SUNDAY OBSERVANCE IN SCOTLAND

1689-1900

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by

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To my children who did not understand
why their daddy was always in his study,
and to my wife who did.

"Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy".

Exodus 20:8

"How grateful we should be for Sunday which brings an interruption to the work of the week, which stands out as a day of rest from the agitation and tumult of our week's work, which invites us to pause and reflect in God's presence, when the bells ring out with their appeal: "Come to me, all who labour and are heavy laden".

Rudolf Bultmann (Marburg Sermons)

"The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath: Therefore the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath".

Mark 2:27-8

PREFACE

To anyone interested in Scottish Church History the subject of Sunday observance needs little introduction. For many generations it has been an integral part of Scottish religious life. Even today one can hardly say that the spirit of Sabbatarianism is no longer active. At the time these words are being written the Church of Scotland, through a Committee of the General Assembly, is preparing a statement about the meaning and use of Sunday in modern society. This subject, therefore, is not a dead issue, but a living problem that must be faced by the Church today.

The purpose of this thesis is to trace the development of Sunday observance in Scottish history laying the primary stress on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I have not deemed it necessary to delve into the varieties of Sabbatarianism, nor have I dealt with the theological aspect of Sunday observance at any great length. This has been quite adequately covered in John Carter's thesis, "Sunday Observance in Scotland 1560-1605" (University of Edinburgh, 1957). Anything that I could present in this regard would simply be repeating what has already been said. My emphasis, therefore, is on the actual nature of Sunday observance--how Sunday was spent and how its observance was enforced--in various periods of Scottish history. While one short period could have been selected and analysed in greater detail, I have preferred to present more of a sweep of the evolution of the Scottish Sabbath.

In such a work terminology is a vexing problem. Historical and theological overtones are present in the words "Sabbath", "Sunday", and "Lord's Day". While taking full cognizance of the implications of each word, I have thought it best to consider all three synonymous. Each word refers to the first day

of the week, not the seventh. In the sources with which this thesis deals such a generalization holds true. To adopt artificial terminology or to suppress one term in favour of another would in the long run accomplish very little. Therefore, to avoid confusion and to provide some variety in terminology, the three words are used interchangeably and do not necessarily reflect any particular theological emphasis. In a few places where this generalization does not hold true the words are enclosed in quotation marks to indicate the deviation from normal usage. (See, for example, p.2.).

The words "Sabbatarianism" and "Sabbatarian" also call for special attention. Unfortunately these words have acquired unpleasant associations and are often used in a derogatory sense. In the minds of many people they are synonymous with legalism or Pharisaism. While there may be some justification for such usage, it is not the intended meaning in this thesis. "Sabbatarianism" simply means the doctrine of the Sabbath as it is classically set forth in Chapter XXI of the Westminster Confession of Faith--that God, "by a positive, moral, and perpetual commandment appointed one day in seven for a sabbath, to be kept holy unto him;...which in scripture is called the Lord's Day, and is to be continued to the end of the world, as the Christian Sabbath." A "Sabbatarian" is one who would agree with such a doctrine and its implications to observe Sunday in a strict religious manner. In the period prior to the drawing up of the Westminster Confession of Faith the term is used in a more general sense to include anyone who inclined to a view of the Sabbath similar to that set forth by the Westminster divines.

Having been raised in an American Presbyterian Church that traced its ancestry back to the Seceders and the Covenanters of Scotland and prided itself in its distinctive and strict views of Sunday observance, it is only natural that this subject attracted my attention. While in the strict theo-

logical sense of the word I am not a Sabbatarian, I have learned much in my study that has contributed to my understanding of my own Church and its attitudes towards the observance of the Lord's Day. It is my sincere hope that this thesis, imperfect as it is, will be of some help in providing a firmer historical foundation on which to build a meaningful doctrine of Sunday observance in this modern space age.

It would be impossible to list all the persons who have been of help in the production of this thesis. Surely first thanks, however, must go to my advisor, Dr. Stewart Mechie, under whose guidance the research was done. Without the benefit of his unassuming scholarship and constructive and kindly criticism little could have been accomplished. I would also be remiss if I did not thank Professor John Foster for the concern and interest he has shown in my work, from the time we first communicated about the possibility of study at the University of Glasgow up to the time of submission of the thesis. Deep appreciation is also due Miss Helen McGregor for her patience and perseverence in proof reading this manuscript. Her ability to translate "Americanisms" into good English is indeed remarkable. I am also grateful to Miss Janet Purdie who typed Chapters I and VI, and to Mr. Gordon Bowie, B. Sc. who offered many helpful suggestions, especially in Chapters IV and V. My thanks are also due to the staffs of the various libraries where my search for information has taken me. In every instance I have been treated with the utmost kindness and consideration, and have been greatly helped in my work. It is scarcely necessary to add that any errors or deficiences in this manuscript are my responsibility alone. Finally, I must express my deep appreciation to the Committee on Graduate Fellowships of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America whose grant of money enabled myself

and my family to reside in Scotland, and permitted me to devote full time to my studies.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AGA	Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland
AGAF	Acts of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland
APC	Register of the Privy Council of Scotland
BUK	The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland
FCAP	Assembly Proceedings of the Free Church of Scotland
NSA	The New Statistical Account of Scotland
OSA	The [Old] Statistical Account of Scotland

