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The Pulpit and the Poet: Presbyterian, Episcopalian and Gaelic
Cosmologies in Scotland, 1689-c.1746

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Abstract

Contrasting cosmologies have profoundly impacted Scottish history both in action and as a discipline. At the turn of the eighteenth century, Episcopalians and Presbyterians profoundly disagreed on the defining characteristics of Scottish identity, the nature of secular authority and the correct mode of church governance. Confessional identity, bound up with the historical experiences of each respective church and community, determined perceptions of the relationship between the church, the state and the Scottish nation in the aftermath of the Williamite revolution. These divisions were manifest in patterns of support and opposition to Jacobitism, with Presbyterians generally supporting the post-Revolution regime and Episcopalians supporting the deposed Stewarts. In much of Gaelic Scotland, the deposition of James VII represented the subversion of the ideological basis of clanship. Genealogical continuity and custom were governing principles of Gaelic society, while disregarding these weakened the legitimacy of government and its capacity to execute justice. Sermons and Gaelic poetry offer insight into the spiritual frameworks governing the actions of individual communities. By focusing on recurring themes, such as divine providence and prophecy, it is possible to trace the ways in which these spiritual frameworks developed to accommodate changes in social, political and cultural circumstances. This study achieves this through an analysis of sermons and Gaelic poetry composed from the aftermath of the Williamite Revolution to the British military defeat of Jacobitism in 1746.

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Introduction

At the turn of the eighteenth century, Episcopalian and Presbyterian alike celebrated the Scottish Church of antiquity for its role in maintaining the ecclesiastical and political independence of Scotland against the encroachments of Canterbury and the English Crown. While acting in a spiritual capacity, both Episcopalians and Presbyterians believed that they were advancing the national interest, guiding Scotland towards God's favour and away from national sin, lest they warrant his wrath.[1] These groups, however, disagreed completely with regards to the defining characteristics of Scottish identity, the nature of secular authority and the correct mode of church governance.[2] Confessional identity, bound up with the historical experiences of each respective church and community, determined perceptions of the relationship between the church, the state and the Scottish nation in the aftermath of the Williamite revolution.[3] With confessional identities came a distinct way of understanding the order of the world: that is a distinct cosmology.[4] During this period Scotland was, in the words of Christopher Whatley, 'a deeply fissured nation', in which competing visions dictated controversy and conflict.

Contrasting worldviews have profoundly impacted Scottish history both in action and as a discipline.[5] With the decline of confessional histories of Scotland in recent decades, and the rising prominence of more detached treatments, it is crucial that historians continue to take into account the cosmologies at work when seeking to explain the major developments of eighteenth-century Scotland. This thesis seeks to present a comprehensive survey of the cosmological landscape in Scotland between 1689 and 1746, using spiritual sources composed for public transmission: sermons and Gaelic vernacular poetry. It is the intention of this study to compare and contrast the arguments and explanations offered in these sources for major political events, crises and conflict with an eye to establishing the significance of their intended messages in dictating public perceptions and responses. It is structured as a history from three distinct points of view: that of Lowland Presbyterianism;

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[1] J. Stephen, *Defending the Revolution: The Church of Scotland, 1689-1716* (Surrey, 2013), 20-22.

[2] T. N. Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity: The Story of Scotland's Churches, 1560-1960* (London, 2015), 65-66.

[3] A. Raffe, 'Presbyterians and Episcopalians: the Formation of Confessional Cultures in Scotland, 1660–1715', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 125 (2010), 570–98.

[4] C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c.1830* (Cambridge, 1993), 22-25.

[5] C. A. Whatley, 'Reformed Religion, Regime Change, Scottish Whigs and the Struggle for the "Soul" of Scotland, C.1688 – C.1788', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 92 (2013), 70.

North-Eastern Episcopalianism and Gaelic society. Each chapter will provide a roughly chronological account from a specific cosmological perspective, tracing the extent to which spiritual concerns and shared historical experiences shaped political awareness and dictated events.

The Act Abolishing Prelacy of 1689 reveals a principled religious objection to episcopacy, but in an ethnocentric manner that emphasises the 'inclinations of the generality of the [Scottish] people ever since the Reformation'.[6] This identity was rooted in the Covenanting movement of the seventeenth century, which had sought to limit the authority of the crown in both political and religious affairs, and the period of state persecution that followed the Restoration, known in Presbyterian folklore as 'The Killing Times'. This phase of persecution, in conjunction with the proscription of the Covenants, led to the vilification of the Stewart monarchy in the Presbyterian mind. Presbyterians were the persecuted sufferers under the tyrannical Stewart regime: the exiled remnant of the true church that had signed the Covenant with God. Scotland, God's chosen land and the second Israel, was ruled by a despot who disregarded the basic tenets of Presbyterian doctrine, claiming headship of the Kirk which only Christ could rightfully claim, introducing unwarranted religious innovations and attacking the liberty of Presbyterians to freely practise their religion.[7]

The Episcopal Church of Scotland was viewed as antithetical to the Reformation. It was subject to crown authority and displayed a blatant disregard for the principles of ministerial parity and 'Two Kingdoms theory', in which monarchs were subject to the censures of the Kirk, despite claiming secular lordship. Furthermore, the Episcopal Church entertained 'unscriptural' modes of governance and forms of worship that jeopardised the doctrinal and spiritual purity of the Kirk.[8] Following the Revolution, it became a central concern of the Presbyterians to counteract the 'great decay in piety', that was seen to stem from a prolonged period of Episcopalian spiritual hegemony.[9] The accession of James VII only served to buttress Presbyterian hostility to the established regime, as an avowed Roman

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[6] '1689 Act Abolishing Prelacy', in G. Donaldson (ed.), *Scottish Historical Documents* (Glasgow, 1970), 258.

[7] Whatley, 'Reformed Religion, Regime Change', 71, 73.

[8] J. Stephen, *Defending the Revolution*, 42-3.

[9] British History Online, General Assembly Act XII, Sess. 25, November 12, 1690 'Act anent a Solemn National Fast and Humiliation, with the Causes thereof.' URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/church-scotland-records/acts/1638-1842/pp221-235 [accessed 8 May 2015]

Catholic held claim to Scottish throne. His use of the Royal Prerogative in imposing legal toleration for Catholics and non-conformists, while benefitting exiled Presbyterians, was viewed as the precursor to Roman Catholic subversion of Scottish legal limited monarchy. In its place James VII aspired to set-up an absolutist state, where the monarch exercised uninhibited arbitrary power over his subjects.[10] Buchananite ideology, the long-established mode of political argument among Presbyterians, was effortlessly deployed in tracts justifying the deposition of James VII: he had 'forefaulted the right to the crown' through his violation of the ancient Scottish constitution.[11]

On the other hand, from an Episcopalian perspective, the Restoration was a period of extended peace, order and prosperity: the Stewart regime provided a political and religious corrective to the excesses caused by Presbyterian hegemony in the seventeenth-century. In stark contrast to Presbyterians, the Episcopal Church of Scotland articulated its national identity through emphasising loyalty to the ancient Stewart line.[12] Episcopalians were critical of the Covenants, claiming that they subverted the divinely ordained structure of society: 'When *Inferiors* make Vows to the prejudice of their *Superiors* […] the Vows are *ipso facto* null and void'.[13] Episcopalians sought to promote a vision of Scotland in which the church operated as loyal and actively supportive part of a national '*Politick Body*, under one *Chief* and *Supream Civil Governour*': the Stewart monarch.[14] Episcopalians were not, as Whig polemicists have suggested, blind adherents to outmoded forms of church hierarchy, nor were they irrationally devoted to defending Stewart despotism at any cost. Hereditary monarchy was understood to be legitimate institutional basis of government and a guarantee of justice. In defending the Stewarts, Episcopalians were not defending the right of the monarch to dispense with laws and custom. Instead, they were asserting that a return to genealogical continuity would see a return to the guarantees of just and legal government, which the Revolution regime failed to provide.[15]

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[10] A. Raffe, 'Propaganda, Religious Controversy and the Williamite Revolution in Scotland', *Dutch Crossing*, Vol. 29 (2005), 21–30.

[11] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, 20-22; 'Claim of Right', 255.

[12] A. Raffe, 'Episcopacy and the Stewart Monarchy', in A. Raffe and E. Harris (eds.), *Episcopacy and Scottish Identity from 1689: The St Aidan's Lecture 2014* (Glasgow, 2014), 6

[13] J. Cockburn, *Jacob's Vow, or, Mans Felicity and Duty* (Edinburgh, 1686), 20-1.

[14] J. Paterson, *Tandem Bona Causa Triumphat. Or Scotland's Late Misery Bewailed; and the Honour and Loyalty of this Antient Kingdom Asserted in a Sermon* (London, 1661), 17-18.

[15] K. German, *Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire & Jacobitism in the North-East of Scotland, 1688-1750* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2010), 17-19.

It is clear that the national element of the church was uppermost in the ideologies of both Presbyterians and Episcopalian, albeit couched in two distinct, and often dialectical, experiences. Presbyterians viewed the state of the Church as the main determining factor of God's favour: as the Church strayed further from the Presbyterian ideal, immorality and error spread, in turn attracting God's wrath. Episcopalians observed the divine nature of legitimate royal authority and believed that an attack on this institution was nothing less than an attempt to subvert natural order. The pulpit became the primary means by which these visions were articulated and expounded in a Lowland setting, particularly in urban centres, as Presbyterian/Episcopalian controversy was inextricably linked to debates regarding the Scottish state and constitution.[16] Sermons delivered to each respective community, whether as part of regular church service or as a commemoration at civic events, reveal the terms in which spiritual leaders and their congregations viewed the intersection of the spiritual and secular worlds.

At the turn of the century, much of Gaelic Scotland was very much aligned in its interests and ideology with Lowland Jacobitism. This was due to Highland involvement in Royalist campaigns in the seventeenth century, accompanied by the regional growth of Episcopalianism following the Restoration. From a Gaelic perspective, the deposition of James VII represented the subversion of the ideological basis of clanship. The House of Stewart was the rightful trustee of Scotland, which was deemed their *Dùthcas*, as the clan *fine* were trustees of their own patrimonies. Genealogical continuity and custom were governing principles of Gaelic society, while disregard for these weakened the legitimacy of the government and its capacity to execute justice. In a Gaelic context, the Revolution regime's distaste for justice was apparent in the seemingly overnight rehabilitation of the acquisitive Clan Campbell and the perpetration of the Massacre of Glencoe in 1692.[17] In Gaelic society political and religious messages found greater expression in the medium of vernacular poetry. In these texts, Jacobitism is offered as a corrective to the deviations from custom perpetrated by the post-Revolution Scottish and British governments, and a means of recovering just and legal government.[18] In parallel to the increasingly secular

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[16] Cf. P. Ihalainen, 'The Political Sermon in an Age of Party Strife, 1700-1720: Contributions to the Conflict' in H. Adlington et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), 495-513.

[17] A. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton, 1996), 159, 188, 203.

[18] C. Duffy, *The '45* (London, 2003), 32-36.

content of Lowland sermons, poetry drew to a larger extent from Biblical texts. It is a great irony of Scottish history that, despite this development, the eighteenth century saw increased concern stemming from the Lowlands regarding the irreligion of their Gaelic neighbours. As an analogue to the Lowland sermon, poetic texts also function on the frontier between the spiritual and the secular, revealing the terms in which communities in Gaelic Scotland viewed the relationship between God, the church and the Scottish nation.[19] They offer historians a profound insight into the spiritual framework under which Gaels operated when pursuing secular goals.

The arrival of William and Mary onto the throne of Scotland was a single, albeit significant, event in the ongoing struggle to appropriate Scotland's soul and embody the national spirit.[20] William of Orange had facilitated the seemingly seismic shift of Scottish ecclesiastical and political life in favour of the Presbyterian vision and experience, articulated in the 1689 Claim of Right and favoured by many, but not all Scots.[21] While William would have preferred an episcopal settlement of the Scottish Church, the loyalty of the Scottish bishops to the Stewart regime left him with no viable alternative to the Presbyterian system.[22] Bishop Alexander Rose of Edinburgh's limited offer to the Prince of Orange, that he would serve 'so far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me', served simultaneously as a declaration of loyalty to the Restoration monarchy and the first overt statement of Jacobitism.[23] While much of Gaelic society adhered to Episcopalianism, and this adherence often translated into support for the Jacobite cause, Gaels nurtured a distinct vision of Scotland as a spiritual, geographical and historical entity. The removal of the rightful Stewart monarch, the Massacre of Glencoe, the surrendering of Scottish independence and the succession of a German Elector, there being 'more than fifty people closer in blood than [him] in the continent of Europe', were viewed as part of an ongoing historical struggle that stretched back to Bannockburn in 1314.[24] This uncertain situation provided a fertile ground for a culture of controversy and conflict between major

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[19] J. Macinnes, 'Religion in Gaelic Society', in M. Newton (ed.), *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal: Selected Essays of John Macinnes* (Edinburgh, 2006), 436-437.

[20] Whatley, 'Reformed Religion, Regime Change', 70.

[21] '1689 Claim of Right', in G. Donaldson (ed.), *Scottish Historical Documents*, 252-258; Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity*, 43.

[22] L. Glassey, 'William II and the Settlement of Religion in Scotland, 1688–99', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. 23 (1989), 317-29.

[23] J. Skinner, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, Vol. 2 (London, 1788), 514; Raffe, 'Episcopacy and the Stewart Monarchy', 7.

[24] J. L. Campbell (ed.), *Highland Songs of the 'Forty-Five* (Edinburgh, 1984)

competing visions of Scotland: past, present and future. By focusing solely on the major military conflicts of the period, we run the risk of obscuring the conflicting belief systems from which conflict arose. The eighteenth century was an era of major political and social upheaval across Scotland and Britain, with the Revolution, the Union and the growth of empire profoundly affecting Scots of all social ranks. Sermons and Gaelic poetry provide historians with the means to unpick and establish the ways in which the deeply religious communities of Scotland understood and reacted to these developments.

Chapter One

The Revolution, Establishment, the Covenants and Treating Scotland's Ills: Presbyterian Cosmologies, 1689-c.1746

This chapter aims to unpick and examine the extant Presbyterian cosmology of the period, and the ways in which this dictated social and political responses to major events, through an analysis of contemporary sermons. The pulpit was the primary means by which churchmen articulated and transmitted the relationship between the Scottish nation and God and the ways in which to affect this.[1] Accordingly, at the outset of the eighteenth century Presbyterian religious identity, manifest in the Kirk, was the primary means by which Presbyterians defined Scotland, while geographical boundaries and language were considered secondary but significant factors. This was a legacy of the Covenanting period in which the church and nation had established its unique relationship with God.[2] In conjunction with this, it was characteristic of the early-modern mindset to interpret events, great and small, within the framework of belief in God's divine providence.[3] In times of crisis — be it civil war, famine, natural disaster, economic troubles, political instability, religious schism — agents of the Kirk diagnosed and presented these ill circumstances as necessary atonement for the nation's sin. This diagnosis was transmitted as a denunciation followed by an exhortation to atone for this sin by solemnly accepting punishment and, for those in the position to do so, taking steps to rectify its root causes.

As the eighteenth century unfolded, Presbyterianism's hegemony over the hearts and minds of communities in the Scottish Lowlands faded as groups seceded from the established church and other denominations increased in popularity. Furthermore the social, political and intellectual developments that arose in this period as a result of liberal government and commercialisation saw the monopoly of discipline gradually slip from the grasp of the church into the hands of the secular state.[4] Accordingly, this chapter will also shed light on the ways in which the ideas and content of Presbyterian sermons developed and diverged in this period.

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[1] B. Harris, 'Communicating', in E. Foyster and C. A. Whatley (eds.), *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600–1800* (Edinburgh, 2010), 179.

[2] Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity*, 19.

[3] J. Stephen, *Defending the Revolution*, 19-21.

[4] C. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh, 1997), 8-11.

1.1 Securing Ground for the Kirk: the Aftermath of the Glorious Revolution

It was not until relatively recently that Scottish Presbyterianism, defined in terms of ecclesiology and views on Crown authority, has been recognised as a major contributor to the political landscape of Scotland following the Revolution of 1688-9.[5] Jeffrey Stephen's work has shed light on the coalition of interests that existed between William of Orange, who sought a loyal and peaceful settlement of the Scottish Church, and the Presbyterians who sought a monarch that would not interfere with the governance of the Kirk.[6] However, the re-establishment of Presbyterian government in the Church of Scotland was not viewed by the beneficiaries as a kindness, bestowed by and dependent on the favour of the monarch and his ministers. It was viewed in terms of divine providence and, while William was afforded pride of place as God's 'Glorious Instrument', the avowed determination to secure the new Presbyterian establishment went above and beyond defensive political posturing and an insular consolidation of gains.[7] Alasdair Raffe has exhibited the ways in which Presbyterian ideas continued to affect political discourse in the wake of the Revolution.[8]

In June 1690, Edinburgh minister David Williamson delivered a sermon before the King's Commissioner and the estates of parliament. It reads as a typical reinforcement of Presbyterian loyalty to King William, his ministers and the Revolution interest. Williamson presents William as a legitimate godly prince, a 'Glorious Deliverer', but exhorts the monarch to heed the church's counsel lest he 'hazard the falling of the Crown off his head'. The emphasis here is on exhorting the magistrate to accept the counsel of the church in matters of governance, especially those that affect the church, as 'It would be a burden too heavy, even for a Moses alone, to rule a Nation or great city'. This is reinforced in a comparison between the 'Pope's King' and 'God's King'. The former is obedient to Rome, a promoter of idolatry and an opponent of the 'wholesome laws' of the kingdom, while the latter is defined by his concession that his subjects are, first and foremost, God's people. The model of the good king is that of the Presbyterian king: he accepts Christ as the head of the church, and makes no attempt to interfere with spiritual matters reserved for the

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[5] A. Raffe, 'Presbyterianism, Secularization, and Scottish Politics After the Revolution of 1688–1690', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 53 (2010), 317

[6] J. Stephen, *Scottish Presbyterians and the Act of Union, 1707* (Edinburgh, 2007).

[7] '1689 Claim of Right', 255.

[8] Raffe, 'Presbyterianism, Secularization and Scottish Politics', 319-320.

Church. This sermon is based on a quotation from Proverbs 28:28: 'when the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice, when the wicked bear rule, the people mourn'. Most significantly, it reveals the confidence and bravado that permeated the Presbyterian church following its apparent providential deliverance from its persecutors:

> That the Opposers of Christ who rebel against him, but shew their Teeth and Labour in vain; For the Lord will settle Christ's Kingdome in the visible Church, Nill they, wil ol they; and mock his Enemies, and vex them till he ruine them, for the Stability of Christ's Kingdom is decreed in the Covenant of Redemption.[9]

Presbyterian triumphalism, a common characteristic of Church of Scotland sermons in the wake of the Revolution, arose naturally from the rapid unfolding of favourable and seemingly impossible circumstances, in conjunction with one of the basic tenets of the Westminster Standards: the belief in providence as the enactment of God's divine decrees. This belief was accompanied by an understanding that the opportunities afforded by God's divine providence must be seized by men. Regardless of the situation, labour and suffering were still required to sustain the gains afforded by God's writ.[10] This is well articulated by Duncan Forbes of Culloden, 'The Providence of God put often occasiones in Men's hands of advancing his glorie and their own good'.[11]

Gilbert Rule, a Presbyterian minister ousted by the Restoration regime in 1662 then reinstated as a minister in Edinburgh following James VII's indulgence, delivered a sermon in 1690 in which he acknowledges the difficulties ahead but exhorts the congregation to relish the opportunity to build the worldly church in its perfect form. This sermon is based on the passage in Isaiah 2:2, notable for its post-millennialist connotations: 'And it shall come to pass in the last dayes, that the Mountain of the Lords house shall [be] established in the top of the Mountains, and shall be exalted above the Hills: And all Nations shall flow unto it'. Rule exhorts the congregation to 'use the greatest application, the greatest Care, the greatest Wariness, Consideration and Zeal' in preparing the church and its constitution; that it '*Shall be Established* That is fixed, made impregnable' to its enemies to ensure that 'God will put a Lustre on her'. Once this has come to pass:

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[9] D. Williamson, *A sermon preached before his Grace the King's commissioner, and the three estates of Parliament, June the 15th. 1690. By David Williamson Minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1690), 4-5, 8, 2.

[10] Stephen, *Defending the Revolution*, 19-22. Cf. Anon., *Three Sermons Preach'd in Scotland by Three Ministers of that Church As Now Established*, (London, 1700)

[11] 'The State of things in 1696' in H. R. Duff (ed.), *Culloden Papers Comprising an Extensive and Interesting Correspondence from the year 1625 to 1748* (London, 1815), 317.

Men (when the Lord poureth out the Spirit on them that seemeth to be promised in the Text) will contribute what they can to promote her Spiritual Glory […] The Church must be fixed and exalted *above the Mountains and Hills*. That is, preferred to all the other Interests of Men.[12]

This serves as an exposition of Christian duty, with Presbyterian church polity as a foundational element: 'a well reformed church is of greater glory with God than a flourishing Kingdom'.[13] He articulates a vision in which modes of church governance and the wellbeing of the nation are inextricably linked. This reflects the Presbyterian view of episcopacy as an expedient mode of church governance that taints religion with worldly concernments. The Restoration era, labelled 'the late Prelacy' by Presbyterians, brought about 'a great decay of piety', primarily due to the disregard for correct church polity: that is Scotland's failure to 'set the Mountain of the Lords House upon the top of the Mountains'.[14] In the aftermath of the Revolution, the re-established Presbyterian Church of Scotland was a thriving and proactive institution. Its dedicated core of ministers were determined to grasp providential opportunities and labour to restore Scotland to its rightful place in God's vision. On the other hand, the ideological inability — or outright refusal — of the Presbyterians to separate the concept of nation from that of the Established Church reveals an initial inability to accept Scotland becoming a multi-denominational nation.[15]

1.2 Interpreting Crisis, 'Reforming the Nation' and Secession: Visions for Redeeming Scotland's Soul

The immediate need for a proactive Church became more poignant among Presbyterians following a series of failed harvests between 1695 and 1699. A period of economic stagnation and agricultural failure accompanied reports of public immorality and irreligion in Scottish cities. Social consequences were exacerbated by a number of natural disasters in Lowland cities, including a devastating fire in Edinburgh in 1700, and the imminent failure of Darién colony. Presbyterian churchmen and members of the laity alike

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[12] G. Rule, *A Sermon preached before His Grace the King's Commissioner and the Three Estates of Parliament, May 25th, 1690* (Edinburgh, 1690), 1-2; Post-Millennialism, the expectation of the betterment of humanity prior to the second coming of Christ, was still very much a key element of Presbyterian eschatology prior to the nineteenth century and it is important to keep this in mind when examining Church initiatives in this period. See D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, 1989), 80–86.

[13] Ibid, 5-6; See also, *A Discourse of Suppressing Immorality and Promoting Godliness being the Substance of Some Sermons* (Edinburgh, 1701)

[14] BHO, General Assembly Act XII. Sess. 25, 1690, 'anent a Solemn National Fast and Humiliation'.

[15] M. F. Graham, *The Blasphemies of Thomas Aikenhead: Boundaries of Belief on the Eve of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 2008), 24.

interpreted these events, through the lens of Godly providence, as divine judgement. This contributed to a sense of insecurity as providence now seemed to be working against the Presbyterians.[16] While Episcopalians interpreted these events in terms of retribution for the deposition of the rightful king, this explanation was utterly incompatible with the Presbyterian cosmology.[17] Thus, the diagnosis offered by those in the pulpit focused on the rifeness of sin, a byproduct of the 'decay of piety', and the issue of the covenants, which had been outlawed by the previous regime but never renounced by the Presbyterians.

In a sermon titled *Scotland's Sin, Danger and Duty*, David Williamson draws heavily from the Book of Ezekiel. This concerns the judgement of Israel, the judgement of nations and the promise of better times following the banishment of sin. Ezekiel, God's watchman, warns of the impending destructive purification of Jerusalem, made necessary by the presence of idols in God's temple. Listing multiple scriptural examples of the reckoning of nations, Williamson presents the ministry as watchmen in the place of Ezekiel, tasked with alerting and saving those willing to heed God's warning:

> That when judgements are threatened, feared and impending; Ministers should warn People, and People should take Warning; and both at their peril.

He refers to the common sins of people and exhorts magistrates to punish these accordingly, lest they provoke God. However, most signficantly he warns against 'Covenant-Breaking', stating that 'it is binding upon us, and will be binding on our Posterity' to ensure that Scotland is rid of 'Popery, Prelacy, and Superstition'. The nation must strive for 'the Purity of Doctrine, Discipline, Worship of this Church; and for further Reformation of Manners'.[18] A similar message is expounded by Rule:

> The Prophaneness, Immorality, and Irreligion of this Generation is come to a prodigious height […] We have in this Psalm […] an example very Instructive, Directive, and Encourageing of all who would contribute, toward the reforming the Manners of a degenerate Age. David here giveth us account of his Resolutions and Endeavours, to Reform the nation.[19]

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[16] M. F. Graham, 'Kirk in Danger: Presbyterian Political Divinity in Two Eras', in B. Heal and O. P. Grell, (eds.), *The Impact of the European Reformation: Princes, Clergy and People* (Aldershot, 2008), 167; N. P. Gray, *'A Publick Benefite to the Nation': the Charitable and Religious Origins of the SSPCK, 1690-1715* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2011), 15.

[17] T. N. Clarke, *The Scottish Episcopalians: 1688-1720* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1987), 41.

[18] D. Williamson, *Scotland's Sin, Danger, and Duty. Faithfully Represented in a Sermon Preach'd at the West-Kirk, August 23d, 1696* (Edinburgh, 1720), 7, 12, 35.

[19] Rule, *A Discourse of Suppressing Immorality*, 3-5.

Church and government initiatives to 'reform the nation' were varied and, to modern sensibilities, appear to span from manifestations of rigid and intolerant puritanism to harbingers of the Enlightenment. However, they were part of the same project: geared towards the same goal. As John Dickson resolves that 'Now is the time, now is the day, for you to work, there is a Double task in your hand, Purging and Planting'.[20] The energetic and comprehensive purging of Episcopalians from church and university offices between 1689 and 1716 deprived a total of 664 ministers from their positions.[21] In 1695, the Scottish Parliament Act ratified an earlier statute making blasphemy a capital offence, implicitly reinforcing the Kirk's claim to a monopoly on moral discipline and determining religious orthodoxy.[22] In January 1697, Thomas Aikenhead was executed under this statute for reportedly claiming, amongst other things, that theology was 'a rhapsody of feigned and ill-evented nonsense'. On the other hand, Presbyterians were increasingly concerned with charity and education of the poor as a means of planting and propagating 'True Religion' comprehensively across Scotland:

> Breeding of Young Ones […] If every Family that is Rich, or can live well, should take a Young one and feed them, and Cloath them, and breed them in Religion […] what a Blessing would it be to the Nation? […] It is a work, that may not only be of advantage to the poor Young Ones, and their necessitous Parents, but may be of publick advantage […] It is als[o] for the publick good to Erect Schools and Colledges to Bursarys, whereby many good Spirits, which through poverty might be lost, are trained up for the publick Service.[23]

This was a strategy intended to restore the nation's covenant with God and ensure that the next generation of Scots would not be tainted by the excesses of the Restoration era, which continued to plague Scotland. There was a clear preoccupation with areas that the Kirk had yet to penetrate: the Highlands and the Lowlands north of the Tay. Rule asserts that, for that part of the nation that has already been secured, it would be a 'sin of omission' and a scandal to leave those areas 'As living without all Visible Exercise of Religion; who live like Heathens, or rather like Brutes; some seldom or never hear the Word'.[24] In another sermon, he expresses the need for 'advancing Religion among our *Highlanders*'. He

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[20] J. Dickson, *A Sermon Preached in the Church of Air, at the sitting down of the Synod; Tuesday October 4th 1698* (Glasgow, 1698), 23.

[21] T. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A Modern History* (London, 2012), 64.

[22] K. Brown, et al. (eds.), *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, (St Andrews, 2007-2014), 1695/5/117. URL: http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1695/5/117, [accessed 27 May 2015]

[23] G. Rule and G. Meldrum, *Two sermons preached at the meeting of the council of George Heriot's hospital at Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1695), 12-13.

[24] G. Rule, *A Discourse of Suppressing Immorality and Promoting Godliness*, 6.

exhorts those in religious and secular authority: 'If there be any among us, high or low, in Publick or Private Station, who do not concern themselves in this matter, it is a token that the love of God and the Zeal for Him, are not to be found with them'.[25] This is an expression of the Kirk's desire to align the Presbyterian conception of Scotland with that of its geographical boundaries, but it also reads as a manifesto for a project of national improvement. This would manifest itself in 1709, with the founding of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge: a charity organisation committed to securing the nation for the Kirk, bettering conditions and education across areas that lacked adequate provision and winning over hearts and minds to the Revolution settlement and the subsequent Hanoverian succession.[26] These goals were inseparable in the Presbyterian mind.[27]

As time progressed, however, divisions began to arise with regards to theology, the compromises the Church was willing to make and the means by which it could achieve its goals. The legislation of 1712 and, to a lesser extent, the Union of 1707 were to provide political catalysts for these divisions, while the Simson and Marrow controversies were to add theological fuel to the debate. The Act for the Security of the Church Scotland enabled the majority of Presbyterian clergy to accept the Union, as it guaranteed Presbyterianism as the permanent mode of governance in the Kirk and provided an extra layer of protection against Jacobite counter-revolution.[28]

The passing of the Patronage Act of 1712, however, brought the Union under scrutiny. This Act restored the right of local lay patrons to appoint ministers, striking at the distinguishing Presbyterian belief that congregations should call their own. In the throes of contention over this issue John Simson, Professor of Theology at the University of Glasgow, managed to avoid serious censure despite being tried by the General Assembly for espousing a more liberal, 'heretical' theology. This enraged the more conservative members of the Church,

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[25] G. Rule and G. Meldrum, *Two sermons preached,* 12, 8.

[26] M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth-Century Puritanism in Action* (London, 1964), 165.

[27] J. Kelly *'It is a work that all who profess Christianity should be assisting in': A Study of the Origins, Operation and Impact of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands, 1680-1800* (Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2014), 1-6.

[28] K. Bowie, 'Public Opinion, Popular Politics and the Union of 1707', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 82 (2003), 257-258; Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 75; C. Whatley, '"Zealous in the Defence of the Protestant Religion and Liberty": the Making of Whig Scotland, c.1688-c.1746', in A. Macinnes et al (eds.), *Living with Jacobitism, 1690-1788: the Three Kingdoms and Beyond* (London, 2014), 57.

who wished to see him heavily reprimanded.[29] In addition to this, the reprinting of a sixteenth century puritan book, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, was met with condemnation by the General Assembly despite ample support for the book's doctrine among many of the same conservative members who wished to see Simson more seriously punished. In 1732, one of the 'Marrowmen', Ebenezer Erskine delivered a sermon to the Synod of Perth and Stirling, denouncing patronage and the negative influence of wealth on the Church:

> I can find no warrant from the word of God, to confer the spiritual privileges of his House upon the rich beyond the poor, Whereas, by this act, the man with the gold ring and gay clothing is preferred unto the man with the vile raiment and poor attire. I add further, that this act, I judge, is inconsistent with the principles and practices of the best reformed churches […] which we are bound by solemn covenant to maintain. I am very firmly persuaded that […] this act will very soon terminate in the overthrow of the Church of Scotland.[30]

It was this sermon that preceded the setting up of the 'Associate Presbytery' and the first major secession from the Church of Scotland following the Revolution. This served to siphon off the more conservative, puritanical elements from the moderate majority of the Kirk, who were increasingly concerned with worldly affairs.[31] This did little, however, to hinder the unity of purpose and shared worldview among Presbyterians when opposing Episcopalians and those who nurtured hopes of a second Stewart restoration.[32]

1.3 Presbyterians, the Union and Jacobitism

The eighteenth century saw the union of the Scottish and English Parliaments, the rise and fall of Jacobitism, the Scottish Enlightenment, the splintering and diversification of religious opinion and the rise of the British Empire. The Church of Scotland and various other Presbyterian groups had their role to play in shaping these developments. Accordingly it is possible to trace the impact of their cosmologies, rooted in theological and historical understanding, in both justifications and criticisms of these circumstances.

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[29] Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity*, 73.

[30] E. Erskine, *The Whole Works of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine: Consisting of Sermons and Discourses on Important and Interesting Subjects* (London, 1826), 472.

[31] Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 74.

[32] C. Kidd, 'Conditional Britons: the Scots Covenanting Tradition and the Eighteenth−Century British State', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 117 (2002), 1147-1176

It is widely acknowledged that the Union of 1707 was carried in the teeth of popular opposition. This fact has been employed, as Bowie points out, to portray the process as a 'political job', motivated by self-interest, short-sighted expediency and the machinations of Scottish and English parliamentarians.[33] The Church of Scotland was initially a vociferous opponent to the idea of an incorporating union, yet once its established position was guaranteed in a unified British state official church opposition ceased. With regards to the Union debate, the importance of the Kirk and ideas rooted it Presbyterianism has been called into question. Riley maintains that, among the political elite, there were 'convinced presbyterians and equally committed episcopalians. However, the majority […] did not greatly care'.[34] This reading greatly understates the significance of the Presbyterian world-view in the formation of opinions relating to the Union: a world-view that for many was inextricably linked with Scottish Whig ideology.[35] In April 1707, George Wishart delivered a sermon in which he expressed his belief that the Revolution settlement, in particular the Presbyterian establishment of the Kirk, would be more secure following union with England.[36] The 1707 Act for Security of the Church of Scotland, passed separately by parliament from the articles of Union, guaranteed the permanent Presbyterian structure of the Kirk.[37]

Within the context of the continued strength of non-juring Episcopalianism and its political counterpart, Jacobitism, in sizeable parts of the country, the Union and subsequent Hanoverian settlement provided an additional layer of protection for those who fought to secure the Church in the aftermath of the Revolution.[38] This is not to suggest that support for the Union was consistent and guaranteed among Presbyterians throughout this period, but rather that it became a prevailing view amongst mainstream churchmen. Seceders, the United Societies and the more evangelically inclined were often critical of the settlement, denouncing creeping pragmatism and the increased pre-occupation with secular affairs that

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[33] W. Ferguson, 'The Making of the Treaty of Union of 1707', *SHR*, Vol. 43 (1964), 89-110; K. Bowie, 'Public Opinion, Popular Politics and the Union of 1707', 226–60; cf. P. H. Scott, *Andrew Fletcher and the Treaty of Union* (Edinburgh, 1994).

[34] P. W. J. Riley, *King William and the Scottish Politicians* (Edinburgh, 1979).

[35] Whatley, 'Reformed Religion, Regime Change', 71.

[36] W. Wisheart, *A Sermon Preached before His Grace, David, Earl of Glasgow, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, and the General Assembly on the 8th day of April 1707* (1707), cited in Stephen, *Defending the Revolution*, 158.

[37] '1707 Act for Security of the Church of Scotland', Donaldson (ed.), *Scottish Historical Documents* 275-277.

[38] Whatley, '"Zealous in the Defence of the Protestant Religion and Liberty"', 56.

was diluting theological concerns.[39] This was particularly evident in clashes over patronage and toleration, following respective Acts of Parliament in 1711 and 1712. Yet these groups overwhelmingly supported the status quo against the threat of Jacobitism.[40] Across the spectrum of Presbyterianism, this was justified in practical, historical and theological terms. These were synthesised into a coherent ideology that portrayed the Union as practical safeguard of hard-won liberties, whilst maintaining distinctive Scottish and English identities.[41]

To the Presbyterian psyche, it was clear what was at risk: protection from arbitrary and despotic Stewart rule, the memory of which still resonated in the Presbyterian recollection of the 'Killing Times'; religious freedom, security of property and, by the middle of the century, peace and prosperity.[42] Once the practical economic benefits of the Union began to materialise, it was further justified in theological terms by those in the Church.[43] This is evident in a sermon by Reverend George Ogilvy, delivered shortly after the defeat of the Jacobite army at Culloden in April 1746. In Whatley's opinion, his views perfectly encapsulate the Kirk's mindset with regards to the Scotland, Britain and Jacobite threat. He bases the sermon on Psalm 126:3: 'The Lord hath done great things for us whereof we are glad'.[44] He lists examples of providence in Scotland's history, beginning with its deliverance from 'Popery' in 1560. Following this, Ogilvy invokes the memory of the Restoration: a period of Presbyterian suffering and national estrangement from God, followed by the providential deliverance brought through William III, 'the Happy Instrument of rescuing us from Popery and Arbitrary Government'. He praises the British constitution, under which the Scots now lived:

> …the happiest Constitution in the world a Constitution so wisely balanced as to lay proper restraints upon the power of the Prince as well as upon the Giddy and unstable people.

This is punctuated by a denunciation of the Jacobites and non-juring Episcopalians who were still committed to the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary and divine right. He

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[39] Muirhead, 'Reformation, Dissent and Diversity', 65.

[40] C. Kidd, 'Conditional Britons:', 1174-1176; A. Raffe, 'Presbyterians and Episcopalians', 587.

[41] Whatley, 'Reformed Religion, Regime Change', 98-99; Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, 73.

[42] Whatley, 'The Making of Whig Scotland', 68-69.

[43] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, 9.

[44] Rev. G. Ogilvy, 'A Thanksgiving Sermon for the Victory Obtain'd over the Rebels at Colloden by His Royal Highness the D of Cumberland Preached at Menmuir the 26th of June 1746', cited in Whatley, '"Zealous in the Defence of the Protestant Religion and Liberty"', 61-63.

criticises 'notions that prevail amongst Slavish people […] who entertain a kind of Idolatrous veneration for their Monarch and the supposed sacred line of his family'. There is also a large amount of anti-Catholic rhetoric, prominent in sermons throughout the century, reinforcing the Presbyterian equation of Catholicism with despotism.[45]

Another salient and interesting example of this cohesive synthesis of Presbyterian political theology and British constitutionalism can be found in Adam Ferguson's *Sermon in the Ersh Language*, delivered to the Highland Black Watch regiment during the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion.[46] The language and audience are of particularly importance, as Gaels provided the bedrock of military support for the Jacobite cause. Many of those fighting in this regiment, in following orders to defend Britain against the Jacobites were also following orders to slay their own disaffected kin.[47] Ferguson's message rests on 2 Samuel 10:12, quoted 'Be of good Courage, and let us play the Men for our People, and for the Cities of our God…'.[48] The text presents peace, stable government and good order, characteristics of life in much of Scotland and Britain by 1745, as a political manifestation of divine providence.

Ferguson claims, in a disparagement of those responsible for the uprising, 'that public calamities are the effect of public corruption, and that there is no way of thoroughly averting the punishment [from God] but by a general reformation of manners'. Following this, he denounces 'unrestrained lusts of a tyrant [the Stewart claimant]', stating 'If any man is insensible of the advantages that we enjoy as subjects of Britain it must be owing to his want of experience and his being a stranger to oppression'. He lists religious freedom, peace, civil society and a well balanced constitution to exhort his regiment to defend their country, before concluding 'If you oppose your acquaintances it is to prevent their ruin: If you oppose your relations it is to save them and their posterity from slavery forever'.[49] This reveals a theological separation of divine providence from the the institution of

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[45] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, 66-9

[46] Rev, A. Ferguson, *A Sermon Preached in the Ersh Language to His Majesty's First Highland Regiment of Foot, Commanded by Lord John Murray, At their Cantonment at Camberwell, on the 18th Day of December 1745. Being appointed as a Solemn Fast.* (London, 1746).

[47] M. Arbo, 'Adam Ferguson's Sermon in the Ersh Language: a Word From 2 Samuel on Martial Responsibility and Political Order', *Political Theology*, Vol. 12 (2011), 897; T. Devine, *Clanship to the Crofters' War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands* (Manchester, 1994) 19-22.

[48] Poignantly, Ferguson chose not to include the concluding words of the passage, 'may the Lord do as he wills'.

[49] Ferguson, *Sermon*, 1, 8.

kingship in the Presbyterian world-view. Instead providence is bestowed on the Kirk and the Scottish nation, by way of good government, liberty, order and advancement. Ferguson's rhetoric is also couched in the typical Presbyterian view of Catholicism. It is an anti-Christian, despotic force and Prince Charles is an agent of Roman deception bringing needless conflict between countrymen to a peaceful and prosperous land.[50]

Conclusions

These case studies have shed light on the ways in which Scottish Presbyterians understood the relationship between the Scottish nation and God. Presbyterians did not subscribe to typical notions of divine-right kingship, which imbued the Stewart dynasty with an indefeasible hereditary right to the throne. Instead, many were certain of a more immediate relationship between God and the people of Scotland, maintained by the Presbyterian structure of the Kirk. This is a direct development of the political and theological ideas encapsulated in the National Covenant of 1638, which sought to limit royal authority and prevent top-down innovations in forms of worship.[51]

With this in mind, historians can understand the attachment of a large number of Scots to the Revolution settlement and subsequent Union with England. In addition, the Presbyterian understanding of Scotland as a Reformed and covenanted nation made it wholly necessary for them to pursue an alignment of this conception with that of Scotland's geographical boundaries. This manifested itself in efforts to reform manners, with an eye to removing the corrupting influences of the Restoration period from the fabric of society, and a number of parallel initiatives intended to establish the Church in areas that still adhered to Episcopalianism. This serves to partially explain the intolerance and puritanism that gripped Presbyterians in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution. A rising generation of more liberal and secular-minded clergy came to prominence in the Church as the eighteenth century progressed. This was to the distaste of more conservative ministers such as Ebenezer Erskine, and his brother Ralph, who made clear their opposition to the Kirk's resolution to the Simson trial and its stance on the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*. There is a notable divergence in the worldviews of these parties, as those that seceded tended towards a more spiritual understanding of the world, based on

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[50] Arbo, *Adam Ferguson's Sermon*, 899.
[51] Stephen, *Defending the Revolution*, 82-85.

traditional Presbyterian doctrine, while many within the Established Church were more worldly and equivocal in their views.[52] This is most evident in the context of the Patronage Act of 1712 and cases of church discipline involving heterodox ideas. These issues revealed the cracks that led to schism and secession. Conservative ministers stood firmly in opposition to the imposition of lay patronage and the lenient treatment of accused heretics, while many who remained in the Church of Scotland gradually came to tolerate the Patronage Act and tended to shy away from, what they perceived to be, outdated and draconian forms of church discipline.[53]

Even in instances of schism, however, a common enemy united the worldviews of Presbyterians. Debates over the precise details of doctrine, matters of discipline and the means by which Presbyterian ministers were appointed were temporarily relegated into insignificance when Presbyterians were faced with Episcopalians. Episcopal clergy were seen as disloyal traitors and superstitious mystics who misled people with liturgical innovations and the invented elevation of clergy and bishops above their congregations.[54] This was in addition to the Presbyterian association of Episcopalianism with the opulence, immorality and 'decay of piety' that arose during the Restoration period. There was a direct correlation in the Presbyterian mind between the continued existence of Episcopalianism, public immorality, economic stagnation and natural disaster.

With the onset of a period of relative prosperity brought about by peace, political stability and unhindered commerce, Presbyterian providentialism softened, viewing apparent social order and security of the Kirk as clear indicators of God's favour. This contributed to a mood of tolerance and moderation within the Kirk, as no period of extended peace had existed hitherto in the collective Presbyterian memory. Their view of the Highlands tended to emphasise the ignorance of the people and their lack of contact with the gospel, which, it will later be argued, represents a historically recurrent Lowland misunderstanding of Gaelic society. However, it prompted paternalistic, and often misguided, attempts to provide religious education to the communities living there which yielded some positive results. Without exception, the Jacobite cause represented the antithesis of the Presbyterian

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52 Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity* 51.

53 A. L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Scottish Church, 1688-1843: The Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh, 1981), 31-34.

54 'Letter from the Earl of Crawford to the Earl of Melville, 1689' in W. Melville (ed.), *Leven and Melville Papers: Letters and State Papers Chiefly Addressed to George Earl of Melville, Secretary of State for Scotland, 1689-1691* (Edinburgh, 1843), 355-6.

vision of Scotland and the folk memory of suffering under Charles II united divergent groups of Presbyterians against this common enemy.[55] The threat of resumed persecution, war and despotism ensured that Presbyterians were among those committed to preventing a Stewart restoration. This study will now focus on the Scottish Episcopalian church to provide an alternative viewpoint to that of the Presbyterians. This endeavour will assist in further illuminating the ecclesiastical politics and causes of conflict in Scotland from the Revolution to the effective defeat of Jacobitism.

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[55] Kidd, 'Conditional Britons'. 1172.

Chapter Two

Disestablishment, Rebellion and Survival: Episcopalian Cosmologies, 1689-c.1746

From the perspective of the Episcopalians in Scotland, the period under scrutiny is characterised by the Revolution's subversion of central Episcopalian tenets concerning authority, disestablishment, persecution and the subsequent struggle for survival in the teeth of a hostile and increasingly confident Presbyterian establishment. Similar to the situation in Church of England, the Revolution saw Episcopalians split between jurors, those who recognised William and Mary as *de jure* monarchs and took the oath abjuring loyalty to the Stewart monarch, and non-jurors, those who refused to recognise the new monarch or take the oath, remaining loyal to the Stewart claimant. Central to the non-jurors' cosmological conception of the world was a quasi-sacramental view of secular authority which proscribed armed resistance against hereditary lords in favour of passive obedience.[1] While Presbyterians viewed the Williamite Revolution as a mark of divine providence, most Episcopalians looked on with horror as the basic principles of their political-theological conception of both religious and secular authority were completely disregarded. The deposition of the Stewart monarch and his replacement with William of Orange was nothing short of a national sin.[2] Similar to Presbyterians, many Episcopalians articulated an intimate relationship between the Scottish nation as a geographical entity and God. However, the crucial point of departure between the two was in their respective beliefs regarding the source of religious authority on earth. It has been shown that Presbyterians, by virtue of the doctrine of 'Two Kingdoms' and the covenants, envisioned an immediate link between the purity of the Kirk and Scotland's relationship with God. Episcopalians on the other hand viewed the nation's fortunes in terms of dynastic and hereditary legitimacy as the basis of God's authority on earth.

Historical attention to the Scottish Episcopal Church in this period tends to emphasise its intimate relationship, and contemporary conflation, with Jacobitism. Presbyterian subversion of the tenet of indefeasible hereditary right, in conjunction with the abolition of episcopacy, certainly made Episcopalians natural allies to the the Stewart cause. Bruce

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[1] A. Macinnes, 'Jacobitism in Scotland: Episodic Cause or National Movement?', *SHR*, Vol. 86 (2007), 235; B. Lenman, 'The Scottish Nobility and the Revolution of 1688-90', in R. Beddard (ed.) *The Revolutions of 1688* (Oxford, 1991), 146.

[2] Raffe, 'Episcopacy and the Stuart Monarchy', 6-7.

Lenman has described Episcopalian spirituality as 'the steel in the Jacobite soul', while Alexander Emsley Nimmo has argued that the Episcopalian liturgy provided the 'sacramental soul' of the Jacobite cause.[3] In 1745, one contemporary Presbyterian commentator described Episcopalian meeting-houses in the North-East as 'nurseries of rebellion'.[4] This reinforces the crucial role that the Stewart monarchy occupied in the episcopal conception of Scotland as a religious and political entity. Several historians of the Episcopal Church have, with the benefit of hindsight, presented this as an unfortunate dependence and a weakness that stunted principled liturgical development and directly led to much of the Church's suffering in eighteenth century.[5] While the role of non-juring Episcopalians in nurturing and supporting Jacobitism cannot be doubted, there was certainly much more to the Episcopal Church in this period than their allegiance to the House of Stewart. In contrast to the ascendant Presbyterians, Episcopal clergy were tasked with maintaining their church and congregations against the encroachments of the religious and political establishment. The North-East of Scotland, particularly the regions within the diocese of Aberdeen, remained a bastion of both juring and non-juring Episcopalianism. There was a legacy of Episcopalian worship stretching back to the Restoration period, with both Marischal and King's College serving as ideological hubs of Episcopalian doctrine and the number of qualified episcopal clergy far exceeding that of the Presbyterians.[6] In this region, allegiance to the House of Stewart and a conception of the Episcopal Church as the *de jure* Church of Scotland in exile provided unifying factors in the wake of the Revolution. However, circumstances forced episcopal clergy to re-evaluate their conception the church.[7] As the Episcopal Church was, first and foremost, a religious body its primary concern was with providing pastoral care and spiritual fulfilment, while

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[3] B. Lenman, 'The Scottish Episcopal Clergy and the Ideology of Jacobitism', in E. Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689–1759* (Edinburgh, 1982), 46; A. E. Nimmo, 'Liturgy: The Sacramental Soul of Jacobitism', in *Living With Jacobitism*, 39-54.

[4] 'Memoirs of the Rebellion in Aberdeen and Banff', in C. S. Terry (ed.), *The Albemarle Papers; being the correspondence of William Anne, second earl of Albemarle, commander-in-chief in Scotland, 1746-7*, Vol. 1 (Aberdeen, 1902), 156; T. Clarke, ''Nurseries of Sedition'?: The Episcopal Congregations after the Revolution of 1689', in J. Porter (ed.), *After Columba, After Calvin: Religious Community in North-East Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1999), 62.

[5] F. Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland From the Restoration to the Present Time* (Edinburgh, 1976), J. P. Lawson, *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church: From the Revolution to the Present Time*, 2 Vols (Edinburgh, 1843).

[6] In 1697, there were less than 15 qualified presbyterian ministers for the entire Presbytery of Aberdeen which spanned 100 parishes and 160 square miles. On the other hand, in 1712 there were 39 episcopal ministers actively providing pastoral care in both new and old towns of Aberdeen, despite their legal disadvantage; I. B. Butterworth, *Episcopalians in Scotland, 1689-1745, with special reference to the North-east and the diocese of Aberdeen* (Unpublished M.Th. Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1978), 20-22.

[7] Clarke, *Scottish Episcopalians*, 422-3.

simultaneously ensuring that their congregations were not swayed by the Established Church.

2.1 'So Far as Law, Reason or Conscience Shall Allow Me': The Revolution, Disestablishment and the House of Stewart.

In 1660, Scotland possessed a common religious culture, centred around church discipline, minimal forms of worship and the Westminster Confession of Faith.[8] In most regions, Charles II's reintroduction of episcopacy made very little difference to established patterns of worship and religious practice.[9] However, the theological tenets central to the episcopal establishment were inherently deferential to Crown authority, in stark contrast to those of the Presbyterians. The chaos and disorder of the covenanting period and Cromwellian occupation were viewed as the natural fruits of the Presbyterian's crypto-democratic ideology, which treated secular power with suspicion rather than due obedience and afforded too much say in church matters to the laity.[10] The established Episcopal Church between 1661 and and 1690 is often understood primarily as a pragmatic and erastian corrective to the perceived excesses of the Presbyterians. The Restoration church reintroduced bishops, but beyond that there was very little change both at a parish level and in terms of the established framework of ecclesiastical courts.[11]

Episcopacy was defended by virtue of its gracious institution by Crown authority, and its alleged conduciveness to social order, rather than its basis in scripture.[12] This has led several historians to present the divergence of Presbyterians and Episcopalians in the 1690s as the result of an identity crisis within Episcopalian circles.[13] When it suited their purposes, Episcopalian commentators such as Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh and John Sage certainly emphasised the theological similarities between themselves and their

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[8] R. S. Spurlock, *Cromwell and Scotland: Conquest and Religion, 1650–1660* (Edinburgh, 2007); M. Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (Yale, 2002), 2.

[9] Raffe, 'Presbyterians and Episcopalians', 570.

[10] C. D. A. Leighton, 'Scottish Jacobitism, Episcopacy, and Counter-Enlightenment', *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 35 (2009), 4-5.

[11] Raffe, 'Episcopacy and Stuart Monarchy', 2-5; A. Shukman, *Bishops and Covenanters: Religion and Politics in Scotland, 1688-1691* (Edinburgh, 2012), 9-10.

[12] For an example see: 1662 sermon by Archbishop Sharp: National Library of Scotland, MS. 597, 'The Apologie of M[inister] J[ames] S[harp] 1 Cor. 2:2', 20 April 1662, fo. 75r; Raffe, 'Episcopacy and Stuart Monarchy', 4; 'Episcopacy and Religious Identity', in *Episcopacy and Scottish Identity*, 10; F. Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church*, 14-16.

[13] Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church*; J. P. Lawson, *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church: From the Revolution to the Present Time*, 2 Vols (Edinburgh, 1843).

Presbyterian brethren, for example in the forlorn attempt to achieve accommodation within the established Kirk following the abolition of episcopacy.[14] However, it would be misleading to present those committed to episcopacy in 1690 as unprincipled, erastian agents of the Stewart regime, sharing much of its doctrine with Presbyterians but remaining blindly obedient to Stewart authority.[15] The Episcopalian mindset may have been firmly couched in the experience of the tumultuous civil war period, but this only served to reinforce a pre-existing worldview with distinct convictions regarding role of the Church and the divine nature of rightfully possessed and justly executed authority. Thomas Rhind, a young Episcopalian minister, expresses his view of royal authority with reference to Paul's Epistle to the Romans:

> That by the King whom we are to Honour, in the text, is meant that Person with whom the supreme power is lodg'd, or that he is the same with what St. *Paul*, in the 13th of the *Romans*, calls *the Higher Powers* […] these were in Possession of the Sword, and that tribute was due to them. But the People cannot with any Shew of Reason pretend a right to either; and consequently they cannot be these Powers to whome obedience is due.

This is very much an exposition of the Episcopalian view of the illegitimacy of the Williamite Revolution. Where Presbyterians saw divine providence at work, Episcopalians saw the forceful subversion of natural political and religious order — an attempt on behalf of the people, represented by the Scottish Convention of Estates, to wield the sword of secular authority. He continues:

> Nor can the Body of the People commit the keeping of the Sword to one or moe [sic] of their Number; because none can give the Sword, that is, a Right over their own Lives, when they have no such Right themselves, this being the Prerogative only of the Author and Giver of Life, or of those of whom he does constitute his Viceregents in that behalf […] Almighty GOD is the sole Fountain of its power? *There is no power but of GOD*, say the scriptures […] He must be a bold Rebel indeed, who wou'd offer to dispute it with [St. Paul] the Apostle; and in opposition to him, maintain, that the People are the Fountain of Power: And if those in Authority, receive the Power immediately from GOD, tis to Him only, and not to the People, that they are accountable for the management of it.[16]

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[14] G. Mackenzie, *A Vindication of the Government in Scotland during the Reign of Charles II* (London, 1691), 9; Raffe, 'Presbyterians and Episcopalians', 592.

[15] Whatley, "'Zealous in the Defence of the Protestant Religion and Liberty'", 55; Stephen, *Defending the Revolution*, 293.

[16] T. R[hind] (often wrongly attributed to Thomas Rattray), *Liturgy and Loyalty Asserted and Recommended, in two Sermons preach'd the 13th of May A.D. 1711* (unpublished, 1711), 38-39.

The king's authority is vested in his person, not the office of the monarch: an important distinction at odds with the doctrine of the 1638 National Covenant. Oaths of loyalty and allegiance, which had been offered to James VII prior to his deposition, were still binding. This was foremost in the mind of the Bishop of Edinburgh, Alexander Rose, when pushed by William of Orange to indicate whether or not the Scots bishops would back his claim to the Scottish crown. He uttered the oft-quoted words 'Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me', in response to which William 'turned away from [him] and went back to his company'.[17] Upon his return to Scotland, the Scots bishops backed the Bishop of Edinburgh's stance, asserting that loyalty could not be transferred from James VII while he still lived.[18] Adherence to the principle of indefeasible hereditary right was part of the Episcopalians' understanding of the 'quasi-sacramental view of authority': an extension of Thomas Rhind's view of God as 'the sole Fountain' of authority in heaven and on earth.[19] This reflected, in theological terms, the widely held view that hereditary trusteeship, bestowed in Scotland upon the House of Stewart, provided the legitimate institutional basis of government from which justice was derived. By subverting this fundamental principle and violating genealogical continuity, the people of Scotland risked undermining the legal guarantees of justice upon which civil society was founded.[20]

2.2 Schism, Toleration, Persecution and Crisis

In a sermon delivered shortly after William of Orange's landing in England, Dr Alexander Monro, principal of the University of Edinburgh, denounces the barbarity of the Presbyterians who had participated in the 'Rabbling' — that is the coercive deprivation of Episcopalian clergy.[21] He uses the example of the murder of Archbishop Sharp of St Andrews in 1679 to draw a stark line between Episcopalian and Presbyterian belief:

> What we sacrifice unto God under the *New Testament*, must be something within the Circle of his Commandment. It is a wild fancy and Enthusiastick madness for men to think, that for the glory of God, we nay turn sanguinary Rebels, and barbarous murderers; as if the glory of God could be advanc'd by

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[17] National Records of Scotland [NRS], CH12/12/1833, 'Letter of Alexander Rose, bishop of Edinburgh to bishop Archibald Campbell in London, 22 October 1713'.

[18] Butterworth, *Episcopalians in Scotland*, 4-5.

[19] Bruce Lenman, 'The Scottish Episcopal Clergy and the Ideology of Jacobitism', 36–48.

[20] M. Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* (Edinburgh, 1995), 99; German, *Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire & Jacobitism in the North-East of Scotland, 1688-1750*, 17-19.

[21] A. Raffe, 'Episcopalian Polemic, the London Printing Press and Anglo-Scottish Divergence in the 1690s', *Journal of Historical Studies*, Vol. 26 (2006), 23, 33.

> violating his Laws and renversing the boundaries between Good and Evil […]
> Why do these unreasonable Men officiously interpose by their hallowed
> Sacrifices and strange Fire? They pretend to serve God zealously when they let
> loose those Passions the suppressing whereof is the most acceptable sacrifice.[22]

Prior to the Presbyterian settlement of the Church, Episcopal clergy used the pulpit as a means to condemn Presbyterianism which, by its very definition, committed 'the unnatural and damnable Sin of Schism'.[23] Central to this was a distrust of zealous enthusiasm and a deeply-held belief in the elevated pastoral role of the clergy. Ministers, priests and bishops were expected to stand aloof and guide their congregations away from extreme humours and human lusts, while Presbyterian ministers were accused of encouraging these among their congregations. John Sage, at the time an episcopal priest in Glasgow, warned in a sermon against 'preferring the false zeal of Men to those Divine mysteries and Almighty wisdom'.[24] Ministerial parity was perceived to lower the clergy to such a level that it catered to the 'lusts and passions' of the congregation, rather than mortifying them, instigating disobedience and, inevitably, schism. This was contrasted with the Episcopalian vision of obedience to divine authority and the 'orderly [apostolic] succession'.[25] Episcopalians viewed the Presbyterian settlement as the product of unrestrained human judgement, subverting the divinely ordained natural order.[26] The doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, grounded in scriptural precedent and the philosophy of neo-stoicism, distinguished the Episcopalian view of providence from that of the Presbyterians, who believed that providence could be seized rather than simply enacted from above. The 'Rabbling' of clergy and subversion of the episcopal church at hands of Presbyterians was viewed as a crypto-democratic removal of the divinely instituted episcopal basis of religious authority.[27]

Stemming from their unequivocal view of the unnatural substance of the Revolution and a continued adherence to traditional principles of divine right monarchy, non-juring Episcopalians nurtured the optimistic expectation of divine providence in facilitating the

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[22] A. Monro, *Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions: (Most of them) Before the Magistrates and Judges* (London, 1693), 266.

[23] J. Gillian, *The Life of the Reverend and Learned Mr. John Sage.* (London, 1714), 5-9; Leighton, 'Scottish Jacobitism, Episcopacy, and Counter-Enlightenment', 9-10.

[24] J. Sage, *Wisdom from the Truest Wisdom: a Sermon on St James iii.17* (Edinburgh, 1689), 13.

[25] A. Monro, *Sermons Preached in St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh* (London, 1693), 37; *An Enquiry into the New Opinions (chiefly) Propagated by the Presbyterians of Scotland* (London, 1696), 5–7.

[26] G. Grub, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland From the Introduction of Christianity to the Present Time,* Vol. 3 (Edinburgh, 1861), 315-316. Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity*, 22.

[27] Leighton, 'Scottish Jacobitism, Episcopacy, and Counter-Enlightenment', 8.

return of the Stewart kings. A direct historical parallel was drawn between the exile of James VIII and that of Charles II, a monarch miraculously restored to the throne following an extended period of war and English occupation.[28] Moreover, Episcopalians still observed the 30th January, the anniversary of the 'martyrdom' of Charles I. It should be noted that the Presbyterian view of the Restoration period as a time of moral decay, persecution and strife, was turned on its head by Episcopalians. They viewed Charles II's reign as an epoch of peace, prosperity and moderation as, unlike the Presbyterians, they were not subject to the coercive arm of the state.[29] By 1711, Episcopalians viewed their situation as a clear analogue to the plight of Scots in the 1650s: the monarchy supplanted by an oppressive regime; the nation subjugated through the Union of 1707. Around 1715, James Garden delivered a sermon condemning the people of Britain for breaching God's law, declaring recent famine and strife to be God's punishment.[30] On the other hand, Thomas Rhind cultivated optimism in declaring that the unnatural order of things would soon be rectified:

> Tho the divine Providence suffers Righteousness for sometime to be the opprest by reigning Iniquity, GOD will (and who knows how soon) vindicate his own Cause. Tho the Heavens now be o'rcast with Clouds; and tho we feel the dire Effects of these Storms, which the *Prince of Power of the Air*, that original Rebel doth raise, yet do we see the happy Day hast'ning, wherein the powerful Rays of the long eclipsed Sun shall pierce through the thickest Clouds […] This joyful day (did they consider) which Hope hath in View, will once be present, and all these Evils, which we now suffer, will then be over […] Why then should we complain, who are assured that the Revolution of a few years will make us more happy than ever?[31]

The synthesis of neo-stoicism and Episcopalian theology is also evident in the ways in which episcopal clergy presented the extended period of famine that befell Scotland in the 1690s: 'William's ill years'. In a sermon from 1693, Alexander Monro draws a historical parallel with conditions during the Cromwellian occupation. He offers solace to his congregation, exhorting those still committed to the Stewart kings and episcopal church to maintain their loyalty and religion in awaiting God's enactment of divine providence:

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[28] Raffe, 'Episcopacy and the Stuart Monarchy', 7-8.

[29] A. C[ant], *A Sermon Preach'd in One of the Meeting-Houses in Edinburgh, on Monday, January 31st, M. DCC, VII. Being the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of King Charles the First By Andrew Cant, One of the Suffering Clergy there* (Edinburgh?, 1707), 2.

[30] B. Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746* (London, 1980), 25.

[31] Rhind, *Liturgy and Loyalty Asserted*, 51-53.

WHY should I enter upon the History of that unfortunate Expedition? You all know the event of it; The sins of *Britain* stood in the way of our Recovery, and our *Nation, (for their contempt of God and their King)* groan'd under the Yoke of Anarchy, Confusion and prophane Pedantry; And those generous *Hero*'s that strove to recover the *Kings* Affairs at that time in *Scotland* were forced to give way to that Current of Impiety and Rebellion that then shook *Monarchy, Order, Religion* and the *Laws* But there's no fighting against the Decree of Heaven: He might have truly said of his Country what the *Roman Poet* makes *Hector* say of himself — Si Pergama dextrâ Defendi possent, *&c.*[32]

While loyalty to the Stewarts is a much-stated characteristic of non-juring Episcopalianism, the main task facing the clergy in this period was the ensuring of the security and spiritual independence of their church. Once again, it must be stated that Episcopalians were not blindly obedient to Stewart crown authority. Most believed that secular authority was fallible, but adhered to the 'doctrine of the cross', in which afflictions were to be endured with Christ-like stoicism.[33] Rebellion and Tumult were viewed as byproducts of schismatic and over-zealous Presbyterianism, above which Episcopalians sought to elevate themselves. Andrew Cant explains:

And where the Law cannot be safely obeyed in Conscience, we must suffer with christian Patience, the Penalties of our disobedience; but by no means affront the Persons of our Rulers, or disturb their Government, either by raising, or taking part with Tumult, Insurrection, and Rebellion.[34]

The Williamite regime did very little to protect the wellbeing of members of the Episcopal Church from the encroachments of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. For example, there were no attempts to bring Presbyterians to account for coercive deprivations of Episcopal clergy, nor was there any crown-legal protection for those who failed to recognise William as *de jure* monarch.[35] The Union of 1707 was received by Episcopalians, acting as both churchmen and Scots, as a means of further entrenching the Presbyterian settlement and weakening the Episcopalian Church. In the pulpit at Aberdeen, Dr James Garden stated that the Presbyterians had 'allowed and tamely permitted the

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[32] Monro, *Sermons preached upon several occassions*, 483; The abbreviated quote comes from lines 291-297 of Book 2 of Virgil's *Aeneid*. The poet Hector exhorts the narrator to flee the burning city of Troy following its capture by the Greeks. He states: 'Ah! Son of the goddess, fly, tear yourself from the flames./ The enemy has taken the walls: Troy falls from her high place./ Enough has been given to Priam and your country: if Pergama/ could be saved by any hand, it would have been saved by this./ Troy entrusts her sacred relics and household gods to you:/ take them as friends of your fate, seek mighty walls for them,/ those you will found at last when you have wandered the seas.'

[33] Butterworth, *Episcopalians in Scotland*, 23-25.

[34] A. C[ant], *A Sermon Preach'd in One of the Meeting-Houses in Edinburgh, on Monday, January 31st, 1715, Being the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of King Charles the First by A. C.* (Edinburgh, 1715), 5.

[35] Butterworth, *Episcopalians in Scotland*, 3-5.

Nation basely and shamefully to be sold and enslaved contrary to Express Remonstrances of most part of the Kingdom, under the specious name an pretence of an Union with England'.[36] Prior to the Toleration Act of 1712, the Established Presbyterian Kirk was still legally empowered to exercise authority over episcopal churchmen through church courts, albeit not without difficulty or resistance.[37] This certainly drew Episcopalians to the Stewart cause. The evidence suggests that, despite Presbyterian polemicists equating Episcopalianism with latent rebellion, Episcopalians, as defined by their doctrine, had reservations with regards to armed revolt, even against the oppressive Williamite and Hanoverian regimes. Despite a religious understanding of *De Jure* Stewart trusteeship, there is still a marked unwillingness on the part of Episcopalians to subvert the *De Facto* government, albeit initially supplemented by a conscientious desire to avoid praying in its favour. There is no evidence of a liberation theology nascent in the eighteenth-century Episcopalian sermon. This suggests that clerical involvement in Jacobite insurrection was symptomatic of a desperate, impoverished and persecuted clergy who sought to push the wheel of providence in their Church's favour, despite, not because of, their religious beliefs. Notwithstanding the controversy of the Union, the reign of Queen Anne, an Anglican Stewart, was a period of relative peace and stability for Episcopalians.[38] This suggests that as early as 1702, while Episcopalians certainly cultivated hopes of a second providential Stewart restoration, this loyalty was contingent on the Stewart monarch's commitment to re-establishing legal justice and religious freedom outwith the established Presbyterian Kirk. These were two basic liberties that were denied to Episcopalians prior to Anne's reign.

The Toleration Act of 1712 marks both high-point and a lost opportunity in the history of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The Act led to the increase in qualified, juring Episcopal chapels in the North-East, while also provoking a new wave of non-juring in Presbyterian circles. The rapprochement between the state and Episcopal Church is best illustrated by the Diocese of Aberdeen's laudatory address to Queen Anne following the successful conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht. The delegation, which included Drs. James and George Garden who would both contribute in 1715 to the very similar *Humble Address* to James VIII at Fetteresso, congratulated the Queen while complaining of continued

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[36] Cited in Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* 147.
[37] Clarke, *Scottish Episcopalians*, 265.
[38] Butterworth, *Episcopalians in Scotland*, 24.

persecution at the hands of Presbyterians.[39] The accession of George I brought with it a renewed suspicion of Scottish Episcopalians. The removal of the Tory government and George's insistence that Episcopalians renew their oaths of allegiance, or else lose all right to legal toleration, served to reverse the amity between the Church and the British state. It was in this context, with their hard-fought for position of security seemingly discarded in a moment, that many Episcopalians joined the Earl of Mar's insurrection following the landing of James VIII on Scottish soil.

2.3 Liturgy, Loyalty and the House of Stewart

Queen Anne's accession in 1702, in conjunction with the subsequent Tory landslide in the Westminster election, inaugurated a brief period of London-based government benevolence towards Scottish Episcopalians. Following the deaths of William, Mary and James VII, many Episcopal ministers who had previously been unwilling to take oaths of allegiance to the incumbent monarch were willing to qualify after Anne's accession. This temporary peace with the English, and then British, state enabled clergy to focus more energy on further articulating the Episcopal Church's theological vision. In the process of the revitalised debate on Toleration, Episcopalians were given the opportunity to better define themselves in terms of church doctrine and ecclesiology, while also developing a distinct liturgy and introducing set forms of prayer in worship.[40] This was accompanied by increased adoption of the English Book of Common Prayer, an initiative facilitated by the efforts of Queen Anne, and smaller-scale attempts to revive the use of the 1637 Scottish Service Book from 1712.[41]

The failure of the 1715 Jacobite Rising led to a five-year stint of crown-sanctioned, retributive persecution of Episcopalians at the hands of Presbyterians. In 1719, a penal law

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[39] German, *Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire and Jacobitism*, 49-50; *The humble address of the episcopal clergy of the Diocese of Aberdeen, presented by Dr. James and Dr. George Gordons, attended by Mr. Dongworth, Mr. Gray and Mr. Greenshields, Managers of the Charitable Contributions for Dispersing Common Prayer Books, among the Poor People in Scotland, and introduced by the Right Honourable the Earl of Marr [sic], one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State* (Edinburgh, 1713); *To the King's most excellent Majesty the humble address of the episcopal clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen presented to His Majesty by the Reverend Drs. James and George Gardens Dr. Burnet, Mr. Dunbreck, Mr. Blair, and Mr. Maitland, at Fetteresso, the twenty ninth of December 1715, introduc'd by His Grace the Duke of Mar, and by the Right Honourable the Earl Marischal of Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1716).

[40] Raffe, 'Episcopacy and Religious Identity', in *Episcopacy and Scottish Identity*, 14; 'Presbyterians and Episcopalians', 576-578; Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church*, 34-35,

[41] Tristram Clarke estimates that approx 20,000 copies of the English Book of Common Prayer were delivered to Scotland between 1712 and 1714, with many others successfully delivered in the aftermath of the Union of 1707: T. Clarke, '"Nurseries of Sedition"?', 65.

was introduced which made it illegal for any non-juring ministers to officiate at a service with more than nine people without praying for King George and his family. This law also increased the ability of local magistrates to inhibit and prosecute Episcopalian activity.[42] An Episcopalian minister delivered a sermon in 1720, following the passage of the Act, where he used the murder of Charles I to lament the unchristian bravado that brought many Episcopalians to the Jacobite cause, eventually leading to the repressive 1719 Act. He states:

> And what can be a greater Vengeance [to the Presbyterians] than to have their bad Principles entail'd upon us, and propagated among us, and entertain'd by us? […] What I have said, is enough to satisfie you all, That this is a *Time to Weep*.[43]

This repressive climate made it very difficult for clergy to operate as they had done prior to their involvement in the 1715 Rising. It was feared by clerical and lay elites that congregations would flock to the Presbyterian Church, as many may have seen little distinction in the forms of worship between the two churches and most people were unwilling to face legal sanctions for religious worship.[44] It was with this in mind that the Episcopalian elite, many from a non-juring background, established the congregation of St Paul's in 1720, 'according to the law', to provide a legal outlet for Episcopalian worship. However, the most significant development came through the continuation of the project initiated during the peaceful reign of Queen Anne: the development of distinctive liturgy. Inextricably linked to this process was the shift of ideas related to church governance, away from direct associations with the erastian Stewart regime and towards spiritual independence and notions of 'divine right episcopacy'.[45]

Thomas Rattray, an active participant in the shaping of the post-Revolution church, stated that it was regrettable that, prior to the Revolution, Episcopal services were 'almost the same with that of the Presbyterians'. He cites this as the main factor in the success of Presbyterians in assimilating those that had previously adhered to the established Episcopal

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[42] Butterworth, *Episcopalians in Scotland*, 38; German, *Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire and Jacobitism*, 75.

[43] Anon., *A Time to Weep: A Sermon Preached in the Country by one of the Suffering Clergy of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1720), 33.

[44] Aberdeen University Library, MS 3175/F51/4/1: 'Viscount Arbuthnott to Cumming of Culter, Aberdeen, 17 Feb 1720'.

[45] Raffe, 'Episcopacy and Religious Identity', 12-17.

Church.[46] The inhabitants of Aberdeen and its rural hinterland, however, had become accustomed to liturgical innovation and distinctly Episcopalian forms of worship, explaining the region's intransigence in the face of Presbyterian advances.[47] The Restoration Church had not adopted any liturgy or set form of prayer, with the exception of the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology, yet the more doctrinaire Episcopalians in the Church had expressed a desire to introduce these. Preaching in an atmosphere of optimism shortly before the passing of the Toleration Act, Thomas Rhind asserts 'it hath been the Universal Practice of Mankind in all Ages to offer Divine Worship by Set Forms'.[48] Liturgy distinguished the Episcopalian from the Presbyterian church in terms of worship, but this was far from a cosmetic distinction. Liturgy as the focus of worship was an observable characteristic of a coherent cosmology and unique and evolving understanding of the nature of the Scottish Church. There was a renewed emphasis on aligning the Church with primitive Christianity and 'the Spiritual society of the Catholick Church'.[49] Episcopalians cultivated the idea of a universal church encompassing all Christian nations, sharing a liturgy, adhering to primitive practices and preserving the apostolic succession and accompanying 'Antient Apostolic Christian Doctrine'.[50] This led to a closer relationship with the Church of England, as well as abortive discussions with divines in the Russian Orthodox church.[51]

The 'Usages Controversy' in England brought a parallel liturgical conflict to the already divided Episcopal Church in Scotland. A collection of primitive practices that had been long abandoned by the Revolution in 1689, the Usages included the mixture of water with wine in the communion chalice; prayers for the dead; an epiklesis or invocation of the Holy Spirit to imbue the elements of the Eucharist and the offering of the elements to God (Oblation).[52] These practices were notably present in the controversial 1637 Scottish Prayer Book, yet the Scots Episcopacy was divided regarding their reinstatement. Delving deeper into this debate, historians find that those who championed the Usages invariably sought to dilute the Church's dependence on Stewart monarchy. Allegiance to the exiled

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46 NRS, CH12/12/227: 'Historical account of the Church of Scotland after the abolition of episcopacy by bishop Thomas Rattray', 9-13.

47 German, *Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire & Jacobitism*, 86-7.

48 Rhind, *Liturgy and Loyalty Asserted*, 6.

49 NRS, CH12/12/10, 'Deed signed by Bishop James Gadderar, 1 March 1723'.

50 Cant, *Sermon Preach'd on January 31st, 1715*, 5.

51 German, *Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire & Jacobitism*, 101.

52 Nimmo, 'Liturgy: The Sacramental Soul of Jacobitism', 43-45.

Stewarts had prevented the Scots episcopate from easily assigning diocesan posts to ordained bishops, leading to the development of the non-territorial 'College' system, in which bishops acted as a collective authority for the national Church. Those who aspired to diocesan episcopacy and sought to introduce the Usages to the liturgy in their locales - for example Bishops Archibald Campbell and James Gadderar of Aberdeen and Thomas Rattray of Brechin - were met with resistance from the more traditional voices in the College who saw the Stewart monarch as the supreme authority over the Church.[53] Against the wishes of the College, Bishop Gadderar of Aberdeen introduced the Usages to his congregation, stating:

> [A]s I think myself obliged in Conscience, I am resolved by Gods Grace never
> to omit the use of them [the Usages] in my future Administrations of the
> Sacrifice of the Altar, nor the Prayer for the whole State of Christ's Church, as
> it stands in the Communion office of the [1637] Book of Common Prayer &c
> of the Church of Scotland, unless one more full, being duely Authorised, shall
> be put in place of it.[54]

As this controversy was very much an elite preoccupation, it is difficult to quantify its significance with parallel representations in sermons.[55] However, the cosmological impact can be observed in the unprecedented expression of the rights of bishops and their assertion of spiritual independence from secular power. Those non-jurors unwilling to offer an oath of allegiance to the incumbent Hanoverian monarch were now making clear their unwillingness to allow their church to be defined chiefly in terms of its allegiance and deference to the Stewart claimant.[56] John Sage's *The Principles of the Cyprianic Age* was used as a blueprint by Usagers, attempting to justify this development.[57] The text refers to the third century 'primitive church', the age of Bishop Cyprian of Carthage, during which the apostolic institution of diocesan episcopacy was essential in maintaining the unity of the Church across varied regimes and landscapes.[58]

Accordingly, Usagers were unconcerned with the need for a *congé d'élire* for the appointment of bishops, instead favouring election. This marked the retreat of the Episcopal Church from contemporary political life, focusing instead on securing the

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[53] Butterworth, 'Episcopalians in Scotland', 68-70.
[54] NRS, CH12/12/10, 'Deed signed by Bishop James Gadderar, 1 March 1723'.
[55] German, 'Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire and Jacobitism', 84, 113.
[56] Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church*, 51-56.
[57] J. Sage, *The Principles of the Cyprianic Age, with Regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction* (London, 1695)
[58] Raffe, *Episcopacy and Religious Identity*, 12.

independent spiritual existence of the Church in its disestablished form. It could be argued that the Episcopal Church, leading up to the 1745 Jacobite rising, had become indifferent to secular authority: an abandonment of the Stewart cause that did not quite translate into a growing enthusiasm for the Hanoverian-Whig establishment. This has led Kieran German to suggest that the presence of North-Eastern Episcopalian clergy in the '45 rising, which only arose following the Jacobite occupation of Aberdeen, can be attributed to indifference and a tendency towards self-preservation. Latent Jacobitism could have factored, but there was little contemporary effort to justify the rising in theological terms. The heartland of the Episcopal Church, the North-East, had enjoyed a period of relative peace and prosperity between 1720 and 1745, which accompanied the significant theological and ecclesiological developments within the Church, but there was still little affection for the Hanoverian establishment. The 'primitive church' vision of the dominant Usagers created the circumstances under which the Episcopal Church could express its spiritual independence from the Stewart claimant, while also circumventing the need to offer allegiance to the Hanoverian monarch. This was done by adhering to the doctrine of 'divine right episcopacy', a concept from the age of St. Cyprian, when episcopal authority was by necessity absolute and not subject to secular power.[59]

Conclusions

Between 1689 and 1746, Episcopalians in Scotland saw themselves disestablished, persecuted and subjected to the imperialism of a Presbyterian establishment hell-bent on realising its vision of a cohesive, national Presbyterian Church. A number of historians have drawn attention to the position of dominance occupied by the Established Episcopalian Church in 1689, which serves to make its steep decline all the more startling. William of Orange, a pragmatic Calvinist and noted 'eclectic in ecclesiastical polities', was more than willing to support an erastian episcopal settlement of the Kirk in return for Episcopalian support. The Scots Bishops and the majority of Episcopal clergy could not accept William's offer, maintaining a steadfast adherence to the principles of indefeasible hereditary succession and passive non-resistance. The Jacobitism of the Episcopal clergy effectively thwarted any attempts to secure comprehension within the new establishment.[60]

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[59] German, *Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire and Jacobitism*, 86-87, 189-192.
[60] Stephen, *Defending the Revolution*, 293.

If historians are to measure the success of the Episcopalian Church based solely on these circumstances, it is clear that this period is one of catastrophic failure.

The Restoration Church had its origins in the desire for a stable, crown-controlled, uncontroversial ecclesiastical settlement, following a period of strife characterised by Presbyterian dominance, war and occupation. Those committed to the Restoration Church justified episcopacy in terms of the king's gracious decision to restore it, as well as it providing the 'most convenient and effectuall [method] for the preservation of treuth, order and unitie'.[61] The Episcopal Church was a loyal establishment, subordinate to the king's will and dependent on his assent in matters of worship and church governance.[62] The removal of the Stewart monarch was viewed as an unnatural subversion of the institutional foundation of the Scottish Church and civil society: a national sin that would attract the wrath of God. It was with this in mind that Episcopalians could not, in good conscience, transfer their loyalty to William and Mary: it was simply outwith the bounds of possibility in their cosmological understanding. Disestablishment, persecution and the lack of forthcoming Crown-legal protection only served to cement this view, evident in sermons delivered between 1690 and 1715. The beneficiaries of the Revolution settlement, the Presbyterians, were invariably presented as opportunistic barbarians, bringing civil disorder, injustice and schism to Scottish society.

The accession of Queen Anne brought a brief intermission, during which Episcopalians enjoyed crown support and protection, culminating in the widespread adoption of the English Prayer Book and the Toleration Act of 1712. The Queen, an Anglican of Stewart blood, was much more acceptable to the episcopal clergy and a period of state benevolence enabled them to reassess their theological position in relation to the their main rival, the Established Church.[63] This led to the development of a distinct liturgy, the introduction of set forms of prayers and the rise of a fresh articulation of the Scottish Episcopal Church as a constituent of a universal 'Apostolic Church'.[64] The accession of George I and subsequent 1715 Rising brought this fragile peace to an end. However, debates regarding liturgy and the role of the disestablished church continued. The 'Usages Controversy' brought the issue of Stewart loyalty to the fore, as several prominent members of the

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[61] RPS, 1662/5/9.
[62] Raffe, 'Episcopacy and the Stuart Monarchy', 4-6.
[63] Butterworth, *Episcopalians in Scotland*, 65.
[64] Leighton, 'Scottish Jacobitism, Episcopacy, and Counter-Enlightenment', 6.

church sought to reinstate a system of diocesan episcopacy, independent from the control of secular powers, in order to introduce primitive practices to their respective congregations. This represented a drastically altered understanding of the relationship between the Church and the Stewart king, as the Church began to prioritise its stable position and spiritual independence over secular political goals.

Despite continued Jacobite support arising from their congregations, by 1745 most Episcopalian clergy had shed old notions of ecclesiastical dependence on the Stewart monarch. The principle of indefeasible hereditary right remained in their hearts, not as a necessary element of Church governance, but at as foundation for legitimate authority and the execution of justice. However, as the threat of Presbyterian imperialism subsided, bringing a period of relative peace and prosperity, the Episcopalian North-East became less desperate for political upheaval. It was only following the Jacobite occupation of Aberdeen that the majority of North-Eastern Episcopalian participants answered the call to arms. It is a great irony of history that, only through disestablishment, was the Episcopal Church able to develop and fully articulate its cosmological understanding of its role as Scotland's part in 'the Spiritual society of the Catholick Church', which took precedence over its secular role. This study will now focus on Gaelic society which, while sharing certain elements of understanding with North-Eastern Episcopalians, held a distinct worldview which provides the missing piece to understanding the major events of the period.

Chapter Three

Handsome Race of Gathelus: Gaelic Cosmologies, 1689-c.1746

In 1689, Gaelic Scotland comprised around two-thirds of Scotland's geography and approximately one-third of her population.[1] As a region, it remained distinct from the southern portion of the kingdom in terms of its language, culture, institutions and customs. Several factors, including geographical barriers and the vitality of Gaelic culture, contributed to the continued prevalence of clanship as the primary mode of social organisation in its constituent regions. This was based on an organic and durable synthesis of feudal landholding, kinship ties and local association, with hereditary succession traditionally providing a governing principle for most political, cultural and socio-economic activity.[2] It should be noted, however, that Gaelic society was far from static: it adapted in accordance with wider European social, political and religious developments. Another central characteristic of clanship was its intimate and symbiotic relationship with Gaelic culture. The clan *fine*[3] provided patronage for cultural agents such as poets and physicians who, in turn, extolled the virtues and traditional values of clan society in their work. However, from the sixteenth century onwards, as the institutions of the Scottish Crown and government moved irresistibly southwards and their aspirations for control increased, the Gàidhealtachd became the focus of numerous state-sponsored 'civilising' missions.[4] In their push for economic, political and cultural assimilation, these initiatives presented the institutions and customs of Gaelic society as barbarous, backwards, incompatible with mainstream Scottish society and in need of reforming.[5]

Following the Reformation, a religious dimension of 'otherness' was imposed upon the Gael, due in part to Lowland ministers' unwillingness to acknowledge the effective synthesis of Calvinism and Gaelic customs that was evident in many Highland and Island

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[1] F. A. MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels: Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Ulster and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland 1560-1760* (Edinburgh, 2006), 181; C. W. J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: the Transformation of a Culture Region* (London, 1988), 137.

[2] A. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 1-29.

[3] Meaning the clan elite, including the chief and leading gentry.

[4] S. Stroh, 'The Capitalist Nation State and Its "civilising missions": Gaelic Identities in Flux', *Scottish Cultural Review of Language and Literature*, Vol. 17 (2011), 69-70; cf. A. MacCoinnich, '"His Spirit Was Given Only to Warre": Conflict and Identity in the Scottish Gàidhealtachd c.1580-c.1630', in S. Murdoch and A. MacKillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c. 1550-1900* (Leiden, 2002), 133-161.

[5] M. MacGregor, 'Civilising Gaelic Scotland: The Scottish Isles and the Stewart Empire' in E. O'Ciardha & M. O'Siochru (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster: Ideology and Practice* (Manchester: 2012), 35.

communities.[6] The civil war period in the seventeenth century saw most Gaels back the Royalist Stewart cause against the Covenanters and subsequent Covenanting and Cromwellian regimes. Flagrant attacks on the principle of hereditary right, at the behest of revolutionary agents, struck at the heart of the traditional basis of justice enshrined in the institutions of clanship, while the centralising dynamic of both regimes committed Gaels irrevocably to Scottish rather than pan-Gaelic politics. These factors combined to shape the Gaelic perspective for the period following the Revolution of 1688-9, which, in conjunction with pre-existing belief systems formed a distinctive Gaelic cosmology.[7] In terms of religious adherence, the majority of clans were Episcopalian due to widespread positive reception of the Episcopal Restoration Church, however there were also a significant number of Presbyterian clans and small pockets of Catholic adherence throughout the MacDonald heartlands on the west-coast and the Hebrides. Confessional identity contributed in no small part to the formation of belief systems and determining allegiance, yet religious issues were invariably viewed through a distinctive Gaelic lens which subordinated matters of doctrine to the customs associated with clanship. Accordingly, as Allan Macinnes argues, 'religious dissent was not an issue of substance in the Highlands' or, at the very least, it did not manifest itself in the same way that it did in the Lowlands.[8]

The vernacular poets of Gaelic Scotland, operating in the timescale of this study, dealt with issues varying from the local history of specific clans to ongoing events in contemporary British and European politics. Poetry served a public function, as Gaelic society traditionally expected poets to deal with issues of current importance. These men and women were entrusted with the duty of reflecting and casting a judgemental eye upon contemporary developments and guiding the actions of their respective communities. It thus serves as a direct analogue to the sermons of the Lowland Episcopal and Presbyterian churches. Poets ranged from educated gentlemen at the forefront of Gaelic and British politics, through the remnants of the bardic classes still patronised by clan chiefs, to those who tended the fields and maintained home-life. As Gillies points out, we must therefore be willing to recognise a distinction between 'higher' and 'lower' styles, geared

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[6] J. Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gàidhealtachd in Scotland' in A. Duke et al (eds.), *Calvinism in Europe, 1560-1620* (Cambridge, 1994), 253.

[7] MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 104.

[8] Macinnes, *Clanship*, 89, 173, 124; D. W. Stiùbhart, 'The Genesis and Operation of the Royal Bounty Scheme, 1725-30', *The Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. 33 (2003), 75-76.

respectively towards courtly audiences more familiar with bardic tradition and those further down the social scale. There is also an apparent manipulation of this categorisation: sophisticated poets such as the prolific Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair consciously adapted their style to suit a variety of audiences.[9] Despite this, the messages propagated by the poets were geared towards a unified concept of Gaelic society within the context of Scotland and Britain. Opinion reflected a distinct Gaelic understanding of events, while guidance was dictated by the ambitions and needs of Gaelic society.

3.1 'Behold now the Prince of Orange, turning justice upside down': James VII, the Revolution and the Clans

In Gaelic Scotland, the seventeenth century was characterised by immense war, repression, political polarisation and social dislocation. In the civil wars of the 1640s, the clans provided the military bedrock of the Royalist cause against the Covenanters and the Cromwellian regime. Cromwell's occupation of Scotland was viewed as a national humiliation, shattering the already battered traditional social order and removing any remaining source of justice.[10] The Restoration was received with joy and bravado, exhibited by Iain Lom:

> Although the yoke was tight upon us, we have had good luck to hear that the wheel of fortune has turned full circle as we would have liked.[11]

He anticipated not only a restoration of the crown to the House of Stewart, but a return to the elusive 'traditional social order', in which patriarchal duties were paramount and legitimate execution of justice was based on the hereditary right of the trustee.[12] Despite Iain Lom's optimism, this was not forthcoming. An extended period of war and strife had led to chronic indebtedness and traumatic social dislocation in Gaelic Scotland. The impoverished clan *fine* turned to rent-raising to keep up debt repayments, effectively redefining the system of clanship to involve commercial obligations.[13] Chiefs increasingly

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[9] W. Gillies, 'Gaelic songs of the "Forty-Five"', *Scottish Studies*, Vol. 30 (1991), 21.

[10] Macinnes, *Clanship*, 122.

[11] A. M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Orain Iain Luim: Songs of John MacDonald, Bard of Keppoch* (Edinburgh, 1964), 76-77.

[12] Stroh, 'Gaelic Identities in Flux', 77-78; H. Erkine-Hill, 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause: Was There a Rhetoric of Jacobitism?' in E. Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759* (Edinburgh, 1982), 51.

[13] Macinnes, *Clanship*, 122.

identified themselves with the Lowland landed elite, leading to extended absences from clan patrimony and the further accumulation of debt to fund conspicuous expenditure.[14]

The Scottish Crown and government seldom provided a sympathetic ear for grievances stemming from the Gàidhealtachd. However, under the auspices of James, Duke of York and later King James the VII and II, substantial steps were taken towards establishing a conciliatory and workable relationship between the clans and central government. The Commission for the Securing of the Peace of the Highlands operated between August 1682 and September 1684, arguably representing the first genuine attempt on behalf of the Scottish crown to cooperate with the clans in general, marking a break from the century-old policy of supporting selected members of the *fine*. Four region-based Justiciary courts were established and 70 commissioners were appointed from the landowning classes of the Highlands and the Lowland peripheries. The initiative gained widespread support from the clan elite of the Gàidhealtachd, rapidly dispelling unproductive preconceived notions of endemic lawlessness in the region. Moreover, this initiative prevented acquisitive political opportunists, such as the earls of Argyll, from capitalising on reports of endemic lawlessness for political and economic gains.[15]

This period of conciliation was short-lived, but it reveals that those in the Highlands looked eagerly to the Stewart monarch as the only legitimate authority with the power to establish justice in the kingdom. The rebellion of the ninth earl of Argyll in 1685, followed by the Williamite revolution in 1688-9, served to remove the legitimate authority that had achieved conciliation as well as reversing any progress that was made. Accordingly, vernacular poets from the period depict James VII as the legitimate, hereditary sovereign illegally removed by William of Orange, a tyrannical conqueror and transgressor of the natural order.[16] This is often associated with theories of divine right monarchy and, indeed, a distinct religious vocabulary is equipped by the poets of the Fernaig MS. For example, an anonymous poet states of those who offered William the Crown:

> Although they instructed in their teaching to give His right (i.e. God's right to appoint kings) to Caesar, it is a long story, although it is plain, against the customs of this people.

[14] T. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands* (Manchester, 1994), 1-31.

[15] Macinnes, *Clanship*, 114-115, 138-140, 150.

[16] D. Suaird, 'Jacobite Rhetoric and Terminology in the Political Poems of the Fernaig MS (1688-1693)', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, Vol. 19 (1999), 93.

The same poet expresses the non-conditional nature of kingship:

> God who ordained on us an obligation - submission to lords as long as we are alive, and firm honour in fear/awe with appropriate actions to offer him.[17]

The Episcopal Church of the Restoration period went virtually unchallenged in most areas of the Gàidhealtachd, leading to the entrenchment of certain aspects of of Episcopalian belief.[18] Proximity to the Episcopalian Royalist heartlands in the North-East may also have facilitated the regional development of Episcopalian piety and a divine right theory of kingship.[19] Regardless of religious affiliation and adherence to theories of divine right, there exists a common strand of belief in the rightful trusteeship of the House of Stewart. A poem by Iain mac Ailein suggests that kingship is to some extent contingent upon the actions and ability of the sovereign.

> In my opinion - I may have little understanding, but I shall take leave to express it - whomever God appoints king, we ought to submit to him. And, though he follow his own free will, so long as he does not oppress us, do you think it either lawful or reasonable to jump at his throat?[20]

While theories of divine right were cultivated and espoused in Gaelic poetry, there is an interesting undercurrent of contingent kingship, reflective of clan society, in which legitimate authority arises from the ability of the hereditary trustee to maintain and fulfil customary obligations. The qualifier 'so long as he does not oppress us', translated elsewhere as 'but without putting us to trouble', serves as subtle stab at heavy-handed government initiatives in the region.[21] It is possible that geographical proximity to the North-East and an extended period of Episcopalian hegemony in most regions of the Gàidhealtachd encouraged explicit expressions of divine right ideology.[22] Furthermore, as Jacobitism came to the fore in the aftermath of the Revolution, Gaelic identification with exalted theories of kingship projected the image of a united Royalist-Episcopalian front in

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[17] C. Mac Phàrlain, *Làmh-Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath, Durlach Laoidhean* (Dundee, 1923), 217, cited in ibid, 94-95.

[18] A. Kennedy, 'The Condition of the Restoration Church of Scotland in the Highlands', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (2014), 325-326; J. Macinnes, *The Rise and Development of the Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland from 1688 to 1800* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1941), 14-15.

[19] D. Finlay, 'Divine Right and Early Modern Gaelic Society' in *Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig 2000* (Aberdeen, 2002), 252.

[20] Fernaig MS, 217, cited in J. A. MacLean, *The Sources, Particularly the Celtic Sources for the History of the Highlands in the Seventeenth Century* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1939), 256-257.

[21] *Orain Iain Luim*, 320; Stroh, 'Gaelic Identities in Flux', 87-88.

[22] Findlay, *Divine Right and Early Modern Gaelic Society*, 248.

Northern Scotland. Notions of divine right certainly waxed well with the Gaelic traditions of kin-based authority and patriarchalism, yet they remained distinct and must not be immediately conflated without attention to context.[23] Poets speak most vociferously when denouncing William and Mary's disregard for kin ties. They have broken the Fifth Commandment and thrust upon Scotland a barren and illegitimate line:

> Behold now the Prince of Orange, turning justice upside down […] When you came to England what mischief you brought in your train, to deprive by force of his rightful possession the father-in-law who gave you a wife […] Great is your cause for shame in having broken the fifth commandment; his own daughter and sister's son married contrary to the teaching of Scripture - like a worthless gelding on the throne, and he was not a father to offspring born of them.[24]

Within Gaeldom, the flight of James and accession of William and Mary also tied into the ongoing ideological conflict between traditionalism and the Whig notions of progress favoured by Presbyterians. The issue of James VII's Catholicism does not in any way affect his hereditary claim as it is deemed his *dùthchas*. Aonghus Mac Alasdair Ruaidh, the Glencoe bard, explains:

> It is not permissible for us to turn aside from, or suppress our temporal king, for, from the moment he was first conceived, he was the true rightful heir. No difference of faith, or (even) lack of faith, may draw us away…[25]

In Gaelic consciousness, the survival and success of the Scottish kingdom was largely dependent on the success of the institutions, leaders and traditions of Gaelic society. Among these institutions was the kingship of the Scots, which stretched back through Dál Riata to the mythological kings of Ireland. John Macinnes writes: 'The sense of integrity of the kingdom of Scotland […] emerges time and time again in Gaelic tradition and the integrating principle is a sense of the Gaelic basis of Scotland'. Scottish Gaeldom's effective estrangement from the government from the seventeenth-century onwards, and the latter's gradual shedding of Gaelic leaders, institutions and customs, contributed to a perception of Gaelic dispossession, in terms of both prestige and territory.[26] Cathal

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[23] D. Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1980), 12-13.

[24] *Oran Iain Luim*, 320.

[25] A. MacDonald and A. MacDonald, *The MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry* (Inverness, 1911), translated in MacLean *Celtic Sources for the History of the Highlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 255.

[26] M. Newton, 'Prophecy and Cultural Conflict in Gaelic Tradition', *Scottish Studies*, Vol. 35 (2010), 144; J. Macinnes, 'The Gaelic Perception of the Lowlands' in *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal*, 42, 44-45.

MacMhuirich, in an elegy to a chief titled *The Honour of the Gael is Lowered*, decries the current state of Gaeldom:

> They are at the end without a chief helper, subject to a foreign people; sore to me their final state […]. These Gaels of Alba's land, though (once) it was unmeet to vie with them, their supremacy has been reversed.[27]

Scottish Gaels were a wounded people and the incursions of William's troops in the Highlands only served to salt these wounds. This is illustrated by the Aonghus Mac Alasdair Ruaidh in his song on the battle of Killiecrankie. He decries the killing of warriors at the hands of musket-wielding peasants:

> Being felled with lead - when even cowherds can throw it […] We would see who had valour in the exchange of sword-blows: the peasants of the Plain of Cow-dung or the noble seed of the Rough Bounds.[28]

The removal of the Stewart dynasty added to the sense of dispossession as it represented the displacement of one of the remaining Gaelic institutions of Scotland, achieved by a blatant disregard for the custom of hereditary trusteeship. The Revolution had eliminated the only legitimate authority capable of establishing law and order in the Highlands. The return of Archibald Campbell, 10th earl of Argyll, as William's chief Scottish advisor consolidated this perception, while the Massacre of Glencoe revealed the inability (or unwillingness) of the state to extend the rule of law into the Highlands. Despite the efforts of James as Duke of York, the Gàidhealtachd would continue to be deprived of justice and denied a voice in the development of the early-modern Scottish state.[29]

3.2 'Prince William and his host have truly left this country in a lamentable condition': Poverty, Prophecy and Poetry

The theme of dispossession is extremely pertinent. Furthermore, the panegyric code, an inherited Gaelic rhetorical system in which praise was offered to heroic figures past and present, served as a means to affirming traditional values against external encroachments. The Gaelic experience of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had created a siege mentality among cultural agents, in which Gaels served as a final bastion of the traditional values necessary for the survival of Gaeldom and the Scottish nation. Accordingly, despite

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[27] A. Matheson (ed.), 'Poems from a manuscript of Cathal Mac Muireadhaigh', in *Eigse* Vol. 10 (1961-66), 270, translated in Stroh, 'Gaelic Identities in Flux', 94.

[28] *MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry*, 77-78, translated in J. Macinnes, 'Gaelic Perception of the Lowlands', 42.

[29] Macinnes, *Clanship*, 160.

the virtual non-existence of a dedicated Gaelic warrior-class by the turn of the century, poets continued to present the warrior as the apex of the social order. His role as protector was paramount in a society besieged by external forces, both military and ideological.[30] These factors combine to evoke a schizophrenic view of Gaelic society: imbued with confidence in its culture and customs, yet deprived of prestige and political power.[31] In turn, historians can trace a distinct messianic theme in Gaelic poetry. Akin to the expectations of the Restoration of 1660, it was believed that Wheel of Fortune would turn again and the Gaels would be restored to their rightful place at the heart of the Scottish kingdom.[32]

Presbyterians viewed William's arrival as a manifestation of God's divine providence, removing a popish tyrant; Episcopalians cultivated hopes of a providential return of the rightful Stewart monarch to undo the injustices of the WIlliamite regime; Gaels awaited the return of a messianic figure who would undo centuries of government-approved dispossession and destabilisation. Central to this prophecy was the figure of Thomas the Rhymer - the border poet who, in Lowland lore, foresaw the coming of Robert the Bruce and the Union of Crowns. Deprived of respect, power and prestige, many Gaels believed that a messianic figure would arrive to bring unity to the clans and reassert their position at the heart of the Scottish kingdom. Michael Newton has argued that Gaels likely appropriated this mystical figure of Lowland origin, attributing to him messianic qualities, in order to assert their importance in the destiny of the nation.[33] John Macinnes maintains that Gaelic reverence for the true dynastic line worked in conjunction with this belief. As hereditary trusteeship was held to be the main determinant of dynastic legitimacy, and therefore the source of justice, disregard for this principle removed any immediate hope for fair treatment. In order to come to terms with unfavourable circumstances, many relied on prophecy in the hope that a divine force would provide a providential corrective.[34] Iain Lom states in his *Song to William and Mary*:

> Many is the swath that is afire on the ground in which the grange was scythed,
> but we shall yet see that avenged if the prophecy is true […] Pity the King who

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[30] J. Macinnes, 'The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry', *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal*, 265, 315-317; A. Macinnes, *Clanship*, 164.

[31] J. Macinnes, *Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland*, 14.

[32] Macinnes, 'Gaelic Perception of the Lowlands', 44.

[33] Newton, 'Prophecy and Cultural Conflict', 146-147, 164-165.

[34] Macinnes, 'Gaelic Perception', 45-46.

made an alliance in marriage with a covetous and merciless Dutchman. […] If you are a master of the rapier, look to the hone that produced the edge with which my gizzard was slit, if one can credit Thomas the Rhymer.[35]

In *The Battle of Sherrifmuir* , Sìleas na Ceapaich, also mentions the prophecy of Thomas:

> Thomas says in his prophecy that it is the Gaels who will win the victory; every brow shall sweat blood, fighting the battle at the river Clyde; England shall submit, however great her cunning, seeking peace from the king who is away from us.[36]

This prophecy was resilient, appearing in poetry long after 1745. This reflects the continued estrangement of Gaels from central government and their determination to assert their role in Scottish and British politics. In 1745, Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair reminded those campaigning alongside him:

> Thomas tells us very clearly that this is the very year when we will have plenty of encounters: let us live in that conviction.[37]

The social and economic tensions affecting the Gàidhealtachd, in conjunction with unfavourable political upheaval in Britain, inevitably led to soul-searching on the part of ordinary Gaels. Prophecy and 'the king across the water' became inextricably linked.[38] The *Ill Years*, Scotland's agrarian crisis between 1695 and 1699, and the Hanoverian succession served to further reinforce a reliance on prophecy, due to continued alienation.[39] This verse conveys the sense of loss at the turn of the century:

> I'm in a house without fire or thatch, without salt and without food […]
> Cheerful kindness would be got, from him who loathes famine […] If only I
> could reach you, my handsome forthright hero.[40]

The poet equates the harsh conditions and lack of sustenance with the absence of an heroic leader. The period of dearth that followed the Revolution fit neatly into the Gaelic belief that a legitimate and just king's reign would bring fine weather and plentiful harvests, while the reign of the tyrant would bring storms, famine and poverty.[41] This is comparable to the Episcopalian perception: James Garden had also claimed that breaching the

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[35] *Oran Iain Luim*, 321-323.

[36] C. Ó Baoill (ed.), *Poems and Songs by Sìleas MacDonald, c.1660-c.1729* (Edinburgh, 1972), 43.

[37] D. McKinnon, 'Unpublished Poems by Alexander MacDonald (Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair)', *The Celtic Review*, Vol. 4 (1907-8), 297, translated in Newton, 'Prophecy and Cultural Conflict', 148.

[38] Newton, *Prophecy and Cultural Conflict*, 147.

[39] B. Lenman, *An Economic History of Modern Scotland* (London, 1977), 46.

[40] R. Black (ed.), *An Lasair: Anthology of 18th Century Gaelic Verse* (Edinburgh, 2001), 3.

[41] Gillies, 'Gaelic songs of the "Forty-Five"', 44; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the Forty-Five*, 41.

fundamental law of indefeasible hereditary right had brought war and famine to Scotland.[42] However, the predominantly rural landscape of the Gàidhealtachd and reliance on communal agriculture gave its inhabitants a considerably more immediate experience with nature, particularly in times of deprivation.[43] Furthermore, as agricultural production was such an important aspect of the clan system, there was little distinction made between welfare of the clan and the welfare of nature.

The birth of Prince Charles, accompanied by the appearance of a new star, in December 1720 brought hope to some poets. In line with prophecy, John MacLachlan envisioned the changes that would occur with the coming of Prince Charles:

> A change will come o'er barren lands,/ […] The woods will put leaves o'er our heads,/ The earth will yield crops without stint,/ The sea's fruit will fill every net;/ Herds will give milk everywhere,/ And honey on straw-tops be found,/ Without want, unstinted, fore'er, Without storms but every wind warm.[44]

Skipping forward to 1745, the landing of Prince Charles was heralded by a spell of good weather and a healthy harvest, providing a brief reprieve from the conditions that had brought what was known as the *Blaidhainn an Air* in 1741.[45] Poets predicted the coming of a golden age. Robb Donn addresses Prince Charles:

> Let us now meet to hail with joy/ The day that gave thee to the world,/ […]
> Five months now are past and gone/ Since thou didst come to Scotland here;/
> And from that time 'twas clear to us/ The welcome that the weather gave;/We'd
> worthy, honoured men o'er us,/ The herds we reared were prosperous,/ We'd
> heavy crops from off the land,/ And fruits of moor and ocean too.

Rob Donn MacKay did not take any part in the 'Forty-Five due to the Hanoverian allegiance of his chief, Lord Reay. John Lorne Campbell suggests that his poetry reveals the affection felt for Prince Charles by the common people of the Gàidhealtachd: even those who did not act accordingly. Rob Donn fulfilled the traditional role of the poet as an honest and critical commentator of contemporary affairs, despite the political alignment of his superiors.[46] Harsh and unforgiving weather, in conjunction with the apparent indifference of the British government, served to reinforce the understanding that an unjust

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[42] Lenman, *Jacobite Risings in Britain*, 25.

[43] Suaird, 'Jacobite Rhetoric', 112-115.

[44] Campbell, *Highland Songs of the Forty-Five*, 5-7.

[45] Literally 'year of the slaughter'; A. Dawson, *So Foul and Fair a Day: A History of Scotland's Weather and Climate* (Edinburgh, 2009), 118.

[46] Campbell, *Highland Songs of the Forty-Five*, 231, 228.

and illegitimate king sat on the throne, warranting God's wrath.[47] Impoverished and powerless, lacking the sympathy of the incumbent government, many jumped at the prospect of following a leader who they hoped could alleviate their plight and whose arrival seemingly brought an immediate improvement to the weather.[48]

3.3 'You will never remove Charlie from us until we are snuffed out': Gaels, Hanoverians and Stewarts

It is mentioned in the first chapter that, by 1745, Presbyterians living in the Lowlands increasingly viewed apparent prosperity, stability and social order in the British state as a manifestation of divine providence.[49] However, these benefits were not being enjoyed in many parts of the Gàidhealtachd. When tracing the motives of Gaels participating in the 'Forty-Five', John Lorne Campbell points towards a state-sponsored programmes of cultural and religious persecution. He argues that the downtrodden state of much of Gaelic society, coupled with the indifference of the British state, fostered regional discontent and desperation.[50] The vaporisation of chiefly patronage following the 'Fifteen severely weakened Gaelic society, however an unprecedented period of government attention to the Highlands served to fill the vacuum. The Royal Bounty scheme of 1725, funded by an annual Royal grant of £1000, offered a degree of social mobility to Gaels willing to assist in winning the hearts and minds of their communities for the Presbyterian Kirk and the Hanoverian monarchy. The Board of Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures and Improvements in Scotland and the military schemes of General Wade served to accelerate the economic, cultural and political assimilation of the region into the British state, causing the near-terminal decline of Jacobite intrigue by the late 1720s. However, as potential mission fields and promising investment opportunities opened up abroad, active church and state involvement in the region slowed to a halt. In 1739, the outbreak of the War of Jenkins' Ear led to the draining of the British military presence and the removal of Wade as effective Highland governor.[51] These developments, in conjunction with harsh conditions

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[47] Gillies, *Gaelic Songs of the 'Forty-Five'*, 22; Duffy, *The '45*, 75.

[48] Stiùbhart, 'The Genesis and Operation of the Royal Bounty Scheme', 140-141; J. A. Stewart Jr, 'Highland Motives in the Jacobite Rising of 1745-46:"Forcing Out", Traditional Documentation and Gaelic Poetry', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* (2000), 172-173.

[49] Arbo, 'Adam Ferguson's Sermon in the Ersh Language', 898.

[50] 'Highland Songs of the Forty-Five', xviii.

[51] Stiùbhart, 'The Genesis and Operation of the Royal Bounty Scheme', 140-141, 138.

and a string of failed harvests, served to undo much of the progress that was made in winning Gaels over to the Hanoverians.

The disregard for the Gàidhealtachd exhibited by the Hanoverian regime reinforced the conservative Gaelic view of kingship, determined by indefeasible hereditary right. Though this seems an expedient propaganda tool, it was rooted very much in the Gaelic understanding of the patriarchal duties of secular leaders, whose position had hitherto been determined by hereditary right:

> 'O, that swine King George/ Son of the Sow from Germany,/ The care and kin he shows/ Us, is a raven's for his bone/ […] The men are not his own,/ And so for them he nothing cares,/ E'en though we fell to blows.

> The child that's not his own,/ Though it were cut in twain/ Its pain affects him not,/ His heart untouched, unmoved,/ And likewise would it be/ If every Briton suffered death/ For no true cause at all;/ Since he owns not the child,/ The man who's not its father is/ Unmoved to clemency.[52]

Poets present participation in the 'Forty-Five as a moral imperative. It was right to remove the usurper and restore the rightful ruler.[53] Traditionally, bardic poets were expected to judge the acceptability of secular leaders based on their reputation for executing justice and their adherence to the values of Gaelic society. In cases where the king or chief was seen to deviate from these goals, it was the duty of the poet to withhold praise and draw attention towards his blemishes. As a blemished king could not rule, it was possible to depose him.[54] Accordingly, Gaelic satirical verse publicised the blemishes of the Hanoverian dynasty in order to justify their deposition. Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair states:

> A King's descent is known/ To all commoners of the realm;/ […] The love you give your King/ Is but the love a harlot gets;/ […] O, thin's the string, King George,/ On which thou'st harped to win three realms;/ And false the Act[55] which clad/ Thee with the kingship over us;/ Full fifty folk and more/ Have better claims, and truer blood.[56]

The themes of dispossession and prophecy come into play once again, focused on the figure of Charles Edward Stewart. In line with the Gaelic interpretation of Thomas the Rhymer, Prince Charles was viewed as the fulfiller of prophecy who would reassert the

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52 'Highland Songs of the Forty-Five', 102-103.
53 Gillies, 'Gaelic Songs of the "Forty-Five"', 21.
54 Macinnes, 'The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry', 315.
55 The Act of Settlement (1701), which settled the succession upon the House of Hanover.
56 Campbell, 'Highland Songs of the Forty-Five', 99-101.

rightful place of the Gael and re-establish the traditional social order that had been slowly disintegrating since the seventeenth-century.[57] In *Teàrlach mac Sheumais*, Alasdair envisions the unity of the clans behind Charles, asserting their providential role in the patriotic cause:

> …if all the Gaels would rise up together/ King James would be crowned, and all Britain conquered,/ by the valour in battle of the folk of the tartan./ […]the Gaels, Scota's proud race,/ Handsome race of Gathelus, race ever victorious.

Rob Donn puts forward a messianic message, citing the star that appeared upon the birth of Prince Charles and drawing a biblical parallel:

> Do you see the pains indeed/ The heavens took to honour him/ When stood the shining star in the/ Line where it would be steered by him?/ The sign that marked out Lord alone—/ Ere Charles came to this country here—/ When went the men of wisdom great/ To seek him in Jerusalem.[58]

While historians tend to situate the demise of militant Jacobitism at Culloden moor in April 1746, this was not immediately recognised by contemporaries. As Gillies points out, the poetic propaganda machine was quickly deployed to contain the trauma of Culloden and provide an explanation for might prevailing over right.[59] Nevertheless, as news spread of the death toll and subsequent government reprisals in the Gàidhealtachd, resignation and denial began to show. Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair speaks of the dejected state of the Gaels, but asserts their loyalty to Charles:

> Mary! now we suffer torture/ We're bereft of strength and sense!/ The son of James, our Prince Charles Stewart/ Is in want and danger too!/ 'Tis for this we're broken-hearted/ That he now must leave us all […]
>
> Our thousand blessings follow thee/ And God keep thee everywhere,/ May sea and land be smooth before thee,/ My earnest prayer with thee on high;/ And thought sorry fate has parted/ Us from thee one step ere death,/ fare thee well, Charles son of King James,/ Beloved friend, quickly return.[60]

Christiana Fergusson, the wife of William Chisholm of Strathglass, composed an heartfelt elegy, blaming Prince Charles for her personal loss:

> Och young Charles Edward Stuart,/ Your cause has destroyed me,/ You've taken all I possessed/ For fighting your war; It's not for cattle or kinsfolk/ I'm

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[57] Suaird, 'Jacobite Rhetoric', 100; Macinnes, 'Gaelic Perception of the Lowlands', 44; Stroh, 'Gaelic Identities in Flux', 96.

[58] 'Highland Songs of the Forty-Five', 40, 233-235.

[59] Gillies, 'Gaelic Songs of the "Forty-Five"', 42.

[60] *Highland Songs of the Forty-Five*, 89.

distraught, but my husband/ Since he left me bereft/ With no world save a shirt,/ My heart's youthful prize.

Despite a number of clans remaining neutral or fighting for the British Army in the 'Forty-Five, the entirety of the Highlands suffered for perceived Gaelic involvement in the insurrection.[61] Confiscation of lands, continued reprisals, executions and the Disarming and Disclothing Acts all served to dispirit the Gaels of Scotland. However, it was the absence of divine providence and the shattering of that prophetic hope, which had become so central to the Gaelic worldview, that eventually led Scotland's Gaels to a resigned acceptance of the status quo.

Conclusions

The Gaels of Scotland were in an unenviable position in 1689. The turbulence and repression of the Covenanting and Cromwellian regimes were still fresh in the memory of many older women and men. Iain Lom was among them. He witnessed the rapid relegation of the traditional values that were held dearly in Gaelic society. In 1689, he said of 'Queen' Mary, following her seizure of the English and Scottish thrones alongside her husband, Prince William of Orange:

> She has deserved the curse of her father since the Adversary has caught her in his grip, evil is the heredity which has adhered to her, she counted her grandfather as a traitor.[62]

Gaels saw a direct continuity between the regicide, the rigid puritanism and the disregard for hereditary right of the civil war period and that of the Revolution. Moreover, James VII had been a figure of great affection: he had pursued a conciliatory approach to the Highlands that was received well by the *fine*.[63] In response to this outrage, many rose to defend the principle of hereditary right and return, to his rightful place, the king who had offered hope to a people who had suffered dislocation and marginalisation.[64]

In a seemingly powerless position, Gaels suffered renewed repression and the daily disregard and decay of traditional institutions of Gaelic and Scottish society. Gaelic poetry of this period often features the concept of the Wheel of Fortune: it had turned full-circle

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[61] Macinnes, *Clanship*, 176.

[62] Mac Phàrlain, *Làmh-Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath, Durlach Laoidhean*, translated in Suaird, 'Jacobite Rhetoric', 104.

[63] Macinnes, *Clanship*, 199, 150-151.

[64] Stroh, 'Gaelic Identities in Flux', 70.

once before and it would turn again, bringing about a reassertion of traditional values.[65] With a king across the water, elements of Gaelic prophecy tied into a mystical reverence for the Stewart line. The prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer, which it was also believed predicted the coming of Robert the Bruce, promised the landing of a messianic figure who would unite the Gaels, fight off the enemy and reassert their place of pride in the Scottish kingdom.[66]

As the Jacobite cause continued to fail against the ascendant British state, Gaels began to adapt themselves to the incumbent regime. Military fortification and proactive government initiatives in the Gàidhealtachd contributed to a rise in employment opportunities and a degree of local governance. It is revealing that this brief period of attention and investment served to effectively quell Jacobitism. This provides some explanation for Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, the fervent Jacobite poet, writing a seemingly anomalous piece of English verse in which he praises General Wade.[67] Harshening conditions and the draining of these resources and opportunities led to the resurrection of a seemingly moribund cause. The landing of Prince Charles in Moidart in August 1745 was received, despite his lack of French reinforcements, with hopeful joy by many Gaels. There is substantial evidence that a large number of the common people disregarded their chiefs' inclinations by coming out for Charles.[68] Culloden and its aftermath proved singularly damaging to the Gaelic psyche, facilitating the Gaels' eventual embrace of evangelical protestantism hand-in-hand with the British imperial cause.

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[65] Macinnes, 'Gaelic Perceptions of the Lowlands', 44.

[66] Newton, 'Prophecy and Cultural Conflict in Gaelic Tradition', 146.

[67] 'MacDonald, the Bard's Salutation to General Wade' in A. Robertson of Struan, *Poems, on Various Subjects and Occasions . . . Mostly Taken from his own Original Manuscripts* (Edinburgh, 1751), 202–03.

[68] Stewart, 'Highland Motives in the Jacobite Rising of 1745-6'.

Conclusions

I have attempted in the foregoing account to present an overview of the spiritual frameworks governing action in Scotland between the Williamite Revolution and the final British military defeat of Jacobitism in 1746. Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Gaels — who belonged to both confessions — interpreted social, political and economic developments through the lens of divine providence and judgement. Interpretations were formed and tempered by confessional identity, historical experience, traditions and local institutions. The legacy of the Covenants remained at the heart of the Presbyterian vision and the Catholic, absolutist Stuarts were viewed with suspicion and disdain. The Restoration Church had been episcopal in structure and non-conforming Presbyterians were forced to flee to the continent, or continue operating clandestinely.[1] Charles II had left a dark mark on the collective Presbyterian psyche through his repressive approach to conventicling, while the accession of James VII only served to heighten fears of continued government hostility. Prince William of Orange was seen as the 'glorious deliverer', an instrument of God's will that removed a despotic, popish king, enabling the Church to return to a state of spiritual and doctrinal purity. However, the Revolution was only the beginning of this process and Presbyterian clergy, imbued with providential zeal, set about atoning for Scotland's sins and restoring its covenant with God.[2] In sermons, we see an overwhelming concern with grasping the opportunity, afforded by providence, to rebuild the Church from the ground-up and establish its presence across the whole nation.

Episcopalians and Gaels looked on with horror as William and the Whigs violated the principle of indefeasible hereditary right. However, this stance of loyalty was not slavish and self-defeating, as Whig polemicists would suggest.[3] These groups were primarily concerned with maintaining the traditional guarantees of justice and legitimacy that were enshrined in the principle of hereditary succession, rather than defending the monarch's right to abuse the royal prerogative. In 1689, the confessional identity of the Episcopalian church was still firmly rooted in its loyalty to the Stewart dynasty and the suitability of Episcopal institutions to stable government and social order.[4] The attack on traditional

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[1] D. Williamson, *Scotland's Sin, Danger, and Duty*, 12; Whatley, 'Reformed Religion, Regime Change', 73.

[2] Stephen, *Defending the Revolution*, 19-22, 113.

[3] German, *Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire & Jacobitism in the North-East of Scotland, 1688-1750*, 18.

[4] Raffe, 'Episcopacy and Religious Identity', 4-6.

values perpetrated by William, compounded by his eventual support for the Presbyterians, evoked bleak memories of the Covenanting and Cromwellian regimes.[5] The execution of Charles I, and the damnation, disorder and strife that followed, still weighed heavy in the collective psyche. National sin had been met with unfettered national judgement. The onset of famine in the 1690s served to reinforce this interpretation of events: the rejection of the rightful king had warranted God's wrath which was observable in natural disaster and social devastation. By disregarding God-ordained hierarchy and subverting the harmonious, natural order, Scotland had sinned again.[6] This fit neatly alongside the ancient Gaelic belief that good weather and successful harvests accompanied the reign of a just king, while dearth and storms indicated something rotten in the state.[7] Faced with crisis, and alienated from central government, Gaels and Lowland Episcopalians cultivated hopes for a providential return of the Stewart monarch. The rightful trustee would reassert traditional values, restore harmony to church-state relations and bring justice to those denied it under the Revolution regime.[8]

Presbyterian triumphalism, so prominent in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution, soon faded as the social devastation of harvest failure and natural disaster took its toll on the population. Imbued with Presbyterian zeal, and fearing for the security of the newly-established Church, ministers interpreted crisis as divine national judgement for the opulence and impiety of the Restoration era. The extended period of episcopacy, coupled with Presbyterian persecution and moral laxity, had left its mark on the character and manners of the Scottish people.[9] A wicked people, who had broken their covenant with God, were being judged accordingly. This understanding of events led Presbyterians to a programme of 'Purging and Planting', intended undo the legacy of the Restoration period and redeem Scotland's soul. This involved the overlapping goals of winning hearts and minds for the Presbyterian church, bringing about a general reformation of manners and rooting out Jacobitism.[10] This programme led to increased confrontation with North-Eastern Episcopalians and Highland Gaels as both sword and scripture were deployed to

[5] Monro, *Sermons preached upon several occassions*, 483.
[6] Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746*, 25; Rhind, *Liturgy and Loyalty Asserted*, 51-53.
[7] Gillies, 'Gaelic Songs of the "Forty-Five"', 22; Black (ed.), *An Lasair*, 3.
[8] Rhind, *Liturgy and Loyalty Asserted*, 38-39; *Oran Iain Luim*, 320.
[9] *BHO*, General Assembly Act XII. Sess. 25, 1690, 'anent a Solemn National Fast and Humiliation'; Williamson, *Scotland's Sin, Danger, and Duty*, 35; Graham, 'Kirk in Danger: Presbyterian Political Divinity in Two Eras', 167.
[10] J. Dickson, *A Sermon Preached in the Church of Air*, 23.

remove non-Presbyterian clergy and win congregations over to the Established Church. The Commissions to the North and the establishment of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge brought the struggle for Scotland's soul to the remaining bastions of Stewart support.

In response, the Episcopalian Church sought to differentiate themselves from the Presbyterian Church, in order to maintain their congregations. For most Episcopalians, the main differentiator had been their loyalty to the Stewarts. However, the doctrinal and liturgical similarities between the churches in 1689, often cited by Episcopalians during the accommodation debate, enabled a relatively smooth transition to Presbyterianism.[11] In remaining strongholds, Episcopalians were besieged but not powerless and they were duty-bound to maintain the suffering Church of Scotland. The greatest expression of spiritual independence and a distinctive identity came through liturgical developments and related correspondences with Episcopal churches in England and on the continent.[12] This brought its own problems, as the College of Bishops became divided over certain liturgical innovations. The 'Usages controversy' shook the very foundations of the Episcopalian church, yet it reflected a fundamental shift in understanding that would prove vital to its survival.[13] This shift is evident in the careers of James Gadderar and Archibald Campbell, both Bishops of Aberdeen, who disregarded the College of Bishops by introducing the Usages in worship. The independent spiritual power of the diocesan bishop had been reasserted, in turn relegating the importance of the Stewart monarch and weakening his hold on the church.[14]

The Episcopal Church set a precedent of success for non-establishment churches in Scotland through propagating a coherent yet adaptable worldview that suited the pastoral and spiritual needs of its congregations. As penal laws were gradually relaxed and the Presbyterian onslaught abated, North-Eastern Episcopalians, even non-jurors, became more passive and accepting of the status quo. There was no longer a collective sense of suffering and persecution within the Church. This meant that, aside from hubristic ambitions for re-establishment, providential hopes for a Stewart restoration were effectively redundant in the North-East. A period of economic prosperity and relative peace

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[11] Raffe, 'Presbyterians and Episcopalians', 592.
[12] German, *Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire & Jacobitism*, 101.
[13] Nimmo, 'Liturgy: The Sacramental Soul of Jacobitism', 43-45.
[14] Butterworth, 'Episcopalians in Scotland', 68-70.

led to the partial depoliticisation of the North-Eastern Episcopal church, evidenced by the low number of clergy expressing support for the Jacobites in 1745.[15] This, however, would not prevent harsh government reprisals against Aberdeen and the Episcopalians in the aftermath of the 'Forty-Five.

The Gàidhealtachd offers a very different story. While the Episcopalian Church was in an influential position in 1689, evident in the themes and rhetoric of the Fernaig MS, Gaelic tradition and belief still provided the primary framework for interpretation. There was certainly a deep and sincere attachment to Christian values and institutions, albeit adapted to serve the unique needs and expectations of Gaelic society.[16] A legacy of war, central government hostility and irresistible economic change had left Gaels in a downtrodden state.[17] A deeply ingrained belief in the rightful trusteeship of the House of Stewart, and the positive reception of James Duke of York's Commission for the Securing of Peace, laid the groundwork for Gaelic support for the Jacobite cause. The Glencoe massacre provided a further propaganda tool that could be exploited to rouse clan support. A sense of futility, alienation, decline and disrespect contributed to the centrality of prophetic themes in Gaelic vernacular poetry.[18] Thomas the Rhymer, a folk figure of Lowland origins, becomes the saviour of the Gael: a messianic figure who will unite a people and return them to their rightful place at the heart of the Scottish kingdom. John Macinnes speculates that only an event as traumatic as the removal of the rightful Stewart line could have led to such a dramatic retreat into prophecy. In turn, this influenced perceptions of conflict, in terms of what was being fought for and what was at stake.[19] The birth of Prince Charles, and the rumoured appearance of a new star to herald the occasion, would bring the prophecy to life when the circumstances were right.

There was a brief reprieve between 1725 and c.1735, during which Jacobite intrigue in the Gàidhealtachd slowed to a halt. An interventionist government programme — partly military, partly economic — and the missionary activities of the Church and SSPCK offered opportunities for patronage and advancement to many Gaels. The withdrawal of

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[15] German, *Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire & Jacobitism*, 146-149.

[16] Kennedy, 'The Condition of the Restoration Church of Scotland in the Highlands'; Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gàidhealtachd', 253; Macinnes, *Rise and Development of the Evangelical Movement in the Highlands*, 14-15.

[17] Macinnes, *Clanship*, 114; Stroh, 'Gaelic Identities in Flux', 70.

[18] Newton, 'Prophecy and Cultural Conflict', 146-147.

[19] Macinnes, 'Gaelic Perception', 45-46.

much these resources led to a renewed sense of alienation. Moreover, government schemes had admittedly fallen short of their stated aim: the setting up of an effective framework of civil support in the west.[20] This halted the process of bottom-up Gaelic reconciliation to the Hanoverian monarchy. The deafening silence from Westminster, coupled with the onset of renewed famine, led many Gaels to take up arms in an attempt to carve out a place at the heart of the regime. Prince Charles, son of the rightful Stewart monarch, filled the messianic void for many, particularly after consecutive battle victories. The shattering of this prophecy on Culloden moor in 1746 proved traumatic to Gaelic psyche.[21] Some, like Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, would continue to cultivate hopes of Charles's return. Others came to accept the status quo: they fought in British regiments and embraced the Presbyterianism that had been planted in their communities by the SSPCK and dispersed far and wide by their evangelical successors.

This was an undoubted success for the Presbyterians. When faced with an army spearheaded by Gaels, many Presbyterians recalled the reputation of the barbarous Highland host raised by Charles II against conventicles. This memory served to galvanise Presbyterian support for the British military, with an overwhelming variety of splinter-sects and secessionist groups backing the Established Church's support for the Hanoverians in successive risings.[22] However, many Presbyterians came to wholeheartedly support the status quo as prosperity and peace, facilitated and secured by the British Empire, became common characteristics of Lowland life. Adam Ferguson's exhortation to his regiment to 'play the Men for our People', arose from the effective synthesis of Presbyterianism and British imperial identity.[23] As part of the establishment, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland came to quietly accept the British state's stance on patronage, while the draining of more zealous ministers into secession churches made the Kirk a more liberal institution. Mainstream Presbyterians, while also fighting against Catholicism and the despotic Stewarts, were mainly fighting in defence of the status quo.[24] Government stability, economic growth and access to endless opportunities through the British Empire were evidence of God's favour.

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[20] Stiùbhart, 'The Genesis and Operation of the Royal Bounty Scheme', 139-141.

[21] Gillies, 'Gaelic Songs of the "Forty-Five"', 42.

[22] Kidd, 'Conditional Britons'. 1172.

[23] Ferguson, *A Sermon Preached in the Ersh Language*, 1.

[24] Whatley, 'The Making of Whig Scotland', 68-69.

This struggle for Scotland's soul began with the Bishops Wars in the seventeenth-century and it ended at Culloden in 1746. It was won resoundingly by the Presbyterians at the heart of the British establishment. Episcopalians suffered reprisals for their involvement in the Jacobite risings, but they eventually found accommodation for their church as Scotland matured into a liberal, multi-faith nation. The efforts of those who kept the Episcopalian tradition alive were paid dividends in the mission fields of North America. Moreover, the loosening of the Kirk's grip led many prominent Scots to join the Episcopal Church, among them Sir Walter Scott. Gaels still had a role to play: the spread of Presbyterianism and the raising of Highland regiments for the imperial force assisted in solidifying Gaelic identification with the British state.

However, Culloden prefaced the final stage in the collapse of clanship, while the efforts of central government had served to alienate Gaelic from economic life. The onset of clearance in the Highlands would lead to another century of soul-searching for Scotland's Gaels. It is lamentable that all of these Scots desired many of the same things: the protection of the government, respect for their community, opportunities to prosper and the freedom to practise their faith without inference from the state. Conflicting worldviews, which defined the means through which these things could be obtained, played a significant role in dictating the character of conflict in this period. For many the struggle for Scotland's soul had taken its toll. With this in mind, it is not too surprising that so many Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Gaelic Scots parted with their ancestral homes to build a life in the American colonies.

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