

**Challenges posed by the Geography of the Scottish
Highlands to ecclesiastical endeavour over the centuries**

**A thesis
presented to the Faculty of Arts
University of Glasgow**

in

**fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy**

by

John Rothney Stephen

Matriculation number 8637721

September 2004

I declare that this thesis is entirely the product of my own work,
except where indicated, and has not been submitted by myself
or any other person for any degree at this or any other University
or College.

Sgd) John R. Stephens

May 14, 2005

Dedicated in memory
of
Ewan Francis Stephen
1967-2001

Abstract

The claim of this thesis is that the landscape of the Scottish Highlands has ever posed a challenge to ecclesiastical endeavour over the centuries and has determined the patterns of religiosity that remain largely extant. The landmass under review conforms to a notional Highland line running north-eastwards from Helensburgh in the west to Stonehaven in the east, but does not include the county of Caithness or the Orkney and Shetland Islands. With some preliminary allusions to early ecclesiastical history within the region as background, the time-scale of the thesis focuses mainly upon the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Due consideration has been given to the work of academic authors engaged in the historical geography of religion, in which field the thesis falls.

For centuries, the Highlands were regarded as physically and culturally distinct. The topography of the area was perceived as mountainous, barren, remote, isolated and inhospitable, with relatively poor means of communication over land and sea. The population, until the early-eighteenth century almost half the Scottish total, lived in small, scattered communities of up to twenty dwelling-houses at most. Black cattle, sheep and fishing were the traditional staples in a subsistence economy. The limited arable soil was thin and acid; there was no security of land tenure until the late nineteenth century, and consequently little incentive for improvement. Of prime importance, the Highland population, particularly in the west and north - the Gaelhealtachd - held to a Celtic culture and language, introduced from Ireland in the sixth century. Both language and culture was later modified by Norse settlement between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. The early-modern stereotype of the hybrid race, arising from internecine clan warfare, was of primitive “savages” requiring to be tamed. Education of the Highlander in English ways was considered the key to national unity and security. From the mid-eighteenth century, intrusive influences seeping north from the Lowlands, in particular economic ideas emanating from the later-eighteenth century Scottish Enlightenment, were to impact on the Highlands to create a unity within the Scottish nation. In tandem with overpopulation, famine and disease among the lower classes, the revolutionary changes brought enclosure of land, single tenant farms, planned villages, coastal crofter settlements, and infamously, sheep grazing and sporting estates.

Christianity was traditionally brought to Scotland around the fifth century CE. Its spread, both as a monastic and missionary movement throughout the Highlands, is attributed to monks schooled in Galloway and in Ulster. By the twelfth century, the Celtic Church had been fully absorbed into the Church of Rome. At the Calvinist Reformation within Scotland in 1560, Roman Catholicism was proscribed, but due to prevailing factors in the Highlands, mainly connected with the remoteness and inaccessibility of the landscape, the “Old Faith” was never completely eradicated. Of cardinal importance was the ownership of the land, the dearth of a Reformed ministry conversant in the Gaelic language and overlarge parishes that precluded regular contact between congregation and minister and his manse. A serious impediment to Highland Reformed mission was the lack of a translation in Scots-Gaelic vernacular, of the Authorised Bible until the 1767 publication of the New Testament in that language. Those disabilities permitted the re-establishment from Rome of a virulent Catholic

Vicariate located in the Highlands, to rekindle a faith that had never been completely lost in the minds of the population.

Following the deposition of James VII in 1690, Prelacy was proscribed and Presbyterianism was declared to be the lawful structure of the Reformed Kirk within Scotland. Nevertheless the structure of the Episcopalian Church survived relatively intact and many of its clergy retained their pulpits in the Highlands. The key to survival, yet again, had been the protective power of the Highland landowner, to which may be added the Highland population's distaste for an intrusive Presbyterianism. The Toleration Acts of the later-eighteenth century restored both papacy and prelacy to some form of national recognition. By the end of that century, an intrusive evangelism from the Lowlands took hold of North and West Highland people and served not only their spiritual needs, but also their political aspirations. From the outset, secession and reunion have characterised the Established Church of Scotland, the most damaging episode, that of the Disruption in 1843, on the platform of patronage. The emergent Free Church, to which the Highland congregations adhered virtually *en mass*, has retained, with its own secession branches, a legacy of evangelicalism within the Highlands long after the Free Church (Continuing) has declined south of the notional Highland line. It is stressed that in all its many facets, the Highlands displays no uniform pattern in time, place or will; the region is more profitably examined as a collection of localities, each with its own distinctive character. What can scarcely be denied is that the landscape of the Highlands determined the patterns of religiosity that we can still recognise within its boundaries today.

Finally, the thesis develops its several themes both synthetically - through a geographical reading of existing historical works on religion in the Highlands – and empirically – through a detailed archival inquiry into the story of one particular Highland parish, that of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, in Upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire. It must be emphasised, however, that the progressive changes, social, economic, political and cultural, that impinged upon and ultimately changed the semi-feudal patterns of Highland life from the start of the eighteenth century, took place against a background of other perspectives and other geographies fermenting south of the Highland line. The period of the thesis encapsulates the great age of revolutions in which both England and Lowland Scotland took the lead in Europe; the Agricultural Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, with associated revolutions in transport and navigation. It was the age that witnessed the emergence of a territorial divide - perhaps a notional north and south line - within England, as large industrial towns proliferated in the Midlands and the North. To these new urban centres came non-conformist religion to fill the vacuum created by the absence of an established religion ministering to the immigrant working classes. Over these dramatic changes in population hangs the shadow of Malthus¹ and Darwin,² whose plausible theories

¹ Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834). British economist. Born in Surrey, was ordained in 1797, and as a curate anonymously published in 1798 his *Essays on the Principle of Population as it affects the Future Improvement of Society*, in which he maintained that population increases more rapidly than food supplies and is limited by war, finance, poverty and vice. Wages should accordingly sink to subsistence level, to check the natural prolificacy of the labouring classes (Dictionary of Modern History, 1962, 207).

² Charles Darwin (1809-82) Darwin sailed on the naturalist expedition to the Galapagos Islands, Tahiti, and New Zealand in the *Beagle* (1831-36). On returning, he settled in Kent and spent twenty years developing his hypothesis that species evolve through natural selection of those best suited to survive environmental conditions. His theories were published in The Origin

on the evolution of species and on population control were anathema to contemporary conventional belief. All these forces for change over time can be traced in the transformation of the Highlands and its indigenous culture, if only experienced at a later date through the comparative remoteness and isolation of the landscape.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Table of Contents	iv
Acknowledgements	vii
Tables	viii
Figures	ix
Illustrations	x
Abbreviations	xii

Chapters

Chapter 1: Introducing the religio-historical geography of the Scottish Highlands

1. 1	-	Writing the historical geography of religion with preliminary references to the Highlands	1
1. 2	-	Theories in the development of religious space	5
1. 3	-	The historical geography of religion in the Highlands	18
1. 3. 1	-	Research methods attending Highland landscape and mission	19
1. 4	-	Outline history of religion in the Highlands	22
1. 5	-	Themes of landscape and religion in the Highlands	27
1. 5. 1	-	Defining the Highlands	27
1. 5. 2	-	Remote character of the Highland landscape	28
1. 6	-	Social and cultural aspects of the Highlands	31
1. 6. 1	-	Population dynamics in the Highland region	35
1. 7	-	The dynamics of a Highland economy	39

Chapter 2: Highland landscape as a context for the history of religion

2. 1	-	Locating the Scottish Highlands within the United Kingdom	42
2. 2	-	Topography of the Highlands	47
2. 2. 1	-	Geology of the Highlands	48
2. 2. 2	-	Coast and Sea Loch in the Highlands	49
2. 3	-	Climate patterns across the Highlands	50
2. 3. 1	-	Climate in the Eastern and Central Highlands	51
2. 3. 2	-	Climate in the North-West Highlands and Hebrides	52
2. 4	-	Vegetation of the Highlands	54
2. 5	-	Settlement within the Highlands	56
2. 6	-	Computing the Highland population	60
2. 7	-	Language in the Highlands	61
2. 8	-	Communications, transport and travel	65
2. 9	-	Economic resources in the Highlands	70
2. 10	-	Intellectual background to Eighteenth Century Highland Change	71
2. 10. 1	-	Agriculture within the Highlands	72
2. 10. 2	-	Cattle droving from the Highlands	79
2. 10. 3	-	Sheep grazing within the Highlands	81
2. 10. 4	-	Highland Sporting Estates	82
2. 11	-	Industry within the Highlands	84
2. 11. 1	-	Kelp production within the Highlands	85
2. 11. 2	-	Textile production within the Highlands	87

2. 11. 3	- Highland fishing industry	89
2. 11. 4	- Illicit distilling industry within the Highlands	90
2. 12	- Planned villages within the Highlands	91
2. 12. 1	- Crofting settlements within the Highlands	92
2. 13	- Migration and immigration - a Highland fountainhead?	93
2. 13. 1	- Patterns of Highland migration	94
2. 13. 2	- Patterns of Highland emigration	96
2. 14	- Tourism in the Highlands	97

Chapter 3: The historical geography of religion and ‘mission’ in the Highlands: a survey

3. 1	- Highland landscape and ecclesiastical mission	100
3. 2	- The early Church from Celtic roots to Roman Christianity	100
3. 3	- Superstitious belief in the Highlands	109
3. 4	- The Medieval Church in the Highlands	112
3. 5	- Recusant Highland Catholicism	114
3. 6	- Modern Christian mission - the Church reformed	121
3. 7	- Gaelic Bible in the Highlands	126
3. 8	- Establishment claims; Episcopalian or Presbyterian?	128
3. 9	- Discipline in the Kirk	130
3. 10	- Patronage in the Kirk	131
3. 11	- Established Church Education in the Highlands	134
3. 11. 1	- Education as a political expedient	135
3. 11. 2	- Roman Catholic Education in the Highlands	137
3. 12	- Moderatism in the Kirk	141
3. 13	- Evangelical Presbyterianism in the Kirk	142
3. 14	- Non-Conformist Evangelical Mission	145
3. 15	- Baptist Church in the Highlands	147
3. 16	- Highland separatists from the Established Church	148
3. 17	- Highland Sabbatarianism	149
3. 18	- Established Church extension in the Highlands	149
3. 19	- Disruption in the Established Church - 1843	150
3. 20	- Hidden Belief in the Highlands	153

Chapter 4: United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn: the geographical context

4. 1	- Landscape of Upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire	154
4. 2	- Place names within the United Parish	157
4. 3	- Communications in Upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire	158
4. 4	- Habitation in Upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire	166
4. 5	- Agriculture in Upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire	169
4. 5. 1	- Employment within the United Parish of Glenmuick	171
4. 6	- Language in Upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire	172
4. 7	- Land ownership within the United Parish of Glenmuick	174
4. 8	- Industry within the United Parish of Glenmuick	177
4. 9	- Sporting estates within the United Parish of Glenmuick	180
4. 10	- The planned village of Ballater, Aberdeenshire	181
4. 11	- Freemasonry within the United Parish of Glenmuick	184
4. 12	- Population movement within the United Parish - Migration	184
4. 12. 1	- Emigration from the United Parish of Glenmuick	185

Chapter 5: United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn: the ecclesiastical context

5. 1	- The Annals of Glenmuick Parish	191
5. 2	- Celtic Christianity in Glenmuick Parish	194
5. 3	- The Roman Catholic Church in Glenmuick Parish	202

5. 4	-	The Reformed Church in Glenmuick Parish	213
5. 5	-	Kinord: a rational disjunction from Glenmuick Parish	222
5. 6	-	The Episcopal Church in Glenmuick Parish	223
5. 7	-	Secret Beliefs: Freemasonry in Glenmuick Parish	224
5. 8	-	The Supernatural and Superstition in Glenmuick Parish	229
5. 9	-	Education within Glenmuick Parish	229
5. 10	-	Poor Relief within Glenmuick Parish	243

Chapter 6: Contrasts and parallels across the Highlands in terms of religious history

6. 1	-	The challenge of the Highland landscape	247
6. 2	-	The mark of a Highland people	249
6. 3	-	The psychological effect of place in Highland belief	254
6. 3. 1	-	The face of a Highland faith	255
6. 4	-	The land that God created – for whom?	257
6. 4. 1	-	A Highland theology of liberation	258
6. 5	-	The language of Eden – a Highland problem?	259
6. 5. 1	-	Education in the Highlands	260
6. 6	-	Highland migration and emigration	260
6. 7	-	Conclusion	262

Epilogue	265
-----------------	-----

References	266
-------------------	-----

Bibliography	269
---------------------	-----

Appendices	289
-------------------	-----

Acknowledgements

It would be remiss of me not to express my gratitude to the University of Glasgow for allowing me to progress from earlier study within its faculties to complete the present thesis. In so doing, I am duty-bound to acknowledge those eminent researchers in Highland affairs whose published work I have drawn upon so freely. On a more personal level, my indebtedness extends to many people who have assisted and encouraged me along the way. Special thanks are due to my two supervisors, Professor. C. P. Philo, Head of Department, Geography and Geomatics, and Professor. I. Hazlett, Professor of Church History, Department of Theology and Religious Studies, both University of Glasgow, who have afforded more time to reading and correcting my thesis chapters than their own research and teaching commitments should reasonably allow. Their encouragement at all stages has provided support in difficult times. The concepts, comments and suggestions generously provided by both have found a place within the pages that follow. For the vacillating policies of the SSPCKA in the Highlands, I am indebted to Professor C.W.J Withers, Professor of Historical Geography, University of Edinburgh, for his patient explanation at Kindrogan Field Centre, Enochdu. Thanks are due to Dr. Gavin White, former senior lecturer, Department of Theology and Religious studies, University of Glasgow, for his guidance on many aspects of church history and his advice on reading materials. In this field, special thanks must be accorded to Dr. Jane Dawson, Director of Research, Convenor of Ecclesiastical History, School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh, for encouragement, advice, and not least, the generous provision of off-prints of her published academic papers relevant to Highland evangelism. The generosity of Dr. David Forrest, senior lecturer, Department of Geography and Geomatics, University of Glasgow, in donating to me a working library of relevant books from his relative's estate, cannot be overstated. I am also mindful of the courtesy and help shown by the staff at the National Archives of Scotland and the National Library of Scotland, both in Edinburgh, in accessing relevant documents. In respect of the former depository, special thanks are due to Virginia Russell, Church Records Officer, for her advice concerning the session records of the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn. Mention must be made of Neall Buchanan, Main Library, University of Glasgow, for his help in locating statistical data and with accessing maps; June Ellner, Department of Special Collections and Archives, King's College, University of Aberdeen, for access to F.C. Diack's correspondence; Mike Craig, Photographic Archives, Queen Mother Library, University of Aberdeen, for the provision of photographs from the GWW. Collection; Eleanor Rowe, Archivist, Grampian Regional Archives, Old Aberdeen House, Aberdeen, for access to Ballater School records and to the records of provision to the poor; Sabine Muir, Librarian, Ballater Public Library, for her helpful advice and in the selection and provision of local histories; Ian Neilson, *The Scots Magazine*, Editorial Department, Dundee, for the provision of archive articles; Jeanine Greig, Archivist, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, for passenger lists and associated data of emigrant ship, "Tasmania" on its voyage from Plymouth, England, to Portland, Victoria, Australia, in 1851, and the emigrant brig "Jane Geary", departed Aberdeen for Melbourne, Australia, in 1852. Also for the data bases of the Gall and Cumming families, formerly of Glenmuick parish, tracing their descendants in Australia; Kathryn Vandine, Vaughan Evans Library, Australian National Maritime Museum, Sydney, NSW, for her sustained interest and provision of materials worthy of a second thesis; Mrs. Pat Downie, Ballater, for photograph of Ballater Juvenile Masons' annual march to Braichlie House in 1938; the staff at Aberdeenshire Council, Archives and Libraries, Local History Department, Oldmeldrum, for advice and assistance; the staff at the Local Studies Department, Central Library, Aberdeen, for assistance in searching newsprint archives and photocopying extracts too numerous to be included in this thesis; the staff at the premises of the Aberdeen & North-East Family History Society, King Street, Aberdeen, for ready access to a wealth of materials, which greatly facilitated research into Church affairs, and last, but not least, the staff at the Archive Unit, Montrose Library, Montrose, for information on early movement of people across the Mounth from Forfarshire to Upper Deeside and vice-versa. Finally, thanks must go to the Department of Geography and Geomatics, University of Glasgow, for the provision of excellent facilities that have been the envy of post-graduate colleagues working in other university locations. Here must be mentioned Brian Black, Technical Support Officer, for the provision of innumerable computers, and of Dr. Jane E. Drummond, senior lecturer, Geomatics, not only for her constant support throughout, but also for the provision of space on her own computer to store the thesis in advance of printing.

Tables

Chapter 2

2. 1	-	Population for the seven Skye parishes (Census, 1981 for HR, Vol.4	44
2. 2	-	Climate - Braemar, Upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire, 1961-90 averages	52
2. 3	-	Climate - Kinlochewe, Ross and Cromarty, 1961-90 averages	53
2. 4	-	Gaelic speakers, Isle of Lewis, Ross and Cromarty. 1801-91(Census, 1891)	63
2. 5	-	Population, Isle of Lewis, Ross and Cromarty, 1831-1891(Census, 1891)	64
2. 6	-	Gaelic speakers, Arisaig and Moidart, Inverness-shire	64

Chapter 4

4. 1	-	Occupations in the UPGTG in 1696 (Poll)	170
4. 2	-	Occupations in the UPGTG in 1796 (<i>OSA</i> , XIV)	171

Chapter 5

5. 1	-	Glengairn baptisms, 1801-1845 (Roberts, 1987, 95)	211
5. 2	-	Denominational divide, c.1820s (Sedgwick, 1991, 63)	212

Figures

Chapter 1

1. 1	-	Iona Cathedral plan	11
1. 2	-	Notional Highland boundary line (Withers, 1988, 2)	29

Chapter 2

2. 1	-	Distribution of land at various altitudes and water depths on the Continental shelf (Price, 1991, 4)	43
2. 2	-	Highland Boundary Faults (O'Dell and Walton, 1962, 7)	48
2. 3	-	Indo-European Celtic language family (Ganz, 1981, 17)	62
2. 4	-	Late-nineteenth century occupation of a Highland "Big House", upper Deeside (1901 Census return)	99

Chapter 3

3. 1	-	The Western Seaways, (Bowen, 1969, 22)	103
3. 2	-	Drumalban and the Mounth, Roman Scotland (Simpson, 1935,17)	105
3. 3	-	Distribution map of Roman Catholic Communities.	118
3. 4	-	Roman Catholics in Highland Counties, c.1774 (Macdonald, 1965, 219)	119
3. 5	-	Discipline in the Kirk in 1843	133

Chapter 4

4. 1	-	United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengardine, c.1696, (A&NEFHS)	156
4. 2	-	Mount Keen route by Glen Tanar to Loch Lee, (Smith, 2002, 65)	160
4. 3	-	Glengairn, Upper Deeside, c.1870, (adapted from Fraser, 1973, covers)	161
4. 4	-	Farms to be let to tack (Withrington, 1982, xix)	176
4. 5	-	Ballater Village, Factor's advert to feu (<i>Aberdeen Journal</i> , 9/11/1808)	183
4. 6	-	Free Emigration to Queensland (<i>Aberdeen Journal</i> , 23/2/1876)	186

Chapter 5

5. 1	-	The Capel Mounth; Lock Muick to Clova, (Smith, 2002, 88)	194
5. 2	-	Mount Keen by Gen Tanar to Loch Lee, (Smith, 2002, 78)	194
5. 3	-	Map of Kinord and Muir of Dinnet, Upper Deeside (SNH)	199
5. 4	-	Map of Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil, Upper Deeside (JRS)	200
5. 5	-	Capel Mounth: Clova to Spital of Muick. (Inglis, 1948)	203
5. 6	-	Glen Muick, upper Deeside, sketch map	204
5. 7	-	Street map, Ballater planned village (Wood, 1985, 60)	228
5. 8	-	Extract, Ballater Public School logbook, early 1880s (GR65/K4/1/2)	242
5. 9	-	Extract, Parish of Glenmuick Poor Law records, 1850s (GR6/32/313)	246

Illustrations

Chapter 1

1. 1	- Highland Boundary Stone, Dinnet, erected by Deeside Field Club (JRS)	28
1. 2	- Glencoe, Argyllshire, from the air (Colin Baxter)	31

Chapter 2

2. 1	- Ardoch, Glengairn, “improved” farm buildings, upper Deeside (JRS)	45
2. 2	- Crannog reconstruction, Clach-na-Caber, Loch Tay, Perthshire (JRS)	58
2. 3	- Snizort, Skye - notice-board - monthly Gaelic service. (JRS)	65
2. 4	- Birlinn galley. Detail from wall-tomb, Rodel, Harris (Rixson, 1998, 120)	66
2. 5	- Gairnshiel Bridge (Caulfield era) Upper Deeside, (JRS)	68
2. 6	- <i>The Highland Ferryman</i> , by William Dyce, RA., (Aberdeen Art Gallery)	69
2. 7	- Head-dyke, Bellamore, Glen Tanar, Upper Deeside, (JRS)	74
2. 8	- Farm bothy, New Kinord, Dinnet, Aberdeenshire (JRS)	78
2. 9	- <i>Bealach na Ba</i> (pass of the sheep) Wester Ross (JRS)	80
2. 10	- Private Episcopal chapel, Meikle Kinord, Upper Deeside (JRS)	84
2. 11	- Wild flax, Kinnord, upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire (JRS)	89
2. 12	- <i>The Last of the Clans</i> , Thomas Faed, 1826-1900 (Glasgow Art Gallery)	95

Chapter 3

3. 1	- Abbot’s Stone, Camusterrach, Applecross, Wester Ross (JRS)	109
3. 2	- Rowan tree, abandoned dwelling-site, Old Kinnord, Upper Deeside (JRS)	111
3. 3	- <i>The Ordination of the Elders in a Scottish Kirk</i> , 1891 (JH.Lorimer, NGS)	131
3. 4	- Scalan seminary, Braes of Glenlivet, Banffshire (JRS)	139
3. 5	- Memorial stone, Rev. Norman Macleod, Clachantoll, Stoer, Assynt, (JRS)	148

Chapter 4

4. 1	- Former toll-house, Kincardine O’Neil, Aberdeenshire (JRS)	162
4. 2	- Ballater Bridge and former ford over the River Dee (GWW Archives)	163
4. 3	- Polhollick bridge and ferryman’s cottage, Upper Deeside (JRS)	165
4. 4	- Head dyke, Morven, Glen Gairn, upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire	167
4. 5	- Deserted Glenfenzie farmhouse, Glengairn - 1822 cornerstone (JRS)	169
4. 6	- Ballater House, later Monaltrie House, Ballater, built, c1788 (JRS)	175
4. 7	- Ballater planned village in the 1880s (GWW Archives)	182
4. 8	- Emigrant ship <i>Tasmania</i> (Mortlock Library, South Australia)	188

Chapter 5

5. 1	- Crannog island, Loch Kinord, upper Deeside, (JRS)	196
5. 2	- Celtic cross slab-stone, Loch Kinord, upper Deeside (JRS)	197
5. 3	- Medieval Tullich Church and burial ground, upper Deeside (JRS)	199
5. 4	- The Chapel at Tornahaish, (1808), Glengairn (photo-JRS)	210
5. 5	- Glengairn Church, Kirkstyle, Glengairn, upper Deeside (JRS)	212
5. 6	- The Central Kirk on the Muir, Ballater, post 1866 reconstruction (JRS)	217
5. 7	- Free, later United Free Church, Ballater (JRS)	220
5. 8	- Kinord in the 1880s. “Fossil” landscape (GWW Coll., UA Archives)	223
5. 9	- Episcopal Church, Ballater, Aberdeenshire (JRS)	225
5. 10	- Ballater Juvenile Masons group in 1920s (<i>Deeside Field</i> , 1962, 36)	226
5. 11	- Ballater Juvenile Masons’ walk to Braichley House. c.1939 (J.Reid)	227

5. 12	-	Former Ballater Female School, Upper Deeside (JRS)	239
5. 13	-	Former Ballater Public School, Upper Deeside (JRS)	240
5. 14	-	Male class, Senior Dept., Ballater Public School, 1891 (J.Hardie)	241

Abbreviations

A&NESFHS	Aberdeen & North-East Scotland Family History Association
ADJ	Aberdeen Daily Journal
AJ	Aberdeen Journal
APC	Associated Presbyterian Church
AU	Aberdeen University
AUA	Aberdeen University Archives (King's College)
AUP	Aberdeen University Press
AUPA	Aberdeen University Photographic Archives (QM Library)
CUP	Cambridge University Press
ECS	Established Church of Scotland
EUP	Edinburgh University Press
FCC	Free Church Continuing
FCS	Free Church of Scotland
FPC	Free Presbyterian Church
CE	Christian era
GRA	Grampian Regional Archives
GU	Glasgow University
GWW	George Washington Wilson (Photographic collection, AUPA)
HR	Highland Region
JED	Jane Elisabeth Drummond
JRS	John Rothney Stephen - thesis author
MUP	Manchester University Press
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NGS	National Gallery of Scotland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NSA	<i>New Statistical Account of Scotland, by the ministers of the Respective Parishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy</i> (Edinburgh, 1834-45)
OS	Ordnance Survey
OSA	(Old) <i>Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799</i> , edited by Sir John Sinclair. Arranged by county and re-edited by D. J. Withrington and I. R. Grant. Republished 1972-81 (East Ardsley, 1981)
OUP	Oxford University Press
RBC	Royal Bounty Commission
SCA	Scottish Catholic Archives
SNH	Scottish National Heritage
SSPCK	Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
SUP	Stanford University Press (USA)
TGSI	Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness
UA	University of Aberdeen
UFC	United Free Church
UL	University of London
UNC	University of North Carolina (USA)
UPGTG	United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn
UWP	University of Wales Press

Chapter 1

Introducing the religio-historical geography of the Scottish Highlands

1.1 Writing the historical geography of religion, with preliminary reference to the Highlands

This thesis is set within the historical geography of religion. Historical geography with its several branches forms a sub-category of the parent discipline of Geography. If the term "historical" craves amplification, it can be viewed as a label that encapsulates the dimension of time - to which may be added the human will¹ - that emerge, along with the dimension of space, as key themes throughout this thesis. Levine asserts that all human experience is grounded in irreversible time, and cites Heraclitus' analogy of the river - one cannot step into the same river twice - to encapsulate the human experience of transience and mutability in the mortal, natural world; "everything flows and nothing abides; everything gives way".² By ritualizing time and space, adds Levine, religions sacralize the very physical dimensions through which we experience the world.³ The conflation of history with geography, however, has long been a subject for academic controversy. In the late 1930s it was Hartshorne's standpoint that history lodged in the study of time relations whilst geography was located firmly in space relationships, and thereby both remained parallel entities.⁴ Falling short of a settled paradigm, this claim has since been rebutted over the years, notably by Sauer (1941) and Darby (1989). Both argue that the unity of time relationships and space relationships defies analytical separation. At present, it seems reasonable to assume that both time and space are fundamental to the practice of historical geography and are treated here as such.

Few would question that an integral part of human culture is religious belief, a concept that is central to this thesis. Such a claim inevitably raises questions on the nature of belief. What does belief mean? What rational support is there for belief? Why do people believe? These deep philosophical conundrums, so important to the Christian faith, but scarcely so for the Hebrew that served as its genesis,⁵ will not be answered here albeit reference will be made to specific beliefs in later chapters (Appendix "I"). Sufficient for the nature of reformed Highland religion is Broadie's claim that the Hebrew Bible, the basic text for New Testament philosophy, is not concerned with correct belief - as Christians understand the term - but with correct behaviour. The most important thing for a Jew, claims Broadie, is to live as closely to God's will as possible. How one lives is the paramount consideration. Hence, it will be argued the relevance for

¹ The will that Darwinians would claim is the force for change that over time, has advanced homo-sapiens within the eco-system.

² Website: <http://www.trincoll.edu/depts/phil/philo/phils/heraclitus/html> - No Greek philosopher born before Socrates was more creative and influential than Heraclitus of Ephesus. Heraclitus (540-480 BC) stands primarily for the radical thesis that "Everything is in flux".

³ Levine, 1995, 130.

⁴ Hartshorne, 1939, 135.

⁵ Broadie, 1996, University of Glasgow lecture, 29/1/1996. Broadie argues that Hebrew teaching does not rest in belief, but in the absolute obedience of God's will. He further states that Judaism has no need of a philosophy; on the other hand, Christianity

the teaching of Metrical Psalms⁶ and Proverbs⁷ by rote in the curriculum of Highland schools from their post-Reformation inception. More so than the New Testament Beatitudes,⁸ it may be supposed, these Hebrew texts in translation have moulded the distinctive character of the Highlander as a person of worth in society both at home and abroad.⁹ The Psalms, as Orr suggests, were the crofters' "rod and had sustained them through many a bad *haisrt*"¹⁰ (Appendix "G"). What then do we mean when we talk of God and how do we conceive His being? It has fallen to Broadie to critically examine the twelfth century CE philosophical treatise of Moses Memonides concerning The Great Tautology, *Ehyeh-Asher-Ehyeh* - I am who I am - enigmatically suggesting in Exodus 3.14 of the Hebrew Pentateuch, the divine existence of God. By opting to follow the *via negativa* as opposed to the affirmative position, argues Broadie, Memonides could only determine a creator God comprehended through the manifestation of His agency and His actions. "Nothing that the multitude conceives can be predicated of God . . . knowing His acts is the closest we can come to knowing God".¹¹

In the Chapters 2 and 4, discussion will centre upon the predictable ecological cycles of decay and renewal, of life and death, and the unpredictable phenomena attendant upon land and water, climate and cultivation, disease and famine, that shaped - and still shapes - human existence in the Highlands. All are the seeming product of natural forces that, even today, evade clear human understanding and elucidation. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, philosophers focussed upon the great clock at Strasbourg, built between 1570-74, a mechanical marvel in its time, as an analogue or model for the universe that suggested God was the great clockmaker.¹² John Locke (1632-1704) proposed that we can look at the outwards appearance of things (the clock), but, argues Locke, even scientists "can never get at the inner springs and wheels - the organisation of the atomic constitution of material substances - that are known only to the clockmaker (God) and his assistants (the Angels). The underlying machinery, the atomic constitution of things, which causes apparent qualities to be linked together, is hidden from us".¹³

cannot exist without relying heavily upon philosophy.

⁶ The efficacy of teaching school children Psalms and Proverbs from an early age will be addressed in Chapter 5. 9. Learning by rote without understanding the context and meaning of words created the same problems for Doric-speaking infants as it did for Gaelic-speaking children learning to read and speak English. Most children started their education with Psalm 1 in metre:

That man hath perfect blessedness who walketh not astray
In counsel with ungodly men, nor stands in sinners' way,
Nor sitteth in the scorner's chair: but placeth his delight
Upon God's law, and meditates on his law day and night.

⁷ Dilworth, 1956, 19: In Chapter 5. 9, Dilworth recounts that at Glen Gairn school in the early-nineteenth century, Proverbs was the first book used in class.

⁸ Matthew 5: 3-11.

⁹ Early-nineteenth century emigrants to the colonies were chosen with care. Ships' passenger lists frequently record the capability, age and health of individual emigrants. To Australia went the "Scottish Mechanics" comprised of 54 adult men plus their families: stonemasons and bricklayers, carpenters, joiners, blacksmiths, and plasterers, etc., and all members of Christian churches and congregations. The Scots also became Governor Generals, Governors, and members of parliament. Webpage - <http://www.bairdnet.com/immigration1.html>

¹⁰ *Haisrt* - harvest: The agricultural term can be expanded to encompass humans, often visited by fatal diseases (the grim reaper) until the development of medical science and public sanitation by the end of the nineteenth century.

¹¹ Broadie, 1994, 179.

¹² Website: <http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/distance/locke1/comment3.html>

¹³ *Ibid*

Sopher argues "to the extent that geography is prepared and able to take humanity seriously, to accept as data people's symbols, rites, beliefs and hopes in all of their cultural actuality, religion, broadly conceived, must become a central object of the discipline's best endeavours".¹⁴ To illustrate that the relationship between religion and geography is not newly invented, and that both have in fact enjoyed a special relationship since ancient times, Kong, for example, cites geography's ancient Greek roots as a starting point for its historical development.¹⁵ "On a world scale", argues Pacione, "religion is one of the most universal activities known to humankind; when believed by people and integrated into the fabric of society, religion can shape the motivations and behaviour of individuals". It is the church,¹⁶ Pacione proposes, that preserves and articulates the selfless values on which a more humane society can be based.¹⁷ In similar vein, Holloway and Valins argue that spiritual matters "form an important context through which the majority of the world's population live their lives, forge a sense (indeed an ethics) of self,¹⁸ and make and perform their different geographies".¹⁹ The paradox seems to be, however, that religious beliefs have throughout history contributed to a great deal of human hardship in terms of wars fought in the name of religion. Many geopolitical struggles cannot be understood apart from the "clashes" of religious belief involved. Pacione further claims that any simple definition of religion is futile, but for exegetical purposes it is his opinion that religion can usefully be regarded as comprising the six integrated dimensions of doctrine, sacred narrative, ethics, ritual, experience and social institutions. The relevance for human geography of this cultural amalgam, Pacione asserts, is the extent to which religion can contribute to the analysis and resolution of social, economic and environmental problems.²⁰ In his discussion of religion as a cultural system, this link has been sustained by Geertz who argues that, "a great deal of social-scientific theorising has turned upon an attempt to distinguish and specify the two major analytical concepts, culture and social structure".²¹ Both concepts Geertz views as independent, but not self-sufficient forces, acting and having their impact only within specific social contexts to which they adapt:

Within the two-sided development it has been the cultural side which has proved more refractory and remains the more retarded. Ideas are more difficult to handle scientifically than the economic, political and social relations among individuals and groups those ideas inform. And this is all the more true when the ideas involved are not the explicit

¹⁴ Sopher, 1981, 519.

¹⁵ Kong, 1990, 355: Anaximander, the first known Greek mapmaker, is said to have seen the world as the manifestation of a religious principle, namely the inviolability of spatial order, determined by the Indeterminate (God - q.v. Psalm 24.1: "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein".) and his diagrammatical efforts to show mathematical proportion in the cosmos and the world map were deemed to be more a "religious" pursuit than a "scientific" one. Such concerns linking geography and cosmology in the mind of the religious person lay at the heart of early geography, and in that sense a geography that incorporated religious ideas was evident from the earliest times".

¹⁶ It is assumed that Pacione uses the term "church" to encapsulate all forms of devotional observance, and not simply a building or similar structure used in the conduct of worship by a number of religions, but not all. In a Christian context, the early church is defined in Matthew 18: 20, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them". From that time, open air services have been a characteristic feature of Christian worship, and resorted to most markedly in nineteenth century Highland evangelicalism.

¹⁷ Pacione, 1999, 125.

¹⁸ It is assumed that by a "sense of self", the authors mean a sense of identity.

¹⁹ Holloway *et al*, 2002, 6.

²⁰ Pacione, 1999, 118.

²¹ Geertz, 1993, 361.

ideas of a Luther or an Erasmus, but the half-informed, taken-for-granted, indifferently systematized notions that guide the normal activities of ordinary men in everyday life.²²

Perhaps this summation of the social-cultural link can point to an explanation for the reluctance of many Highland people in the later-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to relinquish traditional methods of working the land and hold fast to a religious orthodoxy dominated by iconic texts, symbols and ritual. The close correlation between the Israelites' perennial claim to land, linked to that of Highland people denied the lease of land, seems inescapable; it is an argument prosecuted by Meek.²³ This tendency to embrace fundamentalist belief,²⁴ seasoned with a measure of ingrained superstition, forms a grey area that will be examined in Chapter 5.

Those academics whose province explicitly encompasses the discipline of Geography and, even more specifically, an historical geography of religion are nonetheless relatively few.²⁵ Both Levine²⁶ and Park²⁷ argue that the subject has developed as a small specialist study, a sub-field of cultural geography, and is variously concerned with the description and interpretation of spatial relationships, landscapes, places of sacred phenomena and religious practices. Human use of the environment, suggests Levine, has not only been directed towards people, it has also been oriented towards the sacred.²⁸ This, of course is borne out in the associated fieldwork of the archaeologist and anthropologist. In furtherance of the scope of historical geography, Ley argues that the subject has now encouraged a broader expansion of interest to incorporate all manner of cultural phenomena and institutions including religion and spirituality. At the same time, claims Ley, the geographical study of religion is also beginning to engage the sociology of religion and indeed social theory more generally.²⁹ All these views, it is submitted, are relevant to the study of Christian mission as it developed in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (hereafter referred to as the Highlands).

It is perhaps axiomatic that the geographer of religion has a special interest in the diffusion of religious beliefs and practices across the global landscape. According to Sopher, "one concern of the geographer of religions is how the land provides a record of religious systems, their associated institutions, and the patterns of religiously conditioned behaviour".³⁰ This accords with Holloway and Valins' view that landscapes both reflect transformations in society, and reinforce a sense of symbolic order.³¹ The presence

²² *Ibid*, 362.

²³ Meek, 1987, 84-89.

²⁴ The modern-day Jewish fundamentalist is distinguished by his sombre black apparel and headgear with attachments indicating the country of his birth. Guided solely by the promise contained in Hebrew scripture (OT) a fundamentalist eschews the media and modern innovation, preferring to live as his race did some 2000 years ago (see also Appendix "G").

²⁵ Kong, 2001, 211.

²⁶ Levine, 1986, 428.

²⁷ Park, 1994, 24.

²⁸ Levine, 1986, 428.

²⁹ Ley, 2000, 697.

³⁰ Sopher, 1967, 24.

³¹ Holloway *et al*, 2002, 7.

of monumental sacred structures on the landscape may give some indication of the relative intensity of religious expression at different times and in different places. All, it can be surmised, testify to attempts to create a moral landscape in accordance with the needs of people. In this connection, Thompson has studied the cultural iconography of the Ponturin Valley at Peisy-Nancroix in the Haute-Savoie,³² whilst, on a wider field, Geertz, in an analysis of sacred symbols, has investigated the meaning of icons in general.³³ On the other hand, Withers has concerned himself not with the reality of past events in time and space but with the memory of them.³⁴ Thus, Holloway *et al*, in their review of recent papers, raise the notion of "landscape as text" in the way that such spaces can be read and re-read in different ways.³⁵

Questions may be raised about the spatial organisation of the societies involved; how large must a group have been to provide the labour and technical skills to erect megalithic structures, and what spatial area did the structures serve? Indeed, from which part of the landscape was the stone quarried, and by what means and by which route was it transported? On a lesser scale, community burial grounds may show that mortuary rites delimit successive peoples, whilst allocations of interment space may separate religious groups. In this academic field, Kong has examined "deathscapes in geography", a study of the cultural significance of cemeteries and columbaria, memorials and mausoleums in Singapore.³⁶ In a regional study of religion in rural Chinese society, Wolf has meanwhile concentrated on the significance of gods, ghosts and ancestors, whilst Biswas has studied the evolution of Hindu temples in Calcutta.³⁷ These diverse geographical studies, overlapping with archaeology and anthropology, are windows on how religious belief shapes the cultural landscape as reflected in lithic remains, buildings, icons, symbols, mortuary rites and people. To quote Thompson, "these man-made edifices and monuments have an iconic quality in that they symbolise on the landscape meanings that can be read to enrich an understanding of the past".³⁸

1. 2 Theories in the development of religious space

In every age, and in every place, devotional space and its organisation appear to have been paramount in religious practice, and over the next few pages attention will be given to theories and studies concerned with the varying dimensions and scales of religious (devotional and sacred) space. There claims will continue the task of introducing ideas from the geography of religion, the historical geography of religion included, which will resonate with later chapters in the thesis. Chapter 2 suggests that, on a global

³² Thompson, 1998, 7: Thompson finds that spiritual icons are a constant in the rural landscape (of Peisey-Nancroix). However, the pattern is not random; it is structured in terms of a spiritual hierarchy from major spiritual sites such as a church to single isolated oratories. The spiritual icons are not simply representations of a common faith but reflect also highly localized circumstances within the overall way of life. In this sense they are physical landmarks in the cultural landscape.

³³ Geertz, 1993, 126.

³⁴ Withers, 1996, 325-344.

³⁵ Holloway *et al*, 2002, 7.

³⁶ Kong, 1999, 1-10.

³⁷ Biswas, 1984, 73-85.

³⁸ Thompson, 1998, 1.

perspective, sacred spaces used in most forms of worship by world civilisations have developed both geographically, politically³⁹ and architecturally, over the millenia from pre-history to the present age. This theme of a relationship between spatial forms and worship has been investigated on a macro-scale by Lefebvre (1991 a) in his treatise, *The Production of Space*, which has been critically examined in a paper by MacDonald (2002). Here the micro-scale of Evangelical Presbyterianism, as it is professed in the Hebrides' island of North Uist, has been used by Macdonald to illustrate Lefebvre's conceptual triad of "spatial practices", "representations of space" and "representational spaces".⁴⁰ As MacDonald emphasises in his citation of Kong and others, in any discussion of ecclesiastical architecture it must be remembered that buildings *per se*, are but one facet in the structure of worship; they provide a complex geography of spaces in which worship can take place within and around the confining walls. (Fig.1.1).⁴¹ Within the spatial boundary of his North Uist Kirk building, MacDonald recognised a "sonorous geography"⁴² at work in the praise led by a precentor⁴³ at the island's weekly Sabbath service, which he views as a "mutual constitution of sound and space".⁴⁴ In this observation, he neglects to recognise, however tenuous it might appear, the historic relationship of the chromatic scales with church architecture that has been argued so convincingly by Wittkower (1973), to whose treatise later reference will be made.

In the ancient world, argues Sefton, both Greeks and the Romans raised spatially enhanced *basilica* structural forms,⁴⁵ the Romans for administrative and legal purposes, but not used as such by the Greeks. In spite of their later diverse appearance as ecclesiastical buildings, claims Sefton, the basic purpose of the *basilica* was to provide accommodation.⁴⁶ Both Greeks and Romans, however, raised temples in honour of their pagan gods.⁴⁷ From the poetic works of Homer (12c.BC) and Herodotus (c.480-425BC), and from the more objective historian Thucydides (c.460-400BC), we learn that within the temple animal sacrifice was the principal form of appeasement ritual practised. In consequence, both types of buildings, secular and devotional, would have been clearly identified by the furnishings and rituals appropriate to their use at a specific time in history.⁴⁸

³⁹ Hay, 1966, 31: An example of a claim to sovereign space is recorded by Hay: "Up until the fourteenth century, contention for hierarchical space dominated Western Christendom with the rise of emperors, princes and nation states. The struggle for supremacy ended with the bull, *Unam Sanctam* (1302) in which Boniface VIII tried to impose his will on the powerful kings of France and England".

⁴⁰ MacDonald, 2002, 63.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 64.

⁴² *Ibid*, 72.

⁴³ Precentor: the leader of singing in church; a person who, in the absence of a musical instrument or choir, strikes up the tune for the congregation. The precentor sings, or "give out the line" of each verse which is then repeated by the congregation in unison (q.v. Appendix "G").

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 72.

⁴⁵ Sefton, 1990, 44.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 44.

⁴⁷ Burn, 1980, 179: The Parthenon (447-438BC), resting upon a plinth on the summit of the Acropolis in Athens is the classic example of a pagan temple. The beautiful little Ionic Temple of Nike (Victory) was built as a free-standing structure, on its rock bastion, on the approach route to the Parthenon.

⁴⁸ An identifiable Gothic designed Reformed church building, complete with spire, might today serve secular purposes as a retail goods showroom, a discotheque, a public house or an examination hall. At the time of its partial destruction, the Parthenon in Athens was used as a gunpowder store, each with its own internal geography.

Following the Edict of Milan (313CE), claims Sefton, the Roman emperor Constantine built the Church of St. John Lateran in Rome, a *basilica* that "symbolised the dawn of a new era of church building to replace the house-church".⁴⁹ This initiative marked a move from private space to public: from internal to external. The new architectural pattern was quickly followed in all the main centres within the Empire where they were suitable for the assembly of large congregations. In a parallel context to Greek and Roman structures, Martin argues that the Hebrews, once settled, worshipped in a network of local synagogues, and within the Jerusalem Temple.⁵⁰ It was the synagogue, though, claims Martin, that played a more dominant role in both Judaism and early Christianity.⁵¹ Hence, it is significant for theological purposes that Christ's ministry, according to the apostle Luke, commenced in the synagogue in Nazareth.⁵² It may be remarked that, for much of its existence, the practice of Hebrew worship has prohibited women from devotional expression within the central space of the synagogue.⁵³ In contrast, the early Christian tradition that fellowship meetings embracing both sexes within a dwelling house - the "house-church" previously mentioned - was characterised by the *agape*,⁵⁴ or "love feast", that had its counterpart in Jewish table customs, and served as the formal place of early Christian worship.⁵⁵ In most other respects these new Christian house-groups were "outsiders" to Judaism from which they voluntarily separated to create a new geography of spaces for religious witness.

Detachment and isolation as "outsiders" have been recurrent facets of religious practice throughout the centuries. In ancient Judaea, claims the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (37-c.100CE),⁵⁶ the Essene community (c.140BC- 68CE),⁵⁷ located at Khirbet Qumran on the western shore of the Dead Sea, about

⁴⁹ Sefton, 1990, 158.

⁵⁰ Cruden's Concordance, 1975, 662: "The first Jerusalem temple, the Temple of Solomon (1 Kings 5), a 'wonder of the whole world', built (c.961-950 BC) was destroyed at the time of the Babylonian Captivity in 586 BC. It was later rebuilt on a larger scale between c.537-515 BC in the times of Esrah and Nehemiah, but this post-exilic temple was not so rich and beautiful as that of Solomon. Little is known of its destruction. All references in the New Testament to the existing temple are to Herod's temple, built c.20-18 BC by Herod the Great to win the allegiance of the Jews. The temple was destroyed in 70CE, but a section of its Western Wall still remains as an icon for Jewish prayer".

⁵¹ Martin, 1990, 123.

⁵² Luke 4, 16-19: "And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up for to read, (17) And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias. And when he opened the book, he found the place (Isaiah 61: 1-2) where it was written, (18) The spirit of the Lord is upon me, he hath annointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering the sight of the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, (19) To preach the acceptable year of the Lord. (20) And he closed the book, and he gave it again to the minister, and sat down. And the eyes of them that were in the synagogue were fastened on him".

⁵³ In later times, women were admitted to a gallery within the synagogue where they worshipped separately as observers. By the end of the twentieth century, Jewish women have been permitted, as in Glasgow, to worship alongside their men-folk. At the Western Wall in Jerusalem, a stout fence still separates the women from the men at payer. This ancient arrangement - "It's the tradition" - has been the source of many feminist demonstrations at the wall in recent years. Thus, Edinburgh Lord Provost Lesley Hinds has refused to attend Jewish events in her city because she was asked to sit at the side of the congregation during a Jewish ceremony because she wasn't allowed to sit with the men. She stated, "I feel it inappropriate to the position of Lord Provost to be seated at the side of the congregation. Previous Lord Provosts have always been seated at the front." (*Sunday Mail*, April 24, 2005).

⁵⁴ *Agape*: the first name given to the Eucharist.

⁵⁵ Martin, 1990, 123.

⁵⁶ Whiston, 1987, 422.

⁵⁷ Josephus, 11. 118-122: "The Essenes have a reputation for cultivating peculiar sanctity. Of Jewish birth, they show a

eight miles south of Jericho, is an early example of a pre-Christian religious sect setting itself apart in space and in time. Gathered under a strict set of rules,⁵⁸ argues Vermes, its collective aim was to achieve a purer faith than that pursued by the main corpus of the Hebrew people from whom it had voluntarily separated. To this separatist group in the torrid heat of their new desert space is attributed the writing of the *Dead Sea Scrolls*, in effect the books of the Hebrew Bible.⁵⁹ This trend for separatism in Judaism is evident today in Jerusalem where Orthodox Jews, distinctive by their black apparel and rejection of modern innovation, set themselves apart within their Jewish District. Here they emulate in their daily lives the devotional and material conditions of their forefathers some 2,000 years ago and vigorously claim the landscape of Palestine as their promised land.⁶⁰ This cultural and political intransigence is met, argues Cohen-Sherbok, by the more liberal World Zionist Organisation, the outcome of the First Zionist Congress in Basle in 1897, prompted by the journalist Theodor Herzl, who envisaged a modern socialist state free of outmoded Biblical strictures.⁶¹ The infighting between Orthodox and Zionist Jews - distinct groups separated by space, time and will - is ongoing and conceivably creates its own geography of "outsiders" within Judaism. It is these complex features of Eastern Mediterranean cultural development, Judaism and Christianity, nurtured in a distant arid climate with its own problems of oppression, poverty, famine and disease that, it is suggested, have intruded upon the often barren and unproductive landscape of the Highlands of Scotland.

From the foregoing preamble it might be accepted that within the known world, the history of religious practice emerges as a history of secession and separatism.⁶² Apart from the major secessions from the Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland noted by Burleigh (Appendix "A"), reference will be made in Chapter 3 to the "Normanites", the 400 Highland Presbyterians who, in 1817, as separatists from the Established Church settled overseas under the leadership of the Rev. Norman Macleod, a native of Stoer, Assynt. Dismayed by the perceived lack of zeal and discipline within the Established Church, the "Normanites" emigrated as "outsiders" to found a Highland Presbyterian colony at Pictou in Canada. This move was followed in 1820 by a second migration within Canada to Cape Breton Island, and later, between 1851 and 1860, across the oceans to final settlement at Waipu, north of Auckland, New Zealand (Plate 3.5). In these new colonies, a Scots culture incorporating a discernible geography of religion was imposed on a landscape that was often not dissimilar in character and place-name from that of the

greater attachment to each other than do the other sects. They shun pleasures as a vice and regard temperance and the control of the passions as a special virtue. . . They do not, indeed, on principle, condemn wedlock and the propagation thereby of the race, but they wish to protect themselves against women's wantonness, being persuaded that none of the sex keeps her plighted troth to one man... Riches they despise, and their community of goods is truly admirable".

⁵⁸ Vermes, 1962, 61: Among the papers found at Qumran from 1947 onwards, were *The Community Rule*, *The War Rule*, and *The Damascus Rule*, that set the standards for conduct within the Essene community.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, xiii.

⁶⁰ Orthodox Jews within their City Quarter shun newspapers, telephones, mechanical transport, and modern consumer durables.

⁶¹ Cohen-Sherbok, 1994, 105.

⁶² Ross, 1993, 768: "Separatists - Highland dissenting movement, c.1797-1875. The abuse of patronage and the advent of Moderatism which in the Lowlands gave rise to the Secession churches, resulted in the Highlands in a separatist movement which stopped short of formal secession".

emigrants' native land. This theme of emigration by dissenting denominational groups will be revisited shortly in the discussion of a paper by Zelinsky.

The early Christian Church, according to Hall, was characterised by asceticism⁶³ and monasticism⁶⁴ that had roots around the Dead Sea in Judaea, and in Egypt. Hall further argues that Antony (died.356CE), the most famous exponent of asceticism in the fourth century CE, is reputed to have heard the call of Christ in Matthew 19: 2, "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and come follow me, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven".⁶⁵ Gradually but steadily, Antony is reported to have moved away from centres of human habitation on the Nile to settle in a cave in wild country near the western shore of the Red Sea to become one of the great leaders of the early anchorites (Gk. *Anchozeseis*, "withdrawal" or "retreat") movement. Soon, claims Hall, thousands, spreading into Palestine and Syria, emulated Antony's solitary life of retreat in desert places. Small groups of anchorites later bonded to form the first monasteries in Upper Egypt whose origins are attributed to Pachomius.⁶⁶ This represents an early move from dispersed religious spaces into a single community, although anchorites continue to exist in tandem.

Monastic foundations, clearly encapsulating Lefebvre's spatial trinity of "representations of space", "representational spaces" and "spatial practices", promoting a sense of spatial enclosure, aura of piety and contemplation, and withdrawal from the wider-world distractions,⁶⁷ have proved durable over the centuries in many religions world-wide.⁶⁸ Most relevant historical sources confirm that monasticism was early implanted in North Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries. New, for example, argues that:

there were the Celtic clergy, essentially monastic in their organisation unlike the other western churches at that period, and to them we owe foundations like Iona and Abernethy. Then there were the Culdees, about whose exact status and origins much learned argument has raged. For our purposes they can be thought of as Celtic monks who in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were gradually assimilated by the regular "foreign" orders.⁶⁹

Following upon the raising of temples and monastic buildings, the dominant ecclesiastical edifice of

⁶³ Asceticism: From the Greek word *askesis* ("exercise" or "training"). Used to describe a way of life based on rigorous self-denial to achieve holiness, as in monasticism (Hazlett, 1991, Glossary, 313).

⁶⁴ Monasticism: "A way of life involving separation from the world in order to attain personal sanctification, usually in community with others" (Hazlett, 1991, Glossary, 315).

⁶⁵ Hall, 1991, 173.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 175.

⁶⁷ In the Central Highlands of Scotland, St. Mary's Roman Catholic Monastery was founded in the 1860s on the slopes of Kinnoull Hill, Perth, by a religious order, the Congregation of the Holy Redeemer, whose priests and brothers, known as Redemptorists, are still to be found there as managers. No longer a training establishment strictly for the priesthood, the monastery building serves an ecumenical purpose as St. Mary's Pastoral Centre used by a number of religious and associated groups for residential ecclesiastical training and conference purposes. (q.v. United We Stand, Rennie McOwen, *The Scots Magazine*, Vol. 162, No.1, 2005, 42-44).

⁶⁸ The Mar Sabas Monastery, founded by Sabas in 483CE, in Wadi Kidron, nine miles east of Bethlehem, continues to survive under the patronage of the Greek Orthodox Church. Sabas became a hermit in 483CE, and five years later, seventy others had joined him in neighbouring caves among the cliffs (<http://bibleplaces.com/judeanwilderness.htm>). In 1996 and in 2000, the present writer visited the St. George of Koziba Monastery, founded 420CE, and perched on the right side of a vertical cliff in Wadi Qelt. Numerous cave-dwelling hermits exist around the monastic site in imitation of the prophet Elijah. Excessively hot and dusty, water is conveyed from a distant mountain lake by levada, and elevated to the caves by rope and bucket.

⁶⁹ New, 1988, 15.

the Western World, the cathedral, in its design and specification, as suggested above, was appropriated from the pagan assembly hall or *basilica* "as the seat of jurisdiction in antiquity",⁷⁰ because it was suitable to accommodate very large congregations. Greek, and later Roman classical ideas of form that relied on perspective, as will be made more explicit below, were exploited to produce a distinctive church architecture. In the universal or Roman Catholic tradition, claims Fenwick, the cathedral⁷¹ was to emerge as the main church of a diocese.⁷²

The first monastery recorded in the Highlands was raised on Iona in Argyll, by Columba in 563 CE. Significantly, Iona, like several small Hebrides' islands, is basically a rock arising firmly out of the ocean bed. Here, a theological analogy⁷³ may be traced in the claims of St. Peter to be the first bishop of Rome and founder of the Roman strain of Christianity:

And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church: and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.
(Matthew 16.18-19)

Between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Abbeys⁷⁴ were founded at Kinloss (c.1150) and at Pluscarden (c.1230)⁷⁵ in Moray; Saddell (c.1160) in Argyll; Couper-Angus (c.1164) in Perthshire; and Fearn (c.1227) in Easter Ross. Friaries⁷⁶ were established at Elgin [Black] (c.1234)⁷⁷ and [Grey] (c.1281)⁷⁸ and at Inverness [Black] (c.1240). Priors⁷⁹ were raised upon Iona [Nunnery] (c.1208) at Beaulieu (c.1230) and on Isle Oronsay, Argyll-shire, that next to the great Abbey of the Isles at Iona, claims MacGibbon *et al*, was the largest monastic establishment in the Western Isles.⁸⁰ Finally, a Collegiate Church, "St, Duthac's",⁸¹ was erected at Tain, Easter Ross (c.1487). In their construction, these ecclesiastical buildings

⁷⁰ Wittkower, 1973, 6.

⁷¹ Fenwick, 1973, 21: "The last cathedral to be built as such before the Reformation was Fortrose, on the Black Isle, in the fifteenth century".

⁷² *Ibid*, 21: "There were nine Scottish dioceses in medieval times, plus two under the respective jurisdictions of Trondheim and York, but at the height of the episcopal ascendancy of the seventeenth century this had become fourteen".

⁷³ This analogy was brought to the writer's notice by Prof. Ian Hazlett, School of Divinity, University of Glasgow. The text from the gospel of Saint Matthew is the foundation rock of the Roman Catholic church and its claim to spiritual primacy.

⁷⁴ Abbey: A monastery having an abbot or abbess at its head. The traditional definition requires there to be at least twelve monks or nuns.

⁷⁵ Founded in 1230 by Alexander II, Pluscarden Abbey is the earliest medieval monastery in Britain still used by monks for its original purpose.

⁷⁶ Buildings housing religious men of various orders bound by vows like monks, but wandering instead of being confined to monasteries.

⁷⁷ Black Friars: The Order of Preachers (OP), or Dominicans, founded 1215 by Saint Dominic during his preaching tours against the Albigensis in Southern France. The Dominicans were friars; they were to be poor and to travel on foot. The first house of friars was established at Toulouse. Never popular, friaries were among the first buildings in Scotland to be destroyed in 1560 in an outburst of iconoclasm, and the friars severely abused. Today, the Pope's theologian is always a Dominican. (Bennet, R., *Early Dominicans* (1937: repr. 1971).

⁷⁸ Grey Friars: Founded 1209, the Grey Friars belong to the Order of Saint Francis of Assisi (Giovanni de Bernadone, 1180-1226). Known as Franciscans, otherwise Friars Minor or Minorites and also the Sepharic Order. Bound by vows of poverty and humility, originally their habit was grey; at present they wear brown, except the conventuals who have adopted black.

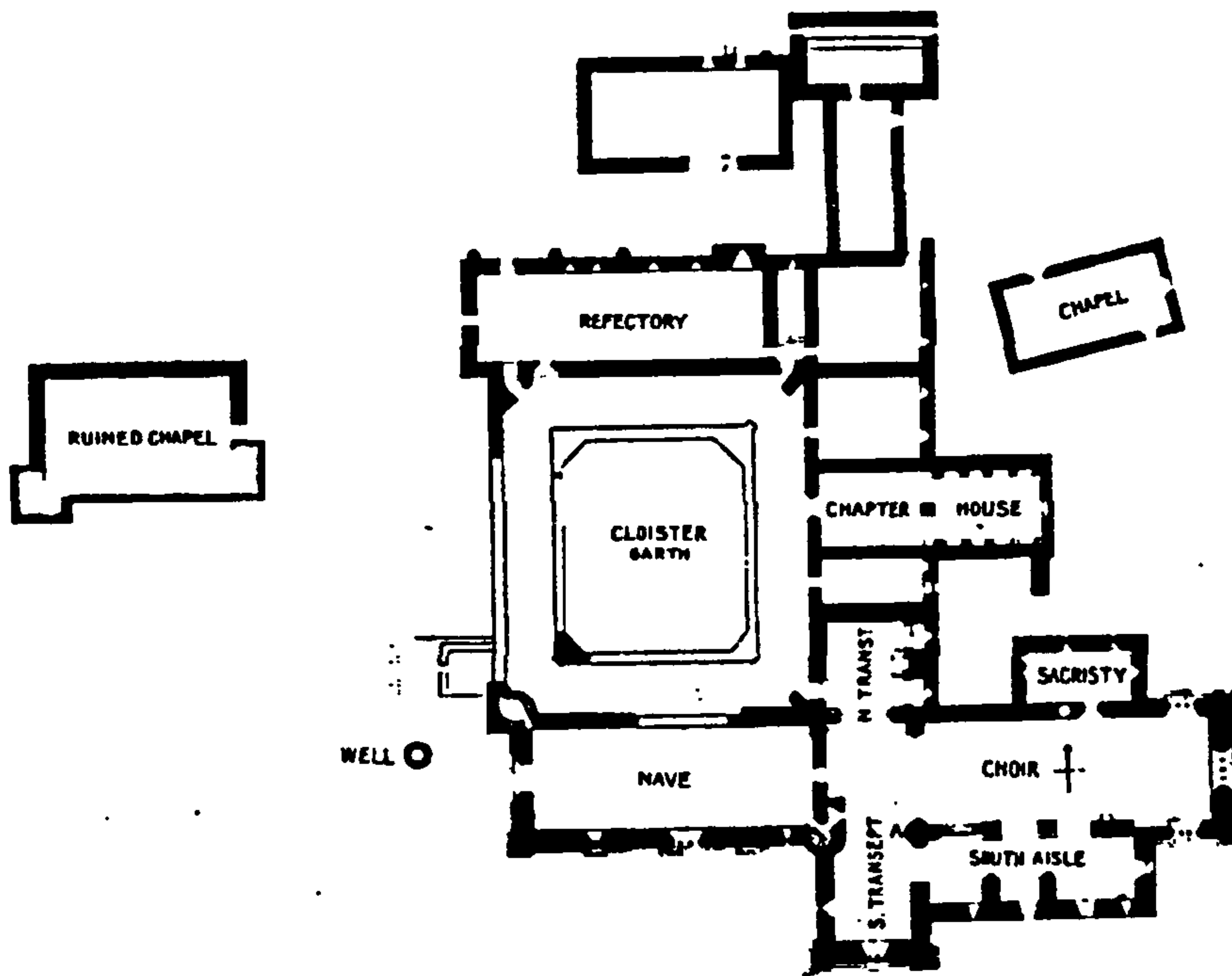
⁷⁹ Priory: A monastery having a prior as its head. Many monastic cathedrals had priors (e.g. St Andrews) and ranked as Abbeys.

⁸⁰ MacGibbon, 1991, 372.

⁸¹ Collegiate Church: One with a college of priests or chapter but no bishop.

conformed in general to a rigid spatial geography developed to allow for the conduct of the liturgy and sense of stratified importance of personnel followed by the Roman Church. The buildings were staffed by an ecclesiastical hierarchy within the mainstream regular orders⁸² - Augustinian, Benedictine, Capuchin, Carmelite, Cistercian, Cluniac, Dominican, Franciscan, Tironesian,

Fig. 1. 1



Iona Cathedral plan illustrating the integrated material and spiritual use of space that was replicated in form throughout Christendom. The cultural process of worship added a second dimension to the physical geography of the site buildings. Basically a rock emerging firmly from the ocean bed, the theological analogy of the island to the claims of St. Peter, first bishop of Rome, may be apparent. (*Scotland's Abbeys and Cathedrals*, Hubert Fenwick, London, 1973, 32).

Trinitarian, and Valliscaulian, responsible for their erection. Within an enclosed and sometimes fortified area,⁸³ a complex of stone buildings would incorporate a priest's house, church, cloister (covered walk), chapter-house (for business), dormer (dormitory), calefactory (monks' warming-room), frater (refectory), kitchen, library, parlour (for conversation), reredorter (latrine), laundry, workshops, and a well. Internally, the monastic church would have a nave (for lay brothers) with vaulted ceiling, a choir, a high altar, an aumbry (wall-cupboard for vessels), a piscina (wash consecrated vessels), an ambulatory (walk behind high altar), transepts, crossing, and an apse (for bishop). Side chapels normally attached to either side of the nave. Each space was exclusive to certain designated groups in the hierarchy of clergy engaged in the service. The disciplined use and rigid sense of place maintained in these geographically apportioned and exclusive structural spaces were strictly controlled by the calendar and offices of the church year, in effect,

⁸² Regular: living by a code of rules set by the relevant Order.

⁸³ Large ecclesiastical buildings required security from pillage by humans and animals, and able to be defended if required. Crossraguel Abbey, near Maybole in Ayrshire, is a fine example with tower-house and defensive gate as part of its structure.

the regular routines of Christian devotional practice. The novice would early acquire a mental map of the main buildings and their appurtenances that would deviate little in its conventional signs, if not in its scale, within any geographical area during his lifetime.

The Renaissance, centred in Italy in the early-fourteenth century, concerned itself with the re-discovery of classical forms including those in the arts related to architecture. Of moment to MacDonald's earlier observation of "sonorous geographies" in connection with North Uist praise, was the re-discovery of classical perspective that Wittkower attributes mainly to Fillipo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) who established a new approach to architectural design that has been followed up to the present day. In-built was the Pythagorean conception of numbers beginning with three, "the first real number because it has a beginning, a middle and an end. It is divine as the symbol of the Trinity".⁸⁴ A study of Pythagoras (born c.680BC) imbued Renaissance researchers with the idea that numbers related everything to everything else.⁸⁵ In a later historical age, Plato (c.427-348BC) concerned himself with the ideal beauty to be found in the circle and the cube. These, claimed Plato in his *Timaeus*,⁸⁶ contain the consonances⁸⁷ of the universe that were to be found in music.⁸⁸ In consequence, Renaissance "architects",⁸⁹ influenced by the treatise *De Architectura*, composed by the first-century BC Roman legionary Vitruvius,⁹⁰ conceived the perfect church to be rooted in the Pythagorean-Platonic concept of the musical ratios of the chromatic scale, the octave, the fifth and the fourth intervals considered to be constant throughout history by all cultures.⁹¹ Once imbued with the solemn belief in the harmonic mathematical structure of all creation,⁹² the Temple of Jerusalem, argues Wittkower, became a natural focussing point for the cosmological-aesthetic theories of perfect celestial harmonies of proportion and beauty contained in the circle and the square, the basis of Greek church building.⁹³ The cathedral⁹⁴ and the abbey church nave, it follows, are the square extended to create an oblong. For lateral support to the dome, transepts were added on either side of the nave to form a crossing. These cruciform-designed ecclesiastical buildings, states Hay, housed

⁸⁴ Wittkower, 1973, 103.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 158.

⁸⁶ Harvey, 1980, 451: "Timaeus (Timatos), a dialogue by Plato, in form a sequel to the *Republic* in which the author places in the mouth of Timaeus, a Pythagorean philosopher, an exposition of the origin and system of the universe".

⁸⁷ Consonances: Two tones are said to be consonant if their combination is pleasing to the ear and dissonant if displeasing.

⁸⁸ Wittkower, 1973, 103.

⁸⁹ In the early Renaissance, there was no "division of labour" in the arts. Leonardo, Michelangelo, and the other great artists in paint, were also called upon to oversee the construction of great buildings. At the time, artists were viewed as universal men.

⁹⁰ Harvey, 1980, 448: "Vitruvius Pollio, who saw military service (c.50-26BC) under Julius Caesar and Augustus, wrote a treatise in ten books, *De Architectura*. In this he deals not only with architecture and building in general, sites, materials and the construction of temples, theatres and dwelling-houses, but also with decoration, water-supply, machines, sun-dials, water clocks. The work is important as having influenced the principles of building at the Renaissance".

⁹¹ Wittkower, 1973, 159.

⁹² *Ibid*, 117.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 121.

⁹⁴ Cowan, 1982, 53: "Cathedrals (in Scotland) were important as pilgrimage centres and in terms of their personnel were not only effectively staffed, but continued to expand in the course of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries". The cathedral, a depository for holy relics among its subsidiary functions, and its precincts, were set upon holy ground and therefore viewed as a gateway to Heaven. Hence, the cathedral was at the point of divine-human intersection. From this tangible point on the landscape, the road to salvation could be clearly mapped out.

the devotional practises of the regular or religious clergy that were distinct from the secular clergy at parish level.⁹⁵

Most surviving early church architectural design throughout Britain dates from the Norman-Gothic period of architecture established after 1066 in the wake of the earlier Romanesque.⁹⁶ The outstanding characteristics of Gothic design, first initiated at the Basilique Saint-Denis de Paris (1136-44), are strongly typified at Sainte-Chapelle de Paris (1241/2-48). These are marked by pointed window and door openings, buttressed walls, high vaulted ceilings and strong vertical lines, all developed in three periods or styles over the following centuries.⁹⁷ In conformity with Platonic-Pythagorean notion of spatial harmony, claims Westrup, the development of the Gothic cathedral and abbey building was complemented by the monophonic melody of the Gregorian or plainsong chant.⁹⁸ In contrast, the spatial area and architecture of the rural parish church was scarcely so impressive. Little is known of its early construction, but in Chapters 3 and 5, reference will be made to the rubble-stone and mortar pre-Reformation church ruins at Glen Muick, at Tullich and at Foot of Gairn in upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire. The Glenmuick session records, according to Sedgwick, reveal that these modest medieval parish church buildings,⁹⁹ erected it is assumed on the site of previous ecclesiastical structures, were - as normal everywhere - devoid of pews and possessed clay floors. In many cases, the heather-thatched roofs that were not amenable to late-eighteenth century improvement; the frail walls could not bear the weight of a slated roof.¹⁰⁰

Appropriated by the Reformers in 1560, these otherwise serviceable parish churches underwent a change in their spatial geography created by a new pattern of socio-religious behaviour. In a modification and reworking of what MacDonald terms "earlier representations of space",¹⁰¹ the altar, aumbry and piscina were removed, as well as censers, bells, candles, effigies, paintings and other forms of religious art. "It was necessary", argues MacDonald (quoting Spicer), "to be seen to react against what they saw as the idolatry of Rome and protect the first commandment".¹⁰² In Reformed practice, central place was given to the preaching pulpit. Communion tables for the bi-annual Sacrament replaced the altar of the Roman Eucharist. Thus, argues MacDonald, paraphrasing Lefebvre, "the production of space in worship is a function of the time set aside for worship; the building is used for no other purpose". Not quite, observes

⁹⁵ Hay, 1966, 50: (In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) "The secular clergy ranging from some twenty or thirty cardinals, through hundreds of archbishops and bishops to thousands of priests, in many ways offered a cross-section of the whole population. Within the secular clergy there were very rich and very poor".

⁹⁶ Romanesque is characterised by the rounded arch supported on slim pillars.

⁹⁷ The three periods associated with Gothic building are Norman-Gothic, 1066-1200; Decorated Gothic from 1275-1375; Perpendicular Gothic from 1275-1375. (web-site: <http://web.kyoto-inet.or.jp/org/orion/eng/hst/gothic/html>).

⁹⁸ Westrup, 1976, 243.

⁹⁹ Sedgwick, 1991, 57: "Glen Muick was 72' long by 22.5' broad; Tullich was 79' by 28'; and Glengairn, 46.5' by 22.5'".

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 57

¹⁰¹ MacDonald, 2002, 76: "These 'representational spaces' (or 'spaces of representation') refer not merely to material signifiers but also extend to social practices and 'lived situations'. Specifically, we can take this to mean the complex interaction of bodies and signifying practices that are most obvious in the ordering of church boundaries, architecture and décor". (Spicer, [2004a] Architecture, in Pettegree, A. [ed.] *The Reformation World*. London: Routledge, pp.784-803).

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 74: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" (Exodus 20, 21).

Hazlett; the church building was for listening rather than looking, and for congregational fellowship rather than devotional adoration.¹⁰³

Uniformity of worship had early become the norm for liturgical practice in most religions. In Chapter 3 reference will be made to the Synod of Whitby in 664CE, at which conference between Celt and Roman, the date of Easter within the Christian church in North Britain was settled to ensure uniformity of Roman worship throughout Christendom. In practice, the Christian Church in its several branches, holds to the celebration of the Eucharist formulated in the Pauline letter, 1 Corinthians 11.23.¹⁰⁴ In the Church of Rome, "The Order of Mass", based on the *Missale Romanum* published (in its present form) in 1570, in the name of the Pope, is all-pervading within that church. The celebration of Mass, at which the laity are denied the cup, is not, however, confined by mandate to the interior space of a church building. Neither is the Lord's Supper celebrated by the Presbyterian church confined to the inside of a building; a tent in the open air covering minister, communion table and elements was common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁰⁵

Within the Scots Kirk uniformity of Word and Sacrament in 1560, according to Sefton, had its origins in the *Book of Common Order* used in Frankfurt in 1554.¹⁰⁶ The use of this volume was specified in the (First) *Book of Discipline*, recommending a monthly celebration of the Lord's Supper, but the *Book* was not ratified by Parliament. The *Second Book of Discipline* of 1581, drawn up, notes Kirk, by over thirty ministers under the Assembly's general guidance, was finally ratified by Parliament in 1592, and set out the "Heads and Conclusions of the Policie of the Kirk".¹⁰⁷ Under James VI (from 1603, James I of England) and his Stuart successors, periods of restored Episcopacy interrupted Kirk policy until 1690 settled Presbyterianism as the form of the Established Church of Scotland. The Lord's Supper¹⁰⁸ when celebrated, was received sitting at a table within the church to emphasise the aspect of fellowship.¹⁰⁹ Only those, states MacDonald, in possession of the communion token were permitted to sit at the Lord's Table.¹¹⁰ During the 130-year gestation period, an Act of the General Assembly of the Church of

¹⁰³ This view was suggested by Professor Hazlett, School of Divinity, University of Glasgow, in his final corrections to this thesis.

¹⁰⁴ 1 Corinthians, 11: 23: "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: (24) And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. (25) After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament of my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. (26) For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come. (27) Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord".

¹⁰⁵ In Glasgow, the former *Tent Hall*, an evangelical assembly hall located in Glasgow's Steel Street off the Saltmarket, formed the regular resort of a substantial body of the City's Highland population until the later 1970s. Its title commemorated the famous outdoor sacramental services about which generations of Highlanders retained a clear mental map.

¹⁰⁶ Sefton, 1990, 85: "Printed in Edinburgh, it embodied the law of the Church of Scotland with regard to worship until its was replaced by the Westminster Directory of Public Worship in 1645".

¹⁰⁷ Kirk, 1980, 46.

¹⁰⁸ Cameron, 1993, 495: The Lord's Supper is the name most commonly given to the sacrament of Holy Communion at the time of the Reformation.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 496.

¹¹⁰ MacDonald, 2002, 71.

Scotland of 7th February 1645 states "That while the tables are dissolving and filling, there by always singing of some portion of a Psalm according to this custom".¹¹¹ The *Book of Common Order* in use by the established Church of Scotland has undergone several revisions throughout the centuries; the 1979 edition, claims Forrester, goes further than any of its predecessors in affirming the centrality of the Lord's Supper.¹¹² The Episcopal Church in Scotland differed in its Eucharistic liturgy. In the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 there is specific direction that no part of the Eucharist will be reserved and carried out of church to the sick or for other purpose, a direction that remains in the English Prayer Book in use today.¹¹³ Thus, diverse spatial codes operated in relation to spiritual observance of the Eucharist within the geographical boundaries set by the configuration of reformed church premises.

Within the parish church building, as MacDonald confirms,¹¹⁴ both a strict hierarchical and spatial geography attached to officials and congregation. The minister had exclusive use of his pulpit; the reader, session elders, precentor¹¹⁵ and beadle,¹¹⁶ as officers of the Kirk, were limited to lower spaces nearby. Separate accommodation, normally fenced and elevated at the rear of the congregation, was formerly provided exclusively for heritors, their family members and important visitors.¹¹⁷ Seat renting within the pews was an index of social status among the lay congregation. From the foregoing overview, it can be claimed that both formal and informal social and religious geographies attach to the complex organisation of religious worship.

Turning to the extension of religious observance by European emigrants to the newer colonies overseas, Zelinsky, using statistical evidence for 1952, has investigated, in a regional study embracing seven main areas, geographical patterns of church membership in the United States.¹¹⁸ Most Americans at that time, Zelinsky found, did not regard religious affiliation as making one locality different from another,¹¹⁹ "an indifference that is reflected and reinforced by the relatively minor contribution of the religious life to the visible landscape of the nation". This may be explained by the religious freedom engendered by a multi-denominational society in a new nation that had no experience of "Christendom" and religious uniformity

¹¹¹ The Psalm text most often used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was Psalm 116:13-19. (file://C:\WINDOWS\TEMP\QE9RZZ1A.htm)

¹¹² Forrester, 1993, 86.

¹¹³ Website - <http://justus.anglican.org/resources/pc/alcuin/collection17chapter5.html>

¹¹⁴ MacDonald, 2002, 64.

¹¹⁵ Precentor: the leader of singing in church, a person who, in the absence of a musical instrument or choir, strikes up the tune for the congregation. The precentor sings, or "give out the line" of each verse which is then repeated by the congregation in unison (q.v. Appendix "G").

¹¹⁶ Beadle: church officer appointed by the Kirk session of a congregation in the Church of Scotland and other Presbyterian Churches as the personal attendant on the minister at services of worship. He is the "minister's man" who is required to fulfil a number of extraneous duties in connection with his church management. In the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn in the nineteenth century, the beadle acted as gravedigger.

¹¹⁷ The Royal Family fenced enclosure, located at ground level within a niche at Crathie Parish Church, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire, faces the preaching pulpit. Thus secluded, the royal house-party cannot be viewed directly by the congregation seated in the pews. Egress from the royal enclosure ahead of the congregation is facilitated by direct recourse to the church rear door.

¹¹⁸ Zelinsky, 1961, 139.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 162.

in the European tradition. Church buildings, New England apart, invariably anonymous structures, were relegated, Zelinsky avers, to sites generally outside the urban core, contrary to that found in the Old World.¹²⁰ However, the United States experience, according to Harper, is in marked geographical and architectural contrast with settlement patterns established by Scottish settlers in the Antipodes, clearly illustrated by the imposing mid-nineteenth century neo-Gothic Scottish Church, centrally placed, in Collins Street, Melbourne.¹²¹ It is in this respect that Harper argues, "in new emergent communities high priority was often given to the establishment of a church, and would-be settlers kept an eye open for evidence of this pivotal symbol of Scottish identity".¹²² It is assumed that this tangible evidence of spiritual guidance and support in times of adversity must have been among the first conventional signs recorded on the newly arrived immigrants' mental maps.¹²³

Zelinsky's paper, now half a century old, was prepared at a period of rampant American materialism with its attachment to the consumer durable celebrated in Arthur Miller's contemporary drama that points to the great spiritual malaise at the heart of American life, *Death of a Salesman*.¹²⁴ It is reasonable to suggest that influenced by the *Salesman's* prevailing values, Zelinsky, in his reliance on statistical evidence, has underestimated the importance of religion as a whole to the American people. It is noticeable that no mention is made in Zelinski's paper of the "Bible Belt", a geographical section of the American South along the Mid-Central and Mid-West - areas where slavery was deeply entrenched in the years before the American Civil War. In this location, religious fundamentalism appealed to the slave owner, slave trader and slaves in preserving the *status-quo*.¹²⁵ The term, states Ammer, "alludes to the prevalence (within the Bible Belt) of evangelical revivals, strict morals, belief in the literal truth of the Bible and similar traits".¹²⁶ The period was also marked both by resurgence of Klu Klux Klan activity and segregation in education and transport. It remains an extensive fundamentalist-religious region that retains political-geographical impact today.¹²⁷

In the first two centuries of settlement, argues Zelinsky, the overwhelming majority of immigrants who entered the United States were drawn from the United Kingdom, whilst the remainder were drawn from

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 162.

¹²¹ Harper, 2003, 342.

¹²² *Ibid*, 342.

¹²³ On the main thoroughfare of Luray, a small township in the Shenandoah Valley, West Virginia, the present writer encountered a number of clearly identifiable church buildings serving a range of denominations. All displayed in large print the name of the church and its incumbent preacher, with meeting time of services and of organisations. A near capacity congregation filled the Methodist Church at Sunday forenoon service. The impression was of a more pragmatic use of finance in building construction than in the Old World.

¹²⁴ Miller, 1949, 38: The great American dream of successful pioneering - "We would start in Boston, and he'd toss the whole family into the wagon, and then he'd drive the team right across the country; through Ohio and Indiana, Michican, Illinois, and all the Western states, And we'd stop in the towns and sell the flutes that he'd made on the way, Great inventor, Father. With one gadget he made more in a week than a man like you could make in a lifetime".

¹²⁵ *Sunday Times*, January 30, 2005.

¹²⁶ Ammer, 1997, 28.

¹²⁷ *Sunday Times*, January 30, 2005: "Darwin put to flight in Bible Belt - The Republican "red states" that voted for President George W. Bush in America's Bible Belt are claiming their reward in an unexpected area rolling back the teaching of evolution in schools. Religious fundamentalists - or, "theocons" - opposed to Darwinism have adopted sophisticated tactics enabling them to pass under the political and legal radar that keeps church separate from state and forbids the promotion of religion in

German-speaking areas.¹²⁸ All the British sects, Zelinsky found, were liberally represented, whilst a disproportionately large share of arrivals were dissenters from the established churches in Great Britain and certain continental countries.¹²⁹ However, by 1952, the evidence was of strong variations in denominational strength from place to place throughout the United States. Historically, this diffuse pattern of religiosity, speculates Zelinsky, was tentatively the consequence of three stages of migration: first, the consolidation of one or more clusters of locally converted church members in the Atlantic Seaboard during the colonial period that, secondly, spread inland across the trans-Appalachian regions; and thirdly, a redistribution of church members after the close of settlement frontiers, towards the Pacific Coast and south-western states and to Florida and the Gulf of Mexico.¹³⁰ Whilst no specific mention is made of a Bible Belt, Zelinsky recognises a clear latitudinal zonation of Protestant church members from the Atlantic Seaboard - northern, central and southern belts - the central being of particular importance due to the concentration of groups from an early date along the Atlantic Seaboard moving out to the West.¹³¹ Outside of large urban areas only two religious groups, Zelinsky argues, could claim a clear geographic personality. First, the Mormons in Utah, "an admirable example of a human geographic region in which religion is the chief genetic factor as well as a reason for the persistent distinctiveness of the area" is a native American denominational group.¹³² Secondly, the Mennonites, "who have gone to some lengths to shun the worldly ways of their neighbours and have created micro-regions strikingly different in form and function from the encompassing culture".¹³³ Jewish immigration, originating largely in Eastern Europe, claims Zelinsky, chose to remain in the major ports of entry and other leading metropolises in the Northeast to give the United States a large non-Christian minority.¹³⁴

In the mission field, as Zelinsky's paper illustrates, the geographer of religion traces the patterning of religious/ethnic groupings and the causes determining their location and movement. Translated into the context of the present study: how for example, did evangelical Presbyterianism find its lasting appeal in the Scottish Highlands, and how did pockets of Roman Catholicism survive on the Highland landscape following the Reformation? How exportable was Highland culture with its distinctive brand of religious devotional practice, carried by emigrant groups to the new colonies overseas during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? How durable was the emigrants' spirituality in the alien spaces to which they had removed. An attempt to address these questions will be made in later chapters. Equally of interest to the

schools. The President, a born-again Christian, has proclaimed his own skepticism about Darwinism in the past".
¹²⁸ Zelinsky, 1961, 147.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 148.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 159.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 159.

¹³² Walker, 1992, 661: "The first Mormon church was organised in 1830, in Fayette, New York. It later recruited in the neighbourhood of Kirtland, Ohio, where Brigham Young (1801-1877) became a member. In 1838 the Mormon leaders removed to Missouri, and in 1840 the founded Navoo, Illinois. Under Young the Mormons marched to Salt Lake, in Utah, and a community of great material prosperity was created. Its formal title is the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints".

¹³³ Zelinsky, 1961, 162.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 154.

geographer of religion is the study of religious/ethnic groupings in towns and cities; whether religious minorities in urban settings are socially and spatially excluded as "outsiders". These concerns of geography become "historical" simply by virtue of translating such concerns into past times.

1.3 The historical geography of religion in the Highlands

One or two references have been made to the Scottish Highlands as a setting for studying religion from a geographical perspective, and this thesis will indeed take as its territorial focus this distinctive part of the world. The Highlands continue to attract the rigorous examination of contemporary scholarship as much as the interest of a general public imbued with nineteenth century romantic notions of idyllic landscapes and a quaint Celtic people holding fast to a decaying culture. It is perhaps in this respect that the Highlands, in popular imagination, continue to be seen as "other", a place set apart in culture, time and space, from that of the wider nation-state. It is an emotional view of the Highlands and Highland culture that, Withers claims, is largely derived from "outsiders".¹³⁵ Scholars, for their part, have concerned themselves with tracing systematically how succeeding migrant peoples have settled and adapted themselves to the Highland landscape, wilfully developing over time a social cohesion, primitive economy, and political awareness, that has allowed them to subsist in specific geographical locations throughout the centuries.

One intellectual concept, identified by academia to have arisen from the Enlightenment,¹³⁶ is that of racial tension. In nineteenth century Britain, it has been argued this facet reached its zenith as a political and cultural struggle between those of Celtic origin and those of Teutonic origins in which the former claimed superiority.¹³⁷ In support of this claim, a selection of physical icons visible on the landscape will be reviewed in the concluding Chapter 6. In the interim, it is the purpose of this study to substantiate whether, in respect of the Highlands, it is not too extravagant a claim to state, in accord with Levine, that evangelical mission has everywhere been influenced by landscape, and as a corollary, that mission has influenced our perception of the landscape.¹³⁸ Until the mid-nineteenth century at least, the physical remoteness, especially of the north and west, the barren topography, the lack of road and bridge communications, and the retention of the Celtic language and traditions, all militated against imposed social, cultural and economic change intruded from the Lowlands. From this standpoint, it follows that the landscape of the Highlands has posed a challenge to the spread of ecclesiastical mission over the centuries. The time-scale in the thesis will focus largely on the last half of the eighteenth century and upon the whole

¹³⁵ Withers, 1988, 58.

¹³⁶ Brodie, 2001, 1: "During a period of a few decades on either side of 1760, Scotland was home to a creative surge whose mark on western culture is still clearly discernible. That creative surge is now known as the Scottish Enlightenment. It was a moment when Scots produced works of genius in chemistry, geology, engineering, economics, sociology, philosophy, poetry, painting". The most famous of the thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment were David Hume, Francis Hutcheson, Thomas Reid and Adam Smith whose book, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of The Wealth of Nations* (1776) was to impact upon the Highlands.

¹³⁷ Website - <http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/History/Scotland/Level2/lev2scot.htm>

¹³⁸ Levine, 1986, 428.

of the nineteenth century in the Highlands. Nevertheless, the dictates of continuity require that some reference must be made to the earlier historical development of evangelicalism throughout the Highland area. It is assumed that the term "mission", as used in this thesis, not only refers to the capture of human souls for Christian belief, but also incorporates two long-established cornerstones of Christian ministry - poor relief and education. The intention of the thesis is to further research by qualitative and quantitative methods in a growing corpus of parallel studies within the historical geography of religion.

1.3.1 Research methods attending Highland landscape and mission

It is proposed that the thesis will follow two basic methods. The first approach is to revisit the existing field of secondary works of research into what can be regarded as the historical geography of the Highlands, especially those texts that contain specific reference to ecclesiastical mission. As a prelude, brief recourse will also be made into the early arrival of Christianity into Britain, and its establishment within the Highland region. Whilst the history of religion in the Highlands has attracted considerable academic interest throughout the years, the more specialised study of the historical geography of religion in the Highlands appears to have produced virtually no researchers explicitly designating the field as such. The clearest attempt to discuss more systematically what is entailed in writing about a geography of religion in Scotland - and then only in passing - is perhaps to be found in Piggott's 1980 paper, "A geography of religion in Scotland", published in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*. Piggott's themes of deeply ingrained religious regionality; bi-polarity within the Roman Catholic Church, and schism within the Established Church of Scotland ¹³⁹ are re-visited in Chapters 3 and 5 of this thesis.

A number of published historical studies, while not specifically geographically based, do include the arguably inseparable historical and geographical elements of time and space. From the thesis bibliography, Cowan,¹⁴⁰ Kirk,¹⁴¹ Meek¹⁴² and Dawson¹⁴³ emerge as four examples from a corpus of research relying heavily upon a combination of geographical space, time and will as a setting for historical-ecclesiastical events. Other notable historians and historical geographers with specific interests in the wider field of political, economic, and social aspects of Highland history, namely Devine,¹⁴⁴ Donaldson,¹⁴⁵ Lynch,¹⁴⁶ Smout,¹⁴⁷ Stewart,¹⁴⁸ Witherington¹⁴⁹ and Withers,¹⁵⁰ do not neglect the cultural impact of religious affairs in the shaping of events upon the Highland landscape. The published works of these researchers will be

¹³⁹ Piggott, 1980, 133.

¹⁴⁰ Cowan, 1967, 1972, 1981, 1983.

¹⁴¹ Kirk, 1980, 1986, 1988.

¹⁴² Meek, 1975, 1987, 1991, 1996 1998.

¹⁴³ Dawson, 1992, 1994.

¹⁴⁴ Devine, 1975, 1983, 1988, 1994, 1999.

¹⁴⁵ Donaldson, 1966, 1977, 1985.

¹⁴⁶ Lynch, 1991.

¹⁴⁷ Smout, 1969, 1970.

¹⁴⁸ Stewart, 2003.

¹⁴⁹ Witherington, 1962.

alluded to in later chapters. Above all, it has to be acknowledged that the transformation of the Highland landscape over time, to a considerable extent, conforms to earlier patterns of change in the social, political and economic landscape of the Lowlands, and ultimately, of the Continent of Europe in general. It is the aim of this thesis to show that such persuasive appraisals of the apparently seamless union between historical geography and religion find expression in the remote topography of the Scottish Highlands until, perhaps, the first two decades of the twentieth century.¹⁵¹ The second approach in researching Highland landscape and mission will be to provide a detailed historical-geographical treatment of the conduct of ecclesiastical mission in one specific area of the Highlands, namely, the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn,¹⁵² within the Church of Scotland Presbytery of Kincardine O' Neil, in upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire, from the conclusion of the seventeenth century. By long-standing convention, the title Glenmuick is used throughout the text when reference is made to the combined parish; Glen Muick, Glen Gairn and Tullich are used to denote specific geographical locations composing the parish landscape.

Traces of a fossil landscape remain extant at various locations throughout the Highlands to confirm detail within the written historical sources (Plate 5.8). Brief recourse will be made to Blaeu's 1654 *Atlas Novus*,¹⁵³ and the *List of Pollable Persons within The Shire of Aberdeen, 1696*, Volume 1 (Presbytery of Kincardine) (Appendix "B")¹⁵⁴ with a view to establishing, as far as possible, the composition of individual families in former communal townships within the Kincardine O' Neil Presbytery. Bearing in mind that succeeding generations of family members at that period seldom travelled far, it is perhaps possible, by perusal of a variety of relevant sources, to demonstrate how both communities and individual family groups responded to the call of mission in the context of the topography of the Highland landscape. The sources examined will include extant archival records in the National Archives of Scotland and National Library of Scotland, Parish, Presbytery, Synod and General Assembly records of the Reformed

¹⁵⁰ Withers, 1980, 1091, 1982, 1984, 1988, 1996.

¹⁵¹ The social historian, Professor Arthur Marwick, in several publications has stressed the impact of war as a forcing-house for social change. It is in this connection that late John Buchan, in one of his romantic novels set in the period of the Great War, 1914-18, remarked that a way of life started going out at Loos and perished in the battles of the Somme. He was probably correct.

¹⁵² The United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn has long been the accepted title of the combined parish. Among the Invercauld Papers is *The first Decreet of Union, Provision and Locality to the minister of Glenmuick, Glengarden and Tullich in 1661*. This early union of three former medieval parishes resulted from the inability of the Reformers to provide an educated ministry to supply all three parishes. Records for the period following the Reformation are confused, but it appears that the three churches were served by Readers until by 1599, and John Leslie, minister of Slains, served in Tullich (the 'mother' kirk) and in Glen Muick and Glen Gairn until 1608.

¹⁵³ Withers, 2004, 1: Volume V of Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Novus* contains 49 engraved maps of Scotland (and 6 of Ireland) and 154 pages of descriptive text. It was published in Amsterdam in 1654 in Latin, French, Dutch and German editions (Spanish and Arabic editions followed in later years). No English language edition was ever published (nor, as far as we know, was one ever intended). The maps of Scotland were mainly the earlier work of Timothy Pont – or modifications of them by Robert Gordon of Straloch and others. Enlarged photocopies are available for consultation at Floor 7, Main Library, University of Glasgow.

¹⁵⁴ In the last decade of the seventeenth century, during the joint monarchy of William and Mary, the Scottish economy was so low as to cause concern for the defence of the realm. Several taxes were collected during the 1690s, the most well-known being the Poll Tax of 1696. This tax was supposed to be imposed on every person over the age of 16 years, not a beggar, although this has been disputed. The Poll Tax return for the Shire of Aberdeen is unique since it has been preserved in its entirety. This document, held at the University of Aberdeen Archives, lists the composition of individual communities and the occupations pursued by inhabitants. It forms an invaluable primary source for social historians and human geographers.

churches, National census records, private papers, monumental inscriptions, journals, contemporary newspaper reports, maps, illustrations, and local memorabilia in print.

The Highland area of Aberdeen-shire has been selected as a thesis focal point for a number of reasons. Firstly, as Tyson claims, Aberdeen-shire differed from most other counties in one respect, the extent of its religious dissent. It was within this County that the Episcopalian remnant maintained its strongest hold throughout the troubled seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Secondly, the boundary marches with Glenlivet, on whose remote upper braes in the early-eighteenth century the tiny seminary of Scalan rekindled from within an almost extinct Roman Catholic faith (Plate 3.4). Thirdly, a window on the mid-seventeenth century topography, place names and settlement pattern of the area is available in Blaeu's *Atlas Novus* of 1654. Fourthly, the Shire of Aberdeen stands unique as the one Scottish county for which the 1696 Poll Tax Return has survived intact. This document has been used for a variety of purposes, above all to examine the structure of society, for which, as Tyson concedes, it has no rival.¹⁵⁵ Fifthly, Reformed Church parish records of births and marriages are available at the National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, for much of the three centuries under review. (Session records of the United Parish of Glenmuick Tullich and Glengairn, in the Presbytery of Kincardine O' Neil, Synod of Aberdeen, with few gaps, dating from 1661, are meantime retained in private hands and unfortunately not made available for the purposes of this present thesis). Sixthly, Catholic baptismal records from the opening years of the eighteenth century are available in a number of repositories, local and national, and form an aid to religious identification within individual Highland communities. Seventh, the *Old* (1791-99)¹⁵⁶ and the *New* (1845) *Statistical Accounts* form a rich source for an understanding of the topographic, demographic, cultural and economic bases of the Highlands as a whole. Finally, *The Innes Review* is invaluable in its reproduction of extant Catholic Records and the publication of illuminating papers on local Aberdeen-shire Catholic Church history. These and other sources have recently formed the basis for considerable publication of books and papers of antiquarian interest in North-East Scotland by amateur local historians, notably Fraser¹⁵⁷ and Murray.¹⁵⁸ Irrespective of the level of scholarship, all contribute in some measure to an understanding of social and economic change and population movement in the Highlands over space and over time. Only by looking at the past in the Highlands can we make sense of the present and perhaps make predictions about the future.

¹⁵⁵ Tyson, 1984, 113.

¹⁵⁶ A parish-by-parish description of Scotland, 1791-9. In May 1790 Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster in Caithness announced to the General Assembly in Edinburgh his scheme for the compiling and collecting parish-by-parish accounts, which would 'examine With anatomical exactness and minuteness the internal structure of society' in Scotland, giving government the opportunity to legislate on the basis of fact and not mere surmise (Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology, ed. N. Cameron *et al.* Edinburgh, 1993).

¹⁵⁷ Fraser, 1973, 1977.

¹⁵⁸ Murray, 1992, 1999.

1.4 Outline history of religion in the Highlands

Some brief historical framework is necessary to comprehend the planting of Christianity in the Highlands and the vagaries attending its development. Attention has aligned on how the Highlands have preserved in some measure a distinctive Celtic culture, derived ultimately from middle-European tribal peoples who, as Bowen claims, settled the Western seaboard of Britain and Ireland from early times (Fig. 2.3).¹⁵⁹ Bowen, as will be shown in Chapter 3, traces the movement of people and cultures along the Atlantic Fringe by land and sea where, in the west of the British Isles, sometime about the fourth century CE, he claims that a rich prehistoric civilisation was continued into that of a Celtic Christendom.¹⁶⁰ From that early start point, Piggot has argued that present day patterns of institutional religion in Scotland, owe much to historical geography.¹⁶¹ In consequence, he suggests that Scottish religion has acquired a deeply ingrained regionality, and that, although the Church began in the west of Scotland, its strength developed in the east and was concentrated there by the time of the Reformation.¹⁶² Difficulties of travel across an inhospitable landscape apart, Piggot further argues that the advance of the Reformed Church was hindered, particularly in the Highlands, by incessant feuding.¹⁶³ To these observations, Meek claims problems of over-large parishes, scarcity of clergy and under-funding,¹⁶⁴ all of which perhaps set a spatial pattern for "strongholds" of diverse religious beliefs throughout the Highlands that have survived to this day (Fig. 3.3). Kirk, however, has taken a more optimistic view and denies the oft-repeated claim that the newly reformed Church failed to secure an early foothold in the northern Highlands, a claim, he avers, not supported by the record evidence.¹⁶⁵ Perhaps closer to the mark is McHugh, when he argues that the Presbyterian Kirk's slow progress in the years 1690-1760 enabled the Scottish Catholic Mission to consolidate, though not expand, its earlier gains.¹⁶⁶ Whatever the competing claims of Presbyterian and Roman Catholic religious witness, it is Hunter's view that to put down Episcopalianism, especially since it now had legal toleration (from 1712), was the eighteenth century Kirk's main aim in the Highlands.¹⁶⁷ All these aspects will receive elaboration in Chapters 2 and 3.

A further aim of this thesis, in continuation of Meek's claim above, is to show that, following the sixteenth century Reformation in Scotland, the landscape of the Scottish Highlands contributed to a distinctive spatial pattern of religious groupings, each with a spiritual emphasis that was clearly discernible from similar patterns established within the Lowlands (Fig. 3.3). This bipartite national pattern, it is suggested, moulded a distinct Christian witness within the Highlands to incorporate not only the spiritual needs of a geographically remote people, but also to change the political and economic structure of their socially

¹⁵⁹ Bowen, 1969, 28.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 273.

¹⁶¹ Piggot, 1980, 131.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, 133.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, 131.

¹⁶⁴ Meek, 1996, 17.

¹⁶⁵ Kirk, 1986, 14.

¹⁶⁶ McHugh, 1984, 13.

depressed lives. It did so, in many respects, through the medium of evangelical missionary endeavour, tied to the native Celtic language and culture, legitimised, as Meek argues, through selective use of Biblical scripture.¹⁶⁸ These claims will be discussed more fully in Chapter 3.

Inaccessibility and remoteness tied to culture, economics and politics, it will be argued, are the dominant landscape themes accompanying the course of mission in the Highlands. Irrespective of geological formation and the imperceptible process of wasting-down, mountains carry a sense of permanence on the landscape, and maybe too of antiquity that induces conservatism and piety within the human soul (Plate 1.2). This dominance of high places in Highland topography seems to have correlated with Hebrew Bible (OT) teaching of an enduring faith and absolute obedience to an omni-present and infallible Godhead. The turbulent land history of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests that sense of place is important to Highland people. Highland mountains, it must be supposed, reflect a Sabbath experience; a sense of glory that is evident in the Psalms, some perhaps 3,000 years old.¹⁶⁹ It will be noted in Chapter 4 that Psalms formed the basis of both school teaching and choir singing at Glen Gairn in Highland Aberdeen-shire, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Of particular relevance in times of distress would have been Psalm 121, "I to the hills will lift mine eyes". Transported from the world below, a mountain summit carries a sense of uplift and peace: a place for reflection and the contemplation of God. Susceptible to famine, plague and the destructive vagaries of weather, concentration upon death perhaps, would have made people more aware of resurrection. In consequence, Highland people appear to have become receptive to late-eighteenth century intrusive evangelical revivalism with its emphasis on personal salvation.

Chapter 3 will argue that, following the Reformation in 1560, the new Kirk, faced with internal problems of structure, over-large parishes, inadequate "manpower" and accommodation, was unable to diminish the Roman Catholic "Old Church" presence in specific Highland areas. Catholics continued to worship unmolested, claims Hay, for, owing to their isolation and their poverty, they escaped effective prosecution.¹⁷⁰ Anderson, specifically, has pointed to the clandestine infiltration in 1584 of a small Jesuit organised mission to Scotland, followed by the appearance from 1612 of individual secular priests.¹⁷¹ Durkan, however, argues for an earlier date of 1570, when he finds that seven priests were then active within Scotland, and by 1593 twice that number.¹⁷² Some, continues Durkan, were native to Aberdeen-shire, but most were from Perthshire, under the leadership of William Murdoch, born in Dunkeld in

¹⁶⁷ Hunter, 1974, 98.

¹⁶⁸ Meek, 1987, 85.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 1993, In some form the Psalter, the Church's first book of praise, has always played an important role in worship. The Psalms were the basis of medieval church services; but the re-discovery of them as a living part of the people's corporate worship dates from the Reformation. Scotland owes the Gaelic Psalter to the labours of the Synod of Argyll, which regarded the metrical translation of the Psalms into Gaelic as a major priority. It appears to have pursued the project more vigorously than the proposed translation of the Old Testament.

¹⁷⁰ Hay, 1955, 19.

¹⁷¹ Anderson, 1956, 114.

1539.¹⁷³ When the Kirk proved unable to establish either its authority or organisation, speculates McHugh, the Vatican's *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith)¹⁷⁴ in Rome, took advantage of the Kirk's apparent weakness to re-introduce, in 1653, its own underground mission work in the Highlands.¹⁷⁵ Yet, as Lynch claims, the Catholic mission to the Highlands, by its very remoteness, was itself to suffer decay throughout the eighteenth century, given the lack of status accorded to it both by Rome and its better-off neighbour, the Lowland District.¹⁷⁶ For political reasons, proposes Anson, Roman Catholicism, in common with the Episcopalianism¹⁷⁷ arising out of the reformed Kirk's first schism in 1690, was destined to remain an underground movement.¹⁷⁸ Both groups were thereafter conducted in the private space of the family home, and protected by powerful patrons, until the Toleration Acts of the early 18th and early-nineteenth centuries restored Episcopalianism and Catholicism once again to national status. Despite former restrictions upon freedom of worship, it can be argued that, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the strength of the Presbyterian Kirk lay in South and Central Scotland relatively free from challenge (Fig. 3.3). Due to the distinctive landscape of the Highlands, it will be argued, the Kirk's foothold was there less secure.

Within Scotland in the seventeenth century, claims Macdonald in a persuasive paper, "the power of the pulpit was supreme". In this respect Aberdeen University, stated Macdonald, acted as a centre of influence on the Church throughout the Highlands during that period, since graduate ministers from the University, by the power of their preaching, played a seminal role in promoting evangelicalism within Highland parishes.¹⁷⁹ By the last decades of the eighteenth century, the perennial problems already noted, of overlarge Highland parishes, too few ministers, and physical remoteness from Established Church buildings and their incumbents, are some reasons vented for the rise of an irregular ministry. About this time, claims Meek, itinerant Presbyterian evangelists from the Lowlands alleviated to some extent the Kirk's deficiency in its Highland parishes.¹⁸⁰ These were supplemented by a number of dissident itinerant preachers who, as Meek argues, were laymen despatched by missionary societies that had an interest in

¹⁷² Durkan, 1984, 3.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, 1984, 4.

¹⁷⁴ Dilworth, 1993, 680 (DSCH&T) The Sacred Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* was established in 1622 to administer the RCC's missionary work in Protestant lands in Europe and non-Christian territories of the New World. Its college was founded in Rome in 1627 to educate secular priests for mission lands. Scotland's development under *Propaganda's* powers followed a classical pattern. A non-episcopal superior called a prefect was appointed in 1653. Thomas Nicolson became vicar-apostolic in 1654, and one vicariate became two in 1727, and three in 1827. Normal diocesan bishops were instituted in 1878.

¹⁷⁵ McHugh, 1984, 14.

¹⁷⁶ Lynch, 1991, 367 (q.v. note 62 above). Due to language difficulty experienced by RC missionaries in the Highlands, in 1727 the Scottish Vicariate was split into two, Highland and Lowland. The Highland Vicariate was responsible for the administration of church affairs, both ecclesiastical and secular, among the Gaedhealtachd, or Gaelic-speaking RC congregations.

¹⁷⁷ Episcopacy - a hierarchical system of church government by bishops sometimes known as prelates, as opposed to the Presbyterian system of government by church courts. In 1690 the latter became the established pattern for the Church of Scotland.

¹⁷⁸ Anson, 1970, 80.

¹⁷⁹ MacDonald, 2002, 72.

¹⁸⁰ Meek, 1991, 59-91.

Highland mission, "to preach to whatever audience was willing to listen".¹⁸¹ Committed to reach people in mountainous areas remote from both parish kirk and manse, the itinerants' aim, like that of the Aberdeen preachers, was to achieve the conversion of Gaelic people to evangelical Presbyterianism. In doing so, it is claimed, the itinerants faced many hardships and indifferent treatment from the parish clergy. The work and its difficulties faced by these Lowland dissident missionaries whose appeal, suggests Brown, found ready response amongst both the middle and lower ranks of society in the North and West,¹⁸² will be traced in Chapter 3.

The late-eighteenth century, argues Meek, brought a selection of lay evangelists awakening people to a more personal Christian witness tied to an acute sense of sin, and placing an emphasis on personal salvation.¹⁸³ Important to the spread of lay evangelism was the missionary work of the Haldane brothers, Robert and James, founders in 1797 of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home*.¹⁸⁴ The Haldane brothers' aim was to re-invigorate throughout Scotland as a whole what McNaughton refers to as "vital religion" in the manner of the Church's foreign mission in countries abroad.¹⁸⁵ A product of this non-conformist missionary initiative, states McNaughton, was the introduction of the Congregational Church to the Highlands.¹⁸⁶ In the west Highlands, claims Meek, evangelical Christianity assumed an excessively emotional aspect.¹⁸⁷ Arguably a Lowland intrusion, devotional awakenings and revivals, observes Meek, succeeded the activities of itinerant dissenting preachers in the Highlands. The Skye Revival of 1841-42, on the eve of Disruption,¹⁸⁸ Meek views as a product of improved communications and a new mobility.¹⁸⁹ The emergence of a potent evangelical eldership (Plate 3.3) in the Highlands and its associated political strength will be referred to more fully in Chapter 3.

Adopted by the lower classes of Highland society, evangelicalism and the ability to read the Gaelic Bible, first printed in 1801, became the catalyst to unite the new crofting community of the Highlands in their fight against landlords to secure the tenancy of their holdings. This political struggle, culminating in the Crofters Small-Holding (Scotland) Act of 1886, claims Meek, gave crofters unprecedented security of tenure and recognised tenants' customary rights to grazing. The issues of Patronage, Moderatism and Evangelicalism, introduced more fully in Chapter 3, determined that at the Disruption of 1843, almost the entire Highland population held to the evangelical Free Church, and forsook the established Church of

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 1987, 4.

¹⁸² Brown, 1997, 88.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 1998, 123.

¹⁸⁴ Meek, 1987, 1.

¹⁸⁵ McNaughton, 2003, 168.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, 2003, 173.

¹⁸⁷ Meek, 1998, 80

¹⁸⁸ Cameron, 1993: Disruption involved the secession of over 450 ministers of the Established Church of Scotland in 1843 to form the Free Church. It was preceded by a bitter Ten Years' Conflict between those in the Established Church who wanted to assert the spiritual initiated by the Evangelical party on the issue of patronage in the Kirk.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 80.

Scotland.¹⁹⁰ Re-union with the Established Church on a national scale was achieved in 1929, but not completely (Appendix "A"). Geography, it will be argued in Chapter 3, was the critical factor that separated these Highland cultural patterns from those pursued in the Lowlands.¹⁹¹

The propensity for schism is inherent in many religious beliefs. To provide some background understanding to the often-turbulent events that have characterised ecclesiastical mission within the nation Burleigh has charted the divisions and re-unions of the Established Church from 1690-1929 in chronological sequence.¹⁹² To Burleigh's framework, (Appendix "A") some notable ecclesiastical-related events referred to in the ensuing thesis chapters have been added:

1560-67	First Reformation of the Church of Scotland
1638-90	Second Reformation and the re-establishment of Presbyterianism
1649	Abolition of patronage: election of ministers vested in Kirk session
1653	Re-introduction of RC mission in Highlands by <i>Propaganda Fide</i> in Rome
1660	Re-establishment of Episcopacy
1662	Act of Rescissory: patronage restored
1690	Second re-establishment of Presbyterianism
	Patronage abolished
1690-1761	Age of Dissent
1705	Formation of the Scottish Episcopal Church
1709	Formation of SSPCK as political expedient to civilise Highlands
1712	Toleration Act permitted Anglican worship in Scotland
	Patronage Act reintroduced: patron to appoint ministers
1727	Formation of RC Highland District of the Gaidhealtachd
1733	First Secession, Burgher and Anti-Burgher Churches
1743	Formation of Reformed Presbyterian Church
1745	Roman Catholic Church banned following Rebellion
1761	Second Secession; the Relief Church
1792	Removal of religious disabilities against Episcopalians
1793	Repeal of laws against the Roman Catholic Church
1797	Congregational and Methodist Church -Haldane Brothers
1799	Formation of the United Secession Church
1800-50	Sacrament-based revivals promote Highland evangelicalism.
1843	The Disruption; formation of the Free Church of Scotland
1845	Poor Law (Scotland) Act: Board of Supervision erected
1847	Founding of the United Presbyterian Church from a union of the Relief and United Secession Churches
1855	Statutory registration of births, marriages and deaths in Scotland commenced
1872	Education (Scotland) Act
1874	Repeal of the Patronage Act of 1712.
1878	Roman Catholic Episcopal hierarchy re-established
1892	Free Presbyterian Church formed upon secession from Free Church (Highland "Seceders")
1900	United Free Church formed from union of the United Presbyterian and Free Churches
	Free Church (residual) -150 Highland congregations continuing ("Wee Frees")
1921	Church of Scotland Act; Articles Declaratory - Church national and free.
1929	Reunion of the Established Church of Scotland and United Free Church

¹⁹⁰ An anonymous "poet" in the mid-nineteenth century, when land was denied to build Free Church premises, cobbled the following commentary:

The Free Church, the wee church, the church without the steeple,
The Auld Kirk, the cauld kirk, the kirk without the people.

¹⁹¹ McMillan, 1999: A crucial point to appreciate in this exercise is that in Scotland, as in England, by the mid-seventeenth-century at the latest, the Catholic community was not the rump of a medieval Scottish Christianity which had somehow survived the Reformation unscathed, but an altogether new, small and expanding body shaped by the ideals of the Counter-Reformation.

¹⁹² Burleigh, 1960: Appendix chart tracing secessions and reunions of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland from 1690.

1.5 Themes of landscape and religion in the Highlands

It is proposed in the remainder of this chapter to anticipate briefly the major themes of landscape and religion that relate to ecclesiastical mission in the Highlands. Aspects of both physical and cultural landscapes of the region will be introduced within their historical context and always with reference to human "will". Drawing upon existing writings by historians of religion, these aspects will be amplified at a Highland scale in Chapters 2 and 3. They will also be revisited in detail within the specific context of the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire, in Chapters 4 and 5. After discussing definitions of the Highlands, brief reference will hence be made to physical, socio-cultural, demographic and economic "geographies" of the Highlands - all of which play out in the region's religious historical geography. Further themes will emerge during these later chapters, to be elaborated upon in the concluding Chapter 6. These will touch upon Kirk discipline, superstition, freemasonry, class struggle, liberation movements, charitable giving and education.