CHAPTER 1

A SURVEY OF SUNDAY OBSERVANCE IN SCOTLAND 1560-1688

The purpose of this chapter is to survey the general development of Sabbatarianism in the Scottish Kirk from the Reformation of 1560 to the Revolution of 1688. For convenience of analysis this span of history has been divided into four main periods, each one corresponding to some outward change in the religious situation in Scotland. The writer does not propose to examine all the ramifications of Sunday observance during this time, but merely intends to outline the road the Kirk travelled on its way to the highly developed Sabbatarianism of the eighteenth century.

(1) 1560-1610 - Founding

In the days of Roman Catholic supremacy prior to the Reformation of 1560 there were intermittent attempts to secure a more decorous observance of the Lord's Day. In the eleventh century, for example, the pious Queen Margaret, wife of Malcolm Canmore, urged her subjects to "keep the Lord's Day in reverence... and do no servile work on that day".[1] The Scottish Parliament in 1469 forbade the "poinding of maills and annuals incasting and outcasting of tenants" on Whitsunday and Martinmas because such activities caused the "haly day and divine service to be broken".[2] In Hamilton's Catechism of 1552 the want of respect for the Sunday is lamented and cited as a fruitful source of evil.[3] On the eve of the Reformation in 1559 the Kirk Session at Dundee ordained that "the Sunday be keepit in the meditation of God's Word, and that na merchants, craftsmen, nor hucksters, open their buiths nor use ony manner of traffic, and

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1. Bishop Turgot, Life of St. Margaret Queen of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1884), p. 50.

2. James Dobie, Remarks on the Law of Scotland Relative to the Observance of the Sabbath (Glasgow, 1833), p. 5.

3. Thomas Law (ed.), The Catechism of John Hamilton (Oxford, 1884), pp. 78-84.

in special that na fleshers brok flesh upon the samin".[4]

Such sporadic outcrys of Sabbatarianism had made little impression, however, upon the practices of the Scottish people at the time of the Reformation. A Sunday market was the custom in most burghs. When the church service was over people felt free to engage in any kind of work or pastime. The links at Leith and St. Andrews were crowded with golfers; theatrical performances were common; clowns collected crowds to listen to their coarse wit; folk dances were performed and sports of all kinds enjoyed. Thus before the Protestant ascendency Sunday in Scotland was more of a "holiday" than a "holyday".[5]

When John Knox and the other reformers assumed power there was no cataclysmic alteration in the theory or practice of the observance of Sunday. Knox himself appears to have held anti-Sabbatarian tenets and in the Scots Confession of 1560 does not delve into the casuistry of Sabbath observance. In contrast Knox categorically condemned the keeping of "holie days". John Carter, who has gone into great detail on the subject of Knox's attitude to Sunday observance, concludes that "to Knox, the definitive factor in worship, and in the keeping of Sunday, was the preaching".[6] If the actual time of worship was kept free from secular activity so that the people could attend the church services unhindered, then Knox could see no need of further regulations.

Knox's refusal to sacrifice "Sunday" to the "Sabbath", however, was so little in keeping with his general attitude towards the Old Testament that it is not surprising to discover Sabbatarian sentiment being expressed in the

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4. Hay Fleming, The Reformation in Scotland (London, 1910), p. 295.

5. W. L. Mathieson, Politics and Religion a Study in Scottish History from the Reformation to the Revolution (Glasgow, 1902), vol. I, pp. 191-2, and Charles Rogers, Scotland Social and Domestic (London, printed for the Grampian Club, 1869), pp. 338-9.

6. John Carter, "Sunday Observance in Scotland 1560-1606" (University of Edinburgh PhD thesis, unpublished, 1957), pp. 136-7. Carter's evidence on this point is convincing, but should be compared with the older view that the reformers were explicit Sabbatarians. See, for example, Patrick Fairbairn, The Typology of Scripture (Edinburgh, 1864), Appendix A, pp. 507-523.

Kirk. The First Book of Discipline in 1561 enjoined that "Sunday must straitlie be keipit, both before and after noon, in all tounis".[7] In 1562 the General Assembly protested against those who were "breakers of the Sabbath day in keiping of commoun mercatts",[8] while the Kirk Session of Aberdeen in the same year ordained that the "sevint day, quilk is Sonday, our Sabboth day, is commendit be God to be sanctifeit and keepit haly".[9] The Order of Excommunication and of Public Repentence of 1563 listed the breaking of the Sabbath as a crime that "aucht to be in no person suffered".[10] Instances of the Kirk's interest in Sabbatarian legislation shortly after the Reformation can be greatly multiplied.

By the time the Articles of Leith were written in 1572 the anti-Sabbatarian influence of Knox may be said to have ceased to be a determining factor in Scottish Sunday observance.[11] As the century advanced the Kirk gradually narrowed its conception of what was permissable activity on Sunday. In 1567 the General Assembly extended the injunctions against Sunday markets to include " salt pans, mylnes, and other labouring".[12] The Privy Council in 1580 forbade the "useing of Robene Hude and uther vane and unlesum gammis ... specialie upoun the Sabboith dayis".[13] Harvesting, fishing, travelling, and numerous other Sunday activities

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7. John Knox, The History of the Reformation of Religion Within the Realms of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1790), p. 524. All such references to Sunday or Sabbath during this early period must be understood in the light of Carter's observation that they refer primarily to the hours of public worship. See Carter, "Sunday Observance in Scotland 1560-1606", p. 128ff.

8. BUK, vol. I, p. 19.

9. Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, printed for the Spalding Club, 1846), p. 6.

10. Ivo Clark, A History of Church Discipline in Scotland (Aberdeen, 1929), p. 75.

11. Carter, "Sunday Observance in Scotland 1560-1606", p. xviii.

12. BUK, vol. II, p. 377.

13. APC, vol. IV, p. 558.

were specifically forbidden by the General Assembly and the Privy Council before the period ended.[14]

Though Sabbatarian doctrine developed rapidly amongst the leaders of the Kirk, the common people were reluctant to give up the liberties of their pre-Reformation "Sunday" for the rigours of the post-Reformation "Sabbath". In spite of all the laws forbidding Sunday markets the Edinburgh Town Council in 1590 promised to put an end to them "notwithstanding of quhatsumevir difficulties".[15] A certain David Wemys, when brought before the Kirk Session of St. Andrews in 1599 for "dansing, drinking, and ryot" on Trinity Sunday, "ansuerit that custoume wes keipit in Raderny or ony the sessioune wes borne".[16] At Glasgow in 1593 the people were still travelling to "Ruglen to see vain plays on Sunday",[17] and stoutly resisted the efforts of the elders to put an end to such a practice. As late as 1602 the General Assembly observed that "conventicuns of the peiple, especiallie on the Sabboth day, are verie rare in many places, especially be distraction of labour".[18] Only slowly did theoretical Sabbatarianism advance to the realm of practical observance.

By the time James VI introduced the rule of Bishops into Scotland in 1610, however, Sabbatarianism was prevalent over a wide front. It was not yet the fully developed Sabbatarianism expounded by the Westminster Assembly in 1647. By nature it was more pragmatic than theological, laying most of its emphasis on the importance of keeping certain hours of the Sunday free from labour or recreation so that people could attend church. This half-way Sabbatarianism

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14. BUK, vol. III, pp. 746, 749, 769, 874, 997. APC, vol. III, p. 266; vol. V, pp. 200, 385; vol. VI, p. 178.

15. BUK, vol. III, p. 777.

16. D. H. Fleming (ed), Register of the Ministers Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews...1559-1600 (Edinburgh, printed for the Scottish History Society, 1890), vol. II, p. 893.

17. Andrew MacGeorge, Old Glasgow: The Place and the People (Glasgow, 1880), p. 210.

18. BUK, vol. III, p. 997.

of the Scottish Kirk was, in the first half of the seventeenth century, to evolve slowly but certainly into the doctrine of the Westminster Divines. The reformers had laid the foundation--others were to construct the edifice.[19]

(2) 1610-38 - Fostering

In spite of all the anti-Puritan feeling that had come into the Kirk after the waning of Melville's influence, the local government, discipline, and worship of the Church continued under the Bishops essentially as before.[20] The Bishops "took little upon them", and, as was the case in the later Episcopal rule, their attitude was on the whole mild and tolerant. While the Calvinism of the Bishops was not as rigid as that of their Puritan brethren, they were, in many instances, willing to acquiesce in the views of the Puritan party.[21]

The anti-Sabbatarianism of the period is personified in the persons of James VI and Charles II. James in particular did everything in his power to express his displeasure at the excessive sombreness of the Puritan observance of Sunday. When he was in Scotland in 1617, for example, the king purposely had the Privy Council meet on Sunday in Glasgow and Edinburgh where business was conducted as usual.[22] Interestingly enough there seems to have been little or no opposition to these meetings as they were well attended.

Passing through Lancashire on his return from Scotland in the same year

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19. Cartor, "Sunday Observance in Scotland 1560-1606", p. xiv. The Sabbatarianism of the pre-Reformation and early Reformation church was essentially ecclesiastically oriented. The movement toward a more Biblically centred Sabbatarianism, based primarily on the Fourth Commandment, did not find verbal expression until Bound published his Sabbatum Veteris Et Novi Testamenti in 1595. In the early part of the seventeenth century the doctrine was further developed until its classic expression at the Westminster Assembly in 1647.

20. Even Melville, Presbyterian and Puritan that he was, does not seem to have observed a full twenty-four hour Sabbath. When he came to Glasgow in 1574 it was recorded that Melville "teatchit euerie day customablie twyse, Sabothe and vther day". Autobiography and Diary of James Melville (Edinburgh, 1842), p. 49.

21. G. D. Henderson, Heritage: A Study of the Disruption (Edinburgh, 1943), p. 22. See also, Mathieson, Politics and Religion, vol. II, pp. 151-2.

22. APC, vol. XI, pp. 136, 163, 202.

the king was bothered with the unusual proportion of Roman Catholics in the population. To this fact James attributed the Sabbatic strictness of the Puritan clergy, feeling that the people of Lancashire would not give up their free and easy "Sunday" for a gloomy Puritanic "Sabbath". In 1618 he issued what is popularly called the Book of Sports--a declaration to his subjects in Lancashire stating that they "should not, after the end of divine service, be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreations".[23] Although the Book of Sports did not directly affect Scotland, the rumour of it added to the excitement over the king's efforts to introduce Anglican forms and customs into the Scottish Kirk.[24]

While the first Book of Sports caused only a ripple of discontentment in Scotland, when Charles I re-issued the edict in 1633 extending its coverage to the entire kingdom, it gave rise to hostility on the part of Puritan sympathizers all over the country. This declaration, which had the backing of Laud, served to heighten the growing antagonism that was being felt between the king's party and the Puritan faction. By this act Charle widened the cleavage between the State and the Church and provided catalytic material for the flames of the Presbyterian revolution that was soon to take place in Scotland.[25]

In addition to the action of the Stuart kings, the general policy of the Scottish Bishops was not favourable to Sabbatarianism. Mathieson notes that from 1598 to 1640 there was no fresh legislation in Parliament for the better

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23. Robert Cox, The Literature of the Sabbath Question (Edinburgh, 1865), vol. I, p. 152.

24. The account of this declaration reached Scotland in June of 1618 and caused no little excitement. David Calderwood, The History of the Kirk of Scotland (Edinburgh, printed for the Wodrow Society, 1845), vol. VII, pp. 298-301.

25. A good discussion on the general effect of these Acts can be found in a recent publication. William Hodgins, Sunday: Christian and Social Significance (London, 1960), pp. 49ff.

observance of Sunday. "The Bishops", he continues, "showed reluctance to sacrifice Sunday for the Sabbath and uphold the Laudian maxim that 'to make the Sabbath moral precept was to Judaise'".[26] Stories of the anti-Sabbatarian actions of the Bishops, apocryphal or otherwise, are very common. Archbishop Spottiswood of Glasgow and later St. Andrews, was noted for the fact that "he had neither leisure nor patience to study the prejudices of men who were constantly on the watch to see whether he ordered his coach or his barge in time of sermon, whether he played cards on Sunday afternoons, and whether he had morning and evening prayers".[27] The Bishop of Moray, when urged not to travel because it was the Sabbath, replied "that he would borrow that piece of the day from God and be as good to him some other gate".[28] With such men as titular heads of the Church during this period, there can be little surprise that the anti-Sabbatarian trend never lacked a vocal expression.

The Scottish people also continued to express anti-Sabbatarian attitudes. When James Achisoune was brought before the Calder Kirk Session in 1620 for grinding corn on the Lord's Day in preparation for the market, his comment to the elders was, "It was als guid a warld quhen the mercat held on the Sabbath day as it is now".[29] In 1628 the Presbytery of Lanark was forced to condemn "the insolencie of men and women in footracing, dancing, and playing Barla

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26. Mathieson, Politics and Religion, vol. II, p. 151. Mathieson's observation needs to be slightly modified, however, as from the Privy Council records it is evident that the Bishops did initiate some Sabbatarian legislation. See APC, vol. XII, p. 647; vol. XIII, p. 389; vol. III (2nd series), p. 412. Frequent mention is also made of cases of disorder on Sundays many times at the time of divine worship. See APC vol. XIV, pp. 469, 500, 512-13, 566; vol. I (2nd series), pp. 64, 86, 87, 421.

27. Mathieson, Politics and Religion, vol. I, p. 324.

28. W. S. Provand, Puritanism in the Scottish Church (Paisley, 1923), p. 174.

29. H. B. McCall, The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Mid-Calder (Edinburgh, 1894), p. 37.

Breks on the Sunday".[30] At Dundonald in 1631 a complaint was made to the Presbytery that "the playe of fotbal in sundrie partis of this parochin on the Sabbath" could not be put down.[31] In the parish of Tyninghame in 1629 the sellers and buyers of herring on Sunday were so numerous that the session lamented that "hardlie discypline culd be usit against them all..." .[32] Obviously many people had not put away pre-Reformation ideas as to how Sunday should be observed.

In spite of all these clear indications that anti-Sabbatarian thought and action was not dead, it is still possible to trace the movement of the Kirk from a partial Sabbatarianism to that of the fully developed Sabbatarian thought of 1647. This can be briefly accomplished by carefully observing the gradual change the Church made in its attitude to (1) the hours of Sunday observance, and (2) the performance of Sunday weddings.

(1) It has been previously noted that for Knox and the early reformers the "time of sermon" was the only part of the Sunday on which secular activity was to cease. By 1590, however, the Kirk Session at Glasgow stated that Sunday should be observed "from sun rising to its going doun" .[33] This was slightly altered in 1608 when the same body ordered the listers not to "big their fires beneath their vatts, till after 4 o'clock on Sunday's night".[34] By 1633,

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30. Charles Rogers, Social Life in Scotland from Early to Recent Times (Edinburgh, printed for the Grampian Club, 1886), vol. II, p. 211.

31. James H. Gillespie, Dundonald: A Contribution to Parochial History (Glasgow, 1939), vol. II, p. 330. See also William Stevenson (Ed), The Presbyterie Book of Kirkcaldie (Kirkcaldy, 1906), p. 9, where a similar complaint is made.

32. Hately Waddell, An Old Kirk Chronicle Being a History of Auldhame, Tyninghame, and Whitekirk in East Lothian (Edinburgh and London, 1893), p. 98. See also an English traveller's description of Sunday fishing in Scotland in 1618. Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1891), p. 129.

33. James Cleland, Statistical Tables Relative to the City of Glasgow with Other Matters Therewith Connected (Glasgow, 1823), Appendix, p. 175.

34. Ibid., p. 175.

however, the Presbytery of Glasgow categorically affirmed that the "sabbath shall be from 12 on Saturday night to 12 on Sunday night".[35] Thus Glasgow arrived at a twenty-four hour Sunday concept twelve years before the Confession of Faith was approved.

Elsewhere the observance of Sunday was being extended to include the hours before and after the church service. At Tyninghame in 1616 some men were charged with "yoking carts at 10-11 at even" on the Sabbath.[36] The Stirling Kirk Session ruled in 1627 that anyone guilting of "shutting thair cobbles or basking thair netts, or mending thair netts from Saturday at twal hours at even to Sonday at twal hours at even, they sall pay fourtie shillings and mak thair public repentence".[37] In the same year at Stowe in Mid-Lothian, however, the observance of Sunday was still thought to be confined to "eight hours in the morning till four hours in the afternoon.".[38] Such enactments provide the "missing link" between the limited Sunday observance of the early reformers and the twenty-four hour observance of the Westminster Divines.

(2) In its attitude toward Sunday weddings the Kirk reflected a departure from the teaching of Knox and his compatriots. In 1579, for example, when some ministers were troubled over the celebrations that took place after Sunday weddings, the General Assembly agreed that "marriage may be any day of the oulk

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35. Rogers, Social Life in Scotland From Early to Recent Times, vol. II, p. 208. Yet in 1642 the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy requested the General Assembly to "declare the limits of the Sabbath" in reference to the working of the salt pans. They evidently had not advanced to the full twenty-four hour concept of Sunday observance as had the Presbytery of Glasgow. See Stevenson (Ed.), The Presbytric Book of Kirkcaldy, pp. 241-2.

36. Waddell, An Old Kirk Chronicle, p. 140

37. Charles Rogers, Scotland Social and Domestic (London, printed for the Grampian Club, 1869), p. 341. As late as 1623 the Stirling Guildry was still only requiring its members to refrain from selling during the "tyme of preching". See W. Cook and D. Morris (eds.), Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Guild of Stirling A.D. 1592-1846 (Stirling, 1916), p. 43.

38. Rogers, Scotland Social and Domestic, p. 341.

solemnisat".[39] In 1591 at Glasgow it was ordained that "because of the many inconveniences by Marriages on Sundays before noon, the Session enacts that none be made till Sunday afternoon".[40] These partial solutions evidently were not effective for by 1627 the minister at Ayr made public intimation that "nane should desire him to marrie them upone onyie Sabbothe day hereftir, because of ye great prophanitie yat follows".[41] By 1643 the situation had become so bad in Edinburgh that Sunday weddings, though not considered unlawful in themselves, were the occasion of great Sabbath breaking, and therefore were prohibited from that time forward.[42]

While it is true that many were determined not to yield to Sabbatarian pressures, others were more than willing to cultivate a new respect for Sunday. The young people who formed the nucleus of the Covenanting Party in later years were, during this period, absorbing something of a Sabbath consciousness. Writing in his own quaint style Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston, relates how his wife developed strict ideas about Sunday observance while she was a child in the early part of the seventeenth century. Observing that one Mr. Alexander Hay was in the custom

> to lye somequhat longer on the Sunday morning nor on the weak days, "Lord elmie," said schoe, "fra ye ryse al the weak soone for to winne gold, I think ye sould ryse far sooner on Sonday for to winne Gods word".[43]

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39. BUK, vol. II, p. 441.

40. In 1641 the Presbytery of Glasgow ruled that "no marriage be granted, upon any pretext whatsomever, upon Sunday, at any time after this". Robert Wodrow, Collections upon the Lives of Eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland (Glasgow)(printed for the Maitland Club, 1845), vol. II, pt. 2, p. 34.

41. Andrew Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland (Paisley and London, 1886), 2nd series, p. 171.

42. Rogers, Scotland Social and Domestic, p. 344. The Westminster Divines later "advised" that weddings not be performed on the Lord's Day. See WCF, p. 297.

43. G. M. Paul (ed.), The Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wareston 1632-1639 (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society), vol. LXI, pp. 61-2.

During this period many were acquiring Sabbatarian attitudes similar to that of the future Mrs. Johnston, who, although a mere lass, felt quite free to criticize one of her elders guilty of " Sabbath breaking".

It is also necessary to note that Kirk Sessions did not always fail in their attempts to inculcate, by force or moral suasion, Sabbatarian habits into the lives of their flocks. At Tyninghame, for instance, those who preferred Sunday sport to the afternoon sermon were "persuaded" that it was best to worship God. In 1621 the Kirk Session of that parish reported with a sense of accomplishment that "the act anent the poynding of absents by the officer, causit the pepll to come frequentlie to the kirk at efternoon".[44] Certainly the congregation at Lanark must have been impressed with the seriousness of the Kirk Session when one Sunday in 1627 the Laird of Loy was ordained to "come out of his awen seat within the Laich Kirk of Lanerk...and there to humble himself upon his knees, crave God and the congregation forgiveness for misregaird of God and his Sabboth in drawing ane quhinjer within his house...".[45] Lord Brereton, travelling in Scotland in 1636, was amazed at the strictness of Sunday observance in Edinburgh, especially during the hours of public worship.[46] By similar forceful actions the Kirk Sessions of Scotland gradually won converts to the proper way of observing "God's holie Sabboth" during the First Episcopate.

By far the most successful method of spreading Sabbatarian doctrine, however, was the authoritative preaching of the Bible. Because Scotland was ruled by Bishops one need not infer that Puritan ideals were being ignored in the pulpits of the land. To realize how fully Sabbatarian thought had penetrated Scotland prior to the Westminster Assembly, one need only read Archibald

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44. Waddell, An Old Kirk Chronicle, p. 76.

45. R. Renwick, Extracts from the Burgh Records of Lanark (Glasgow, printed for the Burgh Records Society, 1893), p. 369.

46. Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland, p. 145. Edinburgh was sufficiently Sabbatarian by 1633 to forbid the showing of the King's camel to the public on Sunday afternoons. See APC, vol. V, p. 126.

Johnston's notes of a sermon preached by the Rev. Harry Rollock in 1633. Although only a brief outline of Rollock's sermon is preserved, it provides substantial proof that Sabbatarian doctrine was a matter of concern for the pulpit as well as for the judicatories. After giving his text as Genesis ii.2, Rollock proceeded as follows.

> Quherupon he urged that, imitating Gods example, we sould rest on the Sabbath day, 1. fra the works of sinne, 2. of our calling, 3. of our pleasure and delyts; "Bot," sayd he, "it is most commendable to labour in our particular calling al the week; bot on the Sabbath we may doe, 1. the works of pietie,--directly as praying, or subordinat to pietie as ryding to the kirk; 2. of charite, cheifly if it be fred from servilitie, as visiting the seak, bot not the building of ane brig: 3, of necessite, "for God maid the Sabbath for man, and not man for the Sabbath, bot not of ane improvident necessite as the bringing of stouks to the barnyaird for fear of storme, bot of ane present necessitie as to draue ane man out of ane dungeon." He added that, as Mary among wooman, so the Sabbath is the most blissed among dayes.[47]

This sermon needs little comment as its Sabbatarian presuppositions are quite evident. One almost feels that Rollock was quoting from the Westminster Confession of Faith, although that document was not yet conceived. It is naive to suggest, therefore, that the concept of a sanctified twenty-four hour Sabbath did not appear in Scotland before 1647. Long before that famous document appeared in print many Scottish people were thinking and acting in terms not inamical to it.[48]

In conclusion, one is made aware of the diversity of opinion that existed in Scotland during the years of 1610-38 with regard to Sunday observances. Traces

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47. Paul (ed.), The Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wareston, pp. 133-4.

48. For further examples of Sabbatarian doctrine being taught during this period see, James Gilfillan, The Sabbath Viewed in the Light of Reason, Revelation, and History (Edinburgh, 1862), pp. 161-2. John Carter's penetrating analysis of Sunday observance should be consulted, although his conclusion that the teaching of the divine appointment of the Lord's Day "seems to have entered Scotland with the Westminster Confession", needs to be modified in view of the developments taking place during the First Episcopate. See Carter, "Sunday Observance in Scotland 1560-1606", p.xxv. Cp. also Clark, A History of Church Discipline in Scotland, p. 174 where it would appear that Carter's view is substantiated.

of anti-Sabbatarian sentiment are still prominent and Kirk Session records abound with instances of people who seem to resent the introduction of a stricter observance of the Lord's Day. Yet during this time the Kirk slowly moved, in principle at least, from a partial Sabbath observance to that of a full twenty-four hour day. The First Episcopate provided the soil in which the previously sown seeds of Sabbatarian thought were tenderly nurtured. The crystallization of Sabbatarian thought at the Westminster Assembly in 1647 was only making explicit what was already implicit in the Puritanism of the Scottish Kirk.

(3) 1638-60 - Formulating

The most important development in Sabbatarian thought in the period between the two Episcopates was, of course, the acceptance of the Scottish Kirk of the Westminster Confession of Faith with its well defined conception of a twenty-four hour "sanctified Sabbath". When the General Assembly of 1647 approved the work of the Divines as "most agreeable to the word of God, and in nothing contrary to the received doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of this kirk",[49] it reflected the true feeling of a large part of the Kirk. Men like Alexander Henderson, Robert Baillie, Samuel Rutherford, and George Gillespie, delegates to the Assembly, espoused Sabbatarian doctrines and found no difficulty in acquiescing in Chapter XXI on "Religious Worship and the Sabbath-day". The concepts of Sabbatarianism subscribed to by the Kirk at this time were not revolutionary. Rather they were the result of an evolutionary process that produced the "Sabbath" of the Covenanters out of the "Sunday" of the Reformers.[50]

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49. AGA, 1647, p. 158.

50. G. D. Henderson, Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland (Cambridge, 1937), p. 67. One should read Samuel Rutherford's Catechism which was written prior to the Westminster Confession to see how engrained Sabbatarian thought was in the mind of this Scottish representative. This may be found in Alexander Mitchell, Catechisms of the Second Reformation (London, 1886), pp. 231-2. The reader will note with interest that Rutherford considered the Sabbath to begin at "the dawning of the day" and continue to midnight. Thus it is not quite a full twenty-four hour Sabbath.

From this point in Scottish History there was to be no confusion as to what the Kirk meant by "the Sabbath". Quantitatively it was to be a complete twenty-four hour period. Qualitatively it was not just to be decently kept, but was to be "sanctified" in keeping with the words of the Fourth Commandment. The Confession speaks of the Sabbath in the following terms:

> As it is the law of nature, that, in general, a due proportion of time be set apart for the worship of God; so in his word, by a positive, moral, and perpetual commandment, binding all men in all ages, he hath particularly appointed one day in seven for a sabbath, to be kept holy unto him: which, from the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, was the last day of the week; and, from the resurrection of Christ, was changed into the first day of the week, which in Scripture is called the Lord's Day, and is to be continued to the end of the world, as the Christian Sabbath.[51]

Having expounded precisely the foundation and nature of the Sabbath, the Westminster Divines were no less explicit in describing how this day ought to be observed. Men were to keep the Sabbath holy by observing "an holy rest all the day from their own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments and recreations".[52] The entire Sabbath was to be taken up in the "publick and private exercises of his worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy".[53] Should there be any "vacant" time, the worshippor was fully advised as to how that time should be properly utilized.[54]

The stressing of "the whole time" or "all the day" resulted in a further refinement of the twenty-four hour Sabbath. In order to ensure a complete observance of Sunday it was necessary to make adequate preparation on Saturday

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51. WCF, p. 76.

52. Ibid., p. 77.

53. Ibid., p. 77.

54. Ibid., p. 296. For example, consider the case of two men brought before a Perthshire Kirk Session in 1648 for threshing grain on a Sunday after sunset. "After ye minister had aggravated uair sinne, by showing yat ye whole Sabbath is religiouslie to be observed, not only in the kirk, but in yair private families, the sessione ordain thom to satisfie ye next Lord's day." See NSA, vol. X (Blairgowrie), p.910.

and avoid infringement of Monday's activities. By a "due preparing of their hearts" and an "ordering of their common affairs before-hand"[55] men could properly proceed to the religious duties of the day. Hence Saturday night and Monday morning began to take on a quasi-sanctity that the Kirk was anxious to enforce. Efforts to change Saturday and Monday markets to other week days were initiated and the keeping of late hours in taverns on Saturday night condemned.[56]

Three principles emerged from the Westminster exposition of the theology and observance of the Sabbath which were to facilitate its acceptance in Scotland.[57]

(1) It claimed in every detail to have scriptural authority.

(2) It emphasized that the Lord's Day is the Christian fulfilment of the Sabbath Day of the Fourth Commandment, and thus retained its nature as a day sanctified by God.

(3) It claimed for the observance of the Lord's Day a perpetuality based on an eternal covenant with God.

Armed with such a precise theological exposition of Puritan teaching, a full scale attack against opposing conceptions of the Lord's Day began. By catechetical instruction, legislative pronouncement, and disciplinary action, the Kirk entered into its task of making the meaning, as well as the words, of the Westminster Confession of Faith, an integral part of Scottish religious life.

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55. WCF, p. 77.

56. In 1644 Saturday and Monday markets were forbidden in "Edinburgh, Jedburghs, Dumfries, Brechine, and Glasgow, and in many other pairts of this kingdom". R. Renwick, Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland (Edinburgh, printed for the Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1910), vol. II, p. 138. In 1648 the market day in Stirling was altered from Saturday to Friday. R. Renwick, (ed. Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling (Glasgow, printed for the Glasgow and Stirlingshire Sons of the Rock Society, 1889), p. 390. Saturday and Monday fairs were also forbidden about the same time but with only nominal success. See Mathieson, Politics and Religion, vol. II, pp. 153-4.

57. Carter, "Sunday Observance in Scotland 1560-1606", pp. 305-6.

Turning from theoretical matters to the practical observance of Sunday during this period, one notes the repeated attempts of the Kirk to secure a strict observance by means of prohibitive legislation. Through the initiating influence of the General Assembly of 1639 the Scottish Parliament in 1640 passed a series of Acts forbidding salmon-fishing on Sunday, the working of salt pans and mills, and the hiring of shearers who congregated on Sunday morning in harvest time for the purpose of offering their services during the following week.[58] In 1641 the Acts were renewed because "the said Abuses are not left off, but rather increased".[59] In 1646 the General Assembly reported that "the Sabbath was not sanctified after sermons, which maketh people think that the Sabbath is ended with the sermon".[60] The total effect of this legislation must have been quite inconsequential, for when the Scottish Parliament renewed all the previous Acts in 1649 it sorrowfully noted that "the Sabbath is, in many places of the Kingdom, profaned".[61]

Presbytery and Kirk Session records bear witness that even during the Covenanter ascendency there were many people who continued to ignore Sabbatarian legislation. At Dunfermline, for example, in the period 1641-50 the Kirk Session records abound with instances of drinking during the sermon, running of mills and other employments, and people "sitting, walking, and vaiging out of their house before and eftir sermons on the Sabbath".[62] The parish of Craigie

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58. A Collection of the Laws in Favour of the Reformation in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1749), pp. 74-7. Cp. Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife (Edinburgh, printed for the Abbotsford Club, 1837), p. 126.

59. A Collection of the Laws in Favour of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 86.

60. AGA, 1646, p. 137. In the same year the sailing of ships on Sunday was forbidden. AGA, 1646, p. 141.

61. A Collection of the Laws in Favour of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 147.

62. E. Henderson, Extracts from the Kirk Session Records of Dunfermline (Edinburgh, 1865), pp. 9-33.

complained to the Presbytery in 1644 that discipline was not being exercised "nor order taken with sundrie persons who absented themselves on the Lord's Day from the public worship, but wer spending the day in sleiping and drinking".[63] The Kirk Session of Glasgow in 1645 was futilely attempting to stop the sale of meat and other items on Sunday.[64] In 1646 the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy lamented "the multiplied relapses of alters in Sabbath-breaking", and debarred offenders from communion in hopes that they would mend their ways.[65] Similar examples during the first decade of this period could be greatly multiplied.

The Cromwellian portion of this period is also filled with equally impressive indications of wide spread Sabbath breaking. Church attendance was far from perfect in many localities. One harassed minister at Kinnor in the Presbytery of Strathbogie, faced with a small turnout for the afternoon sermon, reported that he was forced to make his morning sermon as long as both sould be".[66] The ministers at Glasgow banded together in 1654 to visit the bridge on Sunday evenings "and exhort the people that flock there, to go home".[67] Cromwell's soldiers at Dunfermline caused the Kirk Session there difficulty, as they were forced to censure a man for "casting and putting the stone with the English soldrs in the Kirkyairde on the Sabbath in tyme of sermon".[68]

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63. Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 1st series, p. 233. Compare a similar situation at Renwick in 1642. NSA, vol V (Ayrshire), p. 775.

64. Cleland, Statistical Tables Relative to the City of Glasgow, Appendix, p. 178.

65. Stevenson (ed.), The Presbyterie Book of Kirkcaldie, p. 304, Cp. also p. 306.

66. John Stuart (ed.), Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie (Aberdeen, printed for the Spalding Club, 1843), p. 254.

67. Cleland, Statistical Tables Relative to the City of Glasgow, Appendix, p. 180. Cp. Renwick, Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Lanark, p. 160.

68. Henderson, Extracts from the Kirk Session Records of Dunfermline, p. 42. See also Stuart, Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, p. 80.

Even the clergymen of the period were guilty of breaking the Sabbath in one way or another.[69]

In the Diary of Sir William Drummond, which covers the years 1657-9, it is possible to note how a young Midlothian laird observed Sunday during the latter part of the Commonwealth. Very frequently Drummond mentions that he did not attend church on Sunday and leisurely spent the day in bed, "beinge so wearie with bearinge those gentlemen companie", or simply because his clothes were "all spoyild by water".[70] He deems it proper to write letters on Sunday, and, after church service is over, Drummond enjoys the pleasant company of his friends.[71] On one of his Sunday afternoon strolls mention is made of the purchase of a horse.[72] Drummond's activities appear to be motivated purely by his own whim--ecclesiastical legislation and discipline notwithstanding.[73]

Drummond's Sunday activities cannot, however, be taken as normative. In the Diary of Andrew Hay of Craignethan one can see how a man of strict Puritan principles observed Sunday during the years 1659-60.[74] Hay faithfully attended all the diets of public worship with his family, and took such extended notes on the sermon that one example covers almost ten printed pages.[75] His custom on Sunday was to rise early and have private devotions. This was followed by

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69. Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland (Edinburgh, 1844), p. 41.

70. Diary of Sir William Drummond 1657-59 (Edinburgh, Miscellany of Scottish History Society, 1941), vol. VