 1848 with 67 and 1849 with 58 - 29m and 29f(36AR25, 37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25).

243. Dalhalvaig (B) P. Reay Caithness

Dalhalvag 1838(28AR22)

Arthur Forbes 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 74 - 22m and 52f @ 5/50 yrs

and 19E1 and 55B(12AR58-59); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 61 - 19m and 42f and 3E1 and 58B(13AR46-47); 18/12/1837 with 79 and 60 there - 14BkI, 10BkII, 8NT and 28B(27AR22); 11/4/1838 with 102 and 61 there - 11E1, 10NT and 40B(28AR22).

244. Dallas (D) P. Edderton Ross

Little Dallas 1826(16AR10)

John McPherson 5/5/1825 with 72 and 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 59 - 29m and 30f and 17E1 and 42B(15AR28, 16AR48-49).

245. Dalmore (M) P. Lochs Lewis

John Shaw 1836-1837 and 1837-1838 with 43(26AR63, 27AR33).

246. Danna (K) P. North Knapdale Argyle

Roderick McLeod 1832-1833 and 1833 with 27 - 27m and 10f(sic) and 11E1 and 16NT/B(22AR40, 23AR42); 1833-1834 and May, 1834 with 69(23AR44, 24AR20); 1834-1835(24AR49).

247. Deeg (Q) P. Kilmuir Skye

John McNab 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 85 - 56m and 29f @ 7/30 yrs and 25E1, 41NT and 19B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 39 - 35m and 4f and 13E1, 9Ps, 4NT and 4B(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 28 (10AR62-63).

248. Dibaign (E) P. Applecross Ross

Dibaign 1824(14AR27)

P. Lochcarron 1845(35AR54); P. Gairloch 1847(37AR22)

Colin McIntosh 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 58 - 36m and 22f and 10E1 and 48B(14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52); 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 37 - 20m and 17f

and 8E1 and 29B(16AR48-49).

Donald McGillivray 1842-1843 with 83, 1843-1844 with 75(32AR38, 33AR38); 1844 with 64 and 1845 with 37(34AR24, 35AR54).

Angus McLeod 1847 with 51, 1848 with 69 and 1849 with 60 - 27m and 33f(37AR22, 38AR20, 39AR24).

249. Dingwall (F)

Roderick McLeod opened the school with 100 on 26/6/1815(5AR19); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 225 - 120m and 105f(6AR34-35).

250. Diraclite (N) P. Harris Harris

John Shaw 1856 with 42 - 20m and 22f(46AR15).

251. Disboly (B) P. Reay Caithness

Arthur Forbes 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 56 - 21m and 35f @ 4/50 yrs and 21E1, 23NT and 100T(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 69 - 31m and 38f @ 5/50 yrs and 7E1, 34NT and 280T(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64)

252. Dochanessie (A) P. Kilmellie Inverness

Dochanasay 1818(17AR60); Dochenassie 1819(8AR48); Dochenessie 1819(9AR50); Dochenasie 1824(14AR44); Dochanassay 1829(18AR56); Dochanassie 1829(18AR31).

P. Kilmanivaig 1819(8AR48)

Dugald Duncan 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 33 - 18m and 15f and 17E1 and 16NT(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 30 - 12m and 18f @ 5/12 yrs and 5E1 and 25Sc/Ex(9AR50-51).

John Matheson 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 34 - 19m and 15f and 33E1 and 1B(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

Alexander McMillan 1830 with 73(11 adult) - 50E1 and 23NT/B(19AR56-57).

253. Dochcarty (F) P. Fodderty Ross

Docharty 1837(27AR33); Auchterneed 1837(27AR18); Docherty 1838(28AR30);

Dochcairn 1840(29AR18).

Alexander McLeod 29/3/1837 with 85 and 69 there - 20E1, 9Sc/Ex, 21NT and 19B(27AR18); 1837-1838 with 62(27AR33, 30); 1838 with 36 and 1838 - 1839 with 40 - 7E1, 5Sc/Ex, 13NT and 15B(28AR28, 30, 29AR18).

254. Doone (C) P. Kincardine Ross

Ebenezer Rose 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 22 - 18m and 4f and 11E1 and 11B(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

255. Dorinamuck (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

Doirinamuck 1842(31AR34).

William Urquhart 1840-1841 with 63 and 1841-1842 with 83(30AR22, 31AR34)

256. Dorney (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

John McLeod 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 45 - 24m and 21f @ 5/30 yrs and 34E1 and 11NT(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 45 - 21m and 24f @ 5/30 yrs and 12E1 and 16NT and 17OT(10AR60-61).

257. Dornie (G) P. Glensheal Inverness

P. Kintail 1826(15AR42)

Ross 1828\18AR46)

Dugald McInnes 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 27 - 14m and 13f and 14E1 and 13B(16AR48-49).

258. Drimarban (G) P. Kilmallie Inverness

Drimarben 1819(9AR12); Druimarban 1827(17AR56).

Archibald Macnab 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 50 - 27m and 23f @ 5/60 yrs and 16E1, 13NT and 21OT(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 79 - 49m

and 30f @ 5/60 yrs and 131, 21NT and 57OT(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64).

259. Drimbuie (E) P. Lochalsh Ross

Druimbuy 1826(16AR48)

John McDougall 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 32 - 11m and 21f and 24E1 and 8B(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52).

260. Drinishader (N) P. Harris Harris

Drinishadder 1827(16AR53); Druinishadder 1828(17AR61); Duinishadder 1830(20AR47).

Ranald McDonald 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 28 - 23m and 5f and 28B(16AR 50-51); 1827(16AR53); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 33 - 25m and 8f and 10E1 and 23B(18AR54-55).

261. Druimchaoine (J) P. Blair Atholl Perth

William Swanston 1832-1833 and 1833 with 65 - 37m and 28f and 20E1 and 45NT/B(22AR40, 23AR43).

262. Druimnamuilach (L) P. Kilcalmonel/Kilberry Argyle

Druimnamuclach 1828(17AR60); Drimnamuclach 1828(18AR47).

P. Kilberry 1828(17AR60)

Alexander McLeod 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 73 - 32m and 41f and 38E1 and 35B(18AR52-53).

263. Drumfearn (R) P. Sleat Skye

John McDonald 1843-1844 with 67 and 1844 with 37(33AR39, 34AR25).

264. Drummuie (Q) P. Portree Skye

Angus Munro 1859 with 10 - 6m and 4f and 1860 with 23 - 10m and 13f

(49AR15, 50AR19).

265. Drynoch (Q) P. Bracadale Skve

Drynock 1846(36AR25)

John McDonald 1845 with 39 and 1846 with 23(35AR55, 36AR25)

266. Duich (T) P. Kilarow Islay

Finlay McFarlane 1852 with 42 - 17m and 25f and 1853 with 36 - 22m and 14f(42AR23, 43AR29).

267. Duin (M) P. Uig Lewis

Dain 1833(24AR22)

Murdo McPherson July, 1833 and by 2/4/1834 with 54 - 14E1, 10NT and 30B and a Female School run by his wife(24AR22); 1834-1835(24AR49).

Donald McFarlane 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63).

268. Duirnish (E) P. Lochalsh Inverness

Duirnish 1843(32AR38)

Alexander McLeod 1841-1842 with 42, 1842-1843 with 67, 1843-1844 with 46 and 1844 with 49(31AR34, 32AR38, 33AR38, 34AR24).

269. Duny (D) P. Kincardine Ross

Durny 1820(10AR4); Dunie 1829(19AR37); Dunnie 19AR56).

Donald Macrae 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 27 - 16m and 11f(10AR60-61); 28/3/1821(11AR25); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 34 - 17m and 17f @ 6/18 yrs and 1E1 and 33B(12AR58-59).

John Shaw 7/12/1829 with 26 - 3BkI, 2BkII, 100T and 11B(19AR37); 1830 with 41 - 22m and 19f(18 adult) and 2E1 and 39NT/B(19AR56-57).

270. Duntillich (J)P. DullPerth

Dunteulich 1830(19AR56)

Peter McCail 1829 and 1830 with 62 - 26m and 36f(9 adult) and 16El and 46B(19AR56-57); 1831 with 62 - 26m and 36f(9 adult) and 10El and 52NT/B (20AR52-53).

271. Durin (A)P. DuirnessSutherland

P. Durness 1835(25AR40)

John Grant 1/1/1814 and by November, 1814 with 69 - 39BkI, 29NT and 80 OT(3AR39, 69, 4AR2): 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 33 - 8Ps and 25B(6AR34-35)
George Campbell 1835-1836, 1836-1837, 1837-1838 and 1837 with 44(25AR40, 26AR63, 27AR33, 30).

272. Earlish (Q)P. SnizortSkye

Andrew Ross 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 82 - 51m and 31f @ 5/45 yrs and 41El, 16NT and 3B(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 83 - 44m and 39f @ 5/40 yrs and 42El, 29NT and 12B(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

Murdo Macmillan 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 104 - 50m and 54f @ 4/65 yrs and 38El and 66B(12AR60-61).

John McLeod 1830 with 87 - 48m and 39f(12 adult) and 47El and 40B(19AR 58-59); 1831 with 116 - 66m and 50f(29 adult) and 61El and 55NT/B(20AR 54-55); 1832 with 39 - 25m and 14f and 6El and 33NT/B and closed May, 1832(22AR38-39).

Donald Matheson 1834-1835 with 84(24AR30, 49).

Nicol Nicolson 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63).

273. Earrar (G)P. GlenelgInverness

Donald Cameron 1842-1843 with 26 and 1843-1844 with 26(32AR38, 33AR38).

274. East Sand (C)P. GairlochRoss

Alexander Ghisholm 1830 with 48 - 19m and 29f(3 adult) and 26El and 22NT/B

(19AR56-57).

William Urquhart 1831 with 71 - 29m and 43f and 26E1 and 45NT/B(20AR52-53).

275. Edera (C)

P. Assynt

Sutherland

Alexander Macleod 15/6/1813 with 40 and soon 88(3AR3); 22/10/1813 and 29/11/1814(3AR40, 4AR49).

276. Edinburgh

This school opened November, 1811 with 30 adults and by November, 1812 with 50(1AR52, 2AR13-14). When the school was examined 17/5/1813 there were 17NT(3AR64). It appears to have lapsed and was revived in 1821 as a stationary school(11AR13). It was then known as "The School for Adults" with John Sutherland as teacher 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 69 - 41m and 28f and then 25 - 17m and 8f @ 10/62 yrs(10AR60-61)(12AR58-59). This was intended to be the "Model School" or "Pattern School for Teachers"(11AR11, 14, 12AR19). By 1822 there were 36 - 21m and 15f(12AR19). There was an Evening Daily School with "unsteady attendance" and an English Day School as well(11AR14).

277. Bigg (R)

P. Small Isles

Bigg

Clialle 1819(10AR62)

John McIntyre 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 49 - 42m and 7f @ 7/24 yrs and 25 NT/B(6AR36-37)

Alexander Cameron 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 39 - 23m and 16f @ 5/45 yrs and 21E1 and 18NT(10AR62-63); September, 1821(11AR41)

Archibald Campbell August, 1832 and by 1833 with 35 - 19m and 16f and 4E1, and 34NT/B(sic)(23AR43, 24AR32); 1833-1834 and closed November, 1834(23AR44, 24AR32)

Donald McKinnon 1840-1841 with 53(30AR23).

278. Eileanbiach (N)

P. Harris

Harris

Duncan Morrison 1849 with 67 - 32m and 35f(39AR25).

279. Elgol (R)

P. Strath

Skve

Elgoll 1855(46AR9)

Angus McDonald 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 63 - 35m and 28f and 57E1 and 6B(18AR54-55); 1829 and 1830 with 87(23 adult) and 23E1 and 37B(sic) (19AR58-59); 1831 with 92 - 52m and 40f(23 adult) and 59E1 and 38NT/B (20AR54-55).

John McIver 1837 with 52 and 1837-1838 and 1838 with 50 and 1838-1839 and 1840 with 75(27AR31, 33, 28AR29, 30, 29AR33).

Walter McKay 1845 with 74 and 1846 with 40 and 1847 with 35 and 1848 with 37(35AR55, 36AR25, 37AR23, 38AR21); 1852 with 31 - 13m and 18f and 1853 with 31 - 20m and 11f(42AR23, 43AR29); 1854 with 32 - 20m and 12f and 1855 with 28 - 20m and 8f(44AR25, 45AR23).

280. Embo (D) P. Dornoch Sutherland

Ross 1822(12AR62)

Mr. Sutherland 24/9/1821 with 41 - 20m and 21f(12AR62)

Murdoch Macleod 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 89 - 48m and 41f @ 7/54 yrs and 18E1 and 71B(11AR26, 12AR58-59); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 74 - 41m and 33f and 4E1 and 70B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 71 - 38m and 33f and 2E1 and 69B(14AR48-49).

281. Erribole (A) P. Duirness Sutherland

Caithness 1815(6AR32)

This was an Evening School from 5pm to 9/10pm and existed 29/11/1814 and 30/3/1815 with 25-30 and closed November, 1815(4AR49, 5AR8, 102).

282. Eskadale (F) P. Kiltarlity Inverness

James Fraser 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 150 - 82m and 68f @ 7/24 yrs and 80E1 and 70NT(10AR60-61); 23/3/1821 with 60(11AR27)

Angus McKay 1821 and 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 76 - 46m and 30f @ 5/18 yrs and 20E1 and 56B(10AR64, 12AR58-59); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 16 - 11m and 5f and 2E1 and 14B(13AR46-47)

283. Eskinish (T) P. Kilarow Islay

Angus McFarlane 1844 with 40, 1845 with 38 and 1846 with 35(34AR25, 35AR55, 36AR25).

284. Evanton (F) P. Kiltearn Ross

Walter Campbell 1847 with 68 and 1848 with 39(37AR22, 38AR20).

285. Eyre (Q) P. Snizort Skye

Nicol Nicolson 1844 with 58, 1845 with 47 and 1846 with 38(34AR25, 35AR55, 36AR25).

286. Fasach (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

Donald Matheson 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 54 - 34m and 20f @ 5/40 yrs and 15E1, 14Ps, 17NT and 8B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 30 - 20m and 10f @ 4/20 yrs and 8E1 and 22NT/B(9AR52-53).

287. Fearns (Q) P. Portree Rassay

Fearns Rassay 1850(40AR21); Fearns Rasay 1851(41AR25)

Alexander McMillan 1841-1842 with 29 and 1842-1843 with 46(31AR35, 32AR39); 1850 with 19 - 15m and 4f, 1851 with 59 - 34m and 25f, 1852 with 35 - 22m and 13f(40AR21, 41AR25, 42AR23).

288. Fiscavaig (Q) P. Bracadale Skye

Viscavaig 1816(6AR7); Fiscavaig 1827(17AR58)

Donald McLeod October, 1815 with 14, then 20, then 50 - 33m and 17f @ 5/15 yrs and 12/10/1815(5AR45, 46, 84).

Alexander McPherson 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 22 - 16m and 6f @ 4/15 yrs and by 30/4/1816 with 60 - 15NT, 150T and 30B(5AR101, 6AR36-37, 7).

289. Fisherfield (C) P. Poolewe Ross

Duncan Black 1853 with 35 - 11m and 25f, 1854 with 38 - 17m and 21f, 1855 with 28 - 13m and 15f(43AR28, 44AR24, 45AR22).

290. Fishinish (S) P. Torosay Mull

Fishinish 1815(5AR92)

John Sinclair July, 1815 with 30 and 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 48 - 34m and 14f and 22NT/B(5AR53, 6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39).

291. Fivepenny (M) P. Barvas Lewis

Murdo McPherson June, 1830 with 82 and 79 there @ 4/40 yrs and 17B(20AR22); 1831 with 82 - 38m and 44f(5 adult) and 75E1 and 7NT/B(20AR54-55); 1832 - with 73 - 31m and 42f and 27E1 and 46NT/B(22AR38-39); 1833 with 128 - 67m and 61f and 53E1 and 75NT/B(23AR22). There was a Spinning School too(21AR19).

292. Fladda (Q) P. Kilmuir Skye

P. Portree 1845(35AR55)

John McNab 1/1/1814 with 70(4AR14, 48); September, 1815 with 85 and 73 there @ 5/24 yrs - 10BkI, 48NT and 15B(5AR39). Closed 30/11/1815(5AR103).

Duncan Morison 1845 with 27, 1846 with 30 and 1847 with 28(35AR55, 36AR25, 37AR23).

293. Fort Augustus (H) P. Boleskine Inverness

Angus McPherson 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 40 - 19m and 21f @ 5/20 yrs and 3E1, 26NT and 11OT(10AR60-61).

294. Fort William (G) P. Kilmallie Inverness

Donald Tolmie 1/11/1825-1/11/1826 with 63 - 28m and 35f and 40E1 and 23B(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 100 - 43m and 57f and 45E1 and 55B(18AR52-53).

Alexander McMillan 1829(18AR56)

Finlay McKay 1830 with 280(47 adult) and 50E1 and 23ONT/B(19AR56-57).

295. Freslan (P)P. CollColl

Donald McKinnon 1855 with 27 - 12m and 15f, 1856 with 34 - 17m and 17f, 1857 with 22 - 14m and 8f and supported by the F.C. in Calcutta(45AR23, 46AR15, 47AR15).

296. Frobost (O)P. South UistSouth Uist

Donald Cameron 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 28 - 18m and 10f and 1E1 and 27B (16AR50-51).

297. Gaelic Hill (L)P. CambeltownArgyle

Ewan McMaster 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 101 - 34m and 67f and 8E1 and 93B (14AR48-49); 1825 and 1/11/1825-30/9/1826(14AR52, 16AR48-49).

298. Galder (G)P. GlenelgInverness

Donald Matheson 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 113 - 53m and 60f and 62E1 and 51B(18AR52-53); 1829 and 1830 with 276 - 128m and 147f(71 adult) and 81E1 and 195NT/B(18AR56, 19AR56-57); 1831 with 297 - 139m and 158f(73 adult) and 84E1 and 213NT/B(20AR52-53).

Donald McDiarmid May, 1832 and by 1833 with 105 - 39m and 66f(24AR17, 23AR42); 1833-1834 and 1834-1835(23AR44)(24AR49).

299. Gallochoille (K)P. North KnapdaleArgyll

Gallochoille 1832(22AR36)

Roderick McLeod 1831 with 91 - 35m and 56f(5 adult) and 59E1 and 32NT/B(20AR 52-53); 1832 with 18 - 10m and 8f and 2E1 and 16NT/B and closed May, 1832 (22AR36-37).

300. Galston (H)P. BarvasLewis

Galston 1854(44AR21)

P. Cross 1835(24AR49)

John McLeod 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 73 - 47m and 26f and 14E1 and 59B (12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 80 - 42m and 38f and 6E1 and 74B (13AR49).

Alexander McLeod June, 1834 and by 31/12/1834 with 59 - 32m and 37f(24AR 24); 1834-1835, 1835-1836, 1836-1837(24AR49, 25AR40, 26AR63); 1841-1842 with 44 and closed June, 1842 serving as a Government Church area school(31AR34, 32AR38).

Hector Morison 1846 with 50, 1847 with 42, 1848 with 16 and 1849 with 34 - 19m and 15f(36AR14, 37AR22, 38AR21, 39AR24).

Kenneth McPherson 1854 with 68 - 34m and 34f and 1855 with 69 - 29m and 40f and 1856 with 58 - 22m and 36f(45AR14, 44AR24, 45AR22, 46AR14).

301. Garasorbie (P) P. Tiree Tiree

Donald McDonald 1846 with 63, 1847 with 86, 1848 with 64 and 1849 with 62 - 36m and 26f(36AR25, 37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25).

302. Garbhan (G) P. Kilmallie Inverness

Garbha 1820(10AR60); Garvan 1822(11AR54); Garvain 1824(14AR44)

Argyle 1820(9AR54)

John Cameron 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 48 - 30m and 18f @ 5/55 yrs and 10E1, 27NT and 11OT(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 29 - 15m and 14f @ 7/16 yrs and 1E1 and 28B(12AR58-59).

303. Garbh-Chrasit (L) P. Saddle/Skipness Argyle

Garrachroit 1827(17AR19); Garbhchraoit 1828(18AR47)

Ewen McMaster 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 38 - 17m and 21f and 21E1 and 17B (18AR52-53).

304. Garbost (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

Garabost 1819(8AR49); Garrabost 1840(29AR33)

P. Knock 1835(24AR21)

Neil Murray 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 46 - 31m and 15f @ 5/45 yrs and 14E1
16Ps and 16NT/B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 48 - 37m and 11f @ 5/
50 yrs and 7E1, 20Ps(NT and 21B(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 48 -
37m and 11f @ 5/50 yrs and 16E1, 12NT and 20B(10AR62-63).

Donald Ross June, 1832 and by 1833 with 44 - 28m and 16f and 12E1 and 32NT/
B(24AR21, 23AR42); 1833-1834 and closed June, 1834(23AR44).

Malcolm McRitchie 1838 with 57, 1838-1839, 1839-1840 with 46 and 1840-1841
with 30 and served as a Government Church area school(28AR28, 29AR33, 30AR
23).

Donald Ross 1850 with 21 - 12m and 9f, 1851 with 25 - 18m and 7f, 1852
with 45 - 25m and 20f(40AR20, 41AR21, 42AR22).

Murdo McKenzie 1859 with 103 - 49m and 54f, 1860 with 103 - 37m and 66f
(49AR14, 50AR19).

305. Garry (Q)

P. Duirinish

Skye

Gary 1825(14AR53); Gearry 1841(30AR23); Geary 1842(31AR35)

Archibald McCallum 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 43 - 26m and 17f and 10E1 and
33B(14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53).

Murdoch McDonald 1840-1841 with 76, 1841-1842 with 89, 1842-1843 with 50,
1843-1844 with 47(30AR23, 31AR35, 32AR39, 33AR39).

Norman McLeod 1849 with 43 - 22m and 21f, 1850 with 45 - 23m and 22f, 1851
with 41 - 20m and 20f(39AR25, 40AR21, 41AR25).

Andrew Noble 1860 with 62 - 22m and 40f(50AR19).

306. Geocrab (N)

P. Harris

Harris

Geocrap 1859(49AR15)

Murdoch McDonald June, 1834 with 44, 1834-1835, 1835-1836, 1836-1837(24AR
49, 25AR40, 26AR63, 24AR24).

Malcolm McKay 1859 with 29 - 14m and 15f, 1860 with 44 - 22m and 22f(49AR
15, 50AR19).

307. Geometry (S)

P. Kilfinichen

Mull

Geometra 1826(15AR43); Gometra 1826(16AR46); Island of Gometra 1835(24AR49)

P. Kilmore 1835(24AR33); P. Ulva 1846(36AR25)

Angus Lamont 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 29 - 14m and 15f(16AR50-51)

John Dewar July, 1833 with 65, 1833-1834, 1834-1835, 1835-1836, 1836-1837 (24AR33, 23AR44, 24AR49, 25AR40, 26AR63); 1845 with 29 and 1846 with 36(35 AR55, 36AR25).

308. Giol (T) P. Oa Islay

John McSween 1854 with 75 - 51m and 24f, 1855 with 60 - 33m and 22f, 1856 with 48 - 33m and 15f, 1857 with 66 - 39m and 27f and supported by St. Luke's F.C., Edinburgh(44AR25, 45AR23, 46AR15, 47AR15).

309. Giraidle (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Duncan Ferguson 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 37 - 17m and 20f and 27E1 and 10B (16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52).

310. Glaucugary (S) P. Kilmore Mull

Glaengary 1857(41AR25); Glaickugary 1854(44AR14).

P. Kilninian 1837(27AR31)

James Matheson 1836-1837 and 1837 with 40, 1837-1838 and 1838 with 35 and 1838-1839(26AR63, 27AR31, 28AR29-30).

John Dewar 1851 with 24 - 11m and 13f, 1852 with 44 - 23m and 21f, 1853 with 35 - 17m and 18f, 1854 with 25 - 13m and 12f(41AR25, 42AR23, 43AR29, 44AR25).

311. Glenastile (T) P. Oa Islay

John McSween 1858 with 30 - 18m and 12f, 1859 with 35 - 24m and 11f, 1860 with 15 - 5m and 10f(48AR15, 49AR15, 50AR19).

312. Glenavoulin (T) P. Kildalton Islay

Glenavoil 1824(14AR50-51)

Neil McLean 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 49 - 28m and 21f @ 5/25 yrs and 29E1 and 20B(12AR60-61).

Donald McKinnon 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 52 - 30m and 22f and 18E1 and 34B(13AR38-39).

Angus Lamont 1823(12AR63).

Neil McLean 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 62 - 5E1 and 57B(14AR50-51)

John McCallum 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 54 - 28m and 26f and 22E1 and 32B (18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57).

313. Glenbeg (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

Donald McKinnon July, 1832 and by 1833 with 33 - 16m and 17f and 6E1 and 27NT/B(24AR17, 22AR40, 23AR42); 1833-1834 and 1834-1835(23AR44, 24AR49).

314. Glenbenachar (H) P. Kingussie Inverness

Angus McPherson 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 22 - 9m and 13f and 11E1 and 11B (14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52).

315. Glencalvie (D) P. Kincardine Ross

David Munro summer, 1814 and by 9/8/1814 with 40(4AR6, 32); by 22/2/1815 with 65 - 10BkI, 25Ps, 18NT and 12OT(5AR69); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 69 - 32m and 37f @ 4/58 yrs and 42B(6AR34-35); 8/4/1817 with 68(7AR2).
6/5/1820 with 140(10AR5)

John Shaw 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 44 - 28m and 16f and 19E1 and 25B(18AR 52-53); 10/12/1828(18AR28); 1829(18AR56).

316. Glenclonaich (F) P. Kiltarlity Inverness

Donald McLeod 1830 with 26 - 6m and 20f(1 adult) and 24E1 and 2NT/B(19AR 56-57); 1831 with 32 - 8m and 24f(4 adult) and 13E1 and 19NT/B(20AR52-53).

317. Glencoe (I) P. Appin Argyle

George Gordon 1837-1837(26AR63).

318. Glenconventh (F) P. Kiltarlity Inverness

Strathohonbich 1819(8AR48)

James Fraser 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 86 - 40m and 46f @ 5/30 yrs and 22E1 and 64NT(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 63 - 38m and 25f @ 5/18 yrs (9AR50-51).

319. Glencrepisdale (1) P. Morvern Argyle

Peter Nicolson 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 20 - 11m and 9f and 14E1 and 6B (16AR48-49).

Donald McLachlan 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 25 - 16m and 9f and 6E1 and 19B (18AR52-53).

320. Glencreeran (1) P. Appin/Lismore Argyle

Glencreeran 1820(10AR60)

P. Lismore 1823(13AR43)

Donald McLachlan 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 42 - 23m and 19f @ 5/55 yrs and 3E1 and 39B(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64).

321. Glenorchy (J) P. Blair Atholl Perth

Glenorchy 1824(14AR48); Glenorchy 1826(16AR44)

Alexander Anderson 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 52 - 33m and 19f and 39E1 and 13B(14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52)

322. Glendale (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

John McLeod jun., June, 1815(4AR15, 49).

Angus Macleod 30/11/1815(5AR101)

Donald Mathewson 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 49 - 35m and 14f @ 5/15 yrs and 34E1 and 15NT(6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39).

Donald McLeod 15/6/1832 and 1833 with 60 - 38m and 27f and 33E1 and 27NT/B (22AR41, 23AR43); 1833-1834 and closed August, 1834(23AR44, 24AR27).

Thomas Noble 1843-1844 with 113 and 1844 with 107 and 1845 with 42(33AR39,

34AR25, 35AR55); 1855 with 40 - 10m and 30f, 1856 with 30 - 4m and 26f, 1857 with 32 - 2m and 30f(45AR23, 46AR15, 47AR15).

323. Glendryne (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Hugh Dewar 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 41 - 19m and 22f @ 3/28 yrs and 24E1 and 17NT(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 41 - 21m and 20f and 6E1, 18 NT and 170T(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64).

Donald McFarlane 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 44 - 28m and 16f and 23E1 and 21B(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

John McLeod 1830 with 35 - 20m and 15f and 32E1 and 3B(19AR56-57); 1831 with 40 - 23m and 17f(1 adult) and 33E1 and 7NT/B(20AR52-53).

324. Glenelchaig (E) P. Kintail Inverness

John Macdonald 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63)

325. Gleneltin (A) P. Snizort Skye

Murdoch McMillan 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 42 - 24m and 18f and 10E1 and 32B(16AR50-51).

326. Gleneynord (R) P. Bracadale Skye

Gleneynord 1829(19AR53)

Norman McLeod 15/5/1827-10/5/1828 with 34 - 20m and 14f and 16E1 and 18B (18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57).

327. Glenfincastle (J) P. Blair Atholl Perth

William Campbell 1849 with 28 - 15m and 13f(39AR24)

328. Glenegarry (J) P. Blair Atholl Perth

William Campbell 1847 with 21 and 1848 with 21(37AR22, 38AR20).

329. Glenglass (F) P. Alness Ross

Duncan Black 1860(50AR18)

330. Glenhinisdale (Q) P. Snizort Skye

Glenhenisdale 1820(9AR55); Glenkinnisdale(39AR25); Glenhinnisdale 1855
(45AR23)

Donald Cameron 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 43 - 23m and 20f @ 4/25 yrs and
29E1 and 14NT(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 49 - 18m and 31f @ 5/29
yrs and 16E1, 26NT and 7B(10AR62-63).

Niel Mathieson 1821(10AR65)

Peter McLeod 1834-1835 with 36, 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(24AR29, 49, 25AR
40, 26AR63).

Nicol Nicolson 1849 with 32 - 15m and 17f, 1850 with 26 - 15m and 11f, 1851
with 27 - 14m and 13f and supported by St. George's F.C., Edinburgh(39AR25,
40AR21, 41AR25).

Angus Munro 1855 with 22 - 11m and 11f and 1856 with 38 - 20m and 18f
(45AR23, 46AR15).

331. Glenigdale (T) P. Kilarow Islay

Glenigdale 1854(44AR14); Glenigadale 1855(45AR23); Glenegadale 1856(16AR8)

P. Kildalton 1847(37AR23)

Alexander Grant 1844 with 61(34AR25).

John Martin 1847 with 14(37AR23).

John McSween 1848 with 53, 1849 with 85 - 40m and 45f, 1850 with 71 - 34m
and 37f and supported by St. Luke's F.C., Edinburgh(38AR21, 39AR25, 40AR21).

Alexander McDonald with 55 - 24m and 31f, 1854 with 36 - 21m and 15f, 1855
with 35 - 18m and 17f, 1856 with 19 - 13m and 6f, 1857 with 49 - 28m and
21f, 1858 with 40 - 23m and 17f(43AR29, 44AR25, 46AR15, 47AR15, 48AR15).

332. Glenmoir (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Glenmoir 1819(8AR48)

Hugh Dewar 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 66 - 36m and 30f and 16E1 and 35NT
and 15B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 41 - 16m and 25f @ 7/42 yrs and

2G and 39Sc/Ex(9AR50-51).

Hector Morison 1830 with 41 - 14m and 27f and 27E1 and 14B(19AR56-57);
1831 with 47 - 20m and 27f(8 adult) and 16E1 and 31NT/B(20AR52-53).

333. Glenmore (Q) P. Portree Skye

Malcolm Nicolson 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 39 - 29m and 10f @ 5/28 yrs and
27E1 and 12NT/B(10AR62-63); 1821 and 1822(10AR65, 11AR55).

334. Glenose (Q) P. Bracadale Skye

Glen-oze 1820(10AR23); Glenore 1822(12AR56); Gleanose 1822(12AR60); Ose
1825(14AR53).

Alexander McPherson 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 30 - 17m and 13f @ 5/25 yrs
(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

Neil McLean 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 31 - 17m and 14f @ 5/15 yrs and 14E1
and 17B(12AR60-61).

Donald Mathieson 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 28 - 13m and 15f and 2E1 and 26B
(16AR50-51).

335. Glenose (Q) P. Portree Skye

Malcolm Nicolson 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 50 - 28m and 22f and 17E1 and
33B(12AR60-61).

336. Glenturrit (Q) P. Kilmanivaig Inverness

Glenturret 1831(20AR52)

John Montgomery 1830 with 32 - 17m and 15f(4 adult) and 22E1 and 10NT/B
(19AR56-57); 1831 with 34 - 17m and 17f(8 adult) and 10E1 and 24NT/B(19 AR
56-57, 20AR52-53).

337. Glen~~66~~g (') P. Ardnamurchan Inverness

Peter MacEwen November, 1812 and by 10/4/1813 with 17 @ 10/23 yrs and 11NT
and 6B(2AR42, 3AR53); 30/11/1813 with 42 - 5BkI, 16NT and 21OT(4AR12, 48).

338. Glenvicaskill (Q)P. BracadaleSkye

Glenvicaskle 1835(24AR49)

Alexander McPherson 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 35 @ 5/40 yrs and 23El and 12NT(9AR49).

Angus Munro 1834-1835 and 1835-1836(24AR49, 25AR40).

339. Golspie (D)P. GolspieSutherland

George Gordon 1/11/1822-1/11/1825 with 75 - 45m and 30f and 34El and 41B (13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 34 - 24m and 10f and 10El and 24B (14AR48-49).

340. Gortandonnell (P)P. Coll/TireeTiree

Gortandonnell 1824(14AR47)

Hector Johnston 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 55 - 28m and 27f @ 4/18 yrs (6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 52 - 27m and 25f @ 4/23 yrs and 18El, 16NT and 18B(8AR46-47); 2/4/1819 with 42 - 20m and 22f(9AR22).

341. Graver (N)P. LochsLewis

Graver 1824(13AR51); Gravr 1830(19AR58)

John Macrae 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 36 - 25m and 11f @ 8/34 yrs and 30El and 6B(12AR60-61).

Ewen McDonald 1/11/1822-1823 with 42 - 30m and 12f and 9El and 33B(13AR48-49).

Niel Mathieson 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 45 - 34m and 11f and 18El and 27B (14AR50-51).

Alexander Forbes 1830 with 33 - 16m and 17f(1 adult) and 31El and 2B(19AR 58-59); 1831 with 43 - 24m and 19f(3 adult) and 20El and 23NT/B(20AR54-55); 1832 with 33 - 22m and 11f and 11El and 22NT/B(22AR38-39); 1833 with 31 - 22m and 9f and 3El and 28NT/B(23AR42)

Angus McFarlane 1837 with 50, 1838 with 54, 1838-1839(27AR31, 28AR29-30).

Malcolm Morison 1854 with 84 and 1846 with 81(35AR54, 36AR24); 1847 with 56 (37AR22).

342. Greasabay (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Gressava 1835(25AR29)

Island of Harris 1835(25AR29)

Norman McLennan 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63).

343. Greene (P) P. Barra Barra

Green 1821(10AR65)

Alexander Cameron 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 29 - 27m and 2f @ 5/26 yrs and 7E1 and 22NT/B(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

344. Greenyard (D) P. Kincardine Ross

Donald Macrae 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 83 - 41m and 42f @ 5/45 yrs and 57G and 26B(6AR34-35); 8/4/1817 with 84(7AR2); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 84 - 38m and 46f @ 5/39 yrs and 29E1, 22NT and 33B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 78 - 37m and 41f and 31E1, 20NT and 27OT(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 56 - 26m and 30f @ 6/40 yrs and 12E1, 15NT and 29OT(10AR60-61).

345. Grenatot (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Grenatot 1838(28AR29)

Alexander McDonald 1837 with 61 serving a Government Church area(27AR31); 1837-1838, 1838 with 77, 1838-1839 with 70 and 1839-1840 with 50(27AR33, 28AR29-30, 22, 29AR33).

346. Gress (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

Angus Macleod 4/6/1813 with 82 and 9/12/1813 with 109(3AR55); summer, 1814 with 118 - 46BkI, 21NT and 22OT(4AR13); September, 1815 with 121 @ 5/60 yrs and closed November, 1815(5AR34, 6AR33).

347. Griban (S) P. Kilfinichen Inch Kenneth

Grebun 1855(45AR23)

John Dewar 1847 with 21, 1848 with 29, 1849 with 30 - 15m and 15f, 1850 with 30 - 14m and 16f(37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25, 40AR21).

Murdoch Fraser 1855 with 35 - 19m and 16f and 1856 with 39 - 20m and 19f (45AR23, 46AR15).

348. Griminish (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Donald McDonald 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 92 - 56m and 26f(sic) and 47E1 and 35B(13AR48-49).

Donald Campbell 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 48 - 37m and 11f and 4E1 and 44B (14AR50-51).

349. Grimshadir (M) P. Lochs Lewis

Angus Murray 1858 with 44 - 23m and 21f, 1859 with 29 - 15m and 14f, 1860 with 19 - 12m and 7f(48AR14, 49AR14, 50AR18)

350. Grishirnish (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

Greshernish 1823(12AR13); Grishernish 1823(13AR48)

P. Snizort 1823(12AR13)

Archibald McCallum 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 25 - 18m and 7f and 3E1 and 22B(13AR48-49).

351. Gruinbeg (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

Donald McLean 1855 with 39 - 20m and 19f and 1856 with 40 - 28m and 12f (45AR23, 46AR15).

352. Gruineard (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

Gruinart 1830(19AR58)

Hector McDonald 1829 and 1830 with 130 - 77m and 53f(45 adult) and 22E1 and 108B(19AR58-59).

353. Haiklet (6) P. South Uist Benbecula

Haiklet 1830(19AR58)

South Uist Island 1829(18AR57)

Donald Cameron 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 50 - 26m and 24f and 24E1 and 26B (18AR54-55); 1829 and 1830 with 75(5 adult) and 29E1 and 46B(19AR58-59).

354. Halladale (8) P. Reay Sutherland

Hallidale 1837(27AR30)

George Gordon 1837-1838 with 109 and 1838-1839(27AR33, 30, 28AR28, 30)

355. Hallec (Q) P. Portree Rugby

Hallaig 1837(27AR31)

Donald McDonald 1834-1835 with 67, 1835-1836, 1836-1837 with 33(24AR31, 49, 25AR40, 26AR63, 27AR31).

356. Hamar (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

John McCallum 1830 with 126 - 70m and 56f(10 adult) and 102 E1 and 24B (19AR58-59); 1831 with 126 - 70m and 56f(10 adult); 102E1 and 24NT/B(20AR 54-55).

357. Harpsdale (B) P. Halkirk Caithness

John Sutherland 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 50 - 23m and 27f and 20E1 and 30 NT/B(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

358. Harlosh (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

Harlosh 1814(4AR14)

John Macleod November, 1812(2AR10, 42); 1813 and 29 11/1814(3AR69, 4AR49); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 50 @ 7/24 yrs(6AR36-37)

Donald Cameron 1844 with 53, 1845 with 25, 1846 with 28(34AR25, 35AR55, 36AR25).

359. Heaste (R)

P. Strath

Skye

John McKinnon 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 85 - 74m and 11f and 62E1 and 23NT (10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

360. Heathfield (B)

P. Dunnet

Caithness

John Sutherland 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 52 - 31m and 21f and 18E1 and 34B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 58 - 37m and 21f and 12E1 and 46B(14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52).

361. Heir (Q)

P. Portree

Rassay

Murdoch McMillan 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 51 - 28m and 23f and 31E1 and 20B(18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57).

Duncan Gillies 1830 with 77 - 40m and 37f(20 adult) and 32E1 and 45B(19 AR58-59); 1831 with 96 - 52m and 44f(27 adult) and 26E1 and 70NT/B(20AR 54-55). Drowned at sea 18/7/1831(21AR32).

362. Heisker (O)

P. North Uist

Heisker

Heiscir 1843(33AR31); Heiskir 1844(34AR25); Heiskar 1847(37AR14)

John Montgomery June, 1843 with 27 @ 6/46 yrs and by 1844 with 27, 1845 with 19 and 1846 with 19 and 1847(33AR31, 39, 34AR25, 35AR55, 36AR25, 37 AR14).

Norman McLean 1859 with 28 - 18m and 10f and 1860 with 29 - 20m and 9f (49AR15, 50AR19).

363. Heanish (P)

P. Coll/Tiree

Tiree

Heanish 1856(46AR15)

John McIntyre 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 15 - 13m and 2f(6AR36-37); 1817 (6AR39); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818(8AR46-47).

Malcolm McCorquidale 1856 with 74 and 1857 with 84(46AR15, 47AR15).

364. Hillton (D)P. TainRoss

Hilton 1823(13AR46)

P. Fearn 1847(37AR22)

Alexander Dewar 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 41 - 10m and 31f and 20E1 and 21B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 40 - 9m and 31f and 9E1 and 31B(14AR48-49).

John McLean 1847 with 55, 1848 with 41, 1849 with 43 - 20m and 23f, 1850 with 35 - 17m and 18f, 1854 with 66 - 26m and 40f, 1855 with 53 - 17m and 36f, 1856 with 41 - 17m and 24f, 1857 with 63 - 24m and 39f, 1858 with 52 - 18m and 34f(37AR22, 38AR20, 39AR24, 40AR20, 44AR24, 45AR22, 46AR14, 47AR14, 48AR14).

365. Holle (Q)P. KilmuirSkye

Holl 1824(15AR40)

Donald Munro 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 40 - 32m and 8f @ 6/24 yrs and 24E1 and 16NT/B(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

366. Holman (Q)P. PortreeSkye

Rassay 1848(38AR21)

Alexander McMillan 1846 with 35, 1847 with 29, 1848 with 22 and 1849 with 14 - 12m and 2f(36AR25, 37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25).

367. Houlum (R)P. Small IslesBigg

Donald McKinnon 1843-1844 with 31 and 1844 with 22(33AR39, 34AR25).

368. Hougary (N)P. North UistNorth Uist

Hougharry 1827(16AR53); Houghary 1827(17AR57); Hogary 1855(45AR23)

Angus McFarlane 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 65 - 40m and 25f and 50E1 and

15B(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53).

John Montgomery 1834-1835 with 66, 1835-1836, 1836-1837, 1840-1841 with 43, 1841-1842 with 52, 1842-1843 with 33(24AR26, 49, 25AR40, 26AR63, 30AR35, 31AR35, 32AR39).

Walter Campbell 1855 with 43 - 26m and 17f, 1856 with 64 - 29m and 35f, 1857 with 60 - 29m and 31f, 1858 with 53 - 35m and 18f, 1859 with 30 - 21m and 9f(45AR23, 46AR15, 47AR15, 48AR15, 49AR15).

369. Huinliam (A) P. Duirness Sutherland

There was an Evening School here 30/3/1815 to November, 1815 from 5-9/10 pm with 18-22(5AR8, 102).

370. Huiskan (S) P. Kilfinichen Mull

John McDougall 1849 with 69 - 37m and 32f(39AR25).

371. Husabost (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

Husabosh 1841(31AR35)

Donald Mathewson 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 48 - 33m and 31f(sic) @ 4/20 yrs and 27E1 and 21NT(9AR52-53).

Thomas Noble 1841-1842 with 30 and 1842-1843 with 54(31AR35, 32AR39).

372. Hustal (R) P. Bracadale Skye

Norman McLeod 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 65 - 35m and 14f(sic) @ 4/25 yrs (6AR36-37); 8/4/1817 with 50(7AR11).

Alexander Macpherson 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 39 - 23m and 16f @ 5/40 yrs with 9E1, 12NT and 18B(9AR52-53).

373. Iachdar (O) P. South Uist South Uist

This school has only one mention as closed by November, 1827(17AR57).

374. Idrigil (Q) P. Snizort Skye

John McDougall 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 61 - 26m and 35f and 6E1 and 55B (14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53).

375. Imachar (L)

P. Kilmorie

Arran

Fergus Ferguson 1829 and 1830 with 85 - 43m and 42f(16 adult) and 18E1 and 67B(19AR58-59).

376. Inaclete (M)

P. Stornoway

Lewis

Inaclet 1823(13AR36); Enaclet 1837(27AR30); Inglet 1845(35AR15).

P. Uig 1830(19AR58)

William McDonald 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 158 - 63m and 95f and 46E1 and 112B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 127 - 67m and 60f and 41E1 and 76B(sic)(14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53); 1/11/1825-1/11/1826 with 74 - 25m and 49f and 19E1 and 55B(16AR50-51).

Donald McFarlane 1830 with 51 - 24m and 27f(1 adult) and 18E1 and 33B(19AR 58-59); 1831 with 58 - 26m and 32f(4 adult) and 11E1 and 47NT/B(20AR54-55); 1832 with 65 - 38m and 27f and 4E1 and 61NT/B(22AR38-39); 1832 with 66 - 40 m and 26f and 2E1 and 64NT/B(23AR43).

Malcolm Mackay 1837 with 49, 1837-1838 and 1838 with 37 and 1838-1839(27AR 30, 33, 28AR29-30).

Hector Morison 1845 with 34(35AR54).

377. Inchrory (F)

P. Fodderty

Ross

Strathpeffer 1834(23AR44)

Alexander McLeod 1830 with 98 - 53m and 45f and 86E1 and 12NT/B; 1831 with 130 - 80m and 50f(40 adult) and 79E1 and 51NT/B; 1832 with 217 - 118m and 99f and 111E1 and 106NT/B; 1833 with 84 - 35m and 49f and 19E1 and 15NT/B (sic); 1833-1834 with 220 - 105m and 115f and closed May, 1834(19AR56-57, 20AR52-53, 22AR36-37, 23AR42, 44, 24AR13).

378. Inort (R)

P. Bracadale

Skye

Eynord 1853(43AR29)

Alexander Macpherson. School closed by November, 1819 the people
"having been removed."(9AR49)

Hugh Urquhart 1853 with 31 - 13m and 18f; 1854 with 12 - 7m and 5f; 1855
with 9 - 4m and 5f(43AR29, 44AR25, 45AR23).

379. Inver (D)

P. Farbert

Ross

P. Tain 1856(46AR14)

Donald McGillivray 1855 with 84 - 42m and 42f; 1856 with 85 - 38m and
47f; 1857 with 56 - 22m and 34f; 1858 with 49 - 18m and 31f(45AR22, 46AR
14, 47AR14, 48AR14).

380. Inverasdale (C)

P. Gairloch

Ross

Alexander Mackay 1831 with 49 - 24m and 25f(3 adult) and 31E1 and 18NT/B
(20AR52-53); 1832 with 20 - 12m and 8f and 20NT/B(22AR36-37); 27/10/1831
with 37 - 13kI, 10BkII, 3NT and 23B(21AR15).

William Urquhart 1851 with 50 - 21m and 29f; 1852 with 62 - 26m and 36f;
1853 with 51 - 14m and 37f; 1854 with 53 - 25m and 28f; 1855 with 44- 27m
and 17f(41AR24, 42AR22, 43AR28, 44AR24, 45AR25).

381. Invercanish (E)

P. Kilmorack

Inverness

Invercannich 1822(11AR28); Invercanich 1823(13AR43); Inverchanich 1827
(17AR56).

John McDonald 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 47 @ 36m and 11f @ 4/18 yrs
and 7E1 and 40B and 21/9/1821 with 36(11AR28, 12AR58-59).

382. Inverchirkay (C)

P. Assynt

Sutherland

Inverchirkag 1832(22AR36); Inverkirkag 1831(21AR29); Inverkirkag 1833
(23AR33); Inverkirkig 1843(32AR38).

Finlay Mackay with 75 - 25m and 50f(2 adult) and 54E1 and 21NT/B(20AR52-
53); 1832 with 102 - 41m and 61f and 22E1 and 80NT/B(22AR36-37); 1833

with 70 - 33m and 37f and 14E1 and 56NT/B(23AR42); 18/3/1834 with 71 and 38 there with 8E1, 2NT and 28B and closed May, 1834(24AR11-12).
David Munro 1841-1842 with 66, 1842-1843 with 45, 1843-1844 with 39(31 AR34, 32AR38, 33AR38).
George Gordon 1847 with 31, 1848 with 53, 1849 with 55 - 15m and 40f (37AR22, 38AR20, 39AR24).

383. Inverewe (C) P. Gairloch Ross

Alexander McKay July, 1832 with 24 - 11NT and 13B(23AR35, 22AR40); 1833 with 53 - 25m and 28f and 26E1 and 27NT/B; 1833-1834 and by 6/3/1834 with 39 and 24 there - 7NT and 10B and closed June, 1834(23AR42, 44, 24AR16).

384. Invergordon (F) P. Rosskeen Ross

Donald Fowler 1829 and 1830 with 110 - 66m and 44f(6 adult) and 44E1 and 66NT/B(18AR56, 19AR56-57).

385. Invergusarn (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

Duncan Campbell 6/1/1813 with 36 and 13/4/1813 with 20(3AR50, 69, 4AR36); 29/11/1814 with 1Ps, 26NT and 120T and closed November, 1815(4AR49, 5AR 25, 102).

386. Inver-Knoidart (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

Inverknoidart 1828(18AR52)

Dugald McInnes 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 14 - 13m and 1f and 7E1 and 7B (18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

387. Inverroy (G) P. Kilmanivaig Inverness

Archibald Macnab 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 43 - 19m and 24f @ 5/20 yrs and 4E1, 11NT and 28B(8AR44-45).

388. Invershiel (G) P. Glenshiel Inverness

John McDonald 1833 and 1834 and by June, 1834 with 58(23AR44, 24AR19);
1834-1835(24AR49).

389. Isauld (B) P. Reay Caithness

Arthur Forbes 1831 with 5- - 33m and 26f(14 adult) and 28E1 and 31NT/B
(20AR52-53); 1832 with 44 - 26m and 18f and closed May, 1832(22AR36-37).

390. Isay (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

Island Isay 1822(13AR48)

Donald McGillivray 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 40 - 21m and 19f and 21E1
and 19B(13AR48-49).

Charles McGillivray 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 57 - 35m and 22f and 29E1
and 28B(14AR50-51).

391. Iskin (N) P. Lochs Lewis

Iskin 1831(21AR17)

Angus McFarlane 1830 with 60 - 34m and 26f(14 adult) and 44E1 and 16B
(19AR58-59); 1831 with 61 - 34m and 27f and 20E1 and 41NT/B(20AR54-55);
1832 with 40 - 14m and 26f and 3E1 and 37NT/B(22AR38-39).

392. Island Ensay (N) P. Harris Ensay

Ensay 1827(17AR57)

Alexander McKenzie 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 38 - 22m and 16f and 21E1
and 17B(14AR50-51).

393. Island Grimsay (O) P. North Uist North Uist

Grimsay 1827(17AR57)

Hugh McDonald 1825 and 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 24 - 19m and 5f and 6E1
and 18B(14AR53, 16AR50-51).

394. Island Killigray (N) P. North Uist Killigray

P. Harris 1826(15AR43)

Angus McFarlane 1825(14AR53).

Hugh Barnett 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 20 - 10m and 10f and 6E1 and 14B
(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53).

395. Islandshona (1) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Donald Cameron 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 27 - 16m and 11f @ 6/30 yrs and
3E1 and 8NT and 16OT(9AR50-51).

396. Isle of Soay (R) P. Bracadale Skye

Norman McLeod 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 41 - 24m and 17f @ 5/45 yrs and
13E1 and 28NT(8AR46-47).

397. Jackdor (O) P. South Uist South Uist

John Nicolson 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 58 @ 7/60 yrs and 28E1 and 20NT
(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

398. Jeantown (E) P. Lochcarron Ross

Roderick MacLeod 2/11/1812 with 72(2AR7, 42); 12/6/1813 with 100(3AR49, 8);
30/11/1813(4AR48).

399. Kalakila (E) P. Applecross Inverness

Donald McGilivray 1846 with 29, 1847 with 27 and 1848 with 22(36AR24, 37
AR22, 38AR20).

400. Keills (K) P. North Knapdale Argyle

Roderick McLeod 1835-1836, 1836-1837, 1837 with 49, 1837-1838(25AR40, 26
AR63, 27AR30, 28AR33).

401. Kellmallen (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

This school opened 1831 with 10NT and 52B and closed 15/5/1834(24AR34).

402. Kenloch (I) P. Morvern Argyle

Donald McDonald 1831 with 44 - 24m and 20f and 31E1 and 13NT/B(20AR52-53); closed May, 1832 with 36 - 20m and 16f and 13E1 and 23NT/B(22AR36-37).

403. Kenlochbirvie (A) P. Ederachillis Sutherland

Kenlochbervie 1824(14AR48); Kinlochbervie 1825(14AR52); Kinlochbirvie 1826 (16AR42).

P. Edderachillis 1824(14AR48).

George Campbell 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 42 - 14m and 28f and 10E1 and 36B(14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52); 1832 with 46 - 30m and 16f and 16E1 and 30 NT/B(22AR36-37); 1833 with 32 - 21m and 11f and 10E1 and 22NT/B(23AR42).

404. Kenlochteachus (I) P. Morvern Argyle

Kinloch 1823(13AR34); Kenlochteagus 1824(14AR14).

John McPherson 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 52 - 27m and 25f and 21E1 and 31B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 41 - 20m and 21f and 14E1 and 27B(14AR48-49).

405. Kenmore (K) P. Inverary Argyle

Angus McIver 1830 with 60 - 37m and 23f and 33E1 and 27B(19AR56-57).
James Ross 1831 with 47 - 34m and 13f(7 adult) and 23E1 and 24NT/B(20AR 52-53).

406. Kenneraugh (P) P. Coll/Tiree Coll

Donald Fowler July, 1833 to July, 1834(23AR44, 24AR33).

407. Kenovay (P) P. Coll/Tiree Tiree

Kennovay 1815(5AR87); Kennoway 1819(9AR49)

James Budge November, 1813 and by 27/1/1814 with 60 @ 6/15 yrs(3AR69, 4AR42); July, 1815 with 52 - 43m and 9f and closed November, 1815(5AR50, 102).

408. Kentangvale (P) P. Barra Barra

John Swan 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 14 - 9m and 5f and 1B1 and 13B(14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53).

409. Kenuachtrach (T) P. Jura Jura

Kenuachdrach 1815(5AR55); Kenuachdrach 1815(6AR33); Kenuachdracht 1818(9AR49)

Peter MacEwan November, 1812 with 30 and then 37(2AR42, 3AR18, 5AR92);

Peter Campbell in the summer, 1813 and 30/11/1813(3AR69, 4AR47).

Malcolm McNeill 29/11/1814 and 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 39 @ 4/50 yrs(4AR49, 6AR36-37).

410. Keppoch (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

Little Strath 1812(2AR26); Keppock 1824(14AR43)

Margaret Sinclair 2/11/1812 with 77(2AR4-5, 42); 30/11/1813, 29/11/1814 and 30/11/1815(4AR48-49, 5AR100).

411. Keppoch (R) P. Strath Slieve

John McIver 1840-1841 with 56, 1841-1842 as a Government Church area school with 56, 1842-1843 with 54 and 1843-1844 with 51(30AR23, 31AR35, 32AR39, 33AR39).

Walter McKay 1849 with 33 - 19m and 14f, 1850 with 36 - 16m and 20f, 1851 with 42 - 18m and 24f(39AR25, 40AR21, 41AR25).

412. Kershader (M) P. Lochs Lewis

Kershedder 1833(22AR40); Kershadder 1834(23AR44); Kersheder 1833(23AR32); Kershider 1846(37AR24); Karishadir 1848(38AR20)

P. Uig 1849(3AR24)

Angus Matheson 1831 with 92 - 43m and 49f(24 adult) and 64E1 and 28NT/B (20AR54-55).

Angus McFarlane 1832-1833 and 1833 with 40 - 18m and 22f and 8E1 and 32 NT/B(23AR42); 1833-1834 and 1834-1835(23AR44, 24AR40).

Malcolm McKenzie 1846 with 51 and 1847 with 77(36AR24, 37AR22)

Murdo McDonald 1848 with 37 and 1849 with 24 - 9m and 15f(38AR20, 39AR24).

Malcolm Morrison 1858 with 82 - 39m and 43f, 1859 with 81 - 39m and 42f, 1860 with 62 - 28m and 34f(48AR14, 49AR14, 50AR18).

413. Kerwick (M)

P. Uig

Lewis

P. Lochs 1844(33AR38)

Malcolm McKay 1842-1843 with 105, 1843-1844 with 75, 1844 with 72(32AR38, 33AR38, 34AR24).

414. Kesdale (Q)

P. Snizort

Skye

Nicol Nicolson 1837 with 63 and 1837-1838(27AR31, 33).

415. Kilbar (P)

P. Barra

Barra

Alexander Cameron 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 60 - 43m and 17f and 42E1 and 8NT and 10B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 34 - 27m and 7f @ 6/14 yrs and 6E1 and 11NT and 17OT(9AR52-53).

416. Kilberry (L)

P. Kilberry

Argyle

Kilbery Proper 1829(18AR56)

Alexander McLeod 1/11/1825-1/11/1826 with 30 - 16m and 14f(16AR48-49); 1829(18AR56).

417. Kilbride (P) P. Coll/Tiree Coll

Kilbride and Totrannolo 1850(40AR21)

Alexander McKenzie 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 72 - 36m and 36f @ 5/41 yrs and 16E1 and 36NT and 20B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 61 - 29m and 32f @ 5/44 yrs and 5E1 and 35NT and 21B(9AR52-53).

Donald McKinnon 1850 with 41 - 22m and 19f and 1851 with 62 - 36m and 26f and supported by the Rev. Mr. McKail of Calcutta(940AR21, 41AR25); 1852 with 39 - 23m and 16f and 1853 with 29 - 13m and 16f and supported by the F.C. in Calcutta(42AR23, 43AR39).

418. Kilchattan (T) P. Jura Colonsay

Collonsay 1820(9AR55); Island Jura 1822(12AR57)

John McEachern 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 47 - 21m and 26f @ 5/44 yrs and 33E1 and 8NT and 6B(10AR62-63); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 70 - 32m and 38f @ 6/20 yrs and 40E1 and 30B(12AR60-61).

419. Kilchiarrow (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

Killararrow 1841(30AR23)

Peter Campbell November, 1832-1833 and 1833 with 40 - 16m and 24f and 16E1 and 24NT/B(23AR43); 1833-1834 and 1834-1835(23AR44, 24AR49).

John McSween 12/6/1840 with 54, 1840-1841 with 76 and 1841-1842 with 62 (30AR9, 30AR23, 31AR35).

420. Kildonan (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

Peter MacEwan 29/11/1814 and 27/9/1815 with 39(4AR49, 5A¹¹); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 50 @ 5/20 yrs(6AR34-35); 1817 and 1819(6AR38, 8AR48).

421. Kildonan (O) P. South Uist South Uist

Duncan Campbell 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 155 - 133m and 22f @ 5/32 yrs and 94E1 and 61B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 101 - 79m and 22f and 15E1 and 86B(13AR48-49).

422. Kilfinichen (S) P. Kilfinichen Mull

Kilvecheon 1846(36AR25)

Neil McPhail 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 55 - 40m and 15f @ 7/26 yrs and 21E1 and 7NT and 27B(8AR46-47).

James Matheson 1846 with 39, 1847 with 37, 1848 with 30, 1849 with 24 - 15m and 9f(36AR25, 37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25).

423. Killeen (S) P. Torosay Mull

Kealleen 1824(15AR40); Keallan 1827(17AR59); Kellan 1829(19AR54)

P. Kilmore 1822(13AR48)

Donald Cameron summer, 1814 with 28 and closed November, 1815(5AR53, 102).

Duncan Black 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 27 - 12m and 13f and 3E1 and 24B (13AR48-49).

John Fraser 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 49 - 30m and 19f and 43E1 and 6B (18AR54-55); 1829 and 1830 with 69 - 41m and 28f(15 adult) and 15E1 and 54B(19AR58-59).

424. Killimore (S) P. Kilmore Mull

Donald McKinnon 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 33 - 16m and 17f and 7E1 and 26B (14AR50-51).

425. Killinallen (T) P. Bowmore Islay

Killinallen 1833(22AR41); Kilinallen 1833(23AR43); Kellinallen 1835(24AR34)

Samuel Matheson 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 38 - 14m and 24f and 10E1 and 26B (18AR54-55).

Allan Rose 1831 with 43 - 22m and 21f(2 adult) and 25E1 and 18NT/B(20AR 54-55).

Donald Hood 1832 with 30 - 15m and 15f and 10E1 and 20NT/B(22AR38-39); 1832-1833 and 1833 with 32 - 17m and 15f and 8E1 and 24NT/B, 1833-1834 and closed 15/5/1834(22AR41, 23AR43-44, 24AR34).

426. Kilmaluig (Q)P. KilmuirSkye

Kilmaluig 1847(36AR13)

John Shaw 1843-1844 with 54(33AR39, 34AR25).

Angus Munro 1845 with 39 and 1846 with 59(35AR55, 36AR25).

427. Kilmchalmaig (D)P. KincardineRoss

Alexander MacKenzie 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 36 - 18G and 18Ps/B @ 4½/50 yrs(6AR34-35); 1817 with 76(6AR38, 7AR2); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 97 @ 4/50 yrs(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 99 @ 4/53 yrs and 31E1, 40NT and 28OT(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 99 - 50m and 49f @ 4/53 yrs and closed November, 1821(10AR60-61, 11AR50).

428. Kilmorie (I)P. ArdnamurchanArgyle

Kilmory 1825(16AR48); Kilmorry 1827(16AR52)

P. North Knapdale 1825(16AR48)

Hugh Dewar December, 1812 and by 25/4/1813 with 59 - 4 words, 14BkI, 9 Sc/Ex, 16NT and 16B(2AR42, 3AR54). Closed November, 1813(3AR70).

Roderick McLeod 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 21 - 5m and 16f and 7E1 and 14B (16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52).

429. Kilmuire (Q)P. DuirinishSkye

Kilmuir 1822(12AR60); Kilmiur 1824(15AR40)

John McKinnon 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 45 - 28m and 17f @ 5/34 yrs and 27E1 and 18B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 29 - 20m and 9f and 5E1 and 24B(13AR48-49).

430. Kilnave (T)P. KilchomanIslay

P. Kildalton 1844(34AR25)

Hector McDonald 1831 with 57 - 28m and 29f(5 adult) - 39E1 and 18NT(20AR

54-55); 1832 with 69 - 31m and 38f and 29E1 and 40NT/B and closed May, 1832(22AR38-39).

John McSween 1842-1843 with 154, 1843-1844 with 116 and 1844 with 128 (32AR39, 33AR39, 34AR25).

431. Kilpatrick (S) P. Kilfinichen Mull

John Macdonald June, 1815 with 1, then 25, then 38 by 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 and then 42 - 31m and 8f @ 5/16 yrs(5AR54, 6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 27 - 19m and 8f @ 6/14 yrs and 11E1, 12NT and 4B(8AR 46-47).

432. Kinchruin (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

Kenchruinn 1815(6AR34); Kenchruin 1818(8AR42)

Angus Macleod 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 56 @ 4/22 yrs(6AR34-35); 1817 (6AR38).

433. Kingerloch (V) P. Appin/Lismore Argyle

Donald McLachlan 1825(14AR52).

434. Kingussie (H) P. Kingussie Inverness

James Ross 1829 and 1830 with 52 - 24m and 28f(8 adult) and 15E1 and 37 NT/B(19AR56-57).

435. Kinloch (S) P. Kilninian Mull

P. Kilfinichen 1819(10AR62); P. Kilmore 1822(11AR55)

Lachlan Black 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 58 - 39m and 19f @ 6/19 yrs and 39E1, 15NT and 4B(10AR62-63).

Niel McLean 1821 and 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 35 - 21m and 14f @ 4/30 yrs and 7E1 and 28B(10AR65, 12AR60-61).

436. Kinlochbuy (S) P. Torosay Mull

Donald Cameron June, 1813 with 40 children and 12 adults(3AR18, 63);
15/1/1814 with 56 and closed November, 1814(4AR42, 50).

437. Kinlochewe (E) P. Gairloch Ross

Colin McIntosh 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 with 42(28AR30, 29AR32); 1840-1841
with 33 and 1841-1842 with 36(30AR22, 31AR34).

438. Kinlochmoidart (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Kenlochmoidart 1827(16AR52)

Donald Cameron 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 48 - 34m and 14f and 13E1 and 35B
(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52).

439. Kinnauld (D) P. Dornoch Sutherland

Kinnauld 1827(16AR52)

Finlay McKay 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 102 - 34m and 68f and 39E1 and 63B
(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 91 - 34m and 57f and
37E1 and 54B(18AR52-53).

440. Kintraa (T) P. Kildalton Islay

Angus Lamont 1822(11AR55).

441. Kintrav (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Kintraa 1815(5AR31); Kintra 1815(6AR32)

Hugh Dewar by 10/11/1813 with 50 @ 8/30 yrs(3AR69, 55, 12); 29/11/1814 and
by 3/4/1815 with 67 and closed November, 1815(4AR49, 5AR31, 102); 1/11/1821
-1/11/1822 with 49 - 26m and 39f @ 7/18 yrs and 18E1 and 31B(12AR58-59).
N.B. Listed wrongly as two stations 1822(12AR55) and 1824(14AR45).

442. Kinture (T) P. Kildalton Islay

Angus Lamont 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 47 - 24m and 23f @ 5/50 yrs and 13E1
and 34B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 28 - 20m and 8f and 4E1 and

24B(13AR48-49).

Neil McLean 1823(12AR63).

443. Kirktony (B) P. Farr Sutherland

Donald McLeod 1839-1840 with 76(29AR32); 1840-1841 with 53 and 1841-1842 with 35(30AR22, 31AR34).

444. Kirkton (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

Donald McKinnon 1845 with 82, 1846 with 43 and supported by the Rev. Mr. McDonald's kirk, Calcutta(35AR54, 36AR24); 1847 with 45 and supported by the Rev. Mr. Makail, Calcutta(37AR22).

445. Kishorn (E) P. Lochcarron Inverness

Angus McLean 1843-1844 with 73 and 1844 with 74(33AR38, 34AR24).

446. Kistle (Q) P. Snizort Skye

Nicol Nicolson 1838 with 50 and 1838-1839(28AR29-30).

447. Kneipp (M) P. Uig Lewis

Kneip 1828(17AR61); Kniep 1828(18AR33); Kneip and Riff(18AR54)

P. Stornoway 1826(16AR50)

Donald McKinnon 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 73 - 30m and 43f and 19E1 and 54B(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 287(105 adult) and 195E1 and 182B(sic)(18AR54-55).

448. Knock Arthur (O) P. Rogart Sutherland

George Gordon 15/3/1827 with 139 and 94 there and 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 94 - 38m and 56f and 51E1 and 43B(18AR52-53); 28/11/1831 with 39 and 34 there - 10BkI, 2So/Ex, 9NT and 13B(21AR33); 1832 with 44 - 30m and 14f and 10E1 and 34NT/B and closed May, 1832(21AR33, 22AR36-37).

449. Knock of Morven (1) P. Morven Argyle

Morven 1851(41AR13)

John Gillanders 1850 with 35 - 16m and 19f and 1851 with 38 - 17m and 21f when the school was taught in the FC building(40AR20, 41AR24); 1852 with 36 - 16m and 20f(42AR22).

450. Knock and Swordle (M) P. Knock Lewis

Knock 1845(35AR55)

P. Stornoway 1837(27AR31)

Malcolm McRitchie 1835-1836, 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63); 1837 as a Government Church area school with 54(27AR31); 1837-1838(27AR33).

Donald Ross 1845 with 65, 1846 with 53, 1847 with 35(35AR55, 36AR25, 37AR23); 1853 with 33 - 8m and 25f, 1854 with 27 - 12m and 15f, 1855 with 30 - 15m and 15f and 1856 with 34 - 11m and 23f(43AR28, 44AR24, 14, 46AR14).

451. Knockbain (F) P. Knockbain Ross

Kenneth McKenzie 1855 with 88 - 48m and 40f, 1856 with 41 - 21m and 20f, 1857 with 26 - 11m and 15f(45AR22, 46AR14, 47AR14).

452. Knockfun (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

John McDonald 1831 with 68 - 42m and 26f(7 adult) and 45E1 and 23NT/B(20AR52-53).

453. Kirkibost (M) P. Uig Lewis

Donald Morrison 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 31 - 23m and 8f @ 7/20 yrs and 25E1 and 6NT(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 46 - 30m and 16f @ 6/35 yrs and 13E1 and 33NT/B(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

454. Kylerhea (R) P. Sleat Skye

John McDonald 1840-1841 with 60, 1841-1842 with 62, 1842-1843 with 40 (30AR23, 31AR35, 32AR39).

455. Kyle Rona (Q) P. Portree Rassay

John McDougall 1837 with 18 and 1837-1838(27AR31, 33)

456. Kyles (1) P. Ardnamurchan Inverness

Argyle 1821(10AR64)

Donald Cameron 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 32 - 19m and 13f @ 5/26 yrs and 2E1, 18NT and 12OT(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64); September, 1821 met in R.C. meeting-house with 29 - 15m and 14f(11AR30).

457. Kylesstockinish (N) P. Harris Harris

Caolisstockinish 1823(12AR63); Caolas-stockinish 1827(18AR54)

Angus Macleod 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 92 - 63m and 29f @ 5/38 yrs and 64E1 and 28B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 28 - 22m and 6f and 8E1 and 20B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 61 - 48m and 23B(14AR50-51).

Murdoch McDonald 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 65 - 35m and 30f and 34E1 and 31B(18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57).

458. Laga (1) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Murdoch McDonald 1827(16AR52).

Kenneth Ross 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 50 - 25m and 25f and 16E1 and 34B(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

John McIver 1844 with 33 and 1845 with 41(34AR24, 35AR54).

Duncan McPherson 1846 with 40(36AR24).

459. Laggan Achdroma (G) P. Kilmanivaig Inverness

Lagan Achadroma 1828(18AR52); Laggan Achadroma 1830(19AR56)

Donald Ross 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 33 - 19m and 14f and 33E1 (18AR52-53); 1829 with 34 - 20m and 14f and 15RC's(18AR31); 1830 with 68 - 40m and 28f\10 adult) and 45E1 and 23NT/B(19AR56-57); 1831 with 75 - 45m and 30f(12 adult) and 20E1 and 55NT/B(20AR52-53).

460. Lamadalene (A) P. Glenelg Inverness

Ronald McDonald 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 34 - 20m and 14f and 8E1 and 26B(14AR48-49).

461. Lamington Park (F) P. Logie Easter Ross

George Gordon 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 88 - 47m and 41f @ 3/42 yrs and 43E1, 34NT and 11OT(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 46 - 24m and 22f @ 4/43 yrs and 11E1, 21NT and 14OT(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64).

462. Langel (V) P. Ardnamurchan Inverness

This school was planned for November, 1813 but was cancelled 14/10/1814 as the people had moved(3AR69, 4AR38). It is impossible to tell whether it did actually operate.

463. Langdale (B) P. Farr Sutherland

John Grant 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 41 - 16m and 25f @ 4/35 yrs and 21 E1 and 20NT(6AR34-35); 19/3/1817 with 109 @ 5/37 yrs with 16G, 52NT and 41B(7AR4); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 89 - 41m and 48f and 19E1, 34NT and 36B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 52NT(9AR50-51).

464. Langinish (P) P. Barra Barra

Langinish 1824(13AR51); Langinish 1824(14AR56)

Fergus Ferguson 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 20 - 10m and 10f and 6E1 and 14B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 28 - 13m and 15f and 2E1 and 26B(14AR50-51).

465. Langwell (E) P. Applecross Ross

Hugh Fraser summer, 1815 with 37 and 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 71 - 41m and 30f(5AR18, 6AR34-35); 1817(6AR38).

466. Langwell (C) P. Kincardine Ross

Langwall 1819(8AR48)

A. Mackenzie 29/11/1814 and by summer, 1815 with 72(4AR49, 5AR14).

Closed November, 1815(6AR32).

David Munro 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 45 - @ 3/30 yrs(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 51 - 30m and 21f @ 3/28 yrs and 18E1, 15NT and 18OT(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 54 - 30m and 24f @ 4/30 yrs and 14E1 and 15NT and 16OT(10AR60-61).

NB It is listed twice by mistake in 1821(11AR50).

467. Langwell Braes (D) P. Rogart Sutherland

Braes of Langwell 1833(22AR17)

George Gordon 1832-1833 and 1833 with 45 - 24m and 21f and 19E1 and 26NT/B(22AR40, 23AR42).

468. Lathern Wheel (B) P. Lathern Caithness

John Corbet 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 114 - 58m and 56f and 51E1 and 63B (18AR52-53).

469. Laxdale (M) P. Lochs Lewis

P. Stornoway 1857(47AR15)

Malcolm McKenzie 1856 with 70 - 17m and 53f and 1857 with 19 - 3m and 16f (46AR14, 47AR15).

470. Laxy (N) P. Lochs Lewis

Laxy 1826(15AR43)

P. Stornoway 1826(16AR50-51)

Niel Mathieson 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 44 - 29m and 15f and 5E1 and 39B(16AR50-51).

Donald McFarlane 1840-1841 with 61, 1841-1842 with 46, 1842-1843 with 37(30AR23, 31AR35, 32AR38).

John McLean 1849 with 44 and 1850 with 40 - 20m and 19f(39AR24, 40AR24)
 Kenneth McKenzie 1858 with 81 - 48m and 33f, 1859 with 72 - 48m and 24f,
 1860 with 57 - 39m and 18f(48AR14, 49AR14, 50AR18).

471. Leachdruadh (P) P. Coll/Tiree Coll

Leachdruadh 1820(9AR55); Leachruadh 1828(18AR49)

Alexander McKenzie 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 30 - 15m and 15f and 281 and
 28NT/B(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 29 - 12m and 17f @ 6/33 yrs
 and 281 and 27NT/B(10AR62-63).

472. Lead Udrigil (C) P. Gairloch Ross

P. Poollewe 1834(24AR16)

William Urquhart June, 1833 with 40 and 48 there(24AR16); 1833-1834 with
 35, 1834-1835 and 1835-1836(23AR44, 24AR49, 25AR40).

473. Learside (L) P. Southend Argyle

Aulay McKenzie 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 57 - 24m and 33f @ 4/32 yrs and
 38E1 and 19NT(9AR50-51).

Ewan McMaster 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 57 - 25m and 32f @ 4/30 yrs and
 24E1 and 33NT(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 61 - 27m
 and 34f @ 4/21 yrs and 12E1 and 49B(12AR58-59).

474. Leathad (A) P. Durness Sutherland

George Campbell 1838 with 45 and 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 with 36 and 1840-
 1841 with 35(28AR28, 30, 29AR32, 30AR22).

475. Leachlee (N) P. Harris Harris

Leaklee 1838(27AR33); Leachlie 1839(28AR30), Leachlee 1840(29AR33)

Murdoch McLeod 1835-1836(25AR40)

Murdoch McDonald 1837 with 33, 1837-1838, 1838 with 47, 1838-1839, 1839-
 1840 with 20(27AR31, 33, 28AR29-30, 29AR33).

Donald McDonald 1844 with 71, 1845 with 23, 1846 with 45(34AR25, 35AR25, 36AR25).

476. Leigh of Ardtun (S) P. Kilninian Mull

Donald McKinnon 1858 with 80 - 47m and 33f and supported by the F.C. in Calcutta(48AR15); 1859 with 80 - 47m and 33f(49AR15).

477. Leodebust (B) P. Lathern Caithness

John Corbet 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 23 - 3E1 and 20B(16AR48-49); 1827 (16AR52).

478. Leogin (T) P. Kilarow Islay

Alexander Grant 1845 with 64(35AR55)

479. Lester (S) P. Kilmore Mull

Liter 1834(24AR49), Lister 1835(24AR35)

P. Salen 1834(24AR49)

John Fraser 1832-1833 and 1833 with 39 - 21m and 18f and 16E1 and 23NT/B (22AR41, 23AR43); 1833-1834 and 1834-1835 with 56(23AR44, 24AR33, 49).

480. Letterfearn (A) P. Glenshiel Inverness

John McDonald 1832 with 19 - 1m and 18f and 5E1 and 14NT/B(22AR36-37); 1833 with 13 - 7m and 6f and 13B(23AR42).

481. Leudchruthaith (E) P. Dingwall Ross

Leudchruthaich 1821(10AR64); Leudchruthiack 1820(10ARS-6); Ludcruthaik 1821(11AR51); Ludcruthaich 1824(15AR37).

David Ross 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 49 - 23m and 26f @ 4/64 yrs and 9E1 and 40B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 113 - 98m and 15f @ 6/45 yrs and 42E1 and 34NT and 140T(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 74 - 40m

and 34f @ 3/35 yrs and 24E1, 35NT and 150T(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64).

482. Leumra (N) P. Lochs Lewis

John McLeod 1859 with 44 - 23m and 21f and 1860 with 46 - 18m and 28f(49 AR14, 50AR18).

483. Lewerbost (M) P. Barvas Lewis

Luerbost 1830(20AR14)

P. Lochs 1838(28AR29)

Murdoch McLeod 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 60 - 51m and 9f @ 4/40 yrs and 6E1 46Ps and 8NT(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 51 - 44m and 7f @ 4/40 yrs and 33E1, 4NT and 4B(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

Angus Matheson 23/11/1831 and 1832 with 45 - 25m and 20f and 9E1 and 36NT/B (21AR16, 22AR38-39).

Donald McFarlane 1837 with 98 and 1837-1838 and 1838 with 121 and 1838-1839 (27AR31, 33, 28AR28-29); 19/2/1840 with 49(29AR26).

Norman McLennan 1848 with 28, 1849 with 54 - 32m and 22f, 1850 with 40 - 25m and 15f, 1851 with 56 - 34m and 22f(38AR21, 39AR25, 40AR20, 41AR24).

John McLean 1854 with 56 - 16m and 40f, 1855 with 44 - 13m and 31f, 1856 with 27 - 4m and 23f(44AR24, 45AR22, 46AR14).

484. Liddisdale (I) P. Morvern Argyle

Liddisdale 1821(10AR64)

Duncan Cameron 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 45 - 23m and 22f(10AR60-61); 1821 (10AR64); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 34 - 22m and 12f @ 6/24 yrs and 2E1 and 32B(12AR58-59).

485. Linicro (Q) P. Kilmuir Skye

Donald McLeod August, 1834 with 71(24AR28); ~~1834~~ 1835-1836 and 1836-1837 (25AR40, 26AR63);

Angus McLeod 1839-1840 with 68 and 1840-1841 with 56, 1841-1842 with 59, during which time it was a Government Church area school(29AR33, 30AR23,

31AR35).

486. Linol (M)

P. Barvas

Lewis

Lionel 1859(49AR13)

P. Cross 1847(37AR22)

Alexander McLeod 1837 with 167 when it was a Government Church area school(27AR30); 1837-1838 and 1838 with 167 and 1838-1839 and 1839-1840(27AR33, 28AR28, 30, 29AR33).

Murdo McPherson 1845 with 97, 1846 with 62 and 1847 with 37(35AR54, 36AR24, 37AR22).

487. Linset (D)

P. Creich

Ross

Linsed Croy 1823(13AR46-47)

David Munro 16/6/1820 with 43 - 20m and 23f @ 4/45 yrs and 36E1 and 7NT (10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64).

Magdalene Sutherland 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 50 - 22m and 28f and 8E1 and 42B(13AR46-47).

488. Little Bernera (M)

P. Uig

Lewis

John McDougall 1831 with 39 - 19m and 20f(1 adult) and 21E1 and 18NT/B (20AR54-55); 1832 with 39 - 21m and 18f and 2E1 and 37NT/B(22AR38-39).

489. Little Daan (D)

P. Edderton

Ross

John McPherson 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 51 - 35m and 26f and 14E1 and 45B(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

490. Little Lionel (M)

P. Cross

Lewis

Lionel 1858(48AR9)

Kenneth McPherson 1857 with 238 - 131m and 107f and 1858 with 158 - 86m and 72f(47AR14, 48AR15); school taught by teacher's wife and an assistant

as he was ill with 141 - 26BkI, 27BkII, 47NT and 41B(48AR9); 1859 with 101 - 57m and 44f(49AR15).

491. Lochachlerick (Q) P. Minginish Skye

This school was seen 14/4/1818 and lasted only one session; no details (8AR17).

492. Lochaline (I) P. Morvern Argyle

John Gillanders 1846 with 52, 1847 with 23, 1848 with 23, 1849 with 23 - 12m and 11f(36AR24, 37AR22, 38AR20, 39AR24)

493. Locharkaig (G) P. Kilmallie Inverness

Locharcaig 1815(5AR102)

Duncan Campbell 1/7/1813 with 26 and closed October, 1813(3AR50, 10, 70).

494. Lochgair (L) P. Kilmichael Argyle

P. Kilmichel 1835(24AR20)

George Gordon June, 1834 and had 84 by 1834-1835 and 1835-1836(24AR20, 49, 25AR40).

495. Lochmaddy (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Murdoch Ross 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 18 - 8m and 10f and 12E1 and 6B (16AR50-51).

Kenneth Ross 1827(16AR53).

496. Lochnedd (A) P. Assynt Sutherland

David Munro 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 51 - 16m and 35f and 13E1 and 38B (14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52); 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 60 - 10m and 50f and 5E1 and 55B(16AR48-49).

497. Loch-Portan (N) P. North Uist North Uist

John McLeod 1837 with 28 and 1837-1838(27AR31, 33); 1838 with 23 and 1838-1839 with 12 as a Government Church area school(28AR29-30, 23).

498. Loch Roag (M) P. Uig Lewis

Malcolm Morison 1843-1844 with 60 and 1844 with 62(33AR38, 34AR24).

499. Loggies (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

William Urquhart 1842-1843 with 55(32AR38).

500. Lonemore (E) P. Gairloch Ross

William Urquhart Jnr., 1845 with 39, 1846 with 37, 1847 with 26(35AR54, 36AR24, 37AR22).

501. Lossit (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

John McSween 1847(37AR12)

502. Lowergill (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

Lowergill 1857(47AR9)

Donald Cameron 1847 with 20, 1848 with 18, 1849 with 18 - 13m and 5f (37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25).

503. Mackel (D) P. Creich Sutherland

Maikel 1815(5AR4); Mackeill 1820(9AR54); Mackeill 1822(11AR54)

Alexander McLaren 30/11/1815(5AR100)

Magdalene Sutherland 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 72 - 21m and 51f @ 4' 40 yrs and 25E1, 13NT and 34OT(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 73 - 18m and 55f @ 4/30 yrs and 21E1 and 52B(12AR58-59).

504. Machern (T) P. Jura Colonsay

P. Collonsay 1820(9AR52-53)

John McEachern 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 52 @ 4/18 yrs(6AR36-37); 1817 (6AR39); 1818 with 26(8AR34); 1819 with 45 - 20m and 25f @ 5/44 yrs and 22B1, 17NT and 6B(9AR52-53).

505. Maleclet (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Malecleti 1841(31AR26); Malaclete 1844(33AR39); Malaclite 1844(33AR16); Malakleti 1844(33AR28); Malaclete 1844(34AR25)

John McLeod February, 1840 with 60(31AR26); 1840-1841 with 49 when it served as a Government Church area school(30AR23, 31AR26); 1841-1842 with 58, 1842-1843 with 41, 1843-1844 with 46(31AR35, 32AR39, 33AR39); 1844 with 52(34AR25).

Malcolm Gillies 1855 with 44 - 16m and 28f, 1856 with 37 - 9m and 28f, 1857 with 36 - 10m and 26f, 1858 with 51 - 12m and 39f, 1859 with 72, -25m and 47f, 1860 with 19 - 7m and 12f(45AR23, 46AR15, 47AR15, 48AR15, 49AR15, 50AR19).

506. Mangasta (M) P. Uig Lewis

Mangarsta 1846(36AR25), Mangursta 1859(49AR14)

P. Stornoway 1826(16AR50)

Murdoch McDonald 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 33 - 16m and 17f and 6B1 and 27B(16AR50-51).

Hector Morison 1838 with 52 and 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 with 36(28AR29-30, 29AR33).

Murdo McDonald 1846 with 33 and 1847 with 38(36AR29, 37AR23).

Malcolm McKay 1848 with 45 and 1849 with 27(38AR20, 39AR24)

Hector Morrison 1859 with 28 - 14m and 14f and 1860 with 30 - 16m and 14f and supported by Aberdeen Auxiliary Association(49AR14, 50AR18).

507. Manish (N) P. Harris Harris

Lachlan Black 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 28 - 25m and 3f and 2B1 and 26B (16AR50-51).

508. Mannal (P) P. Coll/Tiree Tiree

Donald McDonald 1838 with 61 and 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 with 56(28AR 29-30, 29AR33).

509. Macisnieh (S) P. Torosay Mull

John Sinclair 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 36 - 29m and 7f @ 4/30 yrs and 16El and 10NT and 10B(8AR46-47); 1819(8AR49).

510. Marig (N) P. Harris Harris

Donald McLean 1859 with 28 - 12m and 16f and 1860 with 28 - 12m and 16f (49AR15, 50AR19).

511. Marishadder (Q) P. Kilmuir Skye

Donald McLeod 1834-1835 and 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(24AR49, 25AR40, 26 AR63).

512. Marvig (M) P. Lochs Lewis

Marvaig 1829(18AR57)

Angus McFarlane 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 48 - 23m and 25f and 24El and 24B(18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57)

Alexander Forbes 1833-1834(23AR44)

Finlay Mackay 1834-1835 with 68 and 1835-1836(24AR49, 22, 25AR40)

513. Mebust (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

Melbost 1833(22AR13)

P. Knock 1835(24AR21)

Neil Murray 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 70 and 1817(6AR36-37, 39).

Donald Ross 1834-1835 with 30 and 1835-1836(24AR49, 21, 25AR40)

Kenneth McPherson 1844 with 77 and 1845 with 51 and 1846 with 48(34AR25, 35AR54, 36AR25).

Murdo McKenzie 1854 with 75 - 39m and 36f, 1855 with 74 - 33m and 34f, 1856 with 77 - 39m and 38f, 1857 with 99 - 50m and 49f, 1858 with 76 -

- 34m and 42f(44AR24, 45AR22, 46AR14, 47AR14, 48AR15).

514. Melivaig (C)

P. Gairloch

Ross

Melvaig 1833(23AR44)

Nicol Nicolson January-September, 1812 and by 10/10/1812 with 70(2AR5-6); 6/5/1813 with 54 and closed November, 1813(3AR44-45, 70).

John McDonald June, 1833 and by September, 1834 with 108 - 30E1 and 73 NT/B(24AR16); 11/3/1834 with 100 and 95 there - 22BkI and II, 24Sc/Ex., 22NT and 27B(24AR17); 1834-1835 and 1835-1836(24AR49, 25AR40)

Colin McIntosh 1842-1843 with 91 and 1843-1844 with 60(32AR38, 33AR38)
William Urquhart 1856 with 61 - 25m and 36f, 1857 with 52 - 22m and 30f, 1858 with 52 - 30m and 22f, 1859 with 59 - 38m and 21f, 1860 with 41 - 20m and 21f(46AR14, 47AR14, 48AR14, 49AR14, 50AR18).

515. Mellon Charles (C)

P. Poolewe

Ross

P. Gairloch 1844(33AR38)

Alexander Mackay 1834-1835, 1835-1836, 1836-1837 with 53(24AR49, 25AR40, 26AR63).

John McDonald 1843-1844 with 52, 1844 with 47, 1845 with 42 and 1846 with 33(33AR38, 34AR24, 35AR54); 1850 with 40 - 13m and 27f, 1851 with 78 - 27m and 51f, 1852 with 55 - 14m and 41f, 1853 with 61 - 19m and 42f(40AR 20, 41AR24, 42AR22, 43AR28); 1854 with 52 - 23m and 29f, 1855 with 40 - 9m and 31f(44AR24, 45AR22); 1858 with 33 - 13m and 20f, 1859 with 30 - 14m and 16f, 1860 with 50 - 23m and 27f(48AR14, 49AR14, 50AR18).

516. Mellon of Udrigil (C)

P. Gairloch

Ross

Mellon 1816(6AR34); Mellon of Gairloch 1825(15AR52); North Mellon 1828 (18AR17); Udrigil 1832(22AR40).

Nicol Nicolson 1/11/1814 with 42 @ 5/15 yrs and 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 50(4AR34, 9, 5AR15-16, 6AR34-35).

Alexander Mackay 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 75 - 34m and 41f and 8E1 and 67B(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 64 - 29m and 35f and 29E1 and 35B(18AR52-53); 1830 with 79 - 39m and 40f(11 adult) and 15

E1 and 64NT/B(19AR56-57).

William Urquhart 19/10/1831 with 64 and 1832-1833 with 101 in 1833 - 53m and 48f and 27E1 and 74NT/B(21AR15, 22AR40, 42); 1836-1837(26AR23); 1837 with 33 and 1837-1838 as a Government Church area school(27AR30, 33).

John McDonald 1847 with 40, 1848 with 48, 1849 with 32 - 19m and 13f(37AR22, 38AR20, 39AR24).

517. Melness (A)

P. Tongue

Sutherland

P. Farr 1826(16AR42)

John Grant 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 51 - 10m and 41f and 29E1 and 22B(13AR46-47).

Donald Gunn 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 56 - 10m and 46f and 20E1 and 36B(14AR48-49).

James Matheson 1825(14AR52).

518. Melvick (B)

P. Reay

Caithness

Melvick 1819(9AR50)

Arthur Forbes 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 105 - 59m and 46f @ 7/68 yrs and 17E1, 58NT and 30B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 78 - 52m and 26f @ 5/40 yrs and 13E1, 65NT and 80T(9AR50-51).

519. Mialavaig (Q)

P. Duirinish

Skye

Mialavai 1847(37AR23)

Thomas Noble 1846 with 34, 1847 with 28, 1848 with 29(36AR25, 37AR23, 38AR21); 1852 with 54 - 30m and 24f, 1853 with 71 - 33m and 41f, 1854 with 34 - 11m and 23f(42AR23, 43AR29, 44AR25).

520. Miavaig (N)

P. Harris

Harris

Donald McDonald 1853 with 18 - 10m and 8f, 1854 with 23 - 13m and 10f, 1855 with 61 - 38m and 23f(43AR29, 44AR25, 45AR23).

521. Micklie (F)

P. Urquhart

Inverness

James Fraser 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 70 - 41m and 29f @ 4/18, ss(6AR 34-35).

522. Midstrome (E) P. Lochalsh Inverness

Donald McDiarmid 1840-1841 with 51, 1841-1842 with 56 and 1842-1843 with 61(30AR22, 31AR34, 32AR38).

523. Mirdol (D) P. Creich Sutherland

Magdalene Sutherland 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 98 - 38m and 60f @ 4/48 yrs and 34E1, 41NT and 23B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 72 - 29m and 43f @ 3/30 yrs and 30E1, 20NT and 22OT(9AR50-51).

524. Mingary (I) P. Ardnamurchan Inverness

Mingray 1818(8AR44)

Donald Cameron 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 46 - 27m and 19f @ 5/21 yrs and 17E1, 17NT and 12B(8AR44-45).

525. Monkcastle (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

Monk Castle 1827(6AR52)

Peter MacEwan 2/12/1812 and by 3/5/1813 with 40(2AR42, 3AR44); 1/6/1814 and 5/9/1814 with 25 and closed 30/11/1815(5AR5, 102).

William Urquhart 30/10/1826 with 100(16AR8, 52); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 56 - 27m and 29f and 12E1 and 44B(18AR52-53); 1829 and 1830 with 128 - 79m and 49f and 47E1 and 81NT/B(18AR56, 19AR56-57).

526. Montach (A) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Monlach 1824(14AR48)

Hugh Dewar 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 61 - 28m and 33f(14AR48-49); 1825 (14AR52).

527. Moorfield (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

John Corbet 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 63 - 31m and 32f and 26E1 and 37B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 53 - 26m and 27f and 7E1 and 46B(14AR48-49).

528. Morness (D) P. Rogart Sutherland

George Gordon 1/12/1828 with 73 and 59 there(18AR28); 18/3/1829 with 62 and 54 there - 9E1, 6Sp, 7Sc/Ex, 13NT and 19OT(19AR30); 1830 with 92 - 22m and 70f(25 adult) and 33E1 and 59NT/B(19AR56-57); 1831 with 101 - 27m and 74f(32 adult) and 25E1 and 76NT/B(20AR52-53).

529. Morvich (G) P. Glenshiel Ross

Alexander Cameron 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 49 - 20m and 29f and 6E1 and 43B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 38 - 19m and 19f and 9E1 and 29B(14AR48-49).

Angus McNeill 1848 with 25, 1849 with 30 - 15m and 15f, 1850 with 41 - 25m and 16f(38AR20, 39AR24, 40AR20).

530. Mossfield (F) P. Rosskeen Ross

Alexander McKay 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 57 - 19m and 38f @ 5/28 yrs and 15E1, 25NT and 17OT(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64)

Walter Campbell 1852 with 54 - 27m and 27f(42AR22)

531. Mountgerald (F) P. Kiltearn Ross

Duncan Black 1856 with 27 - 17m and 10f, 1857 with 32 - 19m and 13f, 1858 with 31 - 19m and 12f, 1859 with 27 - 14m and 13f(46AR14, 47AR14, 48AR14, 49AR14).

532. Muck (R) P. Small Isles Muck

Monk 1815(5AR101)

William Walker November, 1812 and by 20/3/1813 with 60 and closed November, 1813(2AR42, 3AR59, 70).

Hugh McDonald 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 15 and 1817(6AR36-37, 39).

John McIver September, 1832 and by 1833 with 29 - 9m and 20f with 5E1

and 24NT/B(24AR32, 22AR41, 23AR43); 1833-1834, 1834-1835, 1835-1836
and 1836-1837(23AR44, 24AR49, 25AR40, 26AR63).

533. Mugary (Q)

P. Portree

Skye

Mugarry 1848(38AR13)

P. South Uist 1844(38AR39); P. Snizort 1847(37AR23)

Alexander Chisholm 1831 with 44 - 20m and 24f and 42E1 and 2NT/B(20AR
54-55).

Ebenezer Rose 1832 with 34 - 11m and 23f and 21E1 and 13NT/B(22AR38-39);
1833 with 25 - 11m and 14f and 6E1 and 19NT/B(23AR43).

Alexander McMillan 1834-1835, 1835-1836, 1836-1837(24AR49, 25AR40, 26AR
63).

John McLean 1842-1843 with 31(32AR39).

Walter McKay 1843-1844 with 36 and 1844 with 40(33AR39, 34AR25).

Nicol Nicolson 1847 with 27 and 1848 with 26 and supported by St. George's
F.C., Edinburgh(37AR23, 38AR21).

534. Muie (P)

P. Rogart

Sutherland

George Gordon 1843-1844 with 61, 1844 with 56, 1845 with 67(33AR38, 34AR
24, 35AR54).

Malcolm McKenzie 1848 with 32(38AR20).

535. Muirshiallich (G)

P. Kilmalie

Inverness

Muirshiallich 1815(6AR32); Muirshiolich 1825(14AR52); Muirshiollaich
1824(15AR38); Muirshiolich 1827(16AR52); Muirshiollaich 1828(18AR46).

Duncan Campbell November, 1812 and by 11/5/1813 with 58 - 20E1, 7Ps, 16
NT and 15B(2AR42, 3AR50); school closed November, 1813(3AR70).

Duncan McDonald 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 100 - 50m and 50f and 18E1 and
82B(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52).

536. Multree (F)

P. Alness

Ross

Donald Hood 1831 with 33 - 20m and 13f(20 adult) and 6E1 and 27NT/B(20AR52)

537. Nerabus (T) P. Bowmore Islay

P. Portnahaven 1842(31AR35); P. Kilchoman 1847(37AR23)

Donald Hood 1840-1841 with 101, 1841-1842 with 97 and 1842-1843 with 75(30AR23, 31AR35, 32AR39).

Angus McFarlane 1847 with 47, 1848 with 46, 1849 with 35 - 17m and 18f, 1850 with 51 - 25m and 26f, 1851 with 50 - 25m and 25f, 1852 with 50 - 1853 with 30 - 20m and 10f, 1854 with 10 - 4m and 6f, 1855 with 23 - 10m and 13f(37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25, 40AR21, 41AR25, 42AR23, 43AR29, 44AR25, 45AR23).

538. Ness (M) P. Barvas Lewis

P. Stornoway 1820(10AR58)

Angus McLeod 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 114 - 92m and 22f(6AR36-37); 1817 (6AR39); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 121 - 32E1, 52Ps, 37B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 174(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 100 - 76m and 24f @ 6/46 yrs(10AR62-63).

539. Ness (M) P. Cross Lewis

Kenneth McPherson 1853 with 72 - 30m and 42f(43AR28).

540. Nether Tout (Q) P. Snizort Skve

Nethertout 1823(12AR63)

Peter McLeod 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 73 - 44m and 29f @ 4/60 yrs and 15E1 and 58B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 63 - 32m and 31f and 6E1 and 57B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 73 - 46m and 27f and 22E1 and 51B(14AR50-51).

541. New Station (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

Donald Matheson 1827(16AR52)

542. Noid (H) P. Kingussie Inverness

James Davidson 1830 with 30 - 19m and 11f(2 adult) and 14E1 and 16NT/B (19AR56-57); 1831 with 32 - 19m and 13f(2 adult) and 8E1 and 24NT/B(20AR52-53).

543. North Aradale (C) P. Gairloch Ross

John McDonald 1832 with 32 - 9m and 23f and 5E1 and 27NT/B(22AR36-37); 1833 with 104 - 59m and 45f and 64E1 and 37NT/B(23AR42).

544. North Galson (M) P. Barvas Lewis

Alexander McLeod 1840-1841 with 48 and a Goverment Church area school (30AR22)

545. North Haiklet (O) P. Benbecula Benbecula

P. South Uist 1832(22AR40)

Donald Cameron 1831 with 36 - 24m and 12f and 30E1 and 6NT/B(20AR54-55); 1832 with 22 - 15m and 7f(22AR38-39); 1832-1833(22AR40).

546. North Sand (C) P. Gairloch Ross

William Urquhart 1832 with 102 - 46m and 56f and 42E1 and 60NT/B(22AR36-37)

547. North Uist (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Saund 1815(5AR78)

Alexander MacLeod November, 1812 with 13, then 23(2AR42, 3AR14, 56).

Alexander MacDonald and school closed November, 1813(3AR70)

548. Octavoulin (T) P. Bowmore Islay

Neil McLean 1825(14AR53)

Duncan Ferguson 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 72 - 34m and 38f and 21E1 and 51B (16AR50-51).

Donald Hood 1834-1835 with 53, 1835-1836, 1836-1837(24AR49, 34, 25AR40, 26AR63).

549. Octnaclach (T)P. BowmoreIslay

Octnaclach 1838(28AR30); Octnaclath 1839(29AR33); Octnaclath 1840(30AR23)

P. Kilmeny 1837(27AR31)

Allan Ross 1829 and 1830 with 210 - 78m and 132f(5 adults)and 125E1 and 85B(19AR58-59)

Donald McDonald 1837 with 138(27AR31); 1839-1840 with 80 and 1840-1841 with 44 as a Government Church area school(29AR33, 30AR23).

550. Ord (R)P. SleatSkye

Malcolm McCorquidale 1858 with 31 - 20m and 11f, 1859 with 29 - 19m and 10f, 1860 with 21 - 11m and 10f(48AR15, 49AR15, 50AR19)

551. Orinsay (N)P. LochsLewis

Malcolm Buchanan 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 44 - 37m and 7f @ 5/45 yrs and 2E1 and 42B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 28 - 22m and 6f and 2E1 and 26B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 18 - 11m and 7f (14AR50-51).

552. Oskamul (S)P. KilmoreMull

John Fraser 1831 with 58 - 25m and 33f(4 adult) and 46E1 and 12NT/B (20AR54-55); 1832 with 44 - 21m and 23f and 11E1 and 33NT/B and closed May, 1832(22AR38-39).

553. Ospisdale (D)P. CreichSutherland

Donald Macleod 30/11/1815(5AR100).

William Gordon 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 76 - 43m and 33f @ 4/36 yrs and 33E1, 21NT and 22B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 46 - 24m and 36NT (sic)(9AR50-51).

554. Pabby (N)P. HarrisHarris

Murdoch McLeod 1836-1837, 1836 with 49 and 1837-1838 and closed
15/5/1838 with 45(26AR63, 27AR31, 33, 28AR29).

555. Paible (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Payble 1855(45AR16)

Niel Gillies 1850 with 97 - 42m and 55f(40AR21); 1851 with 98 - 50m
and 48f, 1852 with 107 - 42m and 65f, 1853 with 62 - 37m and 25f, 1854
with 32 - 16 m and 16f, 1855 with 30 - 13m and 17f, 1856 with 69 - 36m
and 33f(41AR25, 42AR23, 43AR29, 44AR25, 45AR23, 46AR15).

556. Pans (L) P. Campbeltown Argyle

Salt Pans 1824(13AR50)

Ewen McMaster 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 48 - 23m and 25f and 23El and
15B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 44 - 19m and 25f and 20El and
24B(14AR48-49).

557. Penboray (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Alexander McDonald 1840-1841 with 40 and 1841-1842 as a Government
Church area school(30AR23, 31AR35).

558. Penmore (S) P. Kilmore Mull

John Dewar 1831 with 80 - 34m and 46f and 42El and 38NT/B(20AR54-55);
1832 with 83 - 46m and 37f and 25El and 58NT/B(22AR38-39); 1833 with
21m and 60f and 30El and 51NT/B(23AR43).

559. Pennickvannan (Q) P. Kilmuir Skye

Penneckvannan 1815(5AR79)

Donald Munro July, 1815 with 31 and 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 42 @ 4/16
yrs(5AR40, 6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39).

560. Petty (F) P. Petty Inverness

Alexander Kennedy 1857 with 47 - 26m and 21f, 1858 with 79 - 50m and 29f, 1859 with 47 - 26m and 21f, 1860 with 62 - 36m and 26f(47AR14, 48AR14, 49AR14, 50AR18).

561. Pitmadothie (F) P. Logie Easter Ross

Pilmadothie 1822(12AR54); Pitmaduthy 1822(13AR58)

George Gordon 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 59 - 33m and 26f @ 4/35 yrs and 27El and 32B(12AR58-59).

562. Pittentrail (D) P. Rogart Sutherland

George Gordon 1846 with 37(36AR24)

563. Plocrepul (N) P. Harris Harris

Plockrepool 1841(30AR23); Plocopol 1841(31AR30)

Norman McLennan 1839-1840 with 42, 1840-1841 with 27 and 1841-1842 with 19(29AR33, 30AR23, 31AR35).

564. Pollew (C) P. Gairloch Ross

Alexander McKay 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 53 - 21m and 32f and 24El and 29B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 49 - 21m and 28f and 5El and 44B(14AR48-49).

565. Pollglass (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

Duncan Morison 1839-1840 with 150 as a Government Church area school (29AR32); 1840-1841 with 160 and 1841-1842 with 79(30AR22, 31AR34).

566. Polnish (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Duncan Ferguson 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 40 - 26m and 14f and 18El and 22B(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

567. Portavada (I) P. Morvern Argyle

Portavado 1826(16AR48); Portavata 1827(16AR27)

John McPherson November, 1824 and by July, 1825 with 38 - 17m and 21f @ 7/12 yrs(14AR52, 15AR26).

Donald McLachlan 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 63 - 33m and 30f and 24E1 and 39B(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52).

568. Port Charlotte (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

John McSween 1835-1836, 1836-1837, 1837 with 116, 1837-1838(25AR40, 26AR63, 27AR31, 33).

569. Port Henderson (E) P. Gairloch Ross

Nicol Nicolson 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 44 @ 6/33 yrs(6AR34-35); 1817 (6AR38).

Hugh Fraser 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 58 - 33m and 25f @ 5/36 yrs and 8E1 and 50B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 60 - 36m and 24f @ 5/39 yrs and 17E1, 24NT, 190T(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 53 - 32m and 21f @ 4/39 yrs and 9E1, 19NT, 250T(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64).
Angus McLeod 1843-1844 with 85 and 1844 with 101 and 1845 with 101 and 1846 with 87(33AR38, 34AR24, 35AR54, 36AR24).

570. Portmahomac (P) P. Tarbet Ross

Portmahomack 1841(30AR22)

P. Tarbat 1847(37AR22)

Angus McNeill July, 1839 and by 1839-1840 with 101, 1840-1841 with 109, 1841-1842 with 103(31AR27, 29AR32, 30AR22, 31AR34).

Donald McLean 1847 with 139, 1848 with 105(37AR22, 38AR20)

Donald McGillivray 1853 with 40 - 13m and 27f, 1854 with 38 - 13m and 25f(43AR28, 44AR24)

571. Portree (Q) P. Portree Skye

Portree Village 1837(27AR31)

Ebenezer Rose 1830 with 66 - 31m and 35f(2 adult) and 64E1 and 2B(19AR

58-59); 1831 with 121 - 61m and 60f(5 adult) and 100E1 and 21NT/B(20 AR54-55).

Alexander McMillan 1832 with 53 - 23m and 30f and 19E1 and 34NT/B(22 AR38-39); 1833 with 26 - 15m and 11f and 9E1 and 17NT/B(23AR43); 1837 with 61, 1837-1838, 1838 with 39 and 1838-1839(27AR31, 28AR29-30)
Angus Munro 1843-1844 with 78 and 1844 with 38(33AR39; 34AR25)

572. Portskerra (8) P. Reay Sutherland

Portskerry 1824(31AR34)

George Gordon 1839-1840 with 124, 1840-1841 with 101, 1841-1842 with 101(29AR32, 30AR22, 31AR34).

573. Posen (K) P. Kintraw Argyle

Little is known about this school apart from a mention in 1836(26AR25).

574. Printfield Bridge of Don Aberdeen

This school was planned September, 1814 for poor cotton workers and opened 22/11/1814(4AR24, 43). The last reference to it was 9/8/1816 (6AR22).

575. Quidinish (N) P. Harris Harris

Norman McLennan 1832-1833 and 1833 with 24 - 11m and 13f and 1E1 and 23NT/B(22AR40, 23AR43); 1833-1834 and 1834-1835(23AR44, 24AR49).

Donald McDonald 1847 with 45, 1848 with 38, 1849 with 26 - 7m and 19f (37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25).

576. Rabreak (D) P. Creich Sutherland

Rabhreak 1848(38AR20); Rabhreck 1850(39AR12)

Roderick McLeod 1847 with 42 and 1848 with 33(37AR22, 38AR20); 1849 with 33 - 13m and 20f and supported by St. George's F.C., Edinburgh (34AR24).

577. Raites (G) P. Kilmallie Inverness

P. Alvie 1828(17AR60)

James Mathieson 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 51 - 27m and 24f and 25E1
and 26B(18AR52-53).

578. Ramsaig (Q) P. Duffin Skye

Ramsaig 1856(46AR9); Ramsag 1857(47AR15)

Andrew Noble with 30 in 1855 - 22m and 8f, 1856 with 34 - 22m and 12f,
1857 with 31 - 22m and 9f(45AR23, 46AR15, 47AR15).

579. Ranigadale (N) P. Harris Harris

Ranigadale 1823(13AR37); Raingedel 1850(40AR21); Rangedel 1851(41AR25);
Raingedale 1855(45AR21).

P. Tarbert 1850(40AR21)

John Shaw 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 48 - 25m and 23f and 2E1 and 46B
(14AR50-51).

Ranald McDonald 1825(14AR53)

Duncan Morrison 1850 with 61 - 30m and 31f, 1851 with 62 - 35m and 27f,
1852 with 60 - 27m and 23f(40AR21, 41AR25, 42AR23).

Malcolm McKay 1855 with 39 - 22m and 17f, 1856 with 28 - 16m and 12f,
1857 with 14 - 9m and 5f, 1858 with 18 - 11m and 7f(45AR23, 46AR15,
47AR15, 48AR15).

580. Ranish (M) P. Lochs Lewis

John Shaw 1841-1842 with 67 and 1842-1843 with 38(31AR35, 32AR38)

John McLean 1851 with 52 - 33m and 19f, 1852 with 71 - 41m and 30f,
1853 with 71 - 41m and 30f(41AR24, 42AR22, 43AR28).

581. Redarch (A) P. Glenelg Inverness

Redarroch 1827(17AR40); Ridarrach 1827(17AR56)

Duncan McCallum 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 21 - 14E1 and 7B(16AR48-49)

Dugald McInnes 1827(16AR52)

Allan McQueen 1834-1835 with 63 and 1835-1836(24AR19, 49, 25AR40)

582. Reiff (Q) P. Uig Skye

Hector Morison 1840-1841 with 101, 1841-1842 with 101, 1842-1843 with 100(30AR22, 31AR34, 32AR38).

583. Rhuighuil (D) P. Edderton Ross

John McPherson 1832 with 33 - 16m and 17f and 10E1 and 23NT/B(22AR36-37); 1833 with 38 - 19m and 19f and 8E1 and 30NT/B(23AR42).

584. Rhumdunan (R) P. Bracadale Skye

Rhoudeenun 1849(39AR25); Rheudunan 1850(40AR21)

Donald Cameron 1842-1843 with 20, 1843-1844 with 15(32AR39, 33AR39)
Hugh Urquhart 1849 with 19 - 9m and 10f, 1850 with 23 - 10m and 13f, 1851 with 19 - 9m and 10f, 1852 with 13 - 7m and 6f(39AR25, 40AR21, 41AR25, 42AR23).

585. Riff (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

Angus Macleod 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 90 - 47m and 43f @ 5/35 yrs and 28E1 and 62B(12AR58-59); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 81 - 42m and 39f and 14E1 and 67B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 80 - 40m and 64B (14AR48-49).

586. Roag (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

John Macleod November, 1812 and 29/11/1814(2AR10, 42, 4AR49)

587. Robolls (T) P. Kilmeny Islay

Finlay McFarlane 1854 with 21 - 12m and 9f(44AR25)

Duncan Morrison 1856 with 45 - 21m and 24f and 1857 with 22 - 18m and 4f (46AR15, 47AR15)

588. Rockfield (D) P. Tarbat Ross

Donald McLean 1844 with 58 and 1845 with 43 and supported by Lady Anderson(34AR24, 35AR34); 1846 with 38(36AR24).

589. Rockside (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

Donald McLean 1857 with 75 - 44m and 31f and 1858 with 60 - 35m and 25f(47AR15, 48AR15).

590. Roggie (F) P. Todderty Ross

Rhogie 1819(9AR50); Rhoggie 1820(10AR57)

William Macdonald 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 50 - 25m and 25f @ 5/26 yrs and 7E1 and 43NT/B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 71 - 25m and 46f @ 6/28 yrs and 21E1 and 24NT and 26OT(9AR50-51).

591. Rona (Q) P. Cortree Rona

Caolis Rona 1836(26AR63)

Skye 1817(8AR46)

Angus MacDonald 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 38 - 20m and 18f @ 5/32 yrs and 20G, 10NT and 8B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 36 - 20m and 16f @ 5/37 yrs and 11E1, 7NT and 18B(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 35 - 20m and 15f @ 5/41 yrs and 9E1 and 26NT/B(10AR62-63).

John McDougall November, 1832, 1833 with 38 - 25m and 13f and 13E1 and 25NT/B(22AR41, 23AR43); 1833-1834, 1834-1835-1836-1837(23AR44, 24AR49, 25AR40, 26AR63).

John McLean 1843-1844 with 32, 1844 with 32, 1845 with 21(33AR39, 34AR25, 35AR55).

John McLeod 1848 with 28, 1849 with 21 - 11m and 11f, 1850 with 19 - 11m and 8f, 1851 with 22 - 11m and 11f, 1852 with 23 - 12m and 11f(38AR21, 39AR25, 40AR21, 41AR25, 42AR23).

592. Ronay (O) P. North Uist Ronay

P. Boreray 1824(15AR39)

Hugh Barnet 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 65 - 48m and 17f and 25E1 and 40B

(14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53).

593. Ronay (Q) P. Portree Raasay

Isle of Ronay 1828(18AR49)

Murdoch McMillan 1827(16AR53)

594. Rue Arisaig (G) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Rhue 1826(16AR48)

Hugh Dewar 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 64 - 32m and 32f and 33E1 and 31B
(16AR48-49).

Donald Jamieson 1827(16AR52).

595. Ruive (C) P. Lochbroom Ross

John McLeod 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 52 - 27m and 25f @ 6/35 yrs and
20E1, 28NT and 4B(8AR44-45); 1819(8AR48)

596. Rum (R) P. Small Isles Rum

Kinloch 1832(24AR31)

Murdoch Ross 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 34 - 23m and 11f @ 6/50 yrs and
16E1 and 18B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 26 - 14m and 12f and
2E1 and 24B(13AR48-49).

Alexander McDonald 1832-1833 and 1833 with 21 - 12m and 9f and 8E1 and
13NT/B(22AR41); 1833-1834(23AR43-44).

597. Rumigary (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Rumigary 1835(24AR49)

John McLeod June, 1833 and 1833-1834 with 32, 1834-1835, 1835-1836 and
1836-1837(24AR26, 49, 23AR44, 25AR40, 26AR63).

598. St. Kilda (M) P. Harris St. Kilda

Alexander McKenzie 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 44 - 26m and 18f @ 6/60 yrs and 35E1 and 9B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 55 - 35m and 20f and 6E1 and 29B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 28 - 19m and 9f and 6E1 and 22B(14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53); 1/11/1825-1/11/1826 with 35 - 13m and 22f and 35B(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 53 - 33m and 20f and 53B(18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57).

599. Salem (P) P. Coll/Tiree Tiree

East End 1812(2AR42); West End 1813(3AR61)

Archibald Campbell November, 1812 with 72 and 14/8/1813(2AR42, 3AR17-18, 61).

James Budge 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 61 - 33m and 28f(6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39).

600. Salen (I) P. Ardnamurchan Atayle

Hugh Dewar summer, 1815 and 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 62 - 41m and 21f(6AR34-35); 1817(6AR38).

601. Salen (S) P. Torosay Mull

This school is listed as closed by November, 1818(8AR43).

John Fraser 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 32 - 19m and 13f and 13E1 and 32B(sic)(16AR50-51); 1827(16AR63).

602. Sallachie (E) P. Lochalsh Inverness

Sallachy 1840(29AR32)

Roderick McLeod 1838 with 95 and 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 with 71 and 1840-1841 with 31(28AR28, 30, 29AR32, 30AR22).

603. Saltburn (F) P. Rosskeen Ross

Donald Fowler 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 95 - 49m and 46f and 65E1 and 30B(14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52).

604. Samadalene (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

Samadalane 1836(25AR40)

Duncan Cameron 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 39 - 22m and 17f and 8B1 and 31 B(13AR46-47);

Ronald McDonald 1824(13AR50).

Donald Murray 1834-1835 with 66 and only 4 read(24AR19, 49); 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63).

605. Samardale (Q) P. Bracadale Skye

Norman McLeod 1/11/1825-1/11/1826 with 48 - 23m and 25f and 11B1 and 37B(16AR50-51).

606. Sand of Udrigill (C) P. Cairloch Ross

Sand of Udrigill 1822(12AR58-59)

Hugh Fraser 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 130 - 74m and 56f @ 5/30 yrs with 47B1 and 83B(12AR58-59); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 141 - 72m and 69f and 24B1 and 117B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 85 - 46m and 39f and 12B1 and 73B(14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52).

607. Sundaig (a) P. Glenelg Inverness

Sundaig 1816(6AR34-35)

Duncan Campbell 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 49 @ 7/26 yrs(6AR34-35); 1817(6AR38).

Donald McKinnon 1838 with 40, 1838-1839, 1839-1840 with 32(28AR28, 30, 29AR32).

608. Sundaig (P) P. Coll/Tiree Tiree

Donald McDonald 1835-1836, 1836-1837, 1837 with 52, 1837-1838(25AR40, 26AR63, 27AR31, 33).

609. Sandavore (R) P. Small Isles Bigg

Sandivore 1835(24AR49)

Alexander Cameron 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 28 - 17m and 11f @ 4/29 yrs and 12E1 and 16B(12AR60-61).

Archibald Campbell 1834-1835 with 41(21AR49, 32).

Donald MacInnon 1841-1842 with 51 and 1842-1843 with 61(31AR35, 32AR 39).

610. Sandra (P) P. Barra Sandra

Fergus Ferguson 1823(12AR63)

611. Sandwick (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

Shandwick 1856(45AR13)

Angus McNeil 1851 with 100 - 57m and 43f, 1852 with 86 - 49m and 37f, 1853 with 77 - 35m and 42f, 1854 with 56 - 32m and 24f, 1855 with 101 - 55m and 46f, 1856 with 85 - 44m and 4kf(41AR25, 42AR23, 43AR29, 44AR24, 45AR22, 46AR14).

612. Sannakmhor (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

Sanakmhor 1850(39AR11)

Alexander McDonald 1847 with 17, 1848 with 33, 1849 with 36 - 22m 14f, 1850 with 35 - 25m and 10f(37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25, 40AR2k).

613. Sasaig (R) P. Sleat Skye

P. Bracadale 1819(9AR49)

Donald McGilvray 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 57 - 39m and 18f @ 5/28 yrs and 16NT and 41E1(6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39).

614. Saund (C) P. Gairloch Ross

Sand 1825(16AR48)

Nicol Nicolson summer, 1813 with 76 and closed November, 1814(3AR45, 69, 4AR50).

John Shaw 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 36 - 22m and 14f and 36B(16AR48-49);
John McDonald 1836-1837 and 1837 with 43, 1837-1838 and 1838 with 42
(26AR63, 27AR30, 33, 28AR28).

William Urquhart Jnr 1842-1843 with 71, 1843-1844 with 41 and 1844
with 43(32AR38, 33AR38, 34AR24).

615. Scadabay (N) P. Harris Harris

Angus McLean 1845 with 30, 1846 with 38, 1847 with 32, 1848 with 37
(35AR55, 36AR25, 37AR23, 38AR21).

616. Scalastle (S) P. Torosay Mull

Donald Cameron 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 28 - 20m and 8f @ 4/15 yrs(6AR
36-37); 1817(6AR39)

617. Scalpa (R) P. Strath Scalpa

P. Harris 1847(37AR23)

Norman Bruce 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 50 - 22m and 28f and 8E1 and 42B
(14AR50-51).

Malcolm Nicolson 1825(14AR53).

Norman McLennan 1847 with 21(37AR23).

Duncan Morrison 1858 with 101 - 53m and 48f, 1859 with 101 - 57m and
44f, 1860 with 60 - 34m and 26f(48AR15, 49AR15, 50AR19)

618. Scarabus (T) P. Kilarow Islay

P. Kildalton 1844(34AR25)

Donald Hood 1843-1844 with 66, 1844 with 44 and 1845 with 54(33AR39,
34AR25, 35AR55).

619. Scarinish (P) P. Coll/Tiree Tiree

P. Small Isles 1823(13AR48)

Lachlan Black 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 53 - 34m and 19f and 28E1 and

25B(14AR50-51)

Duncan McDougall 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 91 - 39m and 52f and 38E1
and 53B(14AR50-51)

Malcolm McNeil 1825(14AR53).

620. Scarista (N) P. Harris Harris

Scarasta 1827(17AR57)

Fergus Ferguson 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 56 - 39m and 17f and 22E1
and 34B(16AR50-51).

621. Scarp (N) P. Harris Scarp

John Shaw 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 33 - 19m and 14f @ 5/33 yrs and
9E1 and 24B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 33 - 18m and 15f
and 3E1 and 30B(13AR48-49).

Murdoch McDonald 1830 with 42 - 22m and 20f(18 adult) and 21E1 and
21B(19AR58-59); 1831 with 54 - 23m and 31f and 18E1 and 36NT/B(20AR
54-55); 1832 with 28 - 13m and 15f and 19E1 and 9NT/B(sic)(22AR38-39)

Angus McLean 1837 with 55, 1837-1838, 1838 with 49, 1838-1839, 1839-
1840 with 47(27AR31, 33, 28AR29-30, 29AR33).

Malcolm McKenzie 1844 with 43 and 1845 with 26 and supported by Lady
Anderson(34AR25, 35AR55).

Donald McDonald 1850 with 21 - 5m and 16f, 1851 with 29 - 15m and 14f,
1852 with 17m and 11f(40AR21, 41AR25, 42AR23).

622. Scatwell (F) P. Contin Ross

Scatwel 1820(10AR56)

James Munro 2/11/1822 with 24 @ 5/25 yrs and closed November, 1813
(2AR6-7, 29, 3AR70).

623. Sconser (Q) P. Portree Skye

Sconcer 1819(8AR49); Sconsur 1856(46AR15)

Malcolm Nicolson 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 66 - 51m and 15f @ 5/26

and 21E1, 36NT and 9b(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 50 - 35m and 15f @ 6/24 yrs and 8E1, 23NT/B and 19B(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 33 - 26m and 7f @ 5/20 yrs and 5E1, 14NT and 14B(10AR62-63) Malcolm McRitchie 1829 and 1830 with 168 - 107m and 61f(53 adult) and 67E1 and 99B(19AR58-59).

Fergus Ferguson 1831 with 70 - 36m and 34f(7 adult) and 26E1 and 44 NT/B(20AR54-55).

Walter McKay 1856 with 90 - 44m and 46f(46AR15); 1857 with 42 - 25m and 17f; 1858 with 34 - 23m and 11f(47AR15, 48AR15).

624. Scorr (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

Andrew Noble 1858 with 25 - 12m and 13f and 1859 with 23 - 10m and 13f(48AR15, 49AR15).

625. Scourie (A) P. Edderachillis Sutherland

Scoury 1827(17AR42); Scouriemore 1828(17AR60)

George Campbell 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 70 - 24m and 46f and 9E1 and 61b(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 33 - 16m and 17 f and 4E1 and 29B(18AR52-53).

626. Scarba (K) P. Jura Scarba

Scarba 1822(12AR60)

Archibald McCallum 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 24 - 11m and 13f @ 5/70 yrs and 5E1 and 19B(12AR60-61).

627. Sgianaidin (Q) P. Duirinish Skye

Thomas Noble 1858 with 55 - 26m and 29f, 1859 with 65 - 30m and 35f, 1860 with 29 - 6m and 23f(48AR15, 49AR15, 50AR19).

628. Sgigursta (M) P. Barvas Lewis

Skigursta 1849(39AR24)

P. Cross 1849(39AR24)

Malcolm Morison with 42 in 1838 and 1838-1839 and 1839-1840(28AR28, 30, 29AR33).

Murdo McPherson 1848 with 38, 1849 with 39 - 25m and 14f, 1850 with 61 - 40m and 21f, 1851 with 88 - 53m and 35f(38AR20, 39AR24, 40AR20, 41AR24).

Donald McDonald 1859 with 50 - 24m and 26f, 1860 with 50 - 23m and 27f (49AR15, 50AR19).

629. Shabost (M) P. Lochs Lewis

Shawbost 1817(7AR6)

Donald Mackenzie summer, 1815 with 15 and by September, 1815 with 48 and 30/11/1815(5AR36-37, 101).

Donald Munro 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 50 @ 5/44 yrs and 1817(6AR36-38, 39).

Murdo McDonald 1850 with 14 - 7m and 7f, 1851 with 57 - 22m and 35f, 1852 with 46 - 9m and 37f(40AR20, 41AR24, 42AR22).

630. Shadir (M) P. Barvas Lewis

Neil Murray 2nd(sic) 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 56 - 43m and 13f @ 6/35 yrs and 11E1, 26Ps, 9NT and 10B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 84 - 67m and 17f @ 6/37 yrs and 9E1, 9Ps, 50NT and 16B(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 109 - 92m and 17f @ 5/37 yrs and 2E1, 107NT/B (10AR62-63).

John Munro 1835-1836, 1836-1837, 1837 with 73, 1837-1838 and 10/12/1838 with 45 - 10E1, 11NT and 24B(25AR40, 26AR63, 27AR30, 33, 28AR23); 1844 with 86, 1845 with 77 and 1816 with 54(34AR24, 35AR54, 36AR24).

Hector Morrison 1850 with 55 - 19m and 36f, 1851 with 94 - 41m and 53f, 1852 with 83 - 37m and 46f(40AR20, 41AR24, 42AR22); 1853 with 112 - 40m and 72f and 1854 with 56 - 15m and 41 and supported by the Aberdeen Auxiliary Association(43AR28, 44AR24).

John Munro 1857 with 97 - 43m and 54f, 1858 with 37 - 13m and 24f, 1859 with 36 - 18m and 18f, 1860 with 54 - 24m and 30f(47AR14, 48AR14, 49AR14, 50AR18).

631. Shadir (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

Donald Ross 1843-1844 with 33 and 1844 with 32(33AR38, 34AR25).

632. Shaddir (Q) P. Kilmuir Skve

Angus McLeod 1850 with 44 - 16m and 28f, 1851 with 44 - 10m and 34f
(40AR21, 41AR25).

633. Shebster (b) P. Reay Caithness

Arthur Forbes 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 46 - 28m and 18g and 5El and 41B
(14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52).

634. Shelibost (N) P. Harris Harris

Shelibost 1828(18AR48)

Donald Ross 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 35 - 29m and 6f and 9El and 26B
(14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53)

635. Sherramore (H) P. Laggan Inverness

Sheramore 1822(11AR54); Sheremore 1823(13AR43)

John McMillan 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 40 - 24m and 16f @ 5/38 yrs
and 12El, 23NT and 500T(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822
with 31 - 13m and 18f @ 5/40 yrs and 3El and 28B(12AR58-59).

636. Shesadder (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

Seshader 1848(38AR21); Seshadder 1849(39AR25)

P. Knock 1848(38AR21)

John Munro 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 46 - 27m and 19f and 5El and 41NT/B
(18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57).

Donald Ross 1836-1837(26AR63); 1837 with 26 and 1837-1838 as a Govern-
ment Church area school(27AR31, 33); 1848 with 24 and 1849 with 22(38
AR21, 39AR25).

637. Shiaba (S) P. Kilfinichen Mull

Shiabba 1840(29AR33)

John McDonald 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 29 - 21m and 8f @ 6/24 yrs
and 21E1 and 8B(12AR60-61)

James Matheson 1839-1840 with 50, 1840-1841 with 38, 1841-1842 with
37 and 1842-1843 with 38(29AR33, 30AR23, 31AR35, 32AR29)

638. Shieldernish (M) P. Lochs Lewis

Angus Macfarlane 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63)

639. Shikaving in Minginish (R) P. Bracadale Skye

Norman McLeod 1831 with 26 - 18m and 8f(2 adult) and 26E1(20AR54-55)

640. Shuna (T) P. Jura Colonsay

John McEachern 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 59 - 27m and 32f and 23E1
and 36NT/B(8AR46-47)

641. Shuna (K) P. Kilchattan Shuna

Alexander Grant 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 34 - 22m and 12f and 18E1
and 16NT/B(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65)

642. Shurriree (B) P. Reay Caithness

Shurirle 1825(16AR48); Shurrie 1828(18AR44); Shuriree 1828(18AR52)

Arthur Forbes 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 27 - 15m and 12f and 4E1 and
23B(16AR48-49); 1827(16AR52); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 27 - 10m and
7f and 5E1 and 22B(18AR52-53)

643. Skeabost (Q) P. Snizort Skye

Peter McLeod 1827(16AR53); with 21(17AR26)

644. Skeall (B) P. Reay Caithness

Skeal 1815(6AR32)

Arthur Forbes winter, 1813 with 50-60 @ 15/40 yrs(3AR36, 4AR2)

Duncan Forbes 29/11/1814 with 52 - 26m and 26f and closed November,
1815(4AR49, 5AR5-6, 102)

645. Skelibost (Q) P. Snizort Skye

Shelebost 1825(16AR50); Shelibost 1827(17AR57)

Peter McLeod 1825(14AR53); 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 69 - 40m and 29f
and 33E1 and 36B(16AR50-51)

646. Skelpic (b) P. Farr Sutherland

Skelpick 1818(8AR44); Skelpig 1827(17AR54)

Donald McLeod 20/9/1827 with 62(7AR5); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 126 -
46m and 80f @ 5/38 yrs and 35E1, 53NT and 38B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-
1/11/1819 with 65(9AR50-51)

647. Skiary (G) P. Glenelg Inverness

Malcolm McLeod 1829(18AR56)

648. Skiavaig (R) P. Bracadale Skye

Norman McLeod 1832 with 39 - 21m and 18f and 22E1 and 17NT/B(22AR38-39)

649. Skibba (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

Nicol Nicolson 1822 and 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 69 - 23m and 46f and
27E1 and 42B(11AR35, 14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53)

650. Skibbo (D) P. Dornoch Sutherland

Finlay McKay 1825(14AR52)

651. Sliastury (D) P. Creich Sutherland

Roderick McLeod 1857 with 19 - 6m and 13f, 1858 with 22 - 7m and 15f, 1859 with 19 - 8m and 11f, 1860 with 17 - 8m and 9f(47AR14, 48AR14, 49AR14, 50AR18)

652. Soarn (S) P. Kilninian Mull

Sorn 1846(36AR25)

P. Torosay 1821(11AR53); P. Kilfinichen 1845(35AR55); P. Kilmore 1846(36AR25)

Parlane McFarlan 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 55 - 53m and 2f and 15E1 and 40NT/B(9AR52-53); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 61 @ 6/17 yrs and 26E1 and 35NT/B(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65)

653. Solas (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Sollas 1840(30AR13)

Archibald McKinnon 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 173(sic) - 80m and 83f and 113E1 and 60B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 64 - 47m and 17f and 10E1 and 54B(14AR50-51)

John McLeod 1845 with 30, 1846 with 25 and 1847 with 27(35AR55, 36AR25, 37AR23)

654. Sound of Briska (O) P. South Uist South Uist

Donald Cameron 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 51 - 38m and 13f and 43E1 and 8B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 45 - 42m and 3f and 14E1 and 31B(14AR50-51)

655. South Aradale (C) P. Gairloch Ross

Nicol Nicolson 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 25(6AR34-35)

656. South Dell (M) P. Cross Lewis

P. Barvas 1843(33AR38)

Malcolm Morison 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63); 1837 with 71

and as a Government Church area school(27AR30); 1837-1838(27AR33)
 Murdoch McPherson 1843-1844 with 63 and 1844 with 63(33AR38, 34AR24)

657. South Haiklet (o) P. South Uist Benbecula

South Haklet 1840(29AR33)

South Uist 1837(27AR31)

Donald Cameron 1837 with 101, 1837-1838, 1838 with 62, 1838-1839 and
 1839-1840(27AR31, 33, 28AR29-30, 29AR33)

658. South Sand (c) P. Gairloch Ross

John Shaw 1827(16AR52)

John Montgomery 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 51 - 30m and 21f and 18E1 and
 63B(sic)(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56)

659. Spindale (D) P. Creich Sutherland

Spinningdale 1855(45AR22)

Roderick McLeod 1850 with 25 - 13m and 12f and supported by a lady in
 Calcutta(40AR20); 1851 with 82 - 32m and 50f, 1852 with 57 - 17m and
 40f, 1855 with 56 - 36m and 20f, 1856 with 12 - 5m and 7f(41AR24, 42AR22,
 45AR22, 46AR14)

660. Steinish (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

Steinish 1859(49AR12)

Angus McNeil 1857 with 37 - 23m and 14f(47AR14), 1858 with 30 - 21m
 and 9f, 1859 with 31 - 21m and 10f, 1860 with 32 - 19m and 13f(48AR15,
 49AR15, 50AR19)

661. Stein (Q) P. Waternish Skye

Lusta 1854(44AR16)

Norman McLeod 1852 with 25 - 8m and 17f, 1853 with 23 - 7m and 16f,

1854 with 33 - 13m and 20f, 1855 with 18 - 6m and 12f(43AR29, 44AR25, 45AR23)

662. Stensal (Q) P. Kilmuir Skye

Stenshal 1828(18AR54-55)

John McLeod 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 59 - 32m and 27f and 32El and 27B (16AR50-51); 1827(16AR53); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 69 - 45m and 24f and 63El and 6b(18AR54-55)

663. Stonibridge (O) P. South Uist South Uist

Stoneybridge 1824(14AR50)

Duncan Campbell 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 30 - 25m and 5f and 3El and 27B(14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53)

664. Strath Attadale (B) P. Reay Caithness

Strathalladale 1823(12AR36)

1823(12AR18)

665. Strathaird (R) P. Strath Skye

William McDonald 1860 with 28 - 11m and 17f(50AR19)

666. Strathan (C) P. Assynt Sutherland

Donald Macleod 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 44 - 20m and 24f @ 5/64 yrs and 29El and 15Sc/Ex(6AR34-35); 1817(6AR38); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 34 - 16m and 18f @ 6/64 yrs and 7El, 8NT and 19B(8AR44-45); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 45 - 28m and 17f @ 5/42 yrs and 12El and 33B(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 45 - 28m and 17f @ 5/42 yrs and 12El and 33B (10AR60-61)

667. Strathbrane (E) P. Contin Ross

Strathbron 1829(19AR34)

P. Kinlochmoidart 1834(24AR14)

David Ross 1/11/1813 and 25/7/1814 with 40(3AR47, 69, 4AR9); 14/3/1815 and 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 40 @ 4/24 yrs(5AR16, 6AR34-35)

Angus McLeod 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 60 - 26m and 34f and 39E1 and 21B(18AR52-53); 1829 and 1830(18AR56, 19AR56-57); 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(25AR40, 26AR63)

668. Strathconan (E) P. Contin Ross

James Munro 30/11/1813 and 29/11/1814 with 52 - 11Sc/Ex, 16Ps and 25NT and closed 30/11/1815(4AR48-49, 5AR16, 102)

669. Strathgarve (E) P. Contin Ross

Angus McLeod 1837 with 34 as a Government Church area school(27AR30); 1837-1838 and 1838-1839 and 1839-1840(27AR33, 28AR28, 30, 29AR32); 13/3/1839 with 50 and 47 there - 23E1, 8NT and 16B(29AR17)

670. Strathglas (E) P. Urquhart Inverness

Puncan Davidson 30/11/1815(15AR100)

671. Strathlochie (G) P. Kilmallie Inverness

James Matheson July, 1832 and by 1833 with 64 - 29m and 35f and 22E1 and 42NT/B(22AR40, 23AR42); 1833-1834, 1834-1835 and 1835-1836(23AR44, 24AR49, 25AR40)

672. Strathmore (R) P. Duirness Sutherland

Caithness 1815(6AR32)

J. Grant summer, 1814 and 28/9/1814 with 50(sic) - 22BkI/ps, 19NT and 11OT(4AR32, 3); 25/10/1815(5AR7, 68)

673. Strathrusdale (F) P. Rosskeen Ross

Alexander Mackay 1817(6AR38)

674. Strathsria (F)P. KiltearnRoss

Killearn 1819(9AR48)

David Ross 1817(6AR38)

675. Strathv (B)P. FarrSutherland

Donald Macleod 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 39 @ 5/30 yrs and 26E1 and 13NT (6AR34-35); 24/3/1817 with 49(7AR4); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 43 - 20m and 23f and 22E1 and 21B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 46 - 14m and 32f and 9E1 and 37B(14AR48-49).

676. Streens (F)P. ArdclachNairn

P. Calder 1816(6AR34)

William Macdonald 1/11/1815-1/11/1816(6AR34-35); 1817(6AR38)

677. Strolumus (R)P. StrathSkve

Norman MacLeod 1834-1835, 1835-1836 and 1836-1837(24AR31, 49, 25AR40, 26AR63)

678. Strome (E)P. LochcarronRoss

Donald McKenzie 1825 and 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 74 - 3m and 71f and 14E1 and 60B(14AR52, 16AR48-49).

679. Stronde (N)P. HarrisHarris

Stroud 1825(15AR11); Strond 1834(23AR44)

Alexander McKenzie 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 63 - 45m and 18f @ 5/38 yrs and 41E1 and 22B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 32 - 22m and 10f and 7E1 and 24B(sic)(13AR48-49)

Fergus Ferguson 1825 and 1827(14AR53, 16AR53); 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 33 - 15m and 18f and 17E1 and 16B(18AR54-55); June, 1833 and closed May, 1834 with 69(23AR44, 24AR25)

Norman McLennan 1844 with 92, 1845 with 29, 1846 with 30(34AR25, 35AR55, 36AR3)

680. Struan (Q) P. Bracadale Skye

Donald Mathieson 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 48 - 20m and 28f and 13E1 and 35B(13AR48-49); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 40 - 24m and 16f and 3E1 and 37B(14AR50-51)

681. Struy (E) P. Kilmorrach Inverness

Struybridge 1822(11AR54)

Duncan McDonald 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 64 - 53m and 11f @ 5/28 yrs and 30E1, 31NT and 300T(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64)

Alexander Dewar 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 52 - 35m and 17f @ 6/22 yrs and 14E1 and 38B(12AR58-59)

682. Swordal-Mhor (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Swordlemhor 1849(39AR24)

Duncan McPherson 1847 with 62, 1848 with 20 and 1849 with 32 - 14m and 18f(37AR22, 38AR20, 39AR24)

683. Swordlechaol (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Swordle 1833(22AR12)

John McLeod 1829(18AR56)

Hector Morison 1832 with 48 - 20m and 28f and 20E1 and 28NT/B and closed May, 1832(22AR36-37)

684. Swordlechorich (I) P. Ardnamurchan Argyle

Swordlehorrich 1824(15AR38); Swordlehorrach 1827(17AR56)

Duncan Ferguson 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 59 - 32m and 27f and 50E1 and 9B(14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52)

685. Swordly (B)P. FarrSutherland

Caithness 1822(12AR58)

Donald McLeod 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 81 - 28m and 53f @ 5/34 yrs and 23E1 and 58B(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 81 - 14m and 67f @ 6/42 yrs and 13E1, 56NT and 12OT(10AR60-61); 23/4/1821 with 78 @ 6/40 yrs(11AR24); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 43 - 6m and 37f @ 8/42 yrs(12AR58-59)

686. Taing (S)P. KilmoreMull

Tenzie 1820(10AR30)

Norman McLean 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 62 - 32m and 30f @ 5/37 yrs and 15E1, 23NT and 24B(10AR62-63).

Duncan Black 1821 and 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 45 - 19m and 26f @ 4'40 yrs and 8E1 and 37B(10AR65, 12AR60-61)

687. Talaskir (Q)P. BracadaleSkye

Norman McLeod 1837 with 34, 1837-1838, 1838 with 81, 1838-1839(27AR 31-32, 28AR29-30)

688. Tanara (C)P. LochbroomRoss

Tanara 1826(16AR26)

John McLeod 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 25 - 13m and 12f and 25B(16AR48-49)

689. Tapul (S)P. KilfinichenMull

Tapull 1824(13AR51)

Niel McPhail 12/9/1815 with 31 @ 4/50 yrs(5AR55, 101); 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 43 - 27m and 16f @ 5/20 yrs(6AR36-37); 15/9/1817 with 36 - 19m and 15f @ 6/17 yrs(7AR7); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 40 - 27m and 13f @ 6/17 yrs(9AR52-53)

John McDonald 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 16 - 10m and 6f and 4E1 and 12B(14AR50-51);

John McDougal 1838 with 48, 1838-1839, 1839-1840 with 43, 1840-1841

690. Taransay (N) P. Harris Taransay

Donald Munro 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 28 - 25m and 3f @ 4/30 yrs and 2E1 and 26B(12AR60-61).

Donald Ross 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 47 - 40m and 7f and 12E1 and 35 B(13AR48-49).

Angus McLean December, 1833 with 60, 1833-1834, 1834-1835, 1835-1836, 1836-1837(24AR25, 23AR44, 24AR49, 25AR40, 26AR63).

691. Tarbert (N) P. Harris Harris

Tarbet 1816(6AR36)

Andrew Ross 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 20(6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 18(8AR46-47).

Angus Macleod 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 23 - 15m and 8f(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

Murdoch McDonald June, 1832 and 1833 with 38 - 27m and 11f and 22E1 and 16NT/B(24AR24, 22AR40, 23AR43); 1833-1834 and closed May, 1834(23AR44, 24AR24).

692. Tarbert (T) P. Jura Jura

Malcolm MacNeil 1817(6AR39)

693. Tavara (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Walter Campbell 1860 with 58 - 29m and 29f(50AR19).

694. Tearus Raasay (Q) P. Portree Skye

Alexander McMillan 1853 with 22 - 8m and 14f(43AR29); 1854 with 21 - 8m and 13f(44AR25).

695. Tesque (R) P. Sleat Skye

Fergus Ferguson 1822(11AR55)

696. Thurso (B) P. Thurso Caithness

Donald Hood 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 92 - 59m and 33f and 30E1 and 62B(14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52).

697. Tighary (N I) P. North Uist North Uist

Tigharry 1827(17AR57)

Donald McDonald 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 73 - 60m and 13f @ 6/40 yrs and 10E1 and 63B(12AR60-61)

698. Tirergain (S) P. Kilfinichen Mull

Tiraragain 1842(31AR35); Tiraragai 1844(33AR39)

Duncan McArthur 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 31 - 17m and 14f @ 8/21 yrs and 22E1 and 9B(12AR60-61).

Duncan McCallum 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 28 - 14m and 14f and 15E1 and 13B(14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53).

John McDougall 1841-1842 with 42, 1842-1843 with 43, 1843-1844 with 56 and 1844 with 50(31AR35, 32AR39, 33AR39, 34AR25).

699. Tirlagan (I) P. Appin/Lismore Argyle

Tirligan 1823(13AR46)

P. Morvern 1824(14AR45)

Donald McLachlan 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 128 - 65m and 63f and 51E1 and 77B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 50 - 15m and 35f and 4E1 and 46B(14AR48-49).

700. Tobermory (S) P. Kilmore Mull

Tobermory Village 1844(33AR39)

P. Kilninian 1844(34AR25); P. Tobermory 1849(39AR25).

John McPhail 21/6/1821 with 73 - 36m and 40f(11AR55, 40); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 102 - 65m and 37f @ 4/26 yrs and 56E1 and 46B(12AR60-61)

Nicol Nicolson 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 92 - 46m and 46f and 36E1 and 56B(13AR48-49).

Duncan Black 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 39 - 21m and 18f and 11E1 and 28B(14AR50-51); 1825(14AR53); 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 96 - 53m and 43f and 68E1 and 28B(16AR50-51).

John Gillanders 1842-1843 with 177, 1843-1844 with 212, 1844 with 268, 1845 with 105(32AR39, 33AR39, 34AR25, 34AR55).

Donald McDiarmid 1847 with 57 and 1848 with 60, 1849 with 30 - 29m and 1f, 1850 with 27 - 25m and 2f, 1851 with 44 - 42m and 2f, 1852 with 42 - 32m and 10f, 1853 with 28 - 18m and 10f, 1854 with 28 - 18m and 10f(37AR23, 38AR25, 40AR21, 41AR25, 42AR23, 43AR29, 44AR25).

John Dewar 1855 with 27 - 21m and 6f, 1856 with 30 - 27m and 3f, 1857 with 37, 1858 with 27 - 24m and 3f, 1859 with 31, 1860 with 23 - 22m and 1f(45AR23, 46AR15, 47AR15, 48AR15, 49AR15, 50AR19).

701. Tolsta (M)

P. Stornoway

Lewis

P. Uig 1830(19AR58); P. Knock 1847(37AR23)

John Munro 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 31 @ 4/35 yrs and 20Ps and 11NT/B (6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 32 - 23m and 9f @ 6/29 yrs and 9Ps, 10NT and 13B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 39 - 25m and 14f @ 6/34 yrs and 5E1, 8NT and 15B(9AR52-53).

Murdoch McPherson 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 54 - 30m and 24f and 25E1 and 29B(18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57).

Donald McKinnon 1830 with 47 - 24m and 23f(11 adults) and 34E1 and 13B (19AR58-59).

John Munro August, 1832, 1832-1833, 1833-1834 with 42 - 17m and 25f and 11E1 and 31NT/B(4AR21, 22AR40, 23AR42, 44); 1834-1835(24AR9).

Finlay McKay 1838 with 83 and 1838-1839(29AR28, 30).

Angus McLeod 1839-1840 with 71, 1840-1841 with 101, 1841-1842 with 101, 1842-1843 with 101(29AR33, 30AR23, 31AR25, 32AR39).

Murdo McKenzie 1845 with 60, 1846 with 60, 1847 with 38, 1848 with 42, 1849 with 55 - 35m and 20f, 1850 with 41 - 26m and 15f, 1851 with 50 - 25m and 25f(35AR55, 36AR25, 37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25, 40AR21, 41AR25).

John Munro 1854 with 45 - 30m and 15f, 1855 with 42 - 28m and 14f, 1856 with 36 - 23m and 13f(44AR24, 45AR22, 46AR14).

702. Tongui (M)

P. Stornoway

Lewis

Tongue 1857(47AR14)

Angus McLeod 1856 with 54 - 29m and 25f, 1857 with 61 - 26m and 25f, 1858 with 46 - 24m and 22f, 1859 with 45 - 24m and 21f(46AR14, 47AR14, 48AR15, 49AR15)

703. Tomacharraich (G) P. Kilmanivaig Inverness

Tomacharrich 1832(22AR56); Tomcharraich 1833(22AR13)

James Matheson 1829 and 1830 with 50 - 24m and 26f(8 adult) and 11E1 and 39NT/B(18AR56, 19AR56-57); 1831 with 55 - 19m and 26f(8 adult) and 20E1 and 35NT/B(20AR52-53); 1832 with 29 - 10m and 19f and 11E1 and 18 NT/B(22AR56-57).

704. Tomacraggach (J) P. Blair Atholl Perth

Tomacraggath 1829(19AR50)

William Swanson 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 45 - 23m and 22f and 34E1 and 11B(17AR60); 1829(18AR56).

705. Tooley (F) P. Fodderty Ross

Tolley 1822(12AR55); Tooly 1822(12AR58); Tolly 1826(16AR44)

P. Alness 1823(13AR43)

Nairn 1824(15AR37)

William McDonald 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 82 - 34m and 48f @ 6/37 yrs and 32E1 and 32NT and 180T(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 52 - 22m and 30f @ 5/25 yrs and 13E1 and 39B(12AR58-59).

706. Torbreck (C) P. Assynt Sutherland

Donald McLeod 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 16 - 10Ps and 6B(6AR34-35)

707. Tormisdale (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

Nicol Nicolson 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 76 - 48m and 28f @ 5/32 yrs and 45El and 31B(12AR60-61)

John McPhail 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 99 - 56m and 41El and 58B(13AR-48-49).

708. Tormore (L) P. Kileboman Arran

P. Kilmorie 1828(17AR61)

Peter Grant 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 37 - 25m and 12f and 4El and 33B (18AR54-55).

709. Torran (Q) P. Portree Raasay

Torrins 1854(44AR16)

Alexander McMillan 1839-1840 and 1840-1841 with 36(29AR33, 30AR23)

John McLeod 1853 with 29 - 17m and 12f, 1854 with 30 - 16m and 14f, 1855 with 34 - 16m and 18f, 1856 with 23 - 12m and 11f, 1857 with 26 - 9m and 17f, 1858 with 27 - 14m and 13f, 1859 with 12 - 2m and 10f, 1860 with 22 - 9m and 13f(43AR29, 44AR25, 45AR23, 46AR15, 47AR15, 48AR15, 49AR15, 50AR19).

710. Torran (R) P. Strath Skye

Torrin 1851(41AR25)

P. Bracadale 1819(9AR49)

John McKinnon 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 50 - 30m and 20f(6AR36-37); 1817 (6AR39).

Duncan McPherson 1850 with 80 - 40m and 40f and 1851 with 75 - 39m and 36f(40AR21, 41AR25); 1852 with 58 - 26m and 32f and supported by St. George's F.C.; Edinburgh(42AR23).

711. Torraston (P) P. Coll/Tiree Coll

Torastan 1821(11AR42); Torasdan 1837(27AR31).

Alexander McKenzie 15/8/1814 with 64 and 40 there(3AR67, 4AR41);
1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 68 - 41m and 27f @ 4/25 yrs(6AR36-37); 1/11/
1819-1/11/1820 with 38 - 19m and 19f @ 5/20 yrs and 11E1, 25NT and 2B
(10AR62-63); 1821(10AR65).

Donald Fowler 1837 with 39(27AR31).

Mrs. Fowler 1838 with 50(28AR29)

Colin McIntosh 1838-1839(28AR30).

712. Torranich (T) P. Kilchoman Islay

There was a school here pre 1831(21AR30).

William McDonald 1856 with 49 - 34m and 15f, 1857 with 31 - 18m and
13f, 1858 with 40 - 24m and 16f, 1859 with 32 - 19m and 13f(46AR15,
47AR15, 48AR15, 49AR15).

713. Torriden (E) P. Applecross Ross

Torridon 1824(15AR37)

P. Gairloch 1858(48AR14)

Colin McIntosh 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 49 - 32m and 17f @ 7/46 yrs
and 20E1, 28NT and 10T(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64).

John Gillanders 1858 with 44 - 31m and 13f, 1859 with 40 - 26m and
14f, 1860 with 43 - 27m and 16f(48AR14, 49AR14, 50AR18).

714. Torrisdale (A) P. Tongue Sutherland

John Grant 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with 32 - 10m and 22f @ 4/17 yrs and
29E1 and 3NT(9AR50-51); 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 64 - 22m and 42f @
5/25 yrs and 31E1 and 24NT and 90T(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64); 1/11/1821
-1/11/1822 with 55 - 23m and 32f @ 4/42 yrs and 24E1 and 31B(12AR58-59)

715. Torrun in Brolase (S) P. Kilfinichen Mull

Torran 1822(11AR39); Toren 1822(12AR43); Torrans 1856(46AR15)

Malcolm McNeil 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 56 - 28m and 28f @ 4/70 yrs
and 32E1 and 24B(12AR60-61).

James Hood 1856 with 24 - 14m and 10f and 1857 with 26 - 13m and 13f (46AR15, 47AR15).

716. Toscaig (E) P. Applecross Ross

Toscaig 1828(18AR52)

Angus Munro 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 51 - 20m and 31f and 18E1 and 33B(18AR52-53); 1829(18AR56).

Duncan Morrison 1848 with 67(38AR20).

717. Totarder (Q) P. Bracadale Skye

Alexander McDonald November, 1811 and 27/11/1812(2AR42, 4AR46)

Alexander Munro 30/11/1813(4AR48)

Donald MacGilvray 29/11/1814(4AR49).

718. Totscore (Q) P. Kilmuir Skye

Angus McLeod 1846 with 47, 1847 with 47, 1848 with 48 and 1849(36AR25, 37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR25).

719. Trantilmore (B) P. Reay Caithness

Arthur Forbes 1822(11AR54)

720. Trebost (O) P. South Uist South Uist

Donald Cameron 1825(14AR53)

721. Treshinish (S) P. Kilmore Mull

Treshinish 1844(33AR39)

P. Kilninian 1844(33AR39)

Donald McDiarmid 1831 with 55 - 33m and 22f(6 adult) and 36E1 and 19 NT/B(20AR54-55); 1832 with 43 - 20m and 23f and 7E1 and 36NT/B(22AR38-39).

James Matheson 1843-1844 with 44, 1844 with 35 and 1845 with 26(33AR39,

34AR25, 35AR55).

722. Trian (R) P. Bracadale Skye

Hugh Urquhart 1856 with 45 - 8m and 37f, 1857 with 39 - 12m and 27f, 1858 with 20 - 3m and 17f, 1859 with 22 - 12m and 10f, 1860 with 35 - 17m and 18f(46AR15, 47AR15, 48AR15, 49AR15, 50AR19).

723. Triaslan (Q) P. Snizort Skye

Triaslan 1837(27AR31)

Peter McLeod 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 62 - 28m and 34f and 46E1 and 16B(18AR54-55); 1829 and 1830 with 130 - 55m and 75f(6 adult) and 64 E1 and 66B(19AR58-59); 1837 with 91, 1837-1838, 1838 with 97, 1838-1839 with 94 and 1839-1840 with 102(27AR31, 33, 28AR29-30, 29AR33). 1842-1843 with 142 and 1843-1844 with 67 and 1844 with 53 and 1845 with 25(32AR39, 33AR39, 34AR25, 35AR55).

724. Trigishadder (Q) P. Snizort Skye

John McLeod 1827(16AR53)

725. Trimgary (N) P. North Uist North Uist

Trumagary 1827(17AR57)

John Shaw 1825(14AR53)

726. Trislaig (I) P. Kilmallie Argyle

Trinalaig 1827(17AR56); Trisleig 1829\18AR31)

Inverness 1822(11AR54)

Angus McPherson 1/11/1819-1/11/1820 with 36 - 22m and 14f(10AR60-61); 1821(10AR64); 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 44 - 23m and 21f @ 5/24 yrs and 9E1 and 35B(12AR58-59).

John McDougall 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 51 - 26m and 25f and 31E1 and 20B(18AR52-53).

Kenneth Ross 1830 with 61 - 26m and 35f and 27E1 and 34NT/B(19AR56-57);
1831 with 61 - 26m and 35f and 27E1 and 34NT/B(20AR52-53).

727. Trumpan (A) P. Vaternish Skye

P. Duirinish 1844(34AR25)

Norman McLeod 1842-1843 with 101(32AR39)

D. McCaskell, interim, 1843-1844 with 78(33AR39)

Murdo McDonald 1844 with 93 and 1845 with 26(34AR25, 35AR55)

728. Tulloch (D) P. Creich Sutherland

Duncan Cameron 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 41 - 15m and 26f and 17E1 and
24B(14AR48-49).

Magdalene Sutherland 1824(13AR50)

Angus McLeod 1825(14AR36)

729. Tympanhead (M) P. Stornoway Lewis

P. Knock 1843(32AR39)

Donald Ross 1841-1842 with 40 and 1842-1843 with 34(31AR35, 32AR39)

730. Uachdar (O) P. South Uist Benbecula

South Uist 1825(16AR50)

Archibald Campbell 1/11/1825-30/9/1826 with 30 - 21m and 9f and 3E1
and 27B(16AR50-51)

Donald Cameron 1833 with 66 - 41m and 25f and 45E1 and 21NT/B(23AR43);
1833-1834, 1834-1835, 1835-1836, 1836-1837(23AR45, 24AR49, 25AR40, 26
AR63); 30/3/1837 with 64 - 22BkI, 6BkII, 9NT and 29B(27AR19-20); 1840-
1841 with 67 and 1841-1842 with 61(30AR23, 31AR35); 1844 with 57 as a
Lady Anderson school and 1845 with 43(34AR25, 35AR55); 1846 with 43
(36AR25)

731. Uia (Q) P. Snizort Skye

Glenmuig 1822(11AR55); Glens of Uig 1832(24AR28)

Alexander McIntosh 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 39 - 19m and 20f @ 2/26 yrs(6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39)

Hugh McDonald 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 32 - 20m and 12f @ 5/23 yrs and 9E1, 8NT and 15B(8AR46-47)

Neil Matheison 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 125 - 79m and 46f @ 5/36 yrs and 6E1 and 57B(12AR60-61); 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 37 - 27m and 10f and 17E1 and 30B(13AR48-49)

Donald Matheson June, 1832, 1833 with 29 - 6m and 23f and 14E1 and 15 NT/B(24AR28, 22AR41); 1833-1834(23AR43-44)

Peter McLeod 1840-1841 with 23 and 1841-1842 with 23(30AR23, 31AR35)

Angus Munro 1853 with 30 - 7m and 23f and 1854 with 15 - 3m and 12f and supported by St. George's F.C., Edinburgh(43AR29, 44AR25)

732. Ullapool (C)

P. Lochbroom

Ross

John Macleod 1817(6AR38)

John McMillan 1/11/1822-1/11/1823 with 116 - 46m and 70f and 30E1 and 86B(13AR46-47); 1/11/1823-1/11/1824 with 86 - 39m and 47f and 8E1 and 78B(14AR48-49); 1825(14AR52)

733. Ulva (S)

P. Kilninian

Mull

P. Kilfinichen 1827(17AR58); P. Ulva 1847(37AR23)

Ulva Island 1847(37AR23)

William Macleod May, 1815 with 20 and by November, 1815 with 70(5AR52) 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 62 - 44m and 18f(6AR36-37).

Finlay McFarlane 1847 with 29, 1848 with 32 and 1849 with 32 - 12m and 20f(37AR23, 38AR21, 39AR35)

734. Unish (Q)

P. Duirinish

Skye

Norman McLeod May, 1839 and 15/6/1839(32AR16); 1840-1841 with 52 and 1841-1842 with 60(29AR52, 30AR23, 31AR35); 1846 with 37, 1847 with 23 and 1848 with 35(36AR25, 37AR23, 38AR21).

735. Uigishadder (Q)P. SnizortSkye

Uigishadder 1827(17AR26); Uigishadder 1828(18AR54)

John McLeod 15/5/1827-15/5/1828 with 54 - 33m and 21f and 18E1 and 36
B(18AR54-55); 1829(18AR57).

Nicol Nicolson 1842-1843 with 51 and 1843-1844 with 24(32AR39, 33AR39)

736. Valey (N)P. North UistValey

Vallay 1822(12AR16)

Donald McDonald 1/11/1821-1/11/1822 with 39 - 27m and 12f @ 5/30 yrs
and 37E1 and 2B(12AR60-61)

737. Valtas (M)P. UigLewis

Valtos 1819(9AR49)

Donald Morrison 1/11/1815-1/11/1816 with 12 - 7m and 5f @ 6/20 yrs
(6AR36-37); 1817(6AR39); 1/11/1817-1/11/1818 with 35 - 14m and 21f
@ 6/21 yrs and 3G, 23NT and 9B(8AR46-47); 1/11/1818-1/11/1819 with
42 - 13m and 29f @ 6/22 yrs and 17E1 and 25NT/B(9AR52-53)

Donald McKinnon 1829(18AR57)

738. Vaternish (Q)P. DuirinishSkye

Vaternish 1820(10AR25)

John Macleod 1820(10AR25)

739. Vaterskin (M)P. StornowayLewis

Vaterskir 1820(20AR47); Vatisker 1860(50AR19)

P. Back 1860(50AR19)

Murdoch McPherson 1830 with 100 - 60m and 40f and 94E1 and 6B(19AR58-59)
Angus McLeod 1860 with 50 - 26m and 24f(50AR19)

740. Wester Slumbie (E)P. Loch CarronRoss

Wester Slumbrie 1815(5AR73); Slumbie 1815(5AR102); Slumbay 1844(33AR38)
Slumbays 1844(34AR24)

Roderick MacLeod 29/11/1814 with 35(4AR49, 5AR24)

Donald McDiarmid 1843-1844 with 77, 1844 with 78, 1845 with 57, 1846
with 49(33AR38, 34AR24, 35AR54, 36AR24).

Maps

"The great aim of the Gaelic School Society is to have their schools introduced into districts where there is a deficiency of education.

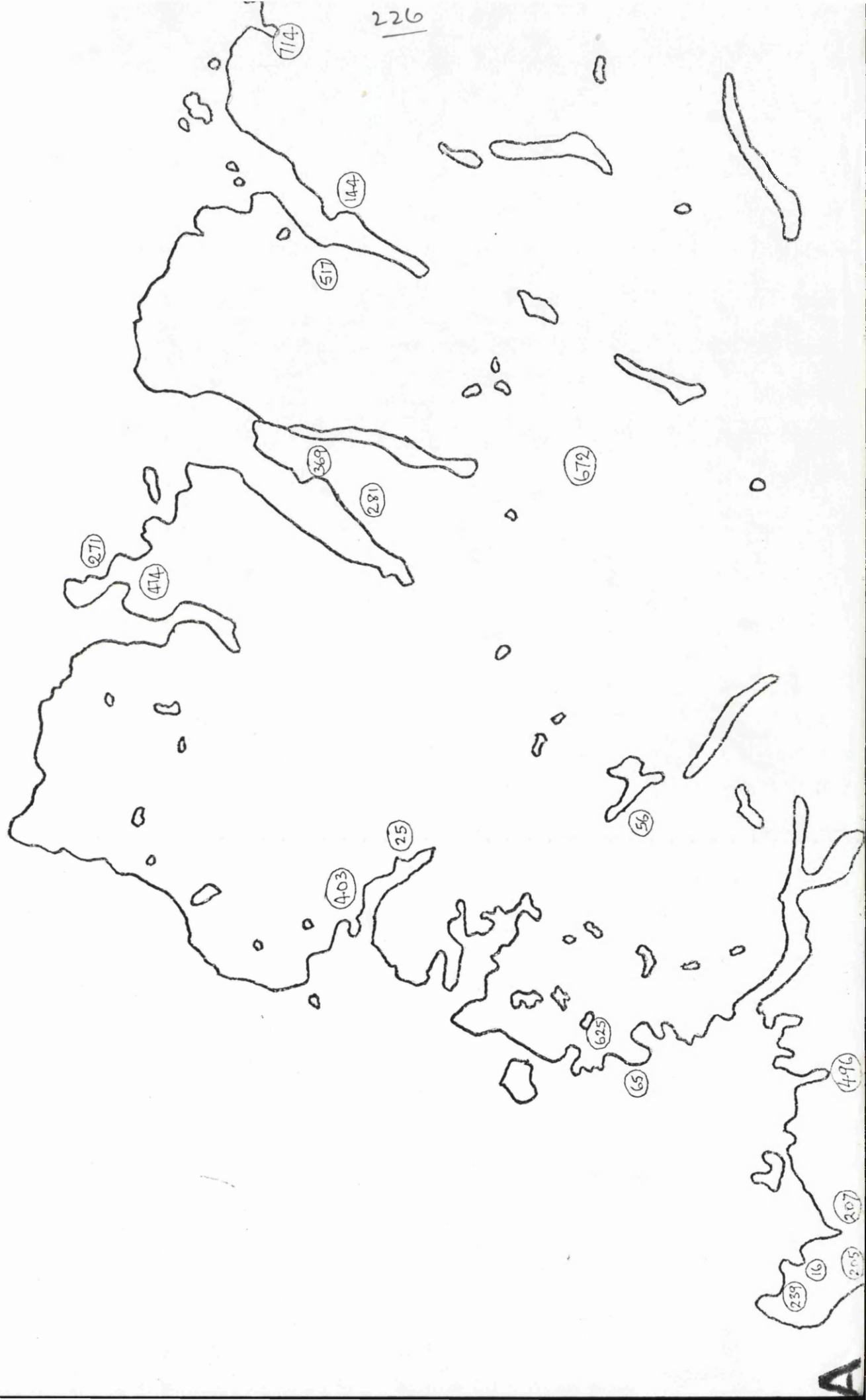
- - - These schools may be regarded, therefore, as so many little churches."

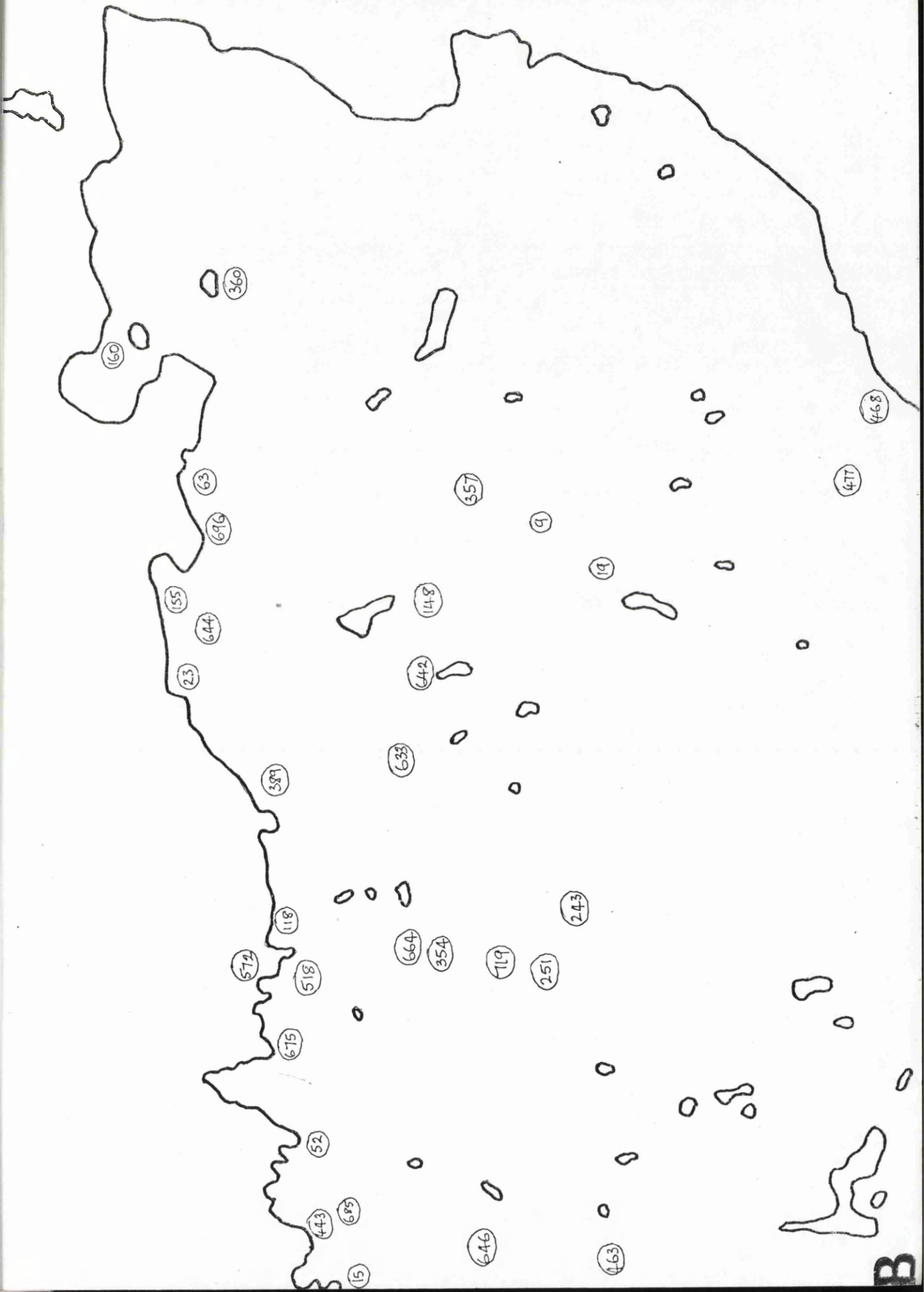
- 41AR14, 6 February, 1851, Rev. Dr. Robert Buchanan.

Explanatory Notes

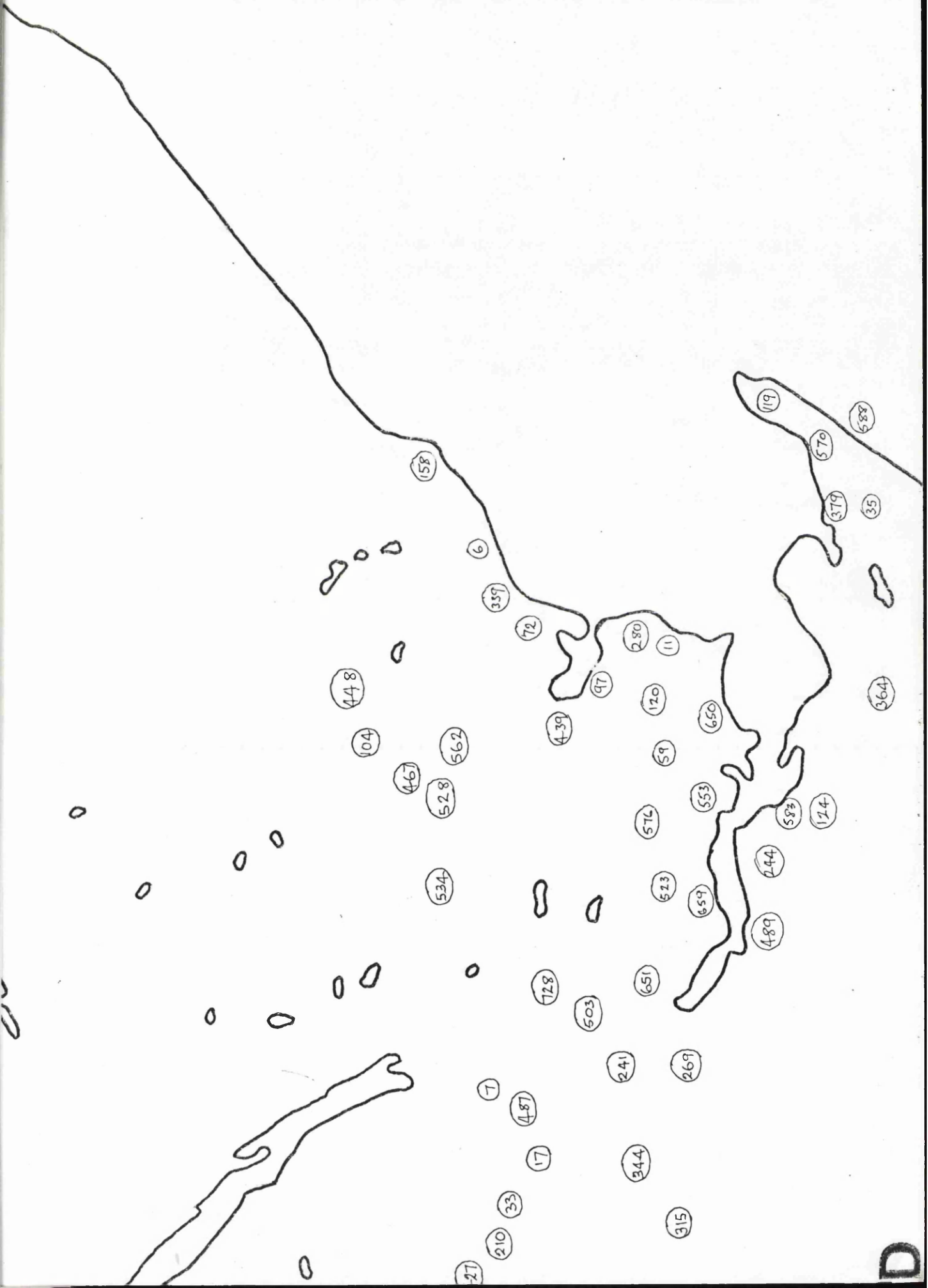
Everyone of the following schools is listed in the Annual Reports, in one form or another, throughout the period 1811-1861. No map exists showing where they were and obviously some guesses had to be made. Most of these guesses, it is to be hoped, are intelligent, e.g. Calder(No.298) in Glenelg, Inverness is hard to locate, but Donald Matheson, only days before in 1827 was at New Station(No.541)in Glenelg, Inverness, which must have been close by; therefore Calder is located near New Station. Others are based on language change, e.g. Moultrie(No.536)in Alness, Ross is probably from Moultrie and Sliastury(No.651)in Creich, Sutherland is probably from Sileasdairairion. Even then, there are some doubtful sitings which spring from mistakes in the Reports, e.g. Sand of Udrigil(No. 606)in Cairloch, Ross 1821 could be Saund(no.614)1813. Again, Samadalene (No.604)in Glenelg, Inverness had Ranald McDonald 1824, as did Lamadalene (No.460)in Glenelg, Inverness 1824. There are seven others which, although repeatedly quoted in the Reports, do look like confused names - Marig(No. 510) could be Miavaig(No.520)in Harris; Iachdar(No.373) could be Jackdor (No.397) in South Uist; Frobost(No.296) could be Trebost(No.720) in South Uist; Balamartin(No.78) could be Balmartin(No.91) in Tiree; Shikaving in Minginish(No.639) could be Skiavaig(No.648) in Bracadale, Skye; Kellmallen (No.401) could be Killinalen(No.425) in Islay; Benmore(No.113) could be Penmore(No.558) in Mull. Some areas were continually confused in the Reports, especially Raasay-Skye and Rona-Ronay.

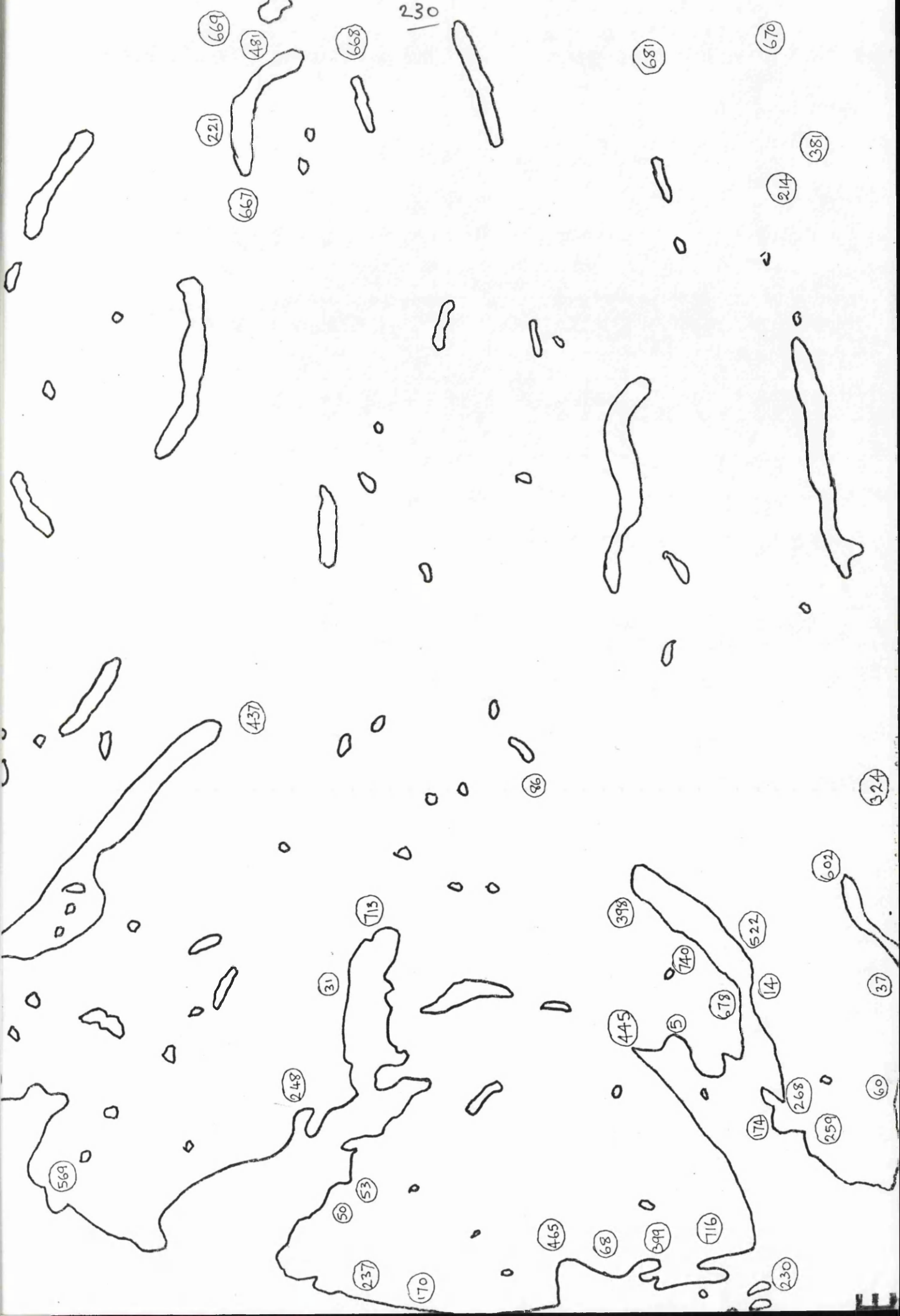
One last word of caution, one should not assume that the site-name in the 20th century is the same as the site-name in the 19th century. People, as we have seen, were frequently moved in the 19th century and names often went with them. Again, this study is based on the Annual Reports of the Gaelic School Society, and all too often, the Secretary who compiled the Annual Report had only the haziest impression as to where the schools were actually located.

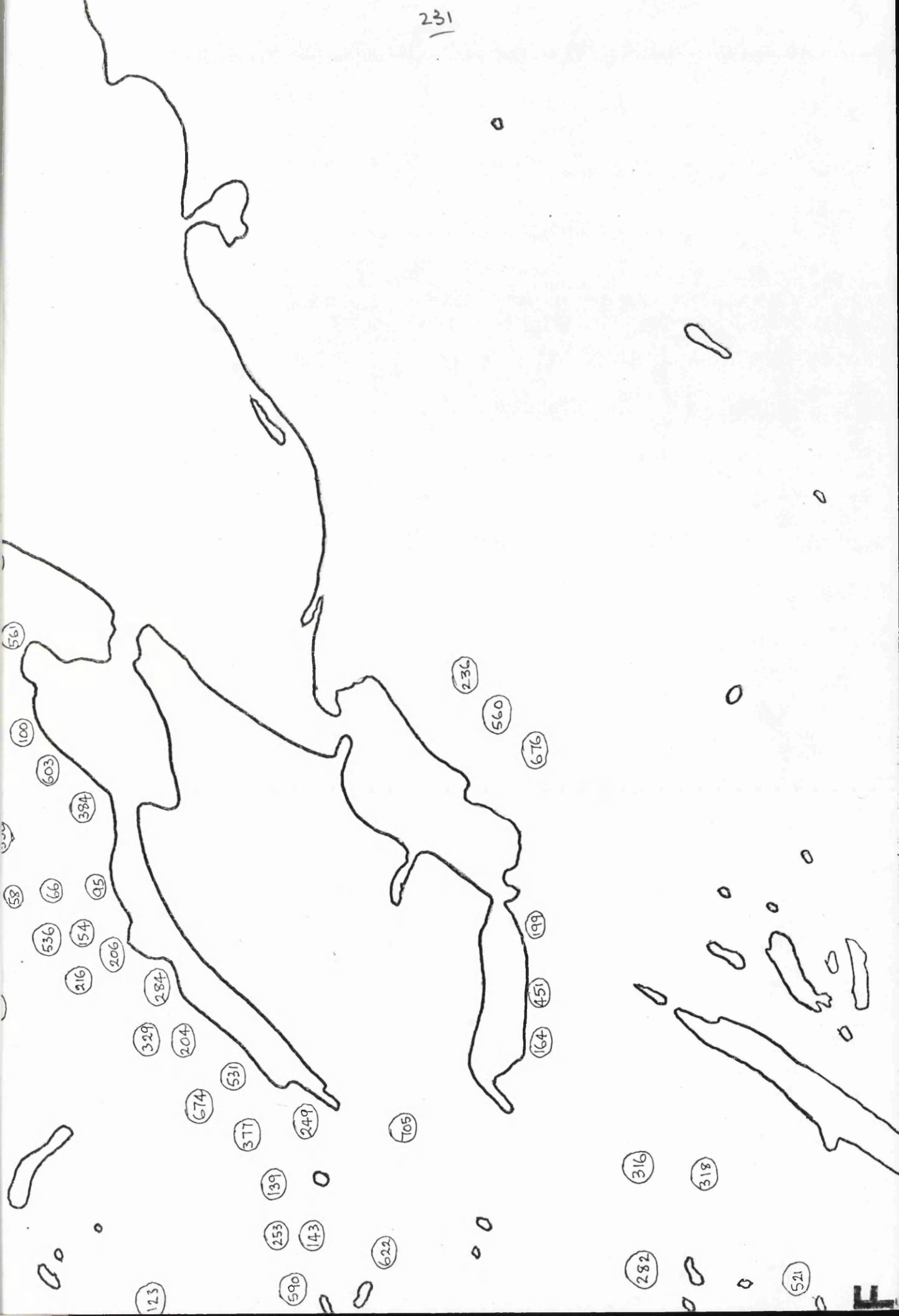


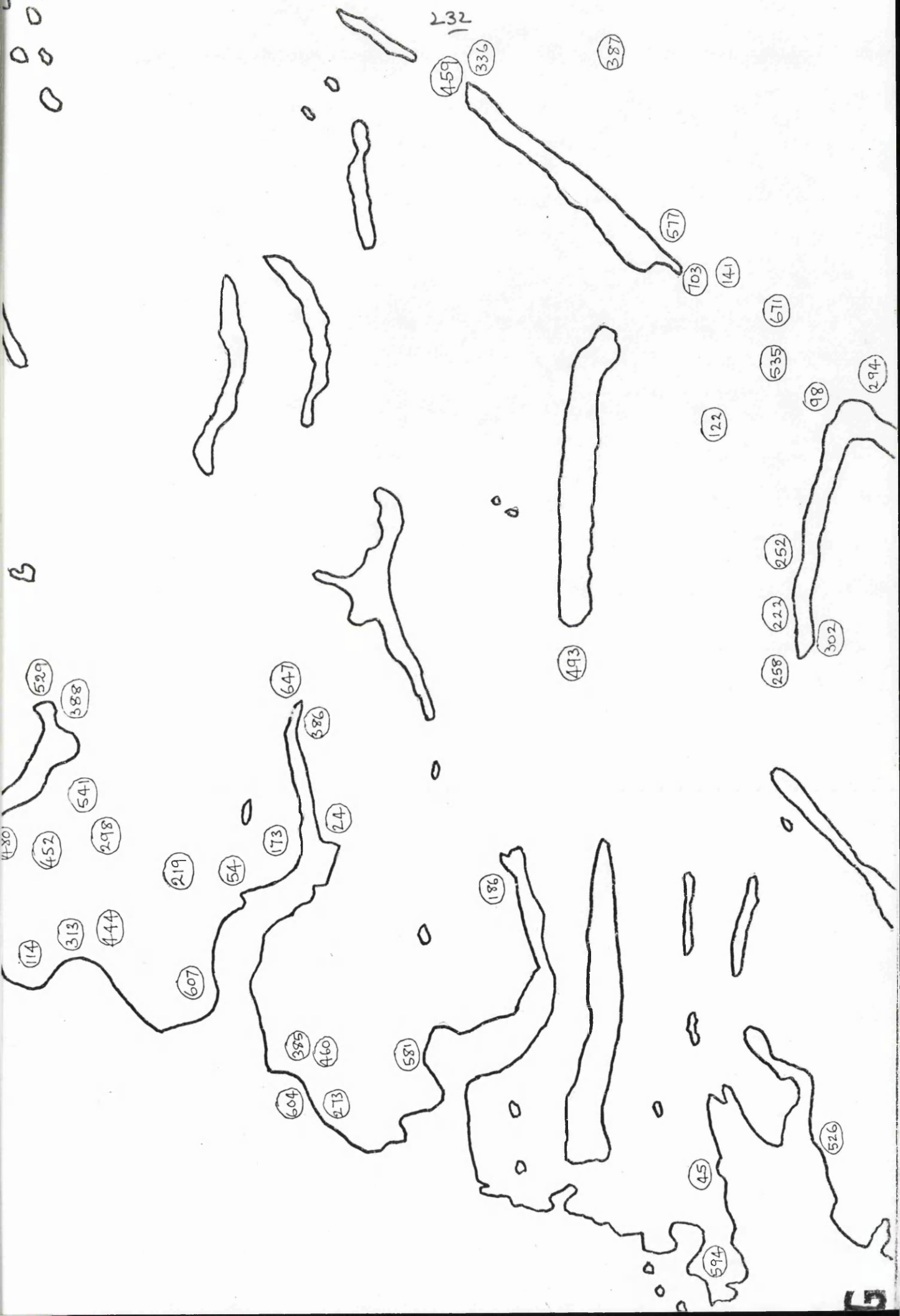


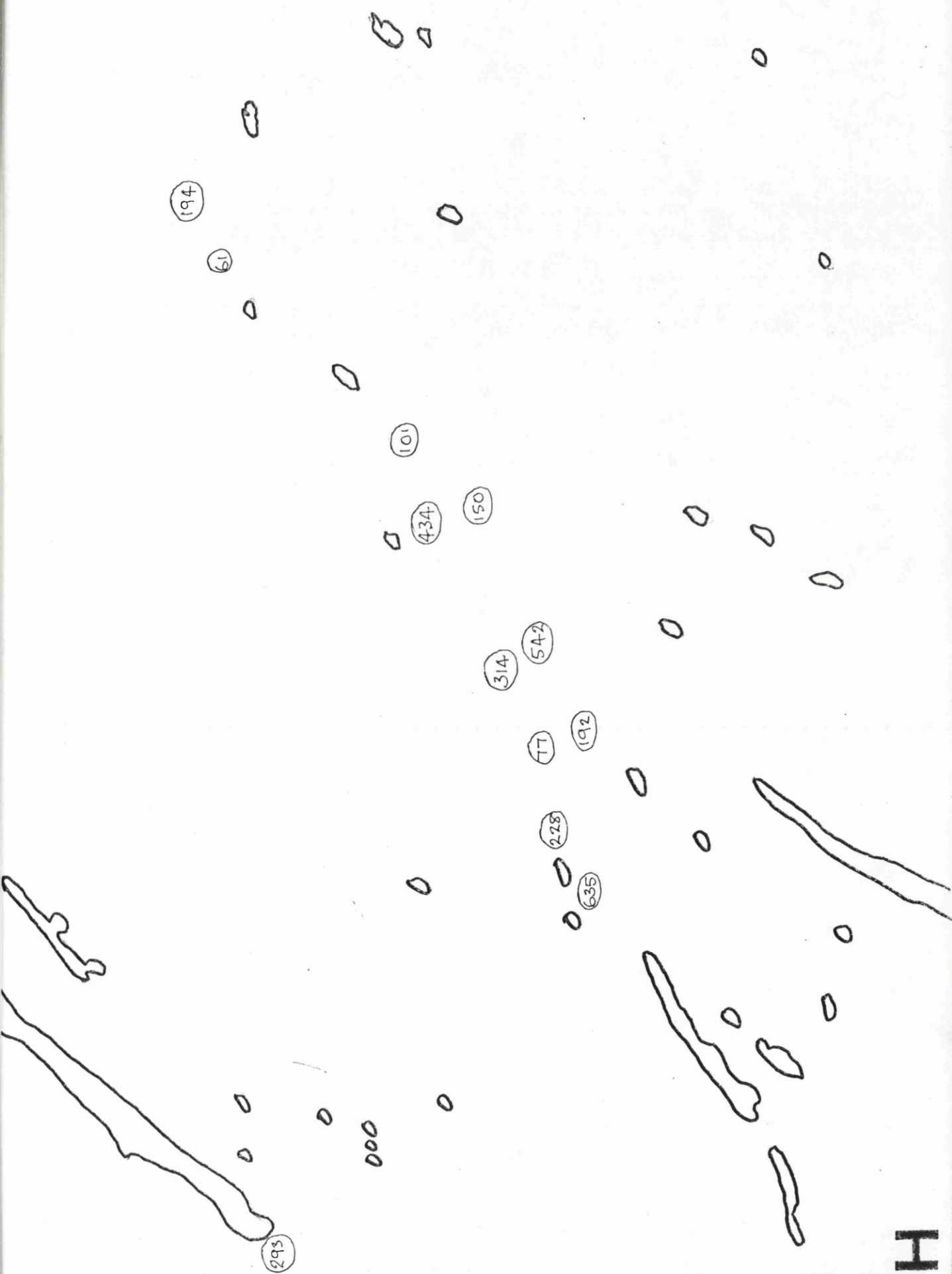




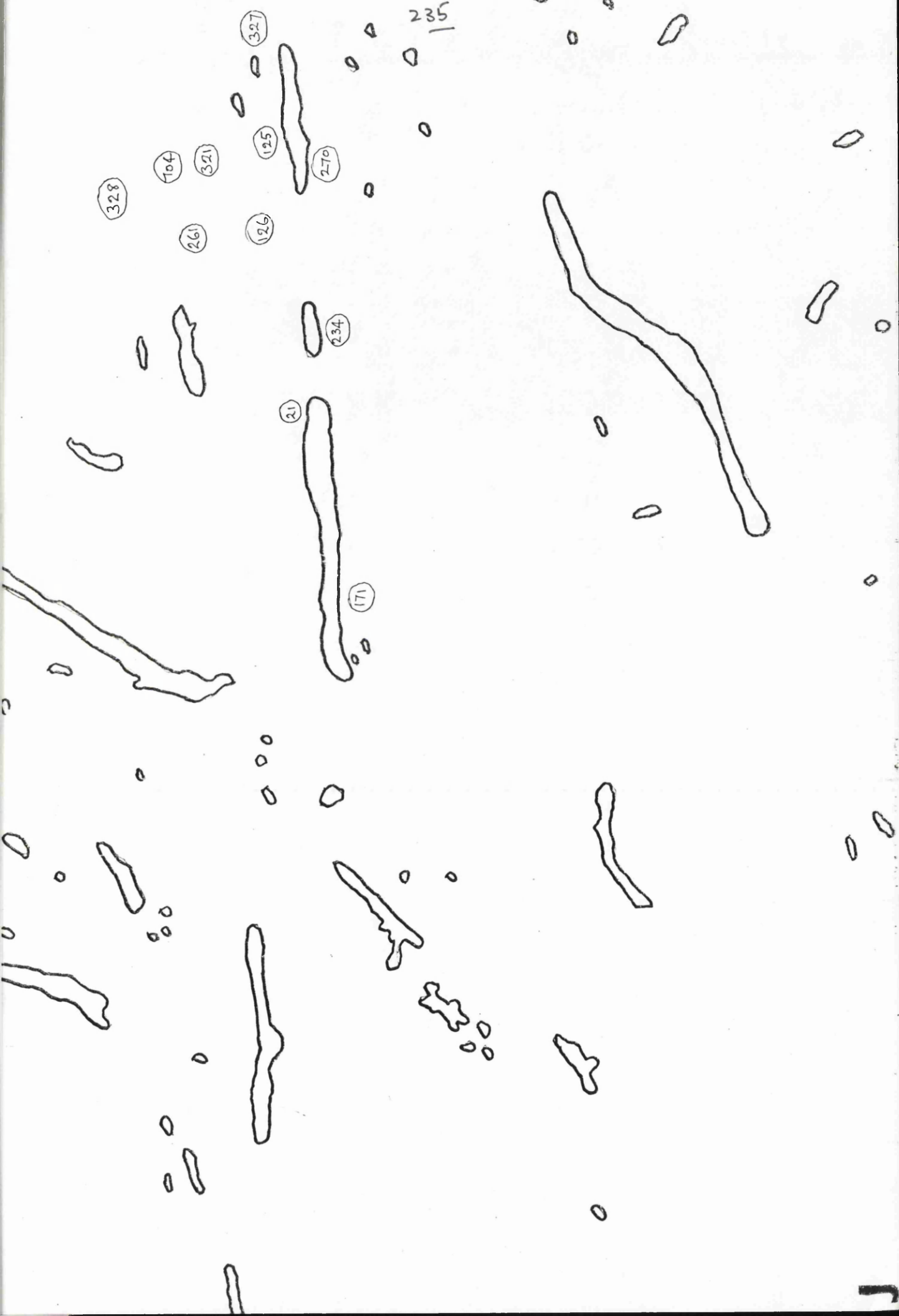




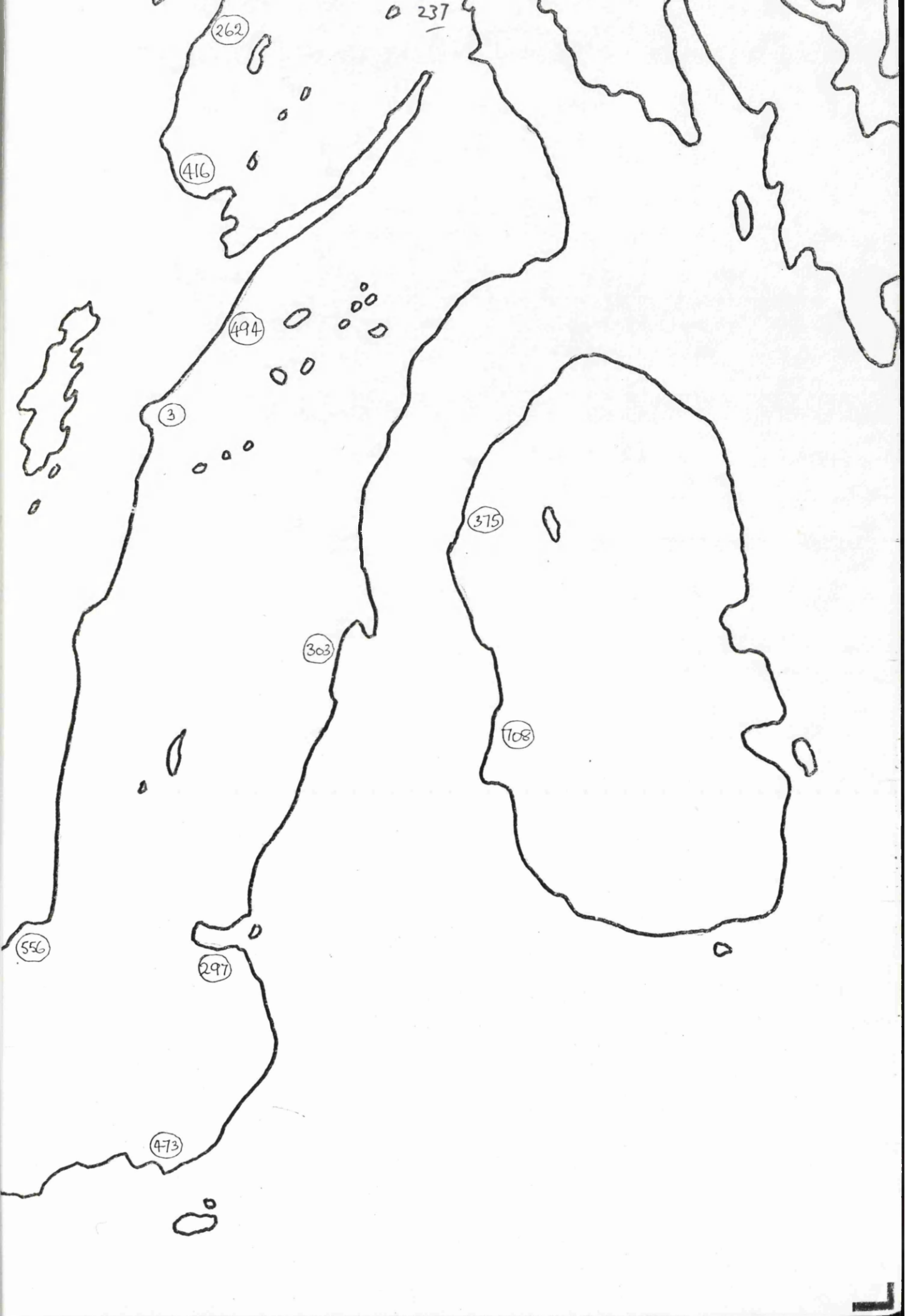




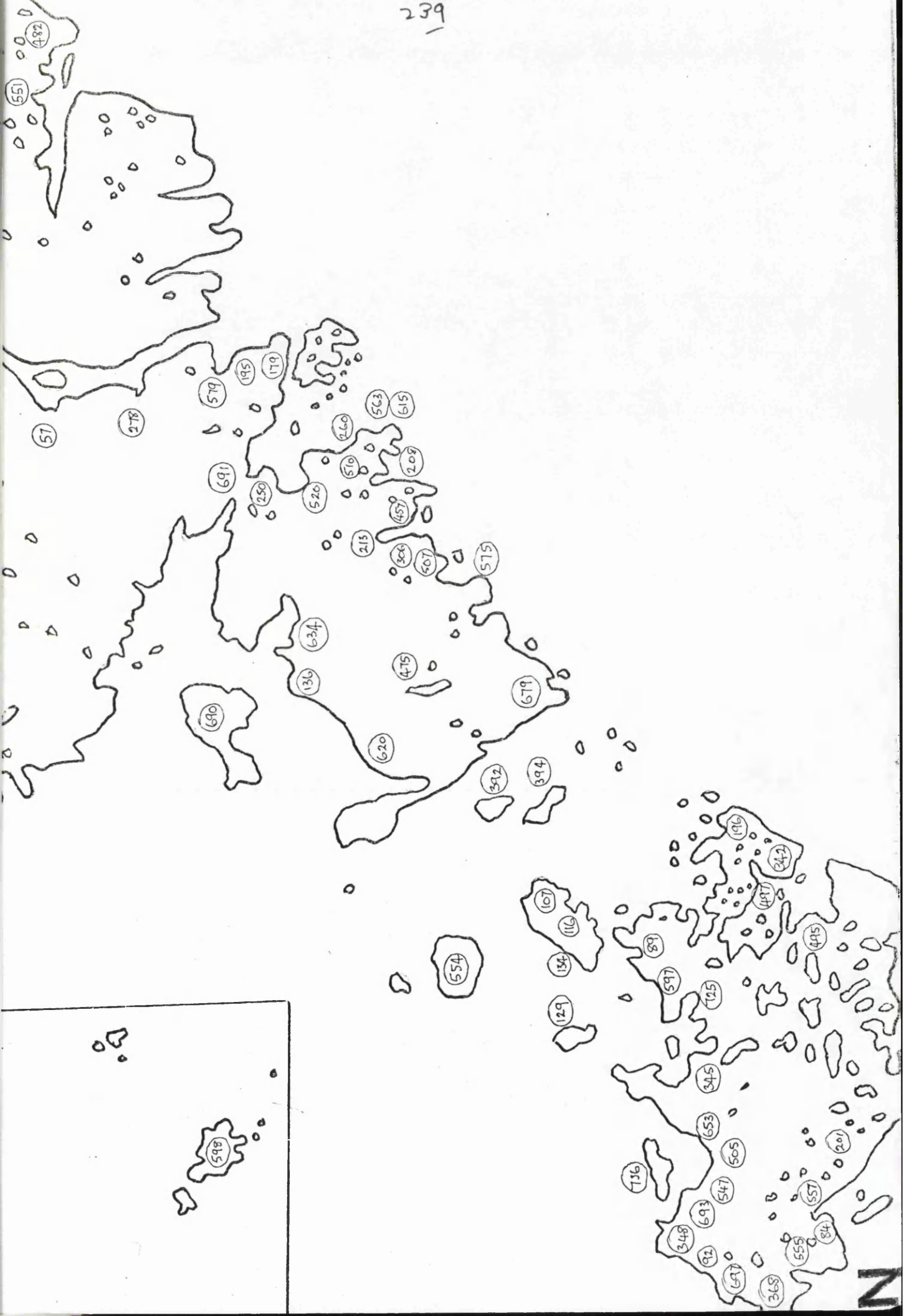
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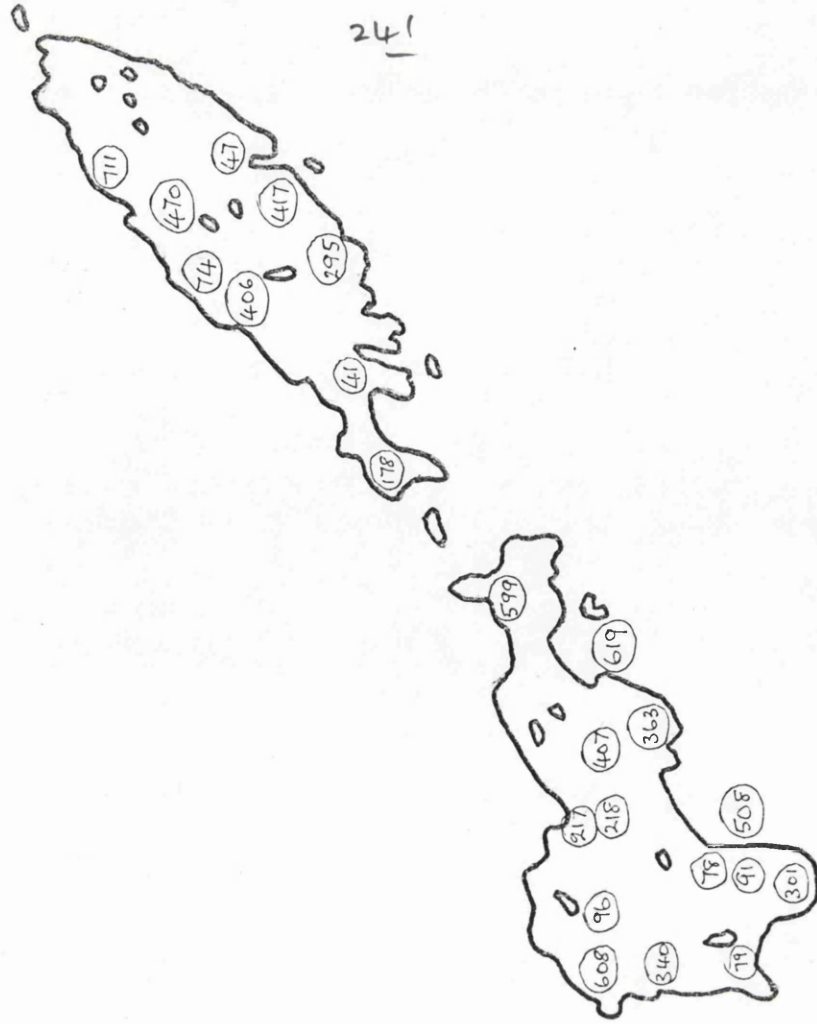






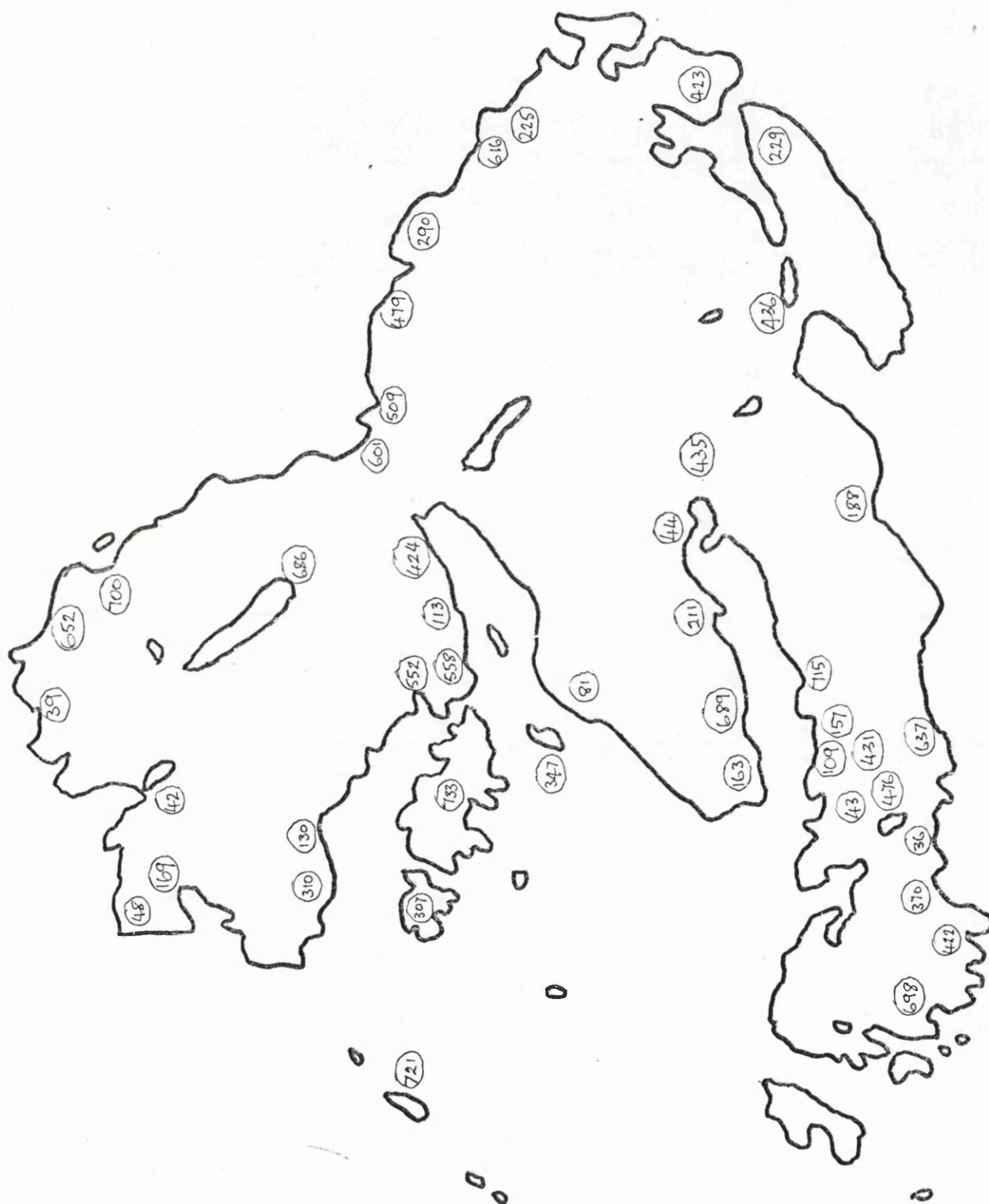


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