1.5.1 Defining the Highlands

There is at this point a need to define clearly the spatial area of the Highlands (Plate 1.1). Despite the chaotic topographical structure of the Highland landscape, a number of maps were produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries showing the "Highland Line", fixing the boundary between Highland and Lowland Scotland. Withers has examined the cartographic evidence for the placement of this notional Highland line by examining some eighteen marked lines delineated on maps and plans of early commentators.¹⁹³ He argues that the general perception of where the Highland-Lowland division lies has, in fact, differed little, either geologically or culturally, during the periods under review. Despite the terminology, it is Withers' considered view that "no such actual administrative or rigid linguistic divide has ever existed in Scotland as a Highland Line".¹⁹⁴ Only the topography, he avers, is suggestive of a distinct spatial break that seemingly distinguishes the cultural and economic life of the Highland population from that of the Lowlands. This spatial break, Withers shows, follows the line of the geological fault that runs diagonally from Helensburgh in the South-West to the vicinity of Stonehaven in the North-East. The eastern extremity of this notional line thereafter turns northwards, at no point falling below the 60m /200ft contour. In consequence, the entire east coast north of Stonehaven, the northern County of Caithness and Orkney and Shetland Islands, those "lands o' the simmer dim",¹⁹⁵ are usually excluded from being "Highland".

¹⁹³ Withers, 1982, 144-56: The trend established by John Home in 1802, indicating the Highland Line or Language Boundary in 1745, traces a curving line from Dumbarton through central Perth-shire and Upland Aberdeen-shire and Banff-shire along the edge of the Grampians to a point at or near Nairn and thence along the eastern Ross and Cromarty lowlands. This is the one that is followed by many of the later mapped lines. Coupled to an extent with those defining the Highlands as a clan area it particularly well reflects the assumed extent of the Scottish Highlands during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 144.

¹⁹⁵ "Simmer-dim" - Summer time diffused sunlight. Due to the northern latitude of the Orkney and Shetland Islands the sun never sets throughout the 24 hour cycle but remains as a dim source of light. Conversely, in mid-winter, the sun only rises for a limited period around the middle of the day to give long, dark nights.

It could be argued that the "Highland line" be drawn further south since Galloway, in the South West, appears to have been predominantly Highland in attitude. Lynch, on the other hand, has pointed out that the "Highlands" as such did not exist. For almost any purpose in Scottish history, he claims, it is necessary to distinguish between Eastern, Central and Western Highlands, as well as between the mainland and the Western Isles. Sweeping generalisations, he maintains, are difficult to sustain, since, akin to the Lowlands, the Highlands were a collection of intensely local societies.¹⁹⁶ This geographical fragmentation of the landscape - also argued by O'Dell and Walton¹⁹⁷ - was of import to the eighteenth century Church that,

Plate 1. 1



Threshold of the Highlands (*Stairsneach nan Gaedheal*). Highland boundary stone, erected by the Deeside Field Club, one mile east of Dinnet, Aberdeen-shire (photo-JRS)

supposes Lynch, found its "Highland" problem to be very different in the East from that of the West.¹⁹⁸ This physical and cultural dichotomy will be examined in the chapters below.

1. 5. 2 Remote character of the Highland landscape

Located on the fringe of Continental Europe, the landscape of the Highlands, until the mid-nineteenth century, possessed in abundance the characteristic elements of geographical remoteness. The subscribers to the *Old and New Statistical Accounts* (hereafter *OSA* and *NSA*) frequently report that few access roads

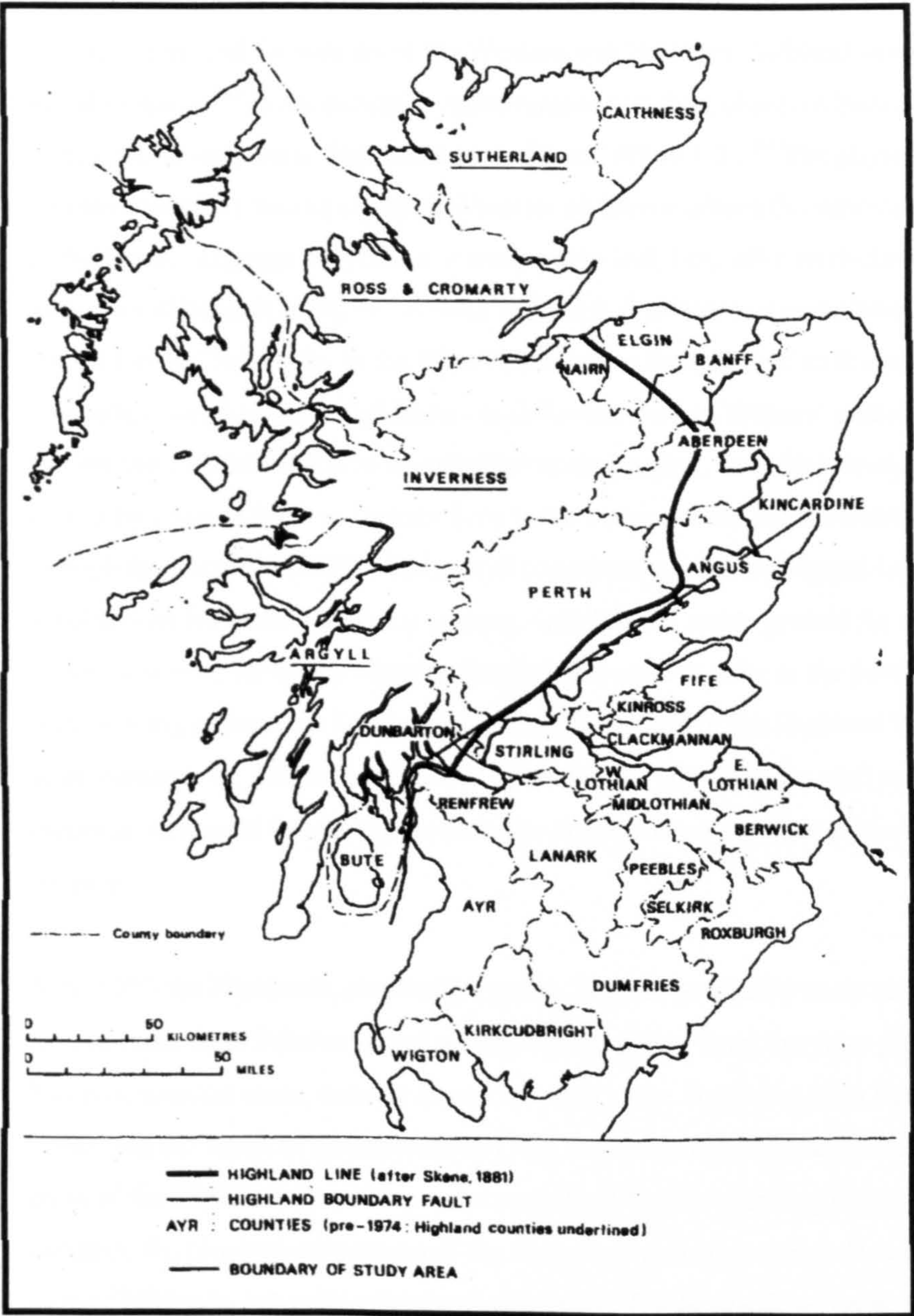
¹⁹⁶ Lynch, 1991, 369.

¹⁹⁷ Odell *et al*, 1962, 87.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 1991, 369.

and bridges fit for wheeled traffic penetrated the mountain ranges, whilst extensive peat covered high moorlands of the interior. The West and North coastal belts of the Highland mainland, reached mainly by seas subject to treacherous navigation, offered only restricted opportunities for the conduct of trade and of industry. The Pentland Firth to the north, observes Gray, was notoriously difficult, whilst the journey

Fig. 1.2



Notional Highland Boundary Line, C.W.J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Cultural Region*, London, 1988. 2.

southwards was expensive, thereby burdening the commodity trade with high costs.¹⁹⁹ The west coast sector, described by Gray as "much fragmented by mountains",²⁰⁰ was navigable inland by a series of

¹⁹⁹ Gray, 1981, xv.

sheltered, narrow, deep-water sea lochs; Fyne, Etive, Linnhe, Nevis, Hourn, Torridon, and Broom, extending well inland. Around these sea-lochs, which provided safe anchorage for vessels from afar, were grouped many small relatively isolated communities. Despite the seeming convenience of coastal settlement, inclement weather and rough terrain, argues Stewart, meant that travel was exceptionally arduous for minister and congregation alike.²⁰¹ Within a pervasive Gaelic culture, locality,²⁰² it will be emphasised, has determined the diverse patterns of much Highland life, both socially and economically.

The basic physical formations of the Western and Northern Highland landscape, notes Gray, make for social isolation.²⁰³ In consequence, mountainous parishes, observes Stewart, were all too often "an enormous, mountainous, disjointed tract of land" (Plate 1.2).²⁰⁴ The physical detachment from Lowland peoples created by this topographical barrier perhaps explains the survival of Highland culture, inclusive of the Gaelic language to which it is inseparably tied, long after its decline in the South and East. Despite navigational hazards along the western seaboard, it is Bowen's speculation in Chapter 3, that sea-routes carried Celtic Christianity to the West Highlands in the fifth and sixth centuries (Plate 3.1).²⁰⁵ By contrast, the Eastern and Southern Highlands - in deference here to Withers' placement of a notional Highland Line - terminate well inland above an extended upland region, until the late-eighteenth century, reached only on foot or by beast of burden. Distant from water-borne access, the Southern and Eastern Highlands, seen through the eyes of the *OSA*'s ministerial contributors, presents rugged landscapes of extreme remoteness suitable only for cattle and sheep grazing, with limited arable ground for a subsistence economy. By the 1790s, however, across the Highland region, but more rapidly in the South and East, new ideas and tastes were seeping in from the Lowlands. Overall, the nature of the Highland landscape, manifest in its sheer scale, remoteness, difficulty of access, cold climate, unproductive acid soils and the retention of the Celtic language, discussed below, compounded to create a negative view of the Highlands and of its settled peoples.

After 1603 the Highlands, physically remote, became politically more remote as the seat of government moved south from Edinburgh to London. Crown policy from that time placed Highland security in the hands of selected clans, notably Clan Campbell in the South and Clan Mackenzie in the North-West. Following the union of parliaments in 1707, the remoteness appeared even more extensive. With large areas of the Highlands to police, and a scarcity of Gaelic-speaking Reformed clergy to fill overlarge parishes, the physical remoteness of the landscape was important to Roman Catholic survival, not merely in the Highlands, but within Scotland as a nation. Gaelic-speaking boys, argues Watts, from 1705 locally

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, ix.

²⁰¹ Stewart, 2003, 63.

²⁰² Lynch, 1991, 362.

²⁰³ Gray, 1981, ix.

²⁰⁴ Stewart, 2003, 66.

²⁰⁵ Bowen, 1932, 273.

recruited into the small clandestine Roman Catholic seminary of Scalan, set high in the Braes of Glenlivet, far from sea and road access, were instrumental in rekindling the "Old Faith" in the Highlands (Plate

Plate 1. 2



Caledonia stern and wild. Glencoe from the air. (photo-Colin Baxter - reproduction granted)

3.4).²⁰⁶ On the other hand, remoteness from Rome led to under-funding of Catholic mission in the Highlands and thereby acted as a brake on missionary expansion. An elaboration of the missionary work set in motion by the Vatican's *Congregation de Propaganda Fide* at Rome in 1653 will be continued in Chapter 3.

1. 6 Social and cultural aspect of the Highlands

Until the mid-eighteenth century, Highland society could be described as tribal. However, the precise nature of the Highland clans, claims Donaldson, has yet to be explained. Clans, suggests Donaldson, did not consist of people all bearing the same surname, for until the seventeenth century few Highlanders had surnames at all, but owed their origins as much to topographical features of the Scottish countryside as to any other reason. Clan groupings, supposes Donaldson, were the product of physical obstacles within the Highlands themselves, especially the mountains which cut off one glen from another, prevented execution of the normal system of law and order, and tended to make the people of each glen an exclusive, self-sufficient community. Parallels to this seeming aberration in complete social cohesion can perhaps be seen in the isolation experienced within neighbouring Swiss cantons. This aspect of physical and social exclusiveness will be reviewed in Chapter 5. The clan structure observes Donaldson, although feudal at

base, relied upon kinship to a paternal chieftain, each member maintaining a common loyalty that did not harbour subservience.²⁰⁷ As we shall see, this distinctive Highland social structure was to become obsolete when faced with the more pragmatic economic system of a progressive world.

John of Fordun (c.1320-c.1384), in Chapter 10 of Book 11. of the *Chronica Gentis Scottorum*, suggests Scott, provided the earliest topographic description of the islands off the West Coast of Scotland in the late-fourteenth century, with notes referring to ecclesiastical sites and castles.²⁰⁸ Fordun, however, said little about the social structure and character of the population. It is John Major, writing in 1521, proposes Dickinson, who first noted the cultural distinction in speech, life and conduct, between 'Wild Scots', inhabiting the forests and mountains of the North, and Lowland "House-holding Scots".²⁰⁹ In fostering this connection among a disparate set of indigenous groupings, Withers makes mention of the "*Miorun mor nan Gall*" - the great ill-will of the Lowlander²¹⁰ towards the Gaelic-speaking culture area, or Gaidhealtachd.²¹¹ The assumption is that, even prior to the early-sixteenth century, the Highland population carried the early-twentieth century stigma of an under-developed "race". It seems true that from the time of John of Fordun onwards, intrepid southern travellers, in recording their transit over the Highland landscape, have often left for posterity a somewhat pejorative picture of Highland life and manners. Thomas Pennant, it is claimed, was not averse to doing so in his 1767 tour.²¹² On his Highland travels, the Lowland poet, Robert Burns, in his oft-quoted epigram written at Inveraray in the late-eighteenth century, expressed his own somewhat negative observation of the independent and aloof Highland character towards the Lowlander's intrusion.²¹³ However, in his short tale, *The Two Drovers*, Walter Scott claims that the Highlander projected a moral and cultural background little understood by those bred in the south.²¹⁴ It will be argued in later chapters that most Highland chiefs and lairds from the late-seventeenth century onwards were in fact cultivated people receptive to European Renaissance culture and its economic benefits for them as landholders.

In other academic fields, it has been persuasively argued that people cannot but conceive the world through language. In turn, language reveals the character of a people for it carries its culture, beliefs and corporate world-view. Important for this thesis, language creates a unity and identity that people only

²⁰⁶ Watts, 1999, 15.

²⁰⁷ Donaldson, 1966, 14.

²⁰⁸ Scott, 1979, 2.

²⁰⁹ Dickinson, 1953, 8.

²¹⁰ Withers, 1988, 5.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, 1988, 3.

²¹² Pennant, 1979, 117: "The men are thin, but strong, idle and lazy, except employed in the chase, or anything that looks like amusement; are content with their hard fare; and will not exert themselves farther than to get what they deem necessities".

²¹³ Robertson, 1928, 287:

"There's naething here but Highland pride,
And Highland scab and hunger,
If Providence has sent me here,
'Twas surely in his anger. "

²¹⁴ Dunn, 1995, 31.

renounce with reluctance. The polarity of language, it is suggested, can be experienced in the nostalgic tenor of much West-Highland Gaelic poetry and song, as opposed to the dry humour and pragmatic approach to daily life found in the vernacular Doric of the Eastern-Highlands.²¹⁵ In the latter region, people's lives in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were conditioned by hard physical labour breaking-in the acid stone-riddled soil of "improved" large farms that gave voice to ballad, song and story. In consequence, much Doric literature exudes a love-hate relationship with the land and does not as a rule, celebrate mythical heroes and ancient battles revered of the Gael. The language of the Gaels, imported to Argyle from Ulster in the fifth century CE, it will be argued, had implications for the distinctive reception of ecclesiastical mission in the Highland area following the Reformation in Scotland in 1560. Significant factors were the inability of Highland congregations to understand English, the lack of a complete Gaelic translation of an English text Bible, and the difficulty of recruiting Reformed ministers and Roman Catholic priests with a knowledge of the Gaelic language. A growing corpus of research, notably by Meek,²¹⁶ Kirk,²¹⁷ Withers,²¹⁸ Dawson,²¹⁹ MacDonald,²²⁰ McWilliam²²¹ and others, reflects upon these obstacles to Highland mission that were also apparent in the remote fringes of the Lowland Borders and in Galloway. These secondary sources will be revisited in Chapter 3.

Immediately following the Reformation in Scotland, observes Cameron, the compilers of the *Book of Discipline* had stressed "The Necessity of Schooles".²²² In the event, the Reformers' proposals were not ratified by Parliament. In consequence, where the Reformers established schools, asserts Orr, they were neither legal nor compulsory.²²³ Nevertheless, important to the Reformers, claims Simpson, was that young children should receive a godly upbringing through regular public examination in the Catechism.²²⁴ The efficacy of teaching the Catechism to Highland schoolchildren may be assessed in the following extract from a letter sent to *The Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge* (hereafter SSPCK)²²⁵ in Edinburgh, by the Reverend James Robertson, parish minister at Glen Muick, upper

²¹⁵ Three prominent Doric poets of the earlier twentieth-century were the late Sir Charles Murray, John C. Milne and Flora Garry.

²¹⁶ Meek, 1975, 1987, 1991, 1996, 1998, 2001.

²¹⁷ Kirk, 1980, 1986, 1998.

²¹⁸ Withers, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1996.

²¹⁹ Dawson, 1994.

²²⁰ MacDonald, 1964, 1965, 1978

²²¹ McWilliam, 1972, 1973,

²²² Cameron, 1972, 130: Of necessitie therefore we judge it, that every severall kirk have one School-maister appointed, such a one at least as is able to teach Grammar and the Latine if the town be of any reputation. If it be upland where the people convene to doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister there appointed take care over the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the rudiments and especially in the Catechisme as we have it now translated in the booke of common order called the order of Geneva (Book of Discipline).

²²³ Guest lecture, Scottish Universities' Staff and Student Church History Conference, St. Mary's Pastoral and Retreat Centre, Perth, February 13, 2004 (Delivered by Dr Lesley Orr, School of Divinity, University of Glasgow).

²²⁴ Simpson, 1947, 21.

²²⁵ *The Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge*, mooted in Edinburgh in 1705 and founded in 1709, was essentially a political expedient to unify the nation by means of a Christian education provided in the Society's system of peripatetic schools. The education was Presbyterian in content, but nevertheless, Roman Catholic children were permitted to attend the Society's schools. The aim of the Society throughout the eighteenth century was to extirpate the Gaelic language

Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. Read to the quarterly meeting of 4th February 1715, Robertson states in fulsome terms:

"the school is so strong and the children profiting so well, that it is truly a pleasure to see them, and very edifying to the people to hear many of them already repeating the Catechism, and the protestant Resolution publicly in the Church".²²⁶

The ability of people to read the Bible in English translation and to derive a personal message of salvation free from priestly mediation was at the root of the Reformers' aims. A cautionary note is introduced by Ross when he states that "improvements of various kinds, including schools to civilise the inhabitants ... make them discontented with their conditions",²²⁷ a theme that will be revisited in Chapter 6. The promotion of education among the Highland people, however, attracted political uses that were not altruistic to the Reformers' ideal of a godly upbringing. Well documented was the Establishment's belief that the unity and security of the nation-state could only be secured through the establishment in the Highlands "for teaching the principles of our Holy Religion in the English language and by time wearing out the Irish".²²⁸ Made explicit, the aim to be achieved was the eradication of the Celtic language in the Highlands. On 23rd August 1609, in pursuit of this aim, Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles, persuaded a number of leading Highland chiefs to meet at a "summit" conference on Iona to draw up a code of statutes.²²⁹ This meeting is of considerable historical importance in setting the political frame for the pattern of Highland education. Term 8 of the ensuing Statutes stated that, "Any gentleman or yeoman worth in goods sixty cows must send his eldest son whom failing his eldest daughter to the Lowlands to be educated in English". Campbell proposes two reasons for this directive: first, that the children would provide useful hostages²³⁰ should insurrection occur, and second, that they would receive the benefit of a Protestant education.²³¹ In 1696, notes Witherington, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland promulgated, an "Act for Settling of Schools".²³² Essentially a re-enactment of the Education Act of 1646, it placed the financial burden of the new parochial schools upon the land proprietors and their principal tenants. This attack on the Highland language and Highland traditions, according to Campbell, was to be financed out of Highland rents.²³³

in the Highlands and replace it with English. In this, the Society was only partially successful, but other unifying factors, economic and social, aided it in its task as the fear of Jacobinism, associated with Gaelic culture, receded.

²²⁶ N.A.S., GD95/2/2: 55.

²²⁷ Ross, 1934, 159.

²²⁸ N.A.S., GD.95 /11, 163.

²²⁹ Donaldson, 1974, 171.

²³⁰ Following the law of primogeniture, the eldest son followed the father in the role of clan chief. That the son could be held captive in the Lowlands, it was calculated that the clan chief would be unwilling to disturb the security of the nation state by insurrection.

²³¹ *Ibid*, 48.

²³² Witherington, 1962, 89: The Act of 1696 did not itself require the master's political and religious beliefs to be approved: it states only that a school should be settled and a schoolmaster appointed "by advice of the heritors and minister of the parish". Following the Revolution every schoolmaster was obliged to sign an oath of allegiance to the monarchy and an act of submission to the Presbyterian government of the church.

²³³ Campbell, 1984, 88.

The Established Presbyterian Church of 1690 still had very few ministers in the western and insular Gaelic-speaking areas. Acceding to the political will of their chieftains, Highlanders of whatever religious denomination were drawn to the Jacobite cause.²³⁴ To counter this subversive tendency, remarks Campbell, a number of wealthy subscribers in Edinburgh and the South of Scotland, in 1709, were incorporated under the title of the "*Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge*" (Note 204). In the case of the Gaelic-speaking Highlands, argues Withers, the history of education in the eighteenth century is largely the history of the SSPCK.²³⁵ The year 1724, argues Stewart, witnessed the instigation of an active interventionist government policy towards the *Gaidhealtachd*²³⁶ in order to integrate the region with the rest of the country. To this end, one thousand pounds out of the civil list, the Royal Bounty, to counter the resurgence of Roman Catholicism and Episcopalianism in extensive Highland parishes, was to be used for the of support itinerant preachers and catechists to work alongside regular parish incumbents. In practice, the Bounty Scheme operated in close conjunction with the SSPCK to provide an itinerant ministry and to establish rural schools. The reasons for the failure of the Bounty Scheme, convincingly argued by Stewart (2003), will be treated in Chapter 3. The political aspect apart, frequent references in the *OSA* testify to the desire for education amongst the Highland population. According to Meek, when individuals experienced evangelical conversion under the preaching or influence of the Highland missionaries, they would often become literate in order to read the Bible.²³⁷

1. 6. 1 Population dynamics in the Highland region

A noticeable increase in population in the Highlands after 1755, evident from Dr. Webster's census of that year,²³⁸ indicated a shift in the material base of life. Between that date and the 1790s, Gray observes that in the west-coast mainland parishes of Inverness-shire and Ross and Cromarty, only two, Gairloch and Kintail, had a population increased by less than 37 per cent, whilst two, Glenelg and Lochalsh, more than doubled.²³⁹ Various theories have been ventured for this complex demographic explosion that was carried to unsustainable levels in other Highland parishes. Numerous contributors to the *OSA* cite the introduction of new crops brought from the Lowlands, notably the potato,²⁴⁰ which allowed more food to be produced in a given area that largely negated the subsistence crises of previous decades. The second important innovation brought from the Lowlands was inoculation against smallpox.²⁴¹ Whilst arousing much controversy amongst parents, although not opposed by clerical reporters to the *OSA*, inoculation,

²³⁴ Donaldson et al, 1977, 107: Jacobites were supporters of James VII after his deposition in 1689 and subsequently of his son, James Francis, and his grandson, Charles Edward.

²³⁵ Withers, 1982, 37.

²³⁶ *Gaidhealtachd* - the area of the Scottish Highlands occupied by Celtic peoples who converse in the Gaelic language.

²³⁷ Meek, 1987, 14.

²³⁸ Reverend Alexander Webster's census of 1755 was the first time that the population of Scotland had been counted properly. Webster, an Edinburgh parish minister and Enlightenment figure, was involved in calculating pensions for ministers. He realised that detailed figures about Scotland's population would make his work more readable, so he used the Church of Scotland's ministers to count them. Webster calculated the Scottish population in 1755 to be 1,265,280.

Website:// bbc.co.uk/history/timelines/scotland/webster-census.shtml

²³⁹ Gray, 1981, xxi.

²⁴⁰ *OSA*, XX, 105.

introduced before the 1790s, is credited with having greatly reduced child mortality. Such novel innovations that tended to improve physical wellbeing, especially among the lower classes, may reasonably be seen as seepage of ideas and beliefs carried from the Lowland districts by seasonal workers, itinerant traders, cattle drovers, missionaries, teachers and returned soldiers. These and other structural issues regarding demographic increase will be discussed in later chapters.

Isolation and lack of proper roads, notes Gray, were never an impediment to personal travel, in particular, the widely prevailing habit of migration.²⁴² Structural changes in the decades after 1750, argues Devine, had important effects on the distribution of national population.²⁴³ Population statistics cited by Devine, notably Webster's mid-eighteenth century head-count, indicate that about half of Scotland's population lived north of the Clyde-Tay diagonal. By 1821 this proportion had sunk to 41 per cent and in 1841 to less than 30 per cent. This swift decline in the northern population Devine attributes to a trend for Highlanders to concentrate within areas of urban and industrial expansion, particularly in the Western Lowlands.²⁴⁴ The spiritual and moral need of these urban Highlanders was not neglected. According to Withers, occasional Gaelic preaching for the benefit of migrant Highlanders had been a feature in both Edinburgh and Glasgow for nearly a century before the establishment of Gaelic chapels. By the end of the eighteenth century, claims Withers, there were eleven Gaelic chapels in Lowland Scottish cities, the first having been erected in Edinburgh in 1769.²⁴⁵ The first Glasgow chapel specifically dedicated to Gaelic preaching, states Macdonald, was erected in 1770 in Ingram Street. In 1798, a petition was presented to open a second Glasgow Gaelic chapel, "for it would seem that by the end of the eighteenth century there were several thousand Highlanders in Glasgow's 70,000 population".²⁴⁶ It could reasonably be construed that the former Highland ties of kinship and loyalty to the clan chief had loosened in reluctant deference to effective state legislation and economic rationalism of the Highland landscape. Following the Disruption of 1843, the migrant Highland Protestant population within the Lowland cities are reported to have suffered continued spiritual disadvantage due to a lack of Gaelic-speaking services that Highlanders preferred even if fluent in the English language.²⁴⁷

It seems clear that emigration from the Highlands predated the late-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century economic clearance of people from the land. Gaelic-speaking people from Argyll, argues Meyer, sailed in July 1739 from Campbeltown to Cape Fear in the Carolinas. The offer of free land grants and possible

²⁴¹ *Ibid*, 161.

²⁴² Gray, 1981, xxx.

²⁴³ Devine, 1983, 137.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 137.

²⁴⁵ Withers, 1998, 160.

²⁴⁶ MacDonald, I.R., 1995, 3.

²⁴⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, May 14, 1855: "When the Free Presbytery of Glasgow met, Mr. McDougall drew attention to the spiritual destitution of the Highland population in Glasgow. It is believed there are 40,000 Highlanders in the city alone, while there are only three churches in Glasgow in which Gaelic is used".

exemption from taxation for a time acted as a catalyst to the Governor's invitation.²⁴⁸ At that period, asserts Gray, there is no evidence that population was running ahead of resources and production in the Scottish Highlands.²⁴⁹ Indeed, the suggestion could be made that the economic forces more usually associated with the later-eighteenth century improvement had been felt in Argyll as early as the 1720s. The key to such population movement was often the emigration of displaced tacksmen²⁵⁰ to pursue established trading interests in the Americas. Decline of the tacksman class, suggests Ross, formed a precursor to direct dealing between tenant and landowner that was a probable reason for raising rents on Highland estates.²⁵¹

Following the Jacobite insurrection of 1745-46, if not tentatively some years beforehand, economic and social changes under the label of "improvement" were introduced into the Highlands. In two distinct phases, asserts Lynch, the first from the 1710s until about 1830, and the second lasting into the 1860s, entire congregations were cleared from the inner glens and straths to occupy newly created croft holdings and townships on the coasts.²⁵² Whilst the crofter tenant precariously occupied land,²⁵³ a large landless population remained at the mercy of economic crests and troughs that impinged upon estates.²⁵⁴ Unwilling to pioneer new and alien spaces, many chose to migrate to industrial centres in the Lowlands or to emigrate to the colonies abroad. These aspects of migration and emigration will be reviewed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Two forms of Highland migration have been identified by Gray - partial migration and permanent migration. Partial migration has been identified as a movement to the Lowlands of young people in search of seasonal employment before returning home to winter with their families. Service for a number of years in the armed forces may be viewed as a more protracted form of partial migration. The second half of the

²⁴⁸ Meyer, 1957, 3.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*, xxii.

²⁵⁰ *OSA*, XX, 109: (Tacksmen) "Gentleman farmers who possessed one or more farms each. For the most part descendents of the different branches of the families of the chieftains on whose estates they lived. Tacksmen leased their land to tenants who sub-divided the land into pennies, half-pennies and farthings occupied by sub-tenants. Tacksmen, possessed a liberal education and refined manners, and were formerly adjutants on behalf of their chief, responsible for logistics and recruiting in times of clan warfare. Many tacksmen emigrated overseas following the breakdown of the clan system and the onset of "improved" estate policies that made their office redundant".

²⁵¹ Ross, 1934, 159.

²⁵² Lynch, 1991, 370-3.

²⁵³ *Glasgow Herald*, August 25, 1853: A correspondent of the *Times* gives the following account of the social condition of the people of Skye. "In Sconser there are about 400 persons living in 40 huts and occupying about 60 acres of arable land. They were in a state of extreme destitution but had been to some extent relieved by a good take of herring. The fisherman-crofter is the most miserable of all men, being neither fisher nor farmer, and yet depending on potatoes and herring to feed sometimes a dozen children all year round".

²⁵⁴ *Inverness Courier*, March 1, 1837: (The state of destitution prevailing among the people of Skye.) "The unfavourable weather destroyed their peats, and they have neither money nor opportunities to purchase coals or wood. In this extremity the poor people have lately in some places been driven to consume their turf huts and cottages for fire. They meet and draw lots whose house is to be taken down for fuel, and afterwards in the same manner determine which of their number is to maintain the poor family deprived of their home. Almost shut up by the stormy elements, crowding round their miserable fire thus scantily and painfully supplied—and with only, at long intervals, a handful of oatmeal or potatoes—we know not that the history of the British people ever presented such pictures of severe unmitigated want and misery as are exemplified at this movement in the case of the poor Highlanders".

eighteenth century witnessed the permanent raising ²⁵⁵ of many Highland regiments that Walker claims to have been a policy of William Pitt, the elder:

I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the first Minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men... These men in the last war were brought to combat on your side, they served with fidelity as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world. ²⁵⁶

Permanent migration was largely over a short distance either from isolated glens or from the higher reaches of inland straths to lower ground or to nearby coastal areas where, by the late-eighteenth century, small landholding settlements were being developed. This period, claims Lockhart, witnessed the plantation of planned villages, ²⁵⁷ to be followed, claims both Caird ²⁵⁸ and Willis, ²⁵⁹ by croft holdings, conceived on similar geometrical principles. Both devices were expressly designed to retain a workforce on the land, and have remained durable over two centuries. The utility of planned villages and croft holdings will be discussed more fully below. On a controversial note, an instance of what Devine has referred to, as "migration by stealth" ²⁶⁰ will be elaborated in Chapter 5. Both forms of partial migration, suggests Gray, were instrumental in spreading the manners and standards of the more commercialised Lowland society among Highland people. ²⁶¹ It will be argued later that a catalyst to migration and emigration was the emphasis placed upon education that raised expectations among the lower classes, and instilled in them the vision of a better life.

Overpopulation of Highland districts by the early-nineteenth century, enclosure of arable land, sub-division of crofter landholdings, increased rentals, failure of the kelp and fishing industries and periodic famines have all been cited as reasons for the forced emigration of often destitute families from landed estates on the west coast. In the eastern Highlands, where population pressure was less acute, Harper argues for a more voluntary emigration by displaced tenants, many attracted by the promised availability of cheap land in the colonies, favourable reports from previous emigrants, assisted passage schemes, public meetings addressed by colonial agents, newspaper adverts and handbills. Many, however, were able to fund their passage from savings. ²⁶² In numerous cases, argues Harper, the emigrants moved to areas in which their devotional needs would be met with a freedom that was absent in their homeland. ²⁶³ In doing so, whole congregations, accompanied by minister or priest, brought to new overseas colonies a Christian

²⁵⁵ Hitherto, the Government had been continually raising regiments in times of war and disbanding them in times of peace.

The standing army that included the Seaforths, Camerons, Gordons and Argyll's, for example, had their genesis post 1746.

²⁵⁶ Walker, 1916, 14: Speech by William Pitt, the elder in 1766, quoted in Walker, F.W., *The Great Deeds of the Seaforth Highlanders*, Dent & Sons, London, 1916, 14.

²⁵⁷ Lockhart, 1978, 95, and 1982, 35.

²⁵⁸ Caird, 1987, 72.

²⁵⁹ Willis, 1991, 48.

²⁶⁰ Devine quoted, New Book Reviews, *Glasgow Herald*, April 26, 2002.

²⁶¹ Gray, 1981, xxxi.

²⁶² Harper, 1988, 262.

²⁶³ *Ibid*, 209.

religion that was distinctively Highland (Plate 3.5). This aspect of emigration will be discussed in Chapter 4.

1.7 The dynamics of a Highland economy

In 1695, on a positive note, Martin wrote "a brief account of the advantages the Isles afford by sea and land, and particularly for a fishing trade". The following extract contains references to key problems apparent in the late-seventeenth century Highlands that festered to a head in the eighteenth and nineteenth:

The people inhabiting the Western Isles of Scotland may be about forty thousand, and many of them want employment; this is great encouragement, both for setting up other manufactories, and the fishing trade among them; besides a great number of people may be expected from the opposite continent of the Highlands, and north; which from a state of computation, by one who had an estimate of their numbers, from several ministers in the country, are reckoned to exceed the number of islanders above ten to one: and it is too well known that many of them want employment. The objection, that they speak only Irish, is nothing: many of them understand English in all the considerable islands, which are sufficient to direct the rest in catching and curing fish; and in a little time the youth would learn English.²⁶⁴

Highland landowners, of whom Macinnes cites Campbell of Ardchatten as an example,²⁶⁵ engaged in various commercial activities during the eighteenth century with some small success. The thin acid soils of the west and north permitted only limited and poor arable ground. The cold eastern and northern climate and dark winters overall, similarly inhibited agricultural production. In-shore fishing, black cattle rearing, forestry, localised mineral extraction, textile weaving and the relatively short-lived production of kelp, from about 1760 until 1850, are all activities noted in the *Statistical Accounts*, and enlarged upon by Withers, Willis, Jackson, Barron, Rymer, and other researchers cited in Chapter 2. These activities, some labour intensive in a small way, formed the staple of a limited Highland economy. Lack of an indigenous skilled workforce in specialised industry - mineworkers brought from Cornwall;²⁶⁶ ironworkers from Cumbria;²⁶⁷ textile workers from Yorkshire²⁶⁸ - inhibited the success of many local enterprises. Transport costs too, it must be assumed, severely restricted profitability.

It has been suggested above that, although separated by geography, culture and language from the Lowlands, the Highland region of Scotland by the beginning of the eighteenth century was in reality far from insular. To be sure, an Act of Parliament in 1747 had broken the clan system, to a large extent based on mutual dependency through blood ties. Historians generally accept that chieftains, albeit relatively poor in terms of social quality by Lowland landholding standards, were nevertheless by legal process created major holders in terms of quantity of clan lands. Many, but not all, chose to forget former ties of honour

²⁶⁴ Martin, 1994, 393.

²⁶⁵ Macinnes, 1998, 68.

²⁶⁶ Jervais, 1879, 28.

²⁶⁷ Webpage: <http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/taynuilt/bonawe/>

²⁶⁸ Census, 1841.

with their people, and contrived to emulate the more opulent lifestyle of their Lowland peers. Anglicisation and gentrification,²⁶⁹ both social processes accelerated in Scotland after 1747, hastened the adoption by many Highland landlords of Enlightenment economic ideas formulated in the later-eighteenth century by European philosophers. This tangible symptom, however, may merely cloak the underlying power of rational economics. As will be argued in relation to the kelp industry in Chapter 2, commercial landlordism - reliant upon on the cash nexus - supplanted payment in kind by the adoption throughout the Highlands of a capitalist economy.

Against this background of economic, political and social innovation, the indigenous culture of the Highlander was inseparable from the ecclesiastical concerns of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that form the focus of this thesis. Within the Kirk, controversies concerning patronage, moderates and evangelicals, the rise of evangelicalism, secession and reunion, disruption, the provision of education and poor relief, all subjects treated comprehensively by Burleigh,²⁷⁰ parallel the secular events enacted on the Highland landscape. Roman Catholic survival in remote Highland glens until finally gaining state recognition in 1790, and emancipation by Act of Parliament in 1829, coupled with the struggles of a resurgent if impoverished Scottish Episcopalian church presence, is examined in later chapters. Reference will also be made to Meek's discussion of the importance of the Bible in shaping the attitude of Highland people to social change in the nineteenth century.²⁷¹ Also introduced in Chapter 5 below, is the proposition that hidden belief might well have run as an undercurrent in the conjoined affairs of Christian witness and land tenancy within a Highland setting.²⁷²

From the outset, it must again be stressed that elements of cultural, political, social and economic change over time throughout the Highland landscape are not to be found in any uniform pattern. It is, as Lynch argues, therefore best to view the Highlands from the perspective of localities rather than as one geographical entity.²⁷³ This is seen particularly in the case of devotional affairs where pockets of the "Old Faith" were entrenched in well-defined spatial areas across the Highland landscape (Fig. 3.4). Whilst it is unsafe to generalise on Highland conditions at any specific period, it is here considered useful to focus upon one specific Highland parish - the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn - remote from both sea and urban influence, and follow changes in Highland religiosity in tandem with changes in the landscape over time. If a literary analogy for this method is sought, it is perhaps loosely to be found in Galt's *Annals of the Parish*.²⁷⁴ However, it is stressed that no specific reference to what Galt termed "the

²⁶⁹ Anglicize - to make English (*English Dictionary*, Geddes & Grosset).

²⁷⁰ Burleigh, 1960.

²⁷¹ Meek, 1987, 84.

²⁷² *The Church and Freemasonry*: Reports to the Church of Scotland General Assembly Panel of Doctrine, May 1989, 183.

²⁷³ Lynch, 1991, 362.

²⁷⁴ Galt, 1986, 193: John Galt (1779-1839) was of Ayrshire extraction. His novel, *Annals of the Parish*, first published in 1821, is recognized as a reasonably accurate account of social change in the Lowlands of Scotland from 1760 to about 1820.

growth of new-fangled doctrines" ²⁷⁵ will be addressed per se in what is claimed to be strictly a historical geography of religion.

To sum up briefly, this opening chapter has proposed an inalienable relationship between ecclesiastical mission and the geography of landscape in the Highlands. It has introduced themes appertaining to the physical, socio-cultural, demographic and economic "geographies" that will be explored in Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5. In so doing, it has briefly anticipated the major themes of landscape and religion, especially ecclesiastical mission in the Highlands with emphasis on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By teasing out the "geographical" elements of existing historical works, and by conducting in-depth archival research on one Highland parish as a tentative microcosm of the wider historical geography, it is hoped to add a further dimension to the history of religion in the Highlands. More immediately, the chapter should provide both crucial information and a context for the reader.

²⁷⁵ Tuttle, 1986, 27-28: In 1825, John McLeod Campbell (1800-72) was inducted to the parish church at Rhu on the Gareloch, Dunbartonshire, under the patronage of the Duke of Argyle. The previous year, Campbell had been converted to evangelical views of salvation and came to the belief that assurance was the essence of faith. He reasoned that such assurance could be founded only through the doctrine of 'universal pardon' - that Christ's death had secured forgiveness for all in this life and that faith meant believing this. The doctrine, long held by others before him, was contrary to Calvinist teaching and to the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Kirk's subsidiary standard. Campbell was deposed in 1831 by the General Assembly. His classic treatise on the doctrine, *The Nature of the Atonement*, was published in 1856, and had the effect of ameliorating the application of the Confession albeit not changing it.

Chapter 2

Highland landscape as a context for the history of religion

2. 1 Locating the Highlands within the United Kingdom

Most early literary commentators on the Highlands - Fordun, Munro, Burt, Pennant, Boswell, McCulloch, Byron, Gilpin, Hogg, Wordsworth and Scott - make reference to the forbidding nature of the landscape. However, in an age dominated by Romanticism¹ in the liberal arts, allowance must be made for some dramatisation. In the closing years of the seventeenth century, notes Hay, an Irish missionary, John Cahessy, wrote frequently to Rome from the Scottish Highlands, asking for help. His plea was supported by a graphic description of the landscape; "the countrie is one of the roughest and without any exception, the barrenest that is in Europe".² A century later, in 1794, the Rev. John McQueen, Presbyterian minister at remote Applecross³ in Wester Ross, placed on record the forbidding nature of the landscape in his parish. McQueen's description of rugged hills, rapid waters and deep marshy moors, with a paucity of roads and bridges,⁴ is one that is replicated for many Highland parishes throughout the "Old" *Statistical Account; 1791-1798* (hereafter, *OSA*), edited by Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster.⁵ It is a landscape that, until the mid-eighteenth century, claimed the Rev. John Macrae of Glenshiel Parish, the central government agencies could scarcely penetrate to create a fully integrated nation-state.⁶ It is on and across this landscape, it is argued, that the religious history of the Highlands has been played out. Moreover, the landscape, in its physical dimension, has also shaped the economic, social and cultural realms of Highland life and Highlanders; and in this guise too, it has greatly influenced the religious history of the region. In this chapter, the physical and economic contexts of this history will be discussed, as often mentioned by

¹ Romanticism - Artistic and intellectual movement that originated in the late-eighteenth century and stressed strong emotions, imagination, freedom from classical correctness in art forms, and rebellion against social conventions. It characterised many works of literature, painting, music, architecture, criticism and historiography in Western Civilisation over a period from the late-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.

² Hay, 1995, 20.

³ Mackenzie, 1999, 9: "The name Applecross has no connection with the apple fruit. The original name was *Aber Crossan*. It appears in the Annals of Tighernao as *Aporcrossan* in the ninth century Latin. The peninsula is known by its Gaelic name, *A'Chomraich*, the sanctuary, ever since 673, Maelrubha founded his Christian settlement there". Maelrubha is re-introduced in Chapter 3.

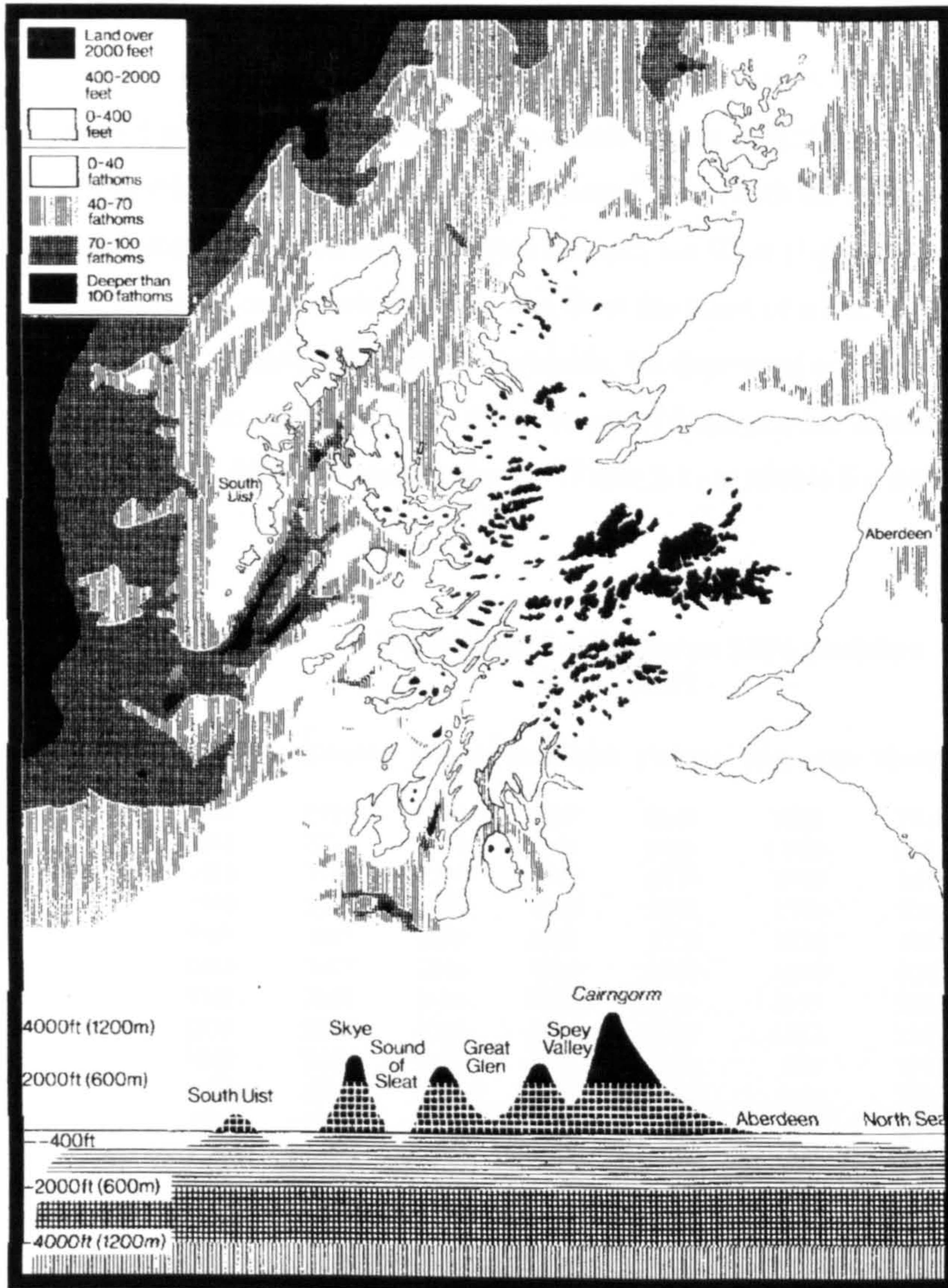
⁴ *OSA*, XVII, 285: "The extent of the parish is considerable, but cannot, with precision, be ascertained, as there is neither public road nor bridge, from one extremity of it to the other. The foot traveller is guided, according to the season of the year, what course to take, over rugged hills, rapid waters, and deep and marshy moors. Besides, here, as in all the adjoining and Western Isles, the computation of miles is merely arbitrary, always terminated by a burn, cairn or well, or some such accidental mark, which renders them so remarkably unequal, that it is impossible to reduce any given number of these imaginary miles to a regular computation". (Rev. John McQueen, Parish of Applecross, County of Ross).

⁵ Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, known to history as "Agricultural Sir John", is an important background figure in this thesis, for he was regarded as the foremost advocate of estate economic improvement of his day.

⁶ *OSA*, XVII, 409: "Owing to the side which William Earl of Seaforth espoused during the troubles of 1715 and 1719, memorable in this place for the battles of Sherrffmuir and Glensheil, his lands of Kintail (a name common to this and the parish of that name) had forfeited to the Crown; yet, during all the years of the forfeiture, it baffled all the endeavours and policy of Government to penetrate into the country, or to collect any rents in Kintail; and all attempts made to effect that purpose by his Majesty's troops were defeated by disgrace, and not without proving fatal to some of those who were rash enough to undertake the enterprise". (Rev. John Macrae, Parish of Glenshiel, County of Ross).

historians of religion in the Highlands - Meek,⁷ Withers,⁸ Kirk,⁹ Ansdell,¹⁰ Lynch¹¹ and Macinnes¹² among others, - within their own writings. In the next chapter, the social and cultural contexts will be similarly considered.

Fig. 2. 1



Distribution of land at various altitudes and water depths on the Continental shelf.
Highland Landforms, Robert Price, 1991, 4.

The Highlands of Scotland form the northern part of the landmass of Britain. As a geological entity, observes Price, the region is an outcrop with a maximum altitudinal range of about 1500m /4500ft rising from the submerged Continental Shelf of Europe, extending westwards into the Atlantic Ocean to terminate some 100km /60miles west of the Outer Hebrides.¹³ Within this ocean-girt western area,

⁷ Meek, 1975, 1987, 1991, 1996.

⁸ Withers, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1996.

⁹ Kirk, 1980, 1986, 1988.

¹⁰ Ansdell, 1988, 1988

¹¹ Lynch, 1991.

¹² Macinnes, 1988

the shelf is less than 90km /300ft below sea level, but the coastline is nevertheless still subject to the powerful and relentless Atlantic swell that renders navigation among the isles hazardous. Beyond the limits of the shelf, the ocean floor dips sharply to 600m /2000ft before descending to 1220m /4000ft in rapid succession (Fig. 2.1).

Inland from the coastline, the mountainous terrain and scanty soils - frequently noted by subscribers to the *OSA* - coupled with the difficulties of communication by road, rail and air, have ensured that the uplands that encapsulate the highest mountain ranges in Britain have remained comparatively unfavourable to permanent human settlement.¹⁴ Even with the advantages of abundant water and a moist mild climate, cultivation of subsistence crops in the West Highlands has been scarcely possible above the 500m contour. Census data suggests that from the onset of a late-eighteenth century demographic explosion that peaked by the mid-nineteenth, the depressed economic history of the region has been one of steady migration and emigration. This pattern of demographic increase followed by population movement is evident from decennial census figures (Table 2.1) available for the Inner-Hebrides' Isle of Skye:

Table 2. 1
Population for the seven Skye parishes
1801 - 1981

YEAR	Kilmuir	Snizort	Duirinish	Portree	Bracadale	Strath	Sleat	TOTAL
1801	2555	2144	3327	2246	1865	1748	1903	15788
1811	2752	2275	3361	2729	1 869	2107	1936	17029
1821	3387	2789	4147	3174	2103	2619	2608	20827
1831	3415	3487	4765	3441	1769	2962	2957	22796
1841	3625	3220	4983	3574	1824	3150	2706	23082
1851	3177	3101	5330	3557	1597	3243	2531	22536
1861	2846	2639	4775	3159	1335	2664	2330	19748
1871	2567	2326	4422	2928	1113	2562	2233	18151
1881	2562	2120	4319	3191	929	2616	2060	17797
1891	2394	1908	3933	3176	920	2392	1850	16573
1901	2119	1663	3367	2781	872	2152	1665	14619
1911	1950	1708	3093	2431	805	1959	1373	13319
1921	1748	1496	2621	2120	740	1778	1104	11607
1931	1489	1265	2147	2007	1120	1587	792	10407
1981	769	947	1143	1999	650	1389	550	7447

Source - 1981 Census Return for Highland Region Vol.4.

The social and economic reasons for the steady diaspora of an indigenous Highland population, beginning in the early-eighteenth century, will be revisited later in the chapter.

In general, both contemporary Highland and Lowland landscapes fall into two distinct historical periods of land-use. What remains visible today, supposes Fenton, is largely an "improved" landscape moulded by

¹³ Price, 1991, 91; Withers, 1982, 144.
¹⁴ *OSA*, XVIII, 468: "The sides of the hills are, for the most part, cultivated; but it is rare to see three yards of ground without a rock. The soil is therefore thin, and almost everywhere mixed with blue sand or gravel. The tops of the hills are commonly

human activity over the last two and a half centuries.¹⁵ In the Highlands straths and glens, to which reference will be made in Chapter 4, the fossil landscape of still discernable ancient settlement is overlaid by more modern patterns of enclosure, shelter belts, varied crops, forestry management, heather muirburn, and a distinctive disposition of dressed stone and lime estate buildings with slate roofs (Plate 2.1).¹⁶

Plate 2. 1



Ardoch "improved" farm buildings, Glengairn, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire, c.1820s.
(Lord Belhaven, 1699 design). (photo - JRS)

Politically distant from the seats of central government in Edinburgh and London, claims Smout,¹⁷ and economically distant from the world's markets, opportunities for employment throughout the Highlands from the mid-eighteenth century have remained scarce. With certain notable exceptions, a succession of economic cycles dominated the structure and quality of Highland land-ownership. Cattle and sheep rearing, stone and mineral extraction, textiles, kelp production, fishing, sporting estate management, coupled with traditional cottage industries, formed the staple of Highland economy until the later-nineteenth century onset of mass tourism supervened. All, in turn, have had a formative influence in both the geography and history of the Highland landscape. As that history has shown, it is nevertheless the land itself, however unprofitable, that ties the indigenous Highlander to place, more so perhaps, than in any other region of Scotland.¹⁸

covered with dry, short heath, or gravel". (Rev. Aeneas McLeod, Parish of Rogart, County of Sutherland).

¹⁵ Fenton, 1978, 1: Agriculture on the eve of the Agricultural Revolution cannot really be described as primitive. Rather had it evolved to suit the needs of the communities it served in the different regions of Scotland. It was a system or set of overlapping systems, that varied in sophistication according to local resources and terrain, to administrative organisation, to access to labour supply and markets, and to earlier historical circumstances.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 182: The first writer to discuss the layout of farm buildings in detail was John Hamilton, the second Lord Belhaven in 1699, though in terms of proposals rather than a reflection of an existing situation. He suggested that the "sit-house" or dwelling house should lie east and west, with the windows facing south for warmth. The barns should lie at the west end of the house, with a north-south orientation. This meant that the barn doors would be east and west opposite each other, to get full advantage of the prevailing winds for the winnowing of corn.

¹⁷ Smout, 1981, 1: (The Highlands and Islands) From London they were as remote as the moon, from Edinburgh known mainly as the source of deviant religion and political behaviour, and of suspect social habits.

¹⁸ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. XLVI, September, 1829, 400:

Canadian Boat Song

Stanza 2

From the lone shieling of the misty island
Mountains divide us and a waste of seas -
Yet still the blood is strong, the heart is Highland,

Few would now disagree with Devine's view that the economic organisation of the Highlands in the later-eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries cannot be studied in complete isolation from that of Lowland Scotland and Britain as a whole.¹⁹ The evidence confirms that long before that period, landowners in the Highlands were by no means an insular section of British society. If not constricted by progressive ideas, they were constricted in their implementation by the geography of the Highland landscape. Commencing with the union of the two Parliaments in 1707, adds Devine, and sealed with the break-up of the paternalistic clan system by Act of Parliament in 1747, the usurpation of former clan lands through a legal process of entail²⁰ by clan chiefs was complete. As argued in Chapter 1, power exercised by the landholder has always been a major element in both Highland and Lowland affairs.²¹ To support this claim, it will be suggested in Chapter 5 that leases were carefully controlled, and the movement of entire communities from the landscape could be effected by force of law in the form of a Summons of Removing or Warning Away Notice:

to hear and see themselves decerned & ordained by Decrees and Sentence of Court to flit and remove themselves their Wives Bairns Families Servands Subtenants Coaters & dependants and all and sundry their Goods and Gear forth & from their pretended Possessions above mentioned and leave the same void Redd and patent at the term Whitsunday being the fifteenth of May next to come, to the end the Pursuer by himself or servants may enter thereto Sett use and dispose thereof at pleasure in all time coming.²²

From the foregoing remarks, it can be concluded that a forbidding, if at times scenic landscape, a scarcity of arable land, relatively poor communications, the clash of cultural backgrounds rooted in history, life-style, language and literature, have all contributed to an overall impression of Highland remoteness and inaccessibility. Furthermore, it is Hunter's opinion that the Highland "wilderness", as celebrated by today's conservationists, is not so much natural as the wholly artificial result of nineteenth century landlords having excluded humanity from ecosystems of which people had been part for ten millennia".²³ These basic "facts" of geography, at once both physical and human, it is a claim of this thesis, have provided the backdrop for the religious history of the Highlands of Scotland.

And we in dreams behold the Hebrides.
Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand;
But we are exiles from our fathers' land.
(Anonymous)

¹⁹ Devine, 1999, 234.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 1994, 64: Title to lands was secured through a legal process of entail first promulgated by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1685. Entail ensured that succession to an estate could be confined to a definite series of heirs; a succeeding proprietor had no power to break the line; he could not sell and he was prohibited from contracting debts that might imperil the estate. Modern legislation involving the breaking of an entail is founded upon the rubric in *Menzies v. Menzies* (1893) 20 RL (HL) 108.

²¹ *The Herald*, December 6, 2003: "Gannochy Estate, Angus, acquired post-1983 by Edinmore Properties, a subsidiary company of the investment wing of the Cayzer shipping and banking dynasty, has been advertised for re-sale in conditions allegedly parallel to the nineteenth century Highland Clearances. The estate is being sold off in 42 separate lots and sitting tenants, unable to meet exorbitant new rents or to purchase their dwelling-house, are set to be served notices to flit and remove".

²² Nicolson, 2001, 26: "Summons of Removing or Warning Away Notice – a bureaucratic mechanism by which the terms of a lease were changed or by which the landlord gave it to someone else at a higher rent. It was a sign of something already being at an end, not the instrument by which it was ended".

²³ Hunter, 1976, 6.

2. 2 Topography of the Highlands

Relief maps of the Highlands reveal marked differences in the character of the landscape. For the purposes of this thesis, the five-zone model proposed by Darling *et al*, will be used to delimit areas in which the nature of the landscape posed a challenge to ecclesiastical mission:

First, the Southern and Eastern fringe, which is a frontier zone between Highlands and Lowlands; second, the Central Highlands, which may be likened to a continental alpine zone; third, the Northern Highlands, a zone of sub-arctic or boreal affinities; fourth, the Inner Hebrides and the West Highlands south of Skye, which may be called the Atlantic or Lusitanian zone; and lastly, the Outer Hebrides and islands of Canna, Coll Tiree, and such small islands as the St Kilda group.²⁴

In some respects, the topography of the Highlands is not too dissimilar to other comparable mountainous regions in the British Isles. Where difference is apparent, it is revealed in sheer scale and inaccessibility. It is nonetheless, O'Dell's proposition that, despite their massive scale, the Highlands form a unity that is based primarily on the physical environment.²⁵ In effect, the topography of the Highlands broadly reflects the geology of the landscape. Overall, it is a land of steep mountain outcrop rising above lochan-strewn heather moor, river torrent, peat bank and what Benn *et al* term hummocky moraine.²⁶ This last a fossil legacy of the down-wasting of stagnant ice left by successive ice-age retreats and advances culminating in the Loch Lomond Stadial of 10,000 years ago.²⁷ The slow seaward flow of glacier ice from the high hills of the interior has created the wide straths that are a marked feature of the Highland landscape. Greatly enhanced by melt-water, the drowned outlets of Highland straths have generally settled as sea lochs and firths. These stretches of fairly sheltered water have provided safe haven for sea-going vessels and convenient direct communication between shores for domestic purposes and for travellers.

Important to the spread of ecclesiastical mission, is O'Dell's observation that deep fault depressions, each with its long narrow loch, dissect the Highlands, and tend to have the north-east to south-west alignment that Robson has termed "Caledonoid".²⁸ These are marked on the landscape by straight sections to valleys that make for ease of communication (Fig.2.2).²⁹ The character of the regional slope is further marked by the alignment of the main river valleys that tend to follow the predominant zones of weakness or faulting in the underlying geological structure. Rivers have been important in the formation of the Highland landscape by their capacity to transport sediments and create deposits which support arable land in the lower glens and straths. This phenomenon will be discussed in Chapter 4 in respect of the former Tullich community in upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. Mention has been made above of early descriptive accounts

²⁴ Darling and Boyd, 1964, 18.

²⁵ O'Dell, 1962, 4:

²⁶ Benn and Evans, 1998, 483: The term "hummocky moraine" has been employed in a wide range of senses. As a purely descriptive term, it has been applied to moundy, irregular morainic topography exhibiting varying degrees of order ranging from entirely chaotic assemblages of mounds, to suites of nested transverse ridges. In a more restrictive sense "hummocky moraine" has been employed to refer to moraines deposited during the melt-out of debris-mantled ice.

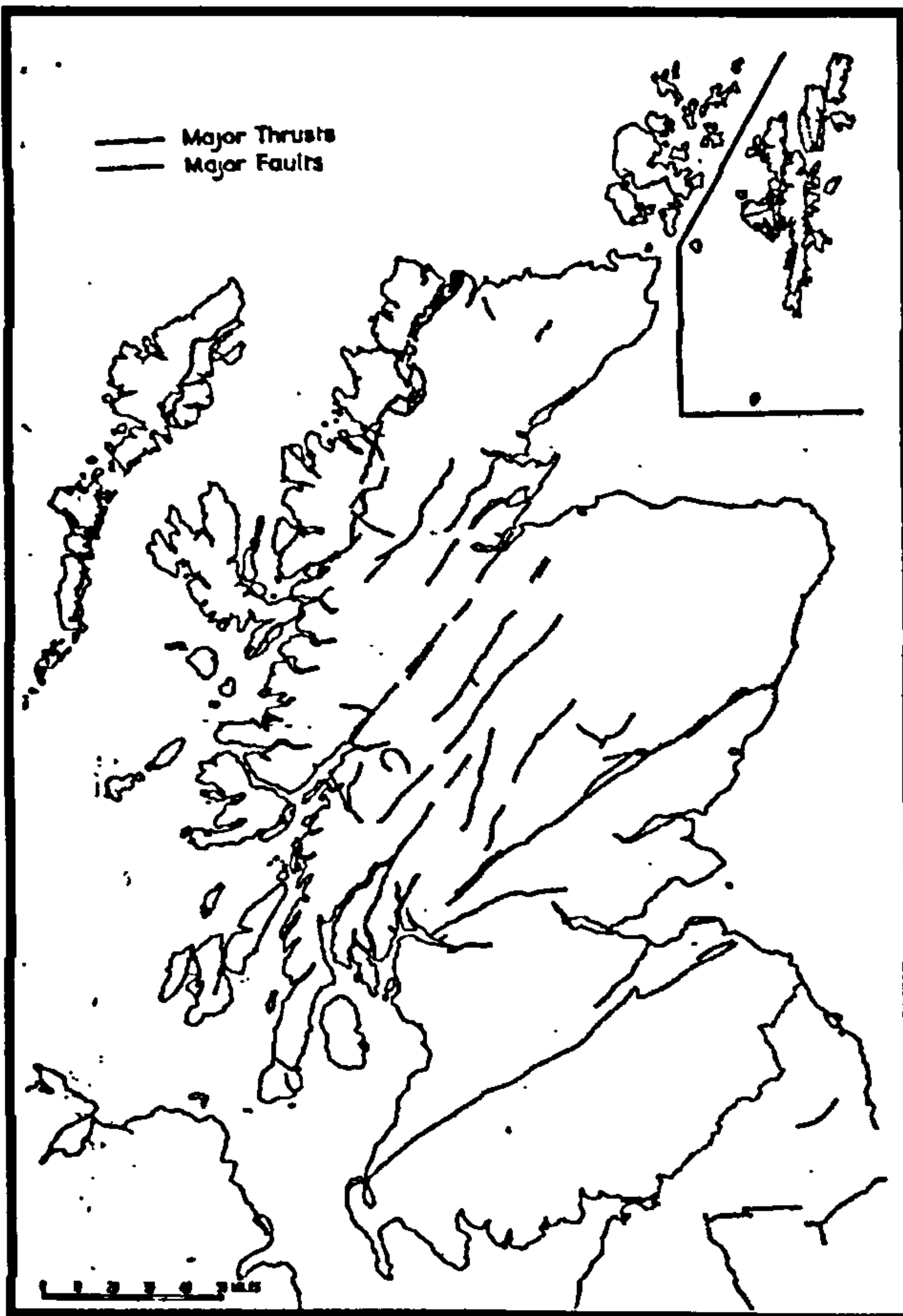
²⁷ Wilson and Evans, 2001, 144.

²⁸ Robson, 1968, 238.

²⁹ O'Dell, 1962, 14: Prime examples of faulting are the Highland Boundary Fault from Helensburgh to Stonehaven, marking the physical separation of Highlands from Lowlands, and the Great Glen Fault from Loch Linnhe to Loch Ness, that effectively

of Highland topography, but there can be little doubt that from the late-eighteenth century onwards, the Highland landscape has been held in awesome fascination by Lowlanders³⁰ stimulated, as noted above, by romantic depiction in the liberal arts.³¹

Fig. 2. 2



Highland Boundary Faults, *The Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, (AC. O'Dell and K. Walton, 1962, 7).

2. 2. 1 Geology of the Highlands

Metamorphic or igneous rocks, one or the other, argues Robson, dominate the landscape in the Central and Northern Highlands of Scotland; in North and South-east Ireland; in parts of the North-West and South-West of England; and in West Wales. In all these regions the land is high, the soil poor and the ground

demarcates, with its chain of narrow lochs - Loch Oich and Loch Lochy - the Northern Highlands from the Southern Highlands.

³⁰ One need but mention here the impact of James McPherson's heroic poems *Fingal* and *Temora*, published in 1762, purporting to be authentic translations "from the Gaelic or Erse language", of works by an ancient poet called *Ossian*. Or, indeed, Sir Walter Scott's epic *Lady of the Lake*, published in 1806, the catalyst to much of the later 'Highland' nostalgia, hauntingly caught in the popular Hamish MacCunn (1868-1916) musical score, *Land of the Mountain and the Flood* (1887), to appreciate the romantic image created in popular imagination.

³¹ Scott, 1806, Canto XI:

Huge as the tower which builders vain
Presumptuous piled on Shinar's plain,
The rocky summits, split and rent,
Form'd turret, dome or battlement.
Or seemed fantastically set
With cupola or minaret,
Wild crests as paged ever deck'd
Or mosque of Eastern architect.

uncultivated, but the North-West Highlands of Scotland, adds Robson, probably provide the most barren country in the whole of the United Kingdom.³² Here, the intensely metamorphosed Lewisian gneiss, a hard rock consisting of quartz, feldspar, mica and hornblende,³³ and one of the oldest rock formations in Europe,³⁴ forms a poor base for the development of soil. A similar terrain, though far more mountainous, is that of Torridon sandstone, a younger rock, which overlies the Lewisian gneiss and forms the bare and steep rocky outcrops rising to a height of 3000ft /915m. The Torridonian generally consists of an unbroken succession of sandstone, but across the Stoer peninsula in Assynt, notes the Rev. MacKenzie in the *OSA*, there is a development of a shaley facies of Durness limestone that provides a comparatively rich soil.³⁵ This last supports gently undulating grassland in marked contrast to the rocky Lewisian near-by. Elsewhere throughout northwest Scotland, argues Robson, Lewisian Gneiss of pre-Cambrian age forms a bare rocky landscape incapable of cultivation.³⁶ From this description, we can conclude that small pockets of indifferent land have been capable of supporting successive generations of community life, however precariously, with most people seeking hope and spiritual comfort in the face of material adversity.

2. 2. 2 Coast and sea-loch in the Highlands

In his review of Highland coast and sea-lochs, O'Dell observes that tectonic uplift has ensured a marked contrast between the deeply indented fjord-like coastline of the west and the perpendicular cliff faces interspersed by long sand dune beaches and inland plateaux to the east.³⁷ Isostatic re-adjustment of the landmass as the massive weight of the ice declined, and eustatic rise in the sea level associated with the advanced decay of glaciers, argues O'Dell, are apparent on the coastline in a Quaternary period legacy of raised beaches, rock shelves, wave-cut cliffs and caves.³⁸ Once developed and settled to a more equable climate, this complex physical land structure had found use by prehistoric people. In support of this claim, it is Willis' observation that many raised beaches on the coastal fringe of the West and Northern Highlands, free from wind-blown sand and relatively flat and fertile, have proved of marked utility in human settlement over many centuries, indeed, have had an influence in the physical form of settlement in many places.³⁹ Indeed, Willis has viewed raised beaches as the one positive feature in an otherwise negative landscape. This is of particular importance for rudimentary farming in coastal areas, in which, as

³² Robson, 1968, 247.

³³ Price, 1991, 15.

³⁴ Willis, 1991, 2.

³⁵ *OSA*, XVII, 273: "Assynt is a Gaelic compound (in and out; convex and concave) descriptive of the superficies of the whole parish; its wide extent consisting of lofty mountains, high hills, stupendous rocks, threatening precipices, and numberless objects of the like kind, but by far of much less magnitude. Along the sides, and stretched out from the base of these grand appearances, are extensive tracts of heath and moss. Such parts of these tracts as are in some degree elevated, afford safe pasturing for yell cattle. Such as are low, overgrown with soft and deep moss, quagmires here and there interspersed, prove often fatal to quadrupeds of very kind; beneath all these mountains, tracts of heath and deep moss, are narrow glens, valleys and small plains, beautified with little natural mounts, ridges and hollows; all these are wholly green, affording plentiful pasture, during summer and harvest, for milk cows, some goat, and sheep. . . the middle of Assynt is perfectly wild, covered with heath, moss, heathery hills, and rocks of small size, and fresh-water lochs which are numerous". (Rev. William MacKenzie, Parish of Assynt, County of Ross).

³⁶ Robson, 1968, 200.

³⁷ O'Dell, 1962, 14.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 1962, 31.

Willis explains, reliance for subsistence has ever been dependent upon the produce of the sea - fish, weed and shell - to augment the cultivation of the land.⁴⁰

The sea and its deep-water extension inland in the form of sea-lochs have provided the most efficient means of internal movement along the West Coast and among the Hebrides' islands. Irrespective of its utility for transporting the material necessities of human occupation, for centuries the sea has carried the cultural, intellectual and religious beliefs that are distinctly Highland. Of necessity, inland waterways, seal-lochs and firths, were much resorted to by itinerant missionaries in all historical ages, including the parish priesthood and reformed ministry.⁴¹ The eastern seaboard - by Wither's definition largely Lowland - presents a relatively low and uniform aspect rising to no great height until many miles inland. Consequently, there are few navigational dangers, claims O'Dell, even if there are fewer places to shelter in stormy weather backed by an easterly wind. On the other hand, the long Atlantic swell carried against the Outer Hebrides to the West is matched in danger with the submerged reefs, tide-races and over-falls of the inner sounds.⁴² In the Inner Hebrides parish of the Small Isles - Eigg, Rum, Muck and Canna, - the dangers of wind, tide and current were exacerbated, claimed Rev. Donald McLean in the *OSA*, by distance:

The disadvantages of this parish are not few. In this extensive parish, consisting of so many islands, where the navigation is tedious and dangerous, especially to the islands more remote from the clergyman's residence; the distance from the harbour of Eigg to the harbour of Canna, being computed 30 miles; to that of Rum 16, and to that of Isle Muck: His attendance at each cannot be frequent, nor his labours so beneficial, as their wants necessarily require. Notwithstanding his exertions, the people must be liable to a seduction into a superstition, subversive of morality and of genuine piety; and the more so, as its emissaries, now tolerated by law (R.C. priesthood), traffic among them without control.⁴³

2.3 Climate patterns across the Highlands

The climate of the Highlands cannot be dispensed with as a uniform seasonal entity. Climate here, as Darling *et al* point out, can almost be considered as infinitely diverse. It has been their observation that weather varies according to latitude, longitude and altitude. It varies according to the relief of the countryside, slope in relation to the sun, position on the coast or inland, direction and velocity of the prevailing wind and humidity and temperature of the air, the temperature of the land and sea.⁴⁴ The Rev. Sage of Kildonan Parish records in the *OSA*, that in respect of the Highlands, climates can alter markedly within a few miles or within a few yards. This can be seen, claim Darling *et al*, by a comparison of the

³⁹ Willis, 1991, 6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 1991, 7.

⁴¹ Macleod, 1998, 235: "John MacRae was minister at Lochs when Lewis was shaken by its second great revival in 1859. His parish was huge and divided by great arms of the sea - Loch Seaforth, Loch Erisort, Loch Leurbost - and friends clubbed together to buy him a little yacht, the *Wild Duck*". (The activities of the Free Church ship, *Breadalbane*, acquired to carry itinerant ministers throughout the western seaboard to offset a shortage of Gaelic pulpit supply is discussed in Chapter 3).

⁴² O'Dell, 1962, 36.

⁴³ *OSA*, XX, 248.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 1964, 10.

weather on different sides of the same mountain, on the same valley plain,⁴⁵ or in the distinctive microclimates that attend trees.⁴⁶ In effect, they argue, the Highlands, as elsewhere, are covered by a mosaic pattern of climates that integrate into a distinctive whole peculiar to the region.⁴⁷

According to the Meteorological Office, a key factor in climate is the variation in the length of day throughout the year. The relatively high latitude of Scotland dictates that though winter days are short, summer days are correspondingly long with an extended twilight. Vegetation growth is forced by extended daylight, particularly grass, necessary for a pastoral economy dependent upon cattle. Daylight in an agricultural economy also controlled seasonal work patterns, both in the fields and in industry. In the more northerly latitudes of the Highlands, the physical wellbeing and mental health of the people would have responded more acutely than in the Lowlands, to the wider variation in natural light. On the other hand, to a large extent the surface temperature of the surrounding sea influences the winter temperature of landscape in the British Isles. The North Sea is cooler than the Atlantic waters off the west coast so that the east coast is generally slightly cooler than the west coast. The lowest temperatures occur inland, away from the moderating influence of the sea, in valleys into which the cold air drains. Rainfall (includes snow) ranges from over 3000mm per year in the West Highlands, to under 800mm per year near the east coast.⁴⁸

2.3.1 Climate in the Eastern and Central Highlands

In deference to the parameters set by Withers' notional Highland line, the East and Central Highlands are at many points set far from the eastern seaboard and in consequence, are only marginally affected by the water mass of the North Sea and its Firths. Dominated by extensive central mountain ranges - Grampian, Cairngorm, and Monadhliath - with several summits exceeding 4000ft /1300m,⁴⁹ the prevailing easterly and northerly winds bring sub-arctic conditions reaching down to the inner glens and straths. The area is noted for severe winter conditions of heavy snow precipitation and severe frosts that restrict the movement of people and animals for protracted periods.⁵⁰ In milder weather, melt-water from deep snow-cover on high

⁴⁵ OSA, XVIII, 449: "In the years 1782 and 1783, and some of the subsequent years, the crops were often blasted and destroyed with frosts and mildews, which set in early in Autumn. Such lands as lay nearest still bodies of water, as large ponds, were most subject to this calamity, and consequently such lands were furthest removed from them, or were contiguous to the most rapid streams of the river, escaped much better". (Rev. Mr. Sage, Parish of Kildonan).

⁴⁶ Darling and Boyd, 1964, 10: Acute observation that the north side of a tree is conditioned by a different microclimate from that of the south, revealed in the zones of disposition of mosses and lichens on the trunk.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 10.

⁴⁸ Meteorological Office website – <http://www.met-office.gov.uk/climate/uk/location/scotland/>

⁴⁹ Munro's Tables, first published in 1891, and revised by J. C. Donaldson in 1974, record the height of Scottish mountains: The following Cairngorm mountain summits have been abstracted from *The Scottish Highlands*, W.H. Murray, The Scottish Mountaineering Trust, (Edinburgh, 1976):

Ben Macdhui - 4296 ft : 1309 m	Cairn Toul - 4241 ft : 1293 m
Braeriach - 4248 ft : 1296 m	Cairngorm - 4084 ft : 1245 m

⁵⁰ Even today with modern roads and state-of-the-art snow and ice clearing equipment, several main routes through the eastern Highlands remain consistently impassable for several days between October and April of each successive year. Among these routes are the A.93 Blairgowrie to Braemar road at the Cairnwell; the A.939 Corgarff to Tomintoul road at the Lecht; the A.96 Pitcaple to Huntly road at Glens of Foundland, and the A.941 Rhynie to Dufftown road for much of its length.

plateaux, and rain precipitation above the national average, produce raging torrents with extensive flooding of low-lying ground.⁵¹

Comparison of mainland average temperatures over a thirty-year period, serves to illustrate the climatic variance that exists across the Highland landscape between the east and the west. Braemar village, at an altitude of 1112ft /339m lies 70 miles inland from the east-coast City of Aberdeen, and 25 miles west of the notional Highland boundary line argued by Withers. Located high in the Grampian Mountains, and backed by the Cairngorms, the surrounding landmass retains much of the Continental severe weather brought by easterly and northerly winter winds. Table 2.2 indicates that between October and April, there were on average, 95 days out of a possible 181 days, with air frost with an average minimum of minus 1.28 degrees. This figure conceals periods of extreme weather; temperatures of minus 27.2 degrees centigrade were recorded at Braemar on 10th January 1982 and 11th February 1895, a figure that was equalled at Altnaharra, on 30th December 1995.⁵²

Table 2. 2 Braemar (339m AMSL) Upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire
1961 - 1990 Averages

	Max Temp	Min Temp	Days of Air Frost	Sunshine	Rainfall	Days of Rainfall ≥1mm
Month	[deg C]	[deg C]	[days]	[hours]	[mm]	[days]
Jan	3. 8	-2. 3	19. 1	24. 8	106. 6	16. 3
Feb	3. 9	-2. 8	18. 7	56. 5	63. 2	12. 1
Mar	6. 0	-0. 8	16. 9	94. 9	71. 7	4. 5
Apr	9. 2	0. 6	11. 7	139. 8	48. 3	10. 9
May	12. 8	3. 4	4. 5	162. 1	66. 2	12. 7
Jun	16. 2	6. 5	0. 5	168. 9	58. 1	10. 8
Jul	17. 5	8. 4	0. 0	159. 3	54. 2	11. 0
Aug	17. 0	8. 1	0. 4	146. 9	70. 6	11. 6
Sep	14. 0	6. 3	1. 5	103. 5	80. 8	13. 1
Oct	10. 8	3. 8	5. 0	67. 9	92. 8	14. 0
Nov	6. 3	0. 1	12. 8	36. 0	86. 4	14. 4
Dec	4. 6	-1. 1	15. 8	18. 6	89. 1	14. 8
Year	10. 2	2. 6	106. 9	1179. 3	887. 9	156. 2

Meteorological Office web-site - <http://www.met-office.gov.uk/climate/uk>

2. 3. 2 Climate of the North west Highlands and the Hebrides

The west of Scotland produces a different climate overall than that of the east and south. The western seaboard, argues Youngson, benefits from the warmer waters of the North Atlantic Drift or Gulf Stream sweeping north in a long ocean swell from the Azores to bring a moist oceanic air. In so doing, the western seaboard also claims the benefit of prevailing westerly winds to bring a softer climate. Furthermore, observes Youngson, the Hebridean islands are small, and with no great landmass, the climate remains maritime. The Hebrides, observes Youngson, "are virtually free of snow except for the mountains

⁵¹ The great flood or "muckle spate" of August, 1829, that followed two days of late summer torrential rain in the Cairngorm mountains and Grampian hills, devastated the landscape of the Dee valley as far as Aberdeen, and that of Speyside to the Moray Firth.

where it never lies long or as heavily as on the mainland hills". Frost, he avers, is neither prolonged nor extreme.⁵³ It is generally well known that both the island of Colonsay off the West Coast, and the policies of Inverewe on the mainland of Wester Ross, are but two locations noted for the open-air culture of exotic tropical plants. In his daughter's biography, *A Hundred Years in the Highlands*, Osgood Mackenzie of Inverewe House claims that exotics "grow better in the open air (and shallow soil of Inverewe) than they would at Kew under glass".⁵⁴ A comparison of average temperatures around Kinlochewe on the mainland coast of the north-west in Table 2.3 set against those of Braemar in the east central Highlands in Table 2.2, is illustrative of the marked diversity in the range of weather extremes claimed between east and west.

Table 2. 3 **Kinlochewe (25m AMSL) Ross and Cromarty.**
1961 - 1990 Averages

	Max Temp	Min Temp	Days of Air Frost	Sunshine	Rainfall	Days of Rainfall >=1mm
Month	[deg C]	[deg C]	[days]	[hours]	[mm]	[days]
Jan	6.3	0.3	12.7	18.9	235.8	19.9
Feb	6.7	0.0	12.3	52.8	170.5	15.2
Mar	8.7	1.5	9.1	67.6	230.9	20.1
Apr	11.4	2.8	6.5	108.9	112.1	16.0
May	14.7	5.5	1.8	132.4	106.8	14.2
Jun	17.1	8.3	0.1	126.3	108.8	14.3
Jul	17.8	10.0	0.0	107.9	109.8	15.9
Aug	17.8	9.8	0.0	101.4	135.4	16.8
Sep	15.3	8.2	0.2	69.6	210.3	19.6
Oct	12.7	5.8	1.8	50.5	251.2	21.4
Nov	8.4	2.2	8.2	24.6	266.5	20.5
Dec	7.2	1.2	10.7	12.7	273.2	21.8
Year	12.0	4.6	63.4	873.6	2211.2	215.7

Meteorological Office web-site - <http://www.met-office.gov.uk/climate/uk>

The fjord-style indentation into the landscape of the West Highlands, notes Darling *et al*, allows the sea to enter far inland with a marked effect upon the weather pattern. The western ocean, being relatively warm for latitude 53–59 degrees N, in itself makes for mildness of climate in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea lochs.⁵⁵ Only the coasts of Western Wales and Southern England, they suggest, can match the annual warmth of favoured coastal areas in the Western Highlands.⁵⁶ Overall, the predominantly higher altitude of the Highland landscape, and its northerly sub-Arctic location, ensures that in winter months both snow and frost can be severe, particularly in the Central and Eastern belts. In respect of the Central and Southern Highlands, Darling *et al* argue that easterly winds bring a dry continental air from central Europe or from Scandinavia and Siberia, and with it the warm summer sun or the sharp frosts and heavy

⁵² Meteorological Office: web-site <http://www.met-office.gov.uk/extremes/index.html>
⁵³ Youngson, 2001, 18.
⁵⁴ Mackenzie, 1921, 200.
⁵⁵ Darling and Boyd, 1964, 9.
⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 1964, 11.

snow of winter.⁵⁷ The north coast of Sutherland, they observe, often presents a more variable climatic pattern, with alternating wind and rain.⁵⁸

In his discussion of the Highland climate, Pearsall notes that Scottish mountains are generally of moderate size and do not exceed the 4406ft /1344m maximum set by Ben Nevis in Lochaber. The Cairngorm and Grampian ranges of the Central Highlands and the West Highland range contain the highest summits in Britain with many peaks, the "Munros", exceeding the 3000ft /915m contour.⁵⁹ All are affected, Pearsall argues, by predominantly strong Atlantic breezes from the west and, in winter, chill Arctic winds from the north and northeast. Consequently, wind, cloud and rain tend to dominate the weather conditions and give a characteristic atmosphere to the Highland mountain scenery.⁶⁰ This combination produces great humidity in the atmosphere leading to heavy rainfall in the mountainous Highlands,⁶¹ and one that has for long been associated in popular literature with the Lochaber countryside.⁶² The chill factor of strong cold winds ensures that British mountains in general, and Highland mountains in particular, become treeless at comparatively low levels, usually below 2000ft /609m, and the zone up to which useful cultivation extends remains often less than 1000ft /305m.⁶³ To sum up, these extremes of topography and associated weather patterns, have had an enduring impact upon the cultural heritage of the Highland people, conditioning aspects of the distribution of settlement, lines of communication, and economic subsistence over the millennia.

2. 4 Vegetation of the Highlands

It is perhaps a commonplace to state that the nature and quality of the soil has ever been of prime importance to settled agricultural societies throughout the centuries. One of the characteristics of mountainous areas, remarks Pearsall, is that the landscape is continually wasting down under the action

⁵⁷ Darling and Boyd, 1964, 17.

⁵⁸ OSA, XVII, 298: "In general, the climate is rainy, as much so at least as in any tract of equal extent on the W.N.W. coast of North Britain. The rain continues not only for hours, but often for days; nay, for weeks, especially if the wind perseveres for so long a time to blow from the west; if from that quarter it veers to the south, its continuance will not be long, but returning, recommences its unwelcome showers. When the wind shifts from W. to N. in this event it rains gently for two or three days; thereafter the atmosphere clearing up, weather becomes dry and chilly, and continues for as long as the north wind prevails". (Rev. William MacKenzie, Parish of Assynt, County of Ross).

⁵⁹ Sir Hugh Munro of Lindertis, near Kirriemuir in Angus, published his tables of mountains over 3,000 feet in the *Scottish Mountaineering Club Journal*, September 1891, listing 283 summits. The first person to climb all Munro's summits was the Reverend A. E. Robertson who completed the task in 1901.

⁶⁰ Pearsall, 1977, 31.

⁶¹ In midsummer periods, torrential rain over relatively short periods can lead to damaging floods. The "Muckle Spate" of August, 1829, that ravaged Speyside and Deeside, and left its indelible mark on the landscape, will be referred to in Chapter 4.

⁶² Typical is the humorous poem in vernacular doggerel, *The Flood*, by the Scots journalist, W.D. Cocker (1882-1948), describing the onset of extreme climatic conditions that Noah endured in the Hebrew book of Genesis:

Stanza 7:

Then down cam' a lashin' o' rain,
Like the watest, wat day in Lochaber,
The hail stanes like plunkers cam' stot,
An' the fields turned to glaur, an' syne glabber.

Then down came a downpour of rain,
Like the wettest, wet day in Lochaber,
The ice-pellets like marbles bounced up,
And the fields turned to mud and then mire.

(W.D. Cocker, 1932).

⁶³ Pearsall, 1977, 36.

of frost and other complex climatic conditions. Without exception all Highland hills exhibit in profusion the varied stages of soil formation as rocks break down in a long process yielding minute mineral particles which, with a leavening of humus or plant remains, are the constituents of soil.⁶⁴ Once stabilized, in conformation with the ecological process, soil becomes available for competition by vegetation.⁶⁵

The vegetation of the uplands, proposes Pearsall, consists of two main types. At the highest levels and on the more mountainous types of surface are montane types of vegetation, for example, lichens, wooly hair-moss (*Racomitrium lanuginosum*) and sage, which are usually more prominent at altitudes of 2000ft / 609m and upwards. Below this level there are various types of sub-montane vegetation, notably heather and bog myrtle. On steeper slopes and better drainage there are grasslands and woodlands. Wherever the slopes are gentle and comparable with those of the lowlands, humble vegetation of the moorland and bog type occupies the leached and waterlogged surfaces.⁶⁶ The commonest of montane vegetation, notes Pearson, is some form of poor and stunted grassland. The significant point that Pearsall makes is that grasslands are important biologically because they are the source from which most upland animal life ultimately derives its food.

The most characteristic form of upland grassland in Britain is that dominated by sheep's fescue (*Festuca ovina*) and the bents (*Agrostis tenuis*), and hence termed *Festuca-Agrostis* grassland. This form of grassland, claims Pearsall, is reputed to support more stock per unit area than any other common form of mountain pasture. Grazing, Pearsall postulates, is always selective in that some species are eaten whilst others are not. Nevertheless, a limited amount of grazing is always important in grassland improvement.⁶⁷ Black cattle, sheep, goats, red deer and roe deer are but some of the breeds of semi-domestic animal life, important in the developing Highland economy, as it progressed in the early-eighteenth century, from the traditional "run-rig"⁶⁸ cultivation and common grazing subsistence structure, to "improved" economic estate management. Mountain top detritus notes Pearsall, supports vegetation in which small heath-like shrubs of low nutrient requirements are prominent.⁶⁹ In areas where the depth of soil exceeds one foot, it is likely to support bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*), which competes successfully with grass to diminish the

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 55: As a prime example, the Great Stone Chute on Sgurr Alasdair in the Cuillin Hills of Skye is illustrative of the first stage in a levelling-down process that is replicated in mountainous regions worldwide.

⁶⁵ This is particularly so at the settlement of Tullich in upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. The medieval church building sited there formed the focal point for the predominantly farming community which established itself on the fertile alluvial soils deposited by the River Tullich. The alluvium, consisting of sand and silt, has been carried in suspension by the river and deposited on the valley floor of the adjoining River Dee. The slackening flow of water has allowed the alluvium to settle out of suspension at Tullich where the river gradient or slope lessens.

⁶⁶ Pearsall, 1977, 79.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 80.

⁶⁸ Robinson, 1985, 223: (Run-rig) A system of joint landholding by which each tenant had several detached rigs allocated by rotation by lot each year, so that each would have a share in turn of the most fertile land.

⁶⁹ Pearsall, 1977, 90: The actual plants vary with humidity and drainage, but normally include five species in particular - namely, crowberry (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*), bilberry (*V. myrillus*), crowberry (*Empetrum nigrum*), bearberry (*Arctostaphylos uvaursi*), and the wavy hair grass. In the drier Eastern Highlands in particular, cowberry is often the most noticeable plant, and the mountain azalea (*Loiseleuria procumbens*) may also be abundant. In the Western Highlands, crowberry is usually the most prominent.

value of grazing. Cattle eat young bracken and in so doing trample down more than they eat. This form of grazing control in the Highlands, suggests Pearsall, was largely lost in the early-nineteenth century in the move from black cattle to sheep.⁷⁰ Overall, the distribution and character of Highland vegetation conforms to fairly general patterns conducive to post-Enlightenment, "improved" land use.

Documentary evidence, as noted in Chapter 1, supported by archaeological survey, suggest that, from the retreat of the last great ice age until the late-eighteenth century, much of the Highlands area was covered with woodland, both through natural regeneration and latterly by estate planting. Today, the principal tree cover of the Highland landscape is composed of oak, pine, larch, birch and alder. Remnants of the ancient Caledonian pine forests can still be seen around Loch Tulla, on the Black Moor of Rannoch, at Rothiemurchus Forest, and on the Mar and Invercauld estates on upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. On his tour of Scotland in 1769, Pennant noted especially the quality of the natural forests around Braemar.⁷¹ Similar reportage of the nearby forests in the parish of Aboyne and Glentanar, lower down the River Dee, is found in the *OSA*.⁷² The ruthless exploitation of these and similar woodlands in the eighteenth century by the Lowland lessees of forfeited estates is treated below.⁷³ If indirectly, topography, climate and vegetation have all played roles in the political, economic, social and, consequently, the religious history of the Highlands.

2.5 Settlement within the Highlands

There can be little doubt that the landscape of the Highland area of Scotland has ever presented a challenge to humankind. Archaeological evidence suggests that as the last ice sheets receded from the straths and upper glens some 10,000 years ago, groups of hunter-gatherers moved northwards by land and sea in the wake of animal, fish and fowl to establish, at first, mainly coastal settlements where a

⁷⁰ *Ibid* 103.

⁷¹ Pennant, 1979, 109-10: "The rocks of Brae-mar, on the east, are exceedingly romantic, finely wooded with pine. The cliffs are very lofty, and their front most rugged and broken, with vast pines growing out of their fissures. On the north side of the river (Dee) lies Dalmore (site of present Mar Lodge east of Inverey), distinguished by the finest natural pines in Europe, both in respect to the size of the trees and the quality of the timber. On the opposite side of the river is the estate of Inverey, noted also for its pines. When the river is swelled with rains, great floats of timber from both these estates are sent down into the Low Countries".

⁷² *OSA*, XIV, 368: "Besides a considerable quantity of different kinds of wood planted in the parish of Aboyne, there is a very large forest of natural wood in Glentanar, the greatest length of which is ten, and the breadth six English miles. The forest produces Scotch fir (a species of pine) of a very good quality, which grows on the sides of the hills; but from the great elevation, no wood grows near the top of the highest mountains. There is great demand for this wood, which brings Lord Aboyne from £400 to £500 yearly". ("Anon. Friend," Parish of Aboyne and Glentanar, County of Aberdeen).

⁷³ Timber has long been a prime asset in the wealth of a landed estate. Sir Charles Murray's (1910) perceptive Doric poem, "The Packman", (*Hamewith and other poems*, Constable & Co., London, 1927) illustrating how adherence to the Calvinist Protestant work ethic prospered an itinerant door-to-door pedlar of household goods into the status of a wealthy merchant during his lifetime. In the following stanza, the former packman has shrewdly "hawked" his socially educated daughter into the "gentrified" ranks of Deeside landed society:

The dother – he had only one – gae hinc awa' to France
To learn to sing an' thoom the harp, to parley-vous an' dance;
It cost a protty penny but 'twas siller wisely wared,
For the lass made oot to marry on a strappin' Deeside laird;
She wasna just a beauty, but he didna swither lang,
For he had to get her tocher or his timmer had to gang;
Sae noo she sits "My Lady", and nae langer than the streen
I saw her wi' her carriage comin' postin' ower Culblean.

hinc awa' - far away
thoom - thumb; parley- speak French
siller - money; wared - invested
strapping - well-built and handsome
swither - dither or hesitate
tocher - dowry; timmer - timber
streen - yesterday evening
postin' - travelling at speed

subsistence agriculture was possible. It is evident that these early nomadic peoples favoured the raised beaches and the estuaries of rivers where the products of both land and sea were slowly re-establishing in abundance. Archaeological finds indicate that small social groups clearly probed inland up the straths and glens, keeping close to river and stream.⁷⁴ In season, fresh water supported breeding salmon moving upstream to spawning beds, but water was also of utility in trapping animal life. Deer, it is presumed, could be driven at evening into the pools where herds assembled to drink and were thereby reduced to unequal terms with hunters armed with stone-headed axes in fast dugout canoes. Round-houses or circular huts erected within defensive enclosures to which souterraines, underground long curving galleries built of dry-stone walls which in their upper parts are corbelled over to support a roof of massive lintels, were common throughout much of Europe.⁷⁵ Brochs,⁷⁶ Duns and Crannogs,⁷⁷ long considered to be defensive structures, the last-named formed by a timber roundhouse either raised upon stilts in a loch (Plate 2.2),⁷⁸ or constructed upon an artificial island in a loch (Plate 5.1), did service for probably a thousand years until proscribed by law in the sixteenth century.⁷⁹ Gailey finds a dichotomy in the spatial relationships both within society and within settlement; an aristocracy living in Duns and Crannogs and similar people lived in proto-clachans.⁸⁰ Most of these early settlement phenomena will be referred to more fully in Chapter 4 below.

Not surprisingly, many of these prehistoric nucleated settlement sites were in use by succeeding peoples throughout many centuries. The main requirements for establishing a community were the availability of pockets of attractive land fit for lazy-bed cultivation, common grazing for animal husbandry and a ready supply of running water. No firm evidence exists at the moment, observes Gailey, as to the form or the detailed evolution of Highland settlement before c.1700. The evidence suggests Gailey, is that many medieval rural dwellings would have been built with insubstantial materials and local community help. Houses were liable to be restructured at short intervals. With no fixed tenure on the land, there was little incentive until the eighteenth century at the earliest, for the majority of Highland small-tenantry to erect substantial structures.⁸¹ It has not therefore been established exactly when *clachan* and *ferm toun*, integral to a run-rig joint farm, came into being. Such nucleated sites were common throughout the Highlands, the term *clachan* being favoured in the West Highlands and *ferm-toun* in the East. On Harris in the Outer Isles

⁷⁴ In February 2004, a flint arrowhead was found in Glen Dee, west of Braemar, over 70 miles inland from the coast at Aberdeen.

⁷⁵ Simpson, 1965, 69.

⁷⁶ Armit, 1997, 36: "Long regarded as defensive retreats from petty warfare and piracy thought to have plagued regions remote from the mainstream of the Celtic world, brochs and duns have become widely recognised as houses, albeit stoutly built and defensible ones, rather than simply as occasional refuges. In their final form, broch towers represent masterpieces of round-house architecture. Mousa in Shetland is the archetypal broch tower".

⁷⁷ Gailey, 1962, 173.

⁷⁸ Edinburgh University has recreated a crannog structure at Clach-na-caber on the south-east corner of Loch Tay in Perth-shire. Mention will be made in Chapter 4 of the crannog remains on Loch Kinord, Upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire.

⁷⁹ Armit, 1997, 34, argues that crannogs are recorded as late as the eighteenth century, some even serving as refuges in the aftermath of the '45 Rising.

⁸⁰ Gailey, 1962, 173. (q.v. *OSA*, XX, 49, quoted below))

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 173.

at the end of the eighteenth century, a *clachan* might conform to the following contemporary description supplied by the Rev. John Macleod in the *OSA* :

A small tenant farm is a little commonwealth of villagers, whose houses or huts are huddled close together with too little regard to form, order, or cleanliness, and whole lands are yearly divided by lot for tillage, while their cattle graze on the pastures in common.⁸²

Plate 2. 2



Crannog reconstruction, Clach-na-caber, Killin, Loch Tay, Perth-shire. Built of timber and thatch, and susceptible to fire, crannogs may not have been defensive structures in a military sense, but probably formed a safe retreat from marauding animals. (photo— JRS)

Local variations throughout the Highlands of this settlement type are contained within a fairly general pattern. Following his excavations in Strathnaver, Fairhurst suggests that the walls of early-nineteenth century agricultural settlements in that area were built largely of turf above a dry-stone base, about two feet high, to form rudimentary but secure shelters for both human and beast. The thatched roof was supported on curved couples rising from the ground on the inside of the two long walls to meet at the central ridge. In all cases the floor was of earth and the surface was surprisingly uneven.⁸³ Gailey had still to recognize a settlement site anywhere that had houses of clay, sod or wattles.⁸⁴ In a study of "improved black-houses" erected in linear form, hip ends to the "street", on Hirta, St. Kilda, in 1830, Emery, found

⁸² *OSA*, XX, 49.

⁸³ Fairhurst, 1964, 5.

⁸⁴ Gaily, 1962, 172.

that traditional ways noted above by Fairhurst, had prevailed.⁸⁵ Most of these features are present at 42 Arnol on the West Coast of Lewis, a traditional habitation still in occupation as a family dwelling until the 1960s.⁸⁶ Common as settlement habitations throughout the Highlands for many centuries, these were the dwellings that the Lowland traveller, Thomas Pennant recorded derogatively in 1769.⁸⁷ Only rarely are such dwellings found in isolation. Fairhurst, working from Sutherland estate plans for the Strath of Kildonan on the eve of the 1810 evictions, found at every quarter or half mile what appeared to be a small cluster of dwellings with associated barns, outhouses and kilns suggestive of a group farm. Buildings were placed at the foot of a slope up to the hills, on either side above flood level, or sometimes the settlement extended into a side valley.⁸⁸ In most cases, dwellings were constructed by occupants using local materials and aided by community assistance. Insecurity of tenure, suggests Macdonald, discouraged the building of substantial houses.⁸⁹

The self-dependent nature and social life of such nuclear communities can be deduced from the 1696 *Poll Book for the Shire of Aberdeen* (Appendix "B").⁹⁰ This document records the location of settlements within each Aberdeen-shire parish of the county and supplies the name, relationship and occupation of each person above 16 years of age. There are landowners, tacksmen,⁹¹ small-tenants,⁹² sub-tenants,⁹³ crofters,⁹⁴ cottars⁹⁵ who may be either grassmen or grasswomen labourers in the tenant's fields, but there are also craftsmen in a variety of essential skills and trades necessary to the support and cohesion of the community.⁹⁶ The conservatism that rooted communities to the land over many generations finds record in the *OSA*:

⁸⁵ Emery, 1996, 22: External walls were of heavy rubble facing with an earth and stone core. The roof, set at a low pitch, had a cover of barley-straw thatch held down with ropes tied to large stones. Internally the building was a single main cell divided into living quarters and byre separated by a low stone partition or "talan". The clay floor area maintained an open-hearth tradition of a central stone flag upon which turf or peat was burned. Set into the base below the clay floor was a rudimentary but efficient drainage system with stone-boxed sides topped with stone flags, the effluent being carried by stream water diverted from the upper hill-slope.

⁸⁶ HMSO, 1978, 14: Following an old tradition there is no chimney or smoke-hole in the roof at 42 Arnol. Smoke was allowed to impregnate the thatch with as much soot as possible for use as fertiliser in the fields.

⁸⁷ Pennant, 1979, 117: "The houses of the common people in these parts are shocking to humanity, formed of loose stones and covered with clods, which they call divots, or with heat, broom or branches of fir; they look, at a glance like so many black mole hills".

⁸⁸ Fairhurst, 1964, 11.

⁸⁹ Macdonald, 1978, 57.

⁹⁰ Aberdeen University Archives, MS.548: Re-produced and published by the Spalding Club of Aberdeen in 1846. Currently re-published in parish sections by the Aberdeen & North-East Scotland Family History Society. This seminal document refers to a tax raised in Defence of the Realm imposed by the joint monarchs, William and Mary, on all male persons over sixteen years of age.

⁹¹ Tacksmen, as 'gentlemen farmers' or large tenants, held their lands direct from the proprietor, usually for a period of nineteen years. In the *OSA*, XX, 74, tacksmen "are for the most part men of liberal education and polite breeding." The tacksmen had military origins in that they acted as adjutants for the clan chief in times of warfare. Most emigrated in the wake of economic "improvement" that changed the social organization of the Highlands.

⁹² Small-tenants, sometimes known as tenants-at-will, were distinct from tacksmen, but also held their lands direct from the proprietor on a verbal lease of one year, terminable at Whitsunday.

⁹³ Sub-tenants held their lands from the tacksman. It was from this category of people that the crofters were drawn.

⁹⁴ Crofters were drawn from the class of sub-tenants. Their landholding was calculated to make a second occupation, usually in the proprietor's interests, a necessity.

⁹⁵ Cottars were landless farm servants employed on the larger tenant farms.

⁹⁶ *OSA*, XVIII, 470): "A great many people in the parish call themselves tradesman, and, at times, exercise their several crafts, as

They were extremely diligent in the cultivation of their small run-rig plots of land but, being conservative by nature, and unwilling to appear different from their neighbours, they persevered with the primitive and inefficient methods of husbandry which had remained unchanged for centuries.⁹⁷

Nevertheless, it can be argued that the method of working land, particularly in the Hebrides, was conditioned by the availability of arable soil, the most efficient means of cultivating it, and upon the prevalent ecology of the region.⁹⁸

2.6 Computing of Highland Population

In his study of Scottish population statistics, Kyd suggests that without an organized public census, it is almost impossible to gauge the number of inhabitants, their age structure, occupation, and domicile, within a given country, on a specific date.⁹⁹ Scotland, nonetheless, made demographic history in 1755 when the Rev. Alexander Webster D.D. (1707-84), eminent statistician and Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1753, acting with full Government sanction, produced a *Census of the Population of Scotland*, with some claim to accuracy. Webster's method, states Kyd, was to induce the SSPCK¹⁰⁰ in the Highlands to require parish ministers in those Presbyteries where the Society maintained Charity Schools to enumerate their parishioners or to risk the loss of the school by default.¹⁰¹ Webster's census records the spatial area of each parish throughout Scotland, the number of ministers, papists, Protestants and the number of available fighting men. According to Webster, the total population of Scotland in 1755 was 1,265,380; by the official Government census of 1801, the population had grown to 1,608,000 and between 1801 and 1951, it had grown more than threefold to 5,095,969.¹⁰²

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the population of the Highlands began to increase at a rate that was not matched in the Lowlands, a demographic assessment that did not escape the Skye parish of Snizort, reporter to the OSA:

the population seems rather on the increase. This I think, must be attributed chiefly to the introduction of inoculation, which of late years, is practised with great success.

weavers, tailors, shoemakers, smiths, carpenters, coopers, etc. But there is hardly any one in all professions, that does not hold more or less land; so that the whole may be said to be farmers, and their chief property consists in the number of cattle of different sorts they can keep". (Rev. Aeneas McLeod, Parish of Rogart, County of Sutherland).

⁹⁷ OSA, IV, 515.

⁹⁸ *The Herald*, August, 28, 2004: "In North Uist, Benbecula and South Uist, crofters are being urged to set aside some of their land for the traditional practice of making corn stooks or stooking to help prevent further decline in corn buntings. This "fat bird of the barley" is now extinct in Ayr-shire, central Scotland, Orkney and Argyll and Bute (due to harvesting by modern farm machinery). The Uists, due to the shallow nature of the soil, continue to harvest by hand, using traditional tools and methods".

⁹⁹ Kyd, 1975, ix: In the British Isles the first official government census was taken in 1801, and there was a census taken every ten years till 1931. Due to the Second World War, no census was taken in 1941, but census taking was resumed in 1951, and has continued the established ten yearly census sequence into the new millennium. Unofficial census taking throughout Europe was engaged in by a number of private individuals prior to the 1801 official British census. England and Wales produced many retrospective census reports by individuals, notably John Rickman in 1841, working from parish records of baptisms and burials.

¹⁰⁰ The *Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge* (SSPCK) was established in 1709 with the political aim of "civilizing" the Highland population by eradicating its Gaelic language and culture through a programme of Anglicizing education based upon Protestant principles.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, xv.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, xvii.

When that malignant disease, in times past, visited this country, which it did then not very frequently, its depredations were visibly felt, in sweeping away almost whole families, leaving not above one, two, or sometimes three together in a house; but since inoculation, to which the lower class of people have for some time been reconciled, became general, it seldom proves mortal, and has really been so in very few instances.¹⁰³

Whilst Edward Jenner's discovery of the principle of vaccination in 1798 perhaps greatly reduced mortality from smallpox, a number of earlier causes have been advanced by Macdonald. First, the ending, by the middle of the eighteenth century, of internecine clan feuding so destructive of human life; second, gradual control of "Fifth Night Sickness" among newly-born infants; third; the introduction of the potato around 1753, as a diet staple easily grown by lazy-bed cultivation;¹⁰⁴ fourth, money earned from employment in the kelp industry leading to earlier marriage; fifth, the tendency of husbands to be younger than their wives; and lastly, that infertility among Highland women was largely unknown.¹⁰⁵ The Old Parish Records (OPR) and the Roman Catholic baptismal records tend to suggest that irrespective of the circumstances of birth, most, if not all, infants were formally baptized shortly after birth.

2. 7 Language in the Highlands

The proliferation of languages in the world, supposes Campbell, is to be explained as a religious phenomenon:

The builders of the tower of Babel,¹⁰⁶ who shared a common language with the rest of mankind, attempted to reach God by human industry and achievement. In the ancient world, this represented a climactic moment of rebellion and sin, to which God responded by a judgement of tongues; all spoke different languages, and the result was confusion. Yet the very act of judgement was interwoven with grace, for the diversification of languages was the very thing that spared the people. There was a lot of grace at Babel, whose place in the Old Testament is mirrored by that of the Pentecost¹⁰⁷ in the New. With the coming of the Spirit, the ability to speak different languages helped to avoid confusion and to facilitate the spread of the Gospel. (Iain D. Campbell, Language: judgement and grace, *Stornoway Gazette*, March 10, 2002).

This explanation, rooted in a sincere and deeply held evangelical belief, may satisfy the tenets held by a religious fundamentalist,¹⁰⁸ but would find little favour within the rigorous disciplines exercised by both

¹⁰³ OSA., XVIII, 215.

¹⁰⁴ In 1846, the Famine Relief Committee found that potatoes represented up to 88 per cent of the diet in the Highlands, and 25 per cent in the Lowlands.

¹⁰⁵ Macdonald, 1978, 70.

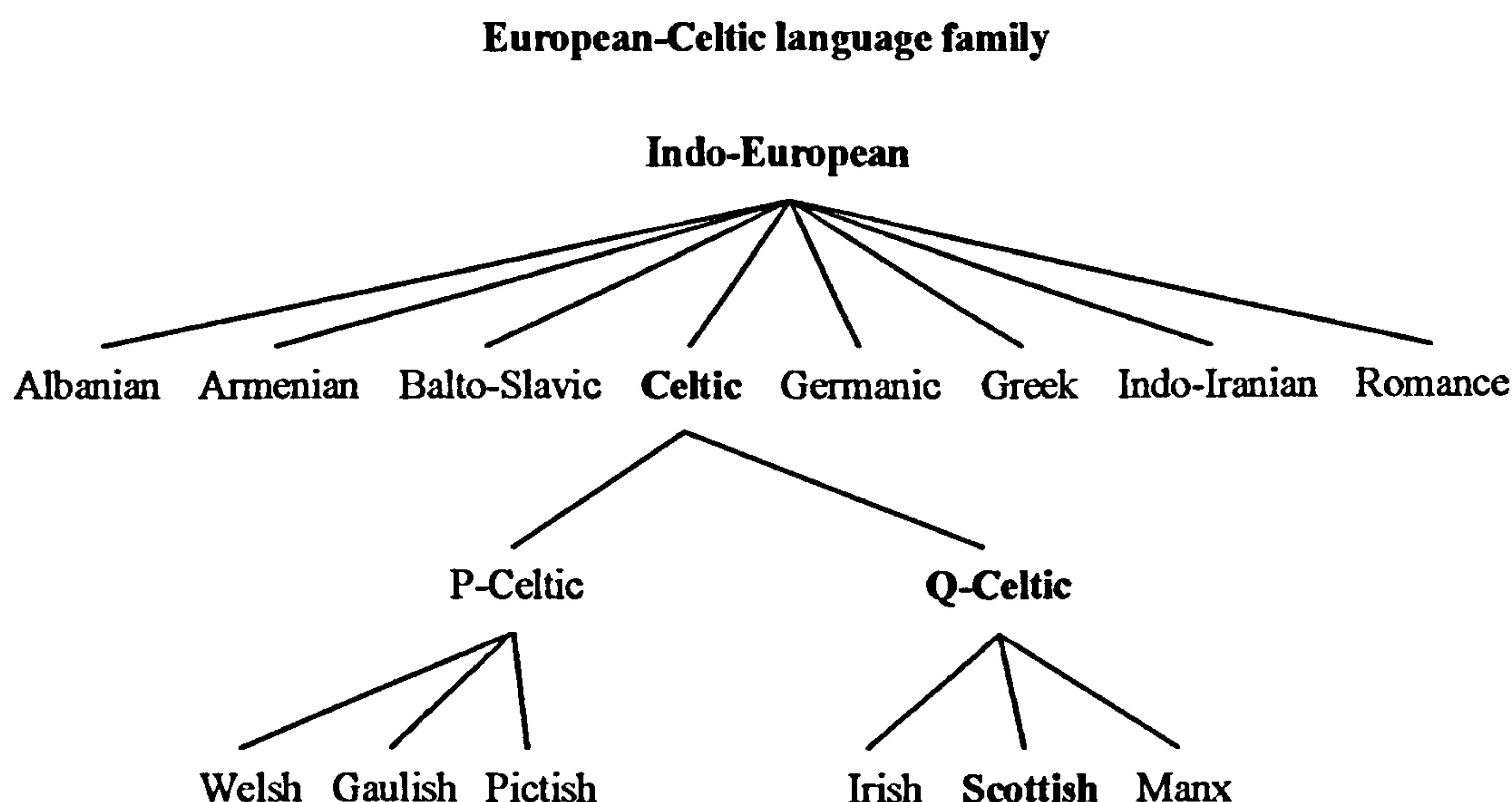
¹⁰⁶ Genesis 11.4: "And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and here confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth; and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth; and From thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth".

¹⁰⁷ Exodus, 34.22: "And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks (Pentecost), of the first fruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the year's end. (Pentecost, marks the completion of the barley harvest, which began when the sickle was first put in the grain fifty days beforehand). Acts 2.1: And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in the same place".

¹⁰⁸ The term "fundamentalism" had its origin in a series of pamphlets published between 1910 and 1915. Entitled *The Fundamentals: a Testimony to the Truth*, these booklets were authorised by leading evangelical churchmen and circulated

the anthropologist and the etymologist.¹⁰⁹ According to Clancy, the Gaelic language brought from Ulster to Dal Riata in the fifth century CE. was a branch of the European-Celtic language family that, as Figure 2.3 shows, was a branch of the Indo-European language family¹¹⁰

Fig 2. 3



Compiled from *Early Irish Myths and Sagas*, Jeffrey Ganz, Penguin Books Ltd., 1981, 17.

In 839CE, Norsemen defeated the Picts and in that same year Kenneth MacAlpin became King of Scots. Four years later, in c.843CE, MacAlpin became king of both Scots and Picts. Gaelic became the universal language¹¹¹ for the new kingdom, *Alba* (white land)¹¹² at that period.¹¹³ Following the Viking invasions of the ninth century CE, a Norse vocabulary had been absorbed into Celtic to form a hybrid Gaelic.¹¹⁴ This language phenomenon, recognised in the study of onomastics,¹¹⁵ receives frequent comment in the *OSA*:

free of charge among clergymen and seminarians. By and large, fundamentalism was a response to the loss of influence traditional revivalism experienced in America during the early twentieth century. The Bible is the sacred text of Christian Fundamentalists. It is their insistence that the Bible is to be understood as literally true. Further, Fundamentalists see themselves as guardians of the truth, usually to the exclusion of others' interpretation of the Bible. Fundamentalists in other faith traditions similarly proclaim guardianship of truth.

¹⁰⁹ Etymology - the study of the history and development of words (*English Dictionary*, Geddes & Grosset).

¹¹⁰ Gantz, 1981, 17: The most obvious (though not necessarily most important or fundamental) difference between the group is that Indo-European *qu* became *p* in the British language (the word for 'for' was *petwar*) and *c* in the Irish group. ('four' was *cethair*).

¹¹¹ Fig. 2.3 indicates that the Picts spoke the P or Welsh form of Gaelic, whilst the Scots spoke Q or Irish. The Celtic language had clearly been imported from Europe by different Celtic peoples and by different routes.

¹¹² *Alba*: white land - may well refer to the annual winter covering of snow on mainland Britain.

¹¹³ Withers, 1984, 252: "Gaelic has never been predominant throughout Scotland, although it has enjoyed relative primacy over other languages in different parts of the country".

¹¹⁴ The West Highland seaboard is rich in Norse names. The Vikings did not penetrate far inland on the mainland and evidence of Norse-based named to landscape features becomes progressively less evident in the Central Highlands. On the West Highland seaboard, Knoydart (*Cnoideart* - Knut or Canute's Fjord) is a prime example of a Norse place-name. *Ladhair Bheinn* (paw or foot), the highest mountain in Knoydart is a name drawn from the mountain's shape and reveals a Norse intrusion into Gaelic language in the reversal of the word order, i.e. not *Bheinn Ladhair* as one would expect of a mountain to the East.

¹¹⁵ Smith, 2004, 3: Onomastics - the study of place-names. In his book, *The Road to Maggieknockater* (Edinburgh, 2004), Smith demonstrates how place names can unlock a wealth of historical information as well as reveal details about countryside,

The name of the parish (Snizort on Skye) as well of the names of most places in it are Danish; some indeed are of Celtic origin; and in some instances, the places take their names from their local situation.¹¹⁶ ... All the farms around this fort (Kildalton, Argyll) have Danish names, such as Kennibus, Assibus, Kelibus, Lirebus and Cragabus.¹¹⁷

The establishment of feudalism by David I in the early-twelfth century attracted immigrants from Northern England and Continental Europe to establish a military presence, and to stimulate commerce within the new Royal Burghs.¹¹⁸ By the late-thirteenth century, claims Duncan, "it seems generally agreed that from the borders of Galloway to the Mounth and east of the Highland line the landowning class, from laird to earl, spoke Scots, a version of northern English".¹¹⁹ By the fifteenth century the Scots language dominated most of Lowland Scotland whilst the Gaelic language gradually retreated behind the Highland line. The point to be stressed is that the Gaelic language for centuries carried the oral traditions of the Gaelic people and its culture. In this connection, a bardic tradition in the clan system long preceded the writing of annals. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the retention of Gaelic language tied to a Celtic culture within the Highlands was regarded to be a major drawback politically, socially and economically to unity within the nation state. From the early-seventeenth century Statutes of Iona, noted in Chapter 1, an attempt to expunge the Gaelic language was an attempt to subjugate the Gaelic culture carrying its people's entire code of existence, a political expedient that will be discussed in Chapter 3.

The 1881 decennial census was the first to enumerate those speaking Gaelic in a parish. In 1891, this category was extended to include persons speaking both Gaelic and English. For most purposes, the island of Lewis can be viewed as a remote part of the nation state in which the indigenous people have retained the Gaelic language.¹²⁰ Table 2.4 shows that during the second half of the nineteenth century, despite earlier population migration to Stornoway and massive emigration overseas, use of the Gaelic language in all Lewis parishes remains fairly constant:

Table 2.4 **Gaelic Speakers - Isle of Lewis, Ross and Cromarty**

Year	Barvas	Lochs	Stornoway	Uig
1801	2,233	1,875	2,974	2,086
1851	4,189	4,256	8,057	3,209
1861	4,609	4,901	8,668	2,878
1871	3,950	5,990	9,510	3,143
1881	5,325	6,284	10,389	3,489
1891	5,699	6,432	11,799	3,660

(Decennial census returns)

the weather and local myths and legends.

116 OSA, XVIII, 220.

117 *Ibid.*, XX, 402

118 Aberdeen and Perth achieved Royal Burgh charters in 1124CE.

119 Duncan, 1975, 450.

¹²⁰ During the past half century the Gaelic language has found currency among Asian immigrants to Lewis, the younger family members winning prizes at the local mods.

Table 2. 5 **Population – Isle of Lewis, Ross and Cromarty**

1831	3,011	3,067	5,491	3,041
1841	3,850	3,653	6,218	3,316
1851	4,189	4,256	8,057	3,209
1861	4,609	4,901	8,647	3,878
1871	4,950	5,880	9,510	3,143
1881	5,325	6,248	10,389	3,489
1891	5,699	4,717	11,799	2,416

(Decennial census returns)

The decennial statistical evidence in Table 2.5 suggests that until the second half of the twentieth century at least, the people of Lewis were still holding fast to their Celtic inheritance.

These figures above are in marked contrast to the steady decline of Gaelic speakers evident on the West Highland mainland. Arisaig and Moidart, as will be explained in Chapter 3, were until the end of the nineteenth century, areas of the landscape synonymous with Roman Catholicism, Episcopalianism and Jacobitism, all three phenomena retaining links to Celtic culture:

Table 2. 6 **Gaelic Speakers – Arisaig and Moidart, Inverness-shire**

Percentage of Population	
1891 - 91.2	1931 - 73.3
1901 - 84.3	1951 - 54.4
1911 - 81.5	1961 - 45.9
1921 - 76.0	1971 - 36.3

(Decennial census returns)

By the end of the twentieth century, the numerical paucity of a Gaelic-speaking clergy in former heartlands of Gaelic-speaking congregations has emerged as a perennial problem within the Highland Church.¹²¹ The compromise of a Gaelic-speaking itinerant visiting individual congregations within the presbytery (Plate 2.3) appears to have become settled practice.¹²²

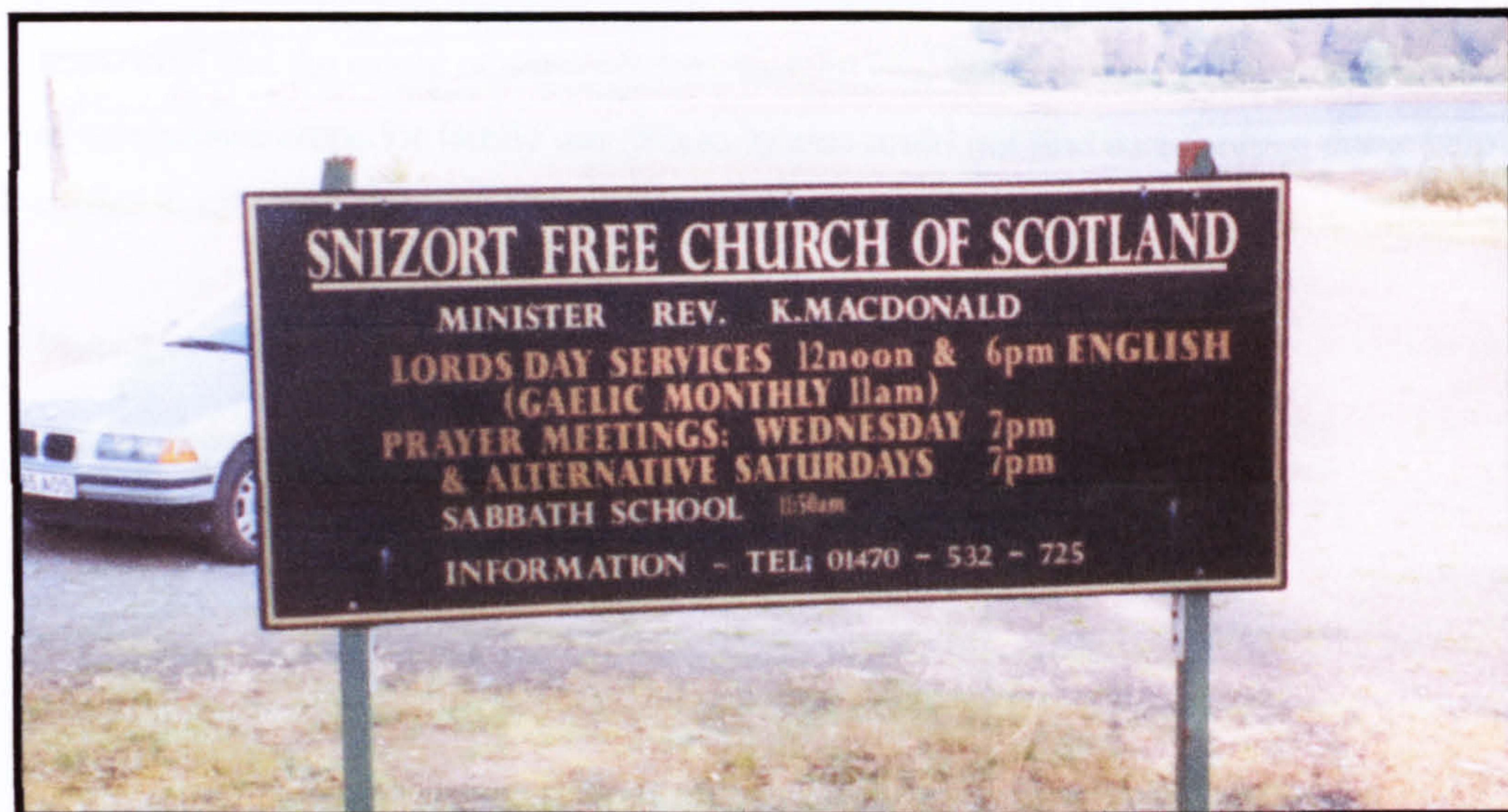
A crucial point in the progressive recession of the Gaelic language has been stressed by Withers, who found that in "almost every place and for almost every period on the varying use of Gaelic and English supports this claim that Gaelic was particularly preferred and longer spoken as the language of religion than in other aspects of daily life, even by Highlanders with an ability to speak English".¹²³

¹²¹ There is no such institution as a Highland Church. The term refers to a distinctive pattern of religiosity within the Established Church of Scotland.

¹²² In field work in the West Highlands during 2002, it was found that many parish churches were served on a monthly rota by an itinerant Gaelic-speaking minister from within the presbytery. The Gaelic service was considered more of a cultural activity (like wearing a kilt) rather than a necessity since most, if not all, Highland people had been educated from infancy in the English language. By contrast, in Wales, school-children can be educated entirely in the Celtic language although it is recognized that their employment opportunities in later life are severely curtailed. Public servants in Wales, by law, must become bi-lingual within a stated period, and are registered at evening classes to obtain the necessary qualifications (Field week, Swansca, 1998).

¹²³ Withers, 1984, 54 and 96.

Plate 2. 3



Snizort, Skye, Free Church notice board proclaiming monthly Gaelic services. (photo - JRS)

2. 8 Communications, transport and travel

Throughout recorded history and long before, the sea had been the safest and most convenient way to travel over great distance. We learn from Adomnan that in the sixth century CE, the Iona community "built its own boats, and manned and supplied them. The boats included both wooden vessels and skin-covered currachs" in the Irish fashion.¹²⁴ Members of the community, states Sharp, were competent sailors and often at sea, maintaining perhaps, a ferry service between the Antrim coast, or on mission to island communities in the Minch.¹²⁵ These voyages, claims Adonman, were not without occasional tragedies for the seafaring community.¹²⁶ In the mid-thirteenth century, the western Highlands and Islands, argues Dawson, were the separate "sea kingdom" of the Lords of the Isles, where the sea was the main highway. The *birlinn* or clinker built galley with square sail and between 12 and 40 oars, close relative to the Viking long-ship was, for 300 years the means of transport (Plate 2.4). Due to strong currents, navigating the Hebridean seas, even today, requires considerable skill. When obliged to travel inland, ordinary people in the Highlands journeyed on foot or upon horseback. Pedestrian travel, often over considerable distances on rough tracks in inclement weather, whilst an accepted fact of rural life, could be, as Hogg found when traversing Glen Sheil on foot in the early-nineteenth century, exhausting.¹²⁷ This last, of course, was perhaps a mild inconvenience to an essentially tourist excursion, in comparison with the hazardous conditions experienced by the first missionaries seeking the fulfilment of their deep faith by bringing the gospel word to a pagan people. Horses were perhaps the prerogative of the more

¹²⁴ Sharp 1995, 73.

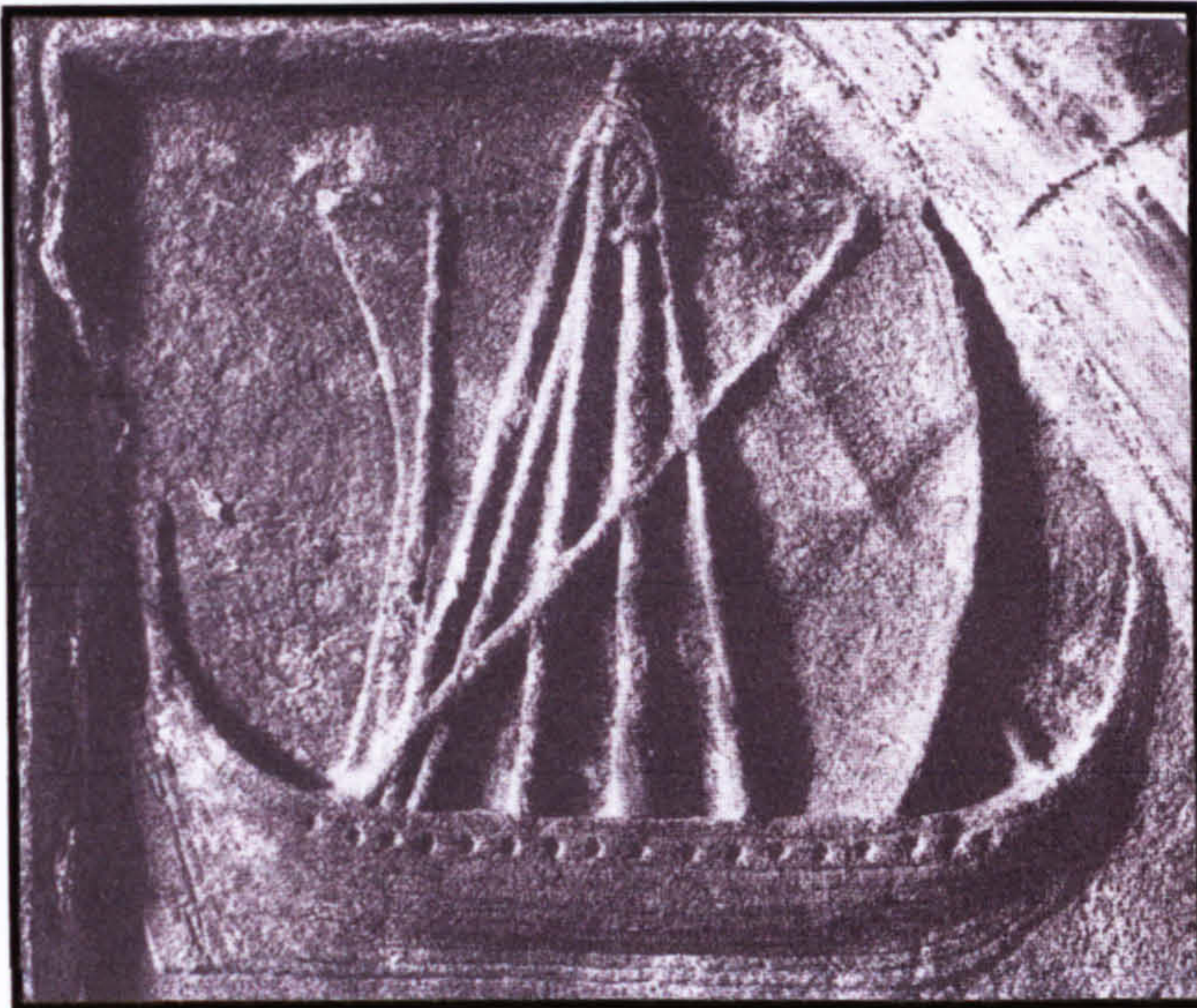
¹²⁵ *Ibid*, 73.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, 73.

¹²⁷ Hogg, 1983, 53: "The road down Glen Shiel is entirely out of repair and remarkably rough and stony, and I was quite exhausted before I reached any other house, which was not until about the setting of the sun. I at length came to a place where there had

prosperous tenant who, Hogg observed, could work his land with the traditional four-horse, old Scots plough.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, suggests O'Dell, an economic balance had to be struck between the number of horse kept and the extent of winter fodder that the land could sustain without detriment to the production of subsistence crops for family use. Where horses could not find sure footing, dung, kelp and peat were carried in creels on the back of both men and women.¹²⁹

Plate 2. 4



Birlinn galley. Detail from Macleod wall-tomb, St. Clement's Church, Rodel, Harris. *The West Highland Galley*, R. Rixson, 1998, 112.

It is safe to say, claims Moir, that no new roads had been built in Scotland since the culmination of the period of Roman occupation. Even these never extended up into the Highland glens.¹³⁰ The word "road" itself, Moir argues, did not come into use until the seventeenth century, "gait" or the English "way" being then in common currency.¹³¹ In general, early roads that linked the townships and the burghs in the eighteenth century were still mere tracks suitable for marching men, intrepid travellers on foot, horse travellers, and pack ponies, for there were scarcely any carts in the 1760s.¹³² Throughout the Highlands most were routes for local convenience or ways across the mounth, or up and down straths, glens and valleys to main urban centres.¹³³ In more remote districts such convenient communications scarcely

been a great number of houses, which were now mostly in ruins, the estate being all converted into sheep walks".

¹²⁸ Hogg, 1983, 65.

¹²⁹ Odell, 1962, 126; In one Aberdeen-shire parish, Keithhall, in 1760, there was only one cart and peat was carried by women in creels.

¹³⁰ Moir, 1957, 101

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 101.

¹³² *Ibid*, 101: The first wheeled coach seen in Scotland, according to Moir, was that brought from France by Mary in 1561.

¹³³ *OSA*, XVII, 275: "Three rivers and several considerable rivulets, intersect the road betwixt Assynt and Dornoch; therefore, when the weather turns out rainy, and continues for but 24 hours, or thereby, the very rivulets, and especially the rivers, are so many tremendous torrents, not to be forded, and when rashly attempted, the consequence seldom fails to prove fatal; along these 30 miles, there is not one bridge, nor but one or two small boats, of the shape or figure of salmon cobbles, in which the stranger would think himself not safe, far less would he think of having his horse wasted in them; though both are often done by adventurous natives". (Rev. William Mac Kenzie, Parish of Assynt, County of Ross).

existed in 1793; the Rev. Colin Maciver of Glenelg, then reported that a lack of roads to and from market centres in the Eastern Highlands occasioned serious inconvenience to his parishioners.¹³⁴

In general, claims Silver, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, ordinary roads in the Highlands had the way but roughly marked. Large boulders were removed and the worst hollows filled in, but ruts of mud remained. There was no permanent surface since there was comparatively little movement of people or goods.¹³⁵ In the interests of road improvement, in 1719, a Parliamentary Act ordered every able-bodied man to repair roads for six days per annum, or pay 1/6d penalty that would be used to hire labour. A roads and bridges surveyor was appointed in 1721, but seemed to have achieved little.¹³⁶ Indeed, the evidence in the *OSA* might at first suggest that the impetus for road improvement by those responsible was weak.¹³⁷ In support of this criticism, the testament of the Rev. Morrison of Kintail in Ross-shire, is suggestive that that the Highland population, at least in his parish, was well content, for their own security, to let the unsatisfactory state of the roads remain.¹³⁸ This view, Glover claims, was recorded by Ramsay of Ochertyre in 1761, who "saw no use of them (roads) but to set burghers and redcoats into the Highlands, none of whom in his father's time would have durst venture beyond the Pass of Aberfoyle".¹³⁹

From his study of military road building in the Highlands, Curtis argues that the Hanoverian government came to realise that if it was to pacify the North of Britain after the 1715 and 1746 Jacobite Rebellions, and unify the country into one political, economic and social unit, it had to construct satisfactory roads and bridges.¹⁴⁰ In the interim, some of the money raised from the sale of confiscated estates was used by central government to improve existing roads, build new ones and erect bridges. Two successive periods of military road building took place in the eighteenth century. Major-General George Wade, H.M. Commander-in-Chief of Castles, Forts and Barracks in North Britain as he later became, commenced

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 75: "In the most favourable seasons, the crops raised are barely sufficient for the maintenance of their families during three-fourths of the year, and in summer, the supplies from other markets are always scanty and precarious, owing to the tedious navigation from the east of Scotland, and the impracticability of land-carriage over a hill district, more than 50 computed miles in length". (Rev. Colin Maciver, Parish of Glenelg, County of Inverness).

¹³⁵ Silver, 1987, 141.

¹³⁶ The first six-inch Ordnance Survey map of Highland Aberdeen-shire, Sheet 98, published in 1869, indicates that there were still in existence, "ferry" roads and "boat" roads, "Kirk" roads, "coffin" roads, and farm tracks, all seemingly rudimentary thorough-fares worn into the ground over many centuries by the feet of both human and animals.

¹³⁷ *OSA*, VIII, 326: "The roads through this parish are, in many parts, very bad, and the improvement of them proceeds but slowly. This may be partly the fault of the proprietors, who pay much less attention to the making of proper roads, than the importance of such improvement deserves. But the frequency of hills, great or small, and also of rocks and mosses, which occur on most lines of roads in this country, is the principal obstruction.... At present there is but one bridge in the whole parish, though there are many torrents intersecting the roads, which a few hours of heavy rain will render impassable, till the sky clears". (Rev. Archibald McArthur, Parish of Kilninian, County of Argyll).

¹³⁸ *OSA*, XVII, 521: "Till of late, the people of Kintail, as well as other Highlanders, had a strong aversion to roads. The more inaccessible, the more secure, was their maxim". (Rev. Roderick Morrison, Parish of Kintail, County of Ross).

¹³⁹ Glover, 1960, 232.

¹⁴⁰ Curtis, 1978, 476: The military roads and bridges planned for the Highland area, Curtis finds, were designed for the express purpose of moving troops, baggage and supplies between fortified military establishments and their satellite outposts. Accordingly, the first properly constructed planned road was that along the Great Glen between the area at Ardersier (Fort George) in the east and Fort William in the west. This was the start of the four major road and bridge building operations, carried out largely with money and military labour, that have transformed the Highlands after 1724; Wade "Old Military Roads", Caulfeild Military roads, Parliamentary Roads and, more recently, the modern Ministry of Transport roads.

supervision of the Great Glen road works in 1725. Thereafter, work was restricted to successive summers when up to 500 soldiers were involved. In all, Wade personally supervised the building of almost 250 miles of properly constructed road, gradually improving by trial and error, until termination of the work in 1733. Almost 250 miles of roadway and numerous bridges over river and culvert have been credited to his personal supervision. Wade's work was continued apace by Major William Caulfeild,¹⁴¹ whose construction of 800 miles "New Military Roads" and bridges (Plate 2.5) between 1744 and 1770 far exceeded that of his predecessor.

Plate 2. 5



Gairnshiel Bridge, (Caulfeild era), upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. The bridge's solid construction has withstood two-and-a-half centuries of heavy wheeled traffic. (photo-JRS).

Programmes of military road building proceeded in tandem with other "civilian" road-building measures devolving upon parishes and landlords acting in terms of parliamentary legislation. Perhaps as late as the 1750s small stones were introduced to make a better surface. In 1755 each parish had been made responsible for its own roads, but even in 1770 there remained an obvious lack of attention to roads. The Highway Act of 1756 stipulated all public highways must be a minimum of 20 feet wide and have drainage ditches on both sides. No longer were farmers to plough through a road. Milestones and simple signposts, states Sedgwick, came into use in the late 1760s; turnpike roads were not established until

¹⁴¹ Caulfeild is the proper surname spelling, not Caulfield as printed in many publications.

1800.¹⁴² Bridge building (Plate 2.5), argues O'Dell, was extremely expensive and normally funded by local levy, by voluntary contribution, and by the philanthropy of individuals.¹⁴³ O'Dell concludes that local or private enterprise built no great bridges in this period, and in consequence, bridges were few. Rivers were crossed at recognised fords or by ferryboats (Plate 2.6) in suitable weather.¹⁴⁴ Nonetheless, it can be argued that this tentative start in proper road and bridge building, both military and civilian, throughout the Highlands, facilitated the northward spread of Evangelism from Lowland areas that remains characteristic of Reformed religion in the Highland region to this date.

Plate 2. 6



The Highland Ferryman, William Dyce, RA, (1806-64) Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums (reproduction granted). Until recent years this type of clinker-built wooden boat served the Fionnphort, Mull-Iona crossing, latterly with an outboard motor.

The nineteenth century, argues Curtis, heralded a new phase of road construction identified by the label, "Parliamentary Roads". In 1803, under pressure from the improving lobbyists, an Act of Parliament established the Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges. 50 per cent of the finance was to be raised by local interests and 50 per cent by the Government. The engineer appointed to the Commission was Thomas Telford (1757-1834), but credit for the Commission's success must also go to its London

¹⁴² Sedgwick, 1991, 8.

¹⁴³ O'Dell, 1962, 8.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 127.

secretary, John Rickman, and the Edinburgh legal agent, James Hope.¹⁴⁵ The Commission's road construction work terminated in 1863 with the advent of Highland railway companies. Thereafter, new road construction went into abeyance until 1925 when the Ministry of Transport commenced work on the A.9.¹⁴⁶ In the West Highlands, the sea continued to provide the most efficient means of transport. In 1830, the first iron steamship, the *Lord Dundas* was built on the River Clyde. In that same year David Hutcheson and Company organized steamer services from the Clyde estuary to Argyll with significant utility for migrants. By 1851, the company had expanded to establish steamer routes throughout the Western Isles. Within a century the time-scale of travel had been shortened, and with it the impetus for ecclesiastical mission.

2.9 Economic resources in the Highlands

Lying on the western fringe of the European continent, argues Sanderson, Scotland had always been a poor country in terms of production and trade. For centuries there had been little mercantile enterprise and even less capital available for investment.¹⁴⁷ In the emergent burghs and larger market towns, mainly Lowland seaports, rivalry between the guilds and the merchant trades, dissipated any urge for mercantile improvement. In consequence, widespread exploitation of Scotland's own natural resources in the countryside was slow, and she was therefore dependent upon imports of iron, wood and dyestuffs from abroad. In times of dearth, grain was also a necessary import to alleviate famine. Additional income accrued from an entrepot trade between Baltic ports and the Mediterranean that was extended in the early-nineteenth century to the Black Sea.¹⁴⁸

From early medieval times, Scotland had been an agricultural country, its Lowland region much ravaged by destructive wars with England. The produce of the land was all-important to the subsistence and export economy of Scotland as a nation. At sea, her ships were exposed to piracy and also by restrictive trading practices pursued by the English. On land, reports the *OSA*, the tenure of arable was largely feudal,¹⁴⁹ and until the 1750s, farming followed the infield and outfield system¹⁵⁰ with cottar families subsisting

¹⁴⁵ Curtis, 1978, 484: According to Commission Reports, between 1803 and 1828 this trio completed 870 miles of roads and constructed 1,117 bridges within the Highlands. Many of these roads, now resurfaced with bitumen macadam, are in use today, but in their original water-bound macadam, contributed greatly to the speed and comfort of travel in the Highland region by horse-drawn wheeled transport.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 1978, 475,

¹⁴⁷ Sanderson, 1982, 4.

¹⁴⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, March 11, 1805: The re-exportation of Baltic goods from this country to the Mediterranean is partly interrupted by the war with Spain and in part by the new trade to Odessa.

¹⁴⁹ *OSA*, XVIII, 484: (Feudal obligations)... "as the conversion of those services, which the tenants were formerly used to perform to the proprietor, as the remains of the feudal system. These services were thought a very great grievance, as the tenants were obliged to perform them, at the time they should have been employed in cultivating their own farms. To work without maintenance from their employers, from morning to night, at the distance of several miles from their respective homes, they justly deemed cruel and oppressive, and a violation of the precepts of religion, of justice, and the rights of men" (Rev. William MacKenzie, Parish of Tongue, County of Sutherland).

¹⁵⁰ Robinson; 1985, 128 and 186:

Infield - the field or land lying nearest to the farm or homestead, especially the better part of a farm, kept continuously under crop before crop-rotation.

Outfield - before enclosures and crop-rotation the more outlying and less fertile land (of a farm).

on traditional run-rig plots. As an outlet for trading activities, there can be little doubt that a rapidly developing Lowland economic situation from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, involving enclosure of arable land, and the growth of towns, had some direct bearing on the economy and accompanying population movements within the Highlands. The point to be noted here is that to a large extent the developing economy of the landscape had the capability to shape social patterns.

Highland poverty is a condition often remarked upon by early Lowland commentators - Pennant, Boswell among others - and, within the nation state, had an apparent capacity to separate Highlands from Lowlands. To relieve Scotland's chronic economic distress, argues Prebble, *The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies*, was set up in 1695, with power to establish colonies overseas. In the event, the economic loss to Scottish investors in the Company's Darien Scheme was enormous.¹⁵¹ However, throughout the Highlands, surplus money for investment was scarcely available and consequently little public interest from that region was shown in the scheme. It was claims Prebble, a Lowland affair.¹⁵² It may reasonably be assumed that this black episode in Scottish history shows the marked spatial division of prosperity that existed between the two geographical areas, Highland and Lowland.

2. 10 Intellectual background to 18th century Highland economic change.

In the wake of social changes in the Highlands arising from the 1745-6 Rebellion, the varied interests of a new landed class gravitated south of the Highland line to become imbued with the wider European political and economic philosophies traded in the salons of Edinburgh and London of the time. This was the Age of Enlightenment, an intellectual revolution, argues Broadie, expounded on the European Continent by the German, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and led in Scotland by David Hume (1711-76), Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), and other "teachers, preachers and pleaders" who dominated the Scottish cultural scene.¹⁵³ The rationalism at the root of Enlightenment, claims Devine, was instrumental in changing human relationships to the environment. On a broad view it served as an ideological mission for agrarian reform; to "improve" uneconomic estates; and to modernize and unify Scottish society.¹⁵⁴

Inherent in Enlightenment thought, Devine supposes, was an obsession with economic growth, as the eighteenth century philosophers understood it. This notion was dominated by two eighteenth century influential thinkers, Francois Quesnay (1694-1774), founder of the French Physiocrats and author of the

¹⁵¹ Darien historically was Scotland's first attempt to set up in colonial business on its own account. In 1698 the Company's stated aim was to establish a trading settlement on the isthmus of Darien in the West Indies supported by public investment. Three successive expeditions embarked for Darien, each to encounter disaster due, in equal measure, to the unhealthy climate hostility of the Spaniards and refusal of the English government to give encouragement or assistance. The Company's failure was a leading factor in the Union of the Parliaments in 1707.

¹⁵² Prebble, 1968, 57.

¹⁵³ Broadie, 1997, 15.

¹⁵⁴ Devine, 1994, 65.

Tableaux Economique (1758),¹⁵⁵ and the Scotsman, Adam Smith (1723-90), author of *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). With case studies from contemporary British experience, Smith sought to explain the structure and organization of a nation's economy, including its resources in land, labour and capital as well as the progress of its agriculture, industry and commerce to produce what has been viewed as a "*laissez-faire*" economic concept. Until the latter half of the nineteenth century embraced the economic theories of Karl Marx, it was to be the dominant philosophy of industrialised nations worldwide. The impetus to industrial investment, argues Ashton, was a fall in the rate of interest paid by creditors of the state in 1757, that brought into being the 3 per cent Consolidated Stock, otherwise known as Consols, that became a catalyst for much industrial investment throughout the British nation.¹⁵⁶ In the material sphere, production of natural resources was largely in the hands of the all-powerful landowning class; comparatively wealthy barons, nobles and lairds, who controlled both materials and labour force.

2. 10. 1 Agriculture in the Highlands

It seems reasonable to put an emphasis on agriculture, suggests Fenton, and on its regional variations and regional interaction, for agriculture remains one of the primary sources of the country's income. The further back we go in time, Fenton proposes, the more important agriculture, arable as well as pastoral, becomes for the history of Scotland.¹⁵⁷ For centuries, argues Willis, across the Highland Line, the economy had long settled in an agricultural pattern of self-sufficiency, resembling that of similar primitive societies in remote and undeveloped parts of Europe.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, argues Hume-Brown, Scotland's economic position as a whole improved markedly, firstly in the seventeenth and again in the early-eighteenth century, as a result of two important political steps in unification with England into a single nation-state. The Union of the Crowns in 1603 saw James VI of Scotland succeed Elizabeth I to the throne of England and thereby put an end to open warfare between both countries.¹⁵⁹ The second step, endorsed by Fenton, was taken in 1707 with the hugely unpopular union of the two Parliaments that, by its terms, promised greater overseas trading opportunities for Scottish merchants. Scotland, it was agreed, would no longer be excluded from world ports claimed exclusively by the English, and indeed would receive the encouragement and support from that country that was lacking in the ill-fated Darien Scheme.¹⁶⁰ Only slowly, and in piecemeal fashion, did those economic benefits percolate north of the Highland Line after the 1715 and 1745 insurrections changed the fundamental structure of Highland social and economic life.

¹⁵⁵ Quesnay's basic theme was that agriculture alone can produce a surplus, but he was limited in his thinking to describe the almost feudal agrarian conditions and social order of mid-eighteenth century France before the onset of industrialisation reached that country. The political economy of Smith encompassed a far wider field.

¹⁵⁶ Ashton, 1975, 8.

¹⁵⁷ Fenton, 1976, v.

¹⁵⁸ Willis, 1991, 23.

¹⁵⁹ Hume-Brown, 1961, 223: James VI and I was now in a position to state to the English Parliament – "Here (in London) I sit and govern Scotland with my pen; I write, and it is done; and by a clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword".

¹⁶⁰ Fenton, 1976, 39: The Union of 1707 led to a familiarisation course with English farming methods and equipment for many Scottish lairds, who then set about trying them out at home. At the same time, money was becoming more readily available,

By whatever means, "improvement" of the land by rational process was thus seen as the key to economic development; the cash nexus claims MacKenzie, was the determining factor.¹⁶¹ Following the early lead given by Lowland landowners, Highland lairds, of necessity, adopted a more commercial attitude to the resources of their estates. This was especially so in the Highlands suggests Devine, where a number of landowners required an enhanced income not only to upgrade their estates, but also to follow the social pursuits of their southern peers on equal terms.¹⁶² After 1707, the drift was towards gentrification, but as Hunter concludes, the nature and extent of this supposition is open to alternative interpretations by academic historians.¹⁶³ One commonly held view is that indigenous Highland landowners ceased to speak the language of their servants as the divisions in social class widened. In keeping with English symbols of superior status, elaborate mansions had to be built on landed estates in what became the great age of the Adam family as architects and builders. Sumptuous town houses had to be maintained in the fashionable quarters of Edinburgh and London. An expensive southern education, followed by the Grand Tour had to be provided for young heirs.¹⁶⁴ Indebtedness, argues Macinnes, was an accepted characteristic of the Anglo-Scottish landed classes, since the financing of the clan elite's social aspirations commenced from a weaker base than the rest of the British establishment.¹⁶⁵

Until about 1800, argues Caird, estate owners leased their land to tacksmen, not themselves farmers, but formerly adjutants on behalf of the chieftain in the military-based clan system.¹⁶⁶ The tacksman, as middleman, claims Fairhurst, followed two options; either to work the arable land using his sub-tenants as a workforce, or, rent the land out to groups of tenants¹⁶⁷ in the run-rig agricultural system in proportion to their share of the total rental. In consequence of this antiquated agricultural system, both types of tenant lived in small farm-touns or clachans,¹⁶⁸ clusters of up to twenty houses adjacent to the arable land, a social organisation revealed in 1696 *Poll Tax* returns previously referred to in Chapter 1 (Appendix "B"). Uncultivated land enclosed within a dry-stone head-dyke (Plate 2.7)¹⁶⁹ was used for the grazing of

for example through trade in cattle, grain and textiles.

¹⁶¹ MacKenzie, 1883, 111: "The parish church of Farr was no longer in existence; the fine population of Strathnaver was rooted and burned during the great conflagration. The church, no longer necessary, was razed to the ground and its timbers conveyed to construct one of the Sutherland 'improvements' the Inn at Altnaharra, while the minister's house was converted into a dwelling for a fox-hunter".

¹⁶² Devine, 1994, 64.

¹⁶³ Hunter, 1976, 3.

¹⁶⁴ *OSA*, XVII, 314: "the Reverend Mr. Alexander Gray, the last Episcopal parson here. He, by all accounts, was an eminent classical scholar. He could fluently speak the European languages of his day, for which reason he was preferred as travelling governor to John, Earl of Sutherland, when his Lordship made the tour of Europe". (Rev. William MacKenzie, Parish of Assynt, County of Ross).

¹⁶⁵ Macinnes, 1988, 78.

¹⁶⁶ Caird, 1987, 67.

¹⁶⁷ Tenancy is the most complex type of land tenure, embracing a wide variety of conditions. It involves the tenant repaying the landowner in some way for being granted the right to use land. Most frequently this payment takes one of three forms (1) labour supply for work on land retained by the owners for their personal or institutional use, as in certain forms of feudalism; (2) cash payment; or (3), some form of sharecropping (Dictionary of Human Geography, Johnston *et al*, 2000, 428).

¹⁶⁸ Fairhurst, 1960, 69.

¹⁶⁹ Robertson, 1949, 6-19: The head-dyke is a dry stone wall built across the head of every farm before the era of general enclosure to secure the effectual separation of hill pasture from arable and meadow grounds. In many places the head-dyke coincides with

animals in stated proportions of soums¹⁷⁰ of cattle and sheep, determined by the tacksman or landowner. Short sections of the former head dyke above Bellamore settlement (Plate 2.7) east of Pannanich, upper Deeside, are of a type argued by Robertson as a fundamental line in Scottish geography.¹⁷¹ The Bellamore wall, long in disrepair, still marks the limit of outfield grazing on the lower slope of Creag Mullach, along which flows the Pollagach Burn that served the lade to the former meal mill.¹⁷² In contrast to the harsh inland territory of upper Deeside with scarce resources, those Highland communities of the North and West located in close proximity to the sea had the advantage of seaweed to manure their land and fish and seabirds to supplement a meagre diet.

Plate 2. 7



Head Dyke above the former Bellamore community outfield grazings, Glen Tanar, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. (photo-JRS)

Frequent mention is made in the *OSA* that with short leases and uncertainty of tenure, there was no incentive for the tenant to improve the land or its attendant dwelling house and outbuildings. Several acts were passed, notes Fenton, on various aspects of agriculture from 1579 onwards. Nevertheless, it was not until well through the seventeenth century that a series of acts culminating in those of 1696 on lands lying run-rig and on the division of common land, established a broad legal base for changing the basic structure

the natural boundary like that of a sudden increase of slope with consequent increase of exposure, decrease in soil cover and difficulty in ploughing, or that of disappearance of effective drainage or of productive soils.

¹⁷⁰ Soum: the unit of pasturage which will support a certain fixed number of livestock; the number of livestock (usually a cow or a proportionate number of sheep) which can be supported by this unit (Chambers Scots Dictionary).

¹⁷¹ Robertson, I.M.L., 1949, 6.

¹⁷² Smith, 1997, 101. Bellamore Meal Mill, otherwise known as Mill of Inchmarnoch, was tenanted in direct succession by one family from the 1740s. It ceased to trade in the 1960s due to the failing health of the last miller, and to government legislation that closed similar mills throughout the country at that time. The abandoned mill and its machinery still stands, and the miller's house is occupied by a distant relative of the former miller's family. The outbuildings have been converted by the estate to exploit the holiday trade.

of agriculture. The implementation of this legislation, however, did not come until well through the eighteenth century.¹⁷³

The Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland, observes Donaldson, was founded in 1723 with the aim of spreading knowledge of the new techniques in farming developed much earlier in the south.¹⁷⁴ In time, these techniques involved the promotion of new skills amongst the farm-labouring population that have endured into the mechanical age of the twentieth century.¹⁷⁵ In seeking a catalyst for the impending economic changes in Scottish land tenure, Smout points to the emergence of lawyers as the middle-class intellectual lynchpin of Edinburgh society after 1707.¹⁷⁶ Some, as members of Parliament in London, came in daily contact with English farmer politicians and consequently were knowledgeable in the latest agricultural techniques. Improvement was the major issue of the later-eighteenth century in consequence of its rapid adoption as an economic policy from the late-1740s. It encompassed a wide range of ancillary interests pursued by wealthy landowners throughout the country, both north and south.¹⁷⁷ The reasons were to be found in the exceptional growth in population, coupled with a marked urban growth resulting from new industrial processes associated with the textile industry. Demand for agricultural produce became unprecedented as unemployed people quit the land to settle in the new industrial areas, offering better employment prospects and enhanced wages, to boost an urban market economy based on cash settlement. To meet this new demand for products of the land, many landowners were convinced of the necessity of an economic and social revolution through the application of new farming structures and better techniques. Such was the unproductive nature of the Highland landscape, claims Willis, that the Highland region could offer only limited potential for economic re-organisation.¹⁷⁸ Different political and social conditions in the Highlands, if not the barren mountain barrier and poor acid soils, discouraged the introduction of agricultural improvements that had proved successful in the Lowlands.¹⁷⁹ Even today, the Highlands are capable of only a relatively limited commercial output. By the mid-eighteenth century, argues Macinnes it was evident that the economy of the Highlands undoubtedly lacked the depth and diversity manifest in the Lowlands.¹⁸⁰ Scotland in effect possessed two economies, Highland and Lowland.

¹⁷³ Fenton, 1978, 17.

¹⁷⁴ Donaldson, 1977, 103.

¹⁷⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, March 9, 1855: "Campbeltown - On Tuesday, the annual ploughing matches, patronised by his Grace, The Duke of Argyll, under the direction of the Kintyre Farmers' Society, took place".

¹⁷⁶ Smout, 1969, 276.

¹⁷⁷ In England, Humphrey Repton (1752-1818), with over 400 estates "improved" in a busy career, stands out as the foremost "improving" estate architect, much in demand, and he set the standard for the lay-out of policies surrounding many a country mansion. The improvement ideology attracted much political debate between Tory and Liberal minded factions, for improvement appeared to introduce innovation without regard for the past in a time of European popular unrest and purveyed a real threat of sedition striking at the heart of monarchical government. In her political novel *Mansfield Park*, published in 1814, Jane Austen (1775-1817), a confirmed Tory, through her heroine, Fanny Price, a servant girl exhibiting extreme conservative values, and in consequence endurable moral values, produced the great literary critique of "improvement" as desirable political, economic and social initiative.

¹⁷⁸ Willis, 1991, 32.

¹⁷⁹ Meyer, 1957, 30.

¹⁸⁰ Macinnes, 1988, 78.

In common with the parallel revolution in industry, innovation in tools and equipment expedited development of an "improved" agricultural landscape that, in the main, was not uniformly adopted by landowners and tenants. Tilling of the soil, for example, relied on the old Scotch plough.¹⁸¹ Of iron and wood construction and creating much friction, the old Scotch plough was slow, inefficient, labour intensive, and needed much pulling power, the size of the team determined by the terrain, soil type and availability of draught animals. A lighter version of this plough was developed to meet local conditions in the Highlands.¹⁸² The Hebridean plough, (*crann-nan-gad*) observes Fenton, was adapted to cope with rocky conditions and shallow, peaty soil. In the northwest, where ploughing was difficult or impossible, the essential substitute for the plough remained the straight spade (*cas dhreachm*) or the "crooked" spade (*caschrom*) and the ristle, (*crann ruslaidh*) a horse drawn blade mounted on a wooden beam.¹⁸³ The crucial advance in plough design was made in 1767, when James Small (1730-93), a Berwickshire joiner, patented a new light chain plough that proved revolutionary.¹⁸⁴ It was a wheeled plough that created less friction and had a capability to delve deeper and turn over the ground evenly. Whereas the old plough turned the furrow over, the new kept the furrow up. Important to the small-scale farmer, the new plough could be operated by one person and two beasts. The significance of this single technical advance in plough design that spread rapidly has been summed-up by Fenton:

The improved plough types of the eighteenth century onwards should be seen as part of a whole context of agricultural improvement. Enclosing and the creation of individual farms, liming and the improvement of grass and grain crops, better feeding and controlled breeding of livestock, all worked together to create a situation of rapid development within which the evolution of new tools and equipment was both possible and necessary. The new plough types, capable of being drawn by two good horses, and of being controlled by one man, played a big part here, and can be taken as symbolising one of the most radical changes that ever took place in Scottish countryside - the change from the community system of joint - or co-farming - to that of individual farming units depending on paid employees.¹⁸⁵

In conformance with Enlightened ideas on economic development, states Devine, the landowners' enclosure of land throughout Scotland, into ever-larger farming units leased to fewer and more

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, 31: "The old Scotch plough had developed, already by the sixteenth-century, the form that it kept until it began to be displaced by improved plough types in the course of the eighteenth century. It was a swing-plough, without wheels to support the front of the beam. It was long and heavy, with two handles or stilts, and a flat, wooden mould-board. The only iron parts were the share or sock, the coulter, a strengthening band around the opening in the beam for the tang of the coulter, and the hook or bridle at the front end of the beam, to which the draught-yoke or chain was fixed".

¹⁸² Fenton, 1976, 25: "It was one of the effects of the Clearances that plough cultivation ceased almost entirely, and the spade and caschrom much more general use on the small patches and lots of land near the coast, on which the evicted people were re-settled, mainly on land never before used for either settlement or cultivation. By 1812 in Assynt for example, there were no more than 6 ploughs, and 300 families cultivated 300 acres of arable with caschrom alone".

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, 1978, 36.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 39-41: "James Small (1730-93), the son of a Berwickshire farmer, served his apprenticeship as a joiner at Hutton. Between 1758 and 1763 he worked at Doncaster, where he saw and studied the Doncaster plough. It seems that Small took the old Scotch plough and gradually adapted it by combining with it the main features of the Rotheram plough, until, in 1767, he was ready to patent it. Its rapid subsequent spread had a profound influence on Scottish farming - and on the Continent. At first the curved mould-board was made of wood, which could be plated with iron, but about 1780, Small took his wooden pattern to the Carron Iron Company and had the mould-boards cast in metal. Small's design led to the production of a type of plough that stood the test in farming until it was eventually displaced by tractor-drawn equipment in recent times".

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 42. (The Royal Highland and Agricultural Society was founded in 1784. In the Lowlands, Gray of Uddingston developed the first iron swing plough in 1803. In 1787, Andrew Meikle (1719-1811) produced his threshing mill - the world's first successful thresher. By 1809, the bothy system was coming into use in larger farms in Angus and the North-East. In 1827, Patrick Bell (1799-1869) invented the first effective reaping machine).

enterprising tenants, was considered essential to a profitable return on cash investment.¹⁸⁶ Both the quality of land and human productivity required to be raised. Proper supervision of the new farming methods of liming, manuring and crop rotation was introduced in the interests of good business backed by discipline. Failure to observe the terms without good reason resulted in the swift termination of a lease. In the *OSA*, the joint Presbyterian incumbents of Tongue parish focused upon one major drawback for the prospective tenant; the chronic disincentive to efficient farming in the Highlands through tenants being denied security of tenure.¹⁸⁷ To remedy this anomaly, Willis argues that the agricultural revolution founded on "improvement" that had its origins in Argyll from the 1730s, was inaugurated by means of the detailed improving lease. Most new leases were now for a period of nineteen years, which permitted the tenant, a profitable return¹⁸⁸ on the erection of substantial buildings, clearing of stones, and fertilisation of the soil. In many cases landowners funded these essentials and the cost recovered as part of the cash rent.¹⁸⁹

It is argued that at social revolution accompanied the economic revolution on large single-tenancy farms, and was felt most acutely in the Eastern and Central Highlands. Former small-holding tenants, deprived of their land, were reduced to hired land-labourers on large farms that instituted a "bothy" or "chaumer" system (Plate 2.8)¹⁹⁰ to accommodate its unmarried workforce on short-term engagements at a set fee.¹⁹¹ This revised farm structure created a new social geography, which engrossed both a hierarchical and a spatial dimension that, in the case of the latter, claims Gauldie, proved of utility in curbing immorality within the farming community, if scarcely eradicating it.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁶ Devine, 1994, 70.

¹⁸⁷ *OSA*, XVIII, 428: "Nothing, indeed, now is wanting to make them as industrious as the Lowlanders, but the introduction of commerce and manufacturers, and long leases to the farmers. By want of long leases, they are discouraged from improving their farms, and building comfortable houses on them. The dread being removed, when an avaricious neighbour offers an augmentation, and an unfeeling master accepts the bribe of iniquity, ties down the hand of industry, and prevents the operation from extending any further than to labour the ancient fields, and patch up the old cottage. There are two respectable farmers in this parish, who have obtained tolerable long leases some years ago; in consequence of which they have built very commodious houses, enclosed considerable parts of their farms, and are employing every possible method to meliorate every pendicle belonging to them; from which it is evident, that it contributes to the interest of the proprietor to give long leases, as well as to the happiness of the tenant; for, at the expiration of such leases, a double rent can be afforded to be given". (Rev. William McKenzie and Rev. Hugh Ross, Parish of Tongue, County of Sutherland).

¹⁸⁸ The long-lease could prove to be an unwelcome burden on the tenant. Landowners may have provided the funding to plenish the "improved" farm and its appurtenances, but often demanded substantial interest over the years upon the money loaned. At the termination of the lease the outgoing tenant could expect no rebate from the landowner for the "improvement" work he had completed on the farm that annually brought the tenant an increase in his rent.

¹⁸⁹ Willis, 1991, 28.

¹⁹⁰ Where instituted on large farms, the bothy was also known as a *chaumer*, i.e. the chamber set aside for sleeping the unmarried male workforce

¹⁹¹ *Glasgow Herald*, November 26, 1854: "Hiring Market - There was a large assemblage of farm servants, male and female, at the Bugths, and a considerable number of engagements were made. Superior ploughmen were engaged from £11 to £13, and second rate hands from £7 to £10. Ordinary servants girls were engaged from £3 to £4 per half year".

¹⁹² Gauldie, 1981, 14: "By 1893, the custom of feeding farm servants in the master's kitchen occurs in small places, where the farmers themselves do not object to take their meals at the same table with their employees. The custom is rapidly dying out. It is stated that the men are difficult to please and prone to complain of the quality of the food provided. Furthermore, that their presence keeps the house servants in an unsettled condition, often resulting in breaches of morality. Only too often, in fact, ploughmen in the kitchen brought about the situation described by Helen B. Cruickshank". (*Collected poems*, Methuen, London, 1934):

Up the Noran Water, / In by Inglismaldie,
Annie's got a bairnie / that hasna got a daddie,
Some think it's Tammas's / An some think it's Chae;/
An naebody expectit it, / Wi' Annie's quiet ways."

Tammas - Thomas
Chae - Charles

Plate 2. 8



Farm "bothy" or "chaumer" at Meikle Kinord, Aberdeen-shire, incorporating a new geography of hierarchical spaces; economic, cultural, social and moral. (photo-JRS)

Lowland ideas for improvement, supposes Willis, may have been appropriate for the southern part of the country, but due to the infertile environment, formed an inappropriate model for economic progress in the Highlands.¹⁹³ To acerbate the land problem, Mitchison finds that a social problem had emerged with the growth of population on the existing small arable holdings, that of famine. According to Willis, in the second half of the eighteenth century the population in the west grew about 20 per cent and on the northwest seaboard that supported a narrow strip of fertile land, the increase was 34 per cent.¹⁹⁴ Increasing subdivision of land meant that squatting was prevalent. The creation of planned villages from the mid-eighteenth century, and crofting communities, a new form of land tenure, in the Highlands from around 1800, was the Highland landowners' answer to economic developments in the Lowland counties. These "holding-centres" on large private estates formed a distinctive aspect of an economic revolution to maximize the profitable output of both land and human. Both forms of tenure will be revisited later in the chapter.

The cleared land of the inner glens and straths was to be re-let at enhanced rentals to southern flock-masters to pasture the hardy Cheviot sheep which had made its appearance in the northern counties before the close of the eighteenth century. Sheep, it was calculated, would produce a basic industrial raw

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, 28.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 87.

material, wool, to supply large weaving mills in the south. In consequence, states Caird, Lowland land surveyors were commissioned by Highland landowners to make a survey and plan of their estates, and to write an agricultural report on same.¹⁹⁵ In many cases, but not all, little compassion was shown for the break-up of individual communities and the removal of individual families to coastal crofting allotments. These were laid out in geometrically apportioned strips in conformity with the lie of the land, and restricted in size to perhaps 5 acres in order to ensure that the holdings would be part-time occupations. As an inducement for their tenants to concentrate on the hard and degrading additional work of the coastal kelp industry, in which the landlords took the profit from the sale of kelp ash, Macnab finds that rents were either waived or set at a low level.¹⁹⁶ In consequence of this revolutionary change in landscape use, the indigenous population was to experience a new form of economic existence based on a cash economy.

2. 10. 2 Cattle droving from the Highlands

The traditional basis of Highland agricultural economy, suggests Macinnes, was a reliance on unimproved pastoral farming.¹⁹⁷ Each settlement had its small complement of cattle, small flocks of little native sheep,¹⁹⁸ goats and poultry. Transhumance - a seasonal alternation between village farming at lower levels and summer grazing shelters in the hills - was an integral part of the lifestyle of every farming community and, claims Fenton, was a means by which the cultivation of crops was brought into balance with animal husbandry.¹⁹⁹ In Highland Scotland, argues Fenton, due to economic factors which came into play in the course of the seventeenth century, the emphasis was less on sheep and goats, but overwhelmingly on cattle.²⁰⁰

From his study of late medieval records Haldane reports that cattle droving from the Highlands existed as early as 1359,²⁰¹ whilst Fenton claims that a cattle fair was established at Portree in 1580 to which dealers came to buy cattle.²⁰² For some 400 years, from the start of the sixteenth century until the latter part of the nineteenth century, droving formed an important part in the economic life of the Highlands.²⁰³ Despite opposition, a spasmodic if small cattle trade with England existed as early as the sixteenth century. After the Union of 1707, which saw Scotland fully integrated into the commercial life of Great Britain, Highland cattle found more ready acceptance in English markets. Droving of cattle, argues Haldane, then became a large-scale organized activity essential to the economy of Scotland.²⁰⁴ On this primitive basis,

¹⁹⁵ Caird, 1987, 68.

¹⁹⁶ Macnab, 1965, 534, - article - *The Scots Magazine*; The Golden Fringe.

¹⁹⁷ Macinnes, 1988, 82.

¹⁹⁸ Mitchison, 1962, 110: The old horned (sometimes multi-horned) Highland breed (of sheep), small and house-reared, was regarded as a degenerate animal by all improvers.

¹⁹⁹ Fenton, 1976, 126.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 1976, 127.

²⁰¹ Haldane, 1997, 11.

²⁰² Fenton, 1976, 133.

²⁰³ *Ibid*, 1997, 20.

²⁰⁴ Haldane 1997, 19.

speculates Macinnes, black cattle formed the staple of Highland wealth until the late-eighteenth century.²⁰⁵ Hitherto these animals proved incapable of grazing beyond the lower hill slopes that tended to become denuded of fodder. In good years, rearing rather than the breeding of beasts able to travel on foot to Lowland markets, and thence to English pastures, was the aim.²⁰⁶ To be sure, these regular excursions provided a means of keeping Highland people abreast with outside events.

Plate 2. 9



Bealach na Ba, (Pass of the sheep) Wester Ross, looking south towards Loch Carron. Rising to 2053ft /626m in steep gradients, this former drove road serves as the land route south from Applecross. (photo-JRS)

In his short story, *The Two Drovers*, Sir Walter Scott indelibly captured the climatic pattern and physical nature of the Highland landscape, together with the Highlanders' way of life, that made droving for them a natural occupation. Highlanders were noted for their ability to endure hardship, trekking over difficult terrain for long periods with little food and comfort.²⁰⁷ Cattle beasts were much in demand in the south to supply the tanning industry as much as for a food source. Macinnes expands upon the nature of this

²⁰⁵ Macinnes, 1988, 75.

²⁰⁶ The Rev. Mackenzie of Assynt, in the *OSA*, XVIII, 274, records that in common with sheep and goats, cattle were susceptible to the vagaries of Highland weather during the winter months; only the hardiest survived in emaciated condition until the spring. In his letters from the Highlands in 1724, Captain Burt records that in bad seasons, when the oatmeal began to fail, people bled their cattle. To the blood they added some milk and a short allowance of oatmeal and boiled the ingredients into cakes to alleviate complete starvation.

²⁰⁷ Dunn, 1995, 31: "The Highlanders in particular are masters of this difficult trade of driving, which seems to suit them as well as the trade of war. It affords exercise for all their habits of patient endurance and active exertion. They are required to know perfectly the drove roads, which lie over the wildest tracts of the country, and to avoid as much as possible the highways, which distress the feet of the bullocks, and the turnpikes, which annoy the spirit of the drover, whereas on the broad green or grey track, which lead across the pathless moor, the herd not only move at ease and without taxation, but, if they mind their business, may pick up a mouthful of food by the way". (Sir Walter Scott, *The Two Drovers*).

market demand by citing firstly, the phenomenal growth of London as Europe's largest city. Secondly, imperial expansion protected by a Royal Navy fed on salt beef. Lastly, the spread of industrial towns and villages in Northern England, and central Scotland ensured that the demand for black cattle continued on an upward spiral throughout the eighteenth century.²⁰⁸

Prior to the agricultural revolution of the later-eighteenth century, cattle husbandry required careful balance. The over-stocking of common grazings resulting from the land tenure system in the Highlands meant that surplus cattle required to be sold before the onset of winter. Well-defined drove roads, argues Dawson, superseded numerous pre-existing, ill-defined tracks that rarely followed set routes, were the main economic links from the north and west to cattle "trysts" or markets in the south and east.²⁰⁹ Drovers were acknowledged experts in their specialist trade and commanded considerable trust from their employers. They were familiar with the "stances" where cattle could be rested overnight. The best-known Lowland trysts, asserts Haldane, were located at Doune and at Falkirk. Some wealthy landowners taxed drovers who took cattle through their land. With the construction of proper roads, it became common to shoe cattle for the journey south.²¹⁰ From middle of the nineteenth century, notes Meek, with the introduction of shallow draught steam "puffer" boats²¹¹ taking essential cargoes to Scotland's western seaboard, West Highland cattle could be conveyed from remote mainland estates and islands more easily to Lowland markets by sea. Finally, of some importance to this thesis, Haldane speculates that local fairs which commemorate the names of St. Lawrence, St. Serf, St. Faith, St. Andrew and many others, later developed into cattle trysts. This, Haldane suggests, indicates a curious connection between the life and work of drovers and the established Church of Scotland.²¹²

2. 10. 3 Sheep grazing in the Highlands

The native Highland breed of sheep, resilient, small and lean, producing coarse wool, had ever been a part of the run-rig subsistence economy. Whilst cattle-sales made possible the Highland way of life, argues Mitchison, bad years occasioned much loss of stock and rents could not be paid with regularity.²¹³ At the same time, many Highland landowners, by the end of the eighteenth century, were, as noted above, aspiring to a higher standard of life that could only be underwritten by regular and secure rents from the

²⁰⁸ Macinnes, 1988, 75.

²⁰⁹ Dawson, 1992, 83: Also notable was the Beaully Tryst, until 1820 the greatest market in the north for cattle from Caithness, Sutherland and Ross-shire, until its move to Muir of Ord. The Rev. Colin MacIver, Glenelg Parish, records in the *OSA*, that cattle herds from Skye were shipped by sea and often caused to swim ashore at Kylcrea with scarcely a mishap, and, notes Strang, 1970, 19, from the Outer Isles to Aultbea, Poolewe, Gruinard and Ullapool. Indeed, Burt (1748) records that when the river was in spate, the drove "took to the water like spaniels.... with noses and eyes just above the water.

²¹⁰ Fenton, 1976, 145; Droving was only finally ended by the steamer services, in relatively recent times. The last herd out of Knapdale was driven to Stirling one autumn in the 1920s, on a Glasgow holiday, when the cars drove the animals off the road.

²¹¹ Meek, 1966, 64: "The typical puffer could hardly be described as a thing of beauty. About sixty-five feet in length and seventeen feet in beam, with a depth of eight feet (such dimensions allowing her to make use of the Forth and Clyde and Crinan canals), she as stumpy, almost flush decked, bluff bowed and high-shouldered, reminding one of a lighter or barge, from which she evolved around the middle of the nineteenth century. Her hundred tons of cargo were handled by a single derrick, mounted on a mast well forward in the bows. The engine was placed aft, and covered by a box-like superstructure".

²¹² Haldane, 1997, 43.

²¹³ Mitchison, 1962, 105.

tenantry. Furthermore, failing profits from the short-lived kelp industry, declining cattle prices, and overpopulation of estate land with limited agricultural output, militated against outdated and unprofitable communal farming methods.²¹⁴ Following Lowland precedent, but with no set time sequence, enclosure of run-rig settlements and the increasing use of common grazings noted by Fenton, were strategies calculated to establish separate large "improved" farms. The economic advantages to landowners of longer leases, new patterns of crop rotation and improvements in animal husbandry, were all dependent upon the planned resettlement of the indigenous population, that were introduced in many Highland estates.²¹⁵

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, observes Prebble, a breed of sheep, bigger and more expensive than the native Blackface, was introduced into the Scottish Lowlands by two Northumbrians. In the harsher Northern climate this breed proved capable of "defying cold, disease and hunger" and, given shelter for the new born lambs, able to graze at a higher reach of hill-slope than noted before. This was the Cheviot, the "great white sheep" (*na caoraich mora*),²¹⁶ capable of producing greater yields of mutton and wool to satisfy expanding Lowland markets. This "improved" breed²¹⁷ reached the Cromarty Firth and Ross by 1790 when, claims Prebble, Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster introduced it into one of his farms, Langwell, Caithness, in 1792.²¹⁸ Highland landowners were quick to note that clearance of their straths and interior glens of human habitation would bring greater returns in the form of increased rents from southern flock-masters eager to graze and profit from the Cheviot sheep. By 1800, argues Hunter, sheep of this new breed had largely replaced black cattle as the main agricultural product of those parts of the Highlands that lie south of the Great Glen.²¹⁹ Few would disagree with Mitchison's opinion that the great sheep farm did nothing to help the existing society and economy.²²⁰ Contrary to popular belief, Mitchison avers, sheep farming had no real long-term effect on emigration.²²¹

2. 10. 4 Highland sporting estates

Sporting estates per se in the Highlands have an ancient history dating back to at least the twelfth century. The open landscape owes much to the long tradition of maintaining red deer for sport. The traditional method of hunting according to Gordon, was by driving deer with men and hounds towards a predetermined trap (*eileirg*). Some of these drives (*tainchels*) were massive, using up to 2,000 men and prepared weeks or even months in advance.²²² In consequence, assert Staines *et al*, red deer are an integral

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, 1988, 178.

²¹⁵ Fenton, 1976, 132: The conversion of shieling areas into hill grazing farms, has characterised the edge of the eastern Highlands of Scotland since the late-eighteenth century.

²¹⁶ Hunter, 1976, 49.

²¹⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, November 26, 1804: "Cheviot Breed - It is to be credited how much this sort of sheep has been improved on the Borders and in the North of Scotland. Fully fed, they fetch £3 each".

²¹⁸ Prebble, 1968, 34.

²¹⁹ Hunter, 1976, 49.

²²⁰ Mitchison, 1962, 107.

²²¹ *Ibid*, 1962, 108.

²²² Gordon, 1925, 67.

part of the ecology, folklore and history of the Scottish uplands.²²³ Leasing of estates by landowners for commercial sporting activity, observes Jarvie, became established around the first decade of the nineteenth century and became one of the hallmarks of the second half of the Victorian period.²²⁴ The rapid, uneven and yet systematic development of this form of recreational capitalism nonetheless still remains economically viable for landowners in the Highlands today. Several structural factors have been argued for the development of the sporting estate; the decline in profit from sheep farming due to imports from the colonies; the increase in wealth by nouveau rich southern industrialists; the improved network of communications by road and rail. The entry in Osgood Mackenzie's game-book for 1868 reveals a typical "bag" which must have accrued profit to the Inverewe estate if scarcely benefitting his crofter tenants.²²⁵ Marxists especially have ever associated sporting estates with conspicuous consumption of leisure for the rich. Family connections, suggest Jarvie *et al*, play a key role in preserving and supporting the landowning interest:

Networks in conjunction with organisations such as the Scottish Landowners Federation help to sustain a core body of beliefs and attitudes with regards to the preservation of sporting estates, the sanctity of private property rights and exaggerated claims concerning the contributions which rural sports make to both the local economy and rural employment.²²⁶

On the positive side, Macleod asserts that sporting estates were, and to a limited extent remain to this day, paternalistic and formerly provided full-time employment to a substantial number of the local population.²²⁷ A housekeeper and a cadre of servants and cooks, augmented locally as required "in season", staffed the "big house" itself. Apart from gamekeepers and ghillies - for whom outer-clothing in estate "tartan" was provided - engaged in the management of shooting moors, lochs and river beats, most sporting estates retained full-time tradesmen - masons, joiners, electricians - for the upkeep of the house and the outlying lodges. Foresters, farm workers, dykers, boatmen and gardeners were also retained. For short periods in season, several weeks of casual labour was available to local young men as game beaters. An ancillary economy was created in the sub-leases of shooting moors and river beats. Local woollen mills and tailor shops specialising in the provision of sporting clothes and footwear also benefited, as did local taxidermists and tackle purveyors.²²⁸ It must be assumed that these activities, embodying a hierarchy

²²³ Staines *et al*, 2002, 130.

²²⁴ Jarvie, 1991, 27.

²²⁵ Mackenzie, 1921, 105: "I see by my game-book that one year - in 1868 - I got 90.1/2 brace of grouse off the crofters' hill ground, 60 brace off Isle Ewe, and 30 brace off the small Inveran farm; and my total in that year was 1,314 grouse, 33 black game, 49 partridges, 110 golden plover, 35 wild ducks, 53 snipe, 91 blue rock-pigeons, 184 hares, without mentioning geese, teal, ptarmigan and roe, etc, a total of 1,900 head".

²²⁶ Jarvie *et al*, 1998, 17: The Marquis of Huntly remains in charge of Aboyne Castle Estate Trustees and yet perhaps the significance of his position is more symbolically displayed at the Aboyne Highland Gathering. This is a gathering at which a nominal unity sometimes conceals the fact that at the same event there co-exist different seating arrangements, different styles of dress, different social codes and prescriptions, all of which serve to unite and segregate different social groups. At Aboyne, the ceremonial display of flags is but one small indicator of the hierarchy of social spaces which different people occupy.

²²⁷ Macleod, 1998, 247.

²²⁸ The provision of woollen bolts in distinctive estate "tartans" for durable outdoor sporting garments universally worn by keepers, stalkers and ghillies, formed the staple of such textile firms as P. & J. Haggart, Ltd, of Aberfeldy, Perth-shire, established in 1801, with a later branch in Braemar, Aberdeen-shire, to manufacture and purvey "estate quality tweeds". Equally well known was Hunters of Brora, Sutherland, recently into receivership. The supply and fitting of these "uniforms" usually devolved upon local tailors.

of fixed, social spaces ²²⁹ tied families to their homeland and retained intact church congregations that might otherwise have dissipated to other districts, urban centres, or to distant lands. Significantly, in close proximity to the "big house" many sporting estates possessed a purpose-built private chapel for use of the estate proprietor, his family, guests and staff (Plate 2.10). The implications of this estate sanctuary for a revival in Episcopal Church worship in the Highlands will be referred to in the section on tourism below.

Plate 2. 10



Private Episcopal Chapel, Meikle Kinord, Dinnet, Aberdeen-shire. (photo-JRS)

2. 11 Industry within the Highlands

Small-scale industrial production, argues Withers, usually for domestic needs, but with a limited making for sale of woven cloth, or the making of shoes by customer craftsmen - was an integral though minor part of Highland life.²³⁰ Geared to a subsistence economy, such production was subordinate to agricultural production, which, to this day, the Highlander has proved reluctant to abandon. It is nevertheless Donaldson's view that Scotland's essentially rural landscape was congenial to the production of primary products. Skins, hides, fleeces, coal, dried fish, woollen cloth, linen, stockings and gloves, came directly from the countryside, and far exceeded the importance of urban products until the early-nineteenth

²²⁹ The sporting gentlemen and their house-guests, familiarly known as the "toffs" mainly due to their lineage, titles, military rank, elite education and economic power, were regarded as being of a superior rank in a society that demanded subservience. Even within their own ranks, the "toffs" made the social distinction between "old money" and "new", i.e. the new social standing acquired by successful entrepreneurs emerging from the Industrial Revolution that was regarded as mildly *infra-dig.* by the "old" who had "arrived" through lineal inheritance of landed estates, and never had to work for a living in smoke and filth.

²³⁰ Withers, 1988, 272.

century.²³¹ Irrespective of exports to England, observes Magnusson, a profitable trade with the Hanseatic League ports in the Baltic countries, in the Netherlands and in Brittany, was conducted from Scotland's east-coast ports.²³²

Several eighteenth century Highland landowners, notes Macinnes, became skilful entrepreneurs in the extractive industry, promoting local development of mineral resources on their estates for commercial purposes.²³³ As early as the sixteenth century, argues Donaldson, Jean Gordon, Countess of Sutherland, began salt-works and coal-mining at Brora.²³⁴ In the course of the eighteenth century, ironworks were established at Invergarry (1727), Tomintoul (1730) Bonawe (1758),²³⁵ Furnace (1775). Lead mining was established at Strontian, and slate quarrying at Easdale²³⁶ and Ballachulish. These enterprises complemented the famous Lowland Carron Iron Works established in 1759.²³⁷ Further reference to similar small industries in the Eastern Highlands will be made in Chapter 4.

2. 11. 1 Kelp production in the Highlands

Apart from the small-scale localised extractive industries, Highland manufactures, claims Withers, centred upon three areas of production on a significant scale - kelp, textiles and fishing. According to Jackson, agricultural communities located in the proximity of the Highland coastline had long known the chemical

²³¹ Donaldson, 1987, 248.

²³² Magnusson, 1981, 46: Illustrative of this mercantile activity, William "Danzig Willie the Merchant" Forbes, born 1566, younger son of the laird of Corse, Aberdeen-shire, a self-made man and younger brother of Bishop Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen, was typical of the shrewd land-owning merchant class engaged in the Baltic trade. Magnusson argues that from the steady profits accumulated through the export of hides, salted salmon and knitted woollens, through the port of Aberdeen, and the import through the Baltic port of Danzig of much-prized "Sweden Board" building timber that Scotland then lacked, and Memel pine from Lithuania, Forbes was able to purchase the newly laid foundations of Craigievar Castle, Aberdeen-shire, from The impecunious Mortimer family, and complete the building. In subsequent years and increasing wealth, Forbes was able to acquire three east-coast baronies, a mansion and a rectory.

²³³ Macinnes, 1998, 68: In respect of the West Highlands, the marketing portfolio of the Campbells of Ardochattan and their family associates in Glen Etive, from the outset of the eighteenth century through the first phase of Clearance. The commercial ventures of this family extended from their base in Lorn, Argyll-shire, to cover an extensive area from the Perth-shire to Caithness in the far north. Droving, debt recovery, the extraction of timber, importing of meal and tobacco, coal mining and leasing of iron works, formed but some of their commercial activities. At Fort William, local merchants in association with local gentry and neighbouring chiefs, were engaged in trading with the West Indies. The Camerons of Lochiel, known to have dabbled in the New Jersey Land market in association with Bristol merchants from the late-seventeenth century, had, by the 1730s, secured an interest in a Jamaican plantation. It is here argued, that in their business acumen, good taste in the decoration of their splendid dwelling-houses by itinerant Continental artificers, that none of these Highlanders could be construed to be untutored "savages".

²³⁴ Donaldson, 1987, 258: It should also be noted that the *Inverness Courier* of May 24, 1811, carries the following: "Miners brought from Wales by the Marquis of Stafford struck on a seam of coal at Brora. They hoped to make the working remunerative, This apparently was the first actual proof of the existence of coal (lignite) in considerable quantity at Brora. The first bore was 230 feet in depth".

²³⁵ Established on the shores of Loch Etive - a sea loch - iron ore was conveyed by sea from Furness in Cumbria. The English iron-masters who conducted the business between 1753 and 1876, found, before the introduction of coke, that it was economical to transport iron ore to a ready source of charcoal fuel. Charcoal production required a vast area of trees that were available in Argyll. At its most productive period some 600 tree-cutters and charcoal-burners were employed in the industry. Many English families were brought to the area.

²³⁶ The first recorded account of Easdale slate is in the writings of Dean Munro, circa 1554.

²³⁷ The forcing-house of war was extremely important in stimulating iron manufacturing and metal work in general throughout Britain. The American War of 1756-63 in particular was instrumental in increasing demand for iron and related products, but also for absorbing men from the Highlands into newly formed regiments of foot and thereby creating a substantial Highland economy in the form of dependable wages. In Chapter 3, reference will be made to Highland recruitment in Britain's eighteenth century wars and its impact upon religious toleration.

properties of seaweed.²³⁸ In the traditional run-rig system of agriculture its use was widespread as a fertilizer in common with cattle dung and soot-laden thatch from refurbished dwelling houses, facts borne out in late-eighteenth century reportage to the *OSA*.²³⁹ With an extensive area of deeply indented coastline relative to its land area, and a rocky coastal substratum offering ideal condition for the propagation of marine algae, the Highlands of Scotland, claims Jackson, were particularly suited to the accumulation of abundant seaweed. Frequent Atlantic gales and heavy seas cast enormous quantities of drifting seaweed on-shore.²⁴⁰ With a capacity to re-generate itself in comparatively shallow water, the abundance of seaweed, argues Willis, is limitless. Moreover, observes McNab, seaweed for whatever purpose used was free and its extraction equipment simple.²⁴¹ Kelp is the residual ash obtained from burning seaweed, the simple mechanics of which process have been explained by Barron:

The sea washed on their foreshores at every tide large quantities of sea-weed; and the weed or kelp, when burned, produced an ash which contained a strong alkali, and formed a chief ingredient in the manufacture of soap and other commodities. The proprietors of the Western Hebrides derived large annual revenue from licensing their tenantry as kelp-burners, and the boast of one of them is still recollected that his shores were lined with a silver fringe.²⁴²

From about 1760 to 1850, claims Rymcr, kelp formed the sole source of alkali for the woollen, soap and glass industries until cheaper sources of supply were developed.²⁴³ In its boom years argues Macinnes, seaweed raised land-values to unheard-of peaks and made it profitable for landowners to relocate people from the inner straths and glens to coastal communities and townships. It was not intended to depopulate the estates by migration and emigration, although these two courses were available to those seeking an alternative life in Canada or Australia if opposed to factory work in the southern industrial centres.²⁴⁴

²³⁸ Jackson, 1948, 136.

²³⁹ *OSA*, XVII, 297: "Fields to be laid down with *bear*, and such as are to be planted with potatoes, after having been once ploughed, and thereafter manured, and upon their being tilled a second time, are instantly sown, and harrowed. Sea-weed is the principal manure, all along the shore. Some little tracts of moor and barren ground are yearly everywhere brought into cultivation by potato-planting; but the whole arable ground, ploughed and *delved* throughout the whole parish does not probably bear the proportion of one acre to an hundred of what is hill pasture, moor and moss. The old Scotch plough is the only one used here; four hardy native horses are yoked to it. The other implements of husbandry are harrows, the crooked and straight delving spades". (Rev. William MacKenzie, Parish of Assynt, County of Ross).

²⁴⁰ Jackson, 1948, 136.

²⁴¹ MacNab (1965) estimates that seventy per cent of the littoral seaweed of Scotland is to be found in the Outer Hebrides. Seaweeds, he argues, are usually classified by the colour produced by the predominant pigment. Brown, Red, Green and Blue-green are the main classifications, but it is the Brown Weed that predominates around the Scottish coast.²⁴¹ For the purpose of kelp harvesting, the seashore is divided into two regions, the littoral between the low and high-water marks, and the sub-littoral below the low-water mark. Drift-weed cast on-shore throughout the more exposed island archipelagos during stormy weather was the staple of the early kelp industry. Drift-weed composes mainly *Laminaria*, a weed rich in iodine and much preferred as a marketable product. On the other hand, Rockweeds, richer in sodium, tend to propagate and grow firmly attached to the largely mainland rocks upon which they grow. Rockweed, which has to be cut from the rock with hand-tools, is usually harvested at intervals of three years, but at shorter periods if a fast current is present.

²⁴² Barron, 1903, 203.

²⁴³ *Ibid*, 204: In the second half of the year 1822, the Western Highland and Islands found themselves confronted a serious economic crisis. After the (Napoleonic) war, the kelp-burners were subjected to competition. The barilla, a plant of foreign growth, yields on incineration a larger percentage of alkali than kelp. Alkali therefore could be produced more economically from the one than from the other. Protective duties alone maintained the industry of the kelp-burners. . . Suddenly in 1822, by the virtual abolition of the salt duties and the reduction of tax on Spanish barilla, the value of the industry received a fatal shock.

²⁴⁴ *OSA*; XVII, 76: "Emigration is thought to be owing in a great measure to the introduction of sheep, as one man often rents a farm where formerly many families lived comfortably; and if the rage for this mode of farming goes on with the same rapidity it has done for some years back, it is to be apprehended emigration will still increase. But this is not solely the cause; the high rents demanded by the landlords, the increase in population, and the flattering accounts received from

The object was to retain a workforce tied by the incentive of seasonal employment to supplement the tenure of a patch of unprofitable land.²⁴⁵ This last formed the rationale of the crofting system described above.

By the late-eighteenth century, argues Rymer, several factors contributed to the rapid development of a profitable kelp industry by entrepreneurial landowners. First, there was an abundant cheap labour force due to an increasing population, which could no longer be absorbed, in agricultural employment. Secondly, the onset of an industrial revolution created a demand for chemicals that, for a limited period, could be served by the processing of kelp that sold at a high price. Lastly, the period covered two major conflicts, the American War of Independence and French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, which effectively restricted imports of chemicals to Britain from foreign markets.²⁴⁶ The only small disadvantage faced by the new kelp industry at its height was the remoteness of its processing areas from the final market for the product.²⁴⁷ Only with the industry's later decline did agent's fees and transportation costs consume an increasing proportion of the profits. With the rapid decline of the kelp industry, contemporary newspaper reports record much hardship within congested West-Highland communities.²⁴⁸ Important for the labourer in the kelp industry, however unwilling to engage in the work, had been the payment of wages in cash that, for better or for worse,²⁴⁹ marked a new economic status far removed from the subsistence economy produced through a primitive agricultural system.²⁵⁰

2. 11. 2 Textile production within the Highlands

Cottage industries, observes Thompson, have ever been an important economic factor throughout the Highlands. Knitwear, craftwork, horn and wooden utensils, were formerly much in demand locally and as export products.²⁵¹ Now overtaken by cheap, modern, factory-produced items, only knitwear and

their friends in America, do also contribute to this evil". (Rev. Colin Maciver, Parish of Glenelg, County of Inverness).

²⁴⁵ Macinnes, 1988, 77.

²⁴⁶ Rymer, 1974, 127.

²⁴⁷ The work was both seasonal and labour intensive. Rymer reports that the season in North Uist ran from 10th June to 10th August. No elaborate equipment was required in the production process, since the harvested seaweed, pulled across the beach, was left to dry on the grass near the seashore. Twenty tons of wet seaweed was required to produce one ton of kelp. Between 1800 and 1823, Scotland was producing 20,000 tons of kelp a year that represents the collection and burning of 400,000 tons of seaweed. Significant implications resulted from the economic development of the kelp industry. The expectation of continued profitability encouraged landowners to sub-divide farms into small landholding units to accommodate the workforce when kelp harvesting was out of season. Whereas the economic rationalization of estates throughout the Highland region in the name of improvement imposed clearances of the land and migration of indigenous people, this exodus had little or no effect in the Outer Isles.

²⁴⁸ *Inverness Courier*, August 7, 1839: "The poverty of Harris is attributed to the hardships that followed from the decay of the kelp trade. The trade had so deteriorated that the proprietor was paying his poor tenants £2.16s.6d for manufacturing kelp which he sell with difficulty at £2.10s in Liverpool".

²⁴⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, February 12, 1855: "The poor in some parts of the West Highlands and Islands are this winter in a state of the most deplorable destitution. The extraordinary high price of food is causing most serious apprehensions as to the fate of the poor people in Spring". It is frequently reported that ship-borne tourists' cash was one factor in the decline of St Kilda's indigenous community, finally evacuated in August, 1930.

²⁵⁰ *Inverness Journal*, April 6, 1811: "It is stated that the practice of exacting services (on the Long Island) has been abolished, that the small tenants in general hold directly of the proprietors, and that all payments of rent are made in money".

²⁵¹ Thompson, 1969, 19: Thompson finds that on a higher economic level, the manufacture of woollen goods is reputed to have entered the British Isles with the Belgae about 300 BC. Coarse woollen cloth has been made in the Hebrides for centuries and has long been regarded as having a major economic significance.

craftwork survive to a much-limited extent, as marketable goods.²⁵² Most Highland croft houses, claims Smout, traditionally maintained a loom operated in the winter months by both man and wife, and some, a separate outhouse solely for this purpose.²⁵³ From about 1820 "tweed" became a popular fabric in Glasgow and London. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Lewis and Harris tweed-making had a social as well as an economic side.²⁵⁴ In common with Lowland practice, the Harris Tweed industry, once established in the mid-nineteenth century,²⁵⁵ operated a "putting-out system" that is still at the base of modern production.²⁵⁶ A similar system, widely organised on a larger scale from Aberdeen textile mills throughout the eastern Highland and Lowland areas from the seventeenth until the later-nineteenth centuries, will be discussed in Chapter 4. Distance and cost from the main markets encouraged the survival of small local textile industries in the more remote rural areas.

In the eighteenth century, argues Withers, the three principal institutions concerned with the commercial expansion of textiles in the Highlands, were the Board of Trustees, the British Linen Company and the Board for the Annexed Estates. Linen, claims Withers, was considered crucial for Highland industry because it held a primary place in the national economy.²⁵⁷ In 1753, to encourage and improve the linen manufacture in the Highlands, the Board of Trustees, was awarded an annuity of £3,000 that centred in the establishment of "manufacturing stations" as "colonies of industry". In the event, three manufacturing stations materialized, at Lochbroom, Lochcarron and Glenmoriston.²⁵⁸ The Board maintained close links with the British Linen Company, founded in 1746. This last organised production through agents and employed thousands of yarn spinners in the coastal areas, but ceased its Highland production in 1773. The Board of Trustees activities met with only partial success and its activities effectively ended in 1762. From the mid-1760s until its cessation in 1784, the Board for the Annexed Estates was the sole official body for promoting manufactures in the Highlands.²⁵⁹ Expansion of the textile industry, claims Withers, relied more upon the impetus given by formal institutions, entrepreneurs and largely non-active capital, than upon local initiative.²⁶⁰ The role of merchants in Highland towns as agents for the Board of Trustees and

²⁵² Mackenzie, 1930, 48: Woven into the material was the inevitable local superstition. In Skye, no crotal (lichen cultivating on stone surface) dyes were used, since the fisherman wearer might, by association, drown in the sea, loch or river.

²⁵³ Smout, 1970, 97.

²⁵⁴ Thompson, 1969, 46: When the finished web of cloth was removed from the loom, it was generally tough and had a hard feel to it. This harshness had to be changed to softness and closeness by a process known as waulking, fulling or felting. The final processing was a communal process performed, in the Hebrides, exclusively by groups of women who made it an event of social significance. The process is known in other parts of Europe, as its performance to the rhythmic accompaniment of song.

²⁵⁵ Macleod, 1998, 288: In 1844 the Earl of Dunmore, first non-native proprietor of Harris was keen to see his tartan - Murray - produced locally. His enterprising countess commissioned two sisters, the Misses MacLeod, in the Stroud township to weave the cloth. The Dunmores recommended Harris tweed throughout their social circle and set up classes for spinning and weaving on their estates. By 1857 it was for widespread sale through an Edinburgh agent. By 188 Lady Dunmore moved to London and opened a depot for tweeds, so popular had the cloth become.

²⁵⁶ *The Herald*, August 29, 2002: "The Harris Tweed industry currently involves 200 home-based weavers and 70 full-time employees at the KM Group mills in Stornoway and Shawbost. These centres account for 97 per cent of total Harris Tweed production, and maintain a global export trade essential to the marginal economy of Lewis and Harris".

²⁵⁷ Withers, 1988, 295.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 291.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 293.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 199.

the British Linen Company was crucial to the operation of the industry. From early in the eighteenth century the SSPCK was involved in the establishment of "spinning schools" in rural areas, tuition being provided to women and girls by the wife of the Society schoolmaster.²⁶¹ By the 1830s, claims Withers, textile production had ceased in most parts of the Highlands, though spinning remained locally important.²⁶²

Plate 2. 11



Wild flax. Legacy from a once-thriving cottage industry at Kinord, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. (photo-JRS)

2. 11. 3 Highland fishing industry

In common with textiles, argues Withers, fishing was traditionally undertaken on a small scale with communal use of boats and skills,²⁶³ before undergoing a shift from subsistence practice to commercial production. In common with the textile industry, fishing was centred in villages intended as focal points for industry and commercial advance. Like textiles, fishing did not free the Highlander from dependence on the land; economically, he was destined to remain a crofter-fisherman.²⁶⁴ Early attempts made to raise fishing to a commercial level had met with failure. It was not until 1786 that Parliament, in conjunction with the Highland Society of London (founded 1778), and other interested bodies, established the British Society for Extending the Fisheries and Improving the Sea Coasts of the Kingdom (The British Fisheries Society). According to Withers, the Society established three principal west-coast commercial herring fishing settlements in the west Highlands, at Ullapool (1787), Tobermory (1787) and Lochbay on Skye (1795) though this last was never developed as a fishing site. Due to the vagaries of the herring shoals,

²⁶¹ *Ibid*, 291.

²⁶² *Ibid*, 296.

²⁶³ Withers, 1984, 108

declining markets, under-capitalisation, and external circumstances over which the Society had no control, the development of commercial fishing on the west coast by the Society achieved little success. More success, adds Withers, accrued to the Society in its plantation of Pultneytown near Wick in the 1790s to take advantage of the more stable east-coast herring fishing. There, both local and Lowland capital was available to invest in new plant, new boats and new equipment.²⁶⁵ Importantly, there was a ready indigenous workforce supplemented by seasonal labour, already housed in purpose-built settlements in consequence of estate re-organisation. From the 1840s, the larger boats of a better-organised east coast industry began to fish the northern and western waters. Until the first half of the twentieth century, local labour followed the herring fleets to gut and cure the catches.

2. 11. 4 Illicit distilling industry within the Highlands

Distilling in the Highlands argues Withers, expanded from the 1700s because it was an easy means of transforming local grain surpluses in to a marketable product. In 1786 government legislation that imposed a tax on 20 shillings per gallon of still whisky gave rise to an illicit industry. Illicit distilling concentrated particularly in deprived areas bordering regions of grain surplus that were located mainly in the eastern Highlands.²⁶⁶ An illicit trade in sprits, distilled in the Highland glens, grew to alarming proportions in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries mainly due to the blockading of Continental seaports as an outcome of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. The consequent loss of wine imports into Britain and the high tax on malt caused a demand in the Lowlands for spirit that was partly satisfied by casks of whisky illegally distilled above the Highland line.

The subscribers to the *OSA* make frequent reference to the evils of intoxicating spirits in corrupting the morals of the population.²⁶⁷ Much illicit distilling was mainly engaged in by cottars²⁶⁸ and labourers in order to supplement the payment of rentals. The landowners, who benefited from regular receipt of rents, largely ignored the trade that involved bulk buying by middlemen from the Lowlands. This form of black economy was finally suppressed by Parliamentary legislation; firstly, by the Small Stills Act, 1816, and thereafter, by the Illicit Distillation (Scotland) Act, 1822, and the Excise Act, 1823. These made illicit distillation uneconomic for the individual operator and laid the foundations of the modern proprietary whisky industry. Curtailment of this lucrative trade forced many communities into emigration by the middle years of the nineteenth century. Whisky consumption in the Highlands was scarcely curtailed by

²⁶⁴ Withers, 1988, 299.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 306.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 310.

²⁶⁷ *OSA*, XVIII, 416: "The number of houses employed in selling spirituous liquors are 6; viz., one in Armdale, and 5 in Strathnaver. The effect they have on the morals of the people, is certainly mischievous. It is greatly to be wished that proprietors, particularly in the Highlands, would take some method to stop this evil". (Rev. James Dingwall, Parish of Farr, County of Sutherland).

²⁶⁸ O'Dell and Walton, 1962, 105: Cottars, sometimes known as grassmen. Usually they received a proportion of the meal and pasturage in return or work for the tacksman. In some cases they were allocated land, perhaps an acre of corn land, or ground to maintain a horse, cow and sheep; at the worst they were landless labourers with only a kailyard or kitchen garden.

these legislative measures, as Wyness notes, in respect of a notable Braemar funeral in 1834.²⁶⁹ The frequent impoverishment of cottar families resulted from the excesses at weddings and funerals, many lasting over several days. Despite the landmark excise legislation of the early-nineteenth century, illicit distillation was frequently detected in the Highlands well into the twentieth century.²⁷⁰

2. 12 Planned villages in the Highlands

The literati of the "Enlightenment," claims Harvie, had wanted to promote - as a "national" policy in all but name - a "balanced" social development based upon agriculture and rural industries, the latter in planned villages and factory towns. Of particular importance for national unity, the commercial development of the Highlands was considered to be a means to the overall civilising and improvement of the region.²⁷¹ The concept of the planned village, Smout claims, was not new, since it was foreshadowed between the middle of the fifteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century in a proliferation of burghs of barony.²⁷² In the event, the new phase of village building was less political and more economic in concept.²⁷³ This view accords with Paddison's argument that villages were conceived as "central places", retaining a labour force displaced from the land whilst maintaining goods and services available to the surrounding landward area.²⁷⁴ Lockhart estimates that some 400 planned villages were founded by landowners between 1725 and 1850, almost one quarter of which lie in the North-East counties.²⁷⁵ Whilst the villages exhibit considerable variation in period and area of founding, almost all, argues Smout, were either agricultural villages, fishing villages, villages based on small rural industries or factory villages.²⁷⁶

²⁶⁹ Wyness, 1964, 168: (Peter Grant of the Dubrach, Braemar, 1714-1824, last clansman survivor of Culloden Moor, 1746). The following year, on 11th February, 1824, Peter Grant died there (Auchindryne, Braemar) at the remarkable age of 110 years. "Dubrach's" funeral was one of the most impressive ever seen in Auchindryne, for the cortege, headed by pipers, was followed by some 300 Highlanders. As at most funerals of the time, the whisky flowed, and a contemporary record (*The Scots Magazine*, 1824) tells that four gallons were drunk, even before the lifting. (This article is currently missing from the publisher's archives).

²⁷⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, April 8, 1905: "Although whisky smuggling in the northern Highlands is not now so prominent as it was some years ago, this illicit traffic is not by any means extinct, although the vigilance of the preventative staffs has reduced it to a minimum. Officers succeeded in capturing in Ross-shire a complete complement of distilling utensils".

²⁷¹ Harvie, 2002, 157.

²⁷² Smout, 1970, 79: The Earls of Seaforth and Argyll respectively planted Stornoway and Campbeltown, states Smout, to hold down and civilise wild country in a manner similar to the intentions of several enthusiasts for Highland village settlement after 1745.

²⁷³ Lockhart, 1978, 95: The first planned villages were founded shortly before the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, the earliest known example being Ormiston in East Lothian which was founded by John Cockburn in 1735 and was designed to replace an existing arming township.

²⁷⁴ Paddison, 1969: Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Aberdeen.

²⁷⁵ Lockhart, 1978, 35: Three kinds of villages were founded in the North-East counties. Firstly, villages were built in inland districts to absorb surplus labour resulting from enclosure and the reorganisation of farming townships. Secondly, to replace existing nucleated settlements that were being cleared to accommodate development of landscaped policies around mansion houses, and thirdly, villages established in conjunction with harbour construction.

²⁷⁶ Smout, 1970, 89: Smout argues for three advantages accruing to the landowner in the planting of planned villages. Firstly, the village would form a market for the food their tenants grew. Secondly, the village would act as a place of employment and absorb a surplus rural population and prevent emigration. Lastly, the village offered an ideal moral environment in which to keep a working population virtuous and respectful.

The surplus rural labour force, claims Lockhart made redundant due to improved farming methods, and soldiers returning from active service in Britain's wars, could be re-housed in local communities as tradesmen and fishermen.²⁷⁷ In the event, the inescapable conclusion is that the surveyors' geometrical planning of croft land, in conception, would be similar to that earlier applied by landowners to new village communities that, as Paddison has stated, acted as central places for industries and services.²⁷⁸ Lockhart finds that between ninety and ninety-five percent of migrants to planned villages in the North-East, migrated from within a twenty-mile radius (Appendix "C").²⁷⁹ Four different street types in planned villages are identified by Lockhart; simple linear, complex grid, semi-circular and elliptical, and one-row settlements.²⁸⁰ Grid plans were designed to maximise the density of building plots on a restricted site, or to allow for later growth. Regulations regarding the house types varied greatly, but buildings were generally of "improved" quality of dressed stone and mortar. In order to recruit settlers, claims Lockhart, newspaper advertisements (Fig. 4.5), handbills and criers at local markets were methods in common use in the sale of building plots.²⁸¹ With the movement of immigrants into planned villages, substantial new church buildings were erected and new congregations created. Former settlement church buildings were in many cases demolished, or allowed to decay with only the surrounding burial grounds retained in use. One example of a planned village and related matters will be discussed in Chapter 4.

2. 12. 1 Crofting settlements in the Highlands

Crofting as an economic system of land tenure, notes Caird, was introduced into the Highlands of Scotland in the early decades of the nineteenth century to permit the leasing of estate land to Lowland sheep farmers at high rents. Most of the new peripheral croft settlements were created, avers Caird, in the period from c.1800 to c.1870.²⁸² According to Willis, the concept of the croft, a meticulously measured rectangle of arable land purporting to provide large numbers of families decanted from run-rig communities in the inner straths with a small unit of land that they could call their own.²⁸³ Included in this "misrepresentation" was a share in common grazing for cow and limited sheep. The economic, social and geographical revolution adds Willis, "represent (s) the tangible impression upon the landscape of a distinctive way of life created to meet the circumstances of a particular time in the area's history."²⁸⁴ Laid out in a regimented

²⁷⁷ Lockhart, 1978, 96.

²⁷⁸ OSA, VIII, 330: "Tobermory possesses the advantage of a safe, capacious harbour, situated in the tract of the shipping, which pass from the western parts of Britain to the northern countries of Europe, and has an easy communication by water, with the fishing lochs, in one direction, and with the Firth of Clyde, Liverpool, and other considerable towns, in the other ...Hitherto, however, no person of sufficient enterprise has attempted to introduce into this settlement any kind of manufacture... Landholders had a moral duty to invest in manufacturing projects, and generate employment within the villages, a duty at times avoided due to the financial risks involved, even when trading conditions seemed favourable". (Rev. Archibald McArthur, Parish of Kilninian, County of Argyll).

²⁷⁹ Lockhart, 1982, 38: In the short term, the estate rent roll could be expected to increase to yield a high return on the initial investment in the form of a grassum, or single down-payment, combined with a fixed annual feu duty *in perpetuum*. Inflation, then a negligible economic factor, would, in the long term, impoverish the annual estate income from fues.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 1980, 149.

²⁸¹ *Ibid*, 1980, 37.

²⁸² Caird, 1987, 67.

²⁸³ Crofters did not in fact achieve security of tenure until the passing of the Crofters Small-Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1886.

²⁸⁴ Willis, 1991, 56.

patchwork of village communities close to the seashore, the units were carefully calculated to deny self-sufficiency for individual families in the manner of former run-rig tenancy, but to encourage tenants to seek work in an outside industry to meet enhanced rents. The aim of the landlords following patterns previously set in the Lowlands claims Caird, was to create a larger number of tenancies, to bring more land into cultivation, to curtail mass emigration and to retain a workforce in their own interests. Kelp production and fishing as earlier shown, both managed by the estate for the profit of the landlord, were the main employments available to the crofter to meet the rent. However altruistic the motives for creating the crofting system in the Highlands, by the mid-eighteenth century, its execution was clearly viewed by disapprobation by tenant and Lowlander alike:

A correspondent of the *Times* gives the following account of the social condition of the people in Skye. In Sconser there are about 400 persons living in 40 huts and occupying about 60 acres of arable land. They were in a state of extreme destitution but had been to some extent relieved by a good take of herring. The fisherman-crofter is the most miserable of all men, being neither fisher nor farmer, and yet depending on potatoes and herring to feed sometimes a dozen children all year round.²⁸⁵

The enforced clearance of an indigenous Highland population from the inner straths and glens and the implementation of the crofting system by landlords were closely connected with movements within the Established Church. Moderates - worldly ministers of word and sacrament, who often held large tacks - occupied most Highland pulpits, claims Hunter. Appointed by patronage of the landholding heritors, "there could be no doubt", asserts Hunter, "that the Established clergy gave at least tacit support to the landlords' policies".²⁸⁶ In Chapter 3 it will be argued that the onset of popularly orientated and fervent evangelism, fanned by a series of "revivals" in the North and West Highlands, carried the greater part of the population into the Free Church in 1843. By these actions, it will be argued, the agenda was set for the Crofters Small-Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886.

2. 13 Migration and emigration - a Highland fountainhead?

The migration of peoples across the world has ever been part of human history. The reasons are multifarious, but in the Highlands, a prime source of large-scale emigration has been identified as economic. Whatever the secondary push-pull factors, in Meyer's view, the Highlands were a "fountainhead of emigration".²⁸⁷ Enclosure of arable land; sub-division of land; failure of the kelp and fishing industries; remoteness from Lowland markets; falling prices of stock; lack of large-scale industry; a rapidly increasing population; increased rents;²⁸⁸ widespread poverty; recurrent famine; and the tempting call of higher wages in the burgeoning industrial south, are some of the push-pull causes rafted

²⁸⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, January 21, 1853.

²⁸⁶ Hunter, 1974, 99.

²⁸⁷ Meyer, 1957, 3.

²⁸⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, December 21, 1854: "Demand for farms - The competition for all farms, now advertised, is excessive. More tenants appear, especially for moderate arable farms, than have been known to do so for 40 years, and higher rents are being offered. An excitement prevails which leads the public to offer beyond what reasonable calculation would warrant, but remember we are subject to the fluctuating, and it may be, very low price of grain, which are likely, occasionally, to result from the competition open to all the corn-growing countries of the world".

in both the *OSA* and *NSA* as catalysts for the steady diaspora of families from the Highlands. Emigration, claims MacKenzie, would have proceeded briskly from 1760 onwards had it not been discouraged by Highland landlords who found the manhood on their estates a valuable asset.²⁸⁹ The profitable kelp industry, as an example, was labour intensive; loss of crofter-tenants meant loss of rents. Acting on pressure from landowners, emigration was impeded by state Government who also recognised the utility of Highland recruits as fodder in colonial wars.²⁹⁰ Introduced earlier in this chapter were two solutions mooted by landowners to retain a workforce upon their estates; the creation of planned villages and crofting communities, both essentially reception areas for displaced families.

2. 13. 1 Patterns of Highland migration

In the late-eighteenth, and in the nineteenth centuries, migration in the Highlands fell into two categories, either temporary or permanent. In the north-west Highlands, claims Withers, the crofter and cottar populations were critically dependent upon temporary migrations from the early 1800s at least.²⁹¹ Seasonal work in the Lowlands, particularly at harvest-time, was necessary to meet the increasing rents charged on small communal farm holdings.²⁹² Temporary migration might also include military service extending for a number of years.²⁹³ These local migration patterns, to a lesser extent, economic in character, were also true of the Eastern and Central Highlands. In Chapter 4, mention will be made that in the last decade of the eighteenth century, the tenant farmers in the Cromar district of Tarland, in Highland Aberdeen-shire, found it difficult to make progress due to lack of local labour engaged in seasonal "improvement" work in the Lowlands.²⁹⁴ One major disruption to churchgoing would have been the seasonal practice of pastoral transhumance, engaged in by large sections of the community, and formerly common in most mountainous countries. In the west-Aberdeen-shire parish of Tarland, records the *OSA*:

The farmers in this country, in general, are obliged to send their labouring cattle away, about the end of May, for summer grazing, to glens at a distance of 30 or 40 miles, from whence they do not return till about the end of August; and many of them must send their sheep, at least their wedders, to distant pastures for the summer season too.²⁹⁵

The unsettled pattern of Highland rural life, dictated by the ecology of the region, militated against regular contact with parish church, minister and manse.

Internal permanent migration could arise with a change of tenancy or the proprietor's change of land use. Settlement on the coast, sheep farming and the kelp industry, notes Withers, were processes and mechanisms of Highland population change.²⁹⁶ In some notable cases, displacement across estate lands

²⁸⁹ MacKenzie, 1883, 275.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 275.

²⁹¹ Withers, 1987, 76.

²⁹² *Glasgow Herald*, June 29, 1804: "This month is the time to hire harvestmen. Though there does not appear to be any scarcity of them, they have asked for last year's extravagant wages".

²⁹³ *Ibid*, August 7, 1803, "Sailed the Swallow for Belfast, having on board a considerable number of fine recruits, mostly Highlanders, for the 79th 90th and 93rd regiments in Ireland".

²⁹⁴ *OSA*, XIV, 720.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 720.

was not accepted amicably by tenants: McNab cites the clearance of Glen Calvie in Sutherland-shire as an instance of an established congregation with a familiar culture, forcibly dispersed at the instance of the estate factor.²⁹⁷ In the second half of the nineteenth century, instances of physical violence on both sides are recorded in contemporary newspaper reports:

Deforcements of officers of the law have taken place in the county of Ross. The first was in the case of distraining for poor rates. The officers were resisted by the people of Ullapool and forced to retreat. In Lochbroom similar scenes occurred on the occasion of executing some warrants for removal on the estate of the Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford. The noble proprietors wish to locate the people to some other part of the estate. The people, however, resist all interference. The number to be removed consists of 16 families.²⁹⁸

Permanent intra-county and inter-county migration, and migration to towns and developing industrial cities in the Lowlands, claims Withers, can be assessed with some accuracy only from 1851 and later, when place of birth became a mandatory entry on decennial census returns.²⁹⁹ This census source is used in Chapter 4 in relation to movement into the planned village of Ballater in the Eastern Highlands (Appendix "D").

Plate 2. 12



The Last of the Clans, Thomas Faed, (1826-1900). Glasgow Museums & Art Galleries. (Reproduction granted).

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 78.

²⁹⁷ Croick Church in Glen Calvie, designed as a "Parliamentary Church" by Thomas Telford, was built in 1827 and attracted a weekly congregation of 200. In 1843, by now reduced to around 90 people due to earlier evictions, tenants in the glen were served decrees to "flit and remove" in order that the proprietor could turn the glen into a single sheep farm to obtain a higher rent. Prior to dispersion, the community was forced to shelter in the open air of the churchyard (Condensed from P.A. Mac The Church at Croick, published in *The Scots Magazine*, May, 1963).

²⁹⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, April 10, 1853.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1987, 76.

2. 13. 2 Patterns of Highland emigration

From the early-eighteenth century, emigration from the West Highlands proceeded in two phases. First, a protracted voluntary phase that was overlapped in the early-nineteenth century by rapid enforcement. In both phases, the increase in land rentals throughout the Highlands was a major consideration in prompting otherwise destitute people to seek a new life overseas. A contemporary press report in 1803 points to one significant cause:

A severe attack has been made upon the estate of Sir John Sinclair for the considerable emigrations from Scotland. Peasants are said to have been dislodged to make way for sheep.³⁰⁰

As early as July 1739, argues Meyer, Argyll emigrants sailed voluntarily from Campbeltown, to North Carolina on the recommendation of a committee of leading citizens. With promises of free land grants, possible exemption from taxation until well settled in addition to favourable reports from those who had gone in advance, there was no hint of enforcement.³⁰¹ In the course of the following two centuries, enticement of Highland emigrants to the developing countries overseas developed a fairly standard pattern. Letters from family and friends already settled overseas, peripatetic emigration agents for the colonies, press advertisements and the distribution of handbills, delayed rental payments on ground, were devices to attract able-bodied emigrant families. In the 1790s notes the *OSA*:

The sudden rise in the land-rents was certainly the original cause of emigrations from the isle of Skye and Uist to America. Those who found a difficulty in supporting their families when the rents were low, could not be persuaded that any exertions in industry would enable them to live with any degree of comfort, when raised a third more at least. This determined several of them to look out for asylum somewhere else. Copies of letters from persons who had emigrated several years before to America to their friends at home, contained the most flattering accounts of the province of North Carolina, were circulated among them. The implicit faith given to these accounts made them resolve to desert their native country, and to encounter the dangers of crossing the Atlantic to settle in the wilds of America. From 1771 to 1775, several thousand emigrated from the western Highlands to America, among whom were more than 200 from North Uist. These in their turn gave their friends at home the same flattering accounts that induced themselves to go, so that these countries would in a short time have been drained of their inhabitants, had it not been for the American War.³⁰²

By the end of the eighteenth century, claims Meikle, the diaspora of Roman Catholic families on a national scale was countered by the State in 1793 with the removal of their former disabilities. To this concession was added the award of secret State aid on the ground that it would stem further voluntary emigration.³⁰³ From this time onwards, new chapel buildings added to the devotional icons across the Highland landscape, as indeed they did in Lowland areas.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the population on the Island of Skye increased enormously. Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk, a philanthropist, argues Ross, decided that the answer to the

³⁰⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, February 24, 1803.

³⁰¹ Meyer, 1957, 3.

³⁰² *OSA*, XX, 117.

economic problem created, was voluntary emigration rather than migration to industrial blight in Lowland towns where dispersion would subsume the Gaelic language and culture. In 1803, around 1,000 "Selkirk Settlers" were conveyed from Skye aboard three ships, the *Polly*, the *Dykes* and the *Oughton*, to settle on 80,000 acres of land, purchased by Selkirk, in south-east Prince Edward Island.³⁰⁴ Significantly, the emigrants took with them their deep Presbyterian faith that became an example to earlier settlers in Canada. In 1852, taking advantage of the Highlands and Islands Emigration Society's provisions, the population on the remote Hebridean island of Hirta, St. Kilda,³⁰⁵ is reported to have embraced a responsible view of emigration:

In the autumn of last year 36 of the inhabitants left St Kilda to proceed to Australia.³⁰⁶ The attachment to friends and home is particularly strong amongst the primitive inhabitants of this lonely and distant isle. Their motive to emigrate was less the hope of bettering their condition than the conviction that their removal was necessary for the well-being of the friends and relations they were to leave behind.³⁰⁷

In common with all Hirta inhabitants (*Hiortaich*), notes Lawson, the emigrants were members of the new Free Church of Scotland. Due to the vagaries of the voyage, less than half the party reached Australia.³⁰⁸ The distressed condition of people in the West Highlands by the middle of the nineteenth century produced a number of philanthropic emigration schemes. Notable were the Rev John Dunmore Lang's Bounty Scheme³⁰⁹ of 1838 and the Highland and Island Emigration Society³¹⁰ between 1852 and 1857, this last assisting almost 5,000 individuals to Australia and New Zealand.

2. 14 Tourism in the Highlands

Apart from an occasional intrepid traveller, the Highlands of Scotland had little appeal to Lowlanders until the last decades of the eighteenth century. According to Macleod, the transformation in public perception of the Highlands as a mysterious, forbidding region of North Britain, to that of a morbid Gothic paradise inviting visitation, followed the publication in the 1760s of James Macpherson's spurious translation from

³⁰³ Meikle, 1969, 196.

³⁰⁴ Ross, J., *The Scotsman*, April 16, 2003.

³⁰⁵ The remote rocky archipelago of St. Kilda, formed by the rim of an extinct volcano, is comprised of four main islands - Hirta, Soay, Boreray and Dun - and three sea stacks, Stac an Armin, Stao Lee and Stao Levenish. Throughout history, only one island, Hirta, has been capable of supporting human habitation. The resident community on Hirta was evacuated in August, 1930.

³⁰⁶ The St. Kilda emigrants established themselves at a watering-hole three miles south of Melbourne, Victoria, which they named St. Kilda. The settlement is now a suburb of Melbourne. Isabella (Gall) Easdale, born at Glenmuick, Aberdeen-shire, in 1836, youngest daughter of Alexander and Isabella Gall who emigrated on the ship, *Tasmania*, in 1851, died at St Kilda, Australia, in 1911.

³⁰⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, August 18, 1853.

³⁰⁸ Lawson, 1993, 32: The alternative view is that following the departure from Hirta of the Rev, Neil MacKenzie in 1843, not to be immediately replaced, an apathy set in amongst the population for lack of the firm leadership that MacKenzie had supplied. The Established Church sent a schoolmaster who claimed both church building and manse. In due course, the Rev. John MacKay was appointed to the Hirta charge. MacKay's interest was solely in religion and thereby instilled a fatalism amongst the islanders. The Hirta emigrants sailed from Southampton aboard the *Priscilla* on 13 November 1852, and reached Melbourne, Australia, on 24th February 1853. Less than half reached Australia, the others had died of shipboard diseases or in quarantine in Melbourne.

³⁰⁹ Web: <http://www.acay.com.au/~gsm/JamesMoran.html>: The *James Moran*, a ship of 600 tones under Captain Ferguson, left Loch Inver and Loch Broom, on 21st October, 1838, carrying 229 passengers, most of whom were clearance victims.

³¹⁰ The Highland and Island Emigration Society was initially conceived by Sheriff-Substitute Thomas Fraser of Skye as a small-scale charitable venture to enable more islanders to emigrate under the auspices of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission after the cessation of the ineffective government-funded famine relief and improvement schemes (*Adventurers*

the Gaelic language of *Fingal* and *Temora*. Ossian, an ancient Celtic poet, purported Macpherson, had composed the original poetic verse.³¹¹ Popular interest in the Highland landscape, its people and culture became widespread by the publication in 1820 of Walter Scott's epic poem, *The Lady of the Lake* - it sold 20,000 copies in its first year notes Macleod - followed by numerous works of historical romance based on Highland themes. Royal approval was sealed by the visit to Edinburgh in 1824 of George IV and his entourage.³¹² At a period of mass emigration of indigenous poor people from Highland straths, the *Inverness Journal* in 1809 is fulsome on the attractions of the landscape for upper-class tourists.³¹³ Four decades later, in 1848, the acquisition of Balmoral Estate in upper Deeside, Highland Aberdeenshire, by Queen Victoria and her consort Prince Albert, made either ownership or lease of Highland property fashionable for the upper strata of mercantile Lowland society.³¹⁴ By the mid-nineteenth century, the expansion of the Highland railway network, anticipated in the *Inverness Courier* of 8th October 1845, was calculated to promote increased tourism and facilitate Highland economy in general,

Attention is directed afresh to the proposed railway between Inverness and Perth. Our southern readers can have but a faint idea of the crowds of tourists who annually, even now, frequent the Highlands; and who can calculate the increase of those pleasure and health-seeking visitors? This, however, is only one source of traffic. It is well known that vast flocks of sheep and herds of cattle are, for six months every year, sent south from the north to the south country markets, all of which could be conveyed by rail.

The rail line to Inverness and Lochcarron were both completed in 1870; that to Oban in 1880. Kyle of Lochalsh was reached in 1897 and Mallaig in 1901. The establishment of a Highland rail network, claims Smout, was largely in order to facilitate the tourist trade".³¹⁵ This unwitting attack upon Highland culture brought not only an impetus to Highland economy, but also a new popular literature extolling the virtues of Highland travel.³¹⁶

& *Exiles*, M. Harper, London, 2003 p.51).

³¹¹ Macleod, 1996, 243: But as the century advanced, the Highlanders continued to pour from the region, thousands of visitors poured in. More and more the region integrated into the wider British Isles, by tourism, by a popular fascination with its landscape and culture. This enchantment with things Highland and Celtic, though, was as misinformed as it was specious. It was founded on a cottage industry of colourful writing and given a huge boost by the leaders of society, even by the royal family itself.

³¹² An event, reports Prebble, 1988, 33-43, choreographed by Walter Scott and Colonel Stewart of Garth. On that occasion, the King deigned to wear a kilt, albeit the spectacle did not appeal to all Lowlanders present. Several gratuitous acts preparatory to, and during the levee, were designed to confirm Scotland's allegiance to the Crown.

³¹³ *Inverness Journal*, August 18, 1809: "It is with pleasure, we observe, that this part of the country, as is usual at this season of the year, when our romantic hills and valleys assume their most attractive appearance, is again becoming the resort of the admirers of nature and the friends of improvement. Among our arrivals this week we have to notice Lord Cathorpe, Sir William Hamilton, Sir Thomas and Mr. Franklin, etc., etc." By the mid-nineteenth century, mountaineering in the Highlands became fashionable. In 1836, the first ascent of *Sgurr nan Gilleann* (peak of the young men) on Skye was made by Principal James Forbes of St. Andrew's University.

³¹⁴ Meggernie Estate and Castle in Glen Lyon, Perth-shire, was purchased in 1884 by John Bullough of Oswaldtwistle, partner in the textile related firm of Howard and Bullough, Ltd, Globe Works, Accrington, Lancashire. About that time the textile machinery works employed some 6000 people. Bullough later sold the Meggernie estate to Sir Ernest Salter Wills, 3rd baronet, of the Bristol tobacco dynasty, and purchased the island of Rum in the Small Isles. Between 1901 and 1904 Bullough's son, Sir George Bullough, 1st baronet, built Kinloch Castle on the island and employed over 100 individuals and their families on the estate all year round. In emulation of the Royal Family, the Bulloughs maintained a large yacht, the *Rhouma*, which they kindly consented to be used as a hospital ship during the Boer War. The Bullough and Wills' families can be considered typical later nineteenth-century Highland landowners bringing with them an Anglican tradition. Paradoxically, Queen Victoria at Balmoral, held to the Established Church of Scotland in her Sunday worship at nearby Crathie Kirk in Upper Deeside.

³¹⁵ Curtis, 1981, 113.

³¹⁶ Humble, 1934, 23:

The impact of the later-eighteenth century Anglicisation of the indigenous Highland landed class coupled with the influx of affluent Lowland settlers on the new sporting estates and, not least, mass tourism by the middle and upper classes, proved beneficial to the well-being of the impoverished Episcopal Church in Scotland. Many Lowland families brought entire Anglican entourages in their close personal service (Fig 2.5). The Highland landscape, it is suggested, cannot therefore be dissociated from a revival of a Reformed denomination severely constricted by its proscription in 1690. The erection of Episcopalian private chapels on estate ground and later public chapels to serve this new influx within and around Highland village communities will be examined in Chapter 5.

In concluding this chapter, it is claimed that there can be found in the Scottish Highlands distinct spatial areas characterised by the history of their settlement, that are not unconnected with their topography,

Fig 2. 4 Late-nineteenth century upper class occupation of a Highland "Big House"
National decennial Census 1901

Cambus O' May House - Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn.
32 rooms with one or more windows.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Relation to head</u>	<u>Cond- ition</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Where born</u>
William Hollins	Head	M	38	Own means	England
Mary Hollins	Wife	M	27		England
William Hollins	Son		5		England
Emily M. Hollins	Daughter		4		England
John C. Hollins	Son		2		England
William J. Barry	Visitor	M	37	Own means	England
William C. Reeve	Servant	S	35	Butler	England
William C. Johnson	Servant	S	20	Footman	England
Annie E Edwards	Servant	W	48	Cook	England
Emilie Theiler	Servant	S	36	Ladies-maid	Switzerland
Jane Simpson	Servant	S	61	House-maid	England
Lily Adlard	Servant	S	25	Kitchen-maid	England
Annie Coventry	Servant	S	38	House-maid	England
Annie E. Bradley	Servant	S	22	House-maid	England
Annie Radford	Servant	S	17	Scullery-maid	England
Mary J. Mathis	Servant	W	43	Nurse	England
Agnes Archer	Servant	S	23	Under-nurse	England
Eleanor E. M. Powell	Servant	S	16	Nursery-maid	England

The household listed above does not include outdoor staff - gardeners, ostlers, handymen, recruited locally.

geology, vegetation, climate, resources and with the rest of the country. Later chapters will examine this characterisation, in terms of the geography of the Highland region, and how it determined the religious groupings that are still evident to this day.

At Euston (A.M. Harbord)
Stranger with a pile of luggage proudly labelled for Portree,
How I wish, this night in August, I were you and you were me!
Think of all that lies before you when the train goes sliding forth,
And the lines athwart the sunset lead you swiftly to the North!
Think of breakfast at Kingussie, think of high Drumochter Pass,
Think of Highland breezes singing through the bracken and the grass.
Etc., etc.

Chapter 3

The historical geography of religion and "mission" in the Highlands: a historical survey

3. 1 Highland landscape and ecclesiastical mission

Landscape has generally been the stage upon which received religion has been played out. Early missionaries, argues Simpson, from where ever they came, did not roam haphazardly over the countryside; their activities were conditioned both by geography and by the political arrangements prevailing in their own period of time.¹ It is the purpose of this thesis to build upon Levine's claim, introduced in Chapter 1, that evangelical mission has everywhere been conditioned by landscape, and, as a corollary, that mission has conditioned the landscape,² and to argue that nowhere is such an observation more appropriate than in Highland Scotland. The visible evidence, presented in Chapter 2, is seen in numerous ecclesiastical buildings, monoliths, decorated slab-stones, Mass stones, cairns and cysts, representing what Geertz refers to as "icons of faith",³ erected by succeeding peoples in those spaces where human occupancy of land was possible. Alongside these tangible expressions of faith must be placed what Meek calls mental icons; those vacant sites of past open-air preaching, "revivals" and "awakenings" that in particular, have characterised evangelical mission since the early-eighteenth century.⁴ Above all, it must be remembered that many of these tangible "icons of faith" are relics of a variety of religious practices that predate the birth of Christianity by thousands of years.

3. 2 The early Church from Celtic roots to Roman Christianity

In the context of Christianity, the risen Christ's final missionary charge to his eleven disciples on a mountain in Galilee was, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost".⁵ This charge, as Meek argues, has ever been the prime task of the Christian Church.⁶ Irrespective of topography, it is a valid claim that the aim of Christian evangelists in all subsequent ages has been to create on a global scale, a moral landscape in perfect spiritual emulation of the risen Christ. From this standpoint, the clear assumption remains that affairs of the spirit transcend both physical and human geography. With these observations as a touchstone, the nature of evangelical mission in the Highland region will be examined in this and in later chapters of this thesis. It can scarcely be overlooked, however, that physical landscape has an important place in the texts of both the *Hebrew Bible* (Old Testament) and the Christian *New Testament*. Indeed, topographical motifs contribute to the unity of both books. The *Exodus* chapter of the Pentateuch noted in Chapter 1, informs us that it was upon the

¹ Simpson, 1935, 15.

² Levine, 1986, 428: see also Chapter 1.2.

³ Geertz, 1975, 46.

⁴ Meek, 1998, 144.

⁵ Matthew 28, 19.

⁶ Meek, 1996, 2.

summit of Mount Sinai/Horeb, tentatively identified as modern Jebel Musa,⁷ that Moses received from the Lord the stone tables upon which the Ten Commandments were inscribed.⁸ Since the fourth century CE, Mount Tabor (411m /1348ft), dominant over the fertile Plain of Jezreel in Lower Galilee has been identified as the mountain where Jesus was transfigured.⁹ The summits of these eminences, familiar on the landscape to Israelite people, were perhaps perceived as the ultimate contact point between earthly humans and God.

Whilst mountain summits presume isolation and meditation in the spirit of the early eremites, few mountain summits in the Scottish Highland landscape record the veneration of early Christian saints. Only occasionally are prominent landforms named by, or named after, the saints themselves; Early missionaries, notably Saint Donnan,¹⁰ and Saint Maelrubha,¹¹ are usually commemorated in legend at the less elevated sites of their reputed evangelism. Most Highland hilltop and place names, argues Foster, are derived either from Pictish, Celtic or Norse languages, and are usually descriptive of the landform itself.¹² It would seem, therefore, that mountains and other identifiable physical features on the Highland landscape served as markers to the early traveller on land and by sea, as surely as the sun, planets and stars in the firmament during clear weather conditions. The assumption seems to be that before the early map makers prepared printed maps, travellers would acquire a mental map of the track ahead, based upon physical features that were secular in conception. In a spiritual context, Schama argues for a link between mountains and medieval Catholic spirituality in the form of an established tradition of mountain mortification,¹³ a link that was to be broken at the Reformation by the Protestant rejection of physical pain as a route to salvation.¹⁴

The diversity of dangers posed to early mission in the Highlands must have presented a test of will to those willing to accept the challenge. Where large tracts of the Highland landscape in this modern age are revealed as barren moorland and desolate glen, early travellers' accounts, supported by archaeological evidence, confirm that there must once have been extensive afforestation. Knight describes the Moor of Rannoch, today a wilderness of bog and bleached tree stumps, as formerly a mighty forest, scores of miles in extent.¹⁵ In his travels, the Borders' poet James Hogg (1770-1835) writes of Inveroran at the head of

⁷ Pritchard, 1991, 34.

⁸ Exodus; 34.4: "And he hewed two tablets of stone like unto the first; and Moses rose up early in the morning, and went up unto Mount Sinai, as the Lord had commanded him, and took in his hand the two tables of stone".

⁹ Matthew, 17.1: "And after six days Jesus taketh Peter, James and John his brother, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart. And he was transfigured before them; and his face did shine like the sun, and his raiment was as white as light. And, behold there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with him".

¹⁰ Donnan was an Irishman who established a community of monks on the island of Eigg in the Inner Hebrides. There he was martyred on 17th April 617CE on the eve of Easter, by armed men who set fire to the building following Mass. There are a number of dedications to Donnan across Scotland; Kildonnan is found in several locations. He also founded a small church on an island in Kintail on the site of the present *Eilean Donan* (St. Donnan's isle) castle (Attwater, 1965, 106).

¹¹ Saint Maelrubha is introduced later in chapter 3.

¹² Foster, 1996, 30.

¹³ Schama, 1996, 52.

¹⁴ The belief was that one who has emerged entire through the winnowing fire of suffering comes out changed and renewed. The individual has passed beyond dependence on things mortal and had attained a knowledge of the immortal principle that lies at the root of his own being - which is also the immanent deity. He has passed beyond pleasure and pain to an inner centre where the peace of God is known.

¹⁵ Knight, 1933, 340.

Loch Tulla near Bridge of Orchy in Argyll, with its natural firs, as a “poor remembrance of the extensive woods with which the environs had once been over-run.”¹⁶ Such natural forests in the remoter Highlands, argue Donaldson *et al*, could be expected to harbour a variety of ferocious animals; brown bears, wild boar, wolves, lynx, poisonous snakes, as well as cateran¹⁷ bands of thieves and robbers relatively safe from any form of justice.¹⁸ In facing these challenges, the early Christian missionary in the Highlands must have possessed qualities of fortitude, perseverance, endurance and a capacity for self-sacrifice far beyond the common.

In his review of the early history of Christianity in Britain, Bowen proposes two distinct cultural provinces with a dividing line set between Darlington and Dawlish. He argues that a clear physiographical background marks each province and ensures that the story of Christianity has been different within the two cultural provinces.¹⁹ Bowen’s claims have some significance for us in thinking about how the distinctive physical context of the Highlands, clearly well to the north of his Darlington - Dawlish dividing line, may have influenced religious history. The significant point Bowen makes for the geographer is that its rock formation, its climatic variation and its soils characterise each spatial area; maritime cultures confine themselves largely to the north and west, and continental cultures to the south and east. It might be felt that these associations of religious culture and geographical space are purely fortuitous in that Romano-British Christianity was first introduced into the low-lying fertile landscape south and east from the adjacent European continent through its short sea crossings. On the other hand, the less fertile north and west followed a Celtic tradition brought by a longer sea journey from the Iberian Peninsula and from Brittany, to take root in Cornwall, South Wales and in south-west Scotland, areas with a different geological structure. Nevertheless, ease of access would seem to be the key to communications, and adaption the policy followed, but ultimately everything rests upon - albeit not being simplistically determined by - the underlying basics of physical location and structure.

Turning to more specific points about the physical geography of communications, it is from Bede (673-735CE), a monk resident at Jarrow, Northumberland, that we can trace the likely spread of the Celtic Church into the Highlands. In Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (Ecclesiastical History of the English People), an early surviving chronicle of the Anglo-Saxon Church completed in 731CE, we learn that the enigmatic Bishop Nynia or Ninian, a protégé of Martin of Tours, is said to have founded

¹⁶ Hogg, 1986, 36.

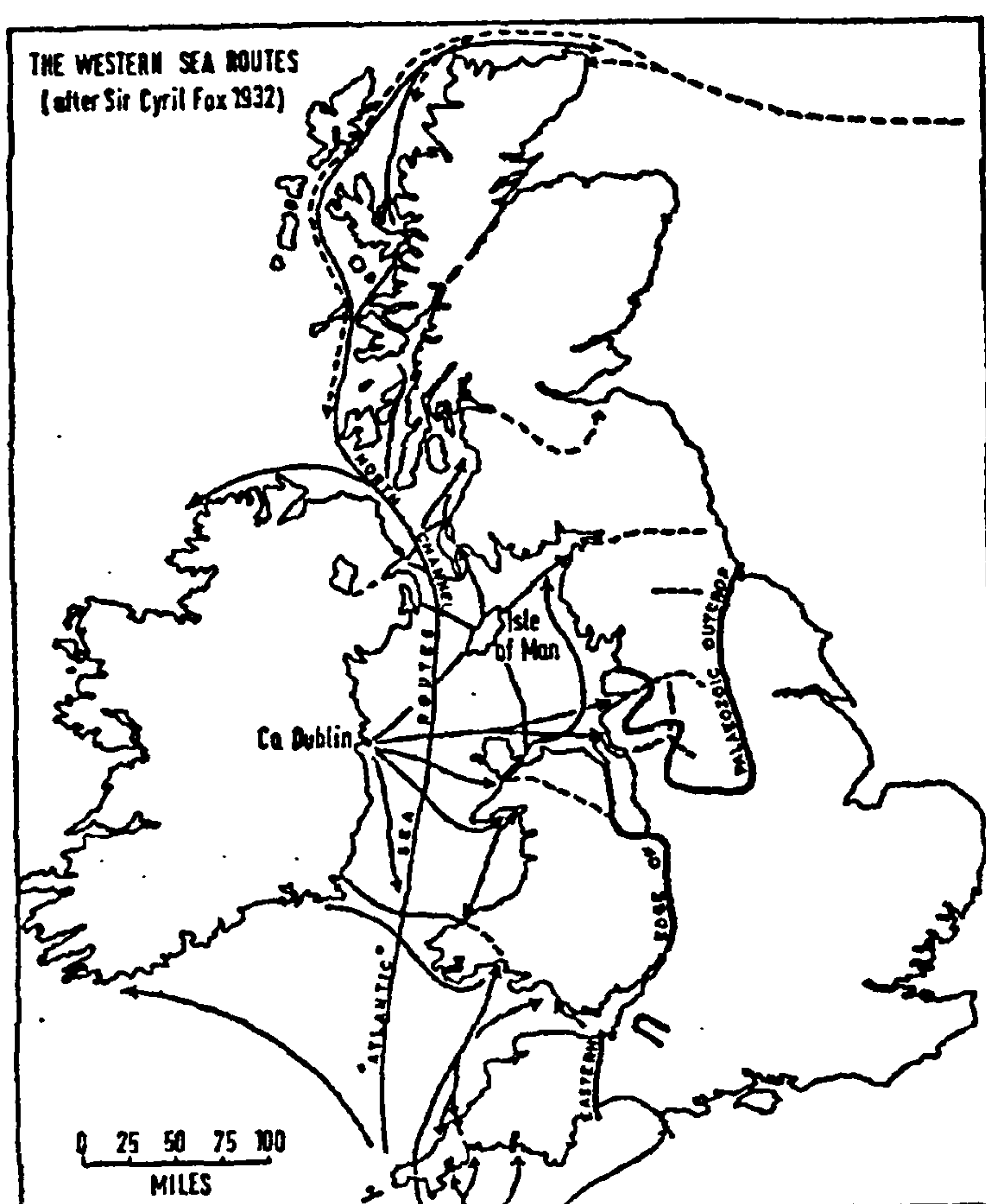
¹⁷ Cateran- a Highland robber or irregular fighter. (Chambers Pocket Scots Dictionary): Grigor McGregor of Dalfad in Glen Gairn, Upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire, is sometimes confused with Rob Roy McGregor of Balquhiddy, Stirling-shire.

¹⁸ Donaldson and Morpeth, 1977: The Romans took bears from Scotland back to Italy to take part in barbaric bear bating fights in front of thousands of spectators in the Colosseum. Wild boar became extinct in Scotland in the seventeenth century as a result of hunting. Ample evidence exists of wolves in medieval times. Wolves roamed the Scottish countryside until about 1743 when the last of the breed was killed by McQueen, stalker to the laird of Mackintosh. Travellers were frightened to go into the forests of Mar, Badenoch and Lochaber, because of the wolves there. Lynx vanished from Scotland about 1700 years ago. Bones of the big cat dating back to Neolithic times were found in the Bone Cave of Allt nan Uamh in Sutherland.

¹⁹ Bowen, 1932, 273.

a monastic cell at Whithorn, Wigtown-shire, in the fifth century, CE.²⁰ Bede neither tells us how the Roman-educated Ninian, nor how the masons from the Tours monastery of St. Martin, who reputedly built Ninian's *Candida Casa* monastery in stone in 397CE, reached the Solway coast. From Ninian's monastic building, states Bede, disciples made their way north-east to evangelise the southern Picts.²¹ Irrespective of the objective truth or otherwise of Bede's biographical account, Price *et al* are in agreement that Whithorn remained a major Christian pilgrimage site until the Reformation reached Scotland in 1560.²² In effect, the *Candida Casa* at Whithorn can be accepted as a starting point in early Celtic Christian mission on the Scottish mainland, exploiting the concept of *exilium pro Christo* - a going out for Christ - an attempt to transcend geography in bringing the gospel message to the people.²³

Fig. 3.1



EG.Bowen, *The Western Seaways. Saints, Seaways and Settlements in the Celtic Lands*, UWP, 1969.

As the precarious imperial authority that Roman legionaries had brought to the Scottish Lowlands abruptly receded southwards in the early-fifth century, Knight argues that the country relapsed into chaotic political

²⁰ Price and Farmer, 1990, 148: "The southern Picts, who live on this side of the mountains, are said to have abandoned the errors of idolatry long before this date and accepted the true Faith through the preaching of Bishop Ninian, a most reverend and holy man of British race, who had been regularly instructed in the mysteries of the Christian Faith in Rome".

²¹ *Ibid*, 1990, 148.

²² Price and Farmer, 1990, 24.

and social disorder under repeated piratical raids by Picts and Irish Scots.²⁴ Only the outreach of the first Celtic Christian missionaries gradually filled the vacuum and sought to bring peace once again to the land. What in effect the missionaries brought to people in individual settlements along their route, claims Foster, was not merely a new belief system, but with it a key to power relationships within society which then lacked a central authority. Successful local leaders, Foster adds, are likely to have combined the ability to create wealth with a belief system that sanctioned and legitimized their existence, effective military organisation and the administrative means to control expanding territories.²⁵ On a national scale, however, the power of the strong in society to control weaker peoples through their beliefs has ensured that the State has retained a measure of political control in Church affairs throughout succeeding centuries. State intrusion by Act of Parliament, as will be argued later in this chapter, was to have significant moment on the affairs of the Established Church of Scotland with particular effect on the Highlands.

The evidence, reviewed in Chapter 2, both archaeological and recorded, suggests that early Christian mission in the Highlands of Scotland, in its several forms, was patently conducted by accessing long-established routes; across water, through low-lying glens and over occasional cols located in high mounths. By this rudimentary physical geography of communications, contact could be made with local communities and fellow travellers. Simpson has stressed the importance of the permanent geographical condition of the country, and has traced the northward passage of these Celtic missionaries over what he describes as the only two *real* ranges of Scottish mountain, *Drumalban* and *The Mounth*, to evangelise pagan peoples in the North-East.²⁶

In the absence of contemporary sources other than the controversial annals of Bede and Adomnan, we must allow Simpson the possibility that recourse was made to these high mounth tracks over the Grampian mountain chain leading into the Dee and Don valleys. In so doing, we must also not neglect a possible recourse to well-made East Coast Roman legionary roads serving former military outposts north of the recently abandoned Antonine Wall. By means of place names derived from Ninian and his disciples, Knight, has traced the passage of missionaries up the East coast as far as North Ronaldshay in the Orkney Islands.²⁷ At some time and at some place on this eastern approach, Celtic mission must have encountered Roman mission purported to have been introduced into the Anglo-Saxon south-east by St. Augustine (354-430CE). Celtic missionaries, argues Knight, reached upper Deeside in Aberdeen-shire, in three phases and from three centres – Whithorn in Wigtown-shire, Bangor in Ulster and from Cathures at Glasgow. Such embryo missionary endeavour was not at that early period administered from Rome, but

²³ I am indebted to Prof. Ian Hazlett, Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Glasgow, for this concept.

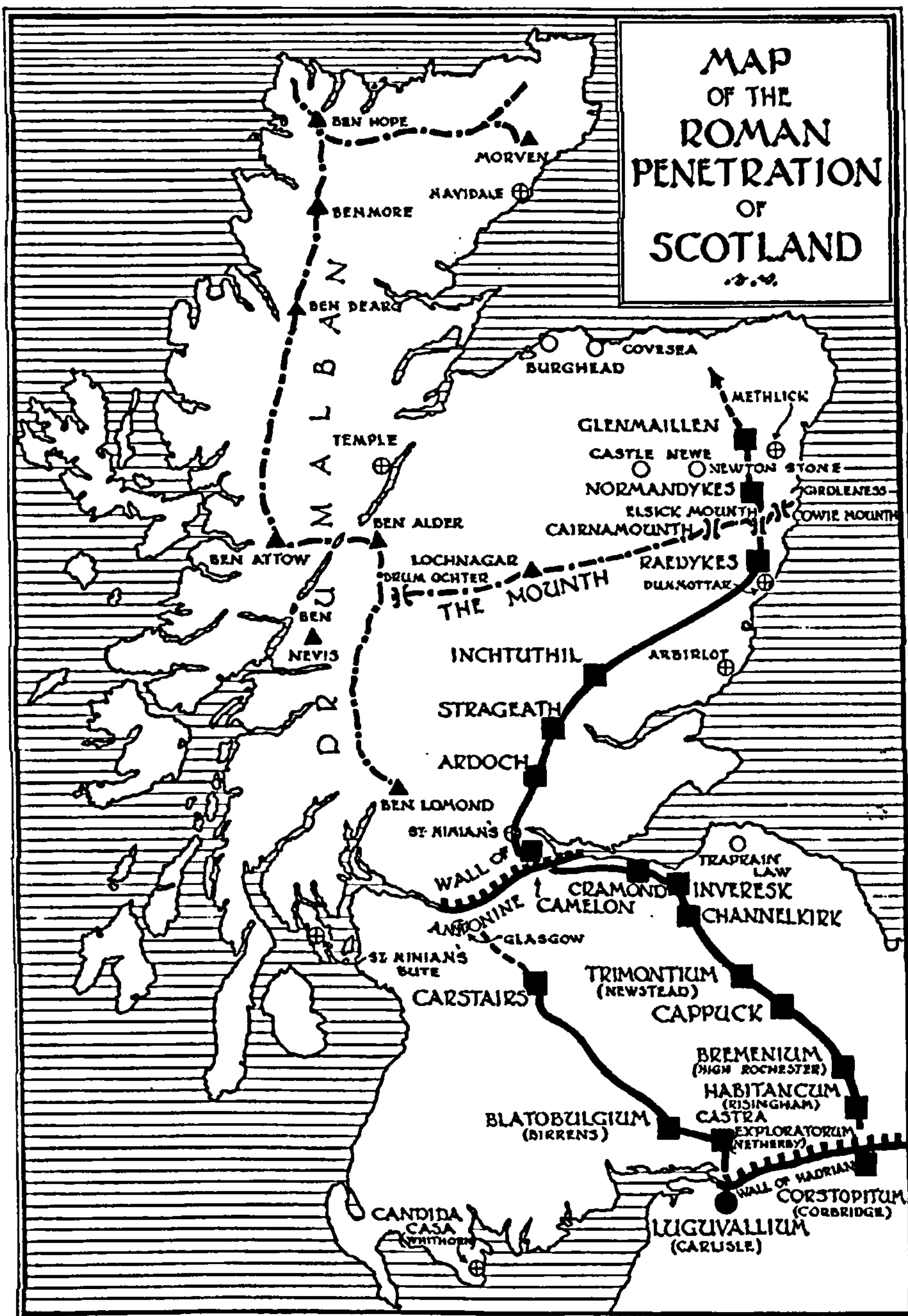
²⁴ Knight, 1933, 132.

²⁵ Foster, 1996, 33.

²⁶ Simpson, 1935, 16

²⁷ Knight, 1933, 140.

Fig. 3.2



Drumalban and
The Mounth,
Roman
penetration in
Scotland. *The
Celtic Church in
Scotland*,
W.D. Simpson,
AUP, 1935, 17.

was conducted locally under an “ab”, or abbot-bishop as head of a community of clerical and lay brothers.²⁸ Deliberately organised to replicate the familiar social structure of a Celtic clan, as opposed to the more usual monarchic episcopacy, what seems to have been created by Ninian and his disciples was the pure primitive church of St Paul, untrammelled by the later Marian accretions and liturgical aberrations - denial of the cup - of Roman domination,

²⁸ *Ibid*, 143.

To anticipate Chapter 5 of this thesis, it is Simpson's claim that mission appears to have been slow in upper Deeside in Highland Aberdeenshire. In the first (fifth century CE) phase of Celtic outreach from Wigtown came St. Ternan, disciple of Ninian, believed to be a native of Kincardine O'Neil, and reputed founder of a monastery at modern Banchory-Ternan. St. Machar or Mochricha thereafter established his monastery at Balnagowan Hill near Aboyne. A second wave of missionaries followed in the sixth century CE. St. Colm is credited with establishing a foundation at Birse on the south bank of the Dee. About this time, St. Moluag came from Ulster and was active around Tarland and in Glen Clova where his name is still preserved. The third wave of missionaries arrived from Carthures (*Cathair* - a fort) at Glasgow, a monastery founded by St. Kentigern or *Mungo* (the dear one).²⁹ Knight claims that it is specifically in Aberdeenshire that we find Kentigern zealously at work, following in the track of St. Drostan and other apostles sent out from the Candida Casa. At Glen Gairn on the Dee, close to the present roofless church (vacated 1800), are two springs named after Kentigern, while St. Mungo's Fair was held annually in the hollow of the hill behind Abergairn.³⁰ Wells and associated fairs mark the passage of St Kentigern over much of Scotland to preserve a local proverb at Culsalmond in Aberdeenshire, "Like St. Mungo's work which was never finished".³¹ With this last phase came St. Nathalan whose name is mentioned in the *Irish Annals* as having died on 8th January 678 CE. Nathalan's foundation was located at Tullich at the site of the present medieval ruin vacated in 1800 (Plate 5.1). The names of these saints continue to be venerated locally by incorporation into the nomenclature of Episcopalian churches located in the Deeside villages westwards from Aberdeen to Braemar. From its very early Whithorn origins, Lochhead may well be correct in viewing the present small and impoverished Episcopal Church in Scotland, six of whose seven dioceses predate the Reformation,³² as "The Faithful Remnant - aulder than the Auld Kirk itself".³³ One is left to assume that the nature of the Highland landscape, to which patterns of contemporary landward communications fairly rigidly conformed, was the reason for the early spread of Celtic mission to the southern Picts in the north-east.

There appears to be nothing novel or remarkable in the use of long established sea and coastal land routes throughout the West Highlands and Hebrides by early Celtic Christian missionaries. In an interior landscape of dense forest, swamp, peat-bog, raging torrent and wild beast, such means of relatively safe communication that were available to them must have been very well established from Mesolithic times. Sharp, in his modern translation of Adomnan's *Life of St Columba*, notes in his introduction that the Irish of the seventh century were quite accustomed to travelling considerable distances over land and by water.³⁴ It can be assumed that hide-skinned curragh boats were capable of ocean voyages. Most of Dalriada was easily accessible by boat from Antrim and from Cowal and Kintyre. It was even easier to cross the Firth

²⁹ Simpson, 1933, 25.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 333.

³¹ *Ibid*, 334.

³² Lochhead, 1966, 11: Edinburgh alone is post-Reformation, founded by Charles I in 1633.

³³ *Ibid*, 14.

of Clyde to Dumbarton and the British kingdom of Strathclyde. From this point the Clyde-Forth route led to the east and south and gave access to Fife and the southern Picts, as well as to Northumbria and the pagan Anglo-Saxon settlers. Adomnan (628-704CE), ninth abbot of Iona, kinsman of Columba (52-97CE), records the missionary travels by land and sea, made by the latter saint that have passed into medieval legend, and, as an unchallenged written source, must be accepted as such. Shallow draught curragh boats, heavily laden with men and materials, would find little difficulty in beaching upon the scattering of coastal strands that punctuate the rocky outcrops of the Highlands.

As far as we know, claims Sharp, Iona was never considered a remote outpost, except in bad weather that was regarded as only a temporary inconvenience.³⁵ Monks from the monastery at Bangor in Ulster, contemporaneous with Columba, clearly made use of the sea to set up monastic foundations in various island sites in the Inner Hebrides. From Adomnan, it seems certain that Columba made use of The Great Glen (*Glen Albyn* or *Glen Mor*) when he travelled eastwards from the Firth of Lorn to evangelize the Northern Picts. Bede, if we accept his account as objective history, confirms a meeting between Columba and the Pictish King Bridie (or Brude) at his fortress above the River Ness.³⁶ Many locations in The Great Glen record Columba's reputed passage. It can be assumed that the geological fault of The Great Glen would have been a well-established and relatively safe route from east to west for migrant peoples from prehistoric ages. Again, we do not know for certain if Columba was the first Christian missionary to reach the Northern Picts in the wake of Roman withdrawal to the south. On the present recorded evidence, we are left merely to assume that the Columban strand of Celtic Christianity, originating in the west of Scotland, was, by means of a favourable route through the Highlands, to influence pagan peoples in the North and East. From Bede we also learn that Aiden, an Irish monk on Iona in 635CE, made his missionary journey to evangelise Northumbria, at the request of King Oswald,³⁷ travelling overland by means of the Forth-Clyde valley, also a natural and well established communication route from east to west from prehistoric times. Whatever the political motives of King Oswald may have been, Aiden became the first recorded bishop of Lindisfarne and died at Bamburgh in 651CE.

With no contemporary biographer to record his travels other than a catalogue of surviving geographical place-names, Knight suggests that there can have been no more indefatigable early Celtic Christian missionary throughout the Highlands and Islands than Saint Maelrubha (the red priest).³⁸ A relative of

³⁴ Sharp, 1955, 23.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 23.

³⁶ Price and Farmer 1990, 148: "Columba arrived in Britain in the ninth year of the reign of the powerful Pictish King Bride, son of Meilochon; he converted that people to the faith of Christ by his preaching and example, and received from them the island of Iona on which to found a monastery" (Bede, III.4).

³⁷ *Ibid*, 1990, 104: "As soon as he became King, Oswald greatly wished that all the people whom he ruled should be imbued with the grace of the Christian Faith. Of which he had received such signal proof in his victory over the heathen. So he sent to the Irish elders among whom he and his companions had received the sacrament of Baptism when in exile, asking them to send him a bishop by whose teaching and ministry the English people over whom he ruled might receive the blessings of the Christian Faith and the Sacraments. His request was granted without delay and they sent him Bishop Aiden, a man of outstanding gentleness, holiness, and moderation".

Columba and a Pict through his mother, Subtan, Maelrubha was born at Derry on 3rd January 642CE and martyred at Skail, nine miles up Strathnaver, by "Danish" pirates, on 21st April 722CE. Educated at the Missionary Institute, founded by St Comgall of Bangor, Maelrubha, with a full retinue of monks, finally established his monastic settlement in Applecross,³⁹ in Ross-shire (Plate 3.1).⁴⁰ Knight argues that from this centre, outside the jurisdiction of Iona, and among his Pictish people, Maelrubha and his monks were to evangelise an astonishing tract of territory throughout the Highlands and Islands, travelling by both land and sea routes.⁴¹

Bowen, however, sounds a cautionary note upon dedications to a particular saint within the perceived area of his influence.⁴² There is simply no direct evidence to connect the named saint with a venerated site. For didactic purposes, cautions Sherley-Price, the *Age of Saints*⁴³ tended to produce extravagant claims for evangelists that perhaps do not stand close scrutiny.⁴⁴ The politics of power in which the dominant faction seeks to establish authority by recreating icons of the depressed in its own image was not lost on the Roman Church. As an addendum to this naming conundrum, MacLeod points to the manner in which the chapel names in the Western Isles have survived, even though in a few instances the actual site cannot be located.⁴⁵ He cites St. Clement's in the Lewis parish of Ness as one example of an earlier phase of Celtic naming in which Ronan, Donnan, Moluidh and Columba were common throughout the Highlands. In conformity with the influence exerted by the centralist Roman church from the eleventh century onwards, St. Mary's, St Peter's and St. John's often supplanted these Celtic names.⁴⁶

Bede informs us that the unity of the Christian Church in the west was denied by a failure to agree upon the date of Easter, the most important date in the Christian calendar.⁴⁷ Unity within Christendom is indeed a central theme of Bede's chronicle that can be viewed as a political statement of the age as well as a history of religious mission. The spatial area - in Bowen's terms, the cultural area - occupied by Celts and Picts held to a date between the fourteenth and twentieth day of the moon, whereas the rest of Christendom conformed to the canonical date imposed by the Roman see. In consequence, for over a century, Christian witness in Europe maintained a clear spatial division. Agreement was not finally reached in the west, note Price *et al*, until the Synod of Whitby in 664CE, when the Romanisation, and

³⁸ Knight, 1933, 207.

³⁹ Mackenzie, 1999, 9: "Applecross is the modern appellation. An earlier name was Aber Crossan. It appears in the Annals of Tighernac as 'Aporcrossan' in the ninth century Latin. The name has no connection with apples. The peninsula is known by its Gaelic name, "*A' Chomraich* (the sanctuary)".

⁴⁰ Mackenzie, 1999, 11: The slab-stone (Plate 3.1) originally marked the grave of Ruairaidh Mor MacAogan, Abbot of Applecross who, according to the Annals of Ulster, died as Abbot of Bangor in 801.

⁴¹ Knight, 1933, 206.

⁴² Bowen, 1945, 175.

⁴³ Sharpe, 1991, 1.

⁴⁴ Price and Farmer, 1990, 26.

⁴⁵ Macleod, 1997, 12.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 1997, 12.

⁴⁷ Price and Farmer, 1990, 104.

unity of British Christianity were confirmed.⁴⁸ This "victory" for Rome, observes Macleod, ensured that by the onset of the 1560 Reformation in Scotland, "little of the Church's vital religion survived in the Highlands. Ignorance, superstition and a fearful sacramentalism were as much as most Highlanders knew of the world beyond".⁴⁹ This theme will be revisited in Chapter 5.

Plate 3. 1



Abbot's Stone, at Clachan Church, Camusterrach, Applecross, Wester Ross, close to the monastic site founded 673CE, by St. Maelrubha. (photo-JRS)

3. 3 Superstitious belief in the Highlands

It is perhaps an interesting proposition that pagan belief and superstitions endure within the human soul as a flow of ideas carried in suspension in the mainstream of orthodox religion. Equally provocative is the suggestion that Christianity emerged from ascetic Judaism as a superficial cover for its own internal

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 1990, 192: "Now the Britons did not keep Easter at the correct time, but between the fourteenth and twentieth days of the moon – a calculation depending on a cycle of eighty-four years. Furthermore, certain other of their customs were at variance with the universal practice of the Church".

tendency to paganism. We learn from the Bible, observes Campbell, how difficult it was to restrain the Jews from the most idolatrous and superstitious observances, and to confine them to the worship of the only living and true God.⁵⁰ It is still speculative that eremitic groups represented by the Essene community at Qumran in the Jordan valley testify to a fundamental desire for a purer Hebrew belief. It has been suggested in Chapter 2 that the remote and barren topography of the north and west Highlands produced in the population a similar predilection to fundamental spiritual observance that by the late-eighteenth century coalesced in Evangelical Presbyterianism. Most early travellers to the Highlands make reference to superstition and to seers gifted with "second sight". The analogy presented by the oracle at Delphi in classical Greece perhaps testifies to the archaic origins of this belief that is not confined to the Highland region.⁵¹ The so-called "Brahan Seer", Kenneth MacKenzie (sombre Kenneth of the Prophecies) born at Uig on Lewis, asserts Ross, is remembered as the most notable person instilled with the gift.⁵²

In his detailed description of the Hebrides in the last decade of the seventeenth century, Martin catalogues the superstitions held by the islanders, particularly in connection with wells and water. The link with the religious ritual of baptism, whereby people are brought into the body of the church, for purification, a Rabbinical custom,⁵³ and for service (Hebrew - *diakovew*) to others is inescapable.⁵⁴ Less obvious are the patently secular associations with water that Martin observed on Lewis.⁵⁵ Every first day of May, reports Martin, the people of the village of Barvas on Lewis retain a custom of sending a man very early to cross the Barvas River to prevent any female crossing it first. If she did so, it would hinder the salmon from coming up the river all year round.⁵⁶ The "Evil Eye", states Youngson, of concern to the welfare of livestock, was a superstitious belief widespread in Jura from past years and has survived until recent times.⁵⁷ The curious superstition of *deiseal*, ubiquitous throughout the Highlands that Martin noted on Skye, of moving thrice round an object, proceeding sun-ways from east to west⁵⁸ will be alluded to in chapter 5. One tangible icon of Highland superstition visible on the landscape is the rowan tree (Plate

⁴⁹ Macleod, 1998, 211.

⁵⁰ Campbell, 1891, 7.

⁵¹ The anonymous author of the *Canadian Boat Song* made rueful reference to the efficacy of the Highland seer:

When the bold kindred in the time long vanished,
Conquered the soil and fortified the keep;
No seer foretold the children would be banished,
That a degenerate lord might boast his sheep.

⁵² Ross, 1976, 35.

⁵³ Leviticus 12. "After bearing a son she is unclean for seven days and must undergo purification for a further 33...After bearing a daughter she is unclean for two weeks, and undergoes purification for 66 days".

⁵⁴ John 13. 4: "He riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments; and took a towel, and girded himself. After that he poureth water into a bason, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded".

⁵⁵ Martin, 1970, 197: "There are several spring and fountains of curious effects: such as that at Loch Calvay that never whitens linen, which has often been tried by the inhabitants. The well at St. Cowsten's Church never boils any kind of meat, though it is kept on fire a whole day. St Andrew's Well, in the village of Shader, is by the vulgar natives made a test of knowledge if a sick person will die of the distemper he labours under. They send one with a wooden dish to bring some of the water to the patient, and if the dish, which is then laid softly upon the surface of the water, turn round sun-ways, they conclude that the patient will recover of that distemper: but if otherwise, that he will die".

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 89.

⁵⁷ Youngson, 2001, 501.

⁵⁸ Martin 1970, 73:

3.2) to be found at the entrance to innumerable dwellings, or their abandoned sites, in most localities.

Plate 3. 2



Rowan tree at abandoned site of farm dwelling, Old Kinord, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire, that once guarded a household from the Highland fairies and other evil spirits (photo-JED).

In the early-nineteenth century these superstitious practices formed the substance of Protestant complaints to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland against unbridled Roman Catholic missionary activity throughout the Highlands, but particularly in more remote and inaccessible districts, for in 1718:

the priests, enjoying full and peaceable Liberty all along to this very day, to traffick and deall, Lie and cheat, use their pretended Exorcisms and other frauds without disturbance one may easily guess what Success they must have had in remote Corners at Several Miles distance from the pastor amongst an Ignorant prejudiced Superstitious people.⁵⁹

Superstitious belief in the supernatural by credulous people, according to Gauldie, could be put to pragmatic use in the secular world of the Scottish countryside. For a number of reasons, mainly those relating to thirlage⁶⁰ and multures,⁶¹ the country meal-miller was never a popular figure within the community of which he was a key member:

The feeling that the miller's skill was 'no canny' was an additional cause for some reserve in

⁵⁹ N.L.S., MS. 976, ff. 147-9.

⁶⁰ Thirlage: obligation on a holding or its occupier to have grain ground in a particular mill, to which *multure* was paid.

⁶¹ Multure: Proportion of corn brought for grinding in a mill which was retained by miller or proprietor of the mill as his due. The miller and his family were reputed seldom to have suffered from the effects of recurrent famine: A popular folk-song quoted in Gauldie (1981) runs:

Merry the maid be / That marries the miller, /
For foul day, and fair day, / He's aye bringing till her; /
Has aye a penny in his purse / For dinner and for supper; /
And, gin she please, a good fat cheese, / And lumps of yellow butter.

the neighbours' treatment of him. The suspicion that his ability to control natural elements, fire in the kiln and water in the burn, and to set machinery mysteriously a-whirring led superstitious communities to believe him in league with the fairies. In Scotland the fairies were never gossamer-winged or kindly disposed to the human race. They were mischievous and to be feared. It was certainly in the miller's interest that no one dared set foot in the mill or kiln at night because the fairies were known to bring their oats to be ground after dark. So long as his neighbours feared the fairies he could sleep in the knowledge that his ginal would not be robbed. So millers encouraged belief in fairies by their own claims to have seen them about the mill.⁶²

3.4 The Medieval Church in the Highlands

The Celtic church, argues Ritchie, its shrines and reliquaries, was richly decorated in precious metals that proved attractive booty to pagan Scandinavian raiders from the sea. It is therefore scarcely surprising that the first recorded Viking raid to the British Isles was on Iona, depository of Columba's relics, in 795CE. Others were to follow in 802, 806 and 825CE, by which time many important monasteries throughout Scotland, and on coastal areas bounding the Irish Sea, succumbed to Viking depredation.⁶³ Place names and archaeological evidence tend to confirm that the Scandinavian invaders were also settlers, mainly in coastal areas, and in course of time adopted Christianity that had survived in spirit the destruction and pillage of its material artefacts.

Two administrative measures early in the ninth century, argues Bradley, were to reduce Iona from its central position as the spatial centre of Celtic Christianity. With the foundation of the monastery at Kells, County Meath, in Ireland, a site less prone to Viking attack, a split occurred in the Columban family of monks. From 806CE, Kells was to become the administrative centre for the Irish Columbans, leaving Iona to decline in ecclesiastical importance. Secondly, in 849CE, the permanent absorption of the Pictish kingdom was completed by Kenneth McAlpin, King of the Scots, who decided that the administrative and spiritual centre of his united kingdom of *Scotia* (Latin) or *Alba* (Gaelic) should be located in a more secure space further east at Dunkeld in central Perth-shire.⁶⁴ In consequence, the relics of Columba, including his crozier, were removed from Iona and deposited in the existing monastery at Dunkeld, while the celebrated *Book of Kells* and other documents were transferred to Ireland. Iona survived wholly within the Celtic Church mould, until it became a Benedictine monastery in 1203. With the removal of Columba's relics from Iona to Dunkeld, a new Scottish church – and hence a new ecclesiastical geography – was erected (*Ecclesia Scoticana*). Nevertheless, during the Lordship of the Isles, formed by the Viking Somerled, around 1156, and continuing under his Macdonald and MacDougall successors until 1493, Iona remained the spiritual centre of the "Sea Kingdom" whilst an island on Loch Finlaggan, Islay, became its administrative headquarters.⁶⁵

⁶² Gauldie, 1981, 187.

⁶³ Ritchie, 1997, 91.

⁶⁴ Bradley, 1996, 94.

⁶⁵ Website: www.islay-jura.com/heritage/orgs/finlaggan/trust.html.

The history of the medieval church in the Highlands is obscure, argues Cowan, since records have failed to survive and the paucity of religious houses has ensured that few formal collections of documents were ever amassed.⁶⁶ In a formal way the geography of the landscape, it must be allowed, played a key role in Roman Catholic ecclesiastical organisation. According to Cowan, the basic unit of administration of the medieval church in Scotland was the parish, a fixed spatial area of the landscape served by a secular clergyman or priest. A number of parishes were linked into a diocese – a number of conjoined parishes – presided over by a bishop, that of the Western Isles being then known as Sodor. The pattern of parishes, Cowan argues, established by the twelfth century, when the influence of Rome over the Western Church became absolute, lasted until the Reformation.⁶⁷ Each parish contained its small church building or site for the celebration of Mass. Early churches, claims Macleod, were normally built where there had been settlements, and these were often located near to the shore, or where inland track and river routes crossed.⁶⁸ It can be assumed that at some point in time all of these ecclesiastical structures, of which the Highlands retain many examples – particularly in Argyll but in general elsewhere – involved mission – the geographical outreach of a basic philosophical concept from a central point on the globe.

Bishops existed within the Celtic Church, but, claims Knox, were associated with monastic communities and did not have cathedral churches. Cathedrals, suggests Knox, were a Roman Church import from continental Europe that owed much to Queen Margaret (c.1046-93) and her sons, Alexander I and David I.⁶⁹ From the twelfth century onwards, cathedrals were erected by various branches of the regular clergy on the periphery of the Highland landscape – at Kirkwall (1137), Brechin (12C), Elgin (1224), Dornoch (1224), Lismore (1236), Dunblane (1238), Dunkeld (1312), and Fortrose (14C). Only seven monasteries – Ardchattan, Beaulieu, Fearn, Kinloss, Pluscarden, Saddell and Urquhart – lay within these peripheral bounds. The Dominicans possessed friaries at Elgin and Inverness and the Franciscans and Carmelites were represented by one house each at Elgin and Kingussie. Cowan argues that in Scotland this was the era of the collegiate church, but only one, the church of St Duthac at Tain, was established in the Highlands to become an important place of pilgrimage.⁷⁰ It is notable that these religious houses are located in reasonable proximity to the Great Glen that would have afforded ready and safe communication from west to east. By the sixteenth century, argues Cowan, the church in Scotland had a well-defined organisation governed by a hierarchy that included two archbishops and eleven bishops.⁷¹ The Aberdeen breviary compiled under the supervision of William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen (1483-1514) reveals the complicated nature of the "Old Church" services and the integral part of music in those services.⁷²

⁶⁶ Cowan, 1981, 4.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 1967, 10

⁶⁸ MacLeod, 1997, 7.

⁶⁹ Knox, 1993, 145.

⁷⁰ Cowan, 1981, 6.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 1982, 1.

⁷² The playing of musical instruments and the singing of psalms have been characteristic features of Hebrew worship since its inception. An example is found in 2 Chronicles 6.13 – "It came even to pass, as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord; and when they lifted up their voice with the trumpets and

Also recorded, finds Cowan, are the names of more than seventy Scottish saints drawn from every district of the land and indicating their feast days.⁷³ In all, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, there would have been little to distinguish the "Auld Kirk" in Scotland from its Continental brotherhood.

Criticism of ecclesiastical moral failings and abuse of office throughout the church hierarchy, claims Smout, were endemic throughout Christendom from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards.⁷⁴ In Scotland, adds Smout, this was greatly accelerated by the erosion of its own freedom; kings gained the right to appoint as commendators to sees, their own illegitimate infant children, whilst nobles came to control monasteries and cathedrals and took over church lands as their own.⁷⁵ The impact of Renaissance humanism, exhibiting a concern for improvement in education and ecclesiastical morality, coupled with the Lutheran protest of 1517, promoted a programme of internal reform within the pre-Reformation Church. In Scotland, no fewer than three universities were founded in the fifteenth century - St Andrews (1412), Glasgow (1451) and King's College, Aberdeen (1495). At St Andrews, Archbishop Hamilton belatedly instituted a series of three reforming councils that met between 1549 and 1559. However, the Calvinist Reformation introduced into Scotland between 1557 and 1560 by John Knox, overtook the work of these councils.

3.5 Recusant Highland Catholicism

Following the Reformation in Scotland, argues Macdonald, Roman Catholicism had largely been expunged from the face of the Lowlands where the new Kirk had established quickly and firmly.⁷⁶ With the passing of its former pre-Reformation priesthood, and now lacking internal cohesion, it seemed that the Old Faith had perished forever from the land. Nevertheless, it still had a substantial foothold in the Highlands, particularly in pockets of the landscape (Fig. 3.3) where the authority of the Reformed Kirk was at its weakest, a foothold, it will be argued, that was never to be entirely eradicated. The Old Faith, as Macdonald claims, was carried among Highland people by an oral tradition, albeit one that had grown dim through lack of organised religious instruction and divine worship.⁷⁷ It nevertheless continued precariously as an underground movement, if not in certain cases quite openly, under the protection afforded by powerful Catholic land-owners and, due to the remoteness of the landscape from the seat of central government in the south, as surviving documents in the National Library of Scotland reveal,⁷⁸ relatively free from both Kirk and State intervention. In 1714 complaint was made to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that:

In the bounds of the presbytery of Stathbogie popish priests are very insolent, some of

cymbals and instruments of musick, and praised the Lord, saying, For he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever: and then the house was filled with a cloud, even the house of the Lord".

⁷³ *Ibid*, 1982, 2

⁷⁴ Smout, 1969, 45.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 45.

⁷⁶ Macdonald, 1978, 56.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 56.

⁷⁸ N.L.S., MS. 976, f. 143: "Particular condescendence of some grievances from the encrease of poperie, and the Insolence of popish priests & Jesuits".

them have their dwelling houses and farms and Live as openly and avowedly as any Minister within the Presbytery, particularly Mr Alexander Alexander at Burned, and the papists in that Country do repair to their Idolatrous Mass as publicly as protestants do to the Church.⁷⁹

From this observation, the co-existence of competing devotional practises on a designated landscape could be construed to create a single religious mental geography.⁸⁰

In 1603, notes McMillan, the last Catholic bishop of the pre-Reformation period, James Beaton, died in exile.⁸¹ Scottish Catholicism was thereby left without episcopal leadership for much of the seventeenth century. Regular missionaries were the first to accept the missionary challenge on behalf of the Old Church. Sensing a weakness in the Protestant cover, claims McMillan, Jesuits began to make an appearance within Scotland in the 1580s, together with Gaelic-speaking Irish Franciscans who operated out of Antrim.⁸² The latter began work in the West Highlands from 1619, but lacking financial support, were forced to withdraw by the 1630s. MacWilliam highlights the striking success of Fr. Cornelius Ward, who, in 1633, reported to the Vatican's *Congregation de Propaganda Fide* (Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith), erected at Rome 1622, that he and his fellow Franciscans had up to that year converted a claimed 6,627, and baptised 3,010.⁸³ If true, (Protestant sources tend to support this claim)⁸⁴ it forms a testimony to the strength of a latent faith that had survived the Reformation, and the capacity of one missionary priest to subvert the structure of the fledgling reformed Church in the Highlands.

Geography, landscape and the protection afforded by powerful Catholic landowning families, as above emphasised, all combined to favour a re-emergent Catholic mission by the secular clergy.⁸⁵ In the early-eighteenth century, the most notable recorded instances of protection afforded to the priesthood in the West Highlands was by clan chiefs: the Macdonalds of Clanranald and Glengarry, and McNeils of Barra. In 1714:

The Isles of Rum. Egg & Canna are all popish They keep their priest and pay him their tithes. The Isle of South Uist is all popish. The have a priest who resides with Clanronald & Benbecula, and says Mass publicly. These Countreys and Islands were never Reformed from Popery. And generally all the relations followers & tenants of Clanronald, through all his Lands both in the Continent & Isles are all papists. The Isle of Bara & other adjacent Lesser Isles have a priest, who resides in the house of Mc:Neil of Bara.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, f. 143: To this day, the name Alexander Alexander is popular in North-East Scotland where the bearer is popularly known as "Double Sandy".

⁸⁰ Prof. Ian Hazlett, School of Divinity, University of Glasgow suggested this concept.

⁸¹ McMillan, 1999, 92.

⁸² *Ibid*, 93.

⁸³ MacWilliam, 1973, 75.

⁸⁴ N.L.S., MS. 976. F. 143.

⁸⁵ Secular clergy - (worldly) the priesthood serving individual parishes directly, and distinct from the regular clergy living the monastic life according to a founding rule (L. - regulus; Fr. - regle - rule).

In the Eastern Highlands, similar protection was afforded in Strathglass by the chief of clan Chisholm, and by the Marquesses of Huntly, later Dukes of Gordon, upon whose Banff-shire estates by the opening years of the eighteenth century, lay the important seminaries at Enzie on the Moray coast, and at Scalan on the Braes of Glenlivet.⁸⁷ It is worth re-stating that in Knoydart, North and South Morar, Arisaig, Moidart, Glengarry, Benbecula, South Uist, Barra and several of the Small Isles, as Leslie found, all or nearly all of the population were Roman Catholics. On the islands of Coll and Tiree in the west; and on the mainland at Strathglass, Glen Moriston, Glenlivet, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire, and in the Lowlands at Strathbogie and Enzie on the Moray coast, many Catholics, located on the estates of powerful Catholic families, remained loyal to the Old Faith. Whether this was by genuine conviction, convention, confusion, inducement or simply superstition is problematic. Isolation, however, would have been of little concern to the Highland "gentry" who had removed from Edinburgh to London, in the political changes of 1603 and 1707.

Whilst powerful landholding patronage was crucial to the Roman cause, the main thrust of resurgent Scottish Catholic mission was assisted in its early years by the *Congregation de Propaganda Fide*. Its specific tasks, notes Cameron, were to promote and to administer Catholic missionary work in Protestant lands in Europe and in non-Christian territories in both the Orient and the New World.⁸⁸ Geographically remote from Rome and with an extensive remit, the *Congregation's* provision both in finance and manpower was minimal to meet the needs of Highland people to whom the Roman tradition had not been entirely forgotten.

The erection in Rome of the *Congregation's* Scottish Mission under Prefect William Ballantyne has been dated by Macdonald as 1653.⁸⁹ From the later-sixteenth century individual regular clergy from abroad had already infiltrated into the Highland glens and, with remarkable success, had re-kindled a desire for the Mass, at that time seemingly latent among the people. Watts recounts that in 1677 the priest Alexander Leslie received a commission from the *Propaganda Fide* to undertake a fact-finding tour of post-Reformation Scotland to assess the state and needs of the still proscribed Catholic Church.⁹⁰ Leslie reported the total number of communicants to be no more than 14,000, suggestive that all Catholics, parents and children amounted to 24,000, or 2.5 per cent of the national population. The distribution, Leslie found, was not uniform, in that at least 90 per cent of Scotland's Catholics were located above the Highland Line, along a narrow strip from the Buchan coast of Aberdeen-shire to the Outer Isles. From this statistical fact, the conclusion must be that the characteristics of the Highland landscape had both created and preserved an overwhelming Roman Catholic imbalance within the nation state. In other parts of the country, the Old Church had in effect ceased to exist altogether.

⁸⁶ N.L.S., MS. 976, f. 143.

⁸⁷ N.L.S., MS. 976, f. 143.

⁸⁸ Cameron, 1993, 680.

⁸⁹ Macdonald, 1978, 57.

The seventeenth century Jesuit archives in Rome, argues McWilliam, begin with Braemar in the Reformed Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil in Highland Aberdeen-shire, and thereafter continue with Braemar and its neighbourhood. Four solitary priests, in chronological sequence, are named as bringing back the faith to upper Deeside; Henry Forsyth, alias Forsey alias Forsiter, John Innes, Robert Seton and Hugh Strachan.⁹¹ In 1714 the missionary activity of the last named was included in the substance of a letter to Presbytery by the Rev. James Robertson, first Presbyterian incumbent of the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn:

Mr Hugh Strachan, a Jesuite, resides in Ardoch which belongs to Callum Grierson, Alias McGrigor of dalfad who has built a house for him and a garden and furnishes him with other necessities. They keep publick Mass and all other parts of their Idolatrous worship in and about the said place almost every Lords day, and there are other priests resideing for ordinary there.⁹²

Until "improvement" of the upper Glen Gairn landscape by the early-nineteenth century both Ardoch And Dalfad were neighbouring farm-townships situated on the Morven and Gairnside portion of the extensive Aboyne estates owned by the Gordon Marquis of Huntly.⁹³ The implications of land ownership in what came to be known as "Catholic Glen Gairn" will be enlarged upon in Chapter 5. It will there be suggested that overt patronage by the small landholder as well as by the great land magnate, conspired to support a healthy underground mission, both Roman and Episcopal in remote locations throughout the Highlands where Presbyterian mission was ineffectual.⁹⁴

The existing pre-Reformation parish kirks of Glen Muick, Tullich, Glen Gairn and Crathie, retained for use by the Reformers, were all located in the low ground of the upper Dee valley. On the other hand, the very remoteness of the Braemar and district landscape, composed of steep, mountain slope and narrow glen worked in favour of an active Jesuit priesthood.⁹⁵ It can be stated with some confidence that such small post-Reformation retreats of the "Old Faith" as existed in remote "Catholic Glen Gairn" and along the Dee valley above Braemar, were replicated throughout the Highlands. Where not erased by later political and economic policies of estate management, these areas - revisited in Chapters 4 and 5 - still form the distinct spatial patterns of ecclesiastical witness that we recognise on the Highland landscape to this day (Fig. 3.3).

⁹⁰ Watts, 1999, 4.

⁹¹ McWilliam, 1972, 28.

⁹² N.L.S., MS. 976, f. 143.

⁹³ *Ballater Eagle*, No.36, 2005, 52: "The Marquis of Huntly sold the 10,000 acre Morven and Gairnside portion of his lands in 1886, complete with all shooting and fishing rights, plus five tenanted farms, to Mr. John Keiller of Dundee, the Victorian marmalade magnate. Keiller was "new money", head of the family firm of James Keiller and Sons, which had grown into an empire from its humble origins in 1797".

⁹⁴ The early-eighteenth century Catholic baptismal records for Braemar mission give some indication of how Catholic mission by a "riding priest" had the support if not direct collusion of a Catholic landowner in Upper Deeside. The records show that on 9th November 1707, Gregor McGrigor, married, Glengardin (Glengairn), was godfather to the infant Isabell Laman (Lamont) at Castletoune (Braemar). On 3rd June, 1708, Gregor McGrigor, married, Glengardin, was godfather to Isabell Farquharson at Torran, a parish of Glengardin; and, on 30 June 1712, Malcolme or Callum McGrigor of Dalfad in the parish of Glengardin, widower, was godfather to the infant Alexander Keir. The records also show that there was much intermarriage between Roman Catholics and Protestants, the offspring by agreement invariably brought up in the Catholic faith.

⁹⁵ McWilliam, 1972, 30.

Fig. 3.3



Distribution map,
Roman Catholic
communities in
Scotland, c.1650-1700
(Watts, J, *Scalan, The
Forbidden College,
1716-1799*, 1999, 5).

Before 1800 both the Roman Church in Scotland and the Scottish Presbyterian Church estimated their numbers in terms of communicants. For Catholics, argues Darragh, this procedure was reasonably satisfactory for the period between 1750 and 1800, but impossible to use for the earliest period between 1680 and 1750. The main drawback, suggests Kyd, was that the practice of frequent communion is a modern one and that only 57 per cent of the estimated Catholic population was in full communion the church. To overcome this last problem it was decided that the total Catholic population could be estimated with some accuracy by multiplying the number of communicants by 1.75.⁹⁶ Between 1680

⁹⁶ Darragh, 1953, 51.

and 1800, finds Kyd, the Catholic population in Scotland decreased in numbers from 50,000 from the time of the 1688 Revolution and the deposition of James II, to 30,000 at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This decline is attributable the general proscription laid upon Scottish Catholics by the Revolution and the failures of the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite Rebellions. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the onset of the Highland Clearance forced many Catholics into emigration, or to enlist in the newly raised Highland Regiments. Despite this exodus from the landscape, from statistics in a book published by the SSPCK in 1774, Macdonald has calculated that there were about 16,500 Catholics of all ages in the Highlands.⁹⁷

Fig. 3.4 Roman Catholics in Highland Counties circa 1774

County	Parish	R.C. population
Aberdeen-shire	Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengarden	- 337
	Crathie and Braemar	- 832
	Aboyne	- 20
	Kincardine O'Neil	- 12
	Strathdon	- 300
	Ruthven and Cairnie	- 400
Banff-shire	Rathen	- 800-900
	Belly	- 600
	Kirkmichael	- 600
	Inveraven	- 920
Perth-shire	Crieff	- 3
	Killin	- 6
	Logierait	- 12
	Balquhadder	- 6
Inverness-shire	South Uist	- 2,300
	Barra	- 1,250
	Glenelg (Knoydart & N. Morar)	- 1,340
	Kilmonivaig	- 1,600
	Small Isles: Eigg	- 410
	Muck	- 9
	Rum	- 29
	Canna	- 290
	Kiltarlity	- 300
	Kilmorack	- 300
	Lochalsh	- 2
	Flodderty	- 3

The above table figures clearly confirm the claim mooted earlier in this Chapter, that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, pockets of Roman Catholic religiosity occur in well-defined areas of the Highland landscape owned by powerful Roman Catholic families (Fig. 3.3).

Despite economic and social change, notably the early-nineteenth century massive influx of Irish Catholics to the Central Lowlands, this alignment of old Highland Catholicism endured in clear spatial pockets, until the

⁹⁷ Macdonald, 1965, 219.

closing years of the twentieth century.⁹⁸ Throughout the Highlands, at least up to when the early-nineteenth century economic development of landed estates caused both migration and emigration from the landscape, the vast majority of Highland Catholics were impoverished tenant farmers, crofters, cottars and farm servants living in remote glens not dissimilar to those in upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. These, claims Gandy, were served by "riding priests" who covered large areas of the Highland landscape, and kept their records of baptisms in notebooks.⁹⁹

With regard to the wealthier land-owning class, Gandy argues a four-stage process in the development of Highland recusancy, applicable, it is suggested, to both Roman Catholic and reformed Episcopalian worshippers, from the late-sixteenth century until overt acceptance of the latter in the late-eighteenth. First, family communicants would meet in the seclusion of the garret above a large private house. Secondly, a room would be set aside in a residence that could accommodate both family and household staff. Thirdly, a separate building would be erected within the grounds of the landowner's house that would allow the local public to attend services discretely.¹⁰⁰ Finally, notes Gandy, after 1791, Catholics were permitted to register chapels for public worship, a concession that eventually led to the erection of a purpose-built church or chapel within the town.¹⁰¹ These trends in Catholic mission can be traced in the move down the Crombie Water in Glenlivet, upper Banff-shire, from Scalan to Chapeltown (formerly served from Scalan and known as Braes of Glenlivet until 1829) and Tombae to the village of Tomintoul. Notwithstanding the appearance on the landscape of public buildings for Catholic and Episcopalian worship, many private chapels attached to landowners' houses (Plate 2.10) remain in use to this day. Several former sites of public worship have now relapsed into private hands. Gandy finds that in 1794, the Catholic congregation of Corgarff in Highland Aberdeen-shire numbered 100 persons. Now almost bereft of its former population due to steady migration, Corgarff is basically a private chapel (Plate 5.4) for the local King family.¹⁰²

The Relief Act of 1793, after considerable public controversy, argues Anson, granted Roman Catholics the legal right to freedom of worship and both to purchase and to inherit land. This political concession, claims Meikle, was considered necessary to curtail emigration.¹⁰³ Thereafter, followed the Emancipation

⁹⁸ With surprisingly scant opposition from the Free Church (continuing) and the Free Presbyterian Church, the Roman Catholic Church has recently erected a chapel at Broadford on the Isle of Skye with a resident priest at Portree. The reason given for this new missionary incursion is that, due to Lowland immigration to the island ("white settlers") there is an R.C. congregation of over 200 communicants. Previously the island was served from Plockton on the mainland.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 1966, 135: The Annual Lists of Clergy in the Highland District available from 1732 indicate that Angus MacLachlan, ordained in 1712 served Knoydart; Alexander Paterson, ordained 1715 served Uist, and John MacDonald, ordained 1721, served Lochaber, each a substantial area of landscape for one priest to cover.

¹⁰⁰ Roberts, 1990, 24: In 1703, upper Deeside, Catholics gathered for Mass in the Innes family home of Dumgask near Aboyne. In 1735, the Innes family moved to a new estate "big-house", Balnacraig, across the Dee from Kincardine-O'Neil where a house-chapel was erected, "the little door leading to the garden by which the priest could quickly escape, if necessary, and find concealment in a cave in the hill behind".

¹⁰¹ Gandy, 1993, ii.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, ii.

¹⁰³ Meikle, 1912, 196: To secure the goodwill of the Roman Catholics, Henry Dundas exerted his influence to procure for them secret state aid. Their resources had been much diminished by the loss of the Scots College in Paris during the anarchy in France. Dundas' aim was to prevent Roman Catholic emigration.

Act of 1829 that restored Catholic worship once again to the security of a recognised place in the national life of Scotland. New churches, schools, religious orders, societies and institutions quickly accompanied a renewal of devotional and liturgical life.¹⁰⁴ It is McRobert's opinion that at this time the geographical distribution and balance of Scottish Catholicism, which had remained largely unaltered for more than two centuries, underwent a marked spatial change. The main centres of Catholic life in Scotland were no longer contained within well-defined remote geographical areas of the Highland landscape, but in the busy towns of the Central Lowlands, and more especially in Glasgow and Lanarkshire.¹⁰⁵

Following the Restoration of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Scotland in 1878, a system of dioceses was erected. Hitherto, in the absence of a formal parish structure since the Protestant Reformation, Roman Catholicism in Scotland had maintained itself as a series of missions. A parish system, however, was not re-established until the end of the First World War. Gandy finds that before that date, priests served anyone who they could reach, and there were at times fairly large areas of the landscape that were not regularly served at all.¹⁰⁶ In the 1860s, argues Gandy, it was the general Catholic view that priority should be given to erecting schools rather than chapels. A great many missions began with a school boasting a hall - often upstairs - for religious services. These halls were usually neither dedicated nor consecrated.¹⁰⁷ The Education Act of 1918 gave support to Roman Catholic education by increasing the number of teachers who played an important part in social development of the Catholic community. Unlike Lowland towns and cities, in which the maintenance of denominational schools causes regular controversy, Highland schools tended to absorb all denominations without conflict.¹⁰⁸

3.6 Modern Christian Mission -The Church Reformed

As argued above, early gentlemen travellers observed that the cultural divide, corresponding to the topographical and geological division presented by a notional Highland Line, ensured that the Scottish nation-state was composed of two different worlds, Lowlands and Highlands. This geographical dichotomy, states Dunn, was emphasised in the predominance throughout the Highlands of the Gaelic language and distinctive Gaelic culture tied to clan and kinship.¹⁰⁹ It was further apparent, adds Dunn, in the moral code of honour observed,¹¹⁰ the philabeg¹¹¹ apparel worn by the male population, and not least, a universal, abject, material poverty that was only matched, it was averred, by savages in the New World.¹¹²

¹⁰⁴ Anson, 1970, 178.

¹⁰⁵ McRoberts, 1978, 3.

¹⁰⁶ Gandy, 1993, I: In common with other denominations, R. C. priests today hold a multiplicity of former single charges. The Aberdeenshire parish areas around Aboyne, Ballater and Braemar, for example, are now served by a single priest who may be resident at any one of these places over time.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 1993, iii.

¹⁰⁸ This was certainly true in the first half of the twentieth century when Roman Catholic children from Braemar travelled to the overwhelmingly Protestant Ballater Junior Secondary School to complete their secondary education. Far from meeting with the conflict reported among Lowland schools, religion was never a concern of any pupil or staff member. The Ballater priest traditionally took no part in village affairs, and for reasons that can only be surmised, was not a visitor to the school.

¹⁰⁹ Dunn, 1996, 50.

¹¹⁰ The "Massacre of Glenoe" in 1696 is remembered not so much for the loss of a few adherents of Clan Macdonald, but for a treacherous breach of the Highland code of hospitality by members of Clan Campbell.

These cultural distinctions, however accurate, were undoubtedly protected and preserved from intrusive influences, argues Price, by distance, landforms and the sea.¹¹³ Such unfavourable, if not static social conditions in a slowly modernising outside world, presented direct challenges to ecclesiastical organisations competing for the souls of a largely unlettered Highland people.

The mid-sixteenth century Reformation in Scotland, argues Cowan, was centred in the Lowland towns of the East Coast and in the Ayrshire Southwest. First Lutheran, and later Calvinist, literature circulated in the town of Ayr and occasioned at least one notable act of iconoclasm¹¹⁴ in the Observantine friary there.¹¹⁵ Not surprisingly it was the east of Scotland that was to receive the early influences of the 1517 Lutheran Reformation brought ashore from the Continent at many small Scottish east-coast trading ports. It was also the East Coast that figured prominently in the Calvinist Reformation of John Knox and the Lords of the Faithful Congregation. The St. Andrew's Kirk Session Records¹¹⁶ commence in 1557, which suggests that "privy kirks"¹¹⁷ were well established in Fife and Angus before the seminal year of 1560 when Knox preached his inflammatory sermon at St. John's Church in Perth. From its coastal urban base, in which it had the support of town magistrates, the reformed religion of Knox and the Lords of the Faithful Congregation spread into the countryside with a view to establishing a national church. North of the Highland Line, argues Brown, the spread was thin. Parishes were over-large, ministers few, the landscape forbidding, with the result that large areas of the landward west, and a few inner Hebridean islands, preserved the status quo of the Roman faith.¹¹⁸ After 1560, it was no help to the Reformers' cause that the new Kirk could not determine with fixed certainty, its established structure, Presbyterianism or prelacy. In 1690, the former prevailed, and as Brown observes, throughout the Presbyterianising of the North and Northwest, the key element was to be the Southern influence.¹¹⁹ The memory of this protracted internecine struggle was still fresh in 1718 when it was reiterated by letter before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland:

But after the Restoration while the projects and power of the Courts were employed against another Sett of people, when protestants were persecuted in the South, popery was Connived at in the north and there unwearied Emissaries Laboured to Spread their poison as far as they could, with immunity.¹²⁰

¹¹¹ Philabeg; a plaid or blanket material wrapped round the male lower body, the loose end secured across one shoulder. The garment was the fore-runner of the modern pleated kilt which came into use as a fashion garment in the early-nineteenth century..

¹¹² Watts, 1999, 6.

¹¹³ Price, 1991, ix.

¹¹⁴ Iconoclasm: the wanton destruction of sacred images. Iconoclasm has a long history. A well-known early episode is that of the mutilation of the Hermes in ancient Greece in 415-4BC. At the time of the 1560 Reformation in Scotland many episodes of iconoclasm relating to friaries and chapels have been recorded

¹¹⁵ Cowan, 1982, 92.

¹¹⁶ Fleming, SHS, 1889-90.

¹¹⁷ Privy Kirks: Protestant congregations which met, without official recognition and in semi-secrecy, in a number of Scottish burghs in the late 1550s, before there was "the face of a public kirk" in the realm (Donaldson *et al*, (Edinburgh, 1977), 176.

¹¹⁸ Brown, 1997, 92

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 92.

¹²⁰ N.L.S., MS. 976, ff. 147-9.

If, as argued in Chapter 2, landscape has proved to be one cardinal factor in the shaping of ecclesiastical mission, then economic considerations - always intimately tied to the land - must be considered another. From the outset, the problem of church-state relationships and funding faced the reformers. To their dismay, the ambitious plans of the Lords of the Congregation for the organisational structure of the new church, set out in the Reformers' *Book of Discipline*,¹²¹ were not ratified by the Reformation Parliament. Failure to secure in full the patrimony of the old church, claims Smout, dictated curtailment in an ambitious programme that included provision for an educated ministry, for which there was to be scarce compromise; basing of poor relief on the income from tithes; and efficient schooling for all.¹²² One half of one third of the patrimony accruing to the old church or however much of that sum the Crown chose to allow, as Cowan notes, was all that the reformers could command.¹²³

It is in the light of the foregoing ecclesiastical upheaval, Piggot proposes that present day patterns of institutional religion in Scotland owe much to historical geography, meaning here in particular, questions of location and communication, and he stresses an east-west division in this respect. Piggot observes that, although the Roman Church began in the west of Scotland, its strength developed in the east and was concentrated there by the time of the Reformation.¹²⁴ It must be assumed that by the eleventh century, the centralising pull of Roman dominance had encouraged this geographical shift that linked Scotland's ecclesiastical affairs more closely with those of continental Europe. In Piggot's view, the advance of the Reformed Church was slow, hindered, particularly in the Highlands by difficulties of travel and incessant feuding.¹²⁵ Kirk, on the other hand, would dispute this point, in that he has found the oft-repeated claim that the Reformed Church failed to secure an early foothold in the northern Highlands not supported by recorded evidence.¹²⁶ The problems in the Highlands illuminated by Kirk are both spatial and staffing. Highland parishes, practically without exception, were inordinately large, and due to the lack of an educated ministry proposed in the 1560 (First) *Book of Discipline*, as submitted to the first Reformation parliament, many parishes had to be content with a resident reader. Otherwise, as Kirk bears out, the Reformed Church had, within a remarkably short time, a presence in most mainland parishes in the Highlands.¹²⁷

If such an early foothold by the new Kirk had indeed been gained, it still proved to be a poor match for a

¹²¹ Cameron, 1972, 4: "The names of the ministers who were commissioned in April 1560 have not been recorded in any art of the surviving documents. They must, however, have been drawn from those who had accompanied the Lords of the Congregation in their recent campaign. Of these reformers John Knox and John Willock were the most prominent; John Spottiswoode and John Row may also have been present, but of this there can be no certainty or of the presence of John Douglas and John Winram from St. Andrews. All six "Johns" were, according to one account, later commissioned to 'draw in a volume the Policy and Discipline of the Kirk'".

¹²² Smout, 1969, 84-85.

¹²³ Cowan, 1982, 121.

¹²⁴ Piggot, 1980, 131.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* 131.

¹²⁶ Kirk, 1986, 14.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 1986, 19.

resurgent Roman Catholicism throughout the Highlands in later years. In 1714, contemporary accounts indicate that "there were in the united Highland parishes of Tullich, Glenmuick and Glengarden in Aberdeen-shire, tuo hundred and sixty five-papists, ffour hundred in the united parishes of Crathie and Kindrochit (Braemar), and Twenty-one in Aboyn and Glentanner".¹²⁸ In 1718, two Reformed ministers then served the five large parishes of upper Deeside; the Rev. James Robertson, minister of the United Parishes of Tullich, Glenmuick and Glengairn, and the Rev. John McInnes, minister of the United Parishes of Crathie and Braemar.¹²⁹ Both complained to the Assembly that:

Emissaries (priests) Laboured to Spread their poison as far as they could, with Immunity, and finding the forsaid five parishes were under the care of but two Ministers and Consequently grossly Ignorant, for it is such dark waters that they Love to fish.¹³⁰

These five Reformed parishes, "very wide and populous", cover an area that includes the upper reaches of the River Dee as far as its source in the Cairngorm mountain range. The difficulties faced by its two Presbyterian incumbents are revealed in the baptismal records for St. Andrew's Roman Catholic mission station at Braemar (includes Crathie and Glen Gairn) between 1703 and 1759. During that period the records show 187 surnames and 2,893 Christian names. An entry for 7th July 1715, one of several in the records, reveals the spatial and staffing problems that left opportunity for priestly missionaries of the "underground" Old Kirk a century and a half after the Reformation:

Braemar, July 7, 1715: son of Patrick Farquharson, Laird of Inverey: The Laird and Lady are both Protestants; The child was born before due time and was in danger not to live any considerable time, neither was there any minister at that time, but being put in good hopes that the child, if survived, he should be educated in the Roman religion".¹³¹

In 1720, in Knoydart, Barra, Benbecula and South Uist, to the west, reveal the General Assembly records, "There are already in these Countries especially in Large parishes, three Priests for every Protestant Minister therein".¹³²

The problems facing the Presbyterian Kirk within the Highlands are summed up in a document dated August 1718 - reproduced in full as Appendix "J" - submitted jointly by the Revs. Robertson and McInnes to the Commission of the General Assembly meeting in Edinburgh that same year.¹³³ This document enumerates fourteen points outlining the causes of the growth of popery in the Highlands of Aberdeen-shire. The first point refers to the too great extent of the parishes, with ministers having greater charges than they were able to manage. Secondly, it mentions the great ignorance that prevailed among the parishioners, albeit this point lacks elucidation. Thirdly, it indicates the unbounded liberty that Jesuit priests and "traffickers" have to do

¹²⁸ N.L.S., MS. 976, f. 143.

¹²⁹ *Life & Work*, March, 2005, 50: Unrestricted call for a committed minister to lead the proposed linkage with Glenmuick (Ballater) and Braemar and Crathie Parish. This forthcoming merge of congregations occurs in an area where the population shows no sign of decline.

¹³⁰ N.L.S., MS. 976, ff. 147-9.

¹³¹ Register of Catholic baptisms, St. Andrew's RC Chapel, Braemar. Reproduced in type by A. Strath-Maxwell (1975).

¹³² N.L.S., MS. 68, ff. 31-2, 1720.

¹³³ N.L.S., MS. 976, ff. 147-9.

what they will within the parishes. Two further points were especially pertinent to the problems faced by the Established ministry. The first referred to ministers having inadequate incomes so that their time was necessarily taken up by providing for their poor families. The second made reference to the old age and bodily infirmities in ministers that made them unfit for such burdens. This incapacity for active mission "gave great advantage to the adversary", an observation made by the Presbytery of Argyll to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and recorded in its Minute Book for 17th April 1717:

Imprimis as to our Presbitry of Aygyle, severalls of our Members stands in need frequently of supplies to their parishes. Mr. John Darroch, Mnr (minister) att Craignish, he has been soe unwell that these three years bygone, he has not attended two Prses (parishes), not being able to ride; and severall Sabbaths was not able to preach, not being able to go to or continue in the church during preaching-time because of his pain and Agonie. Mr. Dugale Campbele has these two or three years been bedfast severall times supplied by the brethern and others and never able to go to church but when supported by two men and even then with difficulty and pain and never out of bed but when in pulpit and never likely to recover then being now about seventy-eight years of age. Mr. Daniel Campbele. minister of Glassrie has only been able to move these two or three years one two crutches. And since the fourteenth of October last, has never been able to stand one his own leggs to this day. Not to move a step anywhere out of his bed, but when caryd by men on the Sabbath day to the Church, and has been obleiged severall Sabbaths to seek the assistance of others. In the Presbiterie of Lorn, Mr James Campbele Mnr (minister) of Kilmelfort and Kilninver has these three years ago had his thigh bone dislocated and has never since that time, And in all probability never will; whose charge Mr. Daniel Campbele, Probationer aforesaid was suppleeing all March last and pairt of April. Mr Alexr. McColman - Minr (minister) of Leismore, Episcopale incumbent, a man past Eighty years of age is now bedfast, sick, and never likely to Recover, his charge must be supplied and planted by the Synod of Argyle. Mr. Colin Campbele, Minr (minister) of Ardchattan is one the borders of Eighty very tender and Unable to travale and very shortly must have a helper. The parish of Lochquhabber divided into two, one of which is yet vaccant. Mr John Campbele in Kilcalmonel has been sick much of these Twelve months and like to prove disabled of one of his leggs and severale others tender this long time, and some of them like to continue.¹³⁴

The remedy, it was suggested by the Revs. Robertson and McInnes, was to relieve the present aged ministry unable to cope with wide and mountainous parishes, and to replace them with men of youth and vigour.¹³⁵ From the foregoing, one spatial conflict is seen to arise; the Reformed ministry, often tied to the low ground of a wide parish, perhaps hampered by advanced age, as well as by the necessity to cultivate a glebe and support a growing family, could have minimal contact with parishioners. On the other hand, the peripatetic priesthood, with none of these material encumbrances, but in some cases living off the poor since priests were neither salaried nor self-sufficient, was free to keep to the high ground with impunity from persecution, and to secure the souls of the people for Rome.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ N.A.S., CH1/2/37/4/£.275.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, 100.

¹³⁶ The Rev. James Robertson of Glenmuick is listed in the 1696 Poll Tax return; his household, apart from his wife and children, consisted of two male and three female servants whose duties are not given. On the other hand, Fr. McIntosh, for 64 years priest in upper Glen Gairn during the later-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries (died aged 93 in 1846), is reported by Roberts (1987) to have had the farm at Clashinruach leased from the Invercauld Estate (by McGregors) with the priest in the insecure position as sub-tenant. Work on the farm and the cutting of peats was largely done by his

3. 7 The Gaelic Bible in the Highlands

The impact of the first generation of Reformed ministry, argues Lynch, was lessened by the fact that few were Gaelic speakers. In common with the recusant Highland mission of the Roman Catholic Church, insufficient numbers of Gaelic-speaking men could be recruited to preach the Word and Sacrament to Presbyterian congregations. This dearth of Gaelic speakers was responsible for an impasse in ecclesiastical mission in the north and west. At Strachur in Argyll in the 1790s,

The Gaelic language is universally spoken in this parish. Many of the natives can speak no other language. The young people, from novelty, go for service to the south side of the Clyde, and learn the dialect of that country. This, with what they learn at school, enables them to understand the English language, and in some measure, to speak it; but still their mother tongue is much more familiar to them.¹³⁷

The first printed book in Gaelic to appear in either Ireland or Scotland was John Carswell's Gaelic translation of Knox's (Geneva) liturgy, the Book of Common Order, *Foirm Na h-Urnuigh Eadh* (The Form of Prayers), introduced to the West Highlands in 1567. It was Carswell's aim, claims Dawson, to provide a new corpus of Protestant material to replace Catholic doctrine and ideas in Gaelic culture.¹³⁸ However, Meek finds that the *Foirm* was not a straightforward, word-for-word translation, but a modified version deeply influenced by Renaissance humanism, and thus available only to an educated few.¹³⁹ Maintained under the patronage of the 5th Earl of Argyll, Carswell's influence only extended to Campbell territory in the southern part of Argyll. In consequence, as Lynch points out, the early Gaelic-speaking ministers lacked the main instruments of evangelism used elsewhere by the Kirk; they had no catechism before 1653, no psalm book until 1659, both produced by the Synod of Argyll,¹⁴⁰ and no Kirk sessions until well into the seventeenth century. As a result, Lynch concludes, the first plantation of Protestantism in the Highlands, once outside Campbell territory, or in the frontier zone close to the Highland line had shallow roots.¹⁴¹

As if to emphasise this seeming failure in Highland mission by the reformed Kirk, the Highlands, argues Meek, had no Bible of its own until the Irish Gaelic Bible - perhaps of greater utility for a resurgent Roman Catholicism - made its appearance in the Highlands in the 1690s.¹⁴² Paradoxically, an Act of Parliament of 1563 authorised the translation of the complete Bible into Welsh, and Bishop William Morgan completed this in 1588.¹⁴³ With few language problems, England enjoyed a number of translations, the best known, the King James Bible (the Authorised Version), published in 1611. Prejudice of central government against the Gaelic language, allied to an ambivalent attitude towards the Gaelic language by the Established Church, claims Meek, ensured that the Highlands had to wait

congregation. Fr. McIntosh later removed on to Huntly land at nearby Ardoch.

¹³⁷ OSA, VIII, 414.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, 236.

¹³⁹ Meek, 1998, 38.

¹⁴⁰ Meek, 1991, 364.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 363.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, 363.

¹⁴³ Meek, 1988, 10.

for the complete Bible in Vernacular Gaelic, able to be read by a majority of the population, until 1801.¹⁴⁴

In 1685, argues Meek, prompted by the Rev. James James Kirkwood, an Episcopalian exiled in Bedfordshire, the Rev. Robert Kirk, Episcopalian incumbent of Balquhiddy and later Aberfoyle, transliterated the Irish characters of Bishop William Bedell's Old Testament completed in 1642. Published in London as part of the complete Bible in classical Gaelic, some 207 copies of "Bedell" were distributed in 1688, the year of the "Glorious Revolution." Subsequently, Kirk transliterated William O'Donnell's New Testament first available in Ireland in 1602. Both books were published as a complete Bible in 1690, in Classical Common Gaelic in a Roman font (as used in Scots printing), ostensibly to make them more accessible to Highland congregations. Appended by a two-page glossary of Irish words no longer understood by Scottish Gaels, a print-run of some 3000 copies of Kirk's transliteration was distributed throughout the Highlands. Prompted by the Edinburgh-based SSPCK, an off-shoot from the *Society for the Reformation of Manners*, itself founded in Edinburgh in 1696, it fell to the Rev. James Stuart of Killin to make the first published translation of the New Testament from the original Greek into Vernacular Scottish Gaelic in 1767.¹⁴⁵ In practice, claims Dawson, exploiting Gaeldom's emphasis upon oral performance and transmission of the literary culture,¹⁴⁶ ministers made use of personal translations of parts of the Bible. This informal system allowed the Biblical message to be conveyed in the vernacular, even in a particular local dialect, which made it even more comprehensible to the listeners.¹⁴⁷ Irrespective of the language problems faced by the Reformed Kirk, fluency in the native Gaelic language was also to be a major concern for the recruitment of an indigenous priesthood to the Catholic Highland Mission throughout the eighteenth century.

The eighteenth century gospel brought to the Highlands, Brown argues, was a Lowland one, carried by missionaries steeped in covenanting history and the Kirk's dissenting struggles. Highlanders, continues Brown, initially regarded it as an alien intrusion, bringing with it new demands for tithes, and the confiscation of good arable land to form glebes for incoming Lowland clergy. Brown further argues that, in the aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, it was Government policy to give the Presbyterian Church of Scotland ascendancy over the recusant Catholics and Episcopalians of the region.¹⁴⁸ For this same purpose, the Lowland influence was further intruded by the activities of the SSPCK.¹⁴⁹ Established in 1709, in emulation of the English SPCK, its pro-English language policy, in

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 1988, 10.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 1988, 15: Rev. James Stuart, Established Church minister at Killin obtained the assistance of the Rev. James Fraser of Alness, who revised the manuscript. Dugald Buchanan, the Gaelic religious poet from Rannoch, Perthshire, supervised the printing in Edinburgh. In June 1766, ten thousand copies of the first Scottish Gaelic New Testament rolled off the presses of Balfour, Auld and Smellie, printers to the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁴⁶ Dawson, 1994, 234.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 1994, 239.

¹⁴⁸ Brown, 1988, 148.

¹⁴⁹ N.L.S.,MS 1954, 1.

its churches and schools, had the support of the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates, concerned about the re-awakening of Jacobitism in the Highlands.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, Brown further claims that the Highlands and Hebrides were the Scottish Kirk's first "foreign" mission, and a "dry run" for the great work in Africa and Asia.¹⁵¹ Considered in this light, Brown's conclusion, that it was Presbyterianism rather than military force that suppressed clan customs and superstitions, and absorbed the Highlands into both Scottish Lowland culture and the British State, is eminently persuasive.

3.8 Establishment claims - Episcopalian or Presbyterian?

The first major schism to emerge in the newly reformed, if under-funded and inadequately staffed Kirk in 1560, was that between the competing advocates of Presbyterianism and of Episcopacy. At stake was the character of church government to be adopted in what was to become the nation's Established Church. Presbyterians held to an administrative structure of church courts; Kirk sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods and general assemblies, each chaired by a moderator, a structure in which no one minister was to have power over another for any protracted period. The English Westminster Confession of Faith, formulated in 1644, stressing the individual contract between God and man, was adopted by the General Assembly as the subsidiary standard of faith, secondary only to the Bible. On the other hand, Episcopalians favoured prelacy, a hierarchical system with power resting in a series of ecclesiastical dignitaries; bishops and archbishops. The administrative structure apart, both churches services were almost identical. The protracted in-fight within the Reformed Church that resulted under succeeding Stuart monarchs was to last for 130 years with the ascendancy of Presbyterianism - a second Reformation perhaps - as the administrative structure of the Established Church.

The settlement reached in 1690, states Burleigh, permitted Episcopalian ministers to remain in their charges if they signed a prescribed oath of allegiance to the joint sovereigns, William and Mary. This required a promise to submit to, and concur with, Presbyterian church government and subscribe the Westminster Confession "as containing the doctrine of the Protestant religion professed in this kingdom".¹⁵² The formed the "juring" clergy of whom 100 took the oath without seeking admission to the church courts. Many more "non-juring" clergy, adds Burleigh, refused to take the oaths, especially in the north where these were not rigorously exacted.¹⁵³ Without the legally deprived, but continuing Episcopalian ministers, claims Ansdell, some Highland parishes would have been denied a measure of religious provision for some years.¹⁵⁴

Episcopacy continued, states Lochhead, as an underground movement, impoverished in both funding and leadership, holding allegiance to James VII and the Stuart heirs, and, in common with recusant Roman

¹⁵⁰ Brown, 1997, 86.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, 91.

¹⁵² Burleigh, 1960, 264.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, 264.

Catholicism, under the patronage and protection of powerful landed magnates.¹⁵⁵ In consequence, its adherents were placed under severe penal statutes prohibiting them the use of churches, chapels, services or priests, under penalties of transportation or imprisonment for life.¹⁵⁶ In consequence of this 130 years' battle for establishment supremacy in the new Kirk structure - detailed above (Para. 3.6) - the energies of the Reformers' intent to eradicate popery had been largely usurped at a critical period in Reformed mission. The Toleration Act of 1712 formally allowed, once again, Anglican worship in Scotland under the proviso that Episcopalians abjure the exiled Stuarts and make an oath of allegiance to the Crown. Following the 1715 uprising in the Highlands, the Abjuration Act, 1719 imposed severe penalties for non-jurors. Eventually, in 1792, the penal statutes were repealed, but by that time, the Episcopalian bishops were reduced to four, and the clergy to forty. In the Highlands, the clan chiefs and lairds held fast to Episcopalianism. Under duress, so did the tenantry until the breakdown of the clan system became absolute following the 1745-46 rebellion. Before that time, Aberdeen and the North-East had become the geographical centre for Episcopalian witness,¹⁵⁷ although Macleod argues that the Scottish Episcopal Church retains its real indigenous strength only on mainland Argyllshire.¹⁵⁸ Be as it may, the records of the Episcopal parish of Old Deer, Aberdeen-shire, for the period from 1761 to 1834, show 1234 births and baptisms, with details of parentage and witnesses present.¹⁵⁹ This significant total may be considered an index of the strength of Episcopalian fervour on the fringe of the Eastern Highlands over that period.

In 1690, argues MacInnes, the Highland area in general was for the Presbyterians something of a *damnosa hereditas*. Presbyterians, remarks Ansdell were clearly in the minority, but they held the high ground since presbytery regulated church discipline and controlled appointments.¹⁶⁰ They had a slender footing in parts of Argyll, in Easter Ross and in parts of Caithness and Sutherland, but elsewhere, claims MacInnes, they were strongly opposed. In most parts of the Highlands, apart from a few areas in the west and on some of the islands, Reformed congregations held to Episcopacy.¹⁶¹ In these areas, argues Macleod, Presbyterian ministers were popularly regarded as "intruders" and were subjected to rejection by the people.¹⁶² At Drumossie Moor in 1746, claims Johnston, some 75 per cent of the Highland army supporting the Stuart cause purported to be Episcopalian, and only 30 per cent Roman Catholic.¹⁶³ Clan chiefs, overwhelmingly

¹⁵⁴ Ansdell, 1998, 17.

¹⁵⁵ Lochhead, 1966, 12.

¹⁵⁶ Donaldson, 1974, 258.

¹⁵⁷ Now in full communion with the Church of England, with whom it shares the *Book of Common Prayer*, Scottish Episcopalianism serving the spiritual needs of small congregations throughout the Highlands, retains its own distinctive laws and liturgy.

¹⁵⁸ Macleod, 1998, 213.

¹⁵⁹ Strath-Maxwell, 1975.

¹⁶⁰ Ansdell, 1998, 17.

¹⁶¹ MacInnes, 1951, 11.

¹⁶² Macleod, 1998, 213.

¹⁶³ Johnston, 1983, 26.

Episcopalian,¹⁶⁴ emerging as powerful landowners in their own right, had carefully calculated, it must be supposed, the political and material advantage that would accrue to those on the winning side.

3.9 Discipline in the Kirk

In view of the reputed failings of the medieval Church of Rome, morality within the community was a major concern of the Reformers. The Seventh Head in the (First) *Book of Discipline* is uncompromising:

But because this accursed Papistrie hath brought in such confusion into the world, and neither was virtue rightly praised neither yet vice severely punished, the kirk of God is compelled to draw the sword which of God she hath received, against such open and manifest contemners, cursing and excommunicating all such, as well as those whom the civill sword ought to punish, as the other, from all participation with her in prayers and Sacraments, till open repentance appeare manifestly in them. As the order and proceeding to excommunication ought to be slow and grave, so being once pronounced against any person of what estate or condition that ever they be, it must be kept with all severity.¹⁶⁵

The prime agency for the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline was group pressure by the local Presbyterian congregation to conform. This was the New Testament basis for Knox's *Order of Excommunication and Public Repentance*, as originally interpreted for him by Continental and English reformers. Guided by the text of Matthew 18:15-17,¹⁶⁶ censure and correction were to be either private or public, the former leading to the latter if necessary, with the ultimate sanction in case of default as a "noted contumax", that of excommunication by the whole church. However, in keeping with God's bountiful mercy, and His knowledge of the imperfections of man, if the defaulter exhibited genuine repentance, he could be received back into the fellowship of the church. In this, avers Henderson, the Reformers were pragmatic:

"bot this we affirme that na man in eird (Christ Jesus onlie except) hes given, gives, or sall give in works, that obedience to the law quhilk the law requiris ... we are unprofitable servands"¹⁶⁷

Corrective discipline and restorative discipline were clearly the spirit of Knox's disciplinary sederunt and were so exercised by session elders¹⁶⁸ working in collusion with the agencies of the secular penal system. The Knoxian ideal, however, was certainly not public humiliation and punishment of the offender. In 1707, notes Burleigh, an Act of the General Assembly approved a document more severely puritanical than the old, *The Form of Process in the Judicatories of the Church of Scotland with relation to Scandals and Censures*. From that date, session records throughout the Highlands, from east to west, consistently record

¹⁶⁴ Macleod, 1998, 213.

¹⁶⁵ Cameron, 1972, 167.

¹⁶⁶ Matthew 18: 15-17: "Moreover if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican".

¹⁶⁷ Henderson, 1960, 12.

¹⁶⁸ Cameron, 1974, 22: In the (First) *Book of Discipline*, Kirk sessions were to be composed of "Men of best knowledge in God's Word and cleanest life, were to be nominated and from such, elders and deacons were chosen". Elders were drawn from a cross-section of the people chosen for their spiritual and not for secular qualifications. From the first, elders joined with ministers and doctors in the General Assembly and took full part in exercising joint rule over the Church.

Plate 3. 3

The Ordination of the Elders in a Scottish Kirk, 1891. J.H. Lorimer, 1856-1936.
(National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh - reproduction granted).

the appearance of parishioners to answer moral lapses, especially those of fornication (haughmagandy) and adultery. Failure to appear after the third summons from Glenmuick Session, claims Sedgwick, was considered "contumacious" and referred to Presbytery, as were all cases of adultery.¹⁶⁹ By 1843 the Kincardine O'Neil Presbytery Committee on Church Discipline could place on record (Fig. 3.5) a progressively more humane approach to discipline within the severely weakened Established Kirk:

The Committee would desire to keep in mind the object of all Church discipline. In Church Discipline, we intend not to punish, but only to awaken within offenders a sense of their guilt. We rebuke not in anger but in pity and Christian love. We require thus to pay much regard to that influence which measures adopted by us may likely have over the heart, and it seems evident that these measures should all savour of kindness and concern for the soul. Any measure savouring of harshness will tend only to make more hard the unconverted heart, and it may in some solitary instances, forbid there be any, unsettle the desponding.¹⁷⁰

3. 10 Patronage in the Kirk

The suppression of the clan system by Act of Parliament in 1747; the widening rift between landowners

¹⁶⁹ Sedgwick, 1990, 37.

¹⁷⁰ N.A.S., CH2/ 602/5/111.

and the tenant population, fuelled by the policies associated with "patronage" and latterly, by policies associated with economic "improvement", would seem to have produced geographical tensions in the Kirk structure. Patronage, claims Burleigh, had been a characteristic mode of endowing the Western Church since medieval times, and implied a right of property, incorporated into later Acts of Parliament. "Patronage" permitted the patron, usually a substantial landowner, in association with the body of heritors,¹⁷¹ to intrude a minister of their choice, upon the congregation. Intrusion, however, was in direct conflict with the right claimed in the (First) *Book of Discipline* of a congregation to call its own minister. In some cases, landowners included Parliament, Jacobites and Episcopalians,¹⁷² and in consequence, patronage came to be viewed by many as a tool of vacillating Government policies. In 1690, patronage had been abolished by the Presbyterians, only to be restored by the Patronage Act of 1712, in the form that it had been in 1592. It was basically a piece of English legislation, and in the words of Ross, this reinstatement of the Patronage Act was to be "productive of more mischief in Scottish ecclesiastical life than any other single piece of legislation",¹⁷³ and was, adds Macleod, at the root of the multiplicity of denominations in the fragmented Church of Scotland.¹⁷⁴ Until patronage was finally abolished in 1874, claims Brown, "intrusion" continued to dominate Kirk affairs locally and nationally, and had particular moment in the political and economic interests of Highland congregations.¹⁷⁵

In the Highlands, argues Ross, it was not until the Disruption of 1843 that defection from the state church on the issue of intrusion took place.¹⁷⁶ Under the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, its first moderator, the Free Church was established and, on national scale, immediately attracted almost half of the Established Church congregations. Free from state interference, the new church's evangelical zeal found ready acceptance in the Highlands. Indeed, most Highland parishes went to the Free Church in which there was more lay involvement in the form of precentors¹⁷⁷ and readers. At the outset, Free Church congregations met opposition from Moderate landowners and were denied spaces in which to erect church buildings.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷¹ Wright et al (eds), 1993, 401: Heritor – a landowner possessing immovable or heritable property in a parish. Together, heritors formed a quasi- corporation for the management and disposal of those parochial concerns to which they were entitled on their own to take action. They had to provide and maintain the parish church, manse churchyard and glebe. When church door offerings were insufficient for the care of the poor, heritors were responsible for assessments to increase the money available. The provision of schools was also a matter for them, but in the nineteenth century this provision became the responsibility of state-appointed bodies. The work of heritors ended after the passing of the Church of Scotland (Property and Endowments) Act of 1925, in preparation for the Union of the Churches in 1929.

¹⁷² Burleigh, 1960, 277.

¹⁷³ Ross, 1993, 649.

¹⁷⁴ Macleod, 1998, 214.

¹⁷⁵ Brown, 1990, 77: The tensions created in the newly Established Kirk by the issue of patronage, prompted growth, in 1733, in the non-urban Lowlands, of the original Secession Church, prompted the growth in 1733, in the non-urban Lowlands, of the original Secession Church. This led to further divisions between Burghers and Anti-Burghers in 1747 over the taking of the "Burgess Oath," followed by Auld Lights and New Lights, a division over the role of magistrates in religion, followed by Lifters and Non-Lifters, a division over the lifting of the elements at communion. In the 1733 Secession, the Kinross congregation desired to call a neighbouring popular minister, Ebenezer Erskine, but the Kinross Heritors intruded another, alleged less satisfactory candidate.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 1988, 149.

¹⁷⁷ In the days before many people had learned to read and church organs installed, the precentor stood below the pulpit, but above the pews, and "gave out the line" of a psalm which was then repeated by the congregation. It is still the practice in the Free Church of Scotland (Wee Frees) in the Highlands.

¹⁷⁸ In practice, the Free Church drew its support from the middle classes whilst the Established Church retained its appeal with the upper and lower classes. At local level there was much rivalry between the two.

Fig. 3.5

110

1843

Wm. John Shaw Andrew Donald John Philip
William Inail George Archibald James Duncan
James Hay James Forbes Hugh Martin & John Ross.
W. Miller reported that he had completed the
catechising of his parish for 1842.

The communion roll of Abeyne was attested.
At being legal hours the Presbytery proceeded to
elect their Delegates to the ensuing General Assembly
in terms of a resolution entered on their records
Gen. Assembly on the 30th day of Nov: last, when Messrs. W. Christie
Cook & Dr. Anderson were elected. Mr. James Hope
H. J. was elected Ruling Elder to the General As-
sembly from this Presbytery without a vote.

The Committee on Discipline gave in a report
the tenor whereof follows. Report Committee
Church Discipline. The Committee would de-
sire to keep in mind the object of all church dis-
cipline. In church discipline we intend not
to punish, but only to awaken within offenders
a sense of their guilt. We rebuke not in anger
but in pity & Christian love. We require thus to
pay much regard to that influence which measures
adopted by us, may likely have over the heart, & it seems
evident that these measures should all savour of
kindness & concern for the soul. Any measure sa-
vouring of harshness will tend only to make more
hard the unconverted heart, and it may in some
solitary instances forbid there be any, unsettle the
dissatisfied. We make these few general remarks, as
serving to manifest the reason why in the measures
proposed & selected from many, we incline rather
to mild treatment & deem it a fitting thing to con-
sult, as far as may be consistent with good dis-
cipline, the convenience of the guilty. 1st Fines. Our
inquiries on this head have embraced various parts
throughout the boundaries of our Church, & we
have ascertained that the general practice every-
where is not to exact fines, & that in many places
where they are continued, they are characterised
not as fines but as a kind of voluntary free will of-
ferings, having no connection with punishment
for the crime. In conformity with general practice
William Lumsden P. M.

The Articles Declaratory of the Church of Scotland, 1921, determined the freedom of the national church to change or modify its policies without Act of Parliament provided that the church remains Trinitarian. The majority of the Secession churches had re-united with the Established Church by the time of its mutually agreed, but protracted re-union with the United Free Church in 1929. This last was not achieved over-night; at Ballater in upper Deeside, a geographical area treated empirically in Chapters 4 and 5, re-union was not effected until 1936.

3. 11 Established Church Education in the Highlands

It is reasonable to propose that the roots of all belief rest in teaching (Appendix "I"). We must assume that early peoples worldwide learned to survive and adapt through the hard lessons taught through experience in their natural habitat. It follows that the distilled wisdom of the ages was handed down by teaching through succeeding generations of people. From a religious perspective, in the Pentateuch book of Exodus, Moses expresses his concern to the Lord concerning *belief* among the people.¹⁷⁹ In response, the Lord *teaches* the inarticulate Moses what he shall say to the people through the mouth of his brother Aaron the Levite as intermediary, and what Moses shall do.¹⁸⁰ Of greatest significance for Hebrews, the basic plea of Judaism, the *Shema*,¹⁸¹ is explicitly rooted in teaching:

Hear, O Israel. The Lord our God is one Lord: And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart. And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk to them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.¹⁸²

According to Durkan, education in the early medieval period rested with the church in its grammar schools both "great" and "little", and song schools, almost all, according to the charters, "church schools sited in a burgh" or within those larger centres of population attached to collegiate churches and to cathedral foundations. The aim of the early Roman Church councils had been to erect a song-school in every parish, but claims Durkan, only one song-school has been identified in a Scottish rural parish.¹⁸³ The assumption must be that the Roman experienced the same staffing problems as the later Reformers. Teaching at that period acknowledged no national boundaries since the Roman Church, as it does today, proclaimed itself as universal and imposed its dogma accordingly.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 4.1: "And Moses answered and said, But, behold, they will not *believe* me, nor hearken unto my voice: for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee".

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 4.15: "And thou shall speak unto him, and put words in his mouth: and I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and will *teach* you what ye shall do".

¹⁸¹ Hebrew is a "numerical" language in which words carry numerical weight. The Shema contains 245 Hebrew words, but extends, by repetition of three words, to 248. In respect of the numerical reference, the Shema corresponds to the 248 parts of the human body. This is clearly seen in the Christian (Greek and later) New Testament in the prologue to the Gospel according to St. Matthew, 1.1- 4.22. In this passage, the "generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham," conforms into three groups of fourteen generations. The link here is that in Hebrew, the number 14 is synonymous with the name David, a key figure in Judaism. Christianity is thus acknowledging its Hebrew roots.

¹⁸² Deuteronomy, 6. 4-9:

¹⁸³ Durkan, 1959, 68.

Statutory provision for schools within Scotland, argues Donaldson, had been made by the Education Acts of 1616, promulgated specially by central government as a political measure to encourage an extension of the English language in the Highlands in order to eradicate "barbarity"¹⁸⁴ This objective was buttressed by additional parliamentary legislation in 1646 and 1696. The result, claims Withrington, was that most Reformed parishes throughout the Highlands, by the opening of the eighteenth century, provided schools for the elementary education of the young, and of grown persons desirous of learning to read and count.¹⁸⁵ Some schools, like those at Tain and Campbeltown, were merely a continuation of the pre-Reformation grammar schools and song schools.¹⁸⁶ The Reformed church alone, inheritors of three Scottish universities earlier founded by papal bull - St. Andrews (1411), Glasgow (1451), and King's College, Aberdeen (1495)¹⁸⁷ - was gradually able to provide the educated ministry envisaged by the Reformers in the (First) *Book of Discipline*.

Parochial schools had existed in Scotland from the Reformation period, and emphasis on the parochial school is a noticeable feature of the *Old Statistical Account* and in subsequent returns from Highland ministers, initiated by the General Assembly. Parochial schools, as Withrington points out, were only one of a number of schools catering for educational needs of Scots people. There were publicly-funded schools paid for by heritors or town magistrates; schools supported by mortifications, donations by others than heritors or magistrates; and private or adventure schools with no official support, whose teachers were entirely dependent on fee-income from the parents of their scholars.¹⁸⁸

3. 11. 1 Education as a political expedient

The erection and staffing of charity schools for the poor was the concern of the Edinburgh based SSPCK, erected by royal charter in 1709,¹⁸⁹ and by 1715, running twenty-five schools.¹⁹⁰ Founded on a political base, schoolmasters were carefully selected by the Society with a view to eradicating "popery" in the Highlands. The avowed purpose of the SSPCK, placed on record at the Society's General Meeting of August, 1713, was "that more schools be erected in those parts for teaching the principles of our Holy Religion in the English language and by time, wearing out the Irish".¹⁹¹ This aim was re-affirmed in 1720, when the records state

¹⁸⁴ Donaldson, 1974, 178: "Forsamekle as, the kingis Majestie having a speciall care and regaird that the the true religion be advanceit and establisheit in all the pairtis of this kingdome, and that all his Majesties subjectis, especiallie the youth, be exercised and trayned up in civilitie, godlines, knowledge and learning, that the vulgar Inglishe tounge be universallie plantit, and the Irishe language, whilk is one of the chief and principall causis of the of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and Heylandis, may be abolisheit and removit".

¹⁸⁵ Withrington, 1988, 172.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 1988, 166.

¹⁸⁷ Backed by the powerful Catholic Earl of Huntly, King's College, Old Aberdeen, proved obdurate and neglected to conform until George Keith, 5th Earl Marischal, founded Protestant Marischal College in New Aberdeen in 1593. Both university colleges, offering duplicate faculties, co-existed until conjoined by the Universities Act of 1859. In recent years the university campus has relocated to King's College in Old Aberdeen with its pre-Reformation chapel and Divinity Faculty buildings, incorporating Christ's College, as its central focus.

¹⁸⁸ Withrington, 1988, 176-7.

¹⁸⁹ Cameron, 1993, 761.

¹⁹⁰ Lynch, 1991, 364.

¹⁹¹ N.A.S., GD95/1/1: 294.

that "the Societies design was not to discourage any proper means of Instruction in the principles of Christianity but to forward the same, and yet not to continue the Irish Language but to wear it out, and Learn the people the English tongue".¹⁹²

The qualities sought in an SSPCK schoolmaster, with emphasis on piety, knowledge and loyalty, are summed up in the records of the Society's Stated Quarterly Meeting for 2nd June 1716:

Nothing can be more effectual for reducing these countries (Highlands) to order and making them useful to the Commonwealth than teaching them their duty to God, their King and Countrey and rooting out their Irish language, and this has been the case of the Society so far as they could, for all the Schollars are taught in English, and none are allowed to be masters of the Societie's Charitie Schools, but such as produce sufficient certificats of their piety knowledge and loyalty.¹⁹³

The teaching of Latin - the language of the Roman Catholic Mass - was forbidden and so too, the teaching of Gaelic with its strong bonds in Roman Catholic mission in the Highlands. This was made explicit by the SSPCK Committee at the Society's Stated Quarterly Meeting in Edinburgh on 11th February 1720, where specific instructions were issued that:

Particular care to be taken of teaching the Children to understand as well as to read the English language and for that, and that the masters do converse with them and cause them to converse among themselves as much as possible in that Language and that the schoolmaster teach them to speak in the said Language, and when they read, to examine them, if they understand what they read, and that the schoolmasters do by no means teach their schollars to read either Latine or Irish, and that the Presbyteries and Minister in their visitations of the Schools take special notice of those things and report and account to the Society or their Committee after each visitation how the master and schollars do obey these injunctions.¹⁹⁴

The stated policy of the SSPCK from its inception in 1709 in relation to teaching methods was to change again in 1766¹⁹⁵ and in 1825, when different emphasis was placed upon the method teaching of English in the light of recurrent failure. In 1725, the Royal Bounty, an annual sum, originally £1,000, was donated by the Crown to the General Assembly, and administered by the Royal Bounty Commission of the Established Church. This money, observes Cameron was initially used to strengthen the Presbyterian presence in remote and over-large Highland parishes where Catholicism was strong, by employing itinerant missionary-ministers,¹⁹⁶ catechists¹⁹⁷ and probationers.¹⁹⁸ It too, planted its own schools.

¹⁹² N.A.S., GD95/1/2: 104

¹⁹³ N.A.S., GD95/1/1: 294.

¹⁹⁴ N.A.S., GD95/2/2: 346.

¹⁹⁵ N.A.S., GD95/1/5: 105.

¹⁹⁶ Asadell, 1998, 33: Missionaries had responsibility for pastoral superintendence, but they were not permitted to baptize, dispense communion or have the assistance of a Kirk session.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 34: Unlike missionaries, catechists generally had no academic training. The catechist's duty was to instruct the people in the doctrines of the Christian faith by means of teaching the people to recite set answers and questions.. They were often men selected and approved by their Kirk sessions. Divinity students were sometimes sent out as summer catechists.

¹⁹⁸ Cameron, 1993, 733.

With reluctance, claims Meek, by 1766, the SSPCK was prompted by a tide of influential public opinion to finance the provision of the Scriptures in Scottish Gaelic.¹⁹⁹ Convinced that the printing of a Bible in Scottish Gaelic and in English for comparison purposes was a viable means of promoting the English language in the Highlands, the SSPCK Committee in 1723 supported the printing of a New Testament in which Gaelic and English texts were printed on facing pages.²⁰⁰ The comparative method, however, was not a success for, as Withers states, it was not accompanied by Gaelic reading.²⁰¹ Education appears to have been spatially distinguished, since Withrington argues that in the Highlands alone was there a substantial attendance at charity schools.²⁰² Despite the efforts of the SSPCK and the General Assembly, both of which were supported by the London government, Catholicism held its ground. It did so, argues Lynch, because its real props were Catholic landowners and heritors.²⁰³ After 1811, Gaelic Society schools began to be established that gave a more comprehensive coverage of the Western Highlands and Isles, and also taught girls in significant numbers for the first time.²⁰⁴

3. 11. 2 Roman Catholic education in the Highlands

To meet the spiritual needs of the Gaidhealtachd,²⁰⁵ or Gaelic population within the Highland area, observes Macdonald, it seemed necessary to meet three criteria in selection of candidates for the priesthood. The first requirement was to recruit young men with knowledge of the Gaelic language. The second was to ensure that such recruits were physically robust to withstand the rigours of an inhospitable landscape, and thirdly, to provide recruits with an education of a sufficient standard acceptable for the work of ecclesiastical mission. This rubric pointed to the engagement of young Highland men trained in local seminaries, if such could be provided without undue state interference. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) called by Pope Paul III in pursuance of the Catholic Reformation, specified that the education of Catholic clergy was to be removed from the contaminating influences of the universities. Henceforth such education was to be conducted within the confines of seminaries erected for that purpose. Scots Colleges, staffed by Jesuits, were established at Douai (1580), Rome (1600) and Madrid (1627), to complement the much earlier establishment in Paris (1325).²⁰⁶ Recruitment of young men to the Scottish Mission, states Macdonald, was soon hampered by Acts of the Scottish Parliament, passed in 1609 and 1625, as a political tool. In consequence, a scarcity of native Gaelic-speaking missionary priests remained an acute problem for the Scottish Mission in the seventeenth century.²⁰⁷

The year 1700 was an inauspicious date for Catholic Mission in Scotland as a whole. *An Act of the*

¹⁹⁹ Meek, 1988, 16.

²⁰⁰ N.A.S., 95/1/4 : 553.

²⁰¹ Withers, 1982, 45.

²⁰² Withrington, 1988, 177.

²⁰³ Lynch, 1992, 366

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 1991, 364.

²⁰⁵ Macdonald, 1978, 56.

²⁰⁶ Cameron, 1993, 750.

Scottish Parliament for Preventing the Growth of Popery empowered Lords of the Privy Council to banish priests as well as lay persons attending Catholic services. Catholics were disqualified from holding posts as chaplains, governors or teachers. If discovered, Catholics risked forcible conveyance of their property to their nearest Protestant relatives. Importantly, the Act required that children of Catholic parents be sent to Protestant relatives or teachers for their education.

The need for an indigenous Gaelic clergy, claims Macdonald, became apparent to Thomas Nicolson, consecrated bishop of Peristachium, first Vicar-Apostolic of the Scottish Mission, who made a personal tour of the Catholic Gaedhealtachd in 1700, and found about a dozen priests, each with his own territory assigned to him.²⁰⁸ Nicolson's co-adjutor, Bishop James Gordon, finding that several boys and young men in the families of minor chieftains showed willingness to accept a vocation as Catholic missionaries, established a small school on an island (Eilean Ban) in Loch Morar, in 1712, to prepare his recruits for life in a Continental seminary. In the aftermath of the 1715 uprising, and a fear of invasion from France to where the erstwhile James VIII had sailed from Montrose on 4th February, 1716, the little school was destroyed by the Hanoverians who were determined that popery must be extirpated from the Highlands and that peace and unity throughout the nation should prevail. To achieve this end, Hanoverian garrisons were strengthened, military roads constructed, and, as argued above, the English language taught in Highland schools.²⁰⁹

Inconvenienced, but not unduly deterred by the loss of his embryo Morar seminary, argues Johnson, Bishop Gordon determined to open a new small seminary high in the Braes of Glenlivet, on land that formed part of the powerful Catholic Duke of Gordon's estate in Banff-shire. The site was located far from the sea and the immediate attentions of both Hanoverian troops and Presbyterian ministers.²¹⁰ Here was constructed a small farmhouse of turf, set among juniper trees,²¹¹ in wild, remote and lonely countryside, with a clear view down the open bowl of the Suidhe Glen, and hidden in a fold of the landscape close to the Crombie burn.²¹² To this remote new College of Scalan (Gaelic-turf roof), in 1716 Bishop Gordon brought six Catholic boys to acquire sufficient learning to enter into Holy Orders without leaving their native land. At that time, Scalan was the sole site of Catholic teaching in Scotland devoted to the early education of boys for the priesthood. In preserving this microcosm of the Counter-Reformation in the face of the Draconian law of 1700, the key role played by the Highland landscape cannot be overstated.

²⁰⁷ Macdonald, 1972, 56.

²⁰⁸ Macdonald, 1972, 57.

²⁰⁹ Withrington, 1982, 163.

²¹⁰ Johnson, 1987, 75.

²¹¹ Anon. LR, xiv, 1963, 93.

²¹² Johnson, 1987, 75.

Plate 3. 4



Scalan seminary, Braes of Glenlivet, Banff-shire, built 1762 to replace a turf-built predecessor and semi-restored 1990s. Its visitors' book reflects the veneration in which the house is held by a wide geographical spectrum of Scotland's Roman Catholic population (photo-JRS).

Scalan, however remote and secluded, was not entirely free from the attentions of Hanoverian troops after 1716. At the instigation of Protestant clergy, who had forced its closure for several months,²¹³ soldiers thrice destroyed turf-built Scalan, in 1726, 1728 and 1738.²¹⁴ The succeeding stone and lime-built seminary, on the same site, was reduced to ashes by Cumberland's troops on 10th May 1746, but promptly rebuilt in 1747. In 1762, Bishop John Geddes commenced the building a new two-storey stone house with attic accommodation, on a level site across the Crombie Burn, to serve as a replacement seminary. It was completed in 1767, roughly in the form that stands today (Plate 3.4). In 1780, claims Innes, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland sent two ministers on horseback to observe the state of religion in the Highlands. They are reported to have been unimpressed by Scalan and saw no danger in its presence.²¹⁵

On a lesser level than Scalan, and to emphasise that enforcement of the Act of 1700 within the Highlands was difficult of application, complaint was made by the Presbytery of Strathbogie in 1714 concerning the existence of small schools within Roman Catholic localities, a theme that will be revisited in Chapter 5 with respect to "Catholic Glen Gairn" in Upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire:

²¹³ *Ibid.* 1987, 75.

²¹⁴ Innes, 1963, 100: "... one of these parties entered Glenlivet and soon directed their course to Scalan as to a place particularly obnoxious to the Protestant clergy who now had great influence.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* 1963, 101: The ministers did not even dismount at Scalan, but, "rode off expressing their surprise that so great a noise should have been made about a place that made so poor an appearance to them and seemed of so little consequence". This may be seen as the deflation of rhetorical scare-mongering.

One of the teachers of the grammar schooll of ffochabers²¹⁶ is popish, and Children of popish parents from diverse remote places are sent thither to be taught, and priest Stewart brother to Stewart of Boigs in the Enzie not long ago gathered about thirty boys of good expectation having the Irish tongue, and carried them abroad, to qualifie them at their return to make prosleyts to Rome.²¹⁷

These concerns, of course, must be seen against a background of government fear: the fear of Rome and the fear of "Jacobitism" that threatened the security of the nation state. Undeterred by state legislation militating against their earnest pursuit of human souls in the Highlands, it is also apparent that by 1714, as in Ireland, the Roman Catholic Church was prepared to exploit the use of women as teachers in the provision of an elementary Catholic education and as catechists:

The papists in the said bounds have of Late set up privat Schools which are taught by popish women. The priests also Instruct women, and send them through the Country to propagat their delusions, and when they find any easy to be practiced upon, they acquaint their priests and the priests perfite what they have begun.²¹⁸

In 1732, argues Johnson, to rationalise the geographical distinction imposed by language, if not by topography, Scotland was divided by the Scottish Mission into two districts, Highland and Lowland, each district with its own Vicar Apostolic. Henceforth, Scalan was to serve as seminary for the Lowland District. In 1829, the year of Catholic Emancipation, and following the rapid increase of Irish Catholic immigrants into the Lowland west of Scotland, further division into three districts, Eastern, Western and Northern, became effective.²¹⁹ In consequence of this last spatial separation, suggests Johnston, the old divide between Gaelic-speaking Highlands and Scots-speaking Lowlands ceased to be of moment.²²⁰ In October 1796, claims Johnson, Bishop Hay had taken a ninety-nine year lease of the 600-acre farm of Aquhorties, four miles west of Inverurie in Lowland Aberdeen-shire, from Leslie of Balghain. There, a large house was built to serve as a Catholic seminary for boys. In 1799 the boys moved to Aquhorties from the Scalan building that continued thereafter to serve as a mission station for the Braes of Glenlivet. The move to Aquhorties, argues Lynch, was not entirely fortuitous. By the last three decades of the eighteenth century, a number of Catholic patrons deserted their faith, and by 1799 the chief patron of Scottish Catholicism became the government, much concerned with the emigration of Catholic families overseas. In consequence, claims Lynch, the Treasury, already subsidising the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth,²²¹ Co, Kildare, secretly funded the Aquhorties seminary.²²² The greater fear for government

²¹⁶ Fochabers village, Moray, on the east bank of the River Spey. Close by lies Gordon Castle, ancestral home of the formerly powerful Roman Catholic Gordon family, latterly Dukes of Gordon and Richmond.

²¹⁷ N.L.S., MS 976: f. 143.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* f. 143.

²¹⁹ Johnson, 1987, 75.

²²⁰ *Ibid.* 1987, 78.

²²¹ Maynooth College, Co. Kildare, was founded in 1795 as a seminary for the education of priests in Ireland. It had not been possible in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to educate Catholic priests in Ireland and by 1792, Catholic institutions in Europe, concentrated in France, had been confiscated by the French Revolutionaries. In Ireland the penal code was being dismantled and Britain was at war with Revolutionary France. Britain had no wish to see "revolutionary priests" returning from the Continent and to allay this possibility, promulgated "An Act for the better education of persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion". The Act was passed in June 1795 and the British government provided a modest grant to establish a college. In 1844, anxious to conciliate the influential Irish priesthood, Peel proposed to increase the subsidy

was no longer Jacobitism, but French Revolutionary atheism. Roman Catholicism had made the spatial descent to the lower glens and, in so doing, to openly compete with Presbyterianism.

In 1829, argues Johnson, Blairs Estate on the south bank of the River Dee, was gifted to the Catholic Church to serve as the site of a national college for the whole of Scotland. With the later founding of St Andrew's College, Drygrange, in 1953, Blairs became a minor College, and, due to economic pressure, was closed in July 1986.²²³ Inter-diocesan seminaries were established at Chesters College, Bearsden, and at Gillis College in Edinburgh. In 1993, Scotus College was founded on the Chesters site as the national seminary. A drastic fall in student priests currently makes it more economical to send Scots candidates to the Pontifical Scots College in Rome or to the Royal College at Salamanca in Spain. In consequence, the last Catholic seminary on Scottish soil is due for closure.²²⁴ Intruded into Scotland in the wake of the early Celtic missionaries, the Old (Roman) Faith, proscribed at the Reformation, was preserved as a fragile cadre at remote Scalan in Glenlivet. Its devotional form has remained peculiar to the Highlands and distinct from the more aggressive Roman Catholicism re-introduced into the Lowlands in the early-nineteenth century by an influx of Irish immigrants.

3. 12 Moderatism in the Kirk

As a policy of the Established Church of Scotland, claimed Story, Moderatism had its origins in King William and his adviser in Scottish affairs, William Carstairs (1649-1715).²²⁵ Carstairs, chaplain to King William and four times Moderator of the General Assembly, counselled that it was part of the Church to abjure bloodshed and bitterness and "to be moderate in all things".²²⁶ In this admonition, Carstairs was drawing upon an important element in Calvin's teaching and preaching.²²⁷ In the Rev. Mr. Downie, parish incumbent at Loch Alsh, James Hogg, the "Ettrick Shepherd", perhaps encountered in 1803 the model of a Moderate, a liberal minded faction that dominated in the General Assembly of the Established Church in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries:

As I arrived at Ardill (Loch Alsh) on the Friday preceding the celebration of the sacrament of the Supper in that place, I was introduced to a whole houseful of ministers and elders. As Mr. Downie, however, kept an excellent board, and plenty of the best foreign spirits, we had most excellent fare, and during that night and the next day, which you know was the preparation day, we put ourselves in to a good state of preparation for the evening solemnity as good cheer could make us ... Mr. Downie, our landlord, is a complete gentleman, nowise singular for his condescension. Besides the good stipend and glebe of Loch Alsh, he hath a chaplaincy in a regiment, and extensive concerns in farming, both on the mainland and in the isles, and is a

to the Maynooth College (website - <http://maynoothcollege.ie/about/histoty.shtml>).

²²² Lynch, 1991, 366.

²²³ Johnson, 1987, 78.

²²⁴ *The Herald*, Saturday, June 15, 2002.

²²⁵ Cameron, 1993, 595.

²²⁶ *Ibid*, 595: Several modern scholars would apply the term Moderate only to the party of churchmen that emerged shortly after 1750 under the twenty-eight year leadership of William Robertson in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

²²⁷ Cameron, 1972, 166 (note 9).

great improver in the breeds of both cattle and sheep.²²⁸

In view of their attachment to the land and to landlords, their Evangelical peers vilified Moderate ministers, claims Macleod, as of low quality,²²⁹ and frequently "in neglect". This cosmopolitan approach to spiritual affairs had deeper implications for the Established Church in the division that arose between Moderates and Evangelicals which was to have great import in the ecclesiastical, economic and cultural history of the Highlands.

During the eighteenth century, and especially in the latter half, argues Burleigh, Moderatism was dominant in the Established Church.²³⁰ Moderatism, suggests Burleigh, had its roots in the spirit of enquiry and criticism that characterised the Enlightenment. Moderate ministers tended to spring from the better educated landed class, and held to the mores associated with that social stratum. It is not therefore surprising that the first principle of the Moderate regime in the Assembly was that patronage must be obeyed regardless of the opposition in the parishes.²³¹ Patrons, the argument ran, were men of position and education better able to judge the qualities of ministers than the unlettered folk who formed the bulk of congregations.²³² This seeming adherence to the interests of landowners by the Moderate faction in the Assembly set up a tension that gravitated the bulk of Highland tenants towards Evangelical support. It is in the tension between Moderate and Evangelical that the Established church in the Highlands, when under Moderate dominion in the Assembly, was not free from censure in the subsequent depopulation of Highland estates. The role of the Established clergy, claims Hunter, by giving at least tacit support to the landlords' policies, has haunted the reputation of the Church of Scotland in the Highlands.²³³ In brief, to quote Lynch, "Moderate ministers in the Highlands represented the landowners, their factors and the wealthier single tenants; increasingly Evangelicals spoke for the lower social class of crofters and cotters." ²³⁴

3. 13 Evangelical Presbyterianism in theKirk

Overall, the Kirk did not change dramatically between the late-seventeenth and the mid-nineteenth century; its outreach, however, was moulded by the new spirit of Evangelicalism that impacted upon the Highlands ²³⁵ to leave the durable legacy of a Free Church continuing beyond its 1929 reunion with the Established Church. ²³⁶ According to Ansdell this new spiritual revolution, peculiar to the Highlands in its depth and durability in

²²⁸ Hogg, 1983, 64.

²²⁹ Macleod, 1998, 214.

²³⁰ Burleigh, 1960, 295.

²³¹ *Ibid*, 301.

²³² *Ibid*, 301.

²³³ Hunter, 1974, 99.

²³⁴ Lynch, 1991, 365.

²³⁵ Peckham, 2004, 27: "The SPCK and other societies did much to bring education and reading of scriptures to the people. So the groundwork for evangelical ministry was laid by catechists and the newly established schools."

²³⁶ At present, the "Wee Free" Kirk (the original 1843 secession church continuing) numbers 150 Highland congregations. In conjunction with the United Free, the Free Presbyterian, and since 1989, its offshoot, the Associated Presbyterian, it continues to uphold a vibrant Christian witness, both within the Highlands, and in Lowland areas where Highlanders are concentrated.

that it:

produced a strong and enduring popular attachment to evangelical Christianity. It also introduced what might be described as a new religious culture, it established new forms and institutions, and it modified the social structure. It was a revolution of beliefs, attitudes, habits and social arrangements. This evangelical revolution arrived largely through the agency of Gaelic-speaking Highlanders. It arrived with education, Gaelic literacy and a compelling certainty. The culture that resulted carried the potential for penetrating every family and being rigorously enforced at a grass roots level.²³⁷

The root of the new Evangelicalism, states Burleigh, was its emotional appeal, in which the individual discovers new warmth of religious experience of which the essence was a quickening sense of sin, and a joyful realisation of forgiveness through the grace of God in Jesus Christ.²³⁸ Meek adds that the Evangelicals placed great emphasis on personal salvation, with a very clear line drawn between the godly and the ungodly. Sudden conversions were common as individuals "came under the Word" and found higher moral standards in life.²³⁹ Emerging first in the Lowland areas of Scotland, it was perhaps inevitable that this new missionary fervour would spread into the "dark parts" of the Highlands.²⁴⁰ To a far greater extent than in the Lowlands, argues Dawson, a Highland minister was an itinerant. This, Dawson claims, reflected the peripatetic nature of Gaelic society and had similarities to the traditional bardic circuits.²⁴¹ Once established in the hearts and minds of the lower classes in Highland society, the spirit of evangelicalism produced a new breed of leadership that embraced the political and economic concerns of Highland life. This theme of leadership and evangelical awakening has been addressed by Macleod:

The Evangelical Awakening was in full swing. Through repeated waves of revival it swept the Highlands and Islands. It transformed and renewed the Highland culture; it gave a new arena to Gaelic – in hymnody, in preaching, in prayer and oratory – and it greatly encouraged literacy and self-improvement. As the Clearances oppressed the people of the glens, coasts and isles, and as famine and upheaval destroyed old ways of society, Evangelicalism created a new class of leaders and a new framework for understanding the world.²⁴²

Devotional "revivals" and "awakenings", argues Meek, must be placed in a wider international context of religious experience as the population of Europe became more mobile with the possibility of emigration to the New World.²⁴³ From the eighteenth century, continues Meek, Scottish revivals can be seen as part of a North Atlantic phenomenon, and were usually associated with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Notable Lowland revivals were held, first at Nigg in Easter Ross (1739), then at Cambuslang (1742),

²³⁷ Ansdell, 1998, 38.

²³⁸ Burleigh, 1960, 309.

²³⁹ Meek, 1988, 115.

²⁴⁰ Macleod, 1998, 220: "Evangelicalism should be defined. It rests on three pillars. First: an absolute and unquestioning adherence to the Bible as the inspired, infallible and inerrant Word of God. Second: acceptance that Christ alone is the road to salvation; that there is no other way to eternal life; that, without Him, there is only everlasting and conscious torment in eternal punishment. And, third, the need for *personal* salvation, for a personal experience of Christ as one's own Lord and Saviour. In its Calvinist form, which the Highlands knew, the utter sovereignty of God in salvation is stressed".

²⁴¹ Dawson, 1994, 246.

²⁴² Macleod, 1998, 217.

²⁴³ Meek, 1993, 713.

Shotts and Kilsyth (1742), at Muthill, and all attracted Highland participants.²⁴⁴ This, argues Meek, was one way in which evangelicalism was introduced into the Highland region to fill a vacuum caused by the lack of an established ministry.²⁴⁵ Otherwise, the sacrament-based revivals in the Highlands were closely linked the growing body of Calvinist Evangelical Presbyterian ministers who came to Highland parishes after 1800. By 1828, claims Macleod, the Lewis parish of Uig was convulsed by a huge revival that is still known as "the year of the swooning".²⁴⁶ Revivals, argues Meek, left a legacy of sacred locations where revival meetings were once held, recalling, in the popular mind, famous preachers and pulpiteers.²⁴⁷ The efforts of the Evangelical parish ministers were augmented by the contribution of itinerant lay preachers, usually of dissenting persuasion, who traversed the Highlands and Islands from the end of the eighteenth century.

After 1700, argues Meek, a new class of evangelical lay preachers emerged in the Highlands, "*Na Daoine - the Men*", who acted as custodians and leaders of experiential religion among Highland Presbyterians.²⁴⁸ Drawn from the lower strata of Highland society, usually crofters themselves, but including elders, catechists and schoolmasters, "The Men" had a profound conviction in their religious belief, a thorough knowledge of the Bible, and set exacting standards in spiritual observance. "The Men", argues Lynch, were distinctive to Highland Evangelicalism, combining the roles of modern evangelist and traditional seer.²⁴⁹ At the Fellowship Meeting preceding Communion Sunday, states Kennedy, it was *Na Doine* who were called upon by the presiding Minister to "speak to the question" raised from within the group.²⁵⁰ The origins of "The Men", argues Meek, can be traced back to the mid-seventeenth century when Covenanting ministers came to occupy parishes in the Northern Highlands.²⁵¹ Wielding considerable power in parishes to preserve what they saw as essential values, "The Men" were both evangelising zealots and natural leaders, capable, when the time came in the nineteenth century, of uniting crofting communities into concerted political action against the perceived excesses of landlords.²⁵² It was the ground-work of "The Men", developed by the later Highland Land Leaguers in emulation of their Irish counterparts, that culminated in the passing of the Crofters Small-Holding (Scotland) Act in 1886.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 715.

²⁴⁵ Meek, 1998, 115.

²⁴⁶ Macleod, 1998, 231.

²⁴⁷ Meek, 1998, 144.

²⁴⁸ Meek, 1993, 558.

²⁴⁹ Lynch, 1991, 364.

²⁵⁰ Kennedy, 1971, 74: "Distinctive to the North, the men were so named not because they were not women, but because they were not ministers. It was necessary to distinguish between the ministers and other speakers at the Fellowship Meeting when notes of their addresses were given; and the easiest way of doing this was by saying 'one of the ministers' or 'one of the men' said so. Hence the origin of the designation, and speakers at religious meetings in the Highlands, who are not ministers, are those to whom it was applied".

²⁵¹ Meek, 1993, 559.

²⁵² The successors of "The Men" are still active in the Highlands, and form the mainstay of the Friday Fellowship meeting that precedes Sunday observance.

3. 14 Non-Conformist Evangelical mission

From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, non-conformist missionaries sought a foothold in the Highlands with only moderate success. Bebbington claims that Baptists arrived in Aberdeen in 1642, but were soon crushed by the Established Church and the State.²⁵³ Baptist ministers had merely a basic education and normally earned their living in secular occupations. Whilst well received in the Lowland coastal fringe of the North-East, the movement, at that early period, made no inroads into the Highland glens and straths. The Gaelic language, Bebbington suggests, was one obvious barrier to Lowland-bred missionaries; a second was that the educated and more prosperous strata of these remote Highland communities clearly preferred a more highly trained ministry.²⁵⁴ A revived southern Methodism came to Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century and was fuelled by the powerful outdoor preaching and memorable hymns of John Wesley (1703-1791). Both Wesley and his Calvinist-Methodist colleague, George Whitefield (1714-70), visited Scotland on many occasions in the latter half of the eighteenth century, again with some small success in the East Coast towns.²⁵⁵ Its apparent lack of success in the upland Highland areas arose, argues Cameron, because Methodist preachers did not relish the prospect of a Scottish station.²⁵⁶

Probably the most successful lay missionary evangelists to influence devotion in the Highlands were the Dundee raised Haldane brothers, James (1768-1851) and Robert (1764-1842). Moved by conviction to an Independent outlook, claims Lovegrove, the philanthropist Robert sold his Airthrey, Stirling, estate 1798 to fund the entire activity of *The Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home*, originally formed in December 1797 by a small band of zealous men in Edinburgh, all of them members of the Established Church, with a view to evangelising the Highlands. In the event, the Society's missionaries encompassed several denominations "holding unity of faith in the leading doctrines of Christianity".²⁵⁷ The Haldane material support, originally intended to found an establishment in the East Indies for propagating the Gospel,²⁵⁸ and otherwise used to fund a large place of worship named "The Tabernacle" in Edinburgh, continued until 1810, when both brothers embraced the Baptist faith.²⁵⁹ Nearly 300 "Haldane Preachers", agents tutored by the Society, operated under evangelical ministers from Caithness to Galloway. Kinniburgh claims that both Established clergy and Presbyterian Dissenters loudly denounced the itinerant preachers. Indeed, the Relief Synod, in 1798, passed a decree, later rescinded in 1811, forbidding the pulpit to be given to any person who had not attended a regular course of philosophy and divinity, and who had

²⁵³ Bebbington, 1988, 259.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 276.

²⁵⁵ Kinniburgh, 1849, 47: Supporting this re-awakening in non-conformist missionary activity, notes Kinniburgh, were several publications, most notably the '*Missionary Magazine*' conducted by an established Church of Scotland minister, Rev. Ewing. All these publications maintained it the right, even duty, of every Christian man, who knew the Gospel and felt its power, and who could state it with perspicuity, to declare it to his fellow sinners.

²⁵⁶ Cameron, 1993, 560.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 51.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 50.

²⁵⁹ Lovegrove, 1993, 386.

not been regularly licensed to preach the Gospel.²⁶⁰ Kinniburgh further reports that in 1802, a Mr. Farquharson, for preaching the gospel in Braemar, was sent to the jail in Aberdeen.²⁶¹

Typical of Haldane itinerant preachers were the Revs. William Tulloch (1776-1861) and Dugald Sinclair (1777-1870). Tulloch was born at Abernethy in Moray, a good Gaelic speaker, and for a time in his youth engaged in the timber trade at Rothiemurchus.²⁶² Tulloch met James Haldane on the latter's preaching tour at Aviemore, and elected to attend classes for training missionaries held in the lower rooms of the Tabernacle in Edinburgh. Tulloch's first station was at Killin, from where he itinerated throughout the whole Loch Tay district. From 1816 till 1819, he operated from Aberfeldy, a town with several resident Baptists but no Baptist Church building. Thereafter, the Rev. Tulloch moved further north to Kilmavonaig, Blair Atholl, where, having no purpose-built place of worship, local Baptists met at one another's houses, in barns, and on the hill-side when the weather permitted.²⁶³ Similarly, Meek has placed on record the life and work of the Rev. Dugald Sinclair, itinerant pastor of Lochgilphead Parish Church, who, in 1831, after many difficult years of Baptist mission in the West Highlands, set sail for Canada from Crinan with his substantial flock.²⁶⁴ The Lowland churches, argues Thompson, were "frequently enriched by the accession of earnest men and women from the Highlands who owed their spiritual life to these evangelists, and consequently interest in missionary operations in the Highlands was quickened and extended".²⁶⁵ In 1827, the *Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home*, merged with two other organisations carrying on similar work, to form *The Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland, chiefly for the Highlands and Islands*. Of this society, James Haldane continued to act as secretary till his death in 1851.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁰ Kinniburgh, 1849, 55.

²⁶¹ *Ibid*, 1849, 80: In 1805, Donald McArthur, pastor of a dissenting congregation at Port Bannatyne, in the island of Bute, while celebrating divine service in the midst of his congregation, was violently seized upon and impressed to serve in his Majesty's navy.

²⁶² Tulloch, 1894, 1: His son, also Rev. William Tulloch, in a private memoir, recalls that his father had found the religious destitution of the Abernethy district deplorable. In consequence, he "came under conviction of sin and found rest in Christ".

²⁶³ *Ibid*, 3: From his base at Kilmavonivaig, where he laboured for forty-two years, the Rev. Tulloch, followed a seasonal pattern of missionary travels. The winter, he found, was a good time for itinerating in the Highlands, when there was moonlight, and because through the day the farmers were busy tending their fields, sheep and cattle. The day's work over, farmers could attend meetings from 5 o'clock till 9 or 10. In summer, the Rev. Tulloch's perambulations throughout the Highlands were widespread. In 1818, travelling on foot, he made a missionary journey, lasting nine weeks and three days, which took him to Lochaber, Lismore, Mull, Iona, Kerrera, Oban, Glenorchy, and Aberfeldy. Two years later, his missionary travels took him to Skye for six weeks, and in 1821 he was able to evangelize in ten of the smaller islands of the Inner Hebrides. Three or four times, he traversed the Long Island and Lewis. On rare occasions horses would be lent for a long day's journey, but generally the preachers travelled on foot in all sorts of weather, crossing arms of the sea, sometimes in small boats, where they ran considerable risks. In these remote parts, claims Tulloch, there was not even good turnpike roads, nor any road of any kind in many areas to alleviate the difficulty of travelling, the labour and fatigue, the privation and danger, which the missionary had often to encounter.

²⁶⁴ Meek, 1991, 82.

²⁶⁵ Thompson, 1903, 16.

²⁶⁶ Meek, 1998, 114: Meek claims that the high period of Haldane missionary endeavour coincided with various charitable organisations, with a strong evangelical thrust, active at that time in the Highlands, notably the Gaelic Schools Societies, established in Edinburgh in 1811. Society schoolmasters moved from parish to parish, teaching the people to read the Gaelic Bible, completed for the first time in 1801. In the opening years of the nineteenth century, more and more crofters were able to read the Bible for themselves in their own language

3. 15 Baptist Church in the Highlands

Itineration, states Waugh, evolved as a plan to take the gospel to the homes of remote and scattered populations in the Highlands neglected by parish clergy. This was especially the case, claims Waugh, in the County of Ross, where "the region as a whole was in thick darkness, and soul-concern was viewed by the official clergy as a species of insanity".²⁶⁷ A diversity of missionary societies and individuals traversed the landscape of the Highlands in the first half of the nineteenth century. Itinerant Baptist missionaries, claims Yuille, were not made welcome by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland who termed them "vagrant preachers".²⁶⁸ In the west, at the end of the eighteenth century, a Baptist Church had been established at Lochgilphead and at Bellanoch on the Crinan Canal, by a missionary sent out by the Haldane brothers. A decade later, Revd. Dugald Sinclair then at Bellanoch, made a tour through the Western Highlands in 1812 and established Baptist Churches in Bowmore, Islay, Bunessan on Mull, and at Uig (1808) and Broadford in Skye. In 1812, Sinclair founded a Baptist congregation on Colonsay.

The Scotch Baptist Church, earlier known as the Edinburgh Church, founded by its first minister, Robert Carmichael, in 1765, states Yuille, established itself in a number of small towns and villages where the population as well as the membership was meagre.²⁶⁹ In the Eastern Highlands, some Baptist missionary success was achieved in fishing towns and planned villages close to the North-east coast; New Pitsligo (1803), Aberchirder (1808), St Fergus (1809) and Fraserburgh (1810). The impetus for evangelical expansion came, however, when the Haldane brothers came over to the Baptist persuasion in 1808. The "Buchan Churches", as this group later came to be known, continued into the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁷⁰ None of these Baptist churches were located within the notional Highland line. It is assumed that the challenge of topography and severe winter weather deterred Lowland missionaries from settling in the inner glens. In common with other denominations, the Baptist Church was fraught with schism that weakened its membership.²⁷¹

The Baptist Highland Mission was formed in July 1816 with its office-bearers located in Perth and its main activity in winter was centred in villages around Loch Tay.²⁷² In the summer months missionaries traversed the more remote areas of the Highland counties. Further name changes produced *The Home Missionary Society* with Rev. Dugald Sinclair, formerly with the Baptist Itinerant Society, as its first missionary. With further name changes, this body settled for *The Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland* with a later sub-title, "Chiefly for the Highlands and Islands" and its missionary service was concentrated there.

²⁶⁷ Waugh, 1926, 66.

²⁶⁸ Yuille, 1926, 69.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 52.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 53.

²⁷¹ Waugh, 1926, 59.

3. 16 Highland separatists from the Established Kirk

It can be claimed that by the end of the eighteenth century, Evangelical fervour throughout the Highlands produced a new kind of missionary leadership and personal devotion more attuned to the needs of a peasant

Plate 3. 5



Commemorative marble slab-stone marking birth-place of the Rev. Norman Macleod, evangelical leader of the "Normanites", Clach toll Bay, Stoer, Assynt, Sutherland-shire (Photo-JRS).

community, displaced and disoriented in the wake of economic change. Moreover, it was an evangelism that was capable of exportation to new spaces in the colonies overseas. In the early-nineteenth century, the Assynt, Sutherland-shire, congregation of the Rev. Norman Macleod, later identified as the "Normanites", not without hardship asserts Stewart, willingly followed his leadership to settle at locations in Canada, Australia and New Zealand.²⁷³ "Characterised by lives of great personal holiness, much prayer and an incredible facility in scripture", claims Macleod, a mark of the Highland separatists, was their "utter

²⁷² *Ibid*, 71.

²⁷³ Stewart, 2002, 146-152: In her *The Scots Magazine* article, *The MacLeod Odyssey*, Katherine Stewart argues that it was reputedly Moderate tendencies apparent in the Rev. William Mackenzie, of Assynt parish, an Established Church incumbent with large farming interests and a liking for strong drink, that made the young Norman Macleod (1780-1866), born at Clach toll, Stoer, Sutherland, turn to independent evangelical mission. Macleod gained an arts degree at Aberdeen and followed up with divinity studies at Edinburgh where he became critical of the loose discipline, over-indulgence in social activities and a lack of religious fervour in his faculty. In view of his criticism, Harper records that Macleod was rusticated, and returned north as a schoolteacher in Ullapool. There he preached without a licence to separatist congregations that he established at Assynt and Ullapool. Denied his teaching salary, In 1817, with 400 people, many of them his "followers", later to be identified as the 'Normanites', Macleod set sail from Ullapool bound for Pictou in Nova Scotia, and there established a flourishing community that settled under his leadership. In 1820, after much hardship, Macleod embarked with 200 of his followers on a self-built boat, and fortuitously landed on Cape Breton Island where he established the Island's first Presbyterian Church. In the wake of further hardships, between 1851 and 1860, about 900 'Normanites'

contempt for the clergy".²⁷⁴ With a capacity to suborn by their powerful preaching, the separatist faction could be viewed as a disruptive element to the settled Established church within Highland parishes. Following the Disruption of 1843, most separatist clergy were absorbed into the Free Church.

3. 17 Highland Sabbatarianism

Sabbatarianism, argues Needham, is the conception of Sunday as the Christian "Sabbath" of the fourth commandment.²⁷⁵ With a long history dating from the Celtic Church, the Scottish Church remained theoretically sabbatarian through the Middle Ages. The Scottish Reformers neglected to formulate a fully developed sabbatarian theory of Sunday to guide the Reformed Kirk, and in consequence, Sunday observance was left to the disciplinary fervour of individual Kirk sessions supported by the local magistrates. Inspired by the Haldane evangelical mission of the 1790s, notes Needham, the nineteenth century was the great age of Scottish sabbatarianism both in terms of its publications and its drive to bring the nation closer to the ideals of the fourth commandment.²⁷⁶ Social change, perhaps the outcome of developments in communications and transport, saw a marked decline in sabbatarian interest by the last decades of the century. Introduced to the Highlands in the late-eighteenth century wave of evangelicalism, sabbatarianism has precariously retained, longer than most areas, a more traditional practice. Some features of strict sabbatarian observance maintained by adherents to the Free Church of Scotland above the Highland Line are reproduced as Appendix "G".

3. 18 Established Church extension in the Highlands

Over-large parishes and lack of church accommodation seems to have remained a chronic problem for the Reformed Church in the Highlands up until the first half of the nineteenth century. Burleigh finds that Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847), later to be a key figure in the schism of 1843, which created the Free Church of Scotland, campaigned vigorously for a programme of church extension in the Highland region. In the third quarter of the eighteenth century the failure of the Established Church to create sufficient places of worship for a growing population led to the creation by the Moderate dominated General Assembly of 1798, of independent chapels known as Chapels of Ease.²⁷⁷ With no area allocated to it, and no Kirk session of its own, the chapel operated as an alternative to the local parish church and remained, at first, out-with the control of local presbytery. In effect the staffing of these chapels, most of which were located in the Highlands and Islands, was seen to create a two-tier ministry, anathema to the structure of the reformed Church. In 1823, observes Dodd, a Parliamentary Commission was set up to establish forty-three additional churches in some of the most scattered and thinly populated parishes in the Highlands with a Government grant of £50,000.²⁷⁸ A manse was required for each church building and a limit of £1,500 was

left Cape Breton for New Zealand, initially via Australia, in six self-built vessels. Under MacLeod's leadership, the 'Normanites' finally settled on a 30,000-acre tract of landscape at Waipu, north of Auckland, and recreated the unique, co-operative Christian Socialist Community which MacLeod had first created at Pictou, fifty years earlier.

²⁷⁴ Macleod, 1998, 226.

²⁷⁵ Needham, 1993, 737.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 738.

set for each pair of buildings. Thomas Telford (1757-1834), architect and engineer to various parliamentary commissions, was asked to supply plans and specifications. Only thirty-two "parliamentary" churches were built to Telford's design, although not always strictly adhered to; nineteen in the Highlands and thirteen in the Islands, some of which are in use to this day. The successors of Chalmers' chapel congregations were the *quoad sacra*²⁷⁹ congregations created by the evangelical led General Assembly of 1834. Hence, the Established Church of Scotland in the Highlands and Islands, without actual schism, was to maintain its witness in different spaces and at different levels.

3. 19 Disruption in the Established Church - 1843

Division and reunion have dominated the history of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland over the last 160 years. Major schism came at the 1843 General Assembly over dissatisfaction with the continuance of the Patronage Act, which, as noted above, permitted the intrusion by lay church heritors of ministers into Presbyterian parishes in defiance of the call of individual congregations. Burleigh argues that the Moderate party in the Assembly had long come to terms with intrusion since it was considered to produce a better quality of minister than one called by a largely uneducated local congregation.²⁸⁰ To the Evangelical party, strong in the Highlands and Islands, intrusion was anathema; spiritual freedom of a presbytery and session to conduct its own affairs was an issue that could not be compromised. Without spiritual freedom from state control, stated Thomas Chalmers, the Presbyterian Kirk would not reach the unchurched. With Chalmers as first Moderator, the Free Church of Scotland came into being to create a new geography of religion upon the nation's landscape. The "Protest" accompanying the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission placed before the Assembly on that date stated:

We protest that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been made this day holden, as may concur with us to withdraw to a separate place of meeting for the purpose of taking steps for ourselves and all who adhere to us - maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and Standards of the Church of Scotland as heretofore understood for separating in an orderly way from the Establishment, and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence upon God's grace and the aid of His Holy Spirit for the advancement of His glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour and the administration of the affairs of Christ's House, according to His Holy Word, and we now withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us because of our manifold sins and the sins of this Church and nation, but at the same time with an assured conviction that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this enforced separation from an Establishment which we loved and prized - through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of his sole and supreme authority as King in His Church.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ Burleigh, 1960, 321.

²⁷⁸ Dodd, 1971, 113.

²⁷⁹ Wright *et al*, 1993): (*Quoad sacra*) In respect to sacred things, i.e. for ecclesiastical purposes only and without civil responsibilities, jurisdiction or significance. The function of such a parish was to sub-divide a parish *quoad omnia* (in respect of all things ecclesiastical and civil), either because it was too big, or because the church associated with it was remote from the actual residences of the bulk of its parishioners.

²⁸⁰ Burleigh, 1960,

Some 474 "non-intrusionist" ministers of whom 101 of the 201 were in the habit of using the Gaelic language,²⁸² gave up their stipends, church buildings and manse to maintain that freedom. In consequence, Free Church ministers were supported from a Sustentation Fund maintained by voluntary giving among congregations.²⁸³ In the first General Assembly of the Free Church, notes Burleigh, Chalmers made it clear that "the movement was in no sense directed towards Voluntaryism."²⁸⁴ "Though we quit the Establishment, we go out on the Establishment principle; we quit a vitiated Establishment but would rejoice in returning to a pure one".²⁸⁵ It is Brown's claim that across the landscape beyond the Caledonian Canal, the population had joined the Free Church almost *en masse*.²⁸⁶ From the outset, the new Free Church congregations were often denied space by Moderate landowners to erect church buildings,²⁸⁷ a situation that will be revisited in Chapter 5 in relation to the siting of Ballater Free Church in upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. To meet the spiritual and educational needs of the people in the West Highlands, in which Brown claims there were 150 vacant congregations and preaching stations,²⁸⁸ missionary recourse was once again made to the sea and its shores. Notable, it has earlier been observed, was the construction of the Sunart floating church and of the schooner, *Breadalbane*, that, for a number of years, carried itinerant Free Church ministers, released from their parish for a season, from island to island during the summer months.

Whilst the Free Church of Scotland embraced both Lowland and Highland Scotland, different cultures prevailed to shape the character of the church within each area. The Free Church increasingly attracted the middle classes to whom, argues Burleigh, the Industrial Revolution brought wealth.²⁸⁹ By the 1870s, the Free Church in the Lowlands had become increasingly anglicised with its adoption of hymns, organs and a plethora of ancillary fund-raising activities; sales of work, concerts, sports, all anathema to Highland congregations that considered these excrescences at variance with the ideals of the Disruption. Significantly, the engagement of the Free Church academia in hermeneutics,²⁹⁰ or "higher criticism" of Biblical texts, instanced in the mid-1870s by the celebrated cases of Marcus Dods, minister in Glasgow,

²⁸¹ N.A.S., CH3/528/1: 11-12.

²⁸² Brown, 1881, 649.

²⁸³ It has been claimed that immediately after the union of the United Free Church with the Established Church in 1929, it was possible to identify the former Free Church member within the amalgamated congregations. These, it seems, contributed to the work of the Church more liberally, as evidenced in the contents of Weekly Freewill Offering envelopes.

²⁸⁴ Voluntaryism: The concept that the Church should be maintained, and its mission to the world supported solely by the liberality of its faithful people. Thus the practice of dissenting churches was elevated into the Voluntary Principle. The Voluntary Controversy was initiated in 1829 by a proposed government bill to provide relief for Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland.

²⁸⁵ Burleigh, 1960, 354.

²⁸⁶ Brown, 1881, 649.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 655: It was resolved to have a floating church, to be moored in Loch Sunart, to which the people might have access by boat from all quarters... A sum of £2000 was speedily raised. The huge hulk, constructed of iron, was built, fitted with pulpit and benches, small vestry, etc., and successfully towed from the Clyde round the Mull of Kintyre by one or two tug-steamers, and in the end safely moored in the appointed place (near Strontian).

²⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 651.

²⁸⁹ Burleigh, 1960, 355.

and William Robertson Smith, lecturer at the University of Aberdeen,²⁹¹ in which both allegedly denied the inerrancy of Scripture. This display of theological liberalism inevitably incurred the disapprobation of Highland evangelicals.

In the Highlands, argues Meek, Evangelicalism was the principal cause of the decay of secular culture in Skye where many revivals took place in the nineteenth century.²⁹² The strength of evangelical spirituality in the North and West Highlands has been durable to the extent that it has characterised the landscape and its people. The Rev. John McKay, Free Church of Scotland minister on St. Kilda from 1865, noted by Steel, seems representative of the Highland genre:

Under Mackay, there were three services on Sunday on St Kilda; one at eleven o'clock in the morning, one at two o'clock in the afternoon, and one at six o'clock in the evening. None of the islanders would indulge in conversation from Saturday night to Monday morning. No water was allowed to be drawn, and the cows and ewes remained unmilked. "The Sabbath (Sands quoted) is indeed a day of remarkable gloom. At the clink of the bell the whole flock hurry to the Church with sorrowful looks, and eyes bent upon the ground. It is considered sinful to look to the right or to the left. They do not appear like good people going to listen to glad tidings of great joy, but like a troop of the damned whom Satan is driving to the bottomless pit." ²⁹³

In 1892, a large majority at the Free Church General Assembly passed a Declaratory Act ²⁹⁴ in relation to the Westminster Confession of Faith, the subsidiary standard for the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. In 1893, an attempt to have the Act rescinded failed, with the result that a substantial number of elders, members and adherents of the Free Church seceded to form the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland that, as Macleod observes, remains an overwhelming Highland body. ²⁹⁵

Division and re-union have ever been part of the Established Church of Scotland (Appendix "A"). In the various secessions following upon the settlement of 1690, what was created upon the landscape, both physical and devotional, was wasteful duplication of Presbyterian resources in ministry and church buildings. Notable mergers occurred in 1893 and 1900. The rift of 1843, however, was not to be healed until the re-union of 1929 and even then, not completely. The Free Church of Scotland (continuing) still maintains its strongest presence in the Highlands, holding, in common with the Free Presbyterian Church and its secession congregations, that it maintains the true spirit of the Disruption.

²⁹⁰ Hermeneutics: the attempt to understand anything that somebody else has said or written; methods include circular argument and gaps.

²⁹¹ Cameron, 1993, 782: In 1870 Smith, born in the Aberdeen-shire parish of Keig and Tough, and educated largely by his Free Church minister father, Aberdeen University and New College, Edinburgh, followed by summer visits to theological colleges in Germany at which he absorbed advanced principles, was elected in 1870 to the chair of Hebrew at the Free Church's Aberdeen College. By 1873, Smith had submitted a series of articles to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, and it was the appearance of his article "Bible" in volume three, which initiated a five-year controversy which was to end his career in the Free Church.

²⁹² Meek, 2001, 2.

²⁹³ Steel, 1965, 81,

²⁹⁴ Declaratory Acts - the United Presbyterian in 1879 and the Free Church in 1892 - were statements drawn up by these two churches, ostensibly to clarify their relation to the Westminster Confession of Faith

²⁹⁵ Macleod, 1998, 279.

3. 20 Hidden Belief in the Highlands

Anticipated in Chapter 5 is an example of hidden belief that has been of moment to most church denominations is the secret brotherhood of Freemasonry. It has been shown that in May 1989, *The Church and Freemasonry* was the concern of a Panel of Doctrine report to the General Assembly of that year. A recent article, *The Craft and the Kirk*, by Hill in the established church magazine, *Life and Work*, suggests that it is still very much a live issue.²⁹⁶ The accusation is firstly, that members acknowledge a "Supreme Being"- alias "The Great Architect of the Universe". Secondly, that each lodge meets in its temple, a term used to denote a religious assembly building. Thirdly, that each lodge retains a chaplain who, *The Glasgow Herald* newspaper of 16th February 1904, informs the reader, preaches a service that includes of both sermon and prayers; and finally, that the lodge dispenses charity within the community.²⁹⁷ All functions, it would seem, in-built within orthodox Christian religion since its inception. The Grand Lodge counter-claim that its terminology has been constructed to promote an all-inclusive membership has not carried much weight within church circles. Freemasonry, it is suggested, can be viewed as contrary to scripture and in consequence, a challenge to the Church's orthodoxy.²⁹⁸ This challenge has been fortified by recent disclosures that suggest an overt connection between nineteenth century Freemasonry and Scots Presbyterianism in that Church's outreach to Britain's colonies overseas.²⁹⁹ Freemasonry and its influence on the local community will be revisited in Chapter 5.

²⁹⁶ Hill, 2003,

²⁹⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, February 16, 1904: "Port Glasgow Masonic Service - In the Temple on Sunday night, the brethren of Lodge Doric, Kilwinning, No.68, held their annual charity service. The lodge was opened by Brother Brown, RWM, after which the service was proceeded with Provost McMaster, Port Glasgow, delivered a sermon, his text being: "The length and the breadth and the height of it are equal".

²⁹⁸ Matthew 6.24: "No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or either he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon".

²⁹⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, December 17, 2004: "In the 1890s Scottish missionaries arrived in Kenya and established the meeting houses and mission stations that would grow into the Presbyterian Church of East Africa. The churches were adorned with the symbols of its founders - the Scottish Saltire, engravings of scientific instruments and chequer-board floors. Now carvings or pictures of handshakes, compasses and chequered floors are all earmarked for destruction. It is part of the drive to sweep Masonic imagery from churches in Kenya after a commission ruled that early Scots missionaries probably were "devil worshippers".

Chapter 4

United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn: the geographical context.

4.1 Landscape of Upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire

The United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn is located in Highland Aberdeenshire within the notional Highland boundary line argued by Withers (Fig. 1.1).¹ This line passes immediately to the east of Dinnet village set on the Dee valley floor at a height Fraser shows to be 160m /530ft above sea level.² The present-day planned village of Ballater, elevation 200m /660ft above sea level, with a current population of 2168, since the early 1820s has established itself, in Paddison's terms, as the central place and service purveyor of the combined parish (Fig. 4.1).³

The clearest description of the topography of the parish is to be found in *A New History of Aberdeenshire*, 1875, edited by Alexander Smith,⁴ and is replicated herewith as Appendix "C". Volcanic upheaval apart, the landscape of the parish has clearly been shaped by glacial erosion in past millenia. Immediately west of Ballater argues Bremner, three glaciers united - those following the Dee, Muick and Gairn (Fig. 4.1). The Dee glacier, Bremner speculates, was fed from the Cairngorms, the Geldie Valley and a number of larger tributary glens in the upper Dee valley beyond Braemar. The Muick glacier was fed from the snowfields covering the Broad Cairn, White Mounth, Cairn Taggart, the Glas Allt and ice capping the high plateau that extends along the south side of the Muick basin from the Broad Cairn to Pannanich Hill. The Gairn glacier, partly formed by a distributory of the Dee glacier that flowed North East up the Crathie Burn, was to Bremner less important. Glen Gironck carried no independent glacier but was encroached by ice pushing up from the Dee valley on one side and from Glen Muick on the other. The trunk glacier formed by the union of the Dee, Muick and Gairn, argues Bremner, moved along the great trough between Ballater and Cambus O' May to form a broad lobe or ice apron. This last received additions from the snowfield in the elevated hollow between Morven on the North and Peter's Hill, Crannich Hill and Culblean on the South. Additional accretions moved down from the snowfields in the upper part of the basin of the Pollogach Burn in Glentanar (*Glean-tan-ar* - glen of scanty arable land).⁵ Areas of large *roches moutannees*,⁶ claims Glasser, with "hummocky" moraine,⁷ "kames",⁸ "eskers",⁹ "erratics",¹⁰ and

¹ Withers, 1982, 144.

² Fraser, 1921, 170.

³ Paddison, 1969, Glossary, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1969: Central Place: a settlement which provides some service for a population outside the built-area of the settlement itself.

⁴ Smith, 1875, 21.

⁵ Bremner, 1931, 15.

⁶ Benn and Evans (1998, 323) define *roches moutannees* as 'asymmetric bedrock bumps or hills with upbraided up-ice or stoss faces and quarried-down ice faces. Laverdiere *et al.*, 1985, suggest that they are so-called because the shape of the hill reminded people of a type of sheep-skin wig worn by wealthy people in the 1800s called a moutonnee. *Roche* is French for rock and *moutonnee* is French for "like a sheep". *Roche moutannees* are part of a family of intermediate-scale erosional landforms that also include rock drumlins, whalebacks, and crag and tail features.

similar patterns of ice downwasting on the landscape between Coldstone and Dinnet mark the eastward limit of glacial advance.¹¹

The first people to make their homes in Scotland at the end of the last Ice Age argues Wickham-Jones, were *mesolithic* stone-age hunter-gatherers whose nomadic life persisted for at least four thousand years until settled farming became the economic mainstay.¹² Isolated sites have been found from place to place, but only on the Aberdeen-shire River Dee has substantial evidence of *mesolithic* activity been found.¹³ *Microoliths* or pygmy flints, notes Edwards, have been unearthed on the terrace gravels at Dinnet, and also up-valley near Ballater, where the environs of the Dee appear to have provided the necessary resources to sustain settlement. Important for settled human occupation on the harsh landscape of upper Deeside was the prevalence of arable ground. The alluvium at Tullich for example, consists of sand and silts carried in suspension by the tributary Tullich Burn and deposited on the valley floor of the River Dee. The slackening flow of water has allowed the alluvium to settle out of suspension over a wide area at Tullich where the river gradient or slope lessens. In time the alluvium has produced a fertile soil able to support cultivation. As Farr observes, the waters of the Dee are remarkably clear everywhere and are regarded as one of the best salmon rivers in the country.¹⁴ It is therefore not surprising that evidence of riparian¹⁵ occupation by early hunter-gatherers and Celtic peoples has been found, and that the River Dee remains, as Farr claims, a source of economic value to present-day landowners.¹⁶

It is Edward's opinion however, that it is not possible to say whether the Stone-Age upper Deeside occupation sites were of a permanent nature or merely seasonal.¹⁷ Later Celtic occupation may have been more secure, for Pearce reports a Late-Bronze-Age hoard of at least sixty well-crafted bronze artefacts found in 1843 under a cairn at an ancient burial site in Glentanar.¹⁸ It is assumed that this seeming ritual

⁷ *Hummocky moraine* is produced by direct glacial deposition on land. It is identified by mounds, ridges and enclosed hollows with an irregular plan form distribution composed in part of supraglacial till (Bennet and Glasser, 1997, 279).

⁸ *Kames*: holes in the ice became filled with material as streams passed through them. When the ice melted the material was dumped as kames. *Kame* is a Scots word for a cock's comb.

⁹ *Eskers*: Meltwater carrying rocky debris carved out tunnels under and through the ice like high-pressure hoses. The tunnels sometimes got choked with rock as the ice finally melted completely the rock debris was left as long ridges snaking across the landscape. *Esker* comes from *Eiscir*, which is Irish.

¹⁰ *Erratics*: very large granite rocks which were carried by the ice and dumped a long way from where they were picked up are called *erratics*. (*Erratic* means wandering.)

¹¹ Glasser, 2002, 129.

¹² Wickham-Jones, 1994, 9.

¹³ *Ibid*, 64.

¹⁴ Farr, 1968, 13.

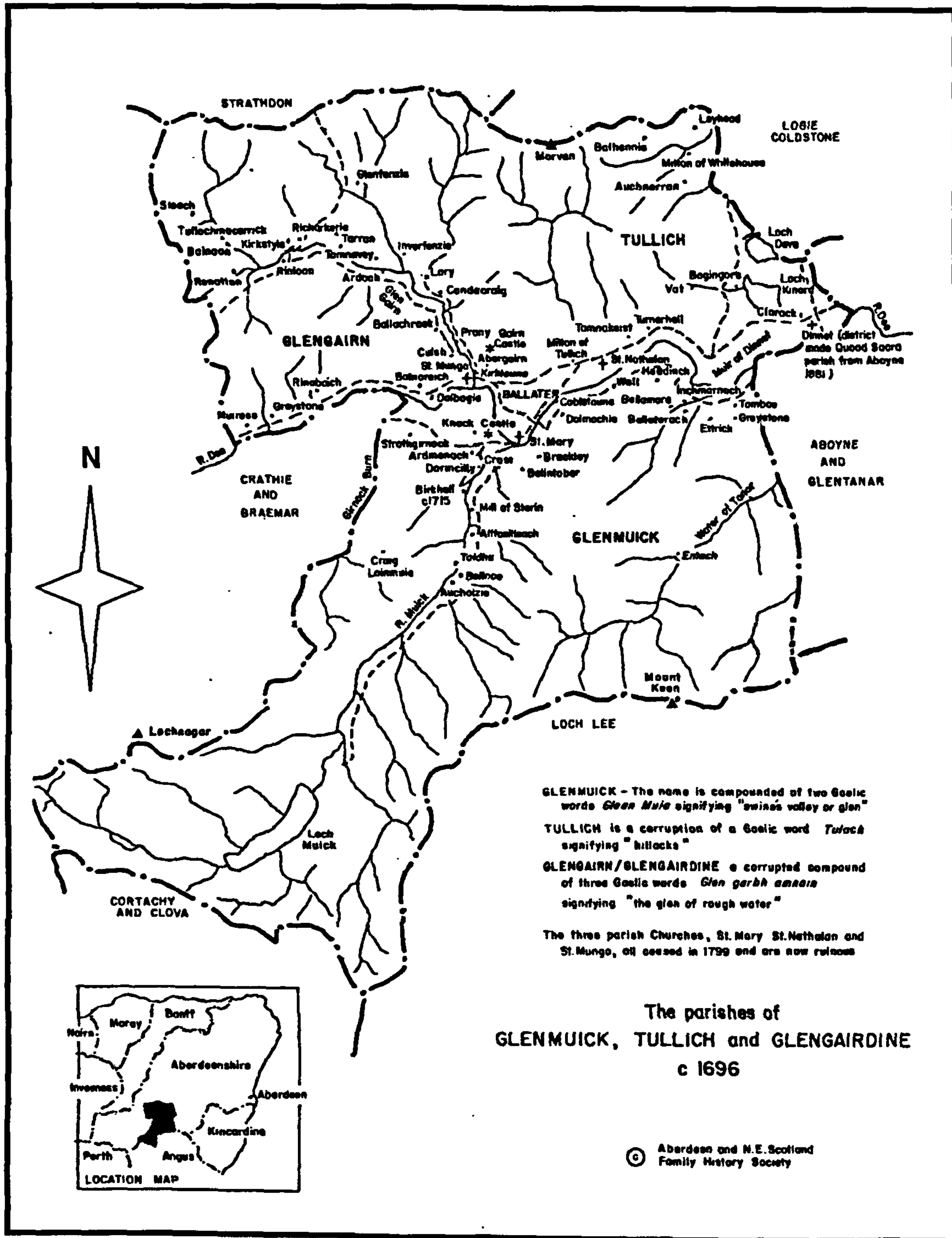
¹⁵ Riparian: pertaining to the river bank (Collins Oxford Dictionary).

¹⁶ Farr, 1968, 13.

¹⁷ Edwards, 1975, 82: Three Iron-Age settlements have been found at Loch Kinord dating from 2500-3000 years ago. At New Kinord, five circular enclosures (hut circles) are visible. Field boundaries can be seen clearly. The evidence suggests that settlers started to clear forest and divided the area into fields and grew barley.

¹⁸ Pearce, 1970, 57: (Report in the *Aberdeen Journal*, Wednesday, 29 March 1843) Pearce quotes Coles' (1959) opinion that the artefacts were brought by settlers from the North-German plains.

Fig. 4.1



United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairdine, c.1696. (Abdn. & NESFHS, 2003, 167-8. Reproduction granted).

deposit conformed to the beliefs held by a pagan people in residence locally. Firmer evidence of early permanent occupation of the Tullich site on the north side of the Dee is today marked on the OS Map,¹⁹ by a well-constructed Iron-Age *souterrain* (Fr. underground)²⁰ to the east of Tullich burial ground. As an established central place until the early-nineteenth century, Tullich was from early medieval times an important ecclesiastical site in upper Deeside. By the time the castles of Mar as symbols of land-holding power were being constructed in the early-sixteenth century, it is reasonable to assume that upper Deeside was not a thinly inhabited wilderness peopled entirely by lawless tribal factions. Undoubtedly, it was a glacial landscape that had been moulded by thousands of years of organised human use. It is also a landscape, claims Jervise, that has produced tangible evidence of pagan belief in the form of early-sculpted slab-stones at present located within the precincts of Tullich burial ground. The meaning of engraved Pictish-Celtic symbolism, traceable on these stones, of double disks with Z rods, mirrors, cups, combs, birds and animals at this late date, can only be conjectured.²¹

4. 2 Place names within the United Parish of Glenmuick

Glen Muick,²² argues the Rev. Brown in the *OSA*, is formed from two Gaelic words, *Glean muc*, (sow's valley) from which it would seem that at some early period the animal ran wild in that area. In all probability, the animal referred to was the wild boar or hog, long extinct in upper Deeside. The former medieval Church building, set above the confluence of the Muick with the Dee, that until 1798 served the Reformed congregation in both the Glen and the south side of the Dee as far as Inchmarnoch, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.²³ Tullich is a corruption of *Tulach*, (Gaelic- rising grounds or hillocks), argues Rev. Brown, and is sited two miles east of Glen Muick. The first Christian church to be founded at Tullich suggests Brown, was dedicated to St. Nathalan and an annual memorial meeting of the inhabitants in his name was kept annually on the 8th of January. The Tullich parish in 1794 was the most populous of the three in the district, and its Church was recognised as the Mother Church of the combined parish.²⁴ Until the early-nineteenth century and the development of Ballater planned village, Tullich, as civic centre, occupied the role of "central place" serving the parish area.

Glen Gairn, argues Rev. Brown, is a corruption of three Gaelic words, *gleann* - a valley or hollow - and *garbh ambain* - the rough water, which he claims are "very properly applied to the water of Gairn, the channel of which is exceedingly rocky". The former medieval church at Foot of Gairn, dedicated to St Kentigern, otherwise known as Mungo, located at the confluence of Gairn and Dee, was abandoned in

¹⁹ OS Landranger Sheet 44, 397975, 1995,

²⁰ Souterrain (Fr. below ground) - a long stone-built chamber sunk into the ground and roofed with stone slabs, usually beneath a house or settlement and intended for cold storage (Bahn, 1992, 467).

²¹ Jervise, 1875, 156.

²² It follows long-held convention to refer to the geographical glen as Glen Muick and the parish as Glenmuick.

²³ *OSA*, XIV, 508.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 508.

1800 upon the opening of the "Centrical Kirk" at Ballater. At some time closely following upon the closure of the Foot of Gairn Church, a small church was erected at Dalphuill, Gairnshiel (Plate 5.5), that still holds services during the summer months.

4.3 Communications in upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire

Contemporary accounts reveal that until the mid-eighteenth century, such roads that existed within the upper Deeside glens were unmetalled tracks worn into the thin soil by the feet of men and animals over many centuries of rudimentary communication between settlements. Convenience was clearly paramount in the geography of these tracks. Early maps and estate plans show networks of kirk roads, ferry roads, ford roads, and coffin roads wending through the upper Deeside landscape at a respectable height above seasonal flood levels. The "Muckle Spate" of August 1829, argues Fraser, ravaged both Deeside and Speyside and carried away every bridge from Braemar to Aberdeen.²⁵ Its legacy is indelibly imprinted upon the landscape of the Dee valley. The last flood of note, claims Murray, occurred on 21st January 1929 when a number of Ballater dwellings were filled with three or four feet of water and received significant structural damage.²⁶

In a landscape dominated by the snow-capped Grampian and Cairngorm mountain ranges attracting cloud and heavy rainwater precipitation, even in mid-summer, small streams in the Deeside glens can become torrents. Below Glenfenzie Burn in upper Glen Gairn lies Mary's Pool, so called, suggests Diack, since a Mary was accidentally drowned there.²⁷ Similarly Fraser recalls the death of May Ritchie, aged 25 years, of Torran Farm, Glen Gairn, accidentally drowned on 6th January 1902, when crossing the Torran Burn, normally no more than a narrow ditch, on her way to collect her Sunday shoes from repair.²⁸ This exposure of the upper Deeside landscape to raging floodwater²⁹ could well be a prime reason why the flat alluvial plain, Sluievannachie (Moor of Blessing),³⁰ fronting Craigendarroch Hill (Hill of the oaks - Plate 4.2), remained virtually barren moorland until the early-nineteenth century founding of Ballater planned village as an acceptable risk (Fig. 4.5).

The major post roads from the south in 1776, notes Withrington, crossed Kincardine-shire on their way from Dundee and Perth to Aberdeen. The main tracks through the hills traversed both counties - over Cairn O' Mount from Kincardine O' Neil and Dinnet via Alford and Kildrummy to Huntly; from Crathie

²⁵ Fraser, 1921, 155.

²⁶ Murray, 1992, 134.

²⁷ Diack, 1922: Unpublished handwritten notes on place names of the Eastern Highlands held at Archives Department, King's College Library, University of Aberdeen.

²⁸ Murray, 1973, 167.

²⁹ Sedgwick, 1991, 24: Often the Dee was too high for the minister to get to his charges at Tullich and Glengairn. Early Glenmuick Church records reveal that one minister attempted to try it, only to be swept away in the swirling waters. His horse was pulled out near Dinnet, six miles down-river, and he was rescued near Tullich, a distance of over a mile from his accident spot. The records dryly state, "Being somewhat fatigued, the minister was unable to take the service."

³⁰ Murray, 1973, 128: Tradition holds that this plain was the site of a miracle performed by St. Nathalan to whom the Church at Tullich was dedicated. When the people had no corn to sow after a winter of famine, St. Nathalan directed

via Strathdon and the Lecht to Tomintoul.³¹ Mounth passes over the Grampians, Fraser insists, were important, as were all similar passes in Highland history.³² From the time of the sixth century CE, Saint Ninian onwards, speculates Simpson, successive Christian missionaries into Pictland tended to follow a well-defined strategic route pattern, dictated by the fundamental and inevitable geographical conditions. In the East it was a route that had been used by the Imperial Legions centuries before,³³ and, as Withrington supposes, continued to serve military purposes in later centuries.³⁴ From the seventeenth century onwards the Deeside mounth roads became synonymous with droving, migrant labour and, for a limited period at the end of the eighteenth century, the large-scale conveyance by southern middlemen of illicit Highland-produced whisky. The steady intercourse between people in the upper Deeside, Strathdon and the Angus glens, intent on permanent settlement in Ballater village, can be gauged from marriage entries in the Old Parish Registers, and from the more accurate decennial census returns of 1851 onwards in which place of birth is first recorded. These are listed as Appendix "C".

The highest of these mounth roads, locally known, as "The Mounth" (Fig. 4.2), argues Fraser, extends ten miles over the Grampians from Invermark in Angus to Dee-castle on Deeside, reaching to the 762m / 2500ft. contour line on the west shoulder of Mount Keen.³⁵ On the northern declivity from Mount Keen a track leads down to the policies of Glenmuick House to emerge at Bridge of Muick in close proximity to the former church building abandoned in 1800. In the early part of the nineteenth century, claims Fraser, a fork on the Mount Keen track branched northwards along the east-end of the moss at a height estimated by Watson *et al* as 1700 feet.³⁶ This led through Brackley Wood in the direction of Ballater village and was the "Kirk Road" for the dwellers at Etnach and Coirebuaich farm-towns in the upper part of Glen Tanar attending the former medieval church building of Glen Muick, and, after 1800, the new Presbyterian "central kirk-on-the moor" at Ballater planned village.³⁷ The network of tracks was also of utility to the resident priest at Deecastle, whose Catholic congregation after 1789, argues Roberts, covered a wide area of high ground as far as Glen Clova in Angus.³⁸ By the early 1900s, supposes Watson *et al*, the "Kirk Road", by now obsolete for its original ecclesiastical purpose, was regularly used by gamekeepers at Etnach in Glen Tanar as the quickest means of accessing the Pannanich Inn and *The Tink* Public House in Ballater for purposes both secular and social.³⁹ North of the Dee claims Fraser, the once populous isolated community of Easter Morven followed a track down the Tullich Burn to reach Tullich Church.⁴⁰ After

them to sow sand from the river as a result of which they reaped a bountiful harvest.

³¹ Withrington, 1982, ix.

³² Fraser, 1921, 69: Mounth is the English rendering of the Gaelic *monadh*, meaning moor or heath and has no reference whatever to road or pass. The Irish Gaelic (whence the Scots Gaelic) for pass is *bealach*.

³³ Simpson, 1935, 77.

³⁴ Withrington, 1982, ix.

³⁵ Fraser, 1921, 86.

³⁶ Watson and Allen, 1984, 179.

³⁷ Fraser, 1921, 86.

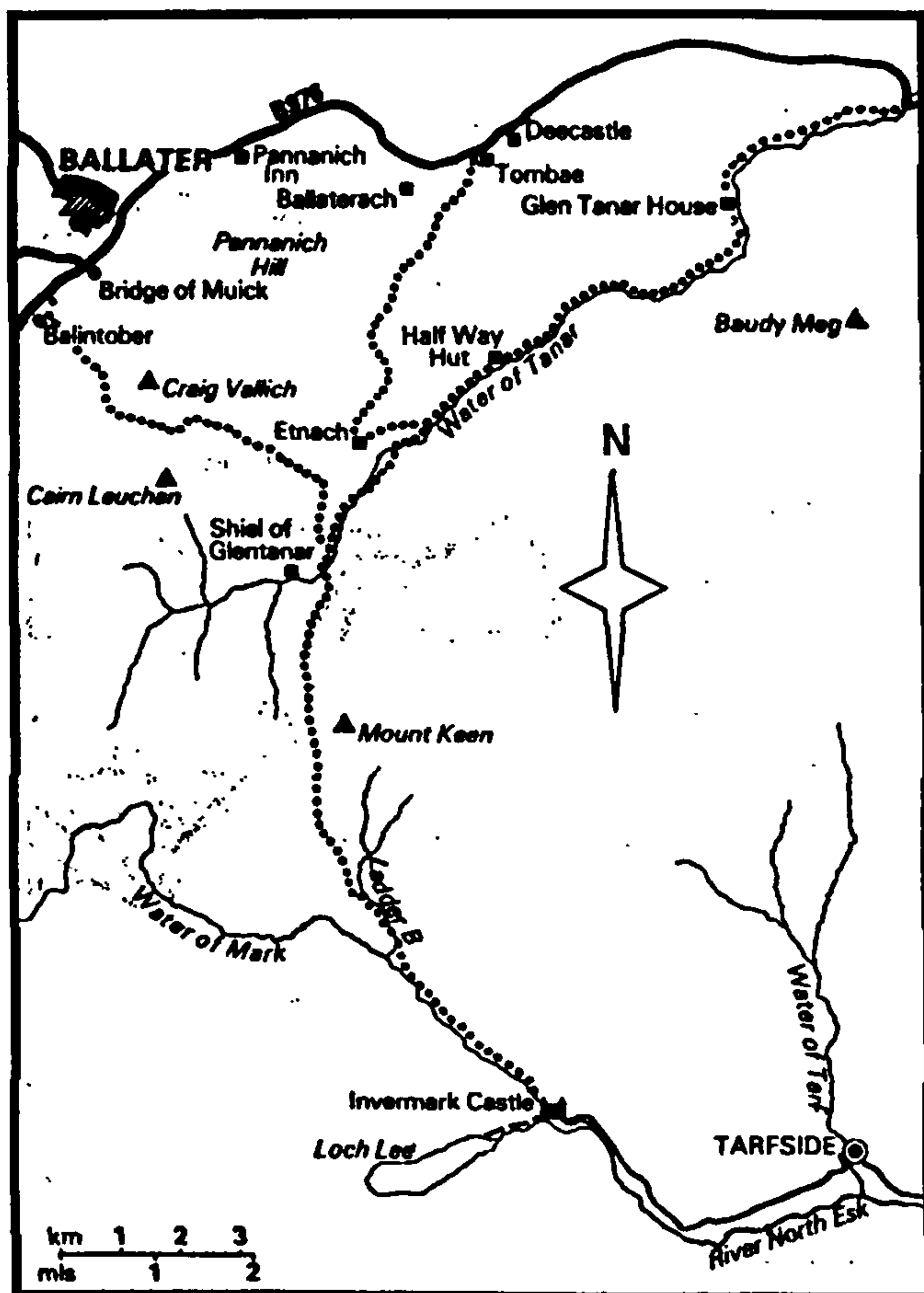
³⁸ Roberts, 1990, 26.

³⁹ Watson and Allen, 1984, 179.

⁴⁰ Fraser, 1922, 181.

1800, access to the new "central kirk-on-the-moor" at Ballater was gained by the major track wending over the shoulder of Culblean, direct to Ballater and thence over the Glen Muick hills to Clova.

Fig. 4.2



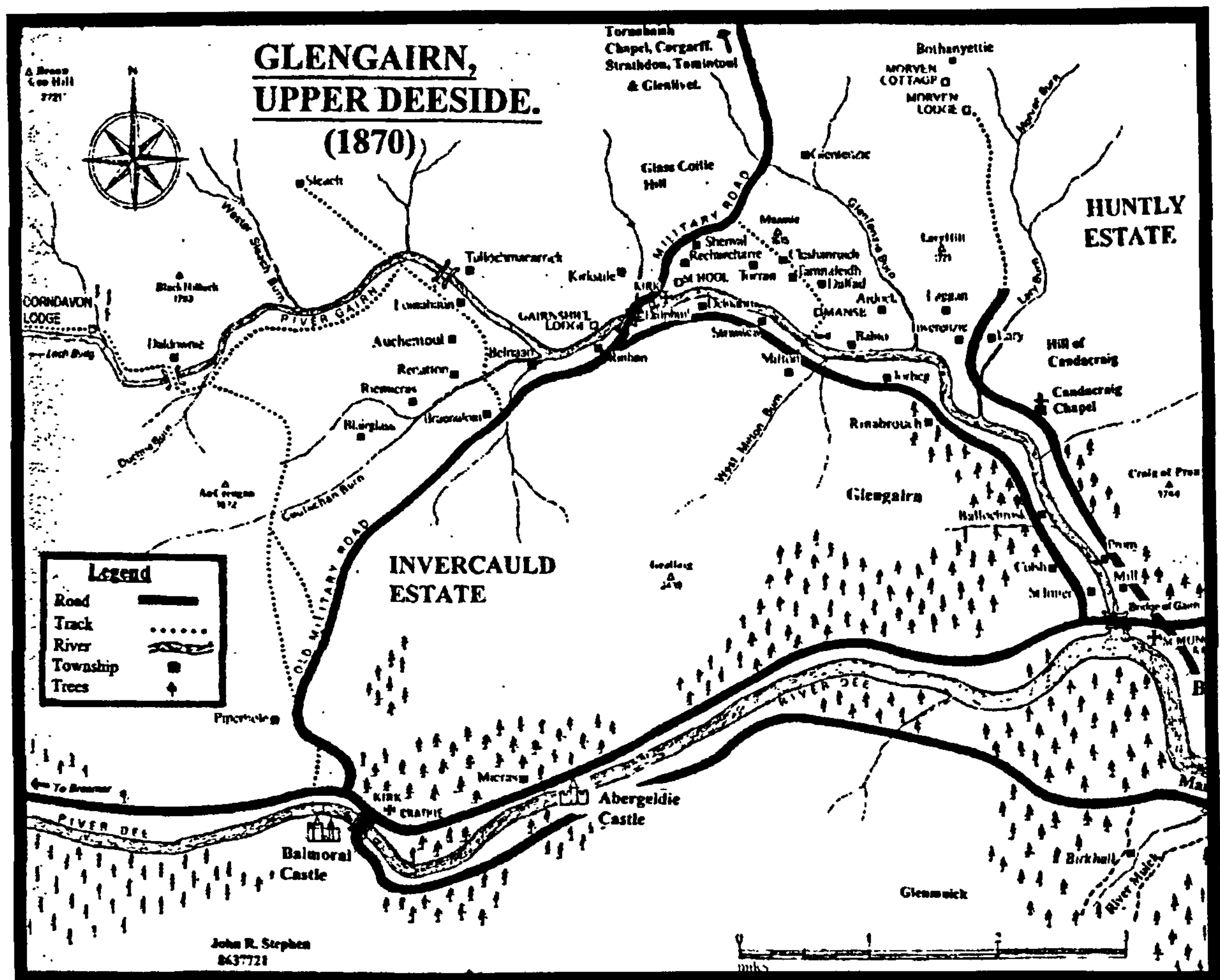
Mount Keen path by
Glen Tanar and Loch
Lee (*Grampian Ways*,
Smith, R, 2002, 65).

From 1753, states Welsh, perhaps the best maintained road in the United Parish, one that had a hard base to support wheeled traffic, was a "New Military Road" of Cauldfeild design ⁴¹ extending from Tighnabaich in Crathie Parish over the Stroneyairack hillslope to Braenaloin and Gairnshiel (Fig. 4.3). There the road turns north at a stone-built military bridge (Plate 2.5) to climb the steep Shenval Brae to reach the watershed at 424m /1391ft before descending to the parish boundary at Allt Glas-choille and onwards to Corgarff. ⁴² The bleak and barren aspect of the remote moorland landscape, often rendered impassible in winter for protracted periods by drifting snow, was patently a major factor in the survival of Roman Catholicism in Glengairn following the Reformation, as will be shown in Chapter 5.

⁴¹ Curtis, 1978, 478: The Wade Military Roads were constructed between 1725-33. The Cauldfeild Military Roads were constructed in a second phase of roadbuilding between 1743 and c.1780.

⁴² Welsh, 1959, 61.

Fig. 4.3



Glengairn, Upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire, c. 1870, adapted from covers, *The Hills of Home*, Fraser, 1973.

The turnpike road system, Wood claims, spread rapidly through Aberdeen-shire following the passing of an Act in 1795. Until that year, the old roads had been "commutation roads" maintained under the eighteenth century Statute Labour Acts.⁴³ An Edinburgh surveyor, Charles Abercrombie, was employed to plan the County's turnpike roads. His overall plan was designed to produce speedier travel, but also to satisfy the economic requirements of those who provided the funds, notably landowners. It was in the landowners' interests, argues Wood, to ensure that new roads ran close-by their estates.⁴⁴ With the completion of the first turnpikes, trade gradually focussed on Aberdeen City and the old north-south inland routes over the Mounth began to decline. The first turnpike to be built within the County, reports Fraser, the Deeside Road, opened up in 1798 from Aberdeen to Drum. This route was pushed up the Dee Valley to Aboyne by the Charleston Turnpike Act in 1801 and the Mills of Drum to Aboyne Act of 1802.

⁴³ Moir, 1957, 175: Officially - Statute Labour Roads. By an Act in 1719, every householder was required to perform six days' work on the roads in the parish. Before the Benediction in the Church service, a list of those required, with date, time and place was read out. The system, often ignored, proved inefficient. By 1859 the statute labour obligation had been "commuted" to money payment in lieu of labour in all but two counties - Bute and Zetland. The poor still preferred to fulfil their labour requirement.

At that point the road terminated for half a century until the Ballater Turnpike Act of 1855 provided for the extension of the turnpike from Aboyne to Ballater and Braemar. Until this date the fourteen miles of roadway on either side of the Dee reaching west from Aboyne to Braemar remained "commutation roads" maintained by a Board of Trustees.⁴⁵ In general, the bulk of the population did not travel far from their homes and were consequently well versed in the minutiae of their immediate surroundings in a way that is difficult to envisage today.

Plate 4. 1



Former toll-house, Kincardine O'Neil, Aberdeen-shire. Note protruding panoramic window at roadside. (photo-JRS)

The introduction of turnpike roads in 1855, argues Moir, necessitated the collection of tolls for the upkeep of the surface.⁴⁶ Within the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, claims Fraser, a toll-house (Plate 4.1) existed at Tomnakeist, a mile east of Tullich village and a second at Coilacreich, three miles west of Ballater.⁴⁷ Early-nineteenth century issues of the weekly *Aberdeen Journal* reveal that the collection of tolls was by yearly let in tack, auctioned by public roup held in Aberdeen.⁴⁸ All public tolls

⁴⁴ Wood, 1985, 18.

⁴⁵ Fraser, 1921, 67.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 246: Most of the toll-houses in Aberdeenshire are still standing and in use as dwelling-houses. Modern upgrading in some cases has changed the original character.

⁴⁷ Fraser, 1921, 159: No complete list of the toll-houses of Aberdeenshire seems ever to have been published.

⁴⁸ *Aberdeen Journal*, March 26, 1811: "he toll duties leviabie at the respective Bars on the Lines of Turnpike Road aftermentioned, are to be Let in Tack by Public roup, within the Laigh Tolbooth of Aberdeen, upon Friday the 3rd day of May next at 11 o' clock, forenoon, for the period of One Year, from Saturday, 25th May at 12 o' clock noon, etc".

in the County were abolished under The Aberdeen-shire Roads Act, 1865, a date that fortuitously coincided with the extension of the railway to Ballater.⁴⁹

Fords as a rule, claims Fraser, were found in the same neighbourhood as ferry-boats although fords, limited in use by weather conditions, exceeded ferries over the length of the Dee by nine.⁵⁰ Within the parish, a ford existed at Cambus O' May and another at Tullich village much used for access to and from Pannanich on the south side of the Dee. At Ballater a ford existed immediately west of the present bridge (Plate 4.2) and yet another ford was located three miles up-river at the confluence of the Girnoc burn with the Dee to connect Strath Girnoc with Glen Gairn. A plank of wood aided the crossing of small burns in settled weather.

Plate. 4. 2



Ballater Bridge in the 1880s with former ford access on left (now redeveloped). The Established (central) Kirk and Free Kirk steeples are prominent within a hierarchy of economic, social and moral landscapes (photo-GWW Collection, University of Aberdeen Photographic Archives (Reproduction granted)).

⁴⁹ *Aberdeen Bon Accord & Northern Pictorial*, August 8, 1954: (In 1894) "The Station square was filled with every conceivable class of horse-drawn vehicle, and outstanding was the four-in-hand coach, with its red-coated driver and four horses, their coats shining like velvet. It was loading up for Braemar, 16 miles distant, and would have a change of horses at Crathie". (W.M.Grant)

⁵⁰ Fraser, 1921, 65.

Until the provision of durable bridges, argues Fraser, the Dee was crossed by a number of ferryboats (Plate 2.6).⁵¹ Prior to 1905 a well-used ferry existed at Cambus O' May, but was discontinued when Mr. Alexander Gordon, a philanthropist with local connections, funded the erection of a metal footbridge.⁵² The old ford and ferry road, also much used, connects with Inchmarnoch and the old right-of-way over the hill by Headinch and Bellamore to cross the Pollagach Burn for Etnach. Further west, a ferry existed at "Dalmuickeachie" near the Church of Tullich. The "Cobbletown" of Tullich, speculate Watson *et al*, is an indication of the probable ferry site on the north bank of the Dee.⁵³ The chronicler of *View of the Diocese*, averred that the waters of the Dee sometimes overflowed so much in winter that people were frequently without public worship.⁵⁴ This ferry claims Roberts was used by a Jesuit, Father William Grant, until 1789 stationed at Tullich, but conducting worship at Deecastle on the south side of the Dee.⁵⁵

Another ferry was available at the site of Ballater planned village. This ferry was discontinued with the erection of the first stone bridge over the Dee at Ballater in 1783, but the service was resumed periodically following the destruction of a succession of bridges by floodwater. The first Ballater Bridge was carried away by floodwater in 1789, the year that the foundation stone of the "central kirk on the moor" was laid. Francis Farquharson, the bridge's promoter, died in 1791 and his successor and nephew, William, undertook the work of replacing the bridge. This second bridge built by Telford in 1809 was washed away in August, 1829, to be replaced in 1834 by a wooden structure. This remained in use until 1885 when the present substantial stone bridge replaced it (Plate 4.2). Two miles west of Ballater, a ferry existed at Polhollick until 1892 when it was discontinued on the erection of a metal footbridge (Plate 4.3), also funded by Alexander Gordon.⁵⁶

Polhollick ferry clearly had a long history of use, for the Beatties record the monumental inscription of one boatman interred at Glengairn - "James Eggo, late boatman, Poleholick, d. 28.5.1798, aged 57 years".⁵⁷ Prior to its replacement in 1878, the old bridge at Foot of Muick, close by the manse, was last used on 4th June 1878 for the funeral of James Stephen to Glenmuick Kirkyard. "Boatie Stephen", as he was known locally,⁵⁸ was regular boatman at Dinnet, and temporarily at Ballater from 1829-1834, the period between the "Muckle Spate" when the bridge was carried away, and the completion of its timber replacement.⁵⁹

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 60.

⁵² *Ibid*, 173.

⁵³ Watson and Allen, 1987, 30.

⁵⁴ Fraser, 1922, 178: *View of the Diocese* quoted.

⁵⁵ Roberts, 1990-1, 26.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 60: The ferryman's stone built cottage on the south bank of the Dee at Polhollick is still in use as a dwelling-house. The pier on the riverbank is well maintained as a curio. The metal footbridge was severely damaged in 1942 by a Whitley bomber attempting to land in the Dee during bright moonlight to extinguish an engine on fire.

⁵⁷ Beattie et al, 1998, 24.

⁵⁸ James "boatie" Stephen bears no known relationship to the present researcher. The surname, of Viking origin, is very common on the east coast of central Scotland. This Stephen family had its earlier origins near Dun in Angus at the south end of the Mounth.

Plate 4. 3



Polhollick suspension bridge across the River Dee and former ferryman's cottage, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire (photo-JRS).

It can be inferred from the above that the prime drawback to social and economic progress in upper Deeside was the lack of substantial bridges, particularly those capable of supporting wheeled traffic. Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie, land superior, states Day, was the leading promoter for the construction of the first bridge to span the River Dee alongside the ford connecting the Morven track on the north bank, with the track from Glen Muick on the south bank, about one mile east of the manse at Glen Muick. On 10th October, 1775, Day argues, the Synod of Aberdeen considered a petition for financial assistance to aid the construction of the bridge. The petition was signed by Farquharson of Monaltrie, who acted as secretary and treasurer, two kinsmen, James Farquharson of Invercauld and Alexander Farquharson of Inverey, and two other interested land-owning subscribers, the Earl of Aboyne and Charles Gordon of Abergeldie. As an incentive to the synod to view the petition favourably, it was pointed out that upon completion of the bridge, the subscribers would build a "large central kirk" sufficient to accommodate the bulk of the people in the three parishes at every sitting.⁶⁰ This essentially business arrangement, it can be assumed, would relieve the landowning heritors of considerable expense in re-building the almost derelict medieval church buildings at Tullich, Foot of Muick and Foot of Gairn, all reported by the Rev. George Brown to Presbytery in 1794 as "in serious need of reconstruction".⁶¹

The introduction of improved roads and bridges apart, the most important innovation to revolutionise economic and social patterns across the United Parish landscape was the extension of the Deeside Railway-line first established at Aberdeen in 1852, from Aboyne to Ballater. Funded by speculators

⁵⁹ *Aberdeen Journal*, October 30, 1811: "Before Ballater Bridge was rebuilt, the River Dee was unprovided with any bridge for the space of 37 miles from Braemar eastwards. Ballater is about 13 miles (actually 17 miles) from Braemar so that at present the obstruction is reduced to 24 miles (20 miles) eastwards from Ballater, and even this is forced to be a serious inconvenience to the intercourse between the north and south parts of Aberdeenshire".

⁶⁰ Day, 1996, 89.

⁶¹ *OSA*, XIV, 512.

incorporated into a private Company – the Aboyne and Braemar Railway - by Act of Parliament, the extension line opened on 17th October 1866 when its terminus enigmatically settled at Ballater.⁶² To be at a railhead, argues Wood, was especially fortunate, for the railway was a factor shaping community development within the county in the later-nineteenth century.⁶³ With the introduction of the railway, Ballater showed a noticeable population increase and was to develop as a popular late Victorian holiday resort. From an ecclesiastical point of view, the enhanced summer population of mixed denominations was a catalyst for the building within Ballater village of both an Episcopal Church and a Roman Catholic Chapel. The Established (South) Church minister, and his counterpart at the Free (North) Church, could now restrict their annual presence at the respective General Assemblies in Edinburgh to a mere two weeks instead of the former month long absence from parochial duty.

4.4 Habitation in Upper Deeside

A List of Pollable Persons within the Shire of Aberdeen (Appendix "B") shows that in 1696 life for the majority of people in the Parish of Tullich, Glengairdine (Glen Gairn) and Glen Muick was spent in small communities ranging from four to sixteen rudimentary dwellings.⁶⁴ Following no recognised geometrical layout, Smith's reference to "clachan clusters" appears apt.⁶⁵ Each habitation, seems to have been constructed of earth-bonded rubble or divots walls and cruck-supported thatch roof of the type found by Maloney *et al* on the Mar Lodge Estate to the west of Invercauld.⁶⁶ This dwelling type equates with Fairhurst's (1967-68) excavation data from Rosal in Strath Naver,⁶⁷ confirming that upper Deeside "clachans" conformed to a pattern of farm-town community living replicated with minor local variances in many areas throughout the Highlands. "Town" size would have been dictated, argues Fairhurst, by the availability of arable land to be worked communally in runrig with infield and outfield cultivation.⁶⁸

All habitations, however, appear to have been established in proximity to running water. In the idiom of native Doric speech, Dilworth has recorded the testimony of Lewis McKenzie,⁶⁹ in 1881 a fifty-nine year

⁶² Farr, 1968, 38: (Reasons for terminating work on the line one mile beyond Ballater have never been published. The Balmoral Estate was sold by James Farquharson, last of Inverey, to the 2nd Earl of Fife in 1798. Sir Reginald Gordon, brother of the 4th Earl of Aberdeen took a lease of the Estate in 1837 and largely rebuilt the old house that stood south of the present castle. After Sir Reginald's death in 1848, HRH. Albert, The Prince Consort, acquired the remainder of the lease, purchasing the estate in 1852. In the event, the new railway line would have been laid uncomfortably close to the Royal castle. A purpose-built railway booking office and storage building was erected in Braemar Village and for a century until 1966, a stationmaster was located there who acted mainly as an agent for the Company's business. Goods and passengers were conveyed by horse-drawn coach from Ballater to Braemar (Worrall's Directory, 1877) until the advent of a carrier's motor lorry supplanted the service. Passengers' rail tickets were then valid for use on a locally contracted omnibus service to and from Ballater.

⁶³ Wood, 1985, 17.

⁶⁴ Smith, 1844, 27.

⁶⁵ Smith, 1997, viii.

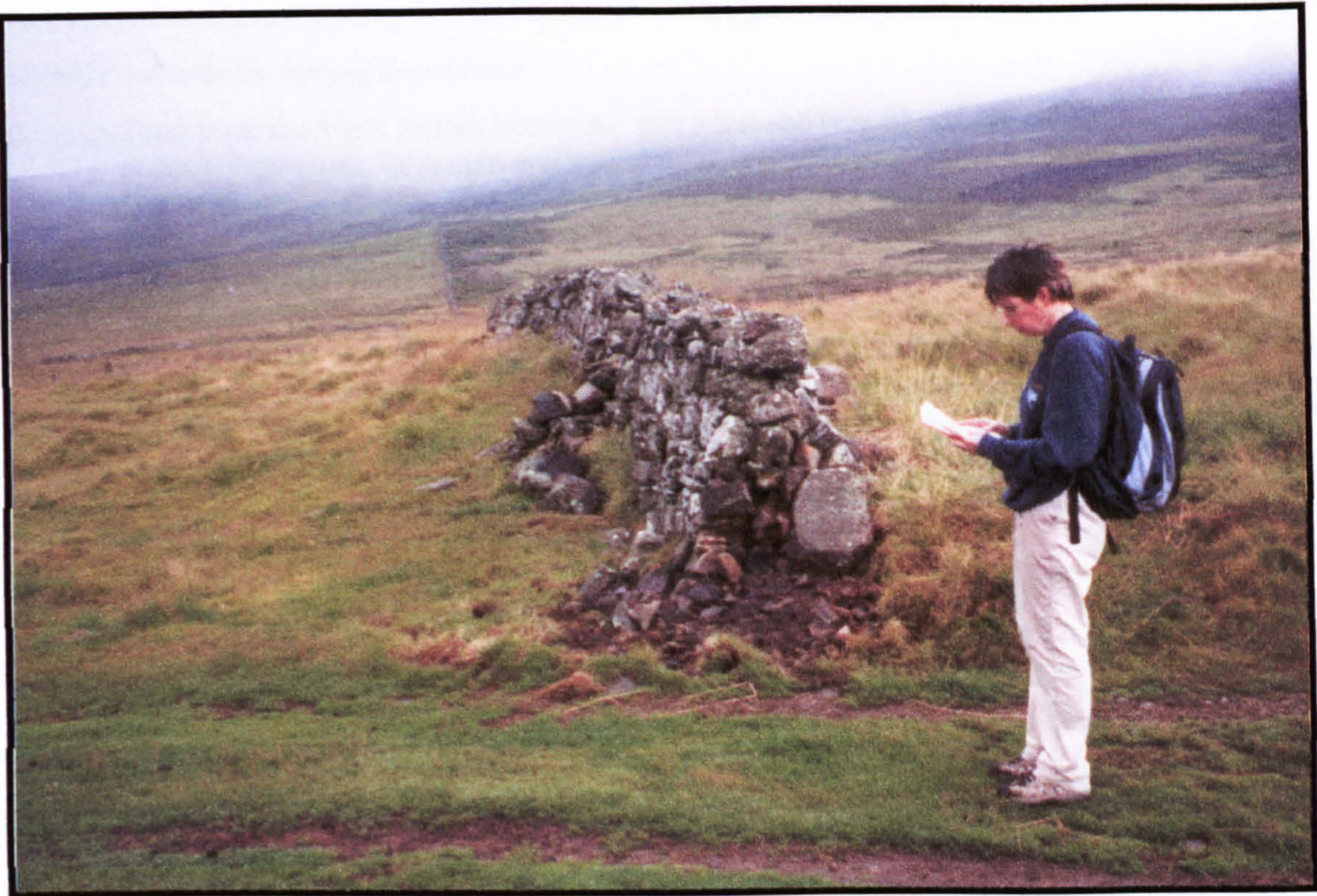
⁶⁶ Maloney *et al*, 1995, 18.

⁶⁷ Fairhurst, H, 1967-68.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 1960, 69.

⁶⁹ McKenzie was known locally as "Lewie the Vet" on account of his self-taught skill at treating animal disorders within the local community. In the decennial census of 1851, Lewis McKenzie, then aged 30 years, is recorded as farmer of 22.5 acres arable at Laggan Farm. Lewis may have benefited by the acquisition of former run-rig land.

Plate 4. 4



Head-dyke, Morven, community outfield grazings, Glengairn, Upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. (photo -JRS)

old tenant farmer of 22.5 acres arable at Laggan Farm, Glen Gairn, whose early-nineteenth century life was spent in the nearby communal farmtown at Ardoch :

The hooses in Ardoch was stragglin' back and fore as if they had fa'en oot o' the air, and facin' ivry airt except the north. It was handy for watter and i' the lith but a nesty, guttery place (q.v. footnote).⁷⁰

It must be assumed that until the late-eighteenth century, the standard of dwelling architecture in upper Deeside was not uniform but, as elsewhere in the Highlands, reflected social class and wealth. The now ruined castles of Knock and Abergairn together with the baronial houses of Monaltrie, Braichlie and Birkhall stood as symbols of power on the landscape. At the lower end, early-nineteenth century upper-Deeside cottar houses, Michie argues, could hardly be distinguished from the surrounding heath-covered hillocks. Houses, claims Michie, were "rough stones piled on top of one another, the cavities filled with sods".⁷¹ Barns and outhouse were similarly constructed. Most houses, notes Fairhurst, had one room with a low *talan* (partition) separating people from animals.⁷² As a contemporary newspaper report indicates, these rude dwellings were not entirely dissimilar to dwellings found in populous Lowland urban centres.⁷³

⁷⁰ Dilworth, 1956, 99: The houses in Ardoch were arranged haphazardly as if they had fallen out of the air and facing in every direction except the north. It was convenient for water and sheltered, but it was a nasty, muddy place.

⁷¹ Michie, 1908, 56.

⁷² Fairhurst, 1960, 69.

⁷³ *Glasgow Herald*, July 28, 1803: "A most alarming fire broke out in Rutherglen Loan, Gorbals. The firemen attended but their endeavours were unavailing. Five thatched houses were burnt to the ground. About twelve families were

Lewis McKenzie of Laggan Farm, Glen Gairn, described to Dilworth - in Doric - a vivid picture of his own early Glen Gairn dwelling. Unlike Fairhurst's Sutherland survey, MacKenzie makes no mention of humans and animals sharing the one roof:

I was born in a black thackit hoosie wi' just a but and ben, like a' the auld hooses throw the country thereaboot; for length and height pairt, it was like the cottage at Corrybeg where the laird's keeper noo bides. The windows o' the hoose were sma' and dim; and there were nae grates to be seen in that time i' the glens, whatever they were i' the lech countra. In the first place there was a kind o' a beeliding o' stane and in ae corner a muckle seat aneath the lum and in the other corner an orra chair forenent the fire. My father sat in the muckle seat o' nichts. Against the back o' the kitchen there was a bench, and abeen a rack for haudin' dishes; candlestick and moulds were richt abeen. When they killed a nowt or a sheep, ye ken, they filled the moulds wi' tallow. The brose was held in wooden caps and we suppit the broth wi' timber ladles. Auld Geordie Nochtly made them and gaed throw the countra wi' a sack sellin' them. The gun wad be up on twa quags abeen your heid just, nailed to the jeists, to be aye ready. There it had a chance o' the reek, ye see, which keepit awa' rust. There was a bed openin' wi' lids like a door; they were the comfort o' that date. The fleer was earthen and the lums ootside wooden. There wis nae upstairs (q.v. footnote).⁷⁴

As elsewhere throughout the Highlands, the fossil evidence of run-rig and lazy-bed cultivation that produced little more than a subsistence economy remains visible on the landscape of upper Deeside. The earlier-nineteenth century decennial census returns suggest that almost everyone was involved in some form of agriculture, even the parish minister. As late as 1841, the Rev. Hugh Burgess was tenant of a small farm upon which he employed two labourers, James Downie and James Forbes.⁷⁵ Father Lachlan McIntosh, priest at Ardoch in Glen Gairn, also worked a landholding, at times with the help of his parishioners. Transhumance formed the seasonal pattern of community life and Thompson *et al* argue that on Deeside many ruined shielings lie up to 610m / 2000 ft on patches of *Agrostos-Festuca* grassland in remote high valleys.⁷⁶

By the 1820s, in conformance with improved farming methods incorporating long leases - usually terms of nineteen or twenty-one years - over enclosed arable ground, substantial stone and lime farm-houses and out-buildings with slate roofs began to be constructed by upper Deeside landowners for a new breed of tenant farmers (Plate 2.1). The improved farmhouse at Glenfenzie, in Glen Gairn, in 1841 tenanted by 48-

burnt out". This episode suggests that in the early-nineteenth century, little difference existed between the habitations of Lowland urban-dwellers and rural people in the Highlands. Both would have experienced overcrowding and its by-products.

⁷⁴ Dilworth, 1956, 88: "I was born in a black thatched cottage with just two rooms similar to all the old houses throughout the surrounding countryside; for length and height comparison it was like the cottage at Corrbeg where the laird's keeper now resides. The windows of the house were small and dim; and there were no fireplaces to be seen in the glens at that time, whatever was the case in the Lowlands. In the first place there was a kind of stone building and in one corner a large seat beneath the chimney, and in the other corner a well-used chair sat close-by in the evenings. Against the back wall of the kitchen was a bench, and above there was a rack for holding dishes; candlesticks and candle-wax moulds were placed immediately above the rack. When they killed a bovine animal or a sheep, you must realise, they filled the moulds with tallow. The porridge was held in wooden bowls and we consumed broth with wooden spoons. Old George Nochtly made these utensils and travelled the countryside with a sackful for sale. The gun rested in two pegs nailed to the joists immediately above your head to be ever ready for use. There, you must understand, it had recourse to smoke that prevented rust. There was a bed opening with lids after the manner of a door, and considered comfortable in that era. The floor was earthen and the external chimneys constructed of wood. There were no upper rooms.

⁷⁵ Census, 1841.

⁷⁶ Thompson *et al*, 1981, 23.

year old Donald Edmonston,⁷⁷ but now deserted and ruinous, bears the date 1822 (Plate 4.5) on a cornerstone at roof level.

Plate 4. 5



Engraved cornerstone
- 1822: abandoned
"improved" farm-
house, Glenfenzie,
Glen Gairn,
Aberdeen-shire.
(photo-JRS)

This "improved" tenant farm, on the Marquis of Huntly's land, extended to 800 acres of which only twenty-five were arable. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, most cottar families in the parish had been removed from earth-bonded rubble farm town structures that were left to decay, serve as animal enclosures or to provide a ready source of dyke-building material. Nevertheless, the process of relocation from these rubble structures in the Deeside glens appears to have been gradual, for in the 1841 census Robert Imray, resident in the small community of Pannanich, east of Ballater village, listed his occupation as house thatcher.⁷⁸

4. 5 Agriculture in Upper Deeside

The *1696 Poll Tax Returns for the Shire of Aberdeen* (Appendix "B") suggest that land was of prime importance to each member of the United Parish community for subsistence rather than for gainful employment. Analysis of the Return schedules indicates that each tenant farm had its farm-town

⁷⁷ Census, 1841.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 1841.

community⁷⁹ within which lived farm servants and cottars, a few serving the community with an additional skill. Overall, the majority of inhabitants are recorded as tenants or being in service to others. Typical of a prosperous small tenant was William Bowman, in 1698 assessed as tenant of Milltoun of Glen Muick, with a wife, three male servants and two female servants. Parish records also reveal that Bowman, patently a responsible figure in the parish, was ordained elder at Glen Muick on 12th November 1699.⁸⁰ The Milltoun farm-town housed James Ley, miller, and his family as well as the cottar families of James Taggart and James Muikin, neither of who had a trade. The composite list of 1696 occupations (Table 4.1) suggests that most people occupied a small patch of land for cultivation and to keep a cow and some sheep. It is apparent that artisans, workers at most occupations, even the Rev. David Guthrie, last Episcopalian parish minister in office between 1687 and 1697, listing five servants whose duties at his manse at the confluence of the Muick with the Dee were not specified, engaged in some form of farming activity.⁸¹

**Table 4. 1 Occupations in the Parish of Glenmuick,
Tullich and Glengardine – 1696 (Poll)**

Cottar	- 19	Servant	- 144
Earl	- 4	Shoemaker	- 4
Gentleman Tenant	- 2	Tailor	- 2
Grasswoman	- 1	Tenant	- 100
Laird	- 4	Tenant Sub	- 68
Miller	- 9	Tradesman	- 1
Minister	- 1	Weaver	- 5

There is little indication of change in this centuries-old pattern of localised farm-town life in the upper Deeside glens until the later years of the eighteenth century. Crude estimates of population appear to remain fairly constant. In Dr. Webster’s 1755 Census reproduced by Kyd, the population of Glenmuick parish was estimated at 2270:⁸² that in the *OSA* indicates 2117.⁸³

The arable ground of the Glenmuick Parish, argued Rev. Brown in 1794, "bears but a small proportion to the surrounding mountains, which afford excellent pasture for sheep, and the people have hitherto paid much more attention to their flocks than to their farms".⁸⁴ A hard, cold sub-soil and a late Spring, claims Simpson, caused late harvests, that until the end of the eighteenth century, meant periodic scarcity and even famine.⁸⁵ That agriculture should be "still in its infancy" as claimed by Brown, is hardly surprising when there was little incentive for improvement. Winter herding, argues Brown, was either not known or looked upon as an intolerable grievance and therefore not practised. Many people had no leases on their

⁷⁹ Fenton, 1976, 16: Farm-town community – a nucleated settlement or cluster of dwellings in which the inhabitants engage in communal subsistence farming. Replaced by individual, self-contained farms in the era of improvement.
⁸⁰ Records of the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich & Glengairn held locally.
⁸¹ Poll Tax Return, 1696, 179
⁸² Kyd, 1975 58.
⁸³ *OSA*, XIV, 505.
⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 502.

possessions and others but short ones.⁸⁶ Mr. Brown, Glenmuick parish incumbent from 1791 to 1818, clearly a "moderate" in ecclesiastical affairs within the patronage of William Farquhason, was knowledgeable also in the affairs of agriculture for he not only cultivated his glebe, but was tenant of the neighbouring farms of Scurrystone and Moortown. During the first half of the nineteenth century, an estate policy of consolidation created the larger single-occupancy farm units that are extant today.

4.5.1 Employment within the United Parish of Glenmuick

Service to others upon the land, as successive census reports from 1841 onwards reveal, continued to form a substantial employment sector throughout the nineteenth century. Noticeable, however, is the emergence of skilled trades associated with the introduction of improved methods of farming by enterprising landlords such as the Farquharson lairds of Invercauld and of Monaltrie, and also the Gordon lairds of Abergeldie. Indeed, in 1796, the Rev. Brown had been fulsome in his claim for the land management efficiency of Mr. Gordon at his Glen Muick farm of Birkhall.⁸⁷ From this era can be seen the variety of supporting trades that sustained the viability of the community (Table 4.2):

Table 4.2 **Occupations in the Parish of Glenmuick,
Tullich and Glengairn – 1796 (OSA XIV)**

Blacksmiths	-	7	Schoolmasters	-	3
Masons	-	4	Shoemakers	-	4
Maid servants	-	87	Square wrights	-	16
Men servants	-	63	Tailors	-	15
Merchants	-	9	Taverns	-	8
Millers	-	8	Weavers-	-	18

It can be presumed that the blacksmith would complement the introduction of the improved iron plough and shod animals using the new commutation roads within the parish. Masons, square-wrights and plasterers, all recorded by name in 1841, would have been necessary for the construction of Ballater planned village and improved farm buildings that accompanied new twenty-one-year long-leases on enclosed farmland, first advertised in the *Aberdeen Journal* by William Farquharson of Monaltrie from 1800 onwards.⁸⁸ The superior ambience of Ballater House in 1841 (Plate 6 - renamed Monaltrie House) is apparent from its employment of George Low and Alexander Coutts as full-time gardeners.⁸⁹ By this time, such appurtenances as kitchen gardens and "doocots" (dovecots)⁹⁰ at landowners' houses, had

⁸⁵ Simpson, 1947, 1.

⁸⁶ OSA, XIV, 502.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 503: "Mr. Gordon of Abergeldie's farm of Birkhall is an influence of what the ground of the country is capable of producing, when properly managed. He took this farm, which consists of nearly 100 acres arable, and about the same number of pasture among natural wood, into his own hands only a few years ago.; he enclosed and subdivided it with stone fences and hedges, levelled and straightened the fields; trenched up baulks, and drained marshes; and now raises up bear, oats, pease, poatoes, turnips and hay, of as good quality as any in Aberdeenshire".

⁸⁸ *Aberdeen Journal*, November 17, 1800.

⁸⁹ The extensive high-walled garden was in full use until the 1960s, serving a number of tenants as a market garden. Monaltrie House, dilapidated and unoccupied for a number of years after Second World War military occupation, has since been restored and re-occupied. The former walled-garden has been re-developed for private housing.

⁹⁰ Dovecots, ancillary to kitchen gardens, provided a varied and healthy source of food during the winter months for

long been established elsewhere in the Highlands following Lowland precedent.⁹¹

The mid-nineteenth century decennial census returns dramatically extend the above staple of rural occupations to meet the new economic change effected in the upper Deeside landscape. In 1841, the census returns for the Parish show that the population had remained steady for eighty years at 2118, but the 1696 townships have by now deferred to single tenant large farms many of which still exist by name today. Farm labourers are still numerous, but many, as Harper argues, may have been former small tenants downgraded in social status.⁹² At Ballaterach, on the south side of the Dee, William Stewart is farmer of 100 acres arable employing seven labourers. John Mitchell was a farmer of 35 acres arable at Brackley in Glen Muick with his widowed sister Margaret Gordon as housekeeper, aided by two female house servants and three male farm servants.

The nineteenth century census returns suggest that new innovations in economic land use impinged considerably upon the social structure of former community landholding. In 1841, Robert Esson at Littlemill was listed as dyker; at Morven in Glen Gairn, Robert Brown was listed as gamekeeper and a Peter Cameron and Peter Begg as shepherds. On the south side of the Dee, at Corryvrack, William Begg was tenant of a sheep farm whilst William Ingram of the same address is a gamekeeper. In the planned village of Ballater, established as a central place since 1808 with a clear preference for incoming skilled tradesmen, William Stewart was a carpenter, William Mitchell a plasterer, James Farquharson a square wright and Peter Farquharson a stone mason. All these professions are reflected in an improved standard of domestic architecture throughout the parish landscape several examples of which remain extant. The evidence would seem to be that planned villages raised the quality of community service in general through the medium of indenture followed by sound apprenticeship (Appendix "E").

4.6 Language in Upper Deeside, Aberdeenshire

In 1705-6, the five Gaelic-speaking Aberdeen-shire parishes recognised by the Synod of Aberdeen were Crathie and Braemar, Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, Strathdon, Cabrach and Mortlach. None of the parishes at that time had a Gaelic-speaking minister.⁹³ In upper Deeside, this language impediment had partly resolved itself by 1759, since the records show that an English speaking catechist, Mr. Shepherd, was directed to Glenmuick where:

his want of the Irish language can be no objection as no Itinerant that ever was in Glenmuick had that Language: that the English language is well understood through all that Itineracie and that it would be improper to employ one having the Irish

landed families and their guests. In all probability they could be seen as a garden "folly" or status symbol.

⁹¹ N.L.S., MS, 976, f. 156: Letter from Charles Rind, gardener to Capt. George Galbraith of Balgair Estate, Stirling-shire, to retail seedsmen. "At Balgair the 4 day of februar 1735 a list of seeds. Sir be pleased to send to me by May Seadays ordered: One pound of union seed, half pound of Leek seed, Six ounces of pairsnip seed, six ounces of carrot seed, half pound of Radish seed, four drop of callflower seed, 2 drop of callbsh Lettus, 2 drop of Impreall Lettus, 4 ounces of whit turnips, 4 ounces of yellow turnips." The above was followed by "a list of froot trees".

⁹² Harper, 1988, 36.

⁹³ N.A.S., CH1, 2/ 24/ 3, f.154.

Language there as it would only be a Temptation to the Inhabitants to revert to the use of that Language.⁹⁴

Nevertheless, in 1760, the elders of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn parish requested that the itinerant preacher "should have the Gaelic language".⁹⁵ That Gaelic as a *lingua-franca* of the population survived longer in the remote Deeside upland glens, particularly in "Catholic Glengairn", is suggestive that the Gaelic language and Roman Catholicism had strong affinities that could only be redressed by a Gaelic-speaking ministry. This becomes evident in Mr. Shepherd's protest at his appointment to Presbytery:

In Glengairn, on the North side of the River Dee and in the head of the Parish of Tullich adjoining thereto, there are about 200 People, who upon the Strictest Enquiry, will be found incapable of Instruction in any other language but the Irish, besides 250 Papists with a trafficking Priest constantly residing among them who seldom or never preaches in any other Language but the Irish, and in that Language the Minr. is always obliged to preach when there.⁹⁶

In 1758 suggests Withers, some 63 protests were made by Gaelic-speaking parishioners in Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn at the presence among them of men who knew little or no Gaelic.⁹⁷ Indeed, according to Crathie parish records, on 2nd December 1790, the Rev. McHardy, minister of Crathie parish (latterly also factor for the Invercauld Estate) protested:

... against the Presbytery sustaining a Presentation from the Earl of Aboyne to Mr. George Brown to be minister of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, and also sustaining a call from these parishes to the same, on the ground that he was ignorant of Gaelic.⁹⁸

The dispute caused a year's vacancy, but the Rev. Brown's call was sustained by Presbytery. In his 1794 OS4 report, the Rev. George Brown argued that:

... their language is English, except in the upper parts of the parishes of Tullich and Glengairn, where some of them use a barbarous dialect of the Gaelic among themselves, but they all understand the English.⁹⁹

The last Gaelic used within the church at Ballater, claims the Rev. James Middleton, was a Gaelic psalm sung on Communion Sunday in 1809.¹⁰⁰ This reported survival of Gaelic in the parish Church of Glenmuick does not, however, reconcile with the written records of parish births, deaths and marriages from 1717, held at Register House, Edinburgh, which are all in English.¹⁰¹ The suggestion that Gaelic usage in colloquial speech receded westwards and upwards across the landscape of the United Parish may be found in the nineteenth century testimony of Lewis MacKenzie, recorded by Dilworth:

My father used to say prayers. He had been a gey rover-like fellow when he was young; but he learnt me to say my prayers in Gaelic. It was in Gaelic that I first said

⁹⁴ N.A.S., CII, 5/72.

⁹⁵ N.A.S., GD124, 1/296.

⁹⁶ N.A.S., CII/5/72.

⁹⁷ Withers, 1988, 139.

⁹⁸ Watson and Clement, 1980-82, 375.

⁹⁹ OS4, XIV, 505.

¹⁰⁰ Middleton, 1888, 5.

¹⁰¹ English is also the language of the parish records of Crathie and Braemar over a similar time-span. Not surprisingly English is the language of the Catholic records of both parishes, back to 1703, held at Aberdeen University Library and at the Priest's residence at Braemar. These have been reproduced in type by A. Strath-Maxwell in 1975.

my prayers to auld Mr. McIntosh and one day when we were saying our prayers to the auld priest, some o' the ither bairns who said prayers in English, begud to laugh at hiz and Mr. McIntosh yokit wild upo' them. He altered their mind a bittie. My father was gey staim to his releegion, though he was some jolly files (q.v. f/note).¹⁰²

In Glen Gairn, argues Dilworth, Gaelic was supplanted by Scots, not by English. In practice, the Scots, or North-East Doric, spoken in Glen Gairn bore traces of Gaelic, but otherwise it conformed to the characteristic colloquial language of the district in its frequent use of the Doric diminutive,¹⁰³ double diminutive and even the treble.¹⁰⁴ In common with the wider area of the North-East, argues Diack, the place names in the combined Parish are Gaelic derived, although these have an archaic cast¹⁰⁵ when compared with non-hybrid (Gaelic-Norse amalgam) Gaelic place-names found in the West.¹⁰⁶

4.7 Land ownership within the United Parish

In 1794, claims the Rev. George Brown, the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn extended over a landscape in multiple ownership. James Farquharson of Invercauld, William Farquharson of Monaltrie, Charles Gordon of Abergeldie, William Macdonald of St. Martin's, Captain John MacDonald of Gairmsdale, and John Erskine of Achalater are listed as heritors.¹⁰⁷ Land sales and acquisitions that change the parameters of Farquharson estate boundaries at that period are listed in the estate records of Invercauld edited by Michie. Boundary changes, it is argued, were important catalysts in the changing ecclesiastical configuration of upper Deeside in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

The significant figures in landscape change affecting the social, economic and spiritual life within the parish, argues Jervise, were Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie (1710-1790), known locally as Baron Ban,¹⁰⁸ second son of Alexander, 1st of the second family of Monaltrie and Anne, daughter of Francis Farquharson of Finzean, and his nephew William (1753-1828). Francis Farquharson inherited the lands of Monaltrie from his uncle William of Invercauld, and his baronial seat, Monaltrie House, until 1746,

¹⁰² Dilworth, 1956, 89: "My father used to say prayers. He had been a very adventurous fellow when he was young; but he taught me to recite my prayers in Gaelic. It was in Gaelic that I first recited my prayers to old Mr. McIntosh, and one day when we were reciting our prayers to the old priest, some of the other children began to laugh at us and Mr. McIntosh angrily remonstrated with them. He changed their minds in no small way. My father was deeply preoccupied in his religious conviction, although at times he could display good humour".

¹⁰³ Dilworth, 1956, 12: e.g. *f* for *wh*, *aa* for *au*; and the diminutive ending of words with *ie*.

¹⁰⁴ In the colloquial use of the treble diminutive, a man of short stature, or a male child, may be described as a "little wee mannie".

¹⁰⁵ The "archaic cast" suggested by Diack could stem from Pictish-Gaelic (P), roots opposed to Irish-Gaelic (Q) roots.

¹⁰⁶ Diack, 1922: Unpublished notes held at the Archives Dept., King's College Library, University of Aberdeen.

¹⁰⁷ OS4, XIV, 501: Heritor – a landowner possessing immovable or heritable property in a parish described, described in 1806 as owner of land of at least 100 real rent *per annum*. The word began to be used widely in the time of Charles I. Together, heritors formed a "quasi-corporation for the management and disposal of those parochial concerns to which they were entitled on their own to take action". They had to provide and maintain the parish church, manse, churchyard and glebe. The work of heritors ended in 1925 in preparation for the Union of Churches in 1929 (Cameron *et al*, 1993, 401).

¹⁰⁸ Jervise, 1875, 157.

was located near Crathie, some eight miles west of Tullich village. In 1740, claims Day, Francis was commissioner administering the estates of his uncle, John Farquharson of Invercauld, at which time he purchased the lands of Ballader (old spelling) and Tullich from Farquharson of Inverey¹⁰⁹ who wished to acquire the estate of Logie-Coldstone in Strathdon. Reference will later be made to this Inverey Farquharson in relation to nineteenth century emigration from his cleared Logie-Coldstone estate.

Plate 4. 6



Ballater House, renamed Monaltrie House, built c.1766 and renovated after WWII military occupation. (photo-JRS)

In 1745, notes Jervise, Francis embraced the Jacobite cause and commanded his Farquharson clan at Culloden where he was taken prisoner and his estates forfeited.¹¹⁰ Upon his return to Deeside in 1766 and his subsequent repurchase of the Monaltrie estate, Francis built Ballater House, later renamed Monaltrie House (Plate 4.6), one mile west of Tullich village, to replace his former baronial seat near Crathie, burned down by Hanoverian troops in 1746. Upon Francis Farquharson's death on 22nd June, 1790, the Monaltrie estate passed to his nephew William Farquharson, who died without issue at Vevay, in Switzerland, on 20th November 1828. Monaltrie then reverted to the Farquharson of Invercauld estate. These land transactions engaged in by the Farquharson dynasty cannot be disassociated from

¹⁰⁹ Day, 1996, 89.

¹¹⁰ Jervise, 1875, 157: "Transported to London and condemned to death, Francis Farquharson was reprieved on 28th November 1746, the day set for his execution. Following twenty years' imprisonment in London and parole at Berkhamsted, Francis returned upper Deeside in 1766. In 1763, whilst in England, Francis had married wealthy Margaret Eyre of Hassop, Derbyshire, and in 1784, using his wife's fortune, re-purchased the forfeited estate of

change in the social structure of the resident population on their estates. As will be enlarged upon below, there was a movement of an indigenous people with ecclesiastical consequences, indeed, as in Glen Gairn, the virtual eradication of an entire congregation.

Whilst the contentious issue of Patronage in the Kirk might colour clerical opinion, both the subscribers to the *OSA* and *NSA* are fulsome in their tributes to the Farquharsons of Monaltrie as enlightened landlords. Jervise claims of Francis Farquharson that he was "one of the most liberal-minded and enterprising landowners of his day, and did more for the improvement of the district than has probably been done by any one proprietor on Deeside".¹¹¹ Of Charles Gordon, Esq. of Abergeldie, land superior of Birkhall, who died in 1796, the headstone in Glen Muick burial ground claims - again in the obituary language conventions of the time - that he was "the best of parents, giving good example in every way, and serving to the utmost of (his) power all who stood in need".¹¹²

The seminal year for economic and social change within the United Parish that had marked implications for ecclesiastical distribution can be traced to a public notice in the *Aberdeen Journal* of Monday, 17th November 1800. In what Withrington claims to be strong leadership by proprietors, William Farquharson set out to tie down tenants, however unwilling, by detailed leases to follow out his improving policies.¹¹³

Fig. 4.4

FARMS TO BE LET TO TACK

Mr. Farquharson of *Monaltrie* proposes to give LEASES for 21 years from Whitsunday, 1800, over his whole lands in the parishes of Crathie, Tullich and Glengarden (excepting the Farm of Ballater) according to a division of the farms lately made, and suited in point of extent and conveniency to that part of the country. The particular day will be afterwards advertised. in the meantime those who incline to take any part of these lands, may apply to the Proprietor by Kincardine O' Neil, who will give every necessary information that may be required.¹¹⁴

Despite this change in land leasing policy in 1800 by William Farquharson aimed at improved farming methods on the Monaltrie Estate, Nethersole-Thompson *et al* claim that as late as 1837, each family in the clachan town of Coilacreich, west of Ballater, farmed a set of widely scattered strips. Every year they grew oats and barley on the best strips, until the soil became exhausted. Other strips were so poor that they could seldom be cultivated.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, the census of 1841 reveals that the five families then resident at Coilacreich were not destitute; two very elderly women were paupers, but the heads of families

Monaltrie upon payment of £1613. 0s. 9d^{rs}.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 1875, 157.

¹¹² Speirs, 2002, M.I. 93.

¹¹³ Withrington, 1982, xix.

¹¹⁴ *Aberdeen Journal*, November 17, 1800.

included an inn-keeper, a game-keeper, a tailor and a farmer.¹¹⁶ It is Harper's claim that landowners permitted certain families to occupy small patches of poor quality, low yield land at a low rent in the expectation that they would improve the soil. Once the soil became productive, the families would be cleared in the interests of good business.¹¹⁷

In his 1842 *NSA* report, the Rev. Burgess claimed that store-farmers within the United Parish were at considerable pains to improve the local breed of sheep and also the common breed of homebred cattle. That, however, could not be claimed for the small tenants who were allowed to keep only a few sheep in proportion to their rent and the extent of hill pasture in their respective district. In consequence, suggests Burgess, small tenants paid little attention to improvement.¹¹⁸ The overall picture in the early-nineteenth century is of an upper Deeside agricultural landscape in slow transition with the more enterprising and able tenants cultivating newly enclosed larger farms alongside pockets of poor landless people struggling to exist in some form of service to others. Those who accepted short-term work as farm labourers at the new feeding-markets argues Harper, felt demeaned in relation to their former status as independent small tenants. It is in this respect that contemporary press reports indicate that farmers in nineteenth century Aberdeenshire controlled their errant employees with the full rigour of the penal process.¹¹⁹

4.8 Industry within the United Parish of Glenmuick

In his *Tour of Scotland in 1769*, Pennant, having disposed of the men-folk of upper Deeside in pejorative terms, claimed that the women, "are more industrious, spin their own husbands' clothes, and get money by knitting stockings".¹²⁰ Stockings or basses, argues Keith, was a product for which the east-coast town of Aberdeen, from around 1645 began to acquire an international reputation.¹²¹ The main ports with which Aberdeen traded were Danzig, Campvere (the Scottish staple port in Holland), various places in France and Spain, and the Mediterranean port of Leghorn. The making of stockings was traditionally a cottage industry, and in 1770 there were no fewer than twenty-two Aberdeen merchants who bought wool from the south and distributed it among thousands of women in the surrounding countryside to be converted into stockings and ladies' gloves.¹²² At Aberdeen, claims Pennant, some 20,800 pounds of wool was annually imported, and 1,600 pounds worth of oil. Of the wool, 69,333 dozen pairs of stockings worth, at an average, £1.10s per dozen were manufactured by cottage industry throughout the North-East. The

¹¹⁵ Nethersole-Thompson *et al*, 1981, 23.

¹¹⁶ Census, 1841.

¹¹⁷ Harper, 1988, 142.

¹¹⁸ *NSA*, 1842, 779.

¹¹⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, May 28, 1803: "Upon a complaint being brought before the justices at Old Deer (Aberdeenshire) by a farmer against one of his servants for disobedience, the justices fined the defender. It is hoped this will be a warning to servants".

¹²⁰ Pennant, 1769, 117.

¹²¹ Keith, 1972, 234: It was in 1709 that a visitor to Aberdeen, the Rev. Edmund Calamy, D.D., saw there "the finest knit worsted stockings anywhere to be met with", whose higher qualities could only be "seen through a glass" and the best kinds of which "cost five guineas a pair, with two guineas quite a common price".

¹²² *Ibid*, 307.

country people got four shillings ¹²³ per dozen for spinning, and fourteen shillings ¹²⁴ per dozen for knitting. Flax spinning (Plate 2.11) was also a cottage industry, but while it paid more, it was more difficult to work. ¹²⁵ The textile industry, claims Withrington, consequently occupied a very important place in local economies. ¹²⁶ In the Aberdeen-shire inland parish of Tarland at the end of the eighteenth century:

The only branches of manufacture in the country are the spinning linen yarn, and knitting hose. The dealers in these manufactures have a number of stations in the village of Tarland, and over the whole neighbouring country, where lint and wool are given out, and yarn and stockings taken in, the yarn, from 10d to 15d. per spindle, and stockings at from 1s to 2s. 6d, for spinning and knitting the pair, in proportion to the different qualities of the respective articles. These bring a great deal of money into the country, by which the greatest part of the poorer families are supported, and enabled to pay the rents of their houses and small crofts of land. But the females, who sit from their childhood at the stocking or little wheel, are generally valetudinary, and commonly can do nothing at any other labour; and, when these works bring tolerable prices, it is difficult for those that need them to get female servants. ¹²⁷

In 1841, the "putting-out" manufacturing system in textile production continued to support the economy of upper Deeside as new forms of employment were fostered in the planned villages. In that year the Deccastle-Pannanich area of Glenmuick Parish retained eleven local women in advanced years that styled themselves as stocking-knitters working from their own homes. Glen Muick retained five stocking-knitters; Glen Gairn, ten stocking-knitters; Tullich, by now a declining community conveniently located on either side of the commutation road to the planned village of Ballater, still retained thirteen stocking-knitters. Ballater, gradually attracting incomers from the countryside already skilled in the textile trade, retained 9 stocking-knitters. Thus, a total of forty-eight stocking-knitters were still active within the combined parish at a time when the "putting-out" industry was in its decline. ¹²⁸

Extractive industries appear to have a long history in upper Deeside. Among the crags of *Sgurr Buidhe* (yellow crag or hill) on the north side of the Pass of Ballater, argues Fraser, first lead and silver and then stone for building purposes was quarried. For this last William Farquharson of Monaltrie, in the later-eighteenth century, constructed a small stone bridge over the Loin Burn in the Pass to facilitate access to the quarries. ¹²⁹ Local opinion is that the mineral mines at nearby Abergairn were first exploited in the

¹²³ Four shillings - 48 new pence.

¹²⁴ Fourteen shillings - 168 new pence or £1.68p.

¹²⁵ Pennant, 1769, 121: (Aberdeen) "At present, its imports are from the Baltic, and a few merchants trade to the West Indies and North America. Its exports are stockings, thread, salmon, and oatmeal; the first is a most important article, as appears by the following state of it. For this manufacture, 20,800 pounds worth of wool is annually imported, and 1600 pounds worth of oil. Of this wool is annually made 69,333 dozen pairs of stockings, worth, at an average, £1.10s per dozen. These are made by the country people, in almost all parts of this great county, who get 4s per dozen for spinning, and 14s per dozen for knitting; so that there is annually paid them £62,329.14s. And besides, there is about £2000 value of stockings manufactured from the wool of the county, which encourages the breed of sheep much; for even as high as Invercauld, the farmer sells his sheep at twelve shillings apiece; and keeps them till they are four or five years old, for the sake of the wool".

¹²⁶ Withrington, 1982, xxv.

¹²⁷ OSA, VII, 721.

¹²⁸ Census, 1841.

¹²⁹ Fraser, 1921, 180.

seventeenth century by experienced Huegenot miners brought expressly from Cornwall by the then Farquharson landowner who utilised their skills and experience.¹³⁰ The family name of Testart, Testard or Tastard, variously recorded in the 1696 Poll and in successive nineteenth century decennial census, is locally cited as evidence of this claim.¹³¹ The timber industry was of considerable importance to the local economy of upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. By building a dam on a tributary stream close to the point of timber extraction and breaching it, logs could be floated down to the River Dee and thence a further thirty-eight miles to the shipbuilding industry in Aberdeen. This appears to have been the practice in Glen Tanar where the 1841 census return shows that Neptune Cottage housed one shipwright and ten apprentices as well as eight wood-sawyers. It is assumed that finished logs - even pre-fabricated sections - were rafted to Aberdeen craftsmen.¹³²

In common with other parish landscapes throughout the Highlands in the latter half of the eighteenth century, claims Dilworth, the illicit distilling of whisky, mainly by small tenants and cottars for sale to Lowland middlemen, augmented the rural economy of Glen Muick, Tullich and Glen Gairn. In the money economy that supplanted service or kind with the demise of feudal chieftainship after 1746, the payment of land rents by many tenants in the Upper Deeside glens could be secured only by engaging in this illegal trade. With only hearsay evidence provided by Lewis MacKenzie of Laggan Farm, Glen Gairn, Dilworth argues that local landowners frequently colluded with illicit distillers in order to secure their rents in full settlement with regularity.¹³³ The abundance of illicitly distilled whisky often led to excessive local consumption; Dilworth records the testimony of Lewis Mackenzie - "It was an aafu' time, the smugglin', and it was weel dune to stop it".¹³⁴ The effects of parliamentary legislation in the early 1820s, which made illicit distilling uneconomic for individual clandestine operators,¹³⁵ seems to have been traumatic for Glen Gairn people, argues Roberts. In particular for Catholic families faced with greatly enhanced rents it became a catalyst to voluntary removal of tenants from Farquharson land despite a late resurgence of the illicit trade around 1830 (Appendix I).¹³⁶

¹³⁰ Mr. Ian Cameron, a former geology student, and later tenant of Abergairn Farm upon whose land the former lead mine is situated, is of the opinion that mineral working on the site has been conducted for some 4000 years. Working of the mine ceased over a century ago, following litigation between succeeding land superiors concerning compensation or mineral rights.

¹³¹ Recorded by the writer during 1950s interview with the late Misses Jean and Mary Grant of Queen's Road, Ballater, whose family had marital connections with the Testards. The Flemming family claimed a similar Huegenot origin.

¹³² According to Brian Begg Robertson whose forebears resided at Bogenglack above the former House of Glentanar, the sailing ship, *Countess of Aberdeen*, was built entirely of timber from the Glentanar Estate.

¹³³ Dilworth, 1956, 97: (Lewis MacKenzie, Laggan Farm, Glengairn) "The Lairds encouraged smugglin'; it put up the value o' the land; there were many wee bit crofties at gae a big rent, and fiks better near the officers nor oot by. Gey and often the laird was Justice of the Peace and ped the fine for the tenant caught smugglin'". (The Landlords encouraged smuggling; it enhanced the value of the land; there were many small landholdings with a large rent. Very often the laird was Justice of the Peace and paid the fine for the tenant caught smuggling).

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 1956, 95: "It was a terrible time in the era of smuggling, and it was a great achievement to put an end to it".

¹³⁵ The Illicit Distillation (Scotland) Act, 1822, and the Excise Act, 1823, laid the foundations of the modern whisky industry. Proprietary blends of whisky could now be bought more cheaply in the Lowlands and thus undercut the dubious spirits brought from Highland glens. It did not, however, curtail the consumption of whisky in Highland communities.

The decennial census returns show that a number of small industries flourished within the United Parish from the mid-nineteenth and into the twentieth century. Closely associated with the textile industry was a wood-turning mill producing "bobbins" (small winding reels) from local timber, founded by Alexander Pithie, a migrant from Stonehaven, at Turnerhall, a community east of Tullich.¹³⁷ The census returns show that successive generations of the Pithie family carried on what became a worldwide business until it closed under new owners in the 1960s for economic reasons. In the vicinity, behind Tomnakeist Farm, the 1881 census indicates that a quarry was worked from which granite blocks were extracted for the building of Ballater village. In this respect, cottages at Wester Cambus O' May housed the families of John Stewart, quarry-master employing seven workmen. These included Peter Milne and Alexander Wilkie, quarry-blacksmiths; James Gerrie, stone-cutter, and Alexander Simpson, mason-journeyman. Wool mills, each employing less than ten people, were located at Bridge of Gairn¹³⁸ and at Littlemill, Girnock.

4.9 Sporting Estates within the United Parish of Glenmuick

Large-scale sheep farming in the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn appears not to have replicated the economic pattern found in the more northerly Highland estates. Watson *et al* claim that prior to 1850, some 7,000 sheep were kept on the Glen Tanar Estate, but these were removed on conversion of the land to deer forest,¹³⁹ presumably to reverse diminishing estate returns affected by wool imports from overseas. The Glen Tanar deer forest, argues McConnochie was formed in 1855,¹⁴⁰ a date that agrees with Watson *et al*'s claim that on the south side of the Tanar, a number of families were cleared from their farms between 1855-8 and were given holdings elsewhere on the extensive Huntly estates. These may well have been Catholic families served by a priest at Deccastle. Depopulation of the Glen Tanar estate seems to have proceeded amicably:

The south side formerly held twenty-nine houses, including nine at Knockieside West where there used to be a hotel, a general merchant's shop and at least three shoemakers. But, eighty years ago (c.1850) the whole of the population on the south side of the glen were evicted so a deer forest might be extended, and the number of inhabitants speedily decreased, and soon after the coming of Sir William Cunliffe Brooks there only remained in the whole glen those who were in his employment.¹⁴¹

Morven (*Mor bheinn* - big hill), a section of the extensive Aboyne Estates owned by the Marquis of Huntly in upper Glen Gairn, argues Roberts, was deserted by its numerous Invercauld tenants around 1830

¹³⁶ Roberts, 1987, 95.

¹³⁷ Census 1851 - Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn - Enumeration District 8.

¹³⁸ Census 1881, Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, Enumeration District 3, indicates that Henry Illingworth, described as wool manufacturer at Mills of Gairn, was employer to two men and one boy. In 1851, aged 17 years, Henry was listed as a wool carder, born in Braemar. Son of Denton Illingworth, and grandson of Jachin Illingworth, a textile worker, born in Aberdeen about 1775, who migrated to Braemar, and was married there in 1801. The family origins lie in the Dewsbury district of Yorkshire, and are an example of southern migrants transporting their textile skills to the eastern Highlands of Scotland rather than emigrating overseas. Branches of the Jachin's family are listed as woollen manufacturers in Tarland and Skene in Aberdeenshir, and at Alyth in Perthshire, among other locations.

¹³⁹ Watson and Allen, 1990, 37.

¹⁴⁰ McConnochie, 1923, 19.

¹⁴¹ Watson and Allen, 1990, 37: Unpublished notes held by A. Watson, Senior (1928).

and replaced by a few shepherds. In 1841, the Morven sheep-run, sustained by four shepherds,¹⁴² was converted to a sporting estate. Across the Dee valley, the sporting estate of Glen Muick, comprising 19,000 acres according to Grimble, was formed in 1870.¹⁴³ Largely a tract of peat and heather for much of its upper reaches with scarce arable land, Glen Muick estate policies converted with no enforced clearances. Indeed, as succeeding decennial census reports from 1841 indicate, the township of Loinmuie (*loinn muigh* - enclosure of the field) on the eastern slope of the Coyles of Muick, underwent a progressive voluntary abandonment of dwellings until the name was removed from the Ordnance Survey maps of the twentieth century.¹⁴⁴

4. 10 The Planned Village of Ballater

Up till the end of the third quarter of the eighteenth century, argues Fraser, there was no village of Ballater although the name had been used for many centuries.¹⁴⁵ In the 1696 Poll Book, *Ballaver* is a settlement of eight tenant families and one tradesman - profession not stated - located east of the Pass on the north side of Craigendarroch Hill carrying the track from Tullich Village to Crathie. On "the muir" - the general area now occupied by Ballater planned village - the Poll Book records two tenant families, each with a servant, and two families whose status is not identified. Between the Muir settlement and Ballaver lay two further tenant families at Cobletoune, a place-name which suggests that in 1696, a ferry continued the Kirk road from Morven to Glen Muick over the Dee at that point and also served travellers over the hills to the Angus glens (Fig.4.3).

An original pen and wash drawing sub-titled *Ballater in 1797* has been reproduced in *The Deeside Field* by Lumsden.¹⁴⁶ The short-lived five arch stone bridge¹⁴⁷ erected over the Dee in 1783 is clearly visible, as is the nearby hotel built on the south bank to accommodate visitors to Pannanich. In the distance stand the small medieval Church of Glen Muick, later burned down in 1798, and its manse. The tenant farms of Scurrystone and Muirtown, both occupied by the Rev. Brown, parish minister, Dallifour and Milton of Braichlie, tenanted respectively by John Gall and Francis Farquharson (not of Monaltrie family),¹⁴⁸ all properties located west of the Dee, are absent. To the right foreground, Ballater House, manorial residence of William Farquharson of Monaltrie, stands close to Craigendarroch Hill. No other habitation occupies the barren stretch of flat moorland of *Sluivannachie* (moor of the blessing or white plain) and there is

¹⁴² Census, 1841: Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, Enumeration District 6. Listed as shepherds are Peter Cameron with wife and four children, and Peter Begg, unwed. In separate shepherds' sheals (bothies) were Francis Birss and John McKenzie, shepherds in their late teens and unwed.

¹⁴³ Grimble, 1896, 5.

¹⁴⁴ Allan, 1985, 8: Then smile for me, Loinmuie fair, / Sae comely in the caller air,
For I may never see thee mair / Nor hearth, nor hame, nor rodden tree.

¹⁴⁵ Fraser, 1921, 180.

¹⁴⁶ Lumsden, 1929, 6.

¹⁴⁷ This substantial stone bridge built in 1783 under the auspices of Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie was carried away by floodwater in 1789. A second bridge built by Telford in 1809 was washed away in the "Muckle Spate" in 1829. A wooden bridge was erected in 1834 and remained in use unscathed until replaced by the present bridge in 1885.

¹⁴⁸ Spiers, 2000, Glen Muick MIs, 120.

no road along the north bank of the Dee.¹⁴⁹ The painting, however, cannot capture the small run-rig communal farm-towns that existed on the slopes above the Dee valley. Loinmuie on the east face of the Coyles of Muick and *Blair Charraid* (field of conflicts) and *An Loinn Mhor* (the big enclosure), both on the south slope of Craig Vallich, are but three former communities referred to by Murray.¹⁵⁰

Plate 4. 7



Ballater Planned Village c.1880s, facing south from Craigendarroch (hill of the oaks).
(photo- GWW Collection, University of Aberdeen Photographic Archive - reproduction granted).

Several commentators on the history of the Glenmuick parish - Fraser,¹⁵¹ Wood,¹⁵² Wyness,¹⁵³ - argue that Ballater was created as a spa-township to house an overflow of tourists attending Pannanich Wells that in about 1760, were found to carry springwater beneficial for the cure of disease.¹⁵⁴ Whilst the Pannanich Spa in its day attracted many visitors, it could well be that the creation of Ballater planned

¹⁴⁹ Lumsden, 1929, 66.

¹⁵⁰ Murray, 1992, 123.

¹⁵¹ Fraser, 1921, 180.

¹⁵² Wood, 1985, 57.

¹⁵³ Wyness, 1964,

¹⁵⁴ Penant, 1769, 119: Almost opposite the village of Tullich is Pannanich noted for its mineral water discovered a few years ago, and found to be most beneficial in rheumatic and scrophulous cases and complaints of the gravel; During the summer great numbers of people afflicted with those disorders resort there to drink the waters; and for their reception; several commodious houses have been built.

village merely conformed to a pattern of economic land development that Lockhart argues was a "movement" popular throughout Scotland. In this respect, adds Lockhart, it mirrored developments in the Scottish economy from around the last quarter of the eighteenth century and lasting until the middle of the nineteenth.¹⁵⁵ No mention of Pannanich Wells as an attraction, is made in the Monaltrie Estate Factor's notice posted in the weekly *Aberdeen Journal*¹⁵⁶ of 9th November 1808 and repeated 22nd March, 1809:

Fig. 4.5

BALLATER VILLAGE

NOTICE is hereby given, that Mr. FARQUHARSON of Monaltrie intends immediately to erect a VILLAGE at the North end of the New Bridge now building over the Dee, by feuing off as much ground to each person as will be sufficient for a House with convenient Offices and a Garden; where there is already a good school and the parochial church, with the government post established three times a week. It is also intended next year to have a Weekly Market, and two Annual Fairs in May and September, for which the Proprietor has an Act of the Scotch Parliament in 1661; and where, from the local situation; it is supposed that Tradesmen will find a great deal of employment, and others a comfortable place to live in. About 100 acres of good land will be let to the villagers in small lots, at very low rents. The day for giving the feus, with other particulars, will be afterwards advertised; in the meantime, all who wish to become feuars, will please to intimate the same by letter, addressed to William Farquharson of Monaltrie, by Tullich.

Ballater House, 1 November 1808.

Without doubt the substantial grassum¹⁵⁷ payable for the solum of a permanent building, together with an annual feu duty in perpetuum in respect of the curtilage, would have been an attractive source of immediate income to landowners. Recognised as astute businessmen, the Farquharsons of Monaltrie, impoverished as they were by forfeiture of their estate after 1746, would be unlikely to let an economic opportunity pass.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Lockhart, 1978, 95.

¹⁵⁶ The *Aberdeen Journal* (established 1747) has a continuous history and exists today as the *Press and Journal*, the main daily newspaper for the North of Scotland. The *Journal* is therefore a valuable historical source.

¹⁵⁷ Grassum: where there is a continuing rent, a capital sum paid by the leasee to the lessor at the commencement of a contract of lease (Gloag and Henderson, 1987, 489), or, a sum paid by a tenant or feuar at the grant or renewal of a lease or feu-right (Robinson, 1985, 245).

¹⁵⁸ Meller, 1990, 5: "Sir Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) popularly known as the "Father of Town Planning", was born in Ballater on 2nd October 1854. The youngest son of a one-time sergeant-major in The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment), Geddes only spent a short period in Ballater before he family moved to Perth. Throughout his life Geddes was ready to claim that he was descended from peasant stock. He made frequent recourse to himself as sturdy independent Highlander and Scotsman. A biologist by training, Geddes favoured a holistic approach to place, work and folk and drew attention to the interconnectedness of all aspects of life".

4. 11 Freemasonry within the United Parish of Glenmuick

Though scarcely alluded to by commentators, the United Parish of Glenmuick Tullich and Glengairn fostered an undercurrent of Freemasonry which, it will be argued in Chapter 5, had an influence on the religious pattern of the landscape ostensibly from the late-eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth. The Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, St. Nathalan No.259, observes Burgess, received its Charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland on 9th May 1815.¹⁵⁹ It is reasonable to assume that the enduring influence of this charitable, but none-the-less political, organisation that still commands media attention today,¹⁶⁰ had been an influence within the Parish from a much earlier period. In tandem with Scottish Presbyterianism, Scottish Freemasonry was exportable to the new colonies.¹⁶¹ "At the heart of Caledonianism and mixed with the heritage of Presbyterianism is a strong influence of Freemasonry", notes the Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, website. With the exodus of Scots came the spread of Freemasonry; "a system of morality veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols". The first working of the Mark Degree in Victoria occurred in a Scottish Craft Lodge at Geelong on 8th September 1858, when sixteen candidates received the degree under a provisional warrant of the Grand Chapter of Scotland. Planned villages in the Scottish Highlands, it has been claimed, were designed as reception centres for skilled tradesmen, the grist of emergent Freemasonic lodges. Tradesmen, akin to the Gall family of Ballater carpenters introduced in Chapter 5, were the preferred class of immigrant to the colonies.

4. 12 Population movement within the United Parish - Migration

In common with population movement throughout the Highlands, a number of push and pull factors appear to have been a catalyst for the gradual clearing of upper Deeside glens. Settlers at Wester-Morven in upper Glen Gairn, several of whom had already been decanted from the Mar Estate some year before, found ready tenure, argue Watson *et al*, on the Marquis of Huntly's extensive estates around Aboyne. Huntly, as noted above, was equally receptive of those families removed in the Glen Tanar clearances of 1855-8.¹⁶² In these movements, however contrived, there appears to have been no outspoken animosity towards the Farquharson landholders who today are held in respect as land superiors in the United Parish of Glenmuick Tullich and Glengairn. Indeed, small tenants and landless labourers in the upper Deeside glens had long become accustomed to movement, regularly travelling over the mounths to seek seasonal employment in the Lowlands. Comparison of successive nineteenth century decennial census returns

¹⁵⁹ NS4, 1842, 784.

¹⁶⁰ *Metro*, August 6, 2003, 2: "Ulster police could soon have to reveal their links with groups such as Freemasons, the Catholic Knights of Columbus and the Protestant Orange Order. The move was among 175 reforms recommended yesterday by former Hong Kong governor Chris Patten to "depoliticise" the Northern Ireland Police Service".

¹⁶¹ *Glasgow Herald*, December 17, 2004: "In the 1890s Scottish missionaries arrived in Kenya and established the meeting houses and mission stations that would grow into the Presbyterian Church of East Africa. The churches were adorned with the symbols of its founders - the Scottish Saltire, engravings of scientific instruments and chequer-board floors. Now carvings or pictures of handshakes, compasses and chequered floors are all earmarked for destruction. It is part of the drive to sweep Masonic imagery from churches in Kenya after a commission ruled that early Scots missionaries probably were "devil worshippers".

¹⁶² Watson and Allen, 1990, 37.

suggest that missing husbands and family members may have been absent on seasonal work in the Lowlands. Within the Aberdeen-shire parish of Tarland at the end of the eighteenth century:

Another great inconvenience they have to struggle with in summer, is the difficulty of getting servants, which is owing to the following practice that has prevailed for some years back: a great number of able-bodied winter servants engage to go out of the country in summer, for building dykes and enclosures to those gentlemen who are carrying on improvements in the south country, and by these means they make double, sometimes triple, the wages in the summer half year that they could get or expect by engaging with a farmer at home.¹⁶³

Moreover, according to Harper, with the economic improvement of arable land and the introduction of bi-annual feeing markets with short-term labour contracts between new large-farm tenants and dispossessed former small tenants reduced to labourers, movement over the landscape increasingly became an accepted fact of life for many rural families.¹⁶⁴ Initially, movement to planned villages was the landholders' solution to the problem of retaining a workforce to run estates efficiently. Crofting in the North and West Highlands soon followed for a similar reason. The decennial census of 1851, the first to record place of birth, is a useful indicator of population movement to Ballater village by the middle of the nineteenth-century. A table of this movement has been reproduced as Appendix "D".

4. 12. 1 Emigration from the United Parish of Glenmuick

Australia, North America and Canada were popular destinations for Upper Deeside emigrant families. The Antipodes, claims Blundell was a region favoured by Glengairn Roman Catholics eased off Invercauld land in the first half of the nineteenth century:¹⁶⁵

How great the tide of emigration from this glen has been, is seen from the fact that at a recent meeting in Australia, one of the company, seeing such a number of Gairnside folk on their way to the meeting, asked in sport: "Why, lads, where is it that we are going, is it to *Feille Macha*?" For many, many generations *Feille Macha* has been celebrated round St. Mungo's cemetery at Foot of Gairn and it is to be hoped that it may yet be celebrated for many generations in distant lands whose sons and daughters may remember with pleasure the Glengairn from which they are sprang.¹⁶⁶

In 1808, argues Roberts, Father Lachlan McIntosh, concerned about the insecurity of his tenure at Clashinruach, Glen Gairn, wrote to Bishop Cameron, Edinburgh: "Catholics meet with no favour at all at the minister's hands."¹⁶⁷ All wish to emigrate. The minister is particularly inimical to me. When I made him be spoken to concerning house, chapel and garden he said the whole thing must go to tack".¹⁶⁸

Most upper Deeside landward families, irrespective of religious denomination, were small farmers and farm servants inured to the cultivation of land and the handling of sheep in a relatively small way.

¹⁶³ OSA, XIV, 720.

¹⁶⁴ Harper, 1985, 36.

¹⁶⁵ Blundell, 1909, 87.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 86.

¹⁶⁷ Rev. Charles McHardy, Established Church Parish minister of Crathie and Invercauld Estate Factor.

¹⁶⁸ Roberts, 1987, 95.

Overseas, the scale of these commodities was writ larger, but occasioned no difficulty for the emigrants. Shepherds, however, claims Reddrop, were disparaged by Australian cattlemen. upper Deeside emigrants of mixed denominations also favoured Canada. Some time between 1837 and 1841, Alexander MacGregor (or Grierson),¹⁶⁹ last of the prominent Catholic landholding family at both Clashinruach and Dalfad in Glen Gairn, and closely associated with the Roman Catholic Mission there, emigrated to Tilbury, East Kent County, Ontario, Canada.¹⁷⁰ Largely devoid of its former numerous Roman Catholic population, previously spread across the Glen Gairn landscape, the Clashinruach chapel building was allowed to decay and a new Chapel with associated accommodation created in 1868 lower down the Gairn at Candacraig.¹⁷¹ Today, argue Watson *et al* deliberately cleared glens are empty, but so are glens where no clearances took place.¹⁷² The impetus to emigrate abroad from upper Deeside in the mid-nineteenth century, part of a nationwide phenomenon that spread across Europe, was not confined to landless farming people. Developing countries overseas were keen to attract an experienced workforce in a variety of trades. Throughout the nineteenth century, the *Aberdeen Journal* weekly newspaper and other organs of the Press carried advertisements (Fig 4.6) enticing skilled tradesmen and female servants to emigrate and reproduced personal letters in fulsome terms from past emigrants to their families at home (Appendix "F"):

Fig. 4. 6

Aberdeen Journal, February 23, 1876.

FREE EMIGRATION TO QUEENSLAND
Free passages are Granted by the GOVERNMENT
OF QUEENSLAND as under -
To General Servants; Cooks; Housemaids;
Nurses; Dairymaids; etc.,
Assisted Passages on payment of £4 to -
Artisans (all kinds); Blacksmiths; Carpenters
and Joiners; Butchers; Bookbinders; Bakers;
Bricklayers; Cabinetmakers, Saddlers, etc.

Peripatetic emigration agents for the colonies, notes Harper, toured the Aberdeen-shire towns and villages, including Ballater, and at pre-advertised public meetings and by handbills, encouraged people to take advantage of the colonial government free and assisted passage schemes on offer.¹⁷³ Glen Muick emigrants, argues Harper, showed a particular enthusiasm for Australia. In a letter dated 6th January, 1849 to his sons in Canada, a Logie-Coldstone, Aberdeen-shire, resident stated:

There is a great number of people from Glen Muick just off to Australia, and among

¹⁶⁹ *The Scottish Genealogist*, 1983, 91: These MacGregors apparently took their surname Grierson after the proscription of Clan Gregor in 1603, and were a Roamn Catholic family living in Clashinruach in 1704, when they were shown in a "list of papists" as Griersons alias MacGregors of Glengairn. They obviously preserved their identity and restored their original surname in more favourable times.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 1962, 14: Alexander MacGregor and Margaret Coutts were married at Clashinruich, Glengairn, on 18th May 1834, by the Rev. Lachlan McIntosh. They had seven children, namely, James, born at Clashinruach, 18th March 1835; Anne, born at Clashinruach, 1st May, 1837; Alexander, born Tilbury East, Canada West, 1st September 1841, (plus four others all at Tilbury East, Canada).

¹⁷¹ Blundell, 1909, 86.

¹⁷² Watson and Allen, 1990, 31.

¹⁷³ Harper, 1988, 262.

the rest George Stewart and his family. He had not money, but Thomas Robertson and James Robertson had sent money to carry them out. And Government is taking the young folk passage free, but the old must pay their passage. Calum Ritchie's family is all but off but himself and his wife and they go with the first ship, but must pay their passage which is 2 pounds each.¹⁷⁴

Once settled abroad, the evidence is that homeland and family ties were not forgotten. Alexander Gall, a Ballater joiner, accompanied by his wife, Isabella,¹⁷⁵ both in late middle-age, and six of their seven adult offspring - two of whom were also joiners - sailed as assisted passengers from Plymouth aboard the ship *Tasmania* on 25th July 1851 arriving at Portland, Australia, on 23rd November 1851, after 122 days at sea (Plate 4.7).¹⁷⁶ Industrial unrest and the depression in tradesmen's wages at home,¹⁷⁷ coupled with the pull of attractive employment prospects overseas, was probably the deciding factor for this branch of the Gall family of Glen Muick.¹⁷⁸ Charles Gall of Dallyfour, Glenmuick, records Speirs, father of Alexander emigrated with his wife, Anne Coutts and family to Australia in 1852, and died at his residence, Ballater House, Adelaide, in 1877, aged 90 years. His oldest surviving son, John Gall, born at Dallyfour, Glen Muick in 1830, died at Ballater Cottage, Kingston, South Australia, in 1907. Not by coincidence it appears, these addresses lie in the Grampian Hills area of Victoria, a name that implies an upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire origin. All are recorded as having been baptised in the "centrical kirk" at Ballater village in the years before Disruption.¹⁷⁹

Andrew Gordon, a harness maker in Ballater, claims Harper, sailed for Canada on the *Berbice* in 1848, and first stayed with relatives who had come out on the same ship and who bought a farm near Ancaster. Gordon subsequently opened a harness-making store at Flora in Nichol.¹⁸⁰ Other categories found acceptance, for in August 1851, the Glenmuick Parochial Board agreed to advance £27 to a widow, a Mrs Forbes, towards the passage of herself, her family, and her new husband, Charles Paterson, to New Zealand. About the same period, Glenmuick Church records reveal that a Ballater shopkeeper absconded to Australia to avoid admitting paternity of a newborn child within the parish.¹⁸¹ Whilst passenger lists

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 285.

¹⁷⁵ Aberdeen Journal, July 6, 1882, records the death of Isabella Gall on 23rd April 1882, aged 89 years, at Coleraine, Victoria, Australia, a township located in the Grampian Hills. She had been born at Mill of Bellamore, Glen Tanar, on 19th October 1793.

¹⁷⁶ Victoria State Records: Mary Gall, aged 23 years, died on board on 26th August 1851, and was buried at sea. She was one of five deaths that occurred during the voyage. An older brother, Charles Gall, aged 28, was employed during the voyage as 4th constable at a wage of two pounds. Following disembarkation, both Charles and his sister Jane, aged 21, married fellow passengers in 1852 and raised large families in Australia. It is noteworthy that an emigrant schoolmaster was employed as such during the voyage. This information was supplied by Jeanine Greig, Archivist, Melbourne, Aus.

¹⁷⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, March 7, 1855: "We regret to learn that the joiners' strike still continues. The men have already lost by it more than they will make up for a couple of years, and the masters, we are informed, are as unlikely to accede to their demands as ever. We observe that 500 men are now out of employment, partly on account of this strike".

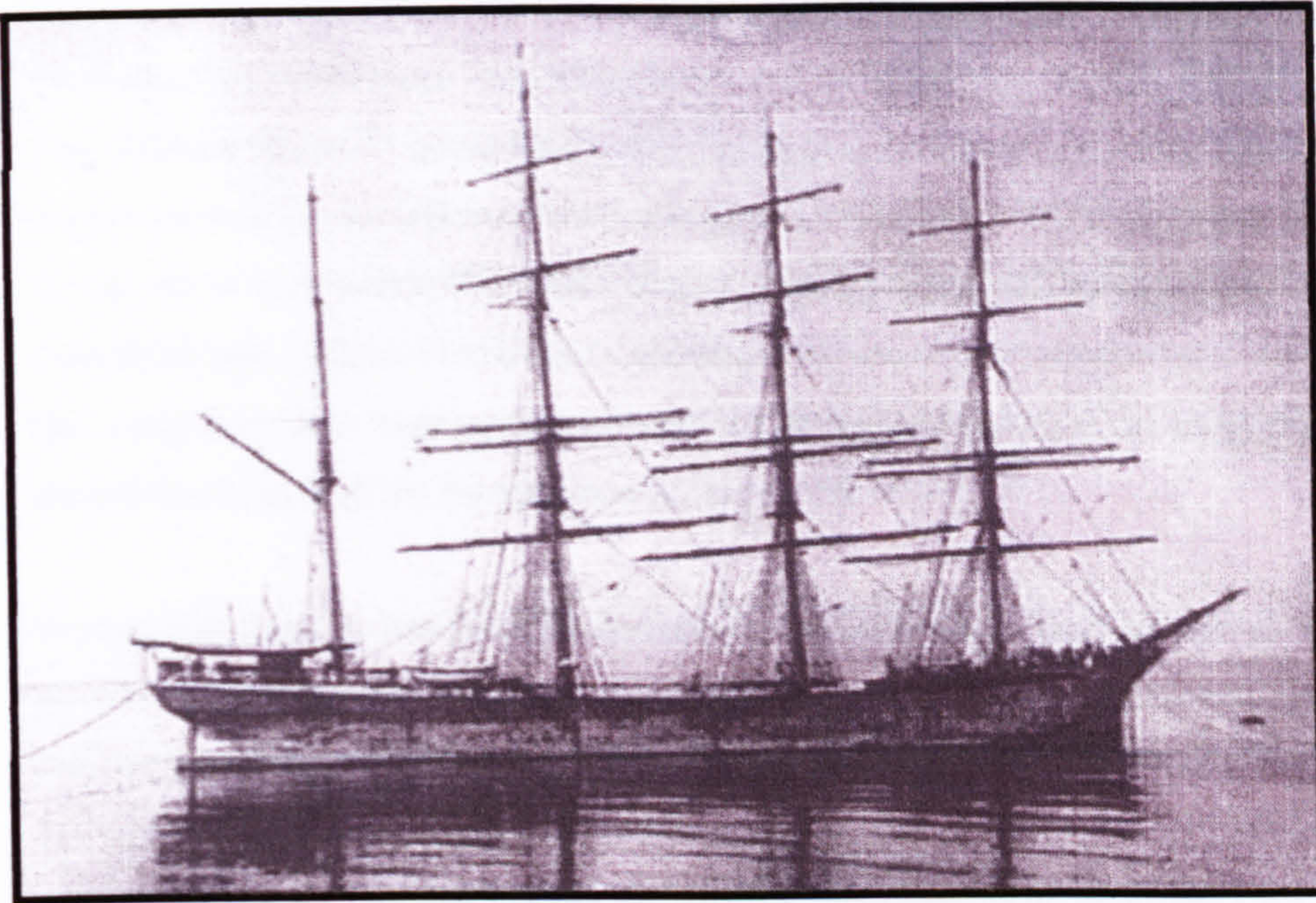
¹⁷⁸ Alexander Gall and family settled at Coleraine, Victoria, recently built on aborigine territory. His daughter, Charlotte Gall, married Edward John Payne who she met on the emigrant ship, *Tasmania*. Their son Edward John Payne, born 1854, died 1946 aged 92 years, is recorded on his gravestone (Lair 1165) to have been "The first white male child born in Coleraine". (Jeanine Greig, Archivist, Melbourne, Australia).

¹⁷⁹ Microfiche copy of the Old Parish Records - births and marriages - of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn from the late-seventeenth century in possession of the researcher.

¹⁸⁰ Harper, 1985, 219.

¹⁸¹ N.A.S., Glenmuick Baptisms and Marriages.

Plate 4. 8



Emigrant ship *Tasmania*, (Mortlock Library, South Australia, reproduction granted).

record death, disease and shipwreck as common, the long voyage to the Antipodes could be made with little discomfort. In 1861, Alexander McKenzie of Ballater sailed for Port Chalmers, Otago, New Zealand, aboard the clipper ship *Melbourne*. The voyage lasted 92 days and of the 200 passengers there was only one death aboard - a child in bad health when embarking.¹⁸²

The free passage offered to young folk probably enticed John Mitchell, Sluivannachie Farm, Ballater, to emigrate to Ballarat, Victoria, Australia, where, as the Beatties record, he died in 1860 aged 29 years.¹⁸³ Also to Ballarat went John Gordon of Auchoille, Glengairn, and born c.1820.¹⁸⁴ Both would perhaps have been enticed by the Ballarat "Gold Rush", at which place that metal was first discovered in 1851, and by 1853 had attracted 20,000 people of many nationalities working in the field.¹⁸⁵ Alexander Ritchie, son of the late Alexander Ritchie of Aucholzie, Glen Muick, died at Aucholzie, near Upper Keilor, Australia, on 7th June 1859.¹⁸⁶ The names of these three young men are also recorded in the Established Church of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn baptismal rolls.

In the new colonies, argues Harper (1985), there was freedom to cultivate cheap land and freedom of worship.¹⁸⁷ Various denominations vied to despatch missionaries to serve new emigrant communities.

¹⁸² Passenger list, clipper ship, *Melbourne* 1861. <http://www.shippinglists.museum.vic.gov.au/ship.asp?ID2>

¹⁸³ Beattie and Beattie, 1998, MI.42.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 1998, MI.60.

¹⁸⁵ Ballarat, Victoria, Australia, website - <http://www.ballarat.com/history.htm>

¹⁸⁶ *Aberdeen Journal*, 24 August, 1859.

¹⁸⁷ Harper. 2001, 209.

The Church of Scotland was established in South Australia in 1841 under the leadership of the Revd. Robert Haining. Formerly a minute community of settlers, the sole ecclesiastical presence in Ballarat at the time of the "Gold Rush" was a Presbyterian Kirk in the district of Buninyong, opened in 1847 by the Rev. Thomas Hastie.¹⁸⁸ Immediately after the Disruption of 1843, the Free Church of Scotland took the lead in carrying its mission to overseas emigrant communities. In 1865, argues Harper, the Rev. William Troup, son of local lower-Glen Gairn farmer, William Troup of *Dalbagie* (flooded haugh), both men associated with Ballater Free Church, arrived to fill the vacancy created at Chatham, Canada.¹⁸⁹ To that location in 1866 went a group of Logie-Coldstone, Aberdeen-shire emigrants¹⁹⁰ cleared from lands owned by a branch of the Farquharson of Invercauld family.¹⁹¹

Presbyterian worship was formally brought to Adelaide, Victoria, Australia, in 1839 when the first Scottish settlers brought with them their religious traditions and spirit of their homeland. Pennant's claim that upper Deeside menfolk were "idle and lazy, except employed in the chase or anything that looks like amusement; are content with their hard fare, and will not exert themselves farther than to get what they neccesaries",¹⁹² seems false. Clearly the application of hard work expended by these same men from the late-eighteenth century onwards in wresting arable land from hitherto unproductive shallow soil so as to create large 'improved' farms for tenant and landlord, ensured that the colonies were beneficiaries of an emigrant workforce possessed of sterling character. It is Garden's claim that in early-nineteenth century Australia:

Scottish Presbyterians were relatively few, but they had an importance beyond their numbers. The men brought ... often a devout and Calvinistic Christianity including a firm belief in the Protestant work ethic and its homage to capitalism. The combination made a powerful group who were to have a considerable impact on the course of Victoria's development.¹⁹³

According to MacMillan, by 1851, within the Free Church Synod of Eastern Australia, established in 1846, there were five Free Church ministers in Victoria, six in New South Wales, two in South Australia and two in Van Dieman's Land.¹⁹⁴

To sum up, the forbidding landscape and physical remoteness of the upper Deeside glens of Highland Aberdeen-shire had preserved indigenous pockets of the Old Faith relatively untouched by the sixteenth century Reformation in Scotland. From 1690 onwards, the former strong Episcopalian presence in the Reformed Church in west Aberdeen-shire, ceased to be a dominant movement within the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn and was quickly suppressed. The upper Deeside landscape, with

¹⁸⁸ Ballarat, Victoria, Australia website - <http://www.ballarat.com/history.htm>

¹⁸⁹ Harper, 2000, 211.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 1987, 37.

¹⁹¹ Farquharson of Inverey who sold the lands of Monaltrie (Crathie) to his kinsman, Francis Farquharson, in 1740 to enable him to purchase the Logie-Coldstone estate.

¹⁹² Pennant, 1769, 117.

¹⁹³ Garden, 1984, 52.

¹⁹⁴ MacMillan, 1967.

its often rigorous climate, discouraged the settlement of a late-eighteenth century non-conformist missionary outreach from the Lowlands in its several forms. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the enlightened economic interest of landowners was instrumental in removing, over a relatively short period of time, whole congregations from a landscape - most notably Roman Catholic congregations - closely bound to an indigenous peasant culture. The evidence is that wherever Highland emigrants of whatever denomination settled in new spaces, the Church of Christ, Roman Catholic or Reformed, followed quickly to fill the spiritual vacuum.

Chapter 5

United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn: the ecclesiastical context

5.1 The Annals of Glenmuick Parish

The public face of the upper Deeside ecclesiastical structure over space and time seems to have followed the general historical pattern of religious observation in Scotland as a whole. From 1690 onwards, it is perhaps accurate to state that, until 1843, Christian witness within the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn was limited to three denominations; the Established Church of Scotland, the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and the Church of Rome. The latter two denominations, from 1560 and 1690 respectively, were obliged to maintain a semi-troglodyte existence nationally until toleration was achieved by stages from the last decade of the eighteenth century.¹ From 1843 until 1900 the secessionist Free Church of Scotland (FCS), with a strong presence nationally, also served the upper Deeside area. In the latter year, amalgamation with the United Presbyterian Church (UPC) produced the United Free Church (UFC) that served the Ballater community until 1936 when its congregation belatedly returned to the Established Church of Scotland (Appendix "A").² Where deviance from the national pattern may be observed, it must be that non-conformist churches had no presence in the glens of upper Deeside.³

It is generally acknowledged that until perhaps the mid-twentieth century the Christian church maintained a major role in the fabric of Western society. Three key elements in the Church's remarkable endurance can perhaps be identified; space, time and will.⁴ Under the direction and vigorous missionary strategy of the papacy, Christianity had, by the tenth century CE established itself virtually unchallenged throughout Europe. From the medieval period, argues Cowan, the evolving Church administrative structure settled upon the parish, a clearly defined unit of territory on the landscape, as the prime unit of both ecclesiastical and civil administration in Scotland, as indeed it was throughout Western Christendom.⁵ Apart from its

¹ A partial relief from the harsh penal laws had taken place in 1791. Up until then Catholics were not allowed to purchase or inherit landed property. With the passing of the Emancipation Act of 1828, Catholics were able to take part in the social, political and economic life of the country.

² Cameron, 1993, 838: "The Union between the United Free Church (UFC) and the Established Church of Scotland took place in October, 1929. When the Basis and Plan of Union was submitted by the UF Assembly to the whole Church, 1,298 congregations approved and 101 dissented. In the uniting UF Assembly of May 1929 only 39 voted against the Union". As the case of Ballater UFC shows, the re-union was laggard in some instances.

³ Until the last decade of the twentieth century, the former political constituency Of West Aberdeen-shire was a safe bastion of the Conservative and Unionist Party in Scotland. The people's resistance to change has been noted in the OSA.

⁴ Chapter 1 of this thesis introduced the relationship of space and time as an essential element in human geography. Both concepts, space and time, are of utility in other disciplines. The English Law of Tort and the Scots Law of Delict, claiming reparation for injury caused in money or in money's worth, are both founded upon "causation" and "proximity" in time and in space. For an introduction to this legal concept, see Katz, L., *Bad Acts and Guilty Minds*, Chicago, 1987, 240-251.

⁵ Cowan, 1967, 2: It should be noted, however, that following the Reformation, the Roman Church in the Highlands of Scotland maintained a mission structure in place of its former parish structure that was absorbed by the Reformers. The present RC parish structure was introduced in the later-nineteenth century.

founding missionary charge ⁶ and continuing spiritual leadership, eventually on a global scale, the Church maintained its traditional secular role as the provider of public charity, education, and moral discipline, duties that will be discussed later in this chapter. People were tied to a parish and dependent upon its priest, minister or elder, for advice and assistance in their daily affairs. In theory it was essentially a two-way process, each having access to the other. Excommunication, the ultimate sanction for contumacy was a real threat to social acceptance and employment within the parish.⁷ During the course of the nineteenth century, central government assumed greater responsibility for public welfare, a significant sector of which for centuries had been managed at communal and parochial level by the Church. Two of these former church responsibilities, education and poor relief will be discussed later in this chapter.

According to Simpson, until around the eighth century CE, the Garioch (Lowland) ⁸ and upper Deeside (Highland) districts of Aberdeen-shire formed the cradle of a pagan Pictish civilisation. Pictish symbol-stones and stone circles, argues Simpson, are "more numerous there than in any other county and seem to have originated there".⁹ The exact nature of pre-eighth century Pictish religious practice and its attendant rituals are today, however, open only to speculation. Whilst uncertain of date, the earliest hard evidence of Christianity in Deeside, suggests Wyness, is also to be found on sculptured stones.¹⁰ These, Wyness argues, are conventionally classified into three main groups - group one dating from before 800 CE; group two dating from 800 to 1000 CE; and group three which dates from 1000 CE. to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹¹ It is noticeable that monoliths in groups two and three bear Celtic crosses in addition to symbols, although it cannot be ignored that the Christian cross may have been a much later imposition upon a pre-existing pagan-carved stone. It is a compelling thought that the erection of monoliths, albeit simply to mark out boundaries if for no other purpose,¹² forms an early attempt by people and their cultural beliefs, with a stubborn will, to master and ultimately control over time the inhospitable and barely cultivated landscape of upper Deeside.

At Tullich, long the centre of religious life within its upper Deeside location until the end of the eighteenth century, a collection of early sculptured stones has been in-gathered from the ruinous medieval church building and surrounding burial ground. The earliest of these stones, notes Wyness, dates from the Celtic

⁶ Matthew, 28 v.19: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. (v.20) Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen".

⁷ Excommunication is the ultimate sanction within the Christian Church irrespective of denomination. The eighth step in Ecclesiastical Discipline made explicit in the Reformers' 1560 Book of Discipline stated, "But if no man signifie his repentance, then ought he to be excommunicated, and by the mouth of the Minister, and consent of the Ministry and commandment of the Kirk must such a contemner be pronounced excommunicate from God, and from all society of the Kirk. After which sentence may no person (his wife and family only excepted) have any kind of conversation with him, be it in eating or drinking, buying and selling, etc. etc." (Cameron, 1960, 170).

⁸ Garioch, both place-name and surname, is pronounced "Girrie" in the phonetics of Aberdeen-shire Doric.

⁹ Simpson, 1947, 3.

¹⁰ Simpson, 1935, 20.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹² Some commentators speculate that sculpted stones in pre-historical ages served as "books for the illiterate" in the

era - before 800 CE.¹³ No conclusion can be reached from these stones on the date of Christian conversion within the Tullich community. It is, nonetheless, a reasonable proposition that the stones may have been transported from other locations within the North-East at a very early period. At all events, the hard evidence from the group two carved monoliths found within Tullich burial ground, displaying both the pagan and Christian symbolism that Wyness purports forms the link between prehistory and recorded history,¹⁴ is suggestive that Christianity endured a long gestation period before its eventual acceptance by upper Deeside people as both a workable and enduring faith and moral code. Above all, the stones suggest that the most remarkable feature of Deeside's religious life is continuity of site. Indeed, many of Deeside's hallowed spaces, several still in use, have witnessed over two thousand years of religious change, yet, adds Wyness, "the fundamental act of worship has endured".¹⁵ In Wyness's observation, as suggested above, can be seen the interaction of space, time and will to survive in a challenging landscape firmly rooted in the certain knowledge of a divine oversight.

Successive generations of people in upper Deeside doubtless conformed to social change over time and over space, but the evidence seems to confirm that the essential dialectic of landscape, people and belief, even if today diminished in an age of secularism, has remained relatively inviolate. From the outset, the geography of the landscape in upper Deeside, as noted in Chapter 4, had determined the settlement of prehistoric peoples on fertile soil close to fordable rivers and streams, in particular at points where patterns of land communications had become firmly established. Tullich, for example, is located near the confluence of the Tullich Burn with the River Dee at a point where two important overland routes meet. The east-west road from the distant Aberdeen-shire coastline to the Braes of Mar is crossed near Tullich by two well-worn tracks leading to and from the Angus glens. First is the north-south track from Glen Doll across the high Capel Mounth Pass to Glenmuick (Fig. 5.1) and thence to Tullich and nearby Tomnakeist, and second, by the track across the shoulder of Mount Keen from Tarfside to Glen Tanar, (Fig. 5.2). From these high approach routes, the track leads across the eastern shoulder of Culblean to Donside and the north.

Over these long established lines of communication must have passed the prevalent beliefs and practical skills of the known world. With shrewd perception of terrain, Nathalan¹⁶ had maximised his potential for Christian mission at an important centre-point of the upper Deeside landscape. It cannot, however, be discounted that Nathalan's cell was established on an existing site of pagan worship chosen for similar topographical reasons. Nathalan, it may be supposed, had settled in a landscape where an older form of religious practice was comparatively widespread and intense. In course of time, the Church of Rome, first brought to Anglo-Saxon England by Augustine in 597CE at the instance of Pope Gregory the Great, was

manner that medieval art works served, and continue to serve, congregations within the Church of Rome.

¹³ Wyness, 1968, 87.

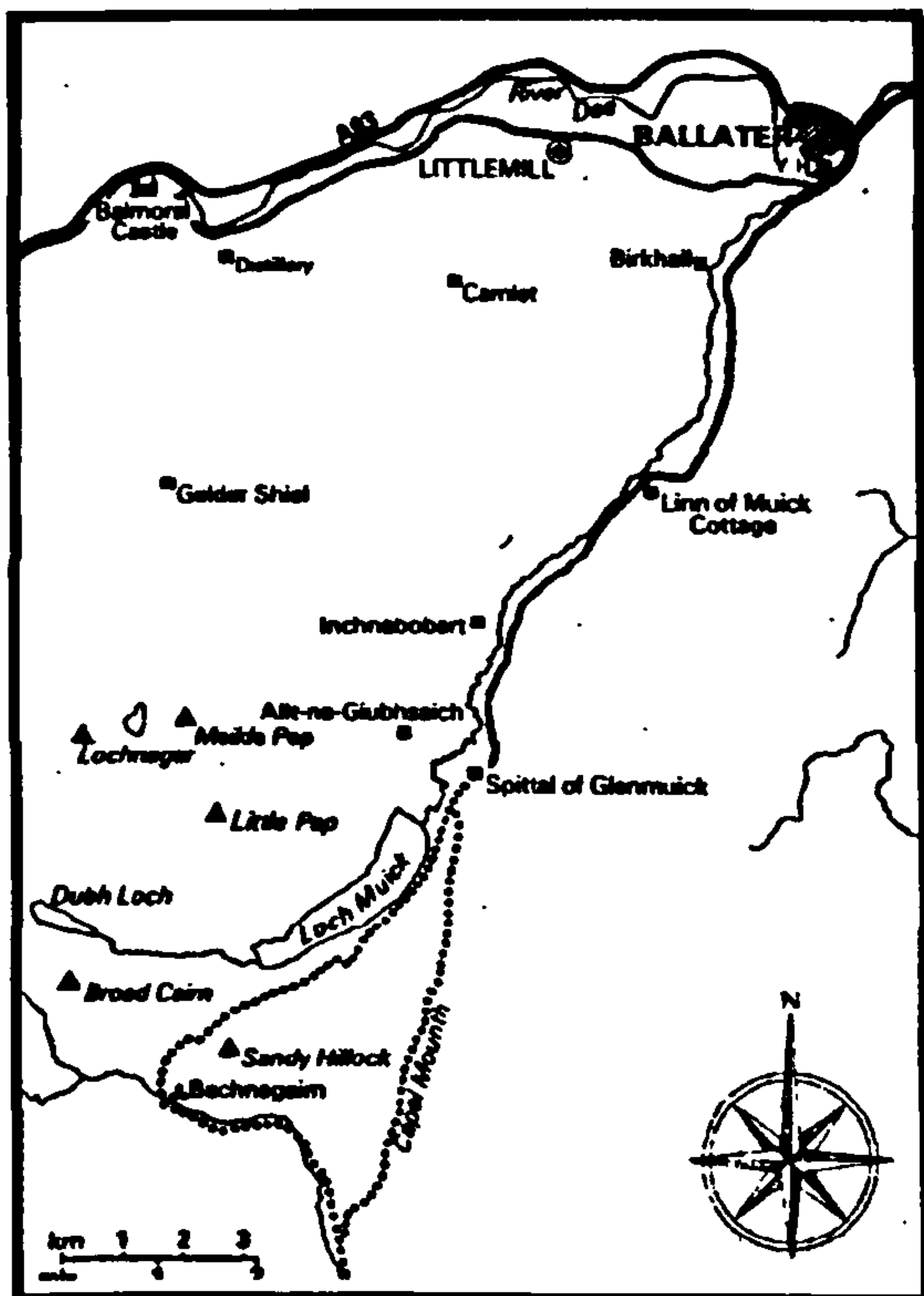
¹⁴ *Ibid*, 14.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 54.

¹⁶ Nathalan, otherwise Nauchlan or Nathalak, mentioned in the Irish Annals, as having died on 8th January 678 CE.

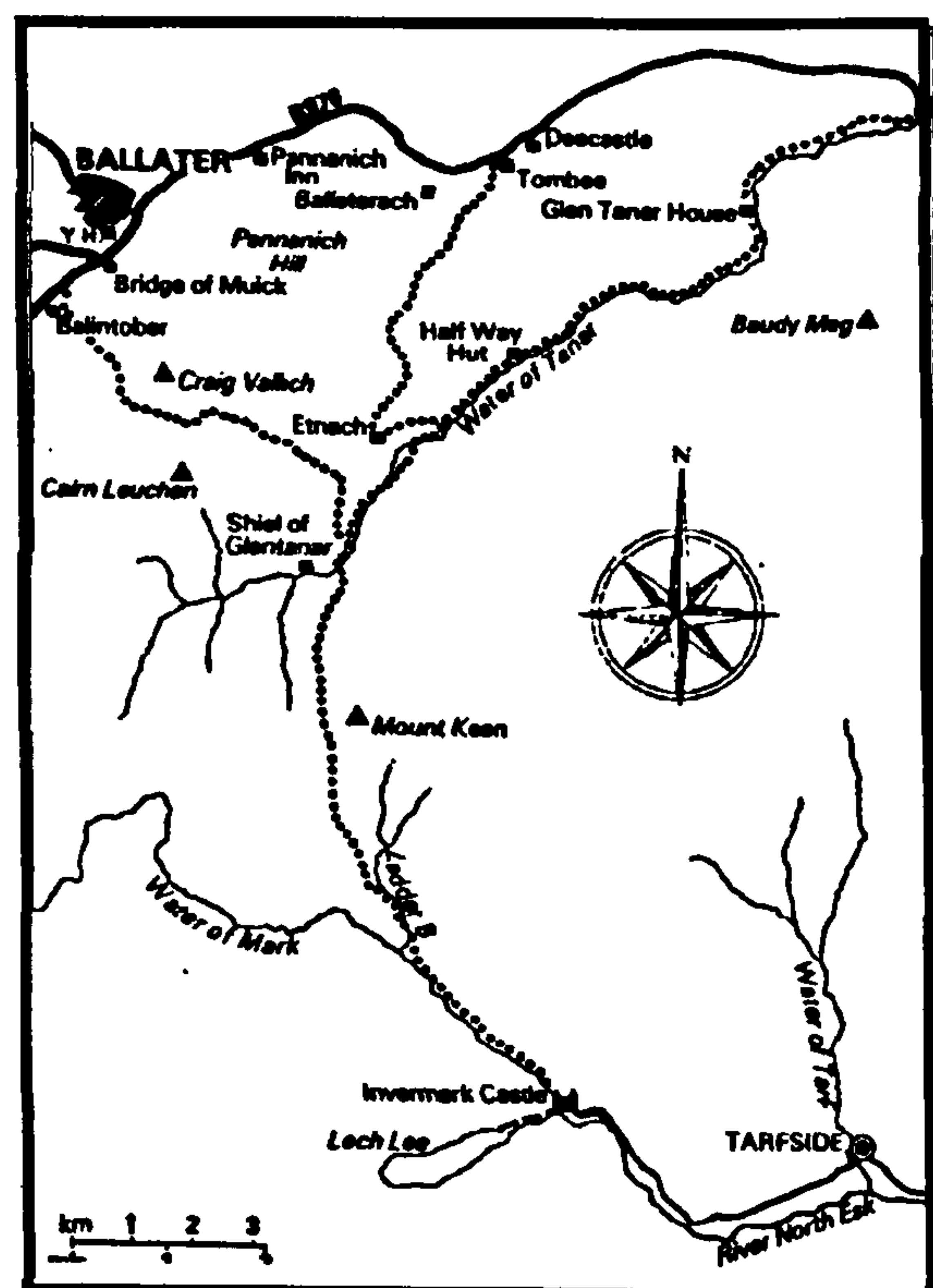
to usurp the old Pictish Christian site of Nathalan at Tullich on the extension of its authority into upper Deeside. Nevertheless, as Lochhead claims, the spirit and doctrine of an older Christianity endured, "especially in the home and cradle of Episcopacy, the North-East".¹⁷ Clearly the will of the early Christian missionaries and their disciples to claim the souls of people on the upper Deeside landscape could not be diminished by later ecclesiastical strife, both internal and from without.

Fig. 5.1



The Capel Mounth.
Loch Muick to Clova.
(*Grampian Ways*,
R. Smith, 2002, 88).

Fig. 5.2



Mount Keen
by Glen Tanar
to Loch Lee
(*Grampian Ways*,
R. Smith, 2002, 78).

5.2 Celtic Christianity in Glenmuick Parish

As emphasised by Simpson, any rational attempt to understand the evangelisation of Scotland must take into account the permanent geographical condition of the country and its political arrangements.¹⁸ Irrespective of the forbidding mountainous Grampian landscape to the west, the low-set eastern Caledonia occupied by the Britons, observed Cornelius Tacitus, first century CE minor Roman historian, was still a landscape covered by marshes and woods.¹⁹ These natural obstacles, claims Tacitus, had defied the Roman pursuit of Calgacus' army following the battle of Mons Graupius in 84 or 85 CE.²⁰ Inhospitable

¹⁷ Lochhead, 1966, 19.

¹⁸ Simpson, 1935, 16.

¹⁹ Handsford, 1970, 77.

²⁰ Mons Graupius. Agricola defeated Caledonians at an unknown site between Strathmore and the Moray coast. Two possible

landscape and an aggressive Caledonian people, still a tribal conglomerate intolerant of intruders,²¹ ensured that the Roman incursion into North Britain was, as Keppie claims, "a mere interlude (or even a hiccup) in the Scottish Iron Age".²² The vagaries of landscape and aggressive tribes apart, it is perhaps speculative that legionaries and mercenaries might have brought from Continental Europe, in a minor way, the gospel message to the Caledonian Picts (Fig. 3.2). What seems clear is that the Celtic form of Christianity introduced to upper Deeside by the sixth century CE was both conventional and peripatetic in its fulfilment of the gospel mandate on mission. It is also assumed from enduring legend that the first missionaries were people skilled in arts and crafts as well as knowledgeable in the affairs of agriculture and medicine, and therefore of service to a settled community.

To convert an indigenous pagan people, as suggested in Chapter 4, pre-existing centres of population north of the Mounth access tracks would necessarily dictate the location of Christian missionary cells in upper Deeside. Especially favourable to the missionary traveller would have been the relatively safe and snow-free Elsieck Mounth track (Fig. 5.3) between Dunottar and Durris.²³ That route, according to both Simpson,²⁴ and Wyness,²⁵ had been in constant use by Roman occupation forces stationed at Raedykes Camp near Stonehaven to service Normandykes Camp on lower Deeside and similar Roman outposts leading north to the Moray Firth (Fig. 3.2). Nevertheless, the more difficult high mounth passes to the west, notably the Capel Mounth pass between Glen Clova and Loch Muick (Fig. 5.1), and the Loch Lee to Glen Tanar route across Mount Keen (Fig. 5.2), had been travelled for thousands of years before the brief first century CE Roman incursion into North Britain. These high passes, seemingly ignored by the legionaries, would have been accessible in favourable weather to a range of missionaries known and unknown.

At this founding period of Christian witness, suggests Clancy, the early medieval Church, was an institution struggling to find itself. It had as yet no public face of a universal church.²⁶ Following the departure of the Roman legionaries from North-Britain in 407CE, two strands of subsequent Christian mission were discernible - an eremitic-monastic presence found in the rural countryside paralleled an urban diocesan episcopate that was characteristic of the spread of the Roman strain in the Church within the declining Roman Empire. The evidence suggests that the former prevailed in upper Deeside, perhaps located in a simple daub and wattle structure erected at or near an established pagan community.

sites have been identified, the most likely at Bennachie, the other near Huntly (Donaldson *et al*, 1977, 153).

²¹ Simpson, 1935, 18: "Dubthaloire, King of the Picts, was slain beyond the Mounth"; i.e. like not a few of his successors, - he perished in an expedition into Mar or Moray - the latter province being, as it is well known, a hotbed of centrifugal activity throughout the formative period of Scottish history.

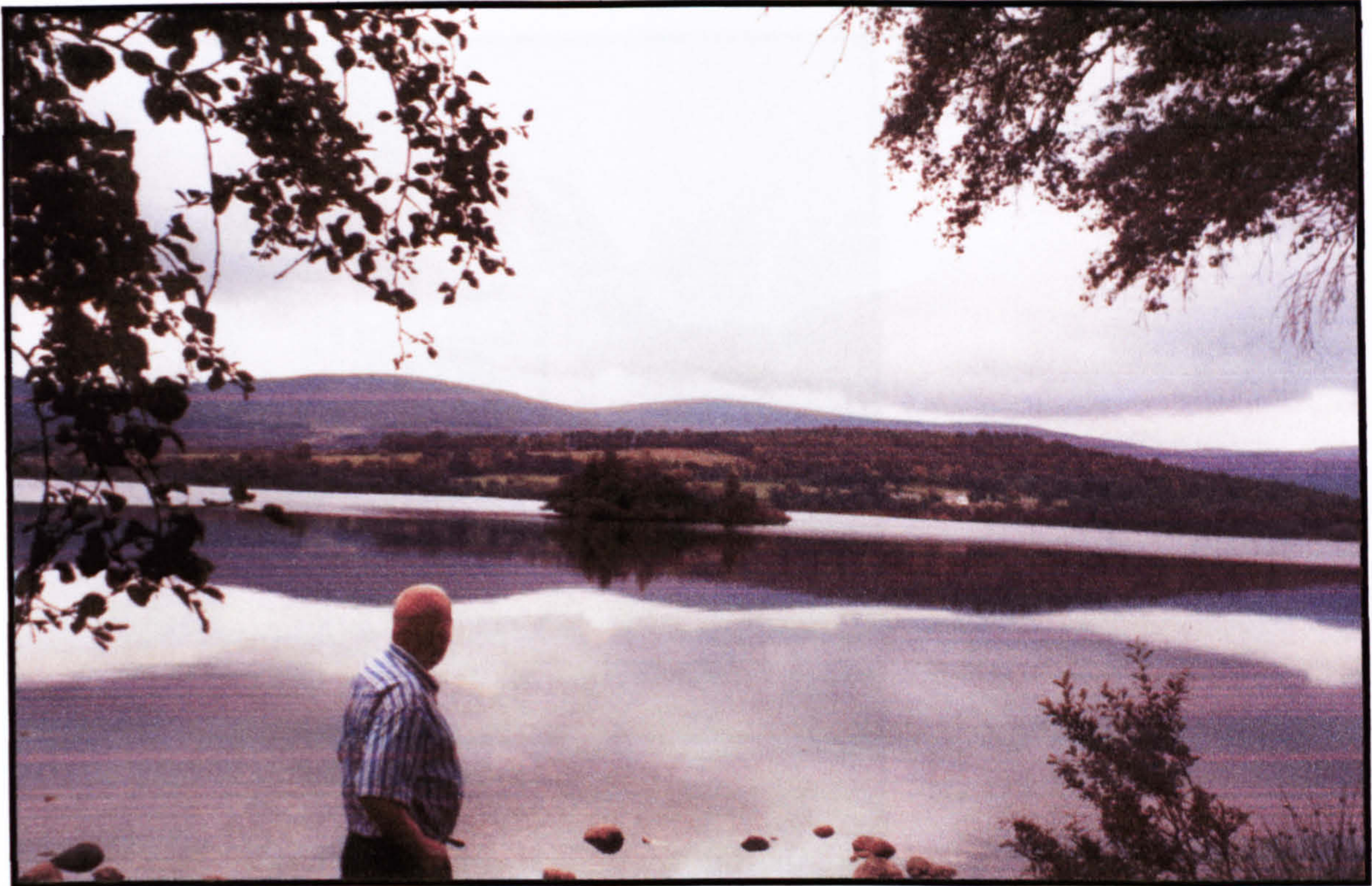
²² Keppie, 1990, 5.

²³ The Elsieck Mounth path roughly follows the modern A957 motor road between Stonehaven and Durris, popularly referred to as "The Slug".

²⁴ Simpson, 1935, 16.

²⁵ Wyness, 1968, 16.

Plate 5. 1



Crannog "island", Loch Kinord, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. (photo - JED)

Upper Deeside retains ample fossil evidence on the landscape of early Pictish occupation. It was to these pagan settlers that the early Christian missionaries addressed the gospel story. The crannog remains (Plate 5.1) at Loch Kinord (Fig.5.1) cited by Simpson, until 1881 a populous landscape area set within the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, appears to have been early constructed with great ingenuity and durability, able to withstand the ravages of two thousand years.²⁷ On the barren Kinord loch-side at "Claggans", notes Wyness, rests an elaborate Pictish cross in slab-stone, richly decorated with interlacing, dating from the ninth century CE (Plate 5.2), material testimony to a cultivated society and to an earlier spiritual presence in the Kinord area.

Further west, Tullich, with its long-vanished Iron Age round-house structures, is marked below ground level by a still extant granite-block souterrain to the east of the burial-ground circular wall (Plate 5.3).²⁸ Again, such material evidence testifies to a long pre-Christian site occupation by settled peoples. Field site inspection reveals that at a later age, the west and south arcs of the medieval circular burial ground wall at Tullich Church and burial ground have been built upon a substantial stony bank with a maximum height c.1.0m. Outside this bank are traces of a slight ditch that can be intermittently followed around

²⁶ Clancy, 1996, lecture notes, University of Glasgow.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

Plate 5. 2



Pictish cross slab-stone, richly decorated with interlacing dating from the ninth century. North shore, Loch Kinord, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. (photo-JRS).

the periphery. Opinion upon this phenomenon has ranged from a burial site protective dyke, the base of an early fortification, or, more apposite, the remains of a Druid religious circle.²⁹ The existing ruined medieval church building, notes Mackinlay, probably dates from the fifteenth century³⁰ and, much altered following the Reformation, served the Protestant Kirk as the "mother church" of the United Parish until 1800.

²⁸ OS Sheet 44, 1:50 000 Landranger Series, 395973.

²⁹ Canmore website: <http://www.archaeoptics.co.uk/products/ecms/canmore/32454.html>

³⁰ Mackinlay, 1914, 221.

Plate 5.3



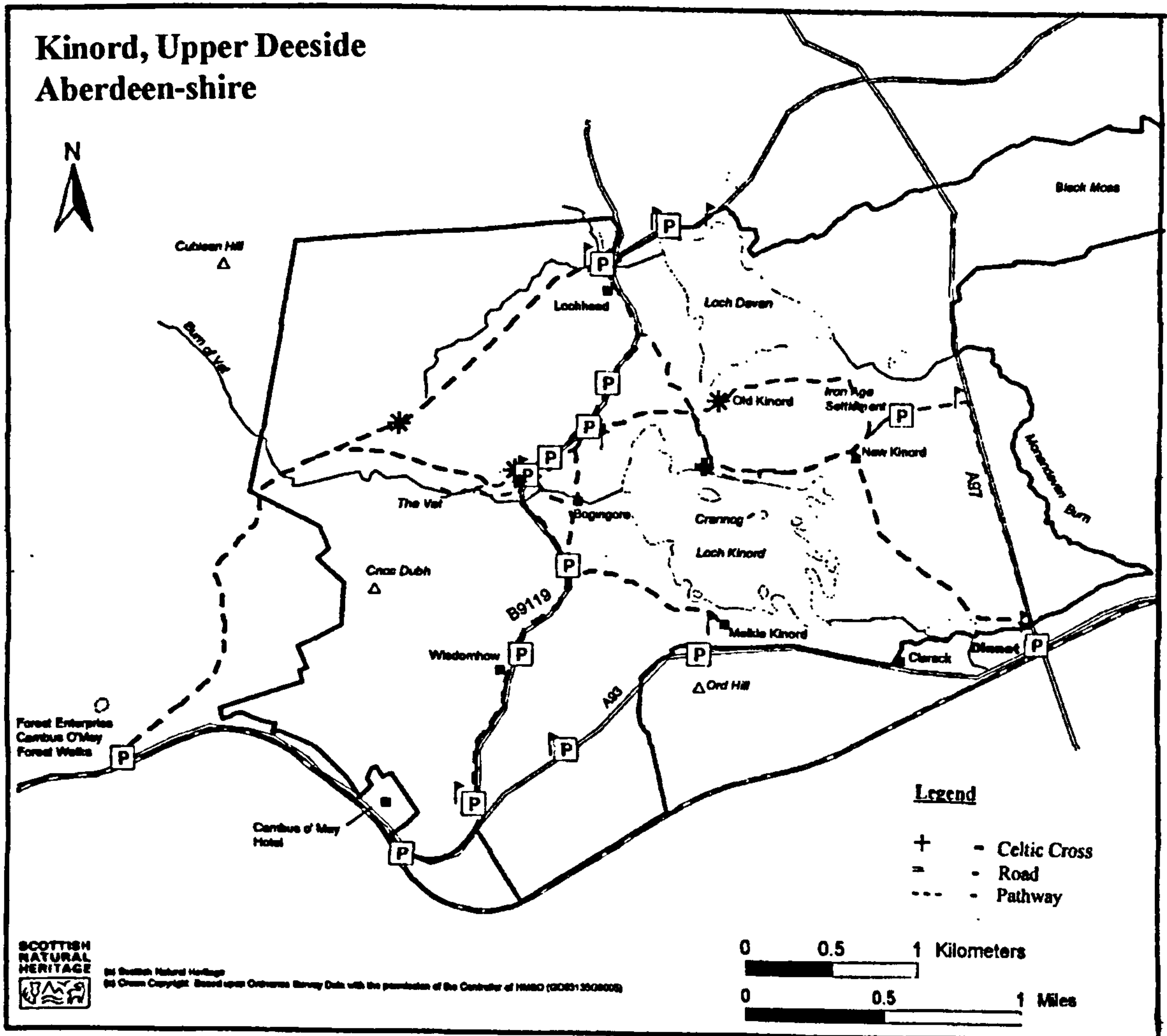
Medieval Tullich Church, vacated 1800, and burial ground, with circular boundary wall, upper-Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. (photo - JRS)

Recorded history, however biased, and enduring legend, provides some perspective on mission across the landscape of the Eastern Highlands. Christianity, argues Wyness, came to the Dee valley in waves from three sources. The first, early in the fifth century CE from St. Ninian's monastery at Whithorn in Wigtown-shire; the second, a century later from St. Moluag's establishment at Bangor in Ulster; and the third, sometime in the seventh century, from St. Kentigern's foundation in Glasgow.³¹ The first apostle, or "holy hermit" to bring the gospel to Deeside, suggests Wyness, was St. Ternan, born of noble Celtic stock in the vicinity of lowland Banchory, and later to become a pupil of St. Ninian at Whithorn before travelling to Rome. Ternan's monastic foundation in the Dee valley is commemorated today in the Aberdeen-shire place-name, Banchory-Ternan. The aim of mission was to implant the gospel message of Christ's death upon the Cross throughout the landscape spaces occupied by a pagan people whose artefacts reveal, notes Simpson, that they were not uncivilised, but possessed an advanced indigenous culture with a strong European influence.³²

³¹ Wyness, 1968, 20.

³² Simpson, 1935, 38.

Fig. 5.3



Map of Kinord and Muir of Dinnet, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire.
Scottish National Heritage, reproduction granted).

According to Simpson, it was in the third phase of Christian mission to Deeside that St. Kentigern (also known as *Mungo* - "dearest one"), who had founded his monastery at Cathures or Glasgow in 567 CE,³³ travelled north across Cairn o' Mounth³⁴ with his disciples, Finan and Nidan, to Southern Pictland. Here they established a church, *Cill-ma-Tatha* - Mungo's Chapel - in upper Deeside near the junction of the Rivers Gairn and Dee (Figure 5.3).³⁵ Kentigern was for many years commemorated at Glen Gairn by "St, Mungo's Fair", referred to in Chapter 4 as *Feille Macha*, held annually on the 24th January,³⁶ in the hollow

³³ Legend locates Mungo's Glasgow foundation near a tributary of the River Clyde near Glasgow Green.

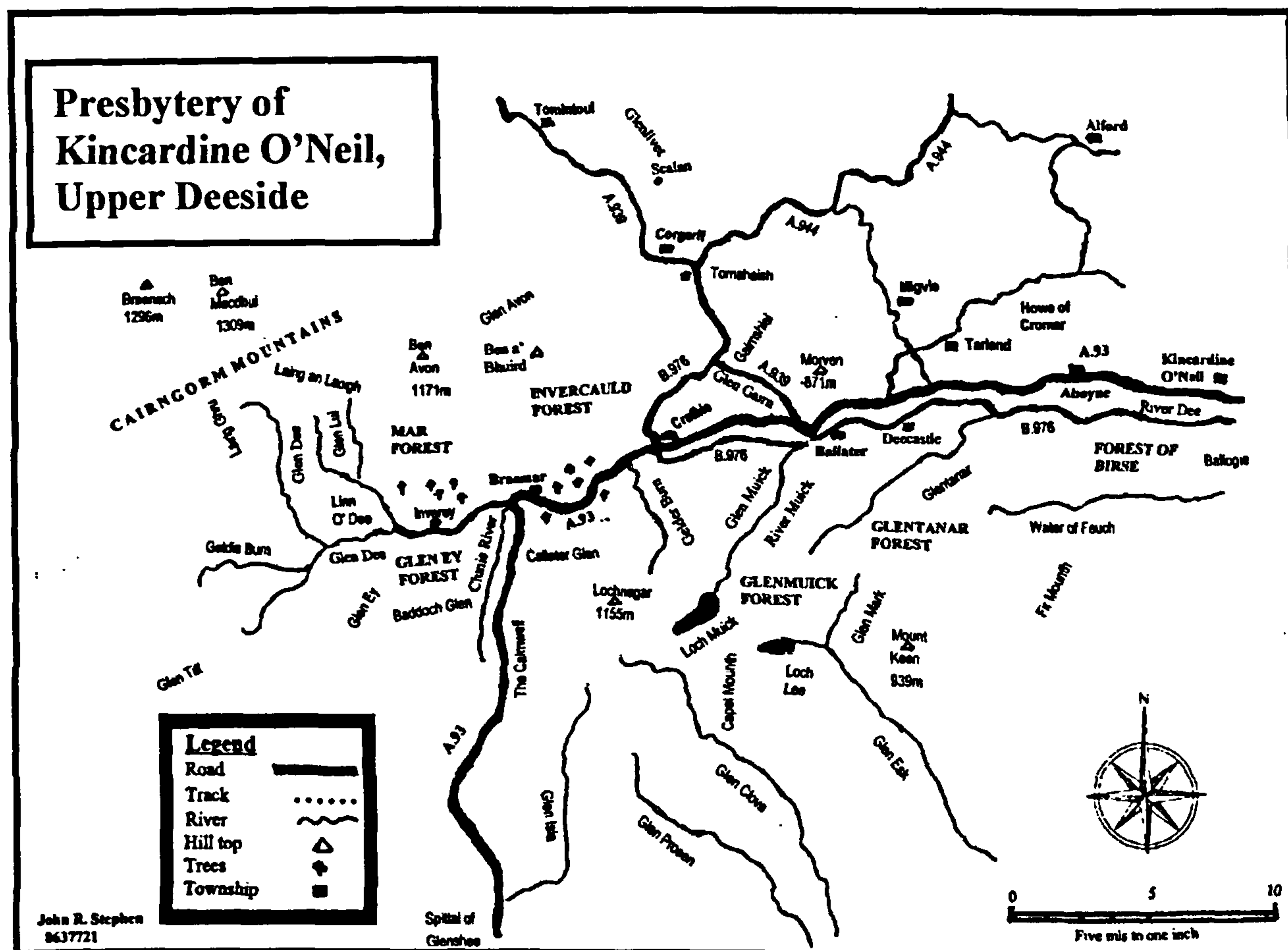
³⁴ Cairn o' Mounth - Modern B974 motor road rising to 455m between Fettercairn in Angus and Strachan in Lower Deeside, Aberdeenshire.

³⁵ Simpson, 1935, 87.

³⁶ Mackinlay, 1914, 186: The fair was at one time held on the longest day of summer, but on account of the theft of cattle sent on one occasion to be sold, it was changed to the shortest day of winter.

of a hill near Abergairn until early in the twentieth century.³⁷ Two springs, the upper and the nether, and "St. Mungo's Well", close to the roofless medieval church at Foot of Gairn, are traditionally associated with Kentigern's presence.

Fig. 5.4



Sketch map of the Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil, Upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. (JRS).

Following St. Kentigern to upper Deeside in the seventh century CE came St. Marnoch and St. Nathalan. St. Marnoch, who died in 625 AD, established his church within the ancient parish bearing his name, Inchmarnoch (island of Marnoch), which was subsequently merged with the neighbouring parishes of Aboyne and Glen Tanar. St. Nathalan, otherwise Nauchlan or Nathalak, mentioned in the *Irish Annals* as having died 8th January 678 CE, followed St. Marnoch, but worked further up the Dee valley. Nathalan is credited with founding two churches, one on a knoll (*tulach*)³⁸ or Tulynathlayk (with variations, *knoll of Nathalan*;³⁹ renamed Tullich, post-Reformation), east of modern Ballater, and another at Coull in nearby Cromar. Nathalan, speculates Mackinlay, was a native of Tullich and reputedly buried within the solum

³⁷ Neil, 1943, 20: St. Mungo's Fair or *Feill Macha* latterly consisted of a fair, a market, and a shooting match followed by a dance and other festivities in the evening. A small inn or change-house in the neighbourhood was also called St. Mungo's.

³⁸ Cowan, 1967, 201.

of the ruined medieval Tullich Kirk (Plate 5.3).⁴⁰ His name is commemorated in local legend,⁴¹ in the nomenclature of Ballater Freemasons' Lodge, Nathalan No.259, and in Ballater R.C. Chapel St. Nathalan. According to Mackinlay a fair instituted by James V in 1541, and held at Tullich on St. Nathalan's day, 8th January, was later held on or about the 19th after the change of style in 1752. St. Nachlan's Cross,⁴² adds Mackinlay, estimated to be twelve feet high, long stood in the market stance of the former village of Tullich until broken up in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴³ St. Lesmo (Light of the Desert), listed by Mackinlay as an "obscure saint",⁴⁴ died 731CE, and canonised on 1st December 732, is regarded as the archetypal holy hermit in upper Deeside. Located at the ford across the Dee at Glen Tanar, close to the site of the later medieval "Black Chapel on the Moor", his name is commemorated in "The Hermit's Well". It survives also in the modern Episcopal Church building at Glentanar House - St. Lesmo's - erected in the late-nineteenth century by the landowner, Sir William Cunliffe-Brooks.

It may be concluded that individual named missionaries travelled the Deeside glens in company of apostles and that over time a network was firmly established to produce the acceptable face of a Christian church. Whilst documentary evidence records the grant of land to the embryonic medieval Roman church, there is uncertainty concerning how the parish boundaries were delineated. What seems clear is that once established, the names of early saints were invoked and a substantial mythology created to legitimise and reinforce the standing of the local church and capture faith of souls within what was essentially an identifiable spatial area determined by the constrictions of topography. Everywhere, it seems, Roman Christianity had to be linked to a "saint" - a means of grace. By the end of the ninth century CE, claims Wyness, Deeside had been converted to Christianity.⁴⁵ Space, time and will had conjoined to complete the task. It had taken 400 years to accomplish and was achieved in the first instance by a small group of Celtic missionaries sent from different centres, but, adds Wyness, quoting Bishop Alexander Ewing's idealised description, with a single purpose:

³⁹ Watson and Allan, 1984, 154.

⁴⁰ Mackinlay, 1914, 222: The ancient burying-ground of Bothelnie, otherwise Bal-Nathalan, known since about 1684 as Old Meldrum in Aberdeenshire is also credited with containing Nathalan's remains in its ancient burial-ground.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 222: Tradition says that St. Nathalan, by way of penance for having lost his temper on one occasion, fixed a chain round his ankle, padlocked it, and threw the key into a pool in the Dee, determined not to unlock the chain till he had visited the shrine of the apostles at Rome. When at last he reached Rome, he met in the street a boy who had one little fish to sell. He bought the fish and to his surprise found the key inside it. A swampy hollow on the left of the road leading from Tullich to Ballater, believed to be part of the old bed of the Dee, is locally known as *Pol-n'-euchrach* (the Key Pool), a topographical reminder of the saint's presence. Another popular local legend states that in a time of famine the following year's seed stock had been consumed. Nathalan was told by God to sow sand on fields to the south west of Craigendarroch Hill above a bend in the River Dee. The soil brought forth a good crop and the area came to be known as *Sluievannachie* (*slaibh bheannachaidh* - the moor of the blessing). The land was farmed until the later - nineteenth century when the Ballater Golf Club then acquired it. The farmhouse, retaining its original farm name, is still occupied.

⁴² Nachlan is an older form of Nathalan. Free-standing crosses were focal points in burgh and village communities and were commonly used as the stance for public proclamations.

⁴³ The wanton desecration of St. Nachlan's Cross is attributed to workmen constructing the turnpike road between Aboyne and Braemar. Fragments of the cross were reputedly used as infill.

⁴⁴ Mackinlay, 1914, 504.

⁴⁵ Wyness, 1968, 26

They were apostles in the best sense - they were apostles of Christ. They had no system to support, no pope, no king, no temporalities. They knew nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified.⁴⁶

5.3 The Roman Catholic Church in Glenmuick Parish

By the eleventh century, the Celtic Church in upper Deeside appears to have been more firmly incorporated into the Church of Rome. In common with many other long-used ecclesiastical sites, the historical origins of the medieval stone and lime church building at Tullich remain in dispute. According to Cowan, Tullich, or Tulynathtlayk, does not appear in Bagimond's Valuation Roll of ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland for 1274.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, speculates Cowan, Tullich church appears to have been closely associated with that of Aboyne and may indeed have been a chapel of that church. On the other hand, Wyness argues that Tullich Church, then belonging to the Knights Templars, is in fact mentioned in Bagimond's Roll, an assertion that has been accepted uncritically by several later commentators. What is not in dispute is Cowan's argument that by the sixteenth century, the parsonage revenues of Tullich pertained to the Knights of St. John, while the cure was a vicarage perpetual.⁴⁸ The former pre-Reformation church building, a well-maintained roofless ruin since it was abandoned in 1800, measures 80 feet by 30 feet and stands central to the aforementioned circular wall enclosing the old burial ground which, as Speirs confirms, is still in use (Plate 5.3).⁴⁹

In common with many similar place names in Scotland, asserts Fraser, the Capel Mounth (Fig.5.5) leading from Clova to Glen Muick speaks of a chapel (*capella*) located in the latter region. Indeed, adds Fraser, the name Spital (*spideal* - hospice) of Muick, near the north end of the Pass recalls that the Bishop of Aberdeen established a hospice or hospital at that point - which would have had its chapel. A corresponding Capel Burn is located at the south end of the Capel Mounth in Glen Clova.⁵⁰ It can be concluded that the Capel Mounth road was an important line of communication, much travelled throughout the medieval period of Roman Catholic dominance and beyond. In view of the demanding ascent from Clova (Fig. 5.4), a hospice or rest house at Spital of Muick could be considered as much a work of mercy as necessity, and will be touched upon later in this chapter. It is not recorded who erected the first church building at the Foot of Muick (Fig. 5.6) near its confluence with the River Dee one mile west of modern Ballater, or when this construction would have occurred. It can reasonably be assumed, nonetheless, that the fragment of the medieval stone and thatch church building commandeered for use by the Reformers after 1560, and accidentally burned-down subsequent to its abandonment in 1800, stands on the site of several predecessors.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 26.

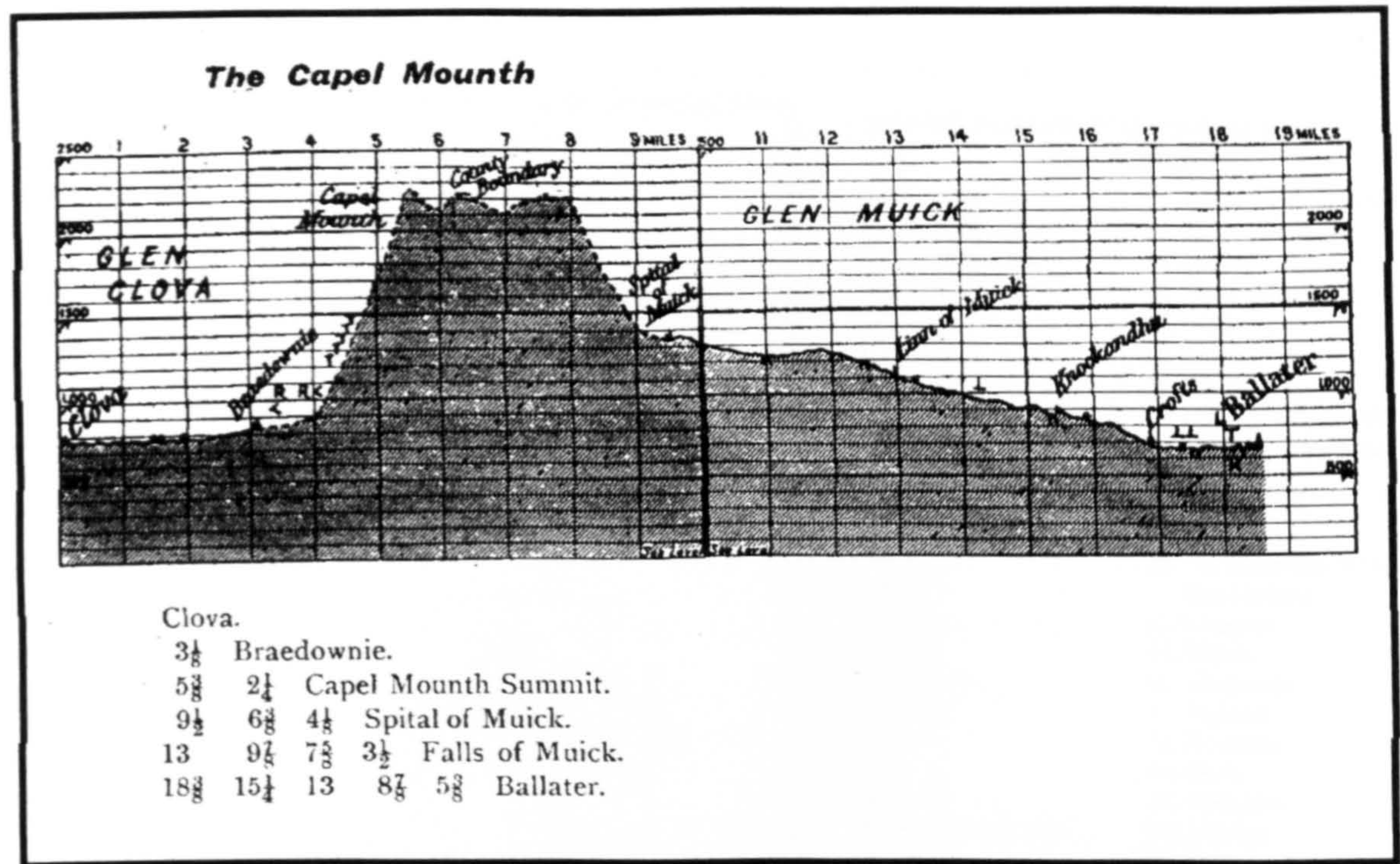
⁴⁷ Bagimond's Roll. List of Scottish ecclesiastical establishments which were taxed by Pope Clement IV to raise money to finance yet another crusade against the Saracens: Valuation of the benefices of the Scottish Church, made by Baiamund de Vicci, papal collector, in 1276, and basis of taxation until after 1660 (Donaldson et al, 1977, 13).

⁴⁸ Cowan, 1967, 201.

⁴⁹ Speirs, 2003: centre-page hand-drawn plan of Tullich Kirk, its surrounding burial ground and circular enclosing wall.

⁵⁰ Fraser, 1921, 87: The Capel Mounth road, approximately twelve miles in length, which starts from Glen Clova at about 1000 feet above sea-level, rises in about a mile to 2550 feet, and runs along most of the way at above the 610m / 2000ft

Fig. 5.5



Capel Mounth, (*Hill Path Contours*, HRG Inglis, 1948, 19).

The Reformation initiated in 1560 all but removed the physical presence of the Catholic priesthood for a number of years from upper Deeside, but it did not eradicate the Catholic teaching from the souls of the people. The restoration of Catholic worship in the 1670s, claims MacWilliam, was achieved through two means; firstly, by a Jesuit mission to upper Deeside, and secondly, to the eventual Hanoverian allegiance of the Invercauld Farquharsons, a mission that was sponsored by yet another branch of the Farquharson family - the Jacobite Farquharsons of Auchindryne at Braemar.⁵¹ The inception of the Jesuit mission in upper Deeside, suggests McWilliam, dates from 1671 with the arrival in Braemar of a Jesuit priest, Mr. Forsey (Henry Forsyth alias Forsey and Forsiter).⁵² Monumental inscriptions in Braemar burial ground,⁵³ noted by Ewan, mark the lair of the Rev. Forsyth who died in 1708, and both John Farquharson (ex-S.J.) and Charles Farquharson (ex-S.J.).⁵⁴

level. When nearly opposite the north end of Loch Muick, it descends to 1350 feet at the Spital of Glen Muick.

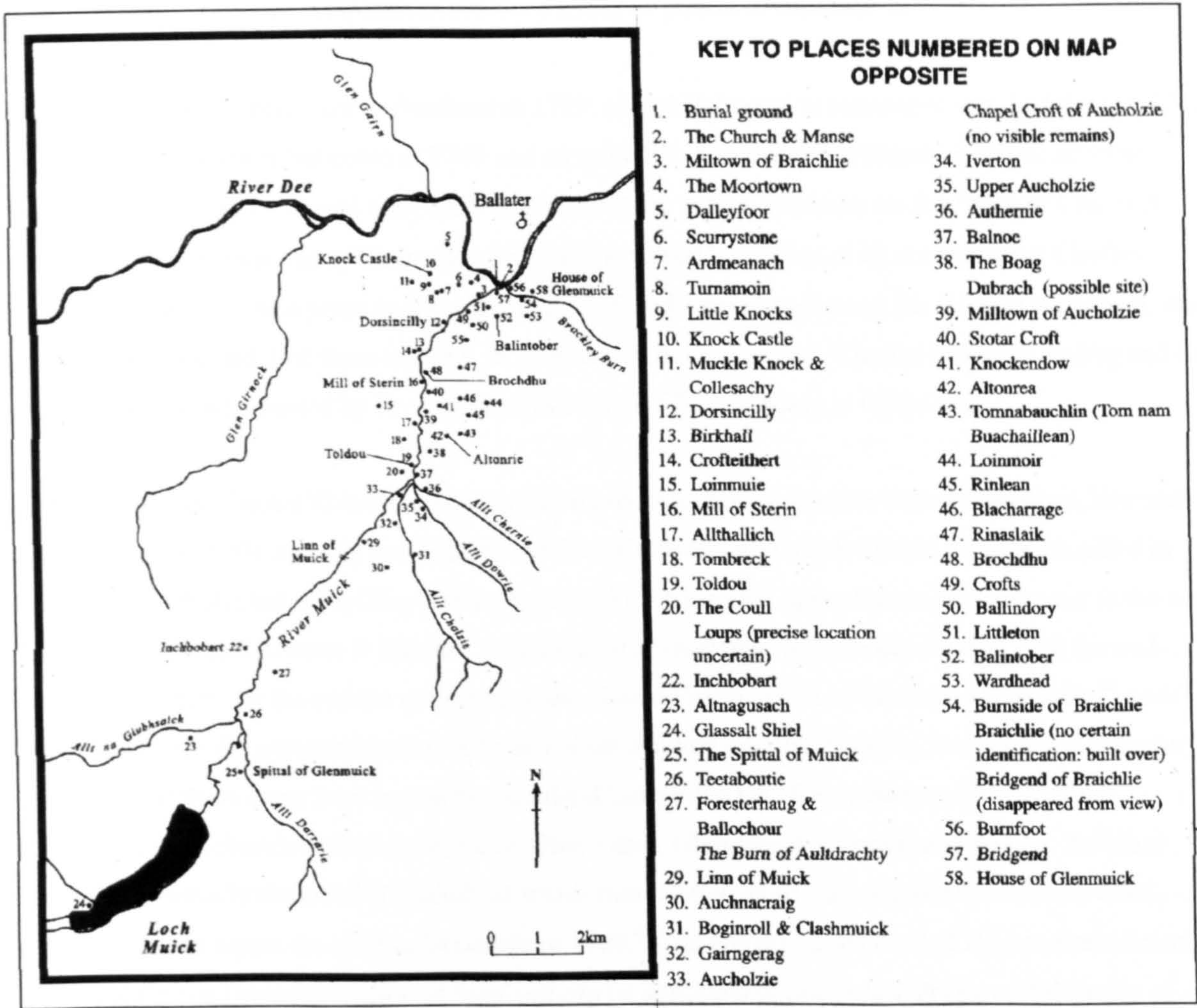
⁵¹ MacWilliam, 1972, 24. (qv – Roberts, 1990, 21).

⁵² McWilliam, 1972: Speirs, 1998, 29, records the monumental inscription (241) in Braemar burial ground as "The Rev. Forsyth died Nov. 8th, 1708". Curiously, the name Henry Forsyth (ex-S.J.) is recorded in Forbes and Anderson's *Clergy Lists of the Highland District 1732-1828*, as "retired, died in Braemar, Nov. 19, aged 78".

⁵³ Speirs, 1998, 29: Roman Catholic memorial inscription, Kirkyard of Braemar: "Sacred to memory of the Roman Catholic Clergymen who are interred here. The Rev. Forsyth died Nov. 8th 1708; the Rev. John Farquharson spent the evening of his days, chaplain to his nephew. Alex. Farquharson, Esq. of Inverey, and died at Balmoral, Aug. 22, 1782; the Rev. Charles Farquharson, served the Catholic Mission in Braemar for many years, and died at Oirdearg. Nov 30, 1799; the two former were sons of Lewis Farquarson of Auchendryne; the Rev. William McLeod died June 1809, much and justly regretted; the very Rev. Canon Colin C. Mackenzie served Braemar 1912 to 1933, died June 13th, 1933".

⁵⁴ Forbes et al, 1966, 151: "Ex-SJ" - Suppression of the Society of Jesus. Members normally were assimilated to the secular clergy and rank with them, but for several their date of priestly ordination is not easily available and are consequently marked "Ex- SJ". The transition was in nearly every case in Scotland smooth and without incident, the Jesuit fathers

Fig. 5.6



Sketch map of Glen Muick, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire, (*The Legion of the Lost*, Sedgwick, S., 1999, 262)

Fr. Forsyth was born in 1628, of Protestant parents; his father an advocate and well to do. He studied humanities at Cashel in Ireland and was converted to the Roman faith by the Fathers at that monastery. It is presumed that at this time, he acquired his knowledge of the Gaelic language. Directed by the recently established *Propaganda Fide* in Rome, Fr. Forsyth reached Braemar in 1671 and found Catholicism apparently dead in that part of upper Deeside. Alerted to a spatial anomaly in devotional witness, Forsyth commenced to exploit the opportunities for Catholic mission afforded by the landscape. His activities did not pass unnoticed by the Rev. James Robertson of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn. In 1714, Robertson, emphasising a clear correlation between Roman Catholicism and superstition, complained to Kincardine O'Neil Presbytery that:

They first Sent one Forsey a priest to try what he might get done among them; He finding is conquests very easy among an ignorant (of devotional affairs) people, naturally given to superstition, called two or three others to his assistance whereby

simply remaining in the two areas they had served (viz. Strathglass and Braemar) for so long and so successfully.

Several hundreds were perverted in a few years.⁵⁵

However, as Hazlett emphasises, the above may be regarded as a socio-cultural rather than a religious statement; the Vatican was emphatically never a friend or patron of superstition.⁵⁶

Fr. John Farquharson had come to Scotland in 1729, served Balmoral in retirement and died there in 1782; Fr. Charles Farquharson had come in 1745 and served both Glen Gairn and Braemar, where he went to live in 1781. Both had received their early education at the Scalan seminary on the Braes of Glenlivet (Plate 3.4). The *Annual List of Clergy Missioners* reproduced by Forbes *et al*, confirms that Charles Farquharson (ex S.J.) was priest in Glen Gairn in 1775 and John Farquharson (ex S.J.), in retirement, was priest at Balmoral and died there in 1782. In February of that same year, Charles retired to Arderg and Fr. Ranald MacDonald, assisted by Fr. Lachlan Mackintosh filled his place at Glen Gairn.⁵⁷

The *Braes of Mar*,⁵⁸ notes Roberts, consists of five pre-Reformation Roman Catholic parishes, Braemar, Crathie, Glengairn, Glenmuick and Tullich, to which Corgarff on Donside should perhaps be added in terms of its Catholic link with Glen Gairn (Figure 5.4).⁵⁹ Along the upper Dee valley, Braemar to the west, Tullich midway, and Aboyne to the east, each harboured an extensive Catholic mission until the mid-nineteenth century. At the eastern extremity of the United Parish, south of the Dee, a Deecastle⁶⁰ peak of 240 Roman Catholic communicants (adults and older children), claims Roberts, was achieved at Easter, 1780. Most of them came from across the Highland Line, however, from places remote from the Reformed parish churches of Aboyne, Birse, Glen Tanar, Glen Muick, Cromar and Tullich. A Father Grant⁶¹ was actually stationed at Tullich, at which centre a pocket of Catholic families had survived, before he moved across the river to Deecastle in 1789.⁶² The precarious survival of Roman Catholicism in the North-East or Grampian region of Scotland can be attributed to one politically powerful family of Gordon lairds. The Gordon estates, claims Roberts, extended from the North East Lowlands to Highland Lochaber, where they marched with the lands of the Clanranald Macdonalds and the Macdonells of Glengarry, who were also Roman Catholic. With virtual dominion over an extensive area of Highland landscape and its people, the three formed a formidable group in Highland affairs.

⁵⁵ N.L.S., MS.976, ff. 147-9.

⁵⁶ This disclaimer was suggested to the researcher by Professor Ian Hazlett, School of Divinity, University of Glasgow, at the correction stage of this thesis.

⁵⁷ Forbes *et al*, 1966, 158.

⁵⁸ *Braes of Mar* in upper Deeside was a unit of the spatial area occupied by the Roman Catholic pre-Reformation church.

⁵⁹ Roberts, 1990, 20.

⁶⁰ Michie, 1877, 78: Instead of taking up residence in the fortified "Pele" of Loch Kinord, George, 6th Earl and 1st Marquis of Huntly, built a new family residence at Kandychyle (Deecastle on south side of River Dee), combining, as was still necessary, the means of defence with the conveniences of more peaceful avocations. From this time Kandychyle (the end of the wood) now called Deecastle, became the principal residence of the Marquis and his family when they visited their Deeside estates. The chapel, as a matter of course, followed the Marquis' residence: and while the one at Loch Kinord gradually fell into decay, its successor continued, with occasional interruptions and varying fortunes, to hold some ground from 1616 to 1873, when a new Roman Catholic Chapel was built at Aboyne.

⁶¹ The name Grant does not appear in Forbes and Anderson's *Clergy Lists of the Highland District, 1732-1828*, for that period in Deeside. Perhaps this omission arises because Tullich and Deecastle are not listed as R. C. parishes.

⁶² *Ibid*, 26.

For perhaps five centuries until 1560, the Roman Catholic Church was supreme in upper Deeside. Whereas the ecclesiastical presence along the Dee valley generally conformed to Reformed principles in 1560, it would seem that the Reformation only lightly touched the former *Braes of Mar* parishes, Gairnside, Deecastle and to a lesser extent at Tullich. In these disparate spatial areas, pockets of Catholicism persisted. The Gordon tenants whose head, the Marquis of Huntly,⁶³ a leading Roman Catholic holding much of the southern and eastern aspect of the parish landscape, kept to the "Old Faith". Glen Muick (Fig. 5.6), states Jervise, had been granted to Alexander de Seton, Lord of Gordon from the Border village of Huntly, by King James II in 1441. Created first Gordon Earl of Huntly at that time, the lands of Aboyne, Glen Tanar and Glen Muick were united by royal charter in 1506 to become the Barony and Earldom of Huntly. In 1749, in the wake of the second Jacobite "uprising" Glen Muick was sold to John Farquharson, 9th Laird of Invercauld in whose hands they remained until sold in 1868 to James Thompson Mackenzie.⁶⁴ The 1696 Poll Tax return indicates that the Gordon Earl of Aboyne was the greatest Heritor within the United Parish, his land being valued at £226. Lesser branches of the Gordon family were once numerous in Glen Muick.⁶⁵ Henry Gordon of Knock, a relative of the Gordon Laird of Abergeldie, died in 1591 at his seat Knocks Castle, a half-mile north of Glen Muick Church. In 1715, Charles and Rachael Gordon of Abergeldie built the Ha' House of Birkhall upon their 6,500 acre Birkhall estate, an event commemorated above the front door.⁶⁶ The 1841 decennial census returns reveal that John Gordon was a tenant farmer at Inchnabobart (*inis nam bobart* - river meadow of the cow enclosures), as was his son John who employed two Gordon servants. Nathaniel Gordon with a wife and six children was a tenant farmer at Tombreck and Alexander Gordon, a farmer and grazier with three children, tenanted *The Crofts*. Gordons were also tenants at Balindory.⁶⁷ It should not be assumed, however, that each and every member of the Glen Muick population possessed fervent religious ardour. Convention, conviction or confusion perhaps motivated those that did. Finally, as noted by Neill, about 1872 the Marquis of Huntly sold his Morven estate in upper Glen Gairn, a place of succour for decanted Mar Roman Catholic families in the early-nineteenth century, which passed into other hands and was eventually cleared.⁶⁸

Transcribed at Chapter 3.5 of this thesis is the original text of a letter of 1704, held in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, composed by the Rev. James Robertson, first minister of the united Church of

⁶³ *Ibid*, 19: The first Duke of Gordon (formerly the fourth Marquis of Huntly) held Edinburgh Castle for James VII in 1689; the second maintained the religion of the exiled Stuarts until his early death in 1728, when the widowed Duchess of Gordon had their children educated in his own Protestant allegiance.

⁶⁴ Jervise, 1879, 165.

⁶⁵ For a fuller list of Gordon families in Glen Muick, see website: <http://www.geocities.com/girnocgordons/UpperDeesideGordonTombstones.html/>

⁶⁶ Birkhall House was used by the Gordons as a shooting lodge and let out to tenants during season. When Michael Gordon of Abergeldie became bankrupt in the later-nineteenth century, Birkhall estate was purchased by Prince Albert and "improved". Local opinion states that Queen Victoria was perturbed at the reputation of the women consorts that her son, the Prince of Wales - later King Edward VII - attracted to Balmoral Castle and desired a more reclusive retreat to accommodate her son and his guests. During the second half of the twentieth century, the house was much used by the late Queen Mother. It has now become the favourite Deeside retreat of her grandson, Prince Charles and his wife, Camilla, Duke and Duchess of Rothesay whilst in Scotland - Duke and Duchess of Cornwall whilst in England).

⁶⁷ Census 1841.

⁶⁸ Neil, 1943, 19.

Scotland parishes of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengarden from 1699 to 1745. In this letter, Rev. Robertson drew up a list of "Papists, Apostates, Popish priests" and singled out Callum Grierson, Alias McGrigor of Dalfad in Glengairn, as the leading opponent of Reformed religion in his incumbency.⁶⁹ From another (unpublished) source, Blundell quotes a more detailed report:

Calam Grierson, alias M'Grigor, of Baladar (Ballater) papist, frequently resetts popish priests ... The said Calam was leatly building a chapel for them, erected a very high crucifix on a little hill near to his house, to be adored by all the neighbourhood. He keeps always publick mass and popish conventickles in his house; and is such trafector that few or no Protestants that become his tenants, or servants, escape without being perverted by him.⁷⁰

The farm at Clashinruich was leased by McGriger from Invercauld and the priest was a sub-tenant. The factor, Charles Farquharson, a Jacobite, charged no rent for farm or house. Thus protected, neither the government forces nor the Established Church of Scotland could implement effective measures to repress the old Roman faith in such a remote landscape.

The former cateran⁷¹ McGregor family, observes Roberts, formed a staunch pocket of Roman Catholicism in Glen Gairn until the early 1850s.⁷² Its upper Deeside patriarch, Callum Grierson or McGregor, referred to above, bore legal title as laird of Dalfad, Inverenzie and Ballader,⁷³ in consequence of his support for the Gordon Marquis of Huntly in the mid-seventeenth century civil war.⁷⁴ According to Blundell, it was Fr. Forsyth, the priest of Braemar, who reconciled Callum to the Church of Rome.⁷⁵ Diack offers the proposition that geographical isolation was a principal factor in the M'Gregors' tenacious holds on the souls of people in Glen Gairn for the Roman Church until the mid-nineteenth century witnessed the emigration of the family overseas:

Sheltered among the mountains of Glengairn and fortified by a tenantry mostly of the same name and blood, there McGregor lairds were the leaders of a little sept or clan that presented a bold front to all and sundry.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ N.L.S., MS, 976, f. 143.

⁷⁰ Blundell, 1909, 77: After the Clan McGregor was outlawed by James VI (aliases like Grierson came into use. Its members became vulnerable in their native Breadalbane, and a group came north over Glen Tilt, recruited as mercenaries by the Earl of Moray. In 1634 the marquis of Huntly used them in a feud with the Crichtons of Frendraught, and they took the Royalist side with him in the Civil War. The clan (which claimed descent from Kenneth MacAlpin) emerged as landholders on Deeside. (Roberts, 1990, 23)

⁷¹ Cateran: Highland robber or irregular fighter or marauder (*The Concise Scots Dictionary*, W. & R. Chambers Ltd., Edinburgh, 1985).

⁷² The 1841 Census return records one family, Helen McGregor, aged 40, and her three young children. The 1851 Census records two children of the same family, now teenagers. Also recorded under a separate head I Peter and Margaret McGregor, aged respectively 74 and 70.

⁷³ The place-name Ballader does not refer to Ballater planned village established in 1808, but to an older community formerly at the east end of the Pass of Ballater

⁷⁴ George Gordon, second Marquis of Huntly opposed the National Covenant of 28th February, 1638, and gave his support to the Royalist cause in the Civil War of the 1640s. Huntly and his son, Lord Gordon of Aboyne, allied with the Marquis of Montrose and played a prominent part in the campaign at Alford on the River Don in June, 1645. Huntly later quarrelled with Montrose over command of the cavalry. In pique Huntly withdrew Lord Aboyne with all the Gordon horse and foot from Montrose's army.

⁷⁵ Blundell, 1909 78.

⁷⁶ Diack, 1908, 287.

In 1704, notes Blundell, Fr. James Innes, a cadet of the Balnacraig (Aboyne) family and former school-master in the Lowlands, was in charge of the Roman Catholic mission to Glen Gairn for five years before he retired to the Scots College, Paris, where he became Superior. He was succeeded by Fr. Gregor M'Gregor, son of the aforementioned Callum, who returned to his monastery shortly after 1715.⁷⁷

During the first third of the eighteenth century, claims Roberts, the remoter parts of the civil parish had been more or less abandoned by the Established church partly because the population was Gaelic speaking.⁷⁸ This was particularly notable on the landscape of upper Glen Gairn where the will of the Roman Catholic hierarchy prevailed over a protracted period of time that virtually ended with the last years of the nineteenth century. From 1732 until 1827, Glen Gairn, Balmoral and Braemar were located within the Vatican's Scottish Mission Highland District. This territorial demarcation from the Lowland District, claims Forbes *et al*, was basically recognition of the linguistic and cultural differences that existed between the two peoples of Scotland.⁷⁹ This cultural division, crucial to changes in Highland life and manners, first introduced in Chapter 2 above, will be re-visited in relation to education later in this chapter.

Relatively isolated geographically, self contained, even self-sufficient in many respects, the glens composing the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn could often present an uncompromising face to the outside world:

Fr. Lachlan wanted to go to Braemar and settle there as a resident priest; but the people wadna have him; some of the congregation didna like him. He was a native of Braemar.⁸⁰

Fr. Mackintosh, states Blundell with more accuracy, was a native of Crathie, schooled at Scalan in Glenlivet and educated for the priesthood at the Scots College, Valladolid, where he was ordained priest at Segovia by the Bishop of that city. Following ordination, Mackintosh took charge of the united missions of Glen Gairn, Corgarff and Balmoral. In 1785 he erected at Clashindreich a chapel building that was still used by the Glen Gairn Catholic congregation in 1853. There were sufficient funds to erect a house nearby for the priest in residence. Fr. Lachlan Mackintosh served Glen Gairn for sixty-four years and died aged ninety-three on 9th March 1846 at a time when his Catholic population was being steadily eased from the Glen in preference to Protestant tenants. Widely respected as a parish priest, McIntosh attracted many tributes. Typical is Mary of the Mullach's⁸¹ statement to Fr. Meany, recounted in Dilworth, that "Mr.

⁷⁷ Blundell, 1909, 78.

⁷⁸ Roberts, 1987, 93. Difficulties presented by language were, of course, complicated by the nature of the landscape, severe weather and poor communications.

⁷⁹ Forbes *et al*, 1966, 130.

⁸⁰ Dilworth, 1956, 17.

⁸¹ In the decennial census return for 1881, Mary Glass, a widow aged 64 years, described as a small crofter, is recorded as occupant of Mullach, Glengairn. Residing with Mary is her unwed daughter aged 37, listed as a domestic servant, and one grand-child, Mary McKenzie, aged 6 years.

McIntosh was a grand peacemaker; even among Protestants he often quieted family strife".⁸² He was fondly remembered, adds Blundell, as "a devoted clergyman who spent more than half a century in administering the consolations of religion to a flock thinly scattered over one of the wildest and most inaccessible districts of Scotland".⁸³

Blundell has recorded the spartan nature⁸⁴ of the Clashindreich⁸⁵ chapel building in upper Glen Gairn erected by Fr. Mackintosh in the later-eighteenth century:

At this time the roof of the chapel was open, and showed the rude beams, whilst the altar was just a rough table. Some of the folk had kneeling boards, but the maist of them prayed, kneeling on the clay floor.⁸⁶

This Glen Gairn scene is suggestive of devout Highland landward⁸⁷ people holding to a simple faith far removed in space, and perhaps in time, but not in will, from the congregation of a richly ornate Catholic cathedral soon to be erected in many a prosperous Lowland diocese. The inescapable impression is that Roman Catholicism in the Scottish Highlands, with parallels in contemporary Celtic Ireland, was at that period a religion of the poor. Yet, in 1829, when the Presbyterian minister, Rev. Neil Mackenzie, became the first resident incumbent on staunchly Protestant St. Kilda,⁸⁸ more than any churchman before him:

he succeeded in raising the standard of living on St. Kilda. He persuaded the islanders to put their arable land in order and tried to show them the advantages of personal hygiene. It was his doing for instance, that legs appeared on tables in the St. Kildan home, raising the occupants, if only physically, above the level of their animals. (Tom Steel, *The Life And Death of St. Kilda*, National Trust for Scotland, 1965).

Previous to 1828, reports Blundell, there had been a teacher of music for the Glen Gairn choir, but he had taught only hymns. At this date James Cumming from Tomintoul took the choir in hand and taught them masses by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, of Dufftown.⁸⁹ This contrasts with Anderson's claim that in Catholic

⁸² Dilworth, 1956, 15: Much of the information on Catholic Glengairn is from Dom Fr. Meany (later Mgr.), who was born near Beaulieu in 1860 and served Glengairn as priest from 1888 to 1889 and died in 1940 when Vicar-General. It is supplemented by information from Fr. Odo Blundell, OSB, transcribed in 1909 (Dilworth, 1956, 11).

⁸³ Blundell, 1909, 81: The inclemency of the district may be judged from the fact that... on two occasions that at the Mass on Christmas Day, when every possible effort would have been made by the really earnest parishioners, only the server was able to be present with the priest at Mass. The snow was indeed waist high, and the nearest of the congregation would have a mile at least to walk.

⁸⁴ The ruins of Father McIntosh's small chapel building at Clashindreich are still visible in close proximity to the remains of similar dry-stone rubble structures occupied by residents in the surrounding community. The medieval church buildings occupied by the Reformers at Tullick, Glenmuick and Foot of Gairn, though much larger and of substantial construction, also had clay floors. At Glenmuick Church, claims Sedgwick, it was customary for women to carry a small stool, locally known as a "creepie", to Sunday services. Clay floors were still to be seen in Upper Deeside in the mid-twentieth century. On a field visit to the Camlet, a former croft house above Girnock, the writer was received standing on the clay floor of the kitchen area.

⁸⁵ Clashinruich, or Clashinruach, is here given as Clashindreich. This conforms to Doric usage based on an oral culture in which accuracy of speech was never a requisite among the lower social orders.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 73.

⁸⁷ The term landward is here used to mark the distinction between people living within the old "ferm-toun" communities, albeit these steadily incorporated over time into 'improved' small farms, and those people who had moved into 'planned villages' and large towns where a different type of social structure prevailed.

⁸⁸ St. Kilda is the collective name of a group of islands located on the Atlantic Ocean some fifty miles west of Harris. Only the main island of Hirta is habitable. The present village street was created by the Rev. Mackenzie in 1830. The rubble and thatch 'black-houses' erected then, were replaced in 1860 by sixteen dressed stone and lime cottages with slate roofs (later felted) crafted by stone-masons and carpenters brought over from Harris. Hirta was abandoned in August 1930.

⁸⁹ Blundell, 1909, 74.

family worship on Deeside in 1691 there was a total absence of singing. Post-Reformation Scotland, Anderson asserts, produced no popular Catholic hymn-writers. Furthermore, Catholics, states Anderson, viewed the metrical psalms as the agents of Protestantism, albeit a list of psalms "against the persecution of enemies" was to be said.⁹⁰

Plate 5. 4



The Chapel at Tornahaish (1808), Glengairn, Aberdeenshire. (photo – JRS)

Glen Gairn priests also served Corgarff on Donside, and in 1808, observes Roberts, Lachlan Mackintosh built a church at Tornahaish (Plate 5.4) over the steep Glas-choille military road north from Glen Gairn, and said Mass there at least once a month.⁹¹ When crossing the Glas-choille, adds Dilworth, Fr. McIntosh used to say the Rosary and an accompanying procession of both old and young people made responses and prayed devoutly with the old priest.⁹² In his declining years, records Dilworth, especially in stormy weather, Mackintosh said Mass and heard confessions in his own house at Ardoch, on safe Huntly estate land, unmolested by clandestine bigotry.⁹³ In 1830, according to the testimony of Mrs. McKenzie, reproduced in Dilworth, Ardoch contained fourteen fire-houses (houses with chimney and fireplace) and

⁹⁰ Anderson, 1967, 151.

⁹¹ Roberts, 1987, 94.

⁹² Dilworth, 1956, 15.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 14: "The people crowded the kitchen and lobby and pressed close around the outer walls of the house. Often in his latter days when he preached from his room, many of us could neither hear nor see him. Even on such occasions a box was carried round among the people for the usual collection". (Narrative of Mrs. McKenzie - nee Michie of Ardoch – servant to Fr. Lachlan Mackintosh).

a shop kept by Charles Calder.⁹⁴ Ardoch, notes Roberts, was the home of a succession of priests until the focus of Catholic life moved down to Candacraig, two miles west of the flourishing Protestant planned village of Ballater, in 1866.⁹⁵ By 1900 there were only six Roman Catholics resident in Glengairn. In 1905 a chapel site was acquired on the western periphery of Ballater, ostensibly to cater for tourism. Nevertheless, Mass continued to be said occasionally in Glen Gairn chapel until, around 1910, the chapel building was demolished and the priest's house tenanted by estate workers.

The marked decline in the former predominance of Catholics in Glen Gairn after the first half of the nineteenth century is reflected in a provisional statistical analysis of the Glen population compiled by Roberts:

Table 5. 1

GLENGAIRN BAPTISMS - 1801-1845			
	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Total</u>
1801-05	19	54	73
1806-10	25	70	95
1811-15	30	70	100
1816-20	57	75	132
1821-25	75	73	148
1826-30	58	89	147
1831-35	94	64	158
1836-40	59	27	86
1841-45	66	17	83

The above table, as Roberts argues, shows that a 3:1 Catholic-Protestant birth ratio at the beginning of the period becomes a 4:1 Protestant-Catholic ratio as the Catholic presence in Glen Gairn that had survived the Reformation in Scotland almost intact was effectively eased out of the landscape.⁹⁶

In respect of the United Parish as a whole, claims Sedgwick,⁹⁷ a rough note on the back of a personal letter among the Glenmuick Church Session records, indicates that in or about 1820, figures for the denominational divide were:

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 12.
⁹⁵ Roberts, 1987, 94.
⁹⁶ Roberts, 1987, 95.
⁹⁷ Sedgwick, 1991, 63: According to the Rev. Tony Watts, currently parish minister, United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, the Kirk Session records dating from 1661 are believed to be in the possession of Sheila Illingworth or Sedgwick, Glen Girmoc, near Ballater, who advertises herself as a local historian and genealogist. (q.v. Google search drive – Sheila Illingworth or Sheila Sedgwick). Rev. Watts requested that the writer refrain from calling personally on Mrs Sedgwick whom he believed was not in the best of health. The writer has twice contacted Mrs Sedgwick by mail during the past year, requesting access to the records but to date, has not received any reply. It is believed the records are retained for private commercial purposes, i.e., the retail production of local histories and associated commercial genealogy. The student has necessarily had to refer to a secondary source, Sedgwick’s *The Curious Years* (1991), patently culled from the original records in her possession.

Table 5. 2 **Denominational divide, c. 1820s**
United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn

	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Papist</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>
Tullich	698	48	135	881
Glenmuick	425	18	92	535
Glengairn	<u>374</u>	<u>138</u>	<u>109</u>	<u>621</u>
	1497	204	336	2037

These figures, if reasonably accurate, tend to dispel the long-held local fallacy that the landscape of Glen Gairn was an exclusive Roman Catholic enclave in upper Deeside, since the Glen was also home to 374 Protestants. The probable explanation is that the concentration of Roman Catholic families was spatially centred in the landscape of upper Glen Gairn, close to priest and chapel, and at some remove from Presbyterian Kirk influence. The recognition of this denominational imbalance and, as will be later shown, the inconvenience visited upon the Glen’s Kirk communicants and the Glenmuick minister who served them, probably determined the erection of missionary stations at Rinloan and Kirkstyle. The Glenmuick Session records, according to Sedgwick, reveal that in 1800, a Royal Bounty Missionary, Robert McGregor, was appointed to the United Parish for duty at Glen Gairn.⁹⁸

Plate 5. 5



Glen Gairn Church, Kirkstyle, Gairnshiel, upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. Served from Ballater on Sunday afternoons in summer only (photo-JRS).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 64.

About 1802, states Neil, a church building (Plate 5.5) was erected on Invercauld Estate ground at Kirkstyle close to the military bridge over the Gairn (Plate 2.5). At that period the Royal Bounty missionary occupied a house at Tullichmacarrick situated at an altitude of 320m /1200ft.⁹⁹ From 1803 until 1863, Glen Gairn remained a "mission station" of Glenmuick Parish until, in the latter year, it was upgraded to a *quoad-sacra* parish.¹⁰⁰

5.4 The Reformed Church in Glenmuick Parish

In common with the ownership of upper Deeside land, the spatial boundary of the United Parish over the centuries has not remained constant, but has changed in response to the perceived constrictions of topography, political exigency, population movement and available pulpit supply. Until 1881, when the Kinord district (Fig. 5.3) was erected as a *quoad sacra* parish from Aboyne, the Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn parish profile conformed to the spatial area shown in Fig. 4.1. In his 1842 *NSA* report, the Rev. Burgess asserted that Glenmuick Parish was then estimated to be about 15 miles long from east to west and by 5.5 miles broad from north to south, and lay mostly on the south side of the Dee. Tullich, at an average, adds Burgess, is about 14 miles long from east to west, by 7 miles broad from south to north, and lies all on the north side of the Dee. About the middle of its length, it is joined on the north side by the parish of Glen Gairn, stretching about 8 miles along both sides of the water of Gairn, at an average breadth of 4 miles from north-west to south-east.¹⁰¹

According to the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* edited by Scott, the three medieval parishes of Glenmuick, Tullich and Inchmarnoch-Glen Tanar were united about the year 1500. Following the 1560 Protestant Reformation in Scotland, the seven churches of Crathie, Abergeldie, Glen Muick, Tullich, Glen Tanar, Birse and Aboyne were under the charge of one minister. Readers served Glen Muick, Tullich, Glen Tanar and Birse. Glengarden (Glen Gairn) was added to the union early in the seventeenth century,¹⁰² but was disjoined in 1863 upon its erection to the status of a *quoad sacra* parish church.¹⁰³ Inchmarnoch was disjoined in 1666 due, claims Brown, to the "poorness of the living" and linked with Aboyne. In that year, and for the same reason, Glen Tanar was absorbed into the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn.¹⁰⁴ The last service in the church at Glen Muick, observes Fraser, took place on 23rd November 1800: the last in the Church at Tullich, on 13th November 1800, and the last in the Church at Glen Gairn,

⁹⁹ Neil, 1943, 7.

¹⁰⁰ Quoad sacra: a Latin technical term, literally, "in respect of sacred things", referring to a parish constituted for ecclesiastical purposes only, and without civil responsibilities, jurisdiction or significance. The function of such a parish was to sub-divide a parish *quoad omnia* (with respect to all things) either because it was too big, or because the church associated with it was remote from the bulk of its parishioners (Cameron, 1993, 688).

¹⁰¹ *OSA*, 1842, 772.

¹⁰² An Invercauld document of 1618 entitled *The First Decreet of Union*, records that the three parishes of Tullich, Glenmuick and Glengarden were united in 1618.

¹⁰³ Scott, 1926, 98.

¹⁰⁴ *OSA*, 1794, 166.

on 7th December 1800. In 1881, Dinnet became a *quoad sacra* parish from Aboyne and Glenmuick.¹⁰⁵ This last further reduced the spatial area of the United Parish and eased the minister's burden.

Following the Reformation in Scotland there was a dearth of Protestant ministers to occupy the former Roman Catholic charges. Too few of the "Old Clergy" elected to serve the Protestant cause and lived on drawing their benefices unmolested. Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* records that Lawrence Cowntiss (Coutts) served as Reader from 1567-1580 at Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengarden.¹⁰⁶ Whereas after the Reformation, upper Glen Gairn remained largely Roman Catholic asserts Roberts, the lower reaches nearer to the parish church at Foot of Gairn on the Mar road conformed to the Protestant cause. In this respect Abergairn, Balgairn and Ballachrosk, all within a mile of the Gairn Kirk maintained a Protestant church connection.¹⁰⁷ The territorial outreach of ecclesiastical mission in Glen Gairn is thereby seen to exhibit fairly sharp parameters on the landscape of the Glen. To a lesser extent this spatial pattern is applicable to Tullich and Glen Muick,¹⁰⁸ the latter parish retaining an active Roman Catholic presence at Deecastle well into the nineteenth century. The parochial registers for the United Parish, claims Rev. Brown, "are very defective and not voluminous." The cash and discipline register begins 23rd June 1661, but was not regularly kept until 8th March 1768. The register of parish baptisms does not begin until 6th November 1768; that of the register of marriages from 4th June 1792. Thereafter both records are intact".¹⁰⁹ There does not appear to have been any register of deaths.¹¹⁰ Sedgwick makes it clear that much space is devoted to disciplinary matters, mostly in respect of moral offences up to the mid-nineteenth century. The minutiae contained in the records adds nothing to this present thesis and will therefore not be discussed.

In 1794, notes Jervise, the church building at Glen Muick is described as "a very old house, thatched with heath".¹¹¹ The Glen Muick glebe, nearby, amounted to 6.5 acres. In this same year the Rev. George Brown, Minister of Glenmuick,¹¹² reported that the people in his parish were "honest, economical, sober, contented and hospitable; very regular in attending upon divine worship, and warmly attached to their country".¹¹³ Parish worship in 1794, claimed the Rev. Brown, showed a clear division. In the estimated population of 2117 he found 1763 Protestants and 354 Papists. No mention of an alternative devotional

¹⁰⁵ Fraser, 1921, 170.

¹⁰⁶ Scott, 1926, 100.

¹⁰⁷ Roberts, 1987, 93.

¹⁰⁸ It is conventional in Upper Deeside to distinguish Glenmuick in the Parish title from Glen Muick as a specific location. (Sedgwick, 1991, 4, also notes this distinction).

¹⁰⁹ Fraser, 1921, 166.

¹¹⁰ A microfiche copy of the Register of Baptisms and Marriages for the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, produced by the Church of the Latter Day Saints, is held at the National Archives of Scotland, Register House, Edinburgh. The original parish records, and session records of Ballater Free Church and Ballater United Free Church, as noted at No. 68 above, are retained locally in private hands and unavailable for research purposes.

¹¹¹ Jervise, 1879, 161.

¹¹² Glenmuick is traditionally the title of the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn. Glen Muick refers to the glen at the eastern extremity of which the Glen Muick church was located until destroyed by fire shortly after its abandonment in 1800.

following - Episcopalians, Quakers, Baptists, Methodists - in his united parish attended the Rev. Brown's account.

The perennial problems of geography, severe weather conditions and lack of efficient means of communication frequently combined to frustrate the missionary efforts of all denominations across the landscape of upper Deeside until the middle of the nineteenth century. The Glenmuick¹¹⁴ session records, claims Sedgwick, indicate that in November 1667, on separate occasions that month, the Rev. John Fergusone (1661-1687), Episcopalian incumbent, while going to Tullich on horseback, had fallen into the river then in spate. He immediately returned home in a distressed condition.¹¹⁵ Yet again, on account of Arctic weather conditions, several entries record that Glen Muick frequently got the sermon intended for Glen Gairn because "ye minister and people could not meet nor cross ye watters of Die and Gardine".¹¹⁶ In the last two decades of the seventeenth century, the most frequent cause of absence or re-arrangement of services was again the weather. The minister remained at Glen Muick instead of going to Glengarden (Glen Gairn) "by reason of grand waters". Within the United Parish, January was usually a bad month for weather, recorded as "exceeding tempestuous and stormie", preventing the congregation attending.¹¹⁷ In the second half of the eighteenth century - 1748-90 - the weather, as in earlier ministries, was still a problem. A service to be held at Tullich was abandoned because the, "boat fast in ice", and "grue on watter".¹¹⁸ Glen Muick's forenoon sermon was consequently delivered at one of the other churches and again at the third church, the following Sunday.¹¹⁹ This arrangement appears to have been acceptable since the three congregations in the United Parish were made up of different localised people, separated by two or three miles of road-less moor and by the Dee, a river often in spate if not semi-frozen.¹²⁰ This combination of poor climatic conditions, lack of an efficient means of crossing the River Dee in all weathers, coupled with a failure to exploit the Gaelic language from the outset, it is a claim of this thesis,

¹¹³ OSA, XIV, 505.

¹¹⁴ Glenmuick, by custom, refers here to the United Parish. Individual medieval church buildings retained the name of the glen that they formerly served until 1800.

¹¹⁵ Fergusone's horse was carried eastwards for a considerable distance before gaining the riverbank and making its own way home.

¹¹⁶ Sedgwick, 1991, 27.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, 30.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 46.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 46.

¹²⁰ Whiteley, 1983, 42: In the mid-nineteenth century a peripatetic reformed minister preached a single sermon throughout the Vale of Alford, Aberdeen-shire, namely that relating to the widow's *crusie* (open, boat-shaped vessel often associated with an early rush-wicked lamp) found in 1 Kings 17. 12: An anonymous Doric poet has recorded the event, citing the townships visited, and making play on the widow's *crusie* or vessel. Note the use of the characteristic Doric diminutive word ending in *ie*. It is assumed that the popular image of the dour Calvinist rested lightly upon the less evangelical population of the east-central Highlands:

Up by Keig and Tullynessle,, Twas aye the wyfie and her vessel Doon by Tough and up by Towie, Twas aye the wyfie and her bowie. Through by Alford, up Strathdon, Aye he drove the wyfie on. Hame by Rhynie and Strath bogie, Cam the wyfie and her coggie. etc., etc.	wyfie - woman doon - down bowie - bowl hame - home coggie - wooden bowl
---	---

was a prime reason for the failure of Reformed religion to establish itself uniformly, and thereby to dominate the landscape of "Catholic Glen Gairn." These challenges, argued in more general terms in Chapter 3, must have proved debilitating to the Rev. James Robertson of the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengardine (Glengairn) who presented a petition to the General Assembly at their Edinburgh meeting on 2nd May 1717:

That your petitioner having had some little smattering of the Irish Tongue; was far against his inclination, merely in obedience to the united presbyteries of Aberdeen and Kincarden, planted in that charge in March 1699, encouraged on the presbyteries promise that how soon providence opened a Door he should be transported to a more comfortable charge. Yet, notwithstanding, by reason of the Acts of Assembly against Minrs (ministers) being transported from the Highlands; your petitioner has now these eighteen years (to the great hazard of his health) laboured in a triple charge of three large Mountainous parishes of no less than thirty Miles in circumference from house to house, full of impassable Mountains and impetuous Rivers; The people almost all illiterate, and the half of them never seen by the pastor but often he go's from corner to corner amongst them. But now having spent his strength and being in the fourtie seventh year of his Age, his health is so far broken to visiting and catechising amongst them from house to house during the stormy winter seasons (for they can't be brought to attend at any other time of the year) That a few winters will end his Day's except he be relieved.

It is therefore, your petitioner humbly begs the venerable Assembly may be pleased out of compassion to his Age and Infirmitates to Dispencc with their Act with regard to him by Having him transportable to a low country charge, and therby give way to a healthfull clever young Man to succeed him who may prove much more useful than an infirm aged Man. And your petitioner will ever pray &c.¹²¹

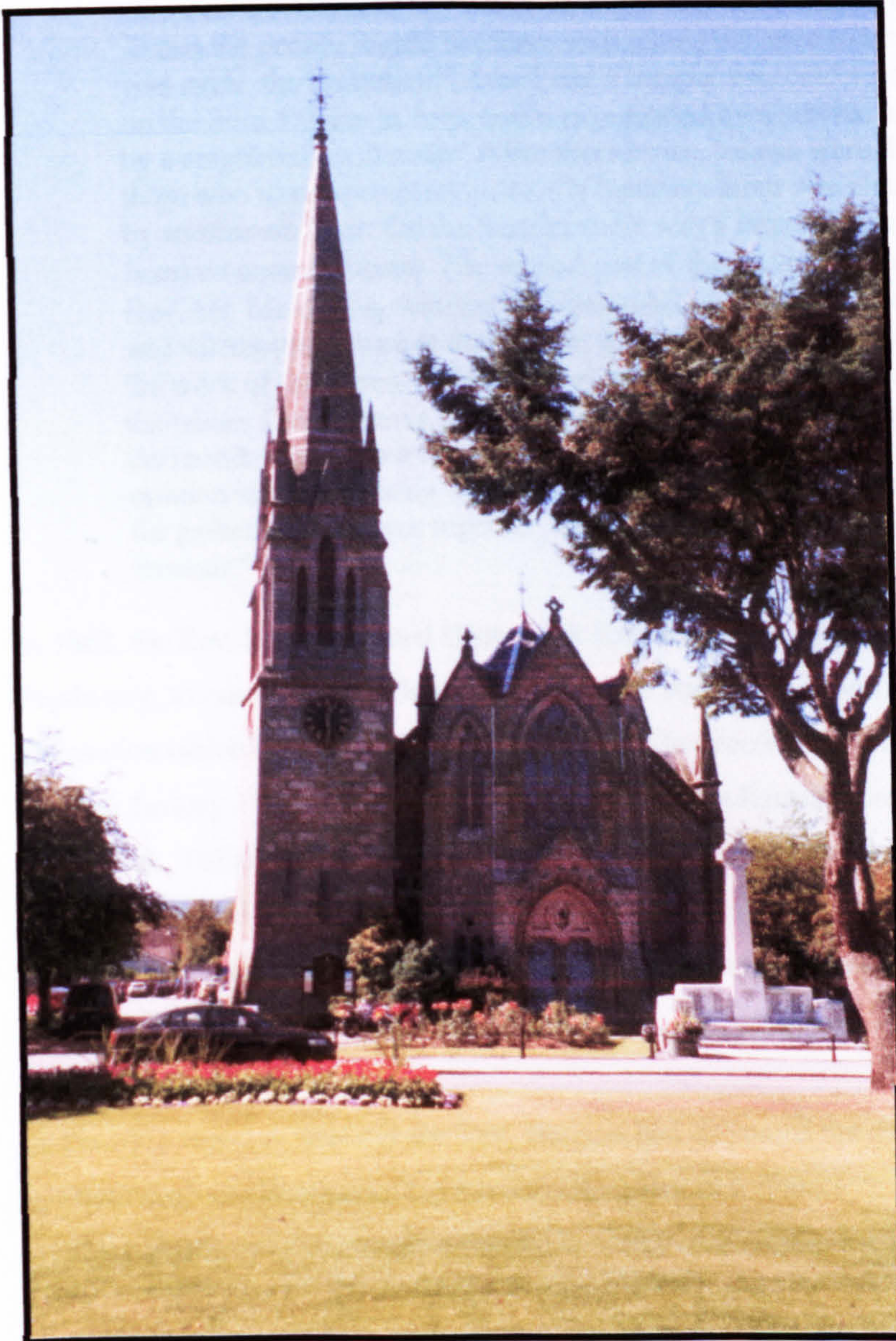
The completion of a stone bridge across the Dee at the proposed Ballater planned village in 1796 permitted the siting on the moor of Sluivannachie north of the river, of a single "centrical" parish church building around which a new community could be built (Plate 5.6).¹²² Most important, the new building was designed to accommodate the Presbyterian congregations hitherto dispersed in the three disparate, insular areas, Glen Muick, Tullich and Glen Gairn. In effect, a new physical and human geography was created with increased interaction possible in a single spatial area between people formerly tied to interests and loyalties shaped in the narrow environment of three individual relatively remote glens. The first minister of the new "centrical kirk on the muir" (Plate 5.6) was the Rev. George Brown, parish incumbent since 1791, and author of the parish report to the *OSA* in 1794. In 1817, Brown's successor, Rev. Hugh Burgess, a bachelor, aged 51, was admitted as assistant and successor to Rev. Brown and took charge of the United Parish in August 1818. Burgess, in turn, was author of the parish return to the *NSA* in 1842.

In 1841, the Rev Hugh Burgess, reported in the *OSA* that "there is a missionary chapel at Rinloan in Glen Gairn, about seven miles from the parish church; and its minister receives £60 annually from the

¹²¹ N.A.S., CH1/2/38: 6.

¹²² "Centrical" seems to have been adopted ad-hoc as a term appropriate to the location of the new Kirk building which formed a hub for three separate small medieval church buildings, each approximately one mile distant on the circumference. Originally termed Muirkirk of Glenmuick (or the Kirk on the moor), the combined congregation eventually settled for Church of Glenmuick.

Plate 5. 6



The "central kirk on the muir",
Ballater, Aberdeen-shire, erected
1798, reconstructed 1866. Gothic
design features are prominent.
(photo-JRS)

Committee managing the Royal Bounty, besides enjoying all the accommodations which they require.¹²³ Divine service at the parish church, and also at the chapel at Rinloan, is well attended, except on very bad days".¹²⁴ The decennial census of that year indicates that Donald Stewart, aged 40 years, was missionary minister, residing at Tullichmacarick.¹²⁵ On 12th April 1846, Rev. Robert Neil, took up the duty of Royal Bounty missionary at Glen Gairn in succession to the Rev. Stewart, and occupied the Tullichmacarick manse.¹²⁶ As discussed above, the perennial problem of travel, especially for the aged and infirm on an uncertain road surface in inclement weather, had been eased for both pastor and flock in upper Glen Gairn:

¹²³ *NSA*, 1842, 783.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 783.

¹²⁵ *Census*, 1841.

¹²⁶ Neil, 1943, 5: Born on his father's farm at Wreaton near Aboyne Castle in 1815, Neil attended the parish school at Aboyne

Until some years after my father went to Glen Gairn the Communion was not held here, but in Glenmuick parish church, once a year, when those who wished to attend walked, rode, or drove in carts. My father arranged that there should be Communion in Glen Gairn, so that the people should not have such a long distance to travel. After this arrangement was made, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was celebrated in the church once a year, on the third Sunday in July, and was preceded by a service on the Thursday, conducted by a neighbouring minister. After this service, tokens were distributed by the elders to those who were to communicate. On Saturday there was also a short service conducted by another minister. On the Sunday there was a large congregation, there being over a hundred communicants. The second part of the service was always conducted by the Rev. Mr. Middleton, minister of Glenmuick. All through there was a spirit of reverence and solemnity. Nature at that season was at its greatest beauty, and there was a pause in the work of the farms, before the hay was cut or the peats ready to be driven home to keep the winter fires burning. A suggestion was made at some time to change the date to one in the month of May, but this proposal was turned down. One of the congregation voiced his opinion in the following words: "The very flowers at the roadside tell us this is the time for gathering ourselves together, to keep in remembrance the dying love of our Saviour."¹²⁷

In 1862, the Rev. Neil petitioned Glenmuick Kirk session to cause the General Assembly, through Presbytery, to raise the Glen Gairn Mission to the status of a *quoad sacra* parish. Presbytery agreed and the motion tabled before the General Assembly. The erection to *quoad sacra* parish was accomplished on 28th January 1863, thereby reducing the spatial area formerly covered by the former United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn and permitting closer and more regular contact between Glen Gairn Presbyterians and their Minister. A feu, adds Neil, was granted by the Marquis of Huntly for the building of a new Glengairn manse at Dalfad, and completed that same year. A farm with a few acres was attached to it.¹²⁸

In his 1842 report to the OSA the Rev. Burgess had estimated the denominational following within the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn as follows :

Families - Established Church	-	462	:	Families - Catholic Church	-	86
Persons - Established Church	-	1919	:	Persons - Catholic Church	-	360

The following year, the Established Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, became embroiled in the Disruption conflict that erected the Free Church of Scotland on 18th May 1843 (q.v.Chap.3.19). The bitter dispute was apparently as acrimonious in upper Deeside as elsewhere. In the neighbouring parish of Crathie and Braemar, James Abercrombie, sheep-farmer at Cornalarick, wrote in 1843 to his daughter:

There are no other news more general – than our Church indeed I may say this poor thin peopled country at present divided into three classes – Presbyterians – Cecedars – and Romans – this place is all agitation every week there are meetings. Lecturing either on non-intrusion or on Romanism, the Minister is battling against the Priest and the Priest against the Minister yea even the Ministers are battling against each other in the

before graduating MA at King's College, Aberdeen. A schoolmaster at Tarland for twelve years, the Rev, Neil was appointed to the Church of Glengairn by the patrons, Farquharson of Invercauld and the Marquis of Huntly.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, 7.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, 12: "My father preached simply on our duty to God and man, and we were all well taught the Ten Commandments and the Shorter Catechism. Many years ago it was the custom for a minister to pay an annual visit of catechising to the houses of his parishioners, when a short service was held and questions were asked".

Church of Braemar (God help us).¹²⁹

In consequence of the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission dated 18th May 1843, the Free Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil was erected and a copy of the Free Church General Assembly's founding document tabled for signature by Presbytery members "present and future".¹³⁰ On 13th August 1843, three elders - William Reid, William Leslie and Donald McKenzie - together with a considerable number of the congregation, defected from the Established Glenmuick Kirk to form a Free Church congregation at Ballater.¹³¹ The Reverend Donald Campbell, "transferred from Cluny to Ballater, Aberdeenshire, to labour in that village"¹³² on the instructions of the Free Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil, reported to Presbytery on 17th June 1843 that:

he had repaired to Ballater, where he had procured a Hall as a place in which divine worship might be conducted; that an interdict had been obtained from the Sheriff by certain parties against his using it for that purpose; that in consequence he had been compelled to preach twice last Sabbath in the open air when the attendance was considerable; and that steps had been taken by the person from whom the Hall was rented to have the interdict removed, if possible.¹³³

At the Presbytery Meeting on 13th September 1843, Mr Campbell reported that:

he was continuing to preach in the open air and to labour otherwise at Ballater as before, that a Sabbath school had lately been commenced under his management with every prospect of success; that the Sheriff had given a decision refusing to withdraw the interdict against the use of the Hall by the congregation of the Free Church.¹³⁴

Mr. Campbell was formally inducted as Free Church minister at Ballater on 29th February 1844,¹³⁵ and still denied a feu within the spatial boundary of Ballater village, the "dissenters" or "Nons", as they were then termed,¹³⁶ occupied a building or "preaching station" within a sheep-cot set into the slope of Craighendarroch hill above the Braemar Road half a mile west of Ballater. Five months later, the Presbytery Minutes record that:

At Sheep Cote, Ballater, 14th August 1844: which day, after divine service conducted by Mr. Reid, Banchory, the Presbytery met and was constituted with prayer.¹³⁷

The Free Church presence remained at this site, notes Fraser, until a new Gothic-style ashlar stone

¹²⁹ McLeod et al, 2002, 38.

¹³⁰ N.A.S., CH3/ 528/1/11-12.

¹³¹ Referred to in private papers in possession of the writer, formerly among the estate documents of the late Misses Grant, "Glenmoriston", Queen's Road, Ballater. Their father, George Grant, 1828-1917, builder, acted as Presbytery elder in the Ballater Free Church for a number of years in the later-nineteenth century.

¹³² N.A.S., CH3/528/1: 23

¹³³ *Ibid*, 23.

¹³⁴ N.A.S., CH3/ 528/1: 38.

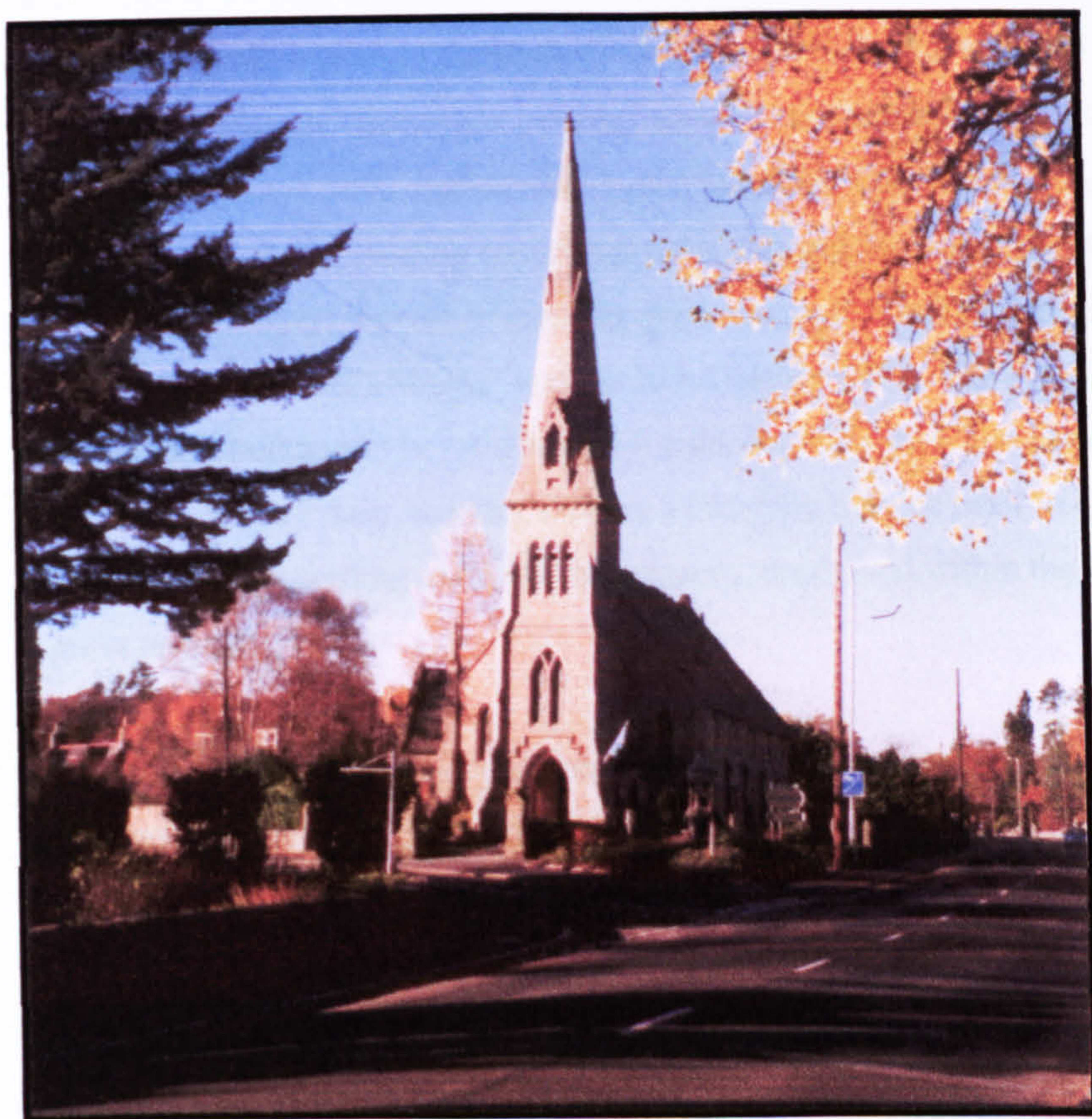
¹³⁵ *Ibid*, 71.

¹³⁶ "Nons", or more fully, Non-intrusionists. The Church of Scotland was torn apart by a disagreement over the right to appoint ministers. The Patronage Acts vested the right in heritors to intrude a minister of their choice albeit the chosen candidate might not be acceptable to the congregation.

¹³⁷ N.A.S., CH3/528/1/1/92..

church building was completed within Ballater village in 1870 (Plate 5.7).¹³⁸ It later served the United Free Church from 1900 until a belated 1936 reunion with the Established Church of Scotland.¹³⁹

Plate 5. 7



Free, later United Free Church, Ballater, Aberdeenshire. Now the "The Auld Kirk Hotel". (photo-JRS)

The sociological profile of the successive Ballater Free and United Free Churches' membership tended to show that their appeal rested with the middle classes of the district. This segment of society it is presumed was better able to finance the affairs of the new church.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Fraser, 1921, 190: The foundation stone of the building (the architects of which were Messrs. William Duguid & Sons, Ballater) was laid by the Earl of Kintore on 25th October 1869, and the church was opened for services on 6th August 1870. In 1936 the building became the Church Hall of the Established Church, and in the 1980s it was sold to a local builder for conversion into what is now "The Auld Kirk Hotel".

¹³⁹ Miscellaneous private correspondence- the late George Grant, Builder, Ballater: In 1914 the Ballater United Free Church Session determined to install an organ within the Church. An order was placed with the firm of W. Sauer in Frankfurt-on-Oder, Germany. With the outbreak of the First World War later that year, it was assumed that the order would not be met until hostilities ceased. In the event, shortly after the war commenced in Europe, a telegram was received that organ parts would accompany two German workmen who would arrive by train in Ballater within the week. The Session was faced by the problem of national security which was overcome by the workmen agreeing to reside within the Church until the building of the organ was complete. Beds were erected and Mrs. Duguid, a fluent German speaker, arranged the men's food and laundry. In the six weeks that it took the workmen to complete their task, they never left the Church building until they took the train back to Germany. With the reunion of the Ballater United Free Church and Established Church in 1936, the former building was used as a church hall and the organ removed. After storage for many years in Edinburgh, the Sauer organ was acquired and rebuilt during 1995-96, by members of All Saints Episcopal Church, Bearsden, near Glasgow. In recent years, the former Ballater Free Church building, internally reconstructed, has traded as "The Auld Kirk Hotel".

¹⁴⁰ Ballater Free Church and later Ballater United Free Church numbered in its congregation, farmers, bank employees and the headmaster of the local school. The late Misses Grant of Ardshiel and Glenmoriston, Queen's Road, Ballater, recalled to the writer that after the reunion was finally achieved in Ballater in 1936, it was noticeable that the former

On 31st August 1849, notes Speirs, Rev. Hugh Burgess died, aged 83 years, in the 51st year of his ministry and the 32nd of his incumbency in the Glenmuick Parish.¹⁴¹ In March of that same year, Rev. John Middleton, late of Dunfermline, had been inducted as Minister of the United Parish to begin a father and son ministry that, as Speirs shows, was to end in 1928.¹⁴² The following year, 1850, recounts Sedgwick, the old manse on the bank of the Muick was demolished and its former site became a garden. By that time, the new Glenmuick minister was in residence at Invermuick nearby.¹⁴³ The Church records for 22nd September 1872 confirm that a plan to rebuild Glenmuick Parish Church had been set afoot and contracts entered into. Seating was planned for 600 and for 100 in the gallery. This proved too small on Communion Sundays, but otherwise was quite adequate. The last service held in the old building, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was on 20th October 1872. The Free (North) Church¹⁴⁴ Kirk Session allowed their building to be used for the Established (South) Churches services.¹⁴⁵ On Thursday, 25th June, 1874, states Fraser, the first service, a Fast Day Service prior to Communion the following Sunday, 28th June, was, according to established custom, conducted within the new Glenmuick Parish Church by a guest preacher.¹⁴⁶

In 1881 the decennial census indicates that the United Parish population had dropped to 2019. In that year reformed religion in the Ballater district could accommodate, if it could not embrace, 1250 persons, viz.,

Glenmuick Church	700 seated
Free Church	450 seated
Episcopal Church	100 seated

In theory there was devotional space available for all adherents of the Reformed faith, both residents and visitors, with a will to share in Christian witness. In 1884, records Speirs, the Rev. James R. Middleton, born in the Invermuick manse on 23rd January 1860,¹⁴⁷ was ordained into Glenmuick Parish Church in succession to his father, the Rev. John Middleton, inducted in 1849.¹⁴⁸ It must be assumed that Ballater's enduring Established Kirk congregation, following the trauma of earlier Disruption, had no desire to change the pattern of worship that remained secure in Middleton hands for almost eighty years.

members of the Free Church contributed with a more generous spirit of Christian giving to the Weekly Freewill Offering, as was their tradition, than members of the "Auld Kirk" (not to be confused with "The Auld Kirk Hotel").

¹⁴¹ Speirs, 2002, ML114.

¹⁴² *Ibid* ML267.

¹⁴³ Sedgwick, 1991, 73.

¹⁴⁴ With the erection of Ballater Free Church building within the village in 1870, the geographical term North was applied to the building to distinguish it from the older Established (South) Church building in the centre of the village. It is assumed that rivalry was the catalyst for the reconstruction and upgrading of the latter in 1872.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 1991, 75.

¹⁴⁶ Fraser, 1921, 190: The new Glenmuick Parish Church was designed by J. Russell Mackenzie, architect for Rubislaw Parish Church, Aberdeen.

¹⁴⁷ James Middleton, appears on the roll of Ballater Public School in 1873-74 (Fig. 5.7).

¹⁴⁸ Speirs, 2003, ML 267.

5.5 Kinord: a rational disjunction from Glenmuick Parish

With the disjunction of Glengairn in 1863, attention was focussed on Kinord ¹⁴⁹ at the eastern extremity of the United Parish (Plate 5.8). In common with the former experience of Glen Gairn congregation, Kinord worshippers faced an arduous round journey of fourteen miles to and from the "centrical kirk" at Ballater village (Fig. 4.1). From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, decennial census data indicate that most people in the Kinord area were drawn from the disadvantaged labouring classes and, where not passengers in available farm carts, ¹⁵⁰ required to travel about their daily occupations on foot. The weekly excursion, noted by the Rev. James Middleton, parish incumbent, is descriptive severally of travel, Lord's Day wearing apparel and the prevailing Church liturgy, for most part of the nineteenth century within the United Parish area:

Up to 1886 worshippers came to church in carts from the shores of Loch Kinord, there being no parish or church at Dinnet. Particularly on a Communion Sunday - the first of May - there could be seen from the bridge (Ballater) a long line of carts moving slowly up the river side, conveying many aged folk, the women wearing shawls and picturesque white mutches scarcely seen in public after 1870. They took part in successive "Table Services" which were addressed by two or more ministers, the day's worship lasting from 11 to 3, or even 3.30 o'clock. ¹⁵¹

The ford and ferry provision at Dinnet, notes Fraser, ended with the erection of an iron girder bridge in 1861-62. A road from the bridge leading north through Kinord to Tarland was then created. In 1866, the extension of the Deeside railway-line to Ballater was completed and the village of Dinnet, located south of Kinord, was designated a station halt and thereby a new focal point for the Kinord district. A new landscape pattern based upon improved communications had been created in the United Parish of Glenmuick and Tullich, with definite implications for the district's religious geography.

There had been no church building in the Dinnet area since Glentanar Church (the Black Kirk on the Moor), close to the old ford across the Dee, was abandoned in 1763. From a geographical perspective the Dinnet area, albeit at the edge of the notional Highland boundary line, was more accessible within the Lowland parish of Aboyne. Early in 1874, observes Fraser, the Aboyne minister, Rev. James Mackenzie, through Presbytery, petitioned the Church of Scotland's Home Mission Committee to subscribe to the building of a new parish church at Dinnet. Other sources contributed to the cost of building. On 18th July 1876, Dinnet Church opened for public worship as a *Chapel of Ease*. ¹⁵² Petition was then made to erect Dinnet into a *quoad sacra* parish, and this request was granted in 1881. ¹⁵³ With the creation of Dinnet Parish, Inchmarnoch and Dinnet districts consequently disjoined from Glenmuick Parish, which thereby

¹⁴⁹ Kinord website - <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/geospatial/crsms/dinnet/egpart1.htm>

¹⁵⁰ Even until the railway line between Aberdeen and Ballater with its halt at Dinnet was permanently closed in 1966, there was no Sunday traffic, either passenger or goods, carried on the line. When omnibus companies made their appearance in the early-nineteenth century, a farmer's horse and cart was still used by cottar families for social outings and, of course, numerous term-end flittings of "feed" employees.

¹⁵¹ Middleton, 1922, 27.

¹⁵² Chapel of Ease: a chapel or dependent church built for the ease or accommodation of an increasing parish or for parishioners who live at a distance from the principal church (Webster's Thesaurus).

¹⁵³ Fraser, 1921, 170.

Plate 5. 8



Kinord in the 1880s. View of a "fossil" landscape, now a nature reserve and hidden under birch-wood, juniper and heather. The cottage remains extant as the Scottish National Heritage visitors' centre. (GWW. Collection, University of Aberdeen Photo Archives - reproduction granted).

lost 110 communicants. The first Dinnet minister appointed in 1876, records Speirs, was the Rev. John Grant Michie, formerly a schoolmaster at Logie-Coldstone and noted for his historical and antiquarian publications. He served the Dinnet Parish until his death in January 1904.¹⁵⁴

5. 6 The Episcopal Church in Glenmuick Parish.

Following the Reformation in Scotland argues Bertie, the Episcopalians of Glenmuick held the Parish Church until 1698.¹⁵⁵ Whereas prelacy¹⁵⁶ as an administrative structure in the Reformed Church overtly ceased in upper Deeside from the latter year, the Diocese of Aberdeen, claims Bertie, continued to represent the eighteenth century Episcopal heartland.¹⁵⁷ Episcopal ministry did not resume within

¹⁵⁴ Speirs, 2002. M.I. 6.

¹⁵⁵ Bertie, 2000, 528: The last two incumbents notes Scott, were David Guthrie in the decade 1687 to 1697, followed by his brother, Gidgeon Guthrie from 1697 to 1698.

¹⁵⁶ Prelacy: Government of the Church by prelates - ecclesiastical dignitaries, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, metropolitans, patriarchs. Literally, a prelate is a person 'placed before, preferred before' others in honour or jurisdiction (Nigel Cameron, ed., *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, Edinburgh, 1993, 672).

¹⁵⁷ Bertie, 2000, 517: With the exception of one brief (1715-1721) period, there was a continuous succession of Bishops of Aberdeen. In 1784 the Diocese contained one-third of all Episcopalian clergy in Scotland, and three of the four bishops resided there. Nineteenth-century missionary activity was mainly targeted at Donside and Deeside which had hitherto

Glenmuick Parish until re-imported in the later-nineteenth century. The fashionable acquisition of Highland sporting estates and large houses by affluent Lowlanders from an Anglican background, invariably attended by a retinue of "imported" household staff from the Lowlands, did not escape upper Deeside in Victorian times.¹⁵⁸ The composition of a typical upper Deeside house party, replicated throughout the Highlands, has been illustrated in Chapter 2 (Fig. 2.4).

On his sporting estate of Glen Tanar, notes Speirs, Sir William Cunliffe Brooks (1819-1900), an eccentric banker and M.P. from Manchester,¹⁵⁹ built the private Episcopalian Chapel of St. Lesmo in 1872, on the ruins of the old house of Braeloin. Formerly the centre of the community of Braeloin and Knockieside mentioned in the 1696 Poll, the inhabitants farmed the flat land and catered for the passing trade on the Firmouth drove road (Fig. 5.2).¹⁶⁰ In 1875, three miles west of Glentanar, notes Jervise, Sir James Mackenzie (1818-1890) raised a granite-built private chapel - the Episcopal Church of St. Nathalan's - within the grounds of his family seat, the House of Glenmuick (Fig. 5.1)¹⁶¹. Opened for public service on 22nd August 1875, St. Nathalan's was regarded as the Ballater mission. Summer and occasional services conducted by various clergy were held there from 1875 until an Episcopalian church was erected at Ballater village in 1897.¹⁶²

In 1945 the Ballater charge was raised to an incumbency and re-dedicated to St. Kentigern.¹⁶³ Under new ownership of Glenmuick Estate in the early 1950s, the former mission chapel of St. Nathalan was demolished. To this day, there remains a marked dearth of resident Episcopalian communicants in the upper Deeside area.¹⁶⁴ The geographical area covered by the single Episcopalian clergyman in upper Deeside, at present domiciled in Ballater, is extensive.

5.7 Secret Beliefs: Freemasonry within Glenmuick Parish

The Rev. Hugh Burgess in his 1842 report to the NSA, claimed that the planned village of Ballater possessed "a Friendly Society, St Nathalan's, a masonic lodge, whose Charter from the Grand Lodge of

lacked an Episcopalian presence (apart from a charge at Monymusk) and the City of Aberdeen.

¹⁵⁸ Smith, 1989, 35.

¹⁵⁹ Brooks purchased the Glen Tanar estate in 1870. He also acquired the estates of Ferrar and Aboyne Castle. Brooks' eccentricities led him to erecting estate buildings, wells and monuments in the English oast-house style, each decorated with a pithy text and his initials, WCB. One text states, "The worm of the still is the deadliest snake of the hill" - a reminder that illicit whisky-making was once rife in the glen" (Smith, 1989, 34).

¹⁶⁰ Speirs, 2002: In 1638 John Garden of Bellamore took the Feu of "the croft of Braeloin and Glen Tanar, and the ale-house croft" from the Marquess of Huntly. The most recent tenant of Braeloin and the Mill was Peter Begg in 1830. Sir William Cunliffe Brooks acquired the Glentanar estate in 1869 and began a programme of building work in the English oast-house style.

¹⁶¹ Jervise, 1879, 165.

¹⁶² Culter: St. Peter's Heritage Hall website: The Episcopal Church found, due to the coming of the railway, the need for a new place of worship within Ballater village. In 1897, Bishop Douglas of Aberdeen and Orkney decided that Ballater should have its own place of worship. He provided a loan of £409 for the erection a corrugated iron chapel. ("Tin Kirkie"). This stood a little way to the south of the present church. In 1906, the present granite building was designed by Dr. Marshall MacKenzie and completed in 1907. The corrugated building was then purchased for £100 by St. Peter's Parish Church, Culter, Aberdeenshire, and put to use as a church hall. The cost of removal and re-erection was £65.

¹⁶³ The title St. Nathalan was subsequently adopted by the Ballater R.C. Chapel.

¹⁶⁴ The resident Episcopalian rector in Ballater village currently serves an area extending from the Mar Lodge private chapel

Plate 5. 9



St. Kentigern Episcopal Church, Ballater., Aberdeenshire, (photo-JRS)

Scotland is dated 9th May 1815".¹⁶⁵ Ballater village plans of 1870 (Figure 5.7) show that the Masonic Lodge was erected to the rear of, and in close proximity to, the "central" church sponsored among others by William Farquharson of Monaltrie,¹⁶⁶ whom Day classifies as a "gentleman contractor".¹⁶⁷ Farquharson, land superior, whose portrait was painted by Sir John Watson Gordon, PRSA, for the benefit of the Lodge - it forms a centrepiece to the main chamber - was the first Right Worshipful Master, Ballater Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, Nathalan No.259. Alexander Sheriffs, a native of Clatt, Aberdeen-shire, notes Jervais, was the builder of both the second stone bridge over the Dee at Ballater and the "central kirk". When he died in 1822, Sheriffs was depute-master of the Nathalan Lodge of Freemasons, of which he was one of the original members.¹⁶⁸

four miles west of Braemar, to Aboyne, a distance of 35 miles by road.

¹⁶⁵ NSA, 1842, 784.

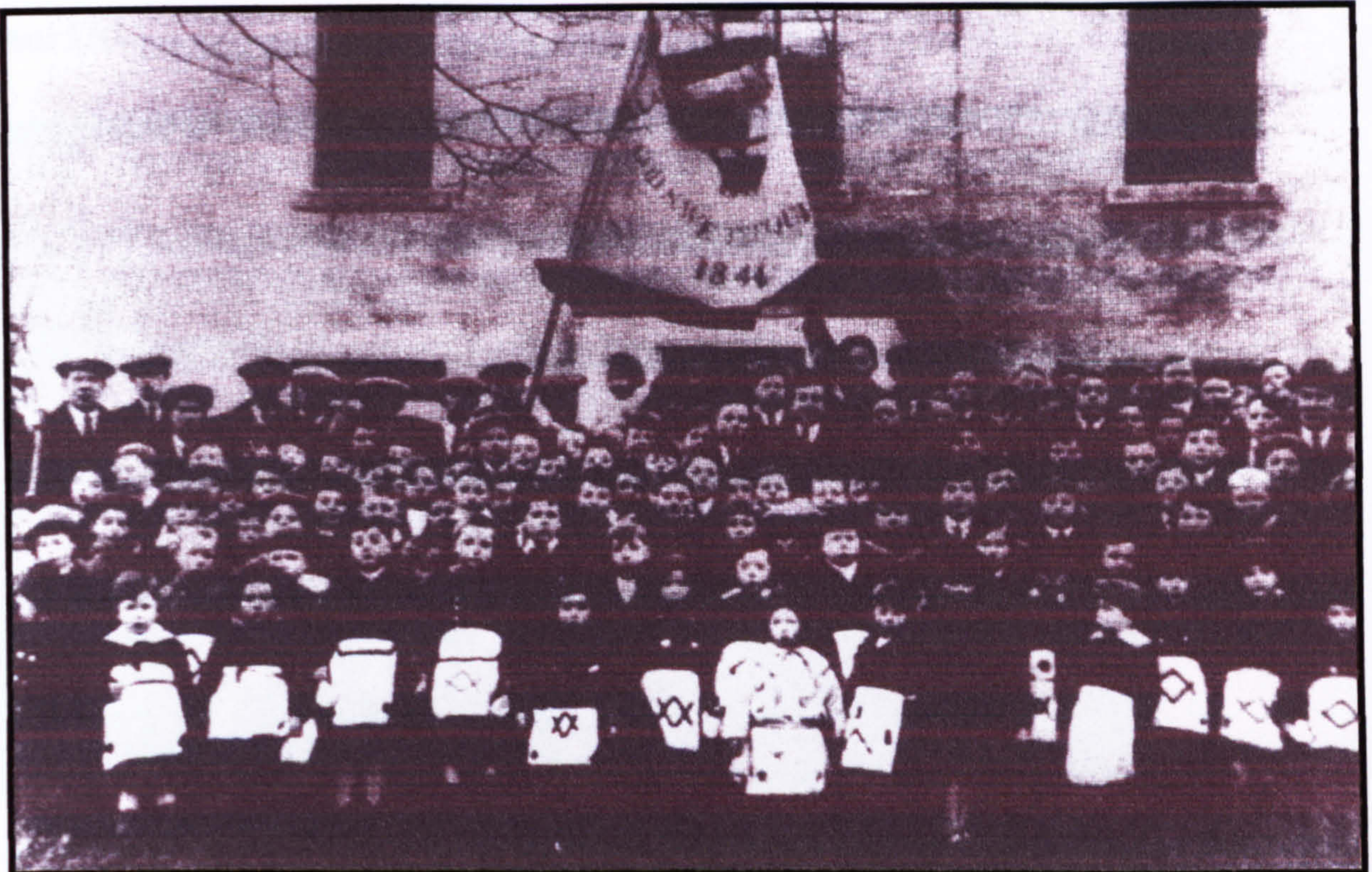
¹⁶⁶ *Ballater Times*, 2003, 18: Sir Walter Scott was a frequent visitor to Ballater, arriving by coach to reside with William Farquharson of Monaltrie. Both were members of the Royal Company of Archers (and active Freemasons). In 1717 Scott married Charlotte Mary Carpenter, daughter of a French Royalist refugee. A copy of the marriage certificate is retained in the Glenmuick Kirk Record Book. Tullich community had reputedly been a Royal Burgh, and when Ballater village became the new centre of the area, William Farquharson is known to have persuaded Scott to intercede on his behalf to have Ballater created a Royal Burgh. It is said that Scott later mislaid the original petition papers and these were never re-drafted. Consequently Ballater, noted for its display of Royal appointments on commercial premises since Victorian times, was denied Royal status.

¹⁶⁷ Day, 1996, 80.

¹⁶⁸ Jervais, 1875, 158.

The Disruption of 1843 in the Established Church of Scotland split communities throughout the nation. Concern for the welfare of the local Established Church, reports the *Ballater Eagle*, prompted the Ballater Lodge to launch a recruiting drive.¹⁶⁹ This action, it would seem, implies a strong connection between the local Established Church and Freemasonry. In consequence, the Ballater Juvenile Masons Society, unique anywhere in the world,¹⁷⁰ argues Gillies, was founded in 1844 (Plate 5.10).

Plate 5. 10



Ballater Juvenile Masons group in 1920s (*Deeside Field*, 1962, 36). One member of the group, Alexander Alexander ("Double Sandy") attended the commemorative march on 27th December 2004.

Initiation into the Society by its young applicants seems to have parodied the ceremonial undergone by members of the parent Lodge.¹⁷¹ The stated object of the Society was to impress on the minds of young boys the value of good friendship and brotherly love, and the hope that when old enough they would

¹⁶⁹ *Ballater Eagle*, No.33 (Summer) 2004, 16.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 16: As a result to the mid-nineteenth century diaspora from the North-East, strong Ballater links with Ballarat in Victoria, Australia - the name Ballarat is an anagram of Ballater - witnessed a second Juvenile Masons Society established there in the 1850s. The Australian group is no longer in existence, but at Ballater, Aberdeenshire, "masonic" boys between the ages of 3 and 12 years continue to march on Hogmanay to the home of a local landowner, later followed that same evening by a concert and dispense of gifts in the village's Victoria Hall. To celebrate the 160th year of its founding in Ballater, a Grand Anniversary March through the village, incorporating some ninety former members of the Society, followed by a "stovie" (culinary dish) dance in the village's Victoria Hall, was held on Monday, 27th December, 2004.

¹⁷¹ Gillies, 1962, 36: "I joined the Ballater "Little Masons" more than 60 years ago (c.1900). At the age of five my name was put forward for nomination and accepted. On the passing-out night I was seated in the ante-room awaiting my turn to enter the holy of holies and at the impressionable age of five considerably overawed by the screams of amazement of those already passed and received into the general body of the Lodge and wondering what was in store for me. I was led blindfold into the secret room and given a lecture on the brotherhood of man, The "Sacred Rites" of the "Little Masons" were solemnly administered. Hands passed over my brow compelling me to remember my vows. My lips were sealed by

join the Senior Lodge, as apparently many did. Their great day, claims Gillies, was Hogmanay, 31st December. Adorned with a simple white apron bearing Lodge insignia (Plate 5.11) and headed by a pipe band, the boys marched to a local laird's mansion - formerly to the House of Glenmuick - where they were provided with tea and cakes followed by a scramble for pennies. In the evening the boys were entertained along with their girl partners in the village hall.¹⁷² It would be astonishing not to conclude that Ballater planned village and its surrounding parish harboured an influential and enduring power group in Freemasonry acting in nebulous association with the Established parish church.

Plate 5. 11



Ballater Juvenile Masons' annual march to Braichley House, Ballater, c.1938. Several members of this group attended the commemorative march to Balgonie House and Craigendarroch House in December, 2004. (photo-J.Reid, Photographer, Ballater).

From Catholic baptismal records made available by Strath-Maxwell, it is noticeable that between 1815 and 1841, by which time the population of the planned village had risen to 317 persons, only four separate families seem to have had a Roman Catholic connection; Stuart, Calder, McKenzie and McHardie.¹⁷³ It will later be suggested that there is significance in the fact that the first R.C. Chapel built within Ballater planned village dates from 1908, fully a century after the Village Square was laid out and the first dressed granite stone and slate-built houses were constructed on the moor.

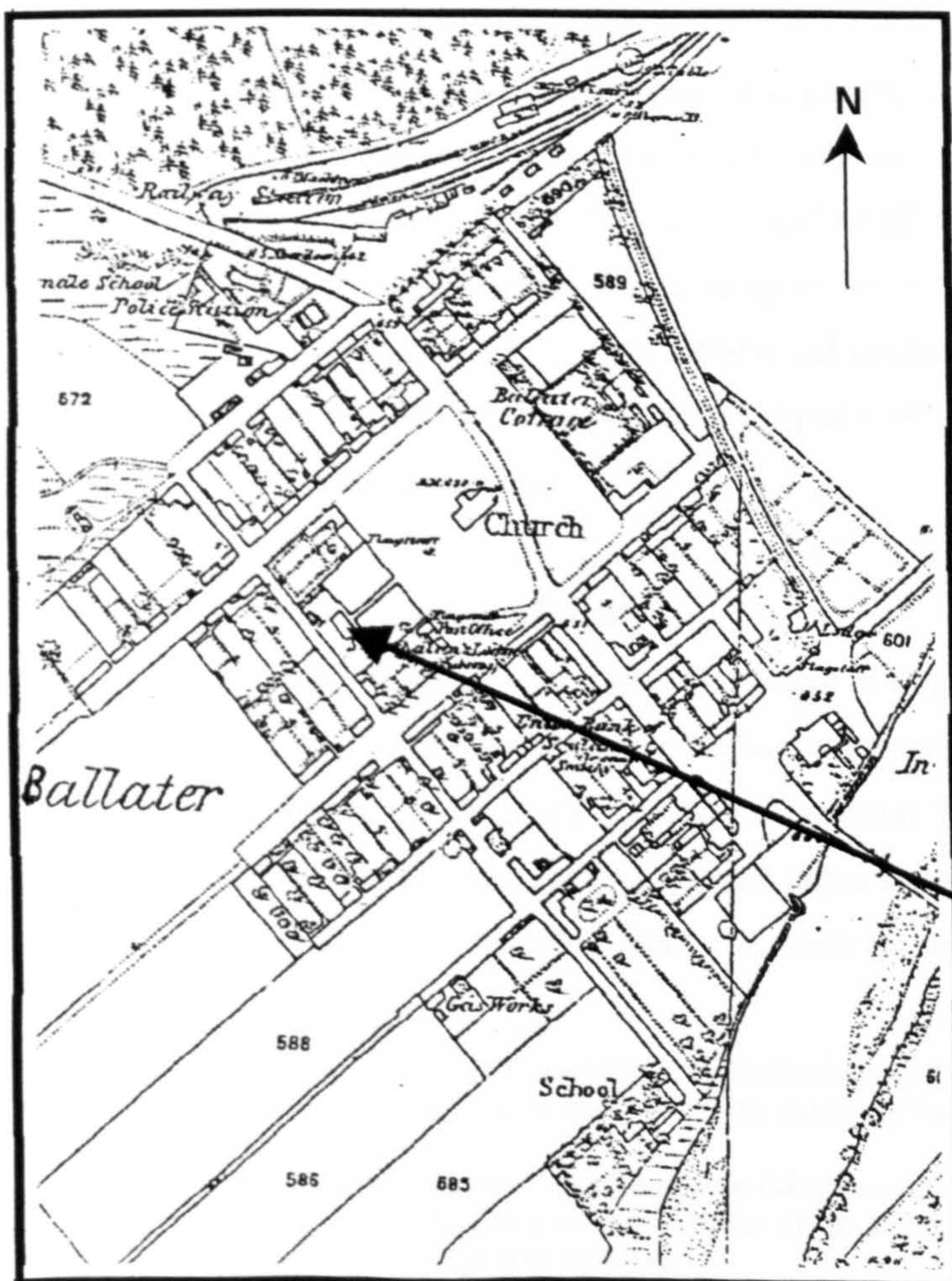
the same method and my face generally received attention - all as I suspected and discovered later - with a liberal application of soot! I was given a secret password: "So hence, circumbendibus" (whatever that meant) and a secret handgrip, and, after having solemnly sworn not to reveal my secrets to any but a fellow Mason, I was unceremoniously thrown into the main assembly room where I was received by the already initiated with shouts of jubilation and general approval. The important thing was - did I get my full application of soot?"

¹⁷² *Ibid*, 1962, 36.

¹⁷³ Strath-Maxwell, 1967, 1-67.

With one notable exception, argues McWilliam, all Farquharson lairds were Protestant.¹⁷⁴ The Farquharson dynasty, claims Roberts, as feudal superiors of the landscape in that part of upper Deeside in the early-nineteenth century, harboured a disinclination to let farms and village feus other than to adherents of the Reformed Church. In consequence it effectively controlled the patterns of Christian mission within the United Parish. With the hindsight of history, it is not too extravagant a claim to suggest that the Farquharson dynasty attempted in upper Deeside, to create a Reformed landscape free from the icons of competing devotional practice. In making that proposition, one cannot readily establish proof beyond reasonable doubt, but merely look to a balance of probability. It must be emphasised, however, that the economic, social and cultural change over time in the Highland landscape, which presented a challenge to ecclesiastical mission, conformed to no universal pattern or standard method either in time or place.

Fig. 5.7



Ballater planned village in 1870, showing St. Nathalan's Lodge south-west of the church. *The Shaping of 19th Century Aberdeenshire*. S. Wood, 1985. 60.

¹⁷⁴ McWilliam, 1972, 27.

5.8 The Supernatural and Superstition within Glenmuick Parish

Long conditioned by an "Old Faith" spiritual grounding that relied upon miracles and saints to support a weak faith, nineteenth century belief in the upper Deeside glens would appear to have retained a pagan or supernatural dimension. This phenomenon appears particularly so in Glen Gairn where, according to Dilworth, there was a belief in fairies and ghosts. In support of this claim, Dilworth records the testimony of Lewis Mackenzie of Laggan Farm:

On the brae o' Tomnafiorac the fairies hed their dwellin' Twa farmers were comin' doon by Lary, each wi' a bag o' meal on his back, and ane of them seein' the fairies dancin' in the shelter o' the hull was trysted awa to join them ...¹⁷⁵

A similar "fairy" incident, claims Neil, occurred at the sheep-farm of Daldownie.¹⁷⁶ Likewise, Mrs. McKenzie of Laggan, recalls a supernatural experience from her young days in Glengairn around the first quarter of the nineteenth-century:

Ghosts were often seen . . . Something not belonging to this world was met at the ford of the tree in the Glack o' Morven. Old John Reid encountered it, but would never reveal what he had seen. Dead candles were many a time to be seen; they wad flash frae the spot where the death was to occur to the churchyard; not many were privileged to see the flickering light as it passed . . .¹⁷⁷

More understandable from an attendance perspective, people were afraid not to go and celebrate the feast of St. Mungo - *Feill Macha* referred to in Chapter 4 - at Foot of Gairn. If they failed to attend, reports Dilworth, there was a superstition that they would not live till the following year.¹⁷⁸ The pragmatic exploitation of these irrational beliefs by the country miller in the interests of security has been referred to in Chapter 3.3. Coupled with a long oral tradition and limited education in the vagaries of natural phenomena, it is assumed that supernatural events as perceived by simple people in remote areas, were ever in tension with received religion.

5.9 Education within Glenmuick Parish

Education in the medieval period rested with the church in its grammar schools and song schools located within those larger centres of population attached to cathedral foundations. At the Reformation in Scotland in 1560, the compilers of the *Book of Discipline* had stressed "The Necessity of Schooles",¹⁷⁹ but there appears to be no record of formal education in rural upper Deeside, Aberdeen-shire, until the late-seventeenth century. In 1693, claims Sedgwick, the Kirk Session and Heritors of the United Parish of

¹⁷⁵ Dilworth, 1956, 98: On the slope of Tomnafiorac hillside, the fairies had their dwelling-place. Two farmers were coming down past Lary farm, each with a bag of meal on his back, and one of them espied the fairies dancing in the lea of the hill and was enticed away to join them.

¹⁷⁶ Neil, 1934, 3: A mile farther down the Glen (Gairn) from Corndavon (shooting lodge) is a sheep-farm, Daldownie, where many years ago lived a man who firmly believed in fairies. He declared that he heard their revels by night and asserted that he saw the marks of their footsteps in the morning.

¹⁷⁷ Dilworth, 1956, 16.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 17.

¹⁷⁹ Cameron, 1972, 130: Of necessitie therefore we judge it, that every severall kirk have one School-maister appointed, such a one at least as is able to teach Grammar and the Latine if the town be of any reputation. If it be upland where the people convene to doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister there appointed take care over the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the rudiments and especially in the Catechisme as we have it now translated in the booke of common order called the order of Geneva (Book of Discipline).

Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn agreed that a parochial schoolmaster should be appointed.¹⁸⁰ However, there is no record of the first schoolmaster's appointment to the parish, but the 1696 Poll Tax Return reveals that a Mr. Charles Young,¹⁸¹ schoolmaster at Glen Muick, was appointed "Clerk and Collector nominat" for both the parish of Tullich and the parish of Glen Muick.¹⁸² This would be in compliance with the 1696 Act for Settling of Schools, noted earlier by Withrington.¹⁸³ In accord with the times, the new parochial schools were necessarily Presbyterian in outlook.¹⁸⁴ Three years later, in 1699, Glenmuick Kirk session records mention "Mr. John Fraser the schoolmaster" in connection with a service at Tullich.¹⁸⁵

With only one parochial school set in a widespread parish area, few children in the harsh physical conditions of upper Deeside glens could have had consistent access to an elementary education based, as it was, on moral principles. To ease the situation, the General Assembly, states Withers, passed Acts implementing the provision of Highland Libraries in 1704 and 1705.¹⁸⁶ It is thus apparent, notes Simpson, that the Established Church recognised the importance of books as a means of religious instruction in educationally deprived areas.¹⁸⁷ Consequently, in 1706, Kincardine O'Neil Presbytery possessed a library and was allotted four boxes of books sent from Edinburgh to furnish parochial libraries at Crathie and Glen Muick.¹⁸⁸ The following year, the schoolmaster at Glen Muick requested that these books be forwarded. The Glenmuick session records show that in 1716, 1718, 1723, 1726 and 1752, collections were made at Glen Muick for books to poor children; the SSPCK sent them by sea to Aberdeen and the Kirk Session paid for horse transport to Deeside.¹⁸⁹

Opportunity for elementary education had been increased in 1709 when, as discussed in Chapter 3, the SSPCK was founded in Edinburgh.¹⁹⁰ In 1712, John Clow was appointed teacher to Auchintoul in upper

¹⁸⁰ Sedgwick, 1990,

¹⁸¹ Simpson, 1947, 10: The prefix "Mr" in earlier days was always an academic, never a courtesy, title.

¹⁸² A&NESFHS, 2003, 155: *The People of Tullich. Glengairdine & Glenmuick, 1696*, (republishation).

¹⁸³ Withrington, 1962, 89: The Act of 1696 did not itself require the master's political and religious beliefs to be approved: it states only that a school should be settled and a schoolmaster appointed "by advice of the heritors and minister of the parish". Following the Revolution every schoolmaster was obliged to sign an oath of allegiance to the monarchy and an act of submission to the Presbyterian government of the church.

¹⁸⁴ In July, 1689, Episcopal government in the church - prelacy - was abolished and by April, 1690, the Presbyterian court system of General Assembly, Synods, Presbyteries and Sessions was restored

¹⁸⁵ Simpson, 1947, 17: Glenmuick Kirk Session Minutes, 17/9/1699.

¹⁸⁶ Withers, 1988, 137: From 1706, the General Assembly, under the terms of an Act of that year, directed its Libraries Committee to report on 'the prevalence of Popery', on the extent of "Paganish customs", and upon those parts of the Highlands in need of schools or Gaelic-speaking clergy or bursars. Their chief function as symbolic outposts of authority in the wilderness of Highland ignorance was a storehouses of Presbyterian literature to be used by ministers, schoolmasters - "responsible persons" - to civilise the Highlands.

¹⁸⁷ Simpson, 1947, 204.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 204.

¹⁸⁹ Simpson, 1947, 153: Glenmuick Kirk Session Minutes, 1716; 23/8/1718; 1723; 1726; 1752.

¹⁹⁰ Simpson, 1947, 146: "The SSPCK, whose first parent was granted in 1709, began to erect and support schools in large and sparsely populated parishes. For the support of the Society's work, collections were made for many years in the Scottish kirks".

Glenairn in what the SPCK termed a "free itinerant school".¹⁹¹ The following year, Clow is reported in the General Assembly Minutes to have met with opposition from "the papists who are very throng in that country".¹⁹² At the same Meeting, Mr. James Robertson, Minister of Glenmuick, claiming two other parishes in his charge, proposed that the Auchintoul school be removed to Bridge of Gairn in the lower - Protestant - part of the Glen. In accordance with SSPCK policy, Robertson recommended "that the school should be removed once a year or a year and a half".¹⁹³ In practice, to ensure as far as possible an even Anglicisation of a wide parish area, SSPCK schools moved their location across the landscape every two years with the object of ensuring that the maximum number of children received the benefit of formal teaching. In this instance, Tombellie in Glen Muick, Auchintoul in Glen Gairn and Tullich were alternating SSPCK sites within the United Parish. The Minute Books of the SSPCK show that on 6th November 1718:

The Committee in like manner informed that they having by letter from Mr. James Robertson, Minister at Glenmuick, had a very satisfying account of ye Society's School in his parish, of ye Schoolmaster's Diligence. They had at his request removed ye same from Glenmuick where it then was, to Tullich, another part of that parish which stands in great need of a school. And the General Meeting approved of this Transportation.¹⁹⁴

In 1714, Auchintoul school shifted once again to Tombellie and John Clow was relocated to the SSPCK school in Braemar.¹⁹⁵

Despite the implementation of organised education, there were no settled parochial schools in the parishes of upper Deeside, observes Simpson, until 1729. Even if there had been, adds Simpson, the extent of the parishes and their physical features made other schools necessary.¹⁹⁶ Inhibiting this need was the seeming perennial reluctance of both heritors and subscribers to meet their obligations for educational provision.

On 6th November 1718:

The Committee showed that they, having had under consideration on the list of Deficients, Found that in divers corners of the Country there are persons who have subscribed or promised to contribute to ye Society's Fund that have not as yet paid in any part of their money. Therefore they had ordered letters to be written and sent to ye several presbyterys desiring to acquaint to pay with certification that they will be pursued; and entreating presbyterys to deal with such as have not yet contributed to do it; and to send hither an account of all ye Contributions in their Bounds: The General Meeting having heard this Report did approve of this part

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*, 147: "John Clow, the teacher appointed to Auchintoul in 1712, was prolific of ideas for the better conduct of the Society's schools - ideas which he urged upon the Society in several letters".

¹⁹² N.A.S., GD95/1/1/191: The first (SSPCK) schools to be set up in twelve districts of the Highlands and Islands were called "free itinerant schools". Two of them were in Aberdeenshire "in and about the Bracs of Marr on the heads of the Rivers Don and Dee." It was agreed to build the two Aberdeenshire schools at Castletown (Braemar village) and Auchintoul (in Glen Gairn,) in which places Roman Catholic enclaves had remained untouched since the Reformation in 1560.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, 191.

¹⁹⁴ N.A.S., GD95 1/2: 24.

¹⁹⁵ Simpson, 1947, 149: "Clow, that champion of Protestantism, during the Rebellion, 'contracted too great an intimacy with papists; and though he was neither Reader nor precentor did on last Sabbath of January read the pretender's proclamations'. He apologised, but was discharged".

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 146.

of their committee's management.¹⁹⁷

Another recurring problem identified by Withrington was the reluctance of heritors to provide a parochial school in the same area as an SSPCK school. In 1758 the Society gave notice to the General Assembly of its intention to withdraw charity schools from parishes unprovided with parochial ones. As a result, the Assembly ordered presbyteries to have "parochial schools with legal salaries, erected in every parish, as the law directs".¹⁹⁸

In 1719, the SSPCK school was located at Tombellie, Glen Muick, with Andrew Rule the schoolmaster. From the Minutes of the Stated Quarterly Meeting of the SSPCK in Edinburgh on 20th March 1719, some indication can be gleaned of the varied school curriculum at that period and, if not subject to a measure of embellishment, the efficacy of the educational system within a rural parish. However, an emphasis upon learning the Protestant Resolution concerning papists reveals the explicit tenor of SSPCK teaching:

The Committee reported that they had received a letter from Andrew Rule, school master at Glenmuick, showing that his School was upon the 3rd of February last, Visited by a Committee of the presbytery. And that ye schollars then present were 61, whereof 21 writing, 7 learning Arithmetick, 26 in the Bible, 4 in the proverbs, 2 in the Catechism and 2 spelling. And that the said Committee found ye Schollars in their several classes, to read Distinctly and pointedly. And that they answered the Shorter Catechism very well, and six of them did report the whole of the Protestants Resolution why he will not be a papist. Many of them wrote handsomely and two of them have learned both ye Vulgar Fractions and Decimal Arithmetick and the extraction of Square and Cube Roots and one of them have learned through ye Vulgar Fractions; Most of those writing Schollars sing the Common tunes, and some sing both Tenor and Bassus, there were other two reading the Bible who were not then present being sick that day. But his difficulty is, to prevail with parents to keep their Children at school, and that in Summer ye School is reduced to a small number because many of them are sent to keep Cattle; and he begs leave next Summer to visit his Friends. And the Committee having considered this Letter Gave it as their Opinion that Mr. Rule should be allowed next summer to visit his Friends, providing he secure One to keep ye School in his absence.¹⁹⁹

The following year, 1720, the school transferred to Tullich where, reported Mr James Robertson, Parish Minister, to the Society's Stated Quarterly Meeting, there were "sixty-two schollars" under Andrew Rule, schoolteacher. Also tabled at the Meeting:

The said minister, by another letter shows, that there are nine poor young ones at the School of Tullich, whose parents are so very poor, that they are not able to give them more than a little water gruel once in the day and that their allowance of a pack of meall in the week to each of them for a few months would be a great relief.²⁰⁰

Though the schools were primarily intended for poor children, they educated the children of the district, of whatever class and creed.²⁰¹ By 1725 the SSPCK school again temporarily located at Glen Muick had fifty-four boys and twelve girls.²⁰² The headmaster, Mr. Rule, reported that:

¹⁹⁷ N.A.S., GD95/1/2: 24.

¹⁹⁸ Withrington, 1962, 95.

¹⁹⁹ N.A.S., GD95/1/2: 43.

²⁰⁰ N.A.S., GD95/1/2: 87.

"no Irish is spoke in that School. That there are four popish Boys at that School who attend prayers morning and evening but will not go to Church, are willing to learn the Catechism and to read the Scriptures, and the master seeks advice on this".²⁰³

It appears that preference for free education in order to extirpate "Irish" was extended to Gaelic-speaking scholars, since in 1727, the Tullich schoolmaster, Andrew Rule, apologised to the SSPCK for "John Abercrombie, poor scholar, who wanted (lacked) Irish".²⁰⁴ Also craved by Mr. Rule in 1721, was help for using able scholars to teach children in locations even remote from the Society's schools:

Among the rest John Bowman, whom he maintained himself upon the Credit of the Committees Letters, and paid his board out of his own pocket, he wishes this might be minded seeing some of them might be very useful in teaching schools in remote corners in that parish, and poor John Bowman wept bitterly when he went away, being most unwilling to leave the School.²⁰⁵

Some inconsistency in educational achievement is understandable, for the SSPCK records of the early-eighteenth century reveal conflicting reports concerning the provision of schools over the short term. At the Meeting of 21st March 1728:

Whereas that long stretch of a countrey upon both sides of the River Dee, from Tullich to the head of Braemar consisting of about eighteen miles and the whole parish of Glengarden (Glengairn) consisting from Tullich to the head of the River Garden (Gairn) of about eight or nine miles are destitute of any school, and this appears to be more unequal, that Braemar and Glengarden are the two corners in the presbytery that are most infested with popery and where the Irish language is most current.²⁰⁶

By 1730, however, John Clow, SSPCK schoolmaster at Auchintoul, Glengairn, had forty pupils, half of whom could not read or write English.

In 1739 there was no parish school in Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn. The heritors argued that SSPCK schools made a parish school unnecessary.²⁰⁷ Despite this apparent lapse in legal duty by the heritors, in 1740 an SSPCK school was established at Balnec, Glen Muick, with thirty-seven boys and twenty-three girls and John Gordon, schoolmaster. In 1753, George Thompson was identified as schoolmaster at Balnec, and in 1755, notes Simpson, the Rev. William McKenzie, parish minister at Glenmuick, reported "a truly commendable spirit for educating the youth prevailing much here at this time".²⁰⁸ Almost two decades later, however, the Glenmuick heritors were again found in default, since in 1774, observes Withrington, the SSPCK announced that it would withdraw charity schools from parishes unprovided with parochial schools, "it not being the purpose of the Society to relieve the heritors of their legal duty".²⁰⁹

²⁰¹ Withrington, 1962, 158.

²⁰² *Ibid*, 152.

²⁰³ N.A.S., GD95/1/2: 334.

²⁰⁴ N.A.S., GD95/1/2: 229.

²⁰⁵ N.A.S., GD95/1/2/135.

²⁰⁶ N.A.S., GD95/1/3/51.

²⁰⁷ Simpson, 1947,

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 215.

²⁰⁹ Withrington, 1962, 98.

In 1794, the Rev. George Brown reported in the *OSA* that the SSPCK maintained two schools in the United Parish, and cited George Thompson as the Society's long serving teacher still at Balnoe.²¹⁰ Brown's tabulation of population lists 236 children and young people learning, reading, writing, and arithmetic under Thomson and three unnamed young male teachers.²¹¹ Brown was of the opinion that:

The people, in general, have got a taste for education, and as the parishes are extensive, they engage young men to teach in the winter season in those places which are at a distance from the established schools. Three young men, engaged by the people, taught in different corners this winter.

Little distinction is apparent in denominational education in upper Glen Gairn. It is assumed that both Presbyterian and Roman Catholic of all ages attended classes where and when available. The ad-hoc and relatively informal nature of education in upper Deeside in the early-nineteenth century outwith the limited space covered by the parochial and SSPCK schools catchment areas has been recorded in reminiscence by Fr. Meany of Glen Gairn.²¹² In the 1820s, claims Roberts, the Mackenzies of Dalmore, the area occupied by the present Mar Lodge four miles west of Braemar, were summarily evicted by Lord Fyfe, and congregated beneath the southern slopes of Morven, upper Glen Gairn, in such numbers that a school was opened with a roll of sixty pupils.²¹³ In 1830, James McKenzie, a native of Delnabo, in Strathavon, was schoolmaster at Morven. He had lost his right arm, reports Blundell, and could be very severe. There were sixty or seventy children at the school at that time.²¹⁴ The testimony of Lewis Mackenzie of Laggan Farm, Glen Gairn, noting the devotional emphasis in the curriculum at Morven school during teacher McKenzie's time, has been recounted by Dilworth:

The books we used were first "Proverbs" - a sma book of 20 or 30 pages without brods. They wrought her first o' a', d'ye ken, and syne the Bible and the Testament, they were fixed together, and syne he put on spelling, div ye see? I'se warrant there's been 20 in the class naming the Verses o' the Bible. After spelling we went awa' to the coontin'. Those who were best at the Bible spent nearly all day at the coontin'.²¹⁵

Morven school and similar educational initiatives in the upper Deeside glens were perhaps subscription schools²¹⁶ contributed to by parents in the locality to instill the basic "3-R skills" in their children. The

²¹⁰ *OSA*, XIV, 513: "There are two of the Society's schools in this parish, and are an unspeakable advantage to the people. I am told that 60 or 70 years ago, it was rare to find one in all these three parishes who could read. But now all the young people read distinctly, and understand the principles of religion; and many of the young men leave school, and immediately enter as clerks to commercial companies in different corners of the world. And it is but just to observe, that much of this is owing to the labours of Mr. George Thomson, who has served the Society about 50 years, during which time he has taught, with the greatest honour to himself, and advantage to his pupils". (Rev. George Brown, Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, County of Aberdeen).

²¹¹ *OSA*, 1794, 506.

²¹² Dilworth, 1956, 20.

²¹³ Roberts, 1990, 25.

²¹⁴ Blundell, 1909, 75.

²¹⁵ Dilworth, 1956, 19: "The books we used were first "Proverbs" - a small book of 20 to 30 pages without hard covers. We worked at this book first of all, you must understand, and afterwards the Bible and the Testament - they were fixed together - and after that the master taught spelling, do you understand? I'll warrant there would have been 20 or 30 in the class who could name the Books of the Bible. After spelling we moved on to counting. Those who were best at the Bible spent nearly all day at the counting".

²¹⁶ Subscription schools: In early days, if heritors delayed the institution of, or withheld means of support from, parochial schools, parishioners sometimes built or maintained what were in effect subscription schools. At a later period, when parish schools were found to be inadequate to the needs of many parishes, numerous subscription schools were built (Simpson, 1947, 194).

teacher may not have had a higher-grade education, but relied on personal reputation as knowledgeable in basic educational skills. At Mullach, a small Glen Gairn community, Sandy Ritchie taught for a couple of months in winter. Lewis Mackenzie recalls Ritchie as "a gey hesty (quick tempered) schoolmaster he was, but a guid scholar and a guid writer. He himsel', he'd to been schooled in Cromar".²¹⁷ At nearby Laggan, Margaret Cattanach, Mackenzie's stepmother, kept a school attended by small children for a couple of winters. Lewis Mackenzie's uncle Kenneth taught a school at Laggan,²¹⁸ and there was also a school at Renatton claims Neil.²¹⁹ The evidence is of haphazard educational provision until the late-nineteenth century.

Born in 1816, John Michie, a Roman Catholic, and at one time a shepherd, had lived seventy-four years in the glen and, claims Blundell, was regarded as its best scholar.²²⁰ In the 1851 census return, Michie is listed as schoolteacher, unmarried and residing on his father's eleven-acre farm at Ardoch. Later, at an advanced age Michie was able to start a new life as a lay brother at Fort Augustus. In childhood, notes Blundell, he met with an accident that deprived him of the use of one arm, but his great ingenuity made the other do the service of two.²²¹ The nature of the teaching and the unhealthy schoolroom accommodation of the taught has been reported by Blundell from the testimony of Lewis Mackenzie of Laggan Farm, Glen Gairn:

John Michie – him that's noo a monk at Fort Augustus, ye mind – had a school at Ardoch. He thresh in the morning, got his breakfast and went to the school. He wrought in the school a' the morning on to three o' clock. The school was always fu' of reek – just a reeky hole.²²²

McKenzie also adds that there was neither Geography nor History taught at Morven school in his day.²²³ Furthermore, there was no set time for attending school. Attendance was generally in the winter when farm work was in abeyance for family members of all ages, and included Saturdays. Truancy was endemic for both playing in the woods and the more responsible farming needs: "We had nae fences, and there was a herd (boy-herd) on every hillock, (since) we were na checkit (chided) to the school as they do now".²²⁴ In 1841, the census of that year records that Donald McKenzie, aged 28, married with family, was the

²¹⁷ Dilworth, 1956, 20.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, 20.

²¹⁹ Neil, 1943, 6: Near Auchintoul still stands the house of Renatton. Forbes, the laird of Skellater in Strathdon, sent his son to stay at Renatton, as there was, he said, to be a school where he could pick up some education. This Ian Forbes afterwards made a name for himself as a soldier of fortune, and became military governor of Rio de Janeiro, after being in the service of the King of Portugal for a long time. (q.v. *Ian Roy of Skellater*, by Dr. James Neil).

²²⁰ Blundell, 1909, 84.

²²¹ *Ibid*, 84.

²²² *Ibid*, 76: "John Michie - the man who is now a monk at Fort Augustus, if you recall, had a school at Ardoch. He harvested in the early morning, consumed his breakfast, and thereafter went to school. He taught in the school throughout the forenoon and continued until three o' clock in the afternoon. The school was always full of smoke, indeed, no more than a smoky den".

²²³ Dilworth, 1956, 20.

²²⁴ *Ibid*, 21.

schoolmaster at Dalphuill, whilst James Coutts, aged 55, was listed as a teacher residing at Bridgend of Gairn.²²⁵

From 1807, the Rev. James Smith, aged 20, born 1787 at Logie Coldstone, is recorded by Speirs as the parochial teacher in the new planned village of Ballater.²²⁶ Smith had arrived in upper Deeside to occupy a temporary school, first at Muirton of Tullich, and only later transferred to Ballater, presumably being appointed on behalf of the heritors by the land superior, William Farquharson of Monaltrie. From about 1836 until 1875, Smith's parochial school was located at a substantial stone and slate built house, still known as *Garranmhor*, close to the River Dee near Ballater bridge. In 1817, Smith was appointed Depute Clerk of Peace and later served as Session Clerk. In 1841, by which time Ballater's population had increased to 271.²²⁷ In his long teaching career Smith was recognised as an able teacher.²²⁸ The 1841 census also reveals that Margaret Logan, aged 35, born at Old Deer, Aberdeen-shire, daughter of William Logan, watchmaker, was a teacher in Ballater. The Logan family dwelling-house contained seven boarders, six girls and one boy between the ages of five and fifteen years.²²⁹ The assumption is that Margaret Logan conducted a "dame school"²³⁰ within the village. Ten years later, in 1851, Margaret Logan is again listed as teacher with only one girl aged six years as lodger in the family home. It is assumed that the curriculum in these village schools was based on a Reformed education.

In 1842, the Rev. Hugh Burgess in the *NSA*, reported that the number of schools in the United Parish numbered eight, viz. one parochial, one endowed, one unendowed, and five supported by subscription among the parishioners. The parochial schoolmaster's salary was the maximum; the amount of his school fees and other perquisites about £20; and he had the legal accommodations. He had also a share of the Dick Bequest.²³¹ The five subscription schools, remarked Burgess, are taught for only three or four months in winter. Teachers at these latter schools were "without with any accommodation but a hovel for teaching".²³² The number of the young between 6 and 15 years of age who could not read or write, added Burgess, was 370, and of those upwards of 15 years of age was 240. Burgess pointed to the perennial accommodation problem of organised education in upper Deeside:

There are many parts of these parishes by far too distant from the parochial school;

²²⁵ Census, 1841.

²²⁶ Speirs, 2003, M.L.352: Smith died in retirement at the schoolhouse on 2nd September 1875, aged 88.

²²⁷ Census, 1841.

²²⁸ The list of subscribers appended to Robert Dinnie's *An Account of the Parish of Birse*, published in 1865, lists many persons domiciled within the united Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn whose humble occupations, e.g., game-keepers, bakers and shoemakers, do not necessarily infer literacy. These subscribers may well have responded in youth to Rev. James Smith's teaching skills at Ballater.

²²⁹ Census, 1841: William Logan was a leading figure in the secession to the Ballater Free Church in 1843. (Private papers of George Grant, formerly in possession of the late Misses Grant, Glenmoriston, Queen's Road, Ballater).

²³⁰ Website: <http://www.dalbeattie.com/history/dbhist.htm>). Dame school - a private seminary only able to offer a very limited education. Dame schools were probably not far removed from nursery schools with child care being more significant than education.

²³¹ G.D.95/1/4: Dick Bequest: The records of this charitable bequest begin in 1727 and end in 1990. The bequest provided grants to augment the salaries of schoolmasters in the North-East of Scotland.

²³² *NSA*, 1842, 783.

but this inconvenience is, in some measure, remedied by the western and north-eastern extremities being near to the adjoining schools of Strathgirnoc, Crathie and Logie-Coldstone. There are, however, two districts each of which would require an additional school, - they being five or six miles distant from any school either within or without these parishes, and having each a population of more than 300.²³³

If the Disruption created the Free Church of Scotland in 1843, the effects on education in Scotland were also dramatic. Four hundred teachers quit the Kirk, claim McLeod *et al*, and by 1851 the Free Church had established over 700 schools and brought about an enormous extension in education. In 1843, Glenmuick had no "Sabbath School", but after the Disruption the Free Church minister opened one and the elders held Sunday afternoon meetings. These, states Sedgwick, continued for over thirty years. The Schoolmaster and Clerk opened a "Sabbath evening school" in the schoolhouse - *Garranmohr* - on the banks of the Dee. It was attended, adds Sedgwick, by large numbers of old and young.²³⁴ Irrespective of the spatial difficulties illuminated by Burgess in 1842 above, the will for education within the United Parish in 1851 appears to have been strong. It is thus noticeable from the census returns for that year that most parish children between the ages of five and fourteen were listed as scholars.²³⁵

A widely sanctioned school sport,²³⁶ noted by Blundell, was pursued with enthusiasm annually within the precincts of Glen Gairn School.²³⁷ On Shrove Tuesday or *Festern E'en*, a recognised school holiday, cockfighting was a normal entertainment that attracted a large audience.²³⁸ On that day each boy carried a cock to school and waited his turn with the cock secured under his armpit. The defeated cocks, together with those who declined to fight, referred to as "fugies", became the property of the schoolmaster.²³⁹ More humane was the practice, also noted by Blundell, of children bringing a peat to school as some concession to human frailty in the frequent Arctic conditions of the Glen Gairn schoolroom.²⁴⁰ Nonetheless, the carrying of peats to school appears to have been common practice throughout the Highlands, since Mackenzie claims it for schools on Skye.²⁴¹

²³³ *Ibid*, 784.

²³⁴ Sedgwick, 1991, 71.

²³⁵ Census, 1851.

²³⁶ Ross, 2002, 73: In 1725, Dumfries town council put an under-master in charge of cock-fighting at the school. "Scholars may bring a cock to fight on appointed days, for a fee of 12p Scots".

²³⁷ <http://14.1911encyclopedia.org/CCO/FIGHTING.htm> - In Wales as in some parts of England, cocking-mains took place regularly in churchyards, and in many instances even inside churches themselves. Sundays, wakes and church festivals were favourite occasions for them. The habit of holding mains in schools was common from the twelfth to about the middle of the nineteenth century. When cocking was at its height, the pupils of many schools were made a special allowance for purchasing fighting cocks, and parents were expected to contribute to the expenses of the annual main on Shrove Tuesday, this money being called cockpence. Cock-fighting was prohibited by law in Great Britain in 1849.

²³⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, April 26, 1835: "A cock pit is erected in Hope Street, Glasgow, with much gambling activity".

²³⁹ Blundell, 1909, 76: "Festern E'en - Shrove Tuesday - was the day of the annual cockfight. As many as thirty birds would be brought in the one day. The best fighter was called the King, the second the Queen, the third the Knave. They that would not fight were called "fougie." There were no lessons that day, it was a day by itself... People came from far and near and stood in the school to see the fight. Each boy brought a bird and held it under his oter (armpit), waiting his turn to fight".

²⁴⁰ Blundell, 1909, 76.

²⁴¹ Mackenzie, W., 1930, 131.

The 1851 census lists James Coutts, aged 28, married with a young family, as the schoolmaster at Dalphuill.²⁴² According to Neil, the school was then attended by fully sixty scholars, "well taught by Mr. Coutts, at least as far as the three-R's were concerned".²⁴³ From this observation it can be assumed that by the middle of the nineteenth century, the dramatic yet protracted depopulation of Glen Gairn had not yet commenced. Coutts was still resident at the Glen Gairn schoolhouse in 1881 but by then described himself as retired.²⁴⁴ In that year, Eliza Lamb, aged 20, born in Aberdeen, was listed in the census as schoolteacher lodging at Kirkstyle Cottage. In 1862, observes Sedgwick, the Marquis of Huntly granted a charter to erect Kinord School with grounds. The teacher's salary, paid jointly by the General Assembly Committee on Education and the Marquis of Huntly, ceased to be payable at Martinmas 1877. Consequently, the Session decided to transfer the school to the School Board of the Parish according to the terms of the 1872 Education Act. Since that date the minister and five elders had been elected annually to the Parochial Board.²⁴⁵

School Boards were introduced with the passing of the Education Act of 1872. Teaching standards were required to meet a Government approved level. The Glenmuick and Tullich School Board Minute Book records for 4th December 1873 show that "Mr D. Craib (Head Teacher 12th Nov. 1873 - 28 Feb. 1881) applied to the Board for leave of absence to attend the Government Examination of Teachers in Aberdeen, which application was granted".²⁴⁶ The old schoolmaster in Glen Gairn, recalls Neill, continued under the new regime for a short time before retirement. A female teacher²⁴⁷ was appointed in his place and a new school and schoolhouse were built.²⁴⁸ The Glen Gairn School Board, notes Smith, was constituted with five members and the one school, located at Dalphuill, had 37 pupils on its roll, and "Bible" was listed as a subject on the curriculum. At the 1871 census, the Glen Gairn population, with all denominations included, stood at 600.²⁴⁹

Irregularities of a spatial nature in the Aberdeen-shire educational system persisted, for in 1875 Smith observed that:

It is but proper to state that there are many parts of these parishes by far too distant from the parochial schools, but this inconvenience has been remedied, so far, by the establishment of relief schools in the outlying districts, which, however, as yet, do not appear to be under the School Board.²⁵⁰

²⁴² Census, 1851.

²⁴³ Neil, 1934, 16.

²⁴⁴ Census, 1881,

²⁴⁵ Sedgwick, 1991, 78.

²⁴⁶ Grampian Regional Archives, GR6SK4/1/1.

²⁴⁷ In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, girls were not expected to be educated rigorously in the "three R's". The SSPCK for example, preferred to appoint a husband and wife to its schools since the wife could instil in girls the practical household skills of sewing and knitting. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, fewer girls went to school than boys. The Education Act of 1872 made a literary education for both sexes compulsory.

²⁴⁸ Neil, 1943, 19.

²⁴⁹ Smith, 1875, 708.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid* 708.

This spatial imbalance in educational provision may have been the reason that on 10th August 1877 the Glen Muick and Tullich School Board:

... unanimously agreed that the Ballater Public Schools should be divided into a male school and a female school entirely separate, with the exception of children up to, and including, the second Standard may be allowed to attend either the male or female school at parent's option.²⁵¹

However, the Logbook of the new Ballater Public School stated that co-education of schoolchildren was not introduced there until 12th January 1880.²⁵² Hitherto girls were taught in Ballater at Col. Farquharson's Female School, a parochial school maintained by the heritors, that also accepted boy pupils.²⁵³ (Plate 5.12)

Plate 5. 12



Col. Farquharson's former Ballater Female School, Aberdeen-shire, closed 1878 to become new Public Female School. On 12th January, 1880, the Female School amalgamated with Ballater Male School to become Ballater Public School (photo-JRS).

In 1875, reports Smith, the United Parish of Glenmuick and Tullich maintained only one parochial school under the charge of the Board with 103 pupils on the school roll. According to the 1871 census, the population of the parish stood at 1,602. In that same year, the School Board under the chairmanship of the

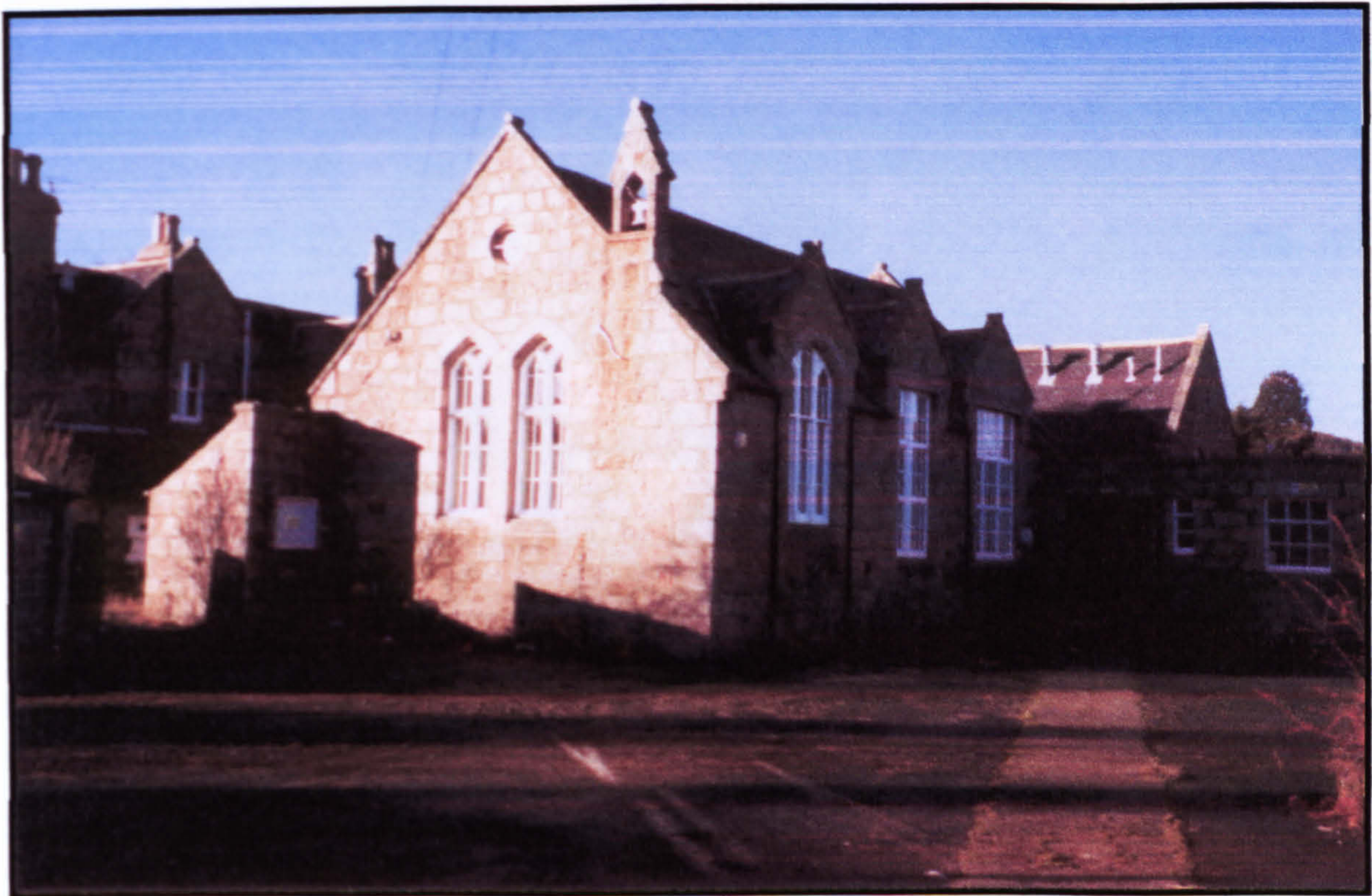
²⁵¹ Glenmuick and Tullich School Board Minute Book 1873-1881.

²⁵² Grampian Regional Archives, GR6S/K4/1/1: Today the Ballater Male Public School and the Ballater Female Public School were amalgamated and this Log Book which has hitherto referred to the latter school will henceforth refer to the Junior Department of the amalgamated school known as Ballater Public School (Log entry by Isabella Anderson, Head Teacher).

²⁵³ Grampian Regional Archives, GR6S/K4/1/1. The amalgamated Ballater Public School Roll for the early 1880s reveals that Denton Illingworth, of Gairn Mills, Foot of Gairn, along with his sisters Mary and Maggie, attended Ballater Female School before admission to the amalgamated elementary school upon closure of the Female School in 1878. In the Census returns for 1901, Denton Illingworth is listed as a farm servant.

Rev. John Middleton, parish minister, consisted of five members.²⁵⁴ A new "Heritor's Gothic" style school building, designed by Messrs. Duguid (architects of the Ballater Free Church built in similar style)²⁵⁵ was begun in 1877 and completed in 1879 (Plate 5.13).

Plate 5. 13



Former Ballater Public School, Aberdeen-shire.(photo-JRS)

The school Log Book states that on 12th January 1880, "the School was opened in the presence of the School Board and that the greater part of the day was spent in organising classes".²⁵⁶ Although termed "public school", its organisation is not to be confused with a category of private-sector education available in the Lowlands.

On 1st March 1881, Mr. John Lawson, MA, (Abdn), aged 23, born Skene, Aberdeen-shire, was appointed Master of the Elementary School, and became the occupier of one attached schoolhouse. On 19th September 1879, Isabella Anderson, aged 24, born Huntly and unmarried, was listed as an elementary

²⁵⁴ Smith, 1875, 708.

²⁵⁵ "Heritors Gothic" was the design of church building favoured by leading denominations during the nineteenth century. It had a marked appeal not only to the heritors who funded the building, but to the congregations who held it in affection.

²⁵⁶ Grampian Regional Archives, GR6S/K4/1/2.

teacher and occupier of the other attached schoolhouse.²⁵⁷ In that same year, Susan Fletcher, aged 59, born

Plate 5. 14



Male class, 1889, Senior Department Ballater Public School, Deeside, Aberdeen-shire. Professional photographers made an annual tour of schools to record orchestrated groups. Note the sturdy clothes and thick-soled footwear of these country boys, required for the long walk to school. All would have been taught the metrical psalms by rote from an early age, despite their own Doric speech and limited understanding of archaic English usage. Girls at this period would be segregated within their own classes. (photo-John Hardie, Photographer, Aberdeen)

at Creich in Forfar, was listed as the teacher of Elementary English in Ballater. Also listed were Jane Anne Massie, aged 22, born New Deer, a teacher in the Elementary School, and Christina Hall, aged 19, resident at Craigendarroch Villa, Ballater, as pupil-teacher.²⁵⁸ The Admission Registers (Fig.5.7) indicate that Ballater Public School was organised into a Junior Department and a Senior Department with pupils gravitating from elementary schools at Inchmarnoch and Birkhall.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* GR6S/K4/1/1.

²⁵⁸ Census, 1881.

²⁵⁹ Grampian Regional Archives, GR/65/K4/2/1.

Fig. 5. 8

Form No. 118.							REGISTER OF ADMISSION,			
Year 1873/74										
No. on Register.	Date of Admission or Re-admission.						Name of Child in Full.	Name of Parent or Guardian.	Address of Parent or Guardian.	
	Day.	Mo.	Year.	Day.	Mo.	Year.				
1	20	11	73				William Robertson	Charles Robertson	See St. Ballater	
2	20	11	73				James Middleton	John Middleton	Mause, Glenmuick	
3	20	11	73	19	10	74	Alexander Rof	James Rof	Ballater	
4	20	11	73				James Reid	James Reid	Ballater	
5	20	11	73	5	10	74	John Stewart	Donald Stewart	Milton of Tullich	
6	20	11	73				Maggie Coutts	Charles Coutts	Monaltrie	
7	20	11	73	15	12	74	John Campbell		Dalmenach	
8	20	11	73				Peter D. Leys	Mrs. Leys	Ballater	
9	20	11	73	19	4	76	Thomas L. Coutts	Charles Coutts	Monaltrie	
10	20	11	73	7	1	78	Alexander Jarvis	McVough Jarvis	Ballater	
11	20	11	73				Jessie Coutts	Charles Coutts	Monaltrie	
12	20	11	73				Lizzie Robertson	Charles Robertson	See St. Ballater	
13	20	11	73				Christina Hall	Mrs. Jane Hall	Craig-an-Dunach, Col.	
14	20	11	73				Henry A. Haynes	George Haynes	Ballater	
15	20	11	73				Frank Leys	Mrs. Leys	Ballater	
16	20	11	73	9	10	78	John Reid	James Reid	Ballater	
17	20	11	73	28	11	76	James Robertson	George Robertson	Belachrosche	
18	20	11	73	2	12	78	Charles Peterson	Charles Peterson	See Street, Balla	
19	20	11	73	6	12	75	Charles Forbes	John Forbes	Ballater	
20	20	11	73	2	12	78	Alexander Anderson	William Anderson	Tomnathrist	
21	20	11	73	26	11	77	Henry Duncan	William Duncan	Ballater	
22	20	11	73				Elizabeth Davidson	Mrs. Davidson	Ballater	
23	20	11	73	27	11	78	Alexander Thow	Alexander Thow	Ballater	
24	20	11	73	17	11	79	James Thow	Alexander Thow	Ballater	
25	20	11	73				George Leys	Mrs. Leys	Ballater	
26	20	11	73				George J. Haynes	George Haynes	Ballater	
27	20	11	73	3	12	77	David Patterson	David Patterson	See Street, Balla	
28	20	11	73				James Anderson	James Anderson	Ballater	
29	20	11	73	27	11	76	William Jarvis	McVough Jarvis	Ballater	
30	20	11	73				Charles Jarvis	McVough Jarvis	Ball. St.	

Extract from Ballater Public School logbook, early 1880s. (Grampian Regional Council, GR65/K4/1/2. (Reproduction granted).

5. 10 Poor Relief within Glenmuick Parish

In common with mission, charitable giving is recognised as a fundamental duty imposed upon the Christian Church.²⁶⁰ The historical background to material aid dispensed to the deserving poor resident within the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn can be briefly outlined. According to Smout, from the fifteenth century the poor in the community fell into two categories, the able-bodied vagrant poor who required punishment to show them the error of their ways, and the helpless impotent poor, victims of old age, disease or disability.²⁶¹ Failing to appropriate the patrimony²⁶² of the "Old Church" at the Reformation, the schemes envisaged for the destitute by the Reformers in *the Book of Discipline* in 1560 could not be implemented. Sixteenth century legislation, notes Donaldson, incorporated three principles that long guided Scotland's poor relief. Firstly, the responsibility for a pauper lay with his or her parish of origin. Secondly, there was to be no assistance for the able-bodied. Lastly, the parishes could impose an assessment.²⁶³ A later Act of 1672 proceeded on those principles and, as Withers bears out, dictated that the poor fund in any parish could be supplemented by a levy, half on heritors and half on the tenants or occupiers. In addition, continues Withers, this levy could be supplemented by collections at the church door and by voluntary funds raised by interested persons.²⁶⁴ In 1792 the Rev. George Brown reported that the United Parish Poor Fund was accrued from £160 mortified money, lent out at 5 per cent interest, to which was added the weekly collections and an annual donation from Invercauld of from £10 to £12 sterling. In all, some ninety-three poor were in receipt of aid from the fund.²⁶⁵ According to Mr. Brown, a large sum bequeathed to the parish by a local philanthropist had mysteriously awaited distribution for a number of years.²⁶⁶ In practice, until 1845, the Kirk continued to dispense material aid, concentrating on the impotent poor, through its parish ministers and their sessions after careful investigation into the material and moral condition of the recipients.

²⁶⁰ St. Matthew, 25, 31-40: "When the Son of man shall come in his glory and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, and the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was an hungered and ye gave me meat. I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in. Naked, and ye clothed me. I was sick, and ye visited me. I was in prison, and ye came unto me... And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you; Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me".

²⁶¹ Smout, 1979, 84.

²⁶² Patrimony: Includes Stipends; Tithes; Thirds of Benefices: Stipend is the living allowance received by a full-time minister on most Churches. Tithes, or tithes, the 'tenths' of produce provided for uses such as maintenance of the clergy, the upkeep of church property and relief of the poor. Thirds of Benefices was an ambitious scheme to finance the ministry of the Kirk after the Reformation by using funds derived from the old Church (Cameron, N., ed., *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, Edinburgh, 1993, 649).

²⁶³ Donaldson *et al*, 1977, 174.

²⁶⁴ Withers, 1986, 19.

²⁶⁵ OS4, 1794, 507.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid* 507: "A Mrs. Elizabeth Farquharson, late of Jamaica, and a native of the parish of Tulloch, bequeathed at her death, which happened between 20 and 30 years since, £400 Sterling for the benefit of the poor here, and the like sum to keep a school and schoolmaster in these parishes. There were 4 trustees appointed to execute this part of her will, but somehow or other it was neglected for upwards of 20 years, when at last one of the trustees who had friends in Jamaica, recovered the £400 of principal, and £200 of interest; and the £600 have now been in the bank at Aberdeen for several years; but the parishes have as yet received no benefit from them. It surely could not have been the intention of the testator, that the money should be so long in being applied to the purpose it was designed for".

In 1845, with the passing of the Scottish Poor Law in approximate imitation of the 1834 Poor Law south of the Border, notes Withers, the duty to administer poor relief was nominally removed from the Kirk and placed in the hands of a civil central Board of Supervision, appointed annually. The Board's link with the Parochial Board of the parish operated through an Inspector of Poor who was responsible for implementing the law within the parish.²⁶⁷ From 1845, therefore, the Ballater Church session was no longer directly responsible for its poor within the United Parish, although it retained an advisory role. The session records indicate that the undistributed balance of money was handed over to the newly appointed Inspector for the Poor. The Rev Hugh Burgess, parish minister, and five elders elected annually formed the first Glenmuick Parochial Board.

Between 1835 and 1841, states the Rev. Hugh Burgess in the *OSA*, the average number of persons receiving parochial aid within the united Parish was 84 out of a population of 2118. Of this small group, the 1841 decennial census, the first national census to record the status of individuals within the community, suggests that the distribution of poor relief within Glenmuick Parish in the first half of the nineteenth century had distinct spatial patterns. It is noticeable that no person in the Kinord district, north of the River Dee, is listed as a pauper. nineteen women of advanced years, the oldest, Janet Findlay, aged 86 years, residing at Old Kinord, list their occupation as stocking knitter. It is possible that these women found remuneration in the flagging putting-out system direct from Aberdeen, but are more likely to have had some connection with Joseph Gordon, aged 85 years, residing at nearby Cambus O' May, listing his occupation as stocking merchant. Kinord, as a distinct territorial area could not therefore be conceived as a burden on the Glenmuick parish relief funds. Likewise, Deecastle, Inchmarnoch, and Pannanich, south of the River Dee, in that same year, did not record a single pauper. Within these three neighbouring communities, eleven women of advanced years listed their occupation as stocking-knitter, the oldest being Euphemia Gordon, aged 84 years, resident at Bellamore in Inchmarnoch. Surprisingly, only two females, one aged 75 years, and the other 50 years, were listed as paupers resident within Ballater village.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ Withers, 1986, 20: Change in the Scottish poor law took place over a period of two years and owed much to the Disruption of the Scottish Church in 1843. Two-fifths of the Church of Scotland clergy left that body to form the Free Church of Scotland. The old system of parochial relief which had been based upon family responsibility and self-help and administered by the Kirk sessions could not function with about half the population members of a different church.

²⁶⁸ In the volume of her memoirs entitled *Roses in December*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London (1977), Amy Stewart Fraser asserts (page 124) that Ian Wilkinson, son of the Episcopal Canon Wilkinson of Ballater Rectory, assured her that in 1942, within the dwelling house, Greystone, Abergeldie Road, Ballater, owned and occupied by Professor Findlay Sherris, Sir William Beveridge, the noted Oxford economist, drew up the grand design for Britain's Welfare State. A third member of the party was reputed to have been Principal Murray of University College of the South West (now Exeter University). Beveridge makes no mention of this in his own memoirs, *Power and Influence*, Hodder and Stoughton, London (1953) but admits to drafting the Report in a week at Elie in Fife (page 307). Beveridge claimed (page 317) that "the making of the Report was by one man disguised as a committee; one man with the advice of all department experts". Harold Wilson, then an economist in Beveridge's small staff, later wrote in his *Memoirs: The Making of a Prime Minister, 1916-1964*, Wiedenfeld and Nicolson and Michael Joseph (1986), "As a practical administrator, he (Beveridge) was a disaster, because of his arrogance and rudeness to those appointed to work with him and his total inability to delegate. The few research assistants, including the present writer, who stayed with him biting the bullet, found him inspiring and constructive in research, impossible in personal relations". Wilson does not mention Ballater as a meeting place of the Beveridge team, but in view of Beveridge's known working methods, Fraser's statement may well contain some truth. Professor Sherris was a leading post-war economist with UNESCO.

Various explanations can be cited for this dearth of paupers in the United Parish. Firstly, the Protestant work ethic may have been more marked in the more completely Reformed parish communities in reasonably direct contact with Kirk and manse. Secondly, the average age of the communities listed was perhaps lower. Thirdly, the caring nature, both of the immediate community and within individual families, may well have been stronger. Lastly, both the organisation and means of employment available to women in the home until advanced years was more readily available close to the commutation road into Aberdeen. This last is perhaps an example of how improved communications can enhance the economic condition of a remote area.

The foregoing contrasts with conditions found in the more remote glens, Muick and Gairn, opening into the Dee Valley. In 1841, Glen Muick retained seven paupers, three males and four females, between the ages of 70 and 92 years. In that census district, three stocking knitters, aged between 60 and 82 years, were listed at Knocks (*cnoc* - a knoll or hill), across the Dee from Ballater and one at Balendory (*balie an Torraidh* - small hill farm town) about two miles into the Glen. Glen Gairn recorded twenty-four paupers, three male and twenty-one female whose ages ran from 35 to 90 years. The ten stocking knitters listed were domiciled mainly in predominantly Protestant lower Glen Gairn in proximity to the Braemar to Aberdeen commutation road. Overall, no female less aged than 40 years within the United Parish is now listed as a stocking knitter. It can probably be assumed that many elderly single women, inured to the hand-knitting trade from childhood, preferred to earn an independent living in advanced years rather than suffer the indignity of accepting public charity.

Charitable funding came from a number of sources outwith the United Parish. The Burnett mortification money, reports Sedgwick, was paid was paid to Aberdeen-shire parishes in turn; Glenmuick received £38 in 1853, and still receives it. The minister and up to five elders, elected annually, were members of the Parochial Board.²⁶⁹ In the 1881 census, John Riach, aged 51, a native of Glen Muick and unmarried, for many years Parish Registrar of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, was listed as Inspector of Poor.

²⁶⁹ Sedgwick, 1991, 73.

Fig. 5.9

THE PARISH OF <i>Glenmuick</i>		31	
Name <i>Peter Gordon (widow Janet Gordon, nee McKenzie his wife)</i>			
Residence	<i>Balmenach</i>	Earnings, Means, and Resources, besides Parochial Relief ...	<i>6/- weekly p. income</i>
Age	<i>husband 62 years wife 38 years</i>	Nature of Settlement ...	<i>birth</i>
Date of Minute of Parochial Board or Committee admitting Liability and authorising Relief ...	<i>Nov. 11th 1867</i>	Name and Age of Wife, Child or Children living in Family	<i>Match 11 years</i> <i>Andrew 9 "</i> <i>John 7 "</i> <i>Mary 4 "</i> <i>William 1 1/2 "</i>
Amount and Description of Relief authorised	<i>£1.0.0</i>	Name, Age, and Weekly Earnings of Husband, Wife, Child or Children not living in Family and their Circumstances	<i>James 19 years</i> <i>Peter 15 "</i> <i>John 13 "</i> <i>Circumstances not known</i>
Country and Place of Birth, and, if in Scotland, Parish of Birth ...	<i>Scotland, Glenmuick</i>	Other Information not stated above	
Religious Denomination, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic ...	<i>husband Protestant; wife R. Catholic</i>		
Condition—If Adult, whether Married or Single, Widow or Widower ...	<i>Married</i>		
If Child, whether Orphan, Deserted, or separated from Parent ...			
Trade or Occupation	<i>None</i>		
Wholly or Partially Disabled ...	<i>Partially</i>		
Description of Disablement ...	<i>Hand, injured by falling; & head</i>		
Wholly or Partially Destitute ...	<i>Partially</i>		
DATA.	Change of Circumstances and subsequent Proceedings.	DATA.	Change of Circumstances and subsequent Proceedings.
	<i>Husband died 1873</i> <i>widow in receipt of</i> <i>Parochial Relief</i>		

Extract from the Poor Law records, GR 6/32/313, Grampian Regional Archives, Aberdeen. (Reproduction granted).

It appears that Christian philanthropy transcended denominational adherence in upper Deeside and reflected a new ecumenical tolerance that had not been evident on Invercauld estate land since the last years of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. Approaching the Christmas season in Glen Gairn in the late-nineteenth century, states Neil, a distribution of gifts was usually made to the poor in the Glen. The names of recipients were selected by the minister and elders in the parish - "Roman Catholics being, of course, included".²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ Neil, 1943, 19: One old woman, on being told from whom her present came (Rev. Robert Neil, Presbyterian minister), expressed her gratitude by saying, "He has the face of a saint, yon gentleman," and added, "He'll be a Cardinal yet!"

PAGE

NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL

Epilogue

At the conclusion of a reasonably wide reading in the field of academic texts relating to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the budding research student cannot fail to be overawed by the depth and quality of the careful scholarship that has gone before. In the changing patterns of Highland culture, economics and politics throughout the centuries, few avenues have today remained unexplored. Undoubtedly, the Highlander is a distinctive figure on the landscape, for it soon becomes apparent that he and she possess a different mind-set and sense of values from their more liberal-minded Lowland cousins. It is not unusual to find that both have "come under the influence of the Word" at an early stage in life and are forever guided by it.

In the presentation of this thesis upon the close relationship between landscape and received religion, it is perhaps appropriate to draw upon the poetic muse of Robert Garioch whose verse expresses unerringly the character of its preparation:

Thae twa-three chuckie-stanes
I lay on Scotland's cairn
biggit by men of bigger banes
afore I was a bairn.

and men of greater micht
will trauchle up the brae
and lay abuin them on the hicht
mair wechty stanes nor thae.

Robert Garioch ¹

¹ King, C. (ed.), *Twelve Modern Scottish Poets*, University of London Press, 1971, 78.

References

Grampian Regional Archives, Aberdeen.

School Board Minutes for Glenmuick Parish, 1872-1900

School Logbooks for Ballater Public School, 1872-1900

School Logbooks for Birkhall Primary School, Glen Muick, 1867-1949.

Poor Law Register, Parish of Glenmuick, 1870-1900

University of Aberdeen Archives

Private papers of F.C. Diack

List of Pollable Persons for the Shire of Aberdeen, 1696, Volume 1, Presbytery of Kincardine.

Register of Baptisms in Catholic Congregations of Braemar and Glengairn, Aberdeenshire, 1781-1845.

National Archives of Scotland

Old Parish Registers of Births and Marriages - Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn

Minutes of the Quarterly Meetings of the SSPCK

National Library of Scotland

Records of the Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil, Aberdeen-shire

Records of The Synod of Aberdeen

Reproductions consulted

University of Glasgow Archives,

Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen, ed. J. Stuart, Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1846.

Register of Ministers, Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews, 2 vols, ed. D.H. D. Fleming, SHS, Edinburgh 1889-90.

The Buik of the Kirk of the Canagait, 1564-1567, ed. A.B. Calderwood, SHS, Edinburgh, 1961.

Statistical Account of Scotland (Old) 1791-99, Edinburgh

Statistical Account of Scotland (New), 1845, Blackwood, Edinburgh.

Newspapers

Aberdeen Bon-Accord & Northern Pictorial

Aberdeen Journal (The)

Aberdeen Press & Journal

Deeside Piper (The)

Glasgow Herald (The)

Herald (The)

Inverness Courier

Oban Times (The)

Scotsman (The)

Stornoway Gazette (The)

Periodicals

Antiquity

Ballater Eagle

Ballater Times

Book of the Braemar Gathering

Deeside Field (The)

Ecumen

Geography

Innes Review (The)

Journal of Cultural Geography
 Life and Work
 Northern Scotland
 Proceedings of the Scottish History Society
 Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland
 Progress in Human Geography
 Quaternary Studies in North-East Scotland.
 Scottish Geographical Magazine
 Scottish Geographical Journal
 Scottish Journal of Theology
 Scots Magazine (The)
 Scottish Genealogist (The)
 Scottish Historical Review (The)
 Scottish History Society
 Scottish Record Society
 Scottish Studies
 St. Kilda Club Magazine
 Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness

Local Studies

Beattie, A.G & M.H. (ed.) Upper Deeside Monumental Inscriptions pre 1855, (SGS, 1985).
 Campbell, J.L., Canna: The Story of a Hebridean Island, (Edinburgh, 2002).
 Currie, J., Mull, The Island and its People (Edinburgh, 2000).
 Fraser, A.S., The Hills of Home (London, 1973).
 Fraser, A.S., In Memory Long, (London, 1977).
 Fraser, G.M., The Old Deeside Road: Its Course, History and Associations (Aberdeen, 1921).
 Grant, E., Memoirs of a Highland Lady 1797-1827 (London, 1960).
 Keith, A., A Thousand Years of Aberdeen, AUP (Aberdeen, 1972).
 MacDonald, D., Lewis: The History of the Island (London, 2004).
 MacLeod, N., (ed. Thomber. I.) Morvern, A Highland Parish (Edinburgh, 2002).
 Michie, J.G., History of Loch Kinnord (Edinburgh, 1877).
 Murray, I.M., In the Shadow of Lochnagar (Couper Angus, 1992).
 Murray, I.M., The Dee From the Far Cairngorms (Ballater, 1999).
 Neil, C.G., Glengairn Calling (Peterhead, 1943).
 Sedgwick, S., The Curious Years (Forfar, 1991).
 Smith, R., Valley of the Dee (Aberdeen, 1989).
 Smith, R., Discovering Aberdeenshire (Edinburgh, 1998).
 Speirs, S.M., Monumental Inscriptions, Tullich, Glenmuick, Glentanar, etc. (Aberdeen, 2003).
 Speirs, S.M., The Kirkyard of Tullich (Aberdeen (2003).
 Steel, T., The Life and Death of St. Kilda (Edinburgh, 1965).
 Wyness, F., City by the Grey North Sea: Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1966).
 Wyness, F., Royal Valley: The Story of the Aberdeenshire Dee (Aberdeen, 1968).
 Youngson, P., Jura: Island of Deer (Edinburgh, 2001).

Unpublished Theses

Lockhart, D.G., The Evolution of the Planned Villages of North East Scotland.
 1974, Phd, Dundee.
 Paddison, R., The Evolution and Present Structure of Central Places in North East Scotland.
 1969, PhD, Aberdeen.
 Prugh, J.W., The Theory and Practice of Discipline in the Scottish Reformation.
 1958, Ph.D, Edinburgh.

Maps and Plans

Ordnance Survey, 1", 6", 25", first and second surveys
 Ordnance Survey, Explorer 395. 1:25 000, Glen Esk and Glentinar.
 Ordnance Survey, Landranger Series, 1:50 000, Sheet 44, Ballater, Glen Clova & Surrounding area
 Ordnance Survey, Landranger Series, 1:50 000, Sheet 15, Loch Assynt, Lochinver & Kylesku.
 Ordnance Survey, Pathfinder Series, 1:25 000. Sheet 29/39, Ballater and Crathie.
 Ordnance Survey, Pathfinder Series, 1:25 000, Sheet 243, Cock Bridge.
 Ordnance Survey, Outdoor Leisure, 1:25 000, The Cuillin & Torridon Hills.
 Ordnance Survey, 1870 1 inch to 1 statute mile, Sheet 75, Balmoral.
 Ordnance Survey, 1876, 1 inch to one statute, mile, Sheet 75, Tomintoul.
 Blau's map, 1654, photographic reproduction, University of Glasgow Main Library.
 Plan of the United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengardine (Glengairn) c.1696. A&NEFHS.
 Scottish Atlas and Gazetteer, Harper-Collins Publishers, 1977.
 The Times Concise Atlas of the Bible.

Dictionaries

Cameron, N.MdeS. (ed.) Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology (Edinburgh, 1993).
 Donaldson, G. and Morpeth, R. (eds.) A Dictionary of Scottish History (Edinburgh, 1977).
 Palmer, A.W. (ed.) A Dictionary of Modern History, 1789-1945 (London, 1975).
 Thomson, D.S. (ed.) The New English-Gaelic Dictionary (Glasgow, 1999).
 Warwick, A., (ed) The Scots Dialect Dictionary (New Lanark, 2000).

Bibliography

- Adam, W.E., The United Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland*, William Collins, Sons & Co., Publishers, (Glasgow, 1960).
- Alexander, Sir H., The Cairngorms: Scottish Mountaineering Club Guide Books, The Scottish Mountaineering Trust (Edinburgh, 1928).
- Allan, E.J.P., Ballater Bairn and other poems, Rainbow Enterprises (Dyce, 1985).
- Ammer, C., The American Heritage Dictionary of Idioms, Houghton Mifflin Company, (Colombia University Press, 1997).
- Anderson, A., The United Parish of Crathie and Braemar, *The New Statistical Account* (Edinburgh, 1842).
- Anderson, W.J., Thomas Innes on Catholicism in Scotland, 1560-1653, *The Innes Review*, Vol.7, No.2 (1956), 112-20.
- Anderson, W.J., Catholic Family Worship on Deeside in 1691, *The Innes Review*, Vol.18, 1967, 151-56.
- Ansdell, D.B.A., The 1843 Disruption of the Church of Scotland in the Isle of Lewis, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol.XXIV(1992), 181-97.
- Ansdell, D.B.A., The People of the Great Faith: The Highland Church, 1690-1900, Acair Ltd., (Stornoway, 1998).
- Ansdell, D.B.A., Disruptions and Controversies in the Highland Church: *The Church in the Highlands*, 89-113, ed. James Kirk, (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Anson, P.F., Underground Catholicism in Scotland; 1622-1878 (Montrose, 1970).
- Armit, I., Celtic Scotland, B.T. Batsford Ltd. (London, 1977).
- Armit, I., Scotland's Hidden History, Tempus Publishing Ltd. (Stroud, 1998).
- Armit, I., The abandonment of souterrains: evolution, catastrophe or dislocation? *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* Vol.129 (1999), 577-96.
- Ashton, T.S., The Industrial Revolution: 1760-1830, OUP (Oxford, 1968).
- Atkinson, G.C., Expedition to the Hebrides in 1831 and 1833, Maclean Press, (Watnish, Skye, 1999 reprint).
- Attwater, D., The Penguin Dictionary of Saints, Penguin Books Ltd. (London, 1982)
- Barron, J., The Northern Highlands in the Nineteenth Century; *Newspaper Index and Annals* (Inverness, 1903-13).
- Bebbington, D.W., The Baptists of Scotland : A History, Baptists Union, Scotland (Edinburgh, 1988).
- Bertie, D.M., The Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 1689-2000, T. & T. Clark (Edinburgh, 2000).

- Beveridge, W., Power and Influence, Hodder and Stoughton (London, 1953).
- Biswas, L., Evolution of Hindu temples in Calcutta, Journal of Cultural Geography, No.4 (1984), 73-85.
- Blundell, O., The Catholic Highlands of Scotland, (Vol.1, The Central Highlands) Sands & Co. (Edinburgh, 1909).
- Boswell, J., The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, 1775, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd. (London, 1958 reprint).
- Bowen, E.G., Early Christianity in the British Isles: A study in Historical Geography, Geography, Vol.17 (1932), 267-77.
- Bowen, E.G., The settlements of the Celtic saints in South Wales, Antiquity, Vol.19 (1945), 175-86.
- Bowen, E.G., Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales, UWP. (Cardiff, 1954).
- Bowen, E.G., Saints, Seaways and Settlements in the Celtic Lands, UPW. (Cardiff, 1969).
- Boyle, A., The Birthplace of St. Patrick, The Scottish Historical Review, No.170 (1981), 156-74.
- Bradley, I., Columba, Pilgrim and Penitant, 597-1997, Wild Goose Publications (Glasgow, 1996).
- Bremner, A., The Valley Glaciation in the District round Dinnet, Cambus O' May and Ballater, The Deeside Field, No.5 (1931), 15-19.
- Broadie, A., Maimonides on the Great Tautology, Exodus 3, 14, Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol.47, No.1 (1994), 473-88.
- Broadie, A., The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology, Canongate Classics (Edinburgh, 1997).
- Broadie, A., The Scottish Enlightenment, The Historical Age of the Historical Nation, Birlinn Limited (Edinburgh, 2001).
- Brown, C.G., Religion and Social Change, People and Society in Scotland, Vol.1, 1760-1830, ed. T.M. Devine and R. Mitchison, John Donald, Publishers, Ltd, (Edinburgh, 1988).
- Brown, C.G., Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707, EUP (Edinburgh, 1997).
- Brown, G., The United Parishes of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, Old Statistical Account, ed. J. Sinclair (Edinburgh, 1794).
- Brown, T., Annals of the Disruption, John Maclaren, Publishers (Edinburgh, 1881).
- Brox, N., A History of the Early Church, SCM Press (London, 1994).
- Buchanan, J.L., Travels in the Western Hebrides from 1782 to 1790, Maclean Press (Waternish, 1999 reprint).
- Burgess, H., The United Parishes of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, The New Statistical Account of Scotland, 1842, William Blackwood & Sons, (Edinburgh, 1842).

- Burleigh, J.H.S., A Church History of Scotland, OUP (London, 1960).
- Burn A.R., The Living Past of Greece, Penguin Books (Moddlessex, 1980).
- Burt, E., Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland, 1754, Birlinn Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1998 reprint).
- Caird, J.B., The Creation of Crofts and New Settlement Patterns in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.103 (1987), 67-75.
- Calderwood, A.B., The Buik of the Kirk of the Canagait, 1564-1567, Scottish History Society, (Edinburgh, 1961).
- Cameron, D.K., Willie Gavin, Crofter Man, Portrait of a Vanished Lifestyle. Birlinn, Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1995).
- Cameron, J.K., (ed.) The First Book of Discipline, The St. Andrew's Press (Edinburgh, 1974).
- Cameron, N.M., (ed.) Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology, T.&T. Clark, Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1993).
- Campbell, J.L., The MacNeils of Barra and the Irish Franciscans, The Innes Review, Vol.5 (1954) 33-38.
- Campbell, J.L., Canna: The Story of a Hebridean Island, Birlinn, Ltd. (Edinburgh, 2002).
- Chadwick, H., The Early Church, Penguin Books Ltd. (London, 1967).
- Chadwick, N., The Celts, Penguin Books Ltd. (London, 1971).
- Cloke, P., Philo, C., and Sadler, D., Approaching Human Geography, Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd. (London, 1991.)
- Cohn, R.L., The Shape of Sacred Space; Four Biblical Studies, American Academy of Religion (California, 1981).
- Cohn-Sherbok, L., and D., A Short History of Judaism, Oneworld Publications (Oxford, 1995).
- Cornford, L.C., Walker, F.W., The Great Deeds of the Black Watch, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. (London, 1915).
- Cooper, A., New Directions in the Geography of Religion, Area, Vol. 24 (1992) 123-29,
- Cowan, I.B., The Parishes of Medieval Scotland, Scottish Record Society, Vol. 93, (Edinburgh, 1967).
- Cowan, I.B., The Medieval Church in the Diocese of Aberdeen, Northern Scotland, Vol.1, No.1 (1972), 19-48.
- Cowan, I.B., The Medieval Church in the Highlands, The Middle Ages in the Highlands, The Inverness Field Club, (1981), 91-100.
- Cowan, I.B., The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in sixteenth century Scotland. Weidenfeld and Nicolson (London, 1982).

- Cowan, I. B., and Shaw, D., (eds.) The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland, Essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Academic Press Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1983).
- Cruickshank, H.B., Up the Noran Water: and other Scots poems (London, 1934).
- Cruickshank, J., Education on Deeside, The Deeside Field, Vol.5 (1931), 1-4.
- Currie, J., Mull: The Island and its People, Birlinn Limited, (Edinburgh, 2000).
- Curtis, G.R., Roads and Bridges in the Scottish Highlands, the route between Dunkeld and Inverness, 1725-1925, Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol.110 (1978-80), 475- 96.
- Darling, F.F., and Boyd, J.M., The Highlands and Islands, Collins, Publishers (London, 1964).
- Darragh, J., The Catholic Population of Scotland Since the Year 1680, The Innes Review, Vol.4 (1953), 49-59.
- Davidson, A., (ed.) Memoirs of a Highland Lady 1797-1827, Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, John Murray, Publishers, Albemarle Library (London, 1960).
- Davies, J., A History of Wales (Chapters 2 and 3) Penguin Books Ltd. (London, 1994).
- Davies, O., Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales (Cardiff, 1996).
- Davies, W., Dark, K., and Lane, A. (eds.) The Myth of the Celtic Church, The Early Church in Wales and the West, Oxford Monographs, No.16 (Oxford, 1992).
- Dawson, J.E.A., The Origins of the "Road to the Isles", Trade, Communications and Power in Early Modern Scotland, People and Power in Scotland, Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout, John Donald, Publishers, Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1992).
- Dawson, J.E.A., Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland, Calvinism in Europe: 1540-1620, ed. A. Pettegree, A. Duke and C. Lewis, CUP. (Cambridge, 1994).
- Day, T., Gentleman Contractors: The Farquharsons of Monaltrie and the Construction of Ballater's Bridges, 1775-1812, Northern Scotland, Vol.16 (1996), 80-90,
- DeBernardi, J., Space and time in Chinese religious culture, History of Religions, No.31, 3, (1992), 28-34.
- Devine, T.M., The rise and fall of illicit whisky-making in Northern Scotland, The Scottish Historical Review, No.54 (1975), 155-77.
- Devine, T.M., Highland migration to Lowland Scotland, 1760-1860, The Scottish Historical Review, No.174 (1983), 137-49.
- Devine, T. M. and Mitchison, R., People and Society in Scotland, 1760-1830, John Donald, Publishers, Ltd., (Edinburgh, 1988).
- Devine, T.M., Clanship to Crofters' War, The social transformation of the Scottish Highlands, MUP. (Manchester, 1994).
- Devine, T. M., The Transformation of Rural Scotland, Social Change in the Agrarian Economy, 1660-1815, EUP. (Edinburgh, 1994).

- Devine, T. M., The Scottish Nation : 1700-2000, The Penguin Press (London, 1999).
- Devine, T.M., and McMillan, J.F., Celebrating Columba: Irish-Scottish Connections, 597-1997, John Donald Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1999).
- Diack, F.C., Notes on the Second Edition of Michie's "Deeside Tales", Deeside Tales, J. Michie, D.Wylie & Son (Aberdeen, 1908).
- Dickinson, W.C., A Source Book of Scottish History, Vol. 2, 1424 to 1567, Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1953).
- Dilworth, M., Catholic Glengairn in the Early Nineteenth Century: Part One, The Innes Review, Vol.7 (1956), 11-23 and 87-100.
- Dilworth, M., Catholic Glengairn in the Early Nineteenth Century, Part Two, The Innes Review, Vol.7 (1956), 87-100.
- Dodd, W.E., Telford's Churches, The Scots Magazine, Vol. 96 (1971), 113-20.
- Donaldson, G., The Scots Overseas, R. Hale (London, 1986).
- Donaldson, G., Scottish Historical Documents, Scottish Academic Press Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1970).
- Donaldson, G., and Morpeth, R., A Dictionary of Scottish History, John Donald, Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1977).
- Donaldson, G., Scottish Church History, Scottish Academic Press Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1985).
- Doughty, D.W., Chapeltown, Bracs of Glenlivet, and Tombae, The debris of the old Scalan library, The Deeside Field, No.19 (1987), 79-85.
- Drummond, A.L., and Bulloch, J., The Scottish Church, 1688-1843, St. Andrew Press (Edinburgh., 1973).
- Drummond, A.L., and Bulloch, J., The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874, St. Andrew Press (Edinburgh, 1975).
- Drummond, A.L., and Bulloch, J., The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, 1874-1900, St. Andrew Press (Edinburgh, 1978).
- Duguid, J., The Beginnings of Ballater, The Deeside Field, No.5 (1931), 87-88.
- Duncan, A.A.M. Scotland : The Making of the Kingdom, Oliver & Boyd (Edinburgh, 1975).
- Dunn, D., (ed.) The Two Drovers, Sir Walter Scott, The Oxford Book of Short Stories, OUP (Oxford, 1995).
- Durkan, J. William Murdoch and the Earliest Jesuit Mission in Scotland, The Innes Review, Vol.35 No.1(1984), 3-11.
- East, W.G., The Geography Behind History, Nelson, (London, 1938).
- Edwards, K.J., Aspects of the Prehistoric Archaeology of the Howe of Cromar, Quaternary Studies in North-East Scotland, (1975), 82-87.

- Escott, H., A History of Scottish Congregationalism, Congregational Union of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1960).
- Ewing, W., Annals of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843-1900, T. & T. Clark Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1914).
- Fahy, D., The Historical Reality of St. Ninian, The Innes Review, Vol. 15 (1964), 35-46.
- Fairhurst, H., Scottish Clachans, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol. 76 (1960), 67-76,
- Farr, A.D., The Royal Deeside Line, David & Charles, Publishers (Newton Abbot, 1968).
- Fenton, A., Scottish Country Life, John Donald Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1976).
- Fenwick, H., Scotland's Abbeys and Cathedrals, Robert Hale Ltd. (London, 1978).
- Ferguson, C., Children of the Black-House, Birlinn Ltd. (Edinburgh, 2003).
- Ferguson, R., Chasing the Wild Goose, The Iona Community, William Collins Sons & Co. (Glasgow, 1988).
- Ferguson, W., The problems of the Established Church in the West Highlands and Islands in The Eighteenth Century, Records of the Church History Society, Vol.17 (1969), 15-30.
- Fisher, I., Early Christian Archaeology in Argyll, Early Christian Archaeology in Argyll, ed. Ritchie, G. (1997), (Edinburgh, 1997).
- Fleming, D.H., Register of the Ministers, Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews (2 Vols) (Edinburgh, 1889-90).
- Forbes, F., and Anderson, W.J., Clergy Lists of the Highland District, 1732-1828: The Innes Review, Vol.17 No.2 (1966), 119-184.
- Forrester, D.B., and Murray, D.M., Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland, T. & T. Clark (Edinburgh, 1984).
- Forrester, D.B., The Book of Common Order, in Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology, T.&T. Clark, Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1993).
- Foster, S.M., Picts, Gaels and Scot, B.T. Batsford Ltd. (London, 1996).
- Fraser, A.S., The Hills of Home, Routledge and Kegan Paul (London, 1973).
- Fraser, A.S., In Memory Long, Routledge and Kegan Paul (London, 1977).
- Fraser, G.M., The Old Deeside Road, Its Course, History and Associations, Aberdeen People's Press (Aberdeen, 1921)
- Freund, W.H.C., The Early Church, From the Beginnings to 461, SCM Press Limited (London, 1991).
- Fry, M., The Scottish Empire, Tuckwell Press, (Edinburgh, 2001).
- Gailey, R.A., The Evolution of Highland Rural Settlement, Scottish Studies, Vol.6 (1962), 155-77.

- Galt, J. The Annals of the Parish (1821), The World's Classics, OUP (Oxford, 1986).
- Gandy, M., Catholic Missions and Registers, 1700-1800, (Vol.6 - Scotland), Parchment (Oxford) Ltd. Cowley, (Oxford, 1993).
- Gauldy, E., The Scottish Country Miller. 1700-1900, John Donald, Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1981).
- Geddes, J. Historical Account of the Seminary at Scaln, The Innes Review, Vol.14, (1963), 93-130.
- Geertz, C., The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays, Hutchinson (London, 1975).
- Gillies, L., Ballater "Little Masons", The Deeside Field, 2nd series, No.4 (1962), 36-39.
- Glen, A., Raising the Roof, The Scots Magazine, Vol.154, No.5 (2001), 534-38.
- Glen, I.A., A Maker of Illicit Stills, Scottish Studies, No.14 (1970), 67-83.
- Gloag, W.M., and Henderson, R.C., Introduction to the Law of Scotland, W. Green & Son, Ltd. Publishers (Edinburgh, 1987).
- Glover, J.R., The Story of Scotland, Faber (London, 1960).
- Goldie, F., A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, S.P.C.K. (London, 1951).
- Gordon, S., The Cairngorm Hills of Scotland, Cassell & Company Ltd. (London, 1925).
- Gordon, S., Highways and Byways of the Central Highlands, McMillan & Co. Ltd. (London, 1949).
- Graham, C., Portrait of Aberdeen and Deeside, Robert Hale (London, 1972).
- Grant, J Legends of the Braes o' Mar, Lewis Smith (Aberdeen, 1861).
- Gray, M., Introduction, The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799, ed. Sir John Sinclair, Vol. XVI, E.P. Publishing Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1981).
- Gregory, D., Martin, R., and Smith, G., (eds.) Human Geography: Society: Space and Social Sciences, Macmillan Press, Ltd., (London, 1994).
- Grimble, I., The Trial of Patrick Sellar, Saltire Society (Edinburgh, 1962).
- Grimmingham, C., The Ecology, Land Use and Conservation of the Cairngorms, Packhard Publishing Ltd. (Chichester, 2002).
- Hackett, S., and Livingstone, N., Scottish Parliamentary Churches and their Manses, Studies in Scottish Antiquity Presented to Stuart Cruden, John Donald, Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1984).
- Haldane, A.R.B., The Drove Roads of Scotland, John Donald, Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1952).
- Haldane, A.R.B., New Ways Through The Glens, House of Lochar (Colonsay, 1962).

- Hall, S.G., Doctrine and Practice In the Early Church. SPCK (Cambridge, 1991).
- Hamilton, H., (ed.) The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. XII, 722-86, The United Parishes of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengalm, Collins, Publishers (Glasgow, 1960).
- Handford, S.A., The Agricola and The Germania. Tacitus, (98AD) Revised Translation, Penguin Books Ltd., (London, 1975).
- Harper, M., Emigration from North-East Scotland, 1830-1900, The Scottish Genealogist, Vol.32 (1985), 33-41.
- Harper, M., Emigration from North-East Scotland. Vols. 1 and 2, AUP (Aberdeen, 1988).
- Harper, M Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus, Profile Books Ltd. (London, 2003).
- Harvey, P., The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, (Oxford, 1980).
- Hay, D., Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, Longman (London, 1966).
- Hay, M., Too Little and Too Late, The Innes Review Vol.6, No.1 (1955), 19-21,
- Hazlett, I., (ed.) Early Christianity: Origins and Evolution to AD600, SPCK (London, 1991).
- Henderson, G.D., The Scots Confession, 1560 (Edinburgh, 1960).
- Henry, F., Irish High Crosses, Three Candles Ltd. (Dublin, 1964).
- Hill, L., The Craft and the Kirk, Life and Work, Magazine of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 2003).
- Hogg, J., A Tour of the Highlands in 1803, James Thin, The Mercat Press (Edinburgh, 1986 reprint).
- Holloway, J., and Valins, O., Editorial: Placing religion and spirituality in geography, Social and Cultural Geography, Vol.3, No.1 (2002), 5-9.
- Holt, E.G., A Documentary History of Art, Vol.1, The Middle Ages and Renaissance, Princetown University Press (New York, 1957).
- Humble, B.H., The Songs of Skye, an Anthology. 1934, Encas Mackay, Publishers (Stirling, 1955).
- Hunter, J., The Emergence of the Crofting Community, The Religious Contribution, 798-1843, Scottish Studies, Vol.18 (1974), 95-116,
- Hunter, J., The Making of the Crofting Community, John Donald Publishers Limited (Edinburgh, 1976).
- Jackson, P., Scottish Seaweed Resources, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.64 (1948), 136-44.
- Jarvie, G., Highland Games: The Making of the Myth, EUP (Edinburgh, 1991).

- Jarvie, G., and Jackson, L., Deer Forests and Sporting Estates and the Aristocracy, British Society of Sports History Publication (London, 1998).
- Jervais, A., Epitaphs and Inscriptions from Burial Grounds in the North-East of Scotland, Edmoston & Douglas, Publishers (Edinburgh, 1879).
- Johnson, C., Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, 1789-1929, John Donald, Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1983).
- Johnson, C., Three Scottish Seminaries – Scalan, Aquhorthies, Blairs, The Deeside Field Vol.19 (1987), 75-85.
- Jones, H., Evolution of Scottish Migration Patterns, A Social Relations Production Approach, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.102, No.3 (1986), 151-64.
- Katz, L., Bad Acts and Guilty Minds, (Chicago, 1987).
- Keith, A., A Thousand Years of Aberdeen, AUP. (Aberdeen, 1972).
- Keppie, L., Scotland's Roman Remains, John Donald Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1990).
- King, C., (ed.) Twelve Modern Scottish Poets, ULP (London, 1971).
- Kirk, J., The Second Book of Discipline, St. Andrew Press (Edinburgh, 1980).
- Kirk, J., The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation, Northern Scotland, Vol.7, No.1 (1986), 1-23.
- Kirk, J., (ed.) The Church in the Highlands, Scottish Church History Society (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Knox, J., A Tour Through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in 1786 (London, 1787).
- Kong, L., Geography and Religion: Trends and Prospects, Progress In Human Geography, Vol.14 (1990), 355-71
- Kong, L., Cemeteries and columbaria, memorials and mausoleums, narrative and interpretation in the study of deathscapes in geography, Australian Geographical Studies, No.37, No.1 (1999), 1-10.
- Kong, L., Mapping 'new' geographies of religion: politics and poetics in modernity, Progress in Human Geography, 25, No.2 (2001), 211-33.
- Kong, L., Religion and technology: refiguring place, space, identity and community, Area, 33, Vol.4 (2001), 404-413.
- Kyd, J.G., Scottish Population Statistics including Webster's Analysis of Population, 1755, Scottish Academic Press (Edinburgh, 1975).
- Lamb, J.A., The Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1900-1929, Presbytery of Deeside, Oliver & Boyd (Edinburgh, 1956).
- Lawson, W., St. Kilda and its Church, A Hebridean Church in its Historical Setting, Bill Lawson Publications (Harris, 1993).
- Levine, G.J., On the Geography of Religion, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol.11 (1949), 428-440.

- Levine, H.J., Sing Unto God A New Song: A Contemporary Reading of the Psalms. Indiana University Press (Indianapolis, 1995).
- Ley, D., Geography of Religion, Dictionary of Human Geography, Blackwell Publishers, Ltd. (Oxford, 2000).
- Lochhead, M., Episcopal Scotland in the Nineteenth Century, John Murray (London, 1966).
- Lockhart, D.G., The Planned Villages of Aberdeenshire: The Evidence from Newspaper Advertisements, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.94, No.2 (1978), 95-102.
- Lockhart, D.G., Scottish Village Plans: A Preliminary Analysis, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.96, No.3 (1980), 141-57.
- Lockhart, D.G., Patterns of Migration and Movement of Labour to the Planned Villages of North-East Scotland, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.98, No.1 (1982), 35-47.
- Lumsden, J., An Old Picture of Ballater, The Deeside Field, No.4 (1929), 66-68.
- Lynch, M., Scotland: A New History, Pimlico (London, 1991).
- MacDonald, F., Towards a spatial theory of worship: some observations from Presbyterian Scotland, Social and Cultural Geography, Vol.3, No.1 (2002), 61-80.
- MacDonald, I.R., Glasgow's Gaelic Churches: Highland Religion in an Urban Setting, 1690-1995, The Knox Press (Edinburgh, 1995).
- MacDonald, I.R., Aberdeen and the Church in the Highlands, Records of the Scottish Church History Society XXXII, (2002), 71-91.
- MacDonald, R., The Highland District in 1764, The Innes Review, Vol.15 (1964), 140-150.
- MacDonald, R., Catholics in the Highlands in the 1760s, The Innes Review, Vol.16, No.2 (1965), 118-220.
- MacDonald, R., The Catholic Gaidhealtach, The Innes Review, Vol. 29 (1978), 56-72.
- MacGibbon, D., and Ross, T., The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland: From the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century, Vol.111, The Mercat Press (Edinburgh, 1991).
- MacGregor, A., Highland Superstitions, A. & W. Mackenzie (Inverness, 1891).
- MacGregor, A. A., Behold the Hebrides: Wayfaring in the Western Isles, Chambers (London, 1925).
- MacInnes, J., The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland: 1688-1800, AUP (Aberdeen, 1951).
- MacKenzie, O.H., A Hundred Years of Life in the Highlands, Geoffrey Bles (London, 1921).
- MacLean, D., Catholicism in the Highlands and Isles, 1560-1680, The Innes Review, Vol.3 (1952), 5-13.

- MacLeod, F., The Chapels of the Western Isle,: Acair Ltd. (Stornoway, 1997).
- MacLeod, N., Moryern, A Highland Parish (ed. I.Thorburn) Birlinn Limited (Edinburgh, 2002).
- MacMillan, D.S., Scotland and Australia, 1788-1850, Emigration, Commerce and Investment, Clarendon Press (Oxford, 1967).
- McHugh, M., The Religious Condition of the Highlands and Islands in the Mid-Eighteenth Century, The Innes Review, Vol.35, No.1 (1984), 12-21.
- McLeod, W., Farr, P., and Farr, R., (eds.) Letters From The Glen, Glen Clunie, Braemar, Scotland, 1839-187, Aberdeen and North-East Scotland Family History Society (Aberdeen, 2002).
- McMillan, J.F., Mission Accomplished, The Catholic Underground, Eighteenth Century Scotland, New Perspectives, ed. T.M. Devine and J. R. Young (Edinburgh, 1999).
- McNab, P.A., The Golden Fringe, The Scots Magazine, Vol.93, No.6 (1970), 534-38.
- McNaughton, W.D., Early Congregational Independency in the Highlands and Islands and the North-East Scotland, The Trustees of Ruaig Congregational Church (Tirce, 2003).
- McNaughton, W.D., Revival and Reality, Congregationalists and Religious Revival in Nineteenth-century Scotland, Records of the Scottish Church History Society, XXX111 (2003), 165-215.
- McNeil, L., The Sweet Voice, Life & Work, May 2005, Church of Scotland Publication, (Edinburgh, 2005).
- McRoberts, D The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878, The Innes Review, Vol.29 (1978), 3-20.
- McWilliam, A.S., The Highland Seminary at Lismore, 1803-1828, The Innes Review, Vol.8, No.1 (1957), 30-38.
- McWilliam, A., The Jesuit Mission in Upper Deeside, 1671-1737, The Innes Review, Vol.23 (1972), 22-39.
- McWilliam, A., A Highland Mission , Strathglass, 1691-1777, The Innes Review, Vol.24 (1973), 75-102.
- Macdonald, D., Lewis: A History of the Island, Gordon Wright Publishing (Edinburgh, 1978).
- Macdonald, I., A' Chomraich, Applecross, The Sanctuary, Applecross Historical Society (Invergordon, 1999).
- Macdonald, J., Smuggling In The Highlands, Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol.12, (1885-86), 256-57.
- Macdonald, F., Scenes of Ecclesiastical Theatre in the Free Church of Scotland, Northern Scotland, Vol.20 (2000), 125-46.
- Macinnes, A.I., Scottish Gaeldom, The First Phase of the Clearance, People and Society in Scotland, Vol 1 (1988), 87-92.

- Mackenzie, A., The History of the Highland Clearances, 1883, Alex. MacLaren & Sons (Glasgow, 1946 edn).
- Mackenzie, W., Old Skye Tales, Traditions, Reflections and Memories, 1930, Birlinn Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1995 edn).
- Mackinlay, J.M., Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland, David Douglas, Publishers (Edinburgh, 1914).
- MacLeod, D. J., Introduction, A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland and A Voyage to St. Kilda, Martin Martin (1698), Birlinn Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1994.)
- MacLeod, J., Highlanders: A History of the Gael, Hodder and Stoughton (London, 1996).
- Magnusson, M., Treasures of Scotland, Wiedenfeld and Nicolson (London, 1981).
- Marrin, P., The Muir of Dinnet - Portrait of a National Reserve, Nature Conservancy Council, North-East (Scotland) Region (Edinburgh, 1980).
- Marrin, P., Grampian Battlefields - The Historic Battles of North-East Scotland, from AD 84 to 1745, James Thin, The Mercat Press (Edinburgh, 1990).
- Martin, A.I., A Study of Edward's Map of Angus, 1678, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.96 (1980), 39-45.
- Martin, M., A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland ca 1695, and A Late Voyage to St. Kilda, The Remotest of All the Hebrides (1698), James Thin, The Mercat Press (Edinburgh, 1970 reprint).
- Martin, M., A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland (1703), James Thin, The Mercat Press (Edinburgh, 1970 reprint).
- Martin, R.P., How the first Christians worshipped, in The History of Christianity, Lion Handbook (Oxford, 1990).
- Meehan, B., The Book of Kells, Thames and Hudson Ltd. (London, 1994).
- Meek, D.E., and Kirk, J., John Carswell, Superintendent of Argyll: a reassessment, Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol.19 (1975), 1-22.
- Meek, D.E., The Land Question Answered from the Bible, the Land Issue and the Development of a Highland Theology of Liberation, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.103 No.2 (1987), 84-89.
- Meek, D.E., Evangelical Missionaries in the Early Nineteenth Century Highlands. Scottish Studies, Vol.28 (1987), 1-34.
- Meek, D.E., Dugald Sinclair, The life and Work of a Highland Itinerant Missionary. Scottish Studies, Vol.30 (1991), 59-91.
- Meek, D.E., The Scottish Highlands, The Churches and Gaelic Culture, Gospel and Cultures Pamphlet 1, WCC Publications (Geneva, 1996).
- Meek, D.E., Gaelic Bible, revival and mission: the spiritual rebirth of the nineteenth century Highlands, The Church in the Highlands, ed. James Kirk, Scottish Church History Society (Edinburgh, 1998).

- Meek, D., Saints and Scarecrows. The Churches and Gaelic Culture in the Highlands since 1550, SBET Journals, Scotland, Gospel and Culture, 2001. Website. <http://www.rutherfordhouse.org.uk/journals/meek.htm>
- Meikle, H. W. Scotland and the French Revolution, James Maclehose and Sons (Edinburgh, 1912).
- Meller, H., Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner, Routledge (London, 1990).
- Meyer, P., The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732 – 1726, UNC Press (1957).
- Michie, J.G., History of Loch Kinord, David Douglas, Publishers (Edinburgh, 1877).
- Michie, J.G., Deeside Tales ; Men and Manners on Highland Deeside (ed. Francis C. Diack), D. Wylie & Son (Aberdeen, 1908).
- Michie, J.G., Records of Invercauld, 1547-1828, New Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1981 reprint).
- Miller, A., Death of a Salesman, Penguin Books Ltd., (Middlesex, 1949).
- Miller, M., The Last Century of Pictish Succession, Scottish Studies, Vol. 23 (1979), 39-67.
- Mitchell, I., Mountains and Missionaries, The Scots Magazine, Vol.153, No.44 (2000), 350-52.
- Mitchell, I.R., Over the Sea to Skye, The Scots Magazine, Vol.154, No.5 (2001), 493-495.
- Mitchison, R., Agricultural Sir John ; The Life and Times of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, 1754-1835, Geoffrey Bles (London, 1962).
- Moir, D.G., The Roads of Scotland 11 - Statute Labour Roads, The First Phase, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.73 (1957), 101-110.
- Moir, D.G., The Roads of Scotland 11 - Statute Labour Roads: The Second Phase, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.73 (1957), 167-175.
- Monro, D., Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, 1560, Oliver & Boyd (Edinburgh, 1961 reprint).
- Morpeth, R., A Dictionary of Scottish History, John Donald Publishers, Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1977).
- Murray, C.M., Hamewith and Other Poems, Constable & Company, Ltd. (London, 1927).
- Murray, D.B., The First Hundred Years of the Baptist Union in Scotland, The Baptist Union of Scotland (1971).
- Murray, D.M., Freedom to Reform, The 'Articles Declaratory' of the Church of Scotland, 1921, T. & T. Clark Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1993).
- Murray, I.M., In The Shadow of Lochnagar, William Culross & Son, Ltd. (Coupar Angus, 1992).

- Murray, I.M., The Dee From the Far Cairngorm, Lochnagar Publications and Marketing, (Ballater, 1999).
- Neil, C.G., Glengairn Calling, P. Scroggie Ltd., (Peterhead, 1943).
- Nethersole-Thompson, D., and Watson, A., The Cairngorms, Their Natural History and Scenery, Melven Press (Perth, 1981).
- New, A., A Guide to the Abbeys of Scotland, Constable & Co. Ltd. (London, 1988).
- Nicolson, A., Sea Room: An Island Life, Harper Collins, Publishers (London, 2001).
- O'Dell, A.C. and Walton, K., The Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd. (London, 1962).
- O'Mahoney, F., The Book of Kells, Scolar (Dublin, 1994).
- Orr, W., Deer Forests, Landlords and Crofters. The Western Highlands in Victorian and Edwardian Times, John Donald, Publishers (Edinburgh, 1994).
- Pacione, M., The Relevance of Religion for a Relevant Human Geography, Scottish Geographical Journal, Vol.115 No.2 (1999), 117-123.
- Paddison, R., The Evolution and Present Structure of Central Places in North-East Scotland, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Aberdeen (1969).
- Palmer, A.W., A Dictionary of Modern History, 1789-1945, Penguin Books Ltd. (London, 1975).
- Park, C.C., Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion, Routledge, (London, 1994).
- Pearce, S.M., A Late Bronze Age Hoard from Glentanar, Aberdeenshire, Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol.103 (1970-71) 57-64.
- Peckham, C., and Peckham, M., Sounds from Heaven: The Revival on the Isle of Lewis, 1949-1952 (Chatham, 2004).
- Pennant, T., A Tour of Scotland in 1769, Melvin Press (Perth, 1979 reprint).
- Phillipson, N.T. and Mitchison, R., Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century, EUP (Edinburgh, 1970).
- Piggot, C.A., A Geography of Religion in Scotland, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.96, No.3 (1980), 130-40.
- Poucher, W. A The Scottish Peaks, Constable & Co. Ltd. (London, 1968).
- Prebble, J., The Highland Clearances, Secker & Warburg (London, 1963).
- Prebble, J., The Darien Disaster, Mainstream Publishing, (Edinburgh, 1968).
- Prebble, J., The King's Jaunt: George IV in Scotland, 1822, William Collins, Sons and Co. Ltd. (London, 1988).
- Price, R., Highland Landforms, AUP (Aberdeen, 1976).

- Pritchard, J.B., The Times Concise Atlas of the Bible, Times Books (London, 1991).
- Rankin, J., A Handbook of the Church of Scotland, A.D. 400-1888, Chap.10, The Scottish Episcopal Church. William Blackwood (Edinburgh, 1888).
- Richardson, H, and Scarry, J., An Introduction to the Irish High Cross, Mercier Press Ltd. (Dublin, (1990).
- Ritchie, A Iona, B.T. Batsford Ltd. (London, 1997).
- Ritchie, L.A., The Floating Church of Loch Sunart, Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. XXII (1986), 159-173.
- Ritchie, G., (ed.) The Archaeology of Argyll, EUP (Edinburgh, 1977).
- Rixson, D., The West Highland Galley, Birlinn Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Roberts, A., Catholic Glengairn, The Rise and Fall of a Community, The Deeside Field, Vol.19 (1987), 91-97.
- Roberts, A., Gregor McGregor (1681-1740) and the Highland Problem in the Scottish Catholic Mission, The Innes Review, Vol.39 (1988), 81-108.
- Roberts, A., Aspects of Highland and Lowland Catholicism on Deeside, Northern Scotland, Vol.10 (1990) 19-30.
- Roberts, A., Roman Catholicism in the Highlands, The Church in the Highlands, ed. Kirk, J., Scottish Church History Society (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Roberts, J.L. The Highland Geology Trail, Luath Ppress Limited (Edinburgh, 1990).
- Robinson, M., (ed.) The Concise Scots Dictionary, AUP (Aberdeen, 1985).
- Robson, D.A., The Science of Geology, The Blandford Press (London, 1968).
- Ross, A., The Folklore of the Scottish Highlands, B.T. Batsford, Ltd. (London, 1976).
- Ross, A., The Development of The Scottish Catholic Community, 1878-1978, The Innes Review, Vol.29 (1978), 30-48.
- Ross, D., Chronology of Scottish History, Geddes & Grosset (New Lanark, 2002).
- Ross, K.R., Separatists in Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology, T.&T. Clark (Edinburgh, 1993).
- Ross, W.C.A., Highland Emigration, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.50 (1934), 155-66.
- Rymer, L., The Scottish Kelp Industry, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.90 (1974) 42-52.
- Rymer, L., The Kelp Industry in North Knapdale, Scottish Studies, Vol.18 (1974), 127-32.
- Salter, M., The Old Parish Churches of Scotland, Folly Publications, Malvern (Worcs, 1994).

- Sanderson, M.H.B., Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century, John Donald, Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1982).
- Scaborne, M., Celtic Crosses of Britain and Ireland, Shire Archaeology (Aylesbury, 1991)
- Schama, S., Landscape and Memory, Fontana Press (London, 1996).
- Scott, H., Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticanae, Vol.6, Synods of Aberdeen and Moray, Oliver & Boyd, Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1926).
- Scott, W.W., John of Fordun's Description of the Western Isles, Scottish Studies, Vol.23 (1979), 1-13.
- Sedgwick, S., The Curious Years: Some aspects of life in "Ye thrie parochines of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn", 1661-1991, Neil A. Robertson, Printers (Forfar, 1991).
- Sefton, H.R., Building for worship, in The History of Christianity, Lion Handbook (Oxford, 1990).
- Sharpe, R., The Life of St. Columba, Adomnan of Iona (Trans.) Penguin Books Ltd. (London, 1995).
- Sherley-Price, L., The Ecclesiastical History of the English People: Bede (Trans.) Penguin Books Ltd. (London, 1955).
- Silver, O., The roads of Scotland : from statute labour to tolls, the first phase, 1700-1770, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.103, No.3 (1987), 141-148.
- Simpson, I.J., Education in Aberdeenshire Before 1872, Publication of the Scottish Council for Research in Education, XXV, ULP (London, 1947).
- Simpson, W.D., The Celtic Church in Scotland, AUP (Aberdeen, 1935).
- Simpson, W.D., Tullich and St. Nathalan, The Deeside Field, Vol.2 (1922), 16-18.
- Simpson, W.D., The Ancient Stones of Scotland, Robert Hale & Co., Ltd. (London, 1965).
- Sinclair, J., The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1792, Vol.XIV, 501-515, Kincardine and South-West Aberdeenshire, EP Publishing Ltd. (Ilkley, 1983 reprint).
- Skelton, R.A., The Military Survey of Scotland., 1747-1755, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.83, No.1 (1967), 1-12.
- Small, R., History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, David Small, Publishers (Edinburgh, 1904).
- Smith, A., A Summer in Skye, Strahan & Co., Ltd. (London, 1866).
- Smith, A., A New History of Aberdeenshire, Parts 1 & 2, Lewis Smith, Aberdeen, and William Blackwood and Sons (Edinburgh, 1875).
- Smith, G.D., The Secret Still, The Scots Magazine, Vol.158 No.2 (2003), 156-160.
- Smith, R., Valley of the Dee, AU Library Publication (Aberdeen, 1989).

- Smith, R., Land of the Lost: Exploring the Vanished Townships of North-East Scotland, John Donald, Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1997).
- Smith, R., Discovering Aberdeenshire (2nd edn.), John Donald, Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Smith, R., Grampian Ways : Journeys over the Mounth, John Donald, Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 2002).
- Smout, T.C., A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830, William Collins Sons & Co. (Glasgow, 1969).
- Smout, T.C., The Landowner and the Planned Villages in Scotland, 1730-1830, Scotland in the Age of Improvement, ed. N.T. Phillipson and R. Mitchell, EUP (Edinburgh, 1970).
- Sopher, D.E., Geography of Religions, Prentice-Hall Inc. (New Jersey, 1967).
- Sopher, D.E., Geography and Religions, Progress in Human Geography, Vol.5 (1981), 510-24.
- Southern, R.W., Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages, Penguin Books Ltd. (London, 1970).
- Speirs, S.M., The Kirkyards of Glenmuick, Glentanar and Kirkton of Aboyne, Aberdeen & North-East Scotland Family History Society (Aberdeen, 2002).
- Speirs, S.M., The Kirkyard of Tullich, Aberdeen & North-East Scotland Family History Society (Aberdeen, 2003).
- Stalley, R., Irish High Crosses, Irish Heritage (Dublin, 1991).
- Steel, T., The Life and Death of St. Kilda, R. & R. Clark, Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1965).
- Stevenson, D., The Origins of Freemasonry, Scotland's Century, 1590-1710, CUP (Cambridge, 1988).
- Stevenson, D., The First Freemasons, Scotland's Early Lodges and Their Members, AUP (Aberdeen, 1988).
- Stewart, A., and Cameron, J.K., The Free Church of Scotland, The Crisis of 1900 (pub.1910), The Knox Press (Edinburgh, 1989).
- Stewart, D.W., The genesis and operation of the Royal Bounty scheme, 1725-30, Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. XXXIII (2003), 63-141.
- Stewart, K., Mr. Lachlan: The Scots Magazine, Vol.158 No.2 (2003), 211-216.
- Stone, J.C., Manuscript maps of North-East Scotland by Timothy Pont, Northern Scotland, Vol.2 (1973), 143-150.
- Strang, T., The Northern Highlands, The Scottish Mountaineering Trust (Edinburgh, 1970).

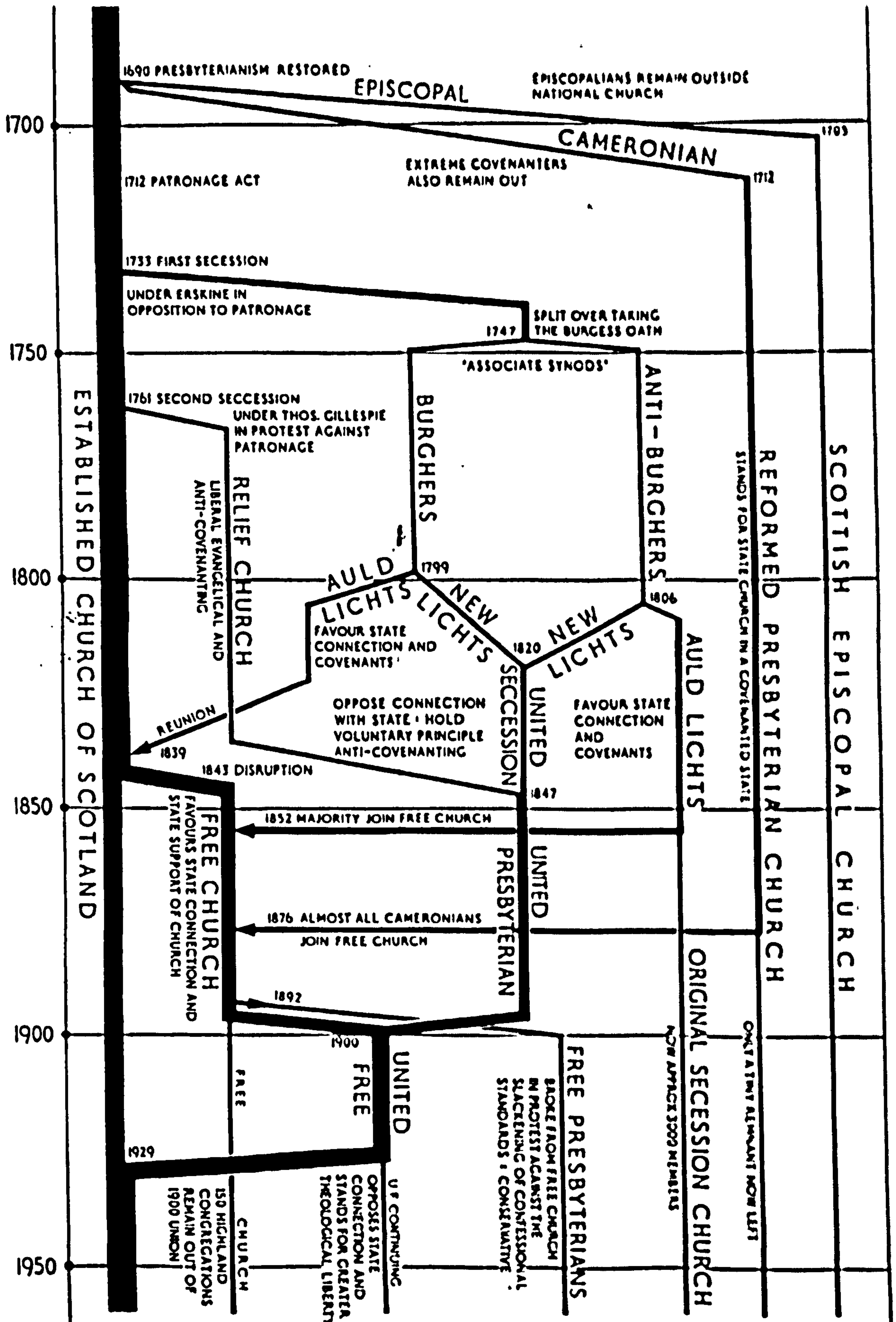
- Strath-Maxwell, Register of Baptisms in Catholic Congregations of Braemar, Crathie and Glengairn, Aberdeenshire, 1781-1845, The Press of Kincardine (Stonhaven, 1969).
- Strong, R The reconstruction of Episcopalian identity in Scotland, the renunciation of the Stuart allegiance in 1788, Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. XXIII (2003), 143-64.
- Stuart, J., (ed.) List of Pollable Persons Within the Shire of Aberdeen, 1696, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1844).
- Stuart, J., (ed) Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1846)
- Taylor, S., The Skye Revivals, New Wine Press (Chichester, 2003).
- Third, B.M.W. The Significance of Scottish Estate Plans and Associated Documents: Some Local Examples, Scottish Studies, Vol.1 (1987), 39-47.
- Thomas, C., Celtic Britain, Thames & Hudson Ltd (London, 1986).
- Thompson, A. B Sketches of Some Baptist Pioneers in Scotland, William Asher, Printer and Publisher (Glasgow, 1903).
- Thompson, F., Harris Tweed, The Story of a Hebridean Industry, David & Charles, Publishers Ltd. (Newton Abbot, 1969).
- Turnock, D., Some Geographical Aspects of Crofting in "Lochaber", Scottish Studies, Vol.13 (1969), 33-55.
- Tuttle, G.M., So Rich a Soil: John McLeod Campbell on Christian Atonement, The Handsel Press (Edinburgh, 1936).
- Tyson, R.E., The Population of Aberdeenshire, 1696-1755, A New Approach, Northern Scotland, Vol.6 (1984), 113-31.
- Voges, F., Moderate and Evangelical Thinking in the later Eighteenth Century, Differences and Shared Attitudes, Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. XXII (1986), 141-57.
- Walker, F.W., The Great Deeds of The Seaforth Highlanders, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd. (London, 1916).
- Walker, W., A History of the Christian Church (pub. 1918), T.&T Clark, Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1986).
- Walsh, J.R., and Bradley, T., A History of the Irish Church : 400-700 AD The Columba Press (Dublin 1993)
- Warrack, A., The Scots Dialect Dictionary, Waverley Books Ltd. (New Lanark, 2000).
- Watson, A., and Allan, E., The Place Names of Upper Deeside, AUP (Aberdeen, 1984).
- Watson, A., and Allan, E., Ballater in 1790, The Deeside Field, No.19 (1987), 28-33.

- Watson, A., and Allan, E., Depopulation by Clearances and Non-Enforced Emigration in the North-East Highlands, Northern Scotland, Vol.10 (1990), 31-46.
- Watson, A., and Clement, R.D., Aberdeenshire Gaelic, Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, No.52 (1980-82) 373-404.
- Watts, J., Scalan, The Forbidden College, 1716-1799, Tuckwell Press Ltd. (East Linton, 1999).
- Welsh, H.D., Early Roads in the Braemar Highlands, The Deeside Field, Vol.16 (1959), 57-68.
- Westrup, J., and Harrison, F.Ll., Collins Encyclopedia of Music, Chancellor Press (London, 1984).
- White, G.D., The Nine Lives of the Episcopal Cat, changing self-images of the Scottish Episcopal Church, Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. XXVIII (1988), 78-91.
- White, G.D., The Scottish Episcopal Church, A New History, General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Whiteley, W.M., Bennachie Again, The Bailies of Bennachie (Coupar Angus, 1983).
- Whitson, W., The Works of Josephus, Hendrickson Publishers, Inc. (Mass, USA, 1987).
- Wickham-Jones, C., Scotland's First Settlers, Historic Scotland, Batsford (London, 1994)
- Wilby, N.M., The Encrease of Popery in the Highlands, 1714-1747, The Innes Review, Vol.19 (1966), 91-115.
- Willis, D., The Story of Crofting in Scotland, John Donald Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1991).
- Wilson, H., Memoirs, The Making of a Prime Minister, 1916-1964, Wiedenfeld and Nicolson and Michael Joseph (London, 1986).
- Wilson, L., A Gaelic Legacy: Am Bioball, Life and Work, Magazine of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, April, 2005).
- Wilson, S.B., and Evans, D.J.A., Coire a' Chud-chnoic, the "hummocky moraine" of Glen Torridon, Scottish Geographical Journal, Vol.116, No.2 (2001), 149-158.
- Withers, C.W.J., The Highland parishes in 1698, An examination of the sources for the definition of the Gaedhealtachd, Scottish Studies, Vol.24 (1980), 63-88.
- Withers, C.W.J., The Geographical extent of Gaelic in Scotland, 1698-1806, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol 97, No.2 (1981), 130-139.
- Withers, C.W.J., The Scottish Highlands outlined, cartographic evidence for the position of the Highland-Lowland boundary, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.98 No.3 (1982), 143-157.
- Withers, C.W.J., Education and Anglicisation, the Policy of the SSPCK toward the Education of the Highlander, 1709-1825, Scottish Studies, Vol.26, 1982, 37-58.

- Withers, C.W.J., Gaelic in Scotland, The Geographical History of a Language, 1698-1981, John Donald Publishers Ltd. (Edinburgh, 1984).
- Withers, C.W.J., Poor relief in Scotland and the General Register of Poor, Local Historian, Vol.17, No.1 (1986), 19-29.
- Withers, C.W.J., Highland-Lowland Migration and the Making of the Crofting Community, 1755-1891, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.103 No.2 (1977), 76-83.
- Withers, C.W.J., Gaelic Scotland, The Transformation of a Cultural Region, Routledge (London, 1988).
- Withers, C.W.J., Place, Memory, Monument, Memorialising the Past in Contemporary Highland Scotland, Ecumene, Vol.3 (1996), 325-344.
- Withers, C.W.J., Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland migration and urban Gaelic culture, 1700-1900, Tuckwell Press (East Linton, 1998).
- Withrington, D.J., The S.S.P.C.K. and Highland Schools in the Mid-Eighteenth Century, The Scottish Historical Review, Vol. 41 (1962), 89-99.
- Withrington, D.J., Introduction, The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799, ed. Sir John Sinclair (Wakefield, 1983).
- Wittkower, R., Architectural Principles In The Age Of Humanism, Academy Editions (London, 1973).
- Wolf, A.P. (ed.) Gods, ghosts and ancestors, Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society, SUP (Stanford, 1974).
- Wood, A.S., In Davies, R., George, R., and Rupp, G., (eds), History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, Epworth Press (London, 1988).
- Wood, S., The Shaping of 19th Century Aberdeenshire, SPA Books (Publishers) Ltd. (Stevenage, 1985).
- Wormald, J., Court, Kirk and Community, Scotland, 1470-1625, Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd. (London, 1981)
- Wyness, F., City by the Grey North Sea: Aberdeen, Alex. P. Reid & Son (Aberdeen, 1966).
- Wyness, F., Royal Valley, The Story of the Aberdeenshire Dee, Alex. P. Reid & Son (Aberdeen, 1968).
- Younson, P., Jura, Island of Deer, Birlinn Ltd. (Edinburgh, 2001).
- Yuille, G., History of the Baptists in Scotland: From Pre-Reformation Times, Baptist Union Publications Committee (Glasgow, 1926).
- Zelinsky, W., An approach to the religious geography of the United States: Patterns of church membership in 1952, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol.51, No.2 (1961), 139-193.

Divisions and Reunions of the Scottish Church, 1690-1929

(A Church History of Scotland, J.H.S. Burleigh, OUP, 1960)



List of Pollable Places within the Shire of Aberdeen, Volume 1.
The people of Tullich, Glengardine and Glenmulck, 1696.

(Aberdeen & North-East Scotland Family History Society, 2003)

15. PAROCH OF TULLICH		159
Robert Craigie in Hewheade, and his wife, their poll is.....	£0 12 0	
Item, George Farquharone in Moestoune, and his wife, their generall poll is....	0 12 0	
Item, William Gordon ther, and his wife, their poll is	0 12 0	
Item, George Foord ther, and his wife, their generall poll is.....	0 12 0	
	£3 12 0	
KAINORD.		
Imprimis, Alexander Ross ther, and his wife, their generall poll.....	£0 12 0	
Item, Thomas Forbes, his servant, his fee £18 per annum, the fortieth part whereof and generall poll is.....	0 12 0	
Item, John Michie, his servant, his fee £8 per annum, the fortieth part whereof and generall poll is	0 10 0	
Item, Elspet M'Onach, his servant, her fee per annum £6, the fortieth part whereof and the generall poll	0 9 0	
	£3 3 0	
LITTLE KANDRIE.		
Imprimis, Peter Irvine ther, and his wife, their generall poll.....	£0 12 0	
Item, Alexander Turner ther, and his wife, their generall poll.....	0 12 0	
Item, John Foord ther, his generall poll is	0 6 0	
Item, John Foord, elder ther, his generall poll is	0 6 0	
Item, James Elmhay ther, and his wife, their generall poll.....	0 12 0	
	£3 8 0	
CLARAK.		
Imprimis, Alexander Mill ther, and his wife, their poll	£0 12 0	
Item, John Turner ther, his generall poll is.....	0 6 0	
Item, Janet Boroman, his servant, her fee 10 merks per annum, the fortieth part whereof and generall poll is	0 9 4	
Item, James Ross ther, and his wife, their generall poll	0 12 0	
Item, George Duncan, shoemaker ther, and his wife, poll	0 12 0	
	£3 17 4	
MEIKLE KANDERS.		
Imprimis, Alexander Pyke ther, and his wife, their poll is.....	£0 12 0	
Item, William Cooper ther, and his wife, their generall poll is.....	0 12 0	
Item, John Begg ther, and his wife, their generall poll	0 12 0	
Item, George Orr, cocher (no trade), and his wife, poll.....	0 12 0	
Item, Margaret Pyke, scotter ther, her generall poll.....	0 6 0	
	£3 14 0	
MILL OF DUNNOT.		
Item, James Birt ther, his generall poll is	£0 6 0	
Item, His wife, her generall poll is.....	0 6 0	
Item, George Leslie, miller ther, and his wife, their poll is.....	0 12 0	
Item, Lachlan Lachie, shoemaker, and his wife, their generall poll	0 12 0	
Item, George Thomson ther, and his wife, their poll	0 12 0	
	£3 0 0	
Præs Oases of Haeath, his valuations in the said parish is.....	£26 3 4	
160 I. PRESBYTERIE OF KINCARDEN.		
The hundredth part whereof, payable be his tenants, is.....	£3 4 10	
Imprimis, Alexander Moir, tenant ther, and his wife, their generall poll is	£0 12 0	
Item, James Moir, his sons in familia, his generall poll	0 6 0	
Item, Thomas Ley in Cameamay, and his wife, their poll is	0 12 0	
Item, John Ley, his sons in familia, his generall poll is	0 6 0	
Item, John Duncan, tenant ther, and his wife, their generall poll is.....	0 12 0	
	£3 8 0	
The valuations of ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON of Allansquidich his lands, in the said parish, is on hundred and ten pounds.....	£110 0 0	
The hundredth part whereof, payable be the tenants, is	£1 2 0	
EASTER MURREA.		
John Farquharson, tenant ther, but he claiming himself in an higher capacity, his poll is £3, and the generall poll of £s., both is	£3 6 0	
Item, His wife and sons, Ludewick in familia, their poll is	0 12 0	
Item, John Colenach, his servant, his fee per annum 20 merks, the hundred part whereof and generall poll is.....	0 12 8	
Item, Janet Gordon, his servant, her fee 8 merks per annum, the fortieth part whereof and generall poll is	0 8 8	
Item, Elspet Colenach, his servant, her fee 10 merks per annum, the fortieth part whereof and generall poll is	0 9 4	
Item, John M'Farlane, tenant ther, and his wife, their poll is	0 12 0	
Item, Alexander M'Farlane ther, and his wife, their poll is.....	0 12 0	
Item, Fiedlay Mergen ther, and his wife, their poll is.....	0 12 0	
Item, William Mergen ther, and his wife, their poll is	0 12 0	
	£3 18 8	
GRAYSTONE.		
William Shann ther, and his wife, their generall poll is	£0 12 0	
Donald Mergen ther, and his wife, their generall poll is	0 12 0	
James Don ther, and his wife, their poll is	0 12 0	
Edward Don ther, and his wife, their poll is	0 12 0	
John Black ther, and his wife, their generall poll is	0 12 0	
James Campbell ther, and his wife, their generall poll is.....	0 12 0	
Peter Mitchell ther, and his wife, their generall poll is.....	0 12 0	
Donald Colenach ther, and his wife, their generall poll	0 12 0	
Duncan Fleming ther, and his wife, their poll is.....	0 12 0	
Alexander M'Anlis ther, and his wife, their generall poll is.....	0 12 0	
	£3 0 0	
The valuations of ROBERT M'HEATH, his portions of the lands of Mairum, in the said parish, is forty-four pounds.....	£44 0 0	

Appendix "C"

**Parish of Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn, Aberdeenshire
Topography**

Abstract from *A New History of Aberdeenshire*
(ed.) Alexander Smith (Aberdeen, 1875).

The river Dee abounds and intersects the parishes (Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn) from west to east, and divides them into two nearly equal parts. The ridge of mountains between Glenmuick and the bounding glen of the Girmock, rises from the Dee, west of Ballater, by the wooded hills of *Dalliefour* and the *Knock*, which are about 1,000 feet above sea level, and runs by *Creag Phiobaidh*, 1,462 feet; the *Coyle*, 1,956 feet, to the west bounding mountains of *Meallgorm* and the *Conach-Craig-hill*, 2,827 feet and top the eastern ridge of *Loch-na-gar*, which is 3,768 feet above sea level, and the highest mountain in Glenmuick. The eastern ridge of mountains rise from the Dee by the *Pannanich Hill*, which is 1,896 feet, *Knockie Brumar*, 1,986 feet, *Carn Leughan*, 2,953 feet, to *Druim-na-wheillie*, which is 2,185 feet. The lower most point on the Dee, at the influx of the water of Dinnet, is 460 feet above sea level, and the highest cultivated land on the eastern division of Glenmuick was at the *Etnachs* (1,260 feet) in the top of Glentanar. The bounding ridge on the Grampians run from *Mount Keen*, 3,077 feet, by the *Hare Cairn*, 2,203 feet, *Fasheilach* 2,362 feet, the *Black-hill of Mark* 2,497 feet, *Lair Aldarart* 2,726 feet, being the most southerly point of Glenmuick. Thence westwards by the *Doghillock* 2,400 feet, and the *Broad Cairn* 3,268 feet, to the top of *Cairn-bannoch* 3,314 feet, and *Cairntaggart*, 3,430 feet, on the confines of Braemar. The *Dubh Loch* lies between *Cairn-bannoch* and the tops of *Loch-na-gar*, at an elevation of 2,091 feet above sea level; *Lochmuick* is 1,310 feet; *Alt-na-gulsach* Lodge is about 1,400 feet; and the *Linn of Muick* (bottom of fall) is 1,145 feet. The Pannanich Mineral Wells are about 800 feet above sea level, and the bridge of Dinnet, on the Aboyne boundary of the parish, is 505 feet. The bridge over the Dee at Ballater is 663 feet, the Railway Station is 668 feet, the top of *Craig-an-darrach* is 1,324 feet, the bridge over the water of Gairn is 743 feet, and the highest point in the parishes on the Dee is about 850 feet. The highest point of the *Geallig*, or White Mountains, between the Dee and the upper waters of the Gairn, is 2,439 feet, the bridge at *Gairn-shiel* is 1,110 feet, and the highest cultivable land in Glengairn is 1,470 feet above sea level. The bridge at *Glenfenzie*, on the Strathdon road, is 1,550 feet, the *Glaschills* ridge, bounding with Strathdon, is 1,738 feet, the *Servulach* is 2,590 feet, the blue *Cairn-of-Morven*, on the confines of Strathdon and Logie-Coldstone, is 2,954 feet, and the *Pat* on *Culblean* is 880 feet.

Appendix "D"

**Migration to Ballater Planned Village
1851 Census – Place of birth**

Persons over 18 years of age

Aberdeen	8	Inveravon, Banffshire	11
Aberdour, Aberdeenshire	1	Inverkeithing, Banffshire	1
Abernethy, Morayshire	2	Insch, Aberdeenshire	1
Aboyne, Aberdeenshire	4	Inverness	2
Ardesier, Inverness-shire	1	Ireland	1
Auchindoir, Aberdeenshire	4		
		Kall, Moray	1
Belhelvie, Aberdeenshire	2	Keith, Banffshire	1
Birse, Aberdeenshire	2	Kildrummy, Aberdeenshire	1
Blair Atholl, Perthshire	1	Kilival, Ross-shire	1
Boulogne, France	1	Kincardine O' Neil	3
Bracmar, Aberdeenshire	4	Kirkmichael, Angus	2
Brechin, Angus		Kirriemuir, Angus	1
Chapel of Garioch	1	Larbert, Stirlingshire	1
Clova, Angus	1	Leochel Cushnie, Aberdeenshire	2
Coldstone, Aberdeenshire	9	Lumphanan, Aberdeenshire	3
Coull, Aberdeenshire	1		
Crathie, Aberdeenshire	14	Midmar, Aberdeenshire	3
Couper Angus	1	Mortlach, Aberdeenshire	2
		Monquhitter, Aberdeenshire	1
Dollar, Clackmananshire	1	Montrose, Angus	2
Drainie, Moray	1		
Dundee, Angus	2	Old Deer, Aberdeenshire	4
Dunkeld, Perthshire	1	Old Machar, Aberdeenshire	1
Duthie, Banffshire	3		
		Speymouth, Moray	1
Edinburgh	2	Strathdon, Aberdeenshire	10
Ellon, Aberdeenshire	1	St. Cuthbert, Midlothian	1
England	6	St. Cyrus, Kincardineshire	1
		St. Vigean, Forfar, Angus	1
Farnal, Angus	1		
Fetteresso, Kincardineshire	1	Tarland, Aberdeenshire	1
Fordoun, Kincardineshire	1	Tomintoul, Banffshire	1
Forgue, Aberdeenshire	1		
		Udny, Aberdeenshire	1
Gamrie, Banffshire	1		
		Wales	3

79

65

Persons over 18 years born outwith Glenmuick Parish . . 144
Persons over 18 years born within Glenmuick Parish . . . 113

Appendix "E"

Letter of Indenture - John Ewen

(website - <http://members.aol.com/reuhjpa/18187.htm>)

John Ewen been studying under Alexander Donald for some time prior to entering into an Apprenticeship with John Burgess and Sons and it was probably Donald who introduced John Ewen to John Burgess and acted as his sponsor for the period of indentured service.

The following is a transcript of the original Letter of Indenture complete with its cumbersome legal language and lack of punctuation. It is presented her to illustrate what was required of an Apprentice under the Scottish law in the Victorian period:

It is contracted and agreed upon between John Burgess & Sons, Masons, Aboyne on the one part John Ewen (Son of Archibald Ewen, Labourer, Ballater) with the advice and consent of his Father the said Archibald Ewen and Alexander Donald, Mason, Ballater, and the said Archibald Ewen and Alexander Donald for themselves as Caurtioners and taking burden on themselves for the said John Ewen on the other part.

In the manner following that is to say the said John Ewen, with the consent of the said Archibald Ewen and Alexander Donald and they jointly and severally oblige themselves that the said John Ewen shall serve the said John Burgess & Sons as an apprentice in their trade and employment of Masons as carried on by them at Aboyne and that for the space of four years from and after the seventh day of May 1877, years during which time the said John Ewen, Archibald Ewen and Alexander Donald bind and oblige themselves and their heirs and successors conjointly and severally that the said John Ewen shall serve the said John Burgess & Sons in their trade and employment of Masons, honestly, faithfully and diligently and at no time absent himself from the same without leave asked and obtained under the penalty of forfeiture of this indenture or in his Masters' option serving them two days at the expiry of his apprenticeship for each days' absence. That he shall conceal his Masters' secrets, prevent their loss, promote their interests to the utmost of his power and shall abstain from all vicious companions and immoral practices and from every exercise which may divert him from his Masters' service and further the said John Ewen shall uphold himself in clothing wearing apparel, bed, board and lodgings suitable to one in his station during his apprenticeship and shall indemnify the said John Burgess & Sons for all loss, damage and expense to which may happen to be sustained or incurred by him through the default of the said John Ewen at any time during the said apprenticeship.

For which and on the other part the said John Burgess & Sons bind and oblige themselves not only to teach and instruct their said apprentice in the said trade and employment of a Mason as carried on by them during the foresaid space of four years and to conceal no part thereof from him in so far as they know and the said John Ewen is capable or willing to learn the same, but also the said John Burgess & Sons bins and oblige themselves to pay the said John Ewen seven shillings stg per week for the first two years, eight shillings per week for the third year and nine shillings per week for the fourth year all of his apprenticeship, and lastly all parties bind and oblige themselves to perform the promises to each other under the penalty of not less than Ten Pounds Stg to be paid by the party failing to the party performing or willing to perform over and above performance.

And they consent to the registration hereof in the Book of Council and Session or any other competent Registrar.

In witness hereof these presents are written on this sheet of stamped paper by James Cooper residing in Aboyne and are subscribed by us before these witnesses on the 8th day of December, 1877.

Donald Farquharson, Witness
Alexander Ghow, Witness
James Ewan, Witness
Albert Wall, Witness

John Burgess & Sons
John Ewan
Alexander Donald
Archibald Ewan

Appendix "F"

The pull of correspondence in emigration

Abstracted from page 7 of the *Aberdeen Journal* dated February 12, 1851. It is typical of many such letters in the *Aberdeen Journal* that acted as pull-factors enticing Scots emigrants to British colonies overseas. (In the issue of March 19, 1851, a letter from a newly married emigrant couple from Perth-shire, describe their life in New Zealand in similar fulsome terms). In the case of Australia, utilized as a penal colony by the British government until the 1820s, there was a need to encourage a new white population noted for its single-minded application of the Christian ethic of hard work and honesty. It was calculated the new settlers would to act as an example both to the existing white population and to the aborigine occupants of the land. The letter purports to be a simple communication between father and daughter. The tone, content and publicity suggest that the letter may well have been composed by a government source for advertisement purposes. Such a letter may well have been the catalyst to the Gall family of carpenters to emigrate in 1851, from Ballater, Aberdeen-shire (Chapter 4.12.1), to settle in the Australian State of Victoria.

Australia

The following letter from Adelaide, dated July 1, 1850, has been received here (Wick) from a respectable young woman, daughter of Mr. David Murray, house carpenter, who emigrated about fifteen months ago, at the early age of seventeen, in order to push her fortune in that distant clime. She appears quite delighted with her adopted country, and is most solicitous that her father and friends should join her:

Dear Father - I am ashamed to write you now, but I hope you will forgive me for not writing to you sooner. I am well and happy, and comfortable. This the happy land. I wish you were here, how happy you would be. You would not have to work half so hard as you do at home, nor have half the anxiety upon your mind that I know you have. Dear Father, do come out here, and let nothing prevent you: sell all and come out. Do not let the want of money prevent you, for when you have once left Britain, you will have no need for any till you come to this part, and then I will provide you with money. If you were here you would have plenty of work and good wages. At home before you got work you will wear out a pair of shoes going asking for it; and even when you do get work, you are not sure of your pay: but here you will receive your wages every week. I will now tell you what the wages are:- to a joiner in town, 7s and in the bush, 9s per day, masons the same: blacksmiths 36s-38s per week, shoemaker £2 per week, and a good cutter-out has £3-£4 per week, labourers 5s per day.

My uncle and his family would do well out here and so would cousin Mark. Do come out here yourself and take my dear brother along with you. Give my kind love to him and to all enquiring friends. The sooner you leave for this the better. Alex. Mackenzie and his brother are doing well here. William Watters is in a very good situation. Miss Wald is also doing well and her brothers are building houses for themselves. The Harveys from Wick are very rich, especially John, or black Jack, as he is called. Mr. McFarlane, late of Reiss, with his family, are doing well. Thomas Grant from Wick is a great sheep farmer, and Patrick Thompson is overseer of his farm.

I must now be close, as it is rather late, but remember dear Father, there is nothing in this letter but the truth. Now do not delay in coming out, and let my brother come with you too, I won't marry till you come out, I have made up my mind for that. I could be very well married if I pleased, but I am not inclined to do so until you come out here - (*John-O'-Groat Journal*)

Appendix "G"

The Sabbath Road

Abstracted from *Willie Gavin, Crofter Man, A Portrait of a Land and its Rituals*, David Kerr Cameron, Birlinn Limited, Edinburgh, 1995).

The Gavins were kirk folk and always had been: the psalms were their rod and had sustained them through many a bad *hairst* and the kind of crofting catastrophe that two or three sick beasts could bring. The Sabbath was holy and they kept it. Boots that were going to the kirk in the morning would have to be cleaned the night before; broth was made, ready for re-heating; potatoes pre-peeled, were potted and set down at the side of the fire ready for salting and setting on to boil the moment the croft's folk came in from the sermon. Not a needle stirred from its case, not a darn was done, and if you were too late in discovering it you went to the kirk with a hole in the heel of your sock uncomplaining rather than break the Lord's Commandment. Bairns were kept in their best suits all day to discourage the temptation to play; no newspapers were glanced at (for fear of eternal damnation) and the only book read was the Bible. About that old countryside, it was said, there were small places where uncompromising men, well up to the turn of the century (and maybe beyond it), carried the *neeps* to their byre beasts that day in muddy armfuls in their best suits (and sometimes in their best patent boots) rather than turn a barrow wheel and defile the Sabbath, though on any other day they would bow to nobody.

On Saturday nights Willie Gavin shaved the frail grey stubble from his chin, a week's growth that would be unless there was an Oddfellows' meeting or a funeral intervening. It was a pre-Sabbath ritual. His cut-throat came out of its thick cardboard case in the *closet* drawer to be stopped sharp on the strap that hung between Spurgeon and the kitchen mirror and had, it was hinted darkly, been put to other uses. Latterly, when the years had shaken his hand, there was hardly a time when the old man did not nick the thin skin of his cheek, or his chin, and on winter nights he would need the *closet* mirror on the table, and the small paraffin lamp beside it, to see his work. Unless he was bedded with illness, Willie Gavin went unswervingly to the kirk, and unless you were at death's door you were expected to go with him. For when he took the kirk road he carried his brood with him: as many of his kin and cottared daughters as could be conveniently assembled at the croft beforehand - and as many of their bairns as were reasonably presentable and could be relied on not to disgrace him.

For long after coming to the croft the Gavins had kept faith with the Free Kirk, the crofter's kirk, in the small quarrytown. It had been Old John Gavin's kirk and likely his mother's kirk before him. Each Sabbath the Gavins had walked up through Laverockhill's fields to cross the old ridge track and strike on to the Cadger's Road that led all the way to the sea and brought the herring from it still, creeled on a lass's back. In Willie Gavin's grand-mother's time - she had been forty at the Disruption - the Free Kirk had been strong in the land. Its fiery and demanding God had been taken round the country side like a beacon and even Old John, strong though he was in the faith, had been later discomfited whiles, as he sat in the pew, by the unexpected announcement: "Brethren, there will be a service this afternoon in Mister Gavin's barn, at three".

Always the kirk had been there, for good or for ill. The pull had been strong. From all corners of the old countryside folk had flocked to the great kirkings and conventicles of the past - to the five-day Sacraments when first the Free Kirk was born - in their threadbare plaids and their poor shoes, and likely Grace among them. A plurality of preachers has wrestled in relays for souls on the bare hillside and the psalms, precentor-led, had been sung line by painful line. Folk then had not needed the Book for many could not read. At the end, and in their excesses, the big preachings had left the folk weeping and unstable, prostrated at times among the gravestones. For all that, the kirk had been good to the crofter folk, with the seed from its *girmal*, the *siller* for a milk cow from its session funds. Folk did not forget: that lived long in the memory of the crofter men.

Reported state of West-Highland economy in the mid-nineteenth century

Drawn from contemporary local press reports, the following two articles indicate the economic and social problems faced by both West-Highland landowners and estate populations in the first decades of the nineteenth century. This disturbing scene was soon to be exacerbated by the failure of the potato crop that resulted in widespread famine.

Inverness Courier, July 16, 1828.

"In consequence of the want of employment, arising from a redundancy of population and other causes, hundreds of our poorer countrymen on the Western Coast are now quitting their native shores for North America. A brig went off lately from the Isle of Harris freighted with passengers for Upper Canada, and on the 4th inst. Two vessels sailed from Lochmaddy, in North Uist, with no less than 600 souls on board. Another is daily expected to sail from Canna." It was added that fresh exportations were to follow as soon as opportunities occurred. The increase of population, the low price of wool, and the destruction of the kelp trade by the introduction of barilla, are given as the uses of distress in the Western Islands. The blow to the kelp trade had been most disastrous. "Several Highland proprietors who were formerly possessed of large revenues are now very much embarrassed, and many thousands of individuals, male and female, who had ample employment in the manufacturing of kelp, have been reduced to the greatest indigence." In the Long Island alone from four to five thousand persons had been employed in the manufacture of kelp. In Skye the labourers had been principally employed in the making of roads and bridges, but a proportion had also been engaged in the manufacture of kelp, both within the island and on the opposite shore. "Since the roads and bridges have been completed, both the late Lord Macdonald and the present have, in order to afford employment for their numerous dependents, chalked out work for them on the estate, without any reference to future emolument or remuneration. In this way we believe above £15,000 have been expended in the mere article of labour, but of course it will be necessary to assign a limit to the exertions of individual benevolence." The writer expresses sorrow that circumstances of State policy or national misfortune should ever compel the people to leave the shores to which they were so strongly attached.

Inverness Courier, April 22, 1840.

(The condition of the Highlands) Sir Robert Inglis had called attention in the House of Commons to the extreme distress which, he said, prevailed, remarking that in a great part of the country the people had taken a pledge of temperance, confining themselves to one meal a day. The editor said he could hear nothing of this so-called pledge, and there was not at the moment any sudden or unusual crisis or distress. The want of employment, however, was deeply felt, and emigration on a large scale would be a public benefit. The kelp trade was almost universally abandoned, and there was no extensive public works in progress. "The population has, therefore, far outgrown the means of decent subsistence, and thousands of our countrymen live constantly on the very verge of destitution, dependant solely on the potato crop." The Inverness Town Council soon afterwards adopted a petition to Parliament declaring that an extensive and properly organised system of emigration was "imperiously called for."

Appendix "I"

The pernicious trade in Highland whisky

Extracted from *Memoirs of a Highland Lady 1797-1827*, Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, (ed. Angus Davidson), John Murray, Publishers, Albemarle Library, (London. 1960, 135).

Elizabeth Grant began writing her letters in 1815 and despite the minor errors and inaccuracies of memory are regarded as a reliable insight into the lifestyle maintained among upper class people in the Highlands around the beginning of the nineteenth century. Whisky consumption and its effects are regularly vilified in the *Old Statistical Account* of the 1790s. The combination of remote Highland glen, pure water and barley produced an illicit whisky that was in great demand by Lowland middlemen, especially during the Napoleonic period of blockade. To the upper classes in the Highlands, whisky complemented wines. To the poorer classes, apart from personal consumption, illegal distilling in large quantity became a major source of cash income to pay rent arrears, and was a source of emigration when the trade was regularised by legislation in the early 1820s. It is of interest that the gratuitous provision of whisky was considered a belief and taught as such:

(In 1812) ... the whisky was a bad habit, there was certainly too much of it going. At every house it was offered, at every house it must be tasted or offence would be given, so we were taught to believe. I am sure now that had we steadily refused with so incorrect a custom it would have been far better for ourselves, and might all the sooner have put a stop to so pernicious a habit among the people. Whisky-drinking was and is the bane of that country; from early morning till late at night it went on. Decent gentlewomen began the day with a dram. In our house the bottle of whisky, with its accompaniment of a silver salver full of small glasses, was placed on the side-table with cold meat every morning. In the pantry a bottle of whisky was the allowance per day, with bread and cheese in any required quantity, for such messengers or visitors whose errands sent them in that direction. The very poorest cottages could offer whisky; all the men engaged in the wood manufacture drank it in goblets three times a day, yet except at a merry-making we never saw anyone tipsy.

N.L.S., MS. 976, ff. 147-9

Causes of the growth of popery in the Highlands of Aberdeen Shire.

- 1 Too great extent of parishes, and Ministers having greater Charges than they are able to manage, The Minister of Glenmuick having three parishes, and he of Crathy two, under their care, and hence proceeds the Second,
- 2 The great Ignorance that hath hitherto prevailed amongst them
- 3 The unbounded Liberty that Jesuits priests and Traffickers have to do what they will amongst us.
- 4 The many Disappointments we the Ministers have mett with in prosecutions against them
- 5 protestant Servants being allowed to serve in popish families and neither masters nor servants Lyable to any Civil Censure when they are perverted.
- 6 papists and protestants marrieng with one another and Implying the priests to Celebrate them, for in that case Commonly either the protestant party is perverted, or at Least the Children brought up popish
- 7 Great men of the popish Religion such as D. of G. having Superiorities and Regalities and keeping Courts in them by their Corrupt Deputes till of Late, and for ought we know are Still in power to do it.
- 8 popish Chamberlans and factors being Tollerated in Severall places, notwithstanding means used for their Removall.
- 9 popish Schoolmasters and mistresses of which we have no Less than three within the five forsaid parishes, and the affronts we mett with when we give in presentments against them & their Intertainers.
- 10 Popish parents being Suffered to educate their Children as they think proper.
- 11 Ministers in those places having but small Livings, & payed in Small trifles by the tennents too much of their time is necessarily taken up in providing for their poor families The Minister of the united parishes of Tullich, Glenmuick and Glencarn have 547 merks and a half, and the vicarage teinds of Tullich parish values at 100 merks yearly, having no grass, peats Lead, nor gleib Laboured, but what he pays for, nor any allowance for Communion Elements.
- 12 Old age and bodily Infirmities in Ministers in those parts makes them unfit for Such burdens, and gives great advantage to the adversary.
- 13 That Ministers and they only are the Informers, any yrby made odious to the papists, and therefore are Less fit to deall with them, and Convince them, and tempts the priest to think and Speak evill of them, and the cause they maintain.

Appendix "J"

2/3

- 14 The disappointments we meet in the prosecutions against them /1/ when we give in presentments against them to be put in the portois Rolls, by some Under Clerks or others that have the management of that affair, there are Such alterations made that the Inditement comes to nothing when brought to be tried before the Honorable Judges /2/ In case the Delinquents or their friends are slow on gaining upon those Clerks, or are not Successful, but the Lybell is found Relevant, then the witnesses are prevailed upon to absent, and no fines enacted of them for their Contumacy, /3/ when all is rightly managed, witnesses compear, the party found guilty, which Seldom happens, he is either absent and declared fugitive, or is present & banished according to Law, but in both cases they are free and Safe as ever being never more minded, but Live peaceable at home and enjoy the priviledges of the best Subjects.

Remedies

- 1 That there be means used to make new Erections and plant more Ministers in those wide and Spacious bounds, or if that cannot be obtained, That Catechists be appointed, at Least one to Serve in those five parishes, to assist the two Ministers in teaching the people. This helps to remove the first two causes
- 2 That Lively Representations be made to the Civil government, and endeavours thereby used to Convince them, how dangerous to the State as well as Church, the growth of that pestilent Heresy may prove, that the people yrby being made Irreconcilable Enemies to the King's Majesty and the protestant succession, which no doubt, is one main motive to our adversaries to be so active to gain proselytes, and what would be entreated of those in authority, is, not only a proclamation for putting the Laws in Execution (for those blasts our neighbours have no fear of) but that care be taken that Inferior Judges & Executors of the Law be in their duty in these matters, we find our Shirriffs and Baillics take very good care of Hares wildfowl and black fish and Strayed Cattle, but priests and their adherents, masses, murders and adulteries &c are never Lookt after . . If a man in this Countrey keep the eight Command, he is reputed a good man, tho he regard not the other nine.
- 3 That a Law be obtained against papists in whose Service protestants are perverted, and against Such apostates themselves, and its wisht that they might be pecuniary, Because higher punishments are never executed, and therefore never feared.
- 4 All endeavours Should be used for obtaining a Law against protestant Subjects marrying with papists. To be sure it is but Reasonable that the Subject be as much Limited in that matter as the Supream Magistrate, This is the greatest evill we Labour under, The Act of Synod and our own Consciences will not allow us to Celebrate Such marriages, They therefore commonly come with witnesses to require it of us, that we may not have access to pursue them if they take anoyr way, and then they goe to the priest, whereby the protestant party is in danger to be Lost, and the priest made a necessary member in the Countrey.
- 5 That the act of parliament 1700 with regard to the Children of popish parents be put in Execution, at Least that they be obliged to Send them to School, and the popish Schools suppressed.
- 6 That assistance be given to Ministers that Serve in those parts in obtaining Competent Stipends and other necessary Conveniences, as are by Law enjoyed elsewhere.

Appendix "J"
3/3

- 7 When Ministers have Spent their Strength in Such parts and are become unable to Serve in Such wide & mountainous parishes, means Should be used to relieve them, and men of youth and vigour put in their places.
- 8 That ways be thought on to free Ministers from being Informers, by putting this invidious work in other hands, & I wish they may be found, that will do it faithfully, and I doubt not if the penalties were [listed] in Stead of death and banishments made pecuniary, and that our Little Judges might gain as much thereby as they do by Bloodwits, we would have Less occasion to make Complaints of this kind.
- 9 That means be used for taking care of the portois Roll, that there be no underhand Informations altered &c and care taken that the Sentences of the Honourable Judges be executed, and the Shiffiffs be obliged to exact the fines of Contumacious witnesses.
- 10 That Land Lords be Layable for popish Delinquencies committed within their Lands. This would be a Sovereign remedy the Highlanders have Such an entire dependence upon their masters and Superiors, that a frown from one of them would do more with them than the Severest penal Laws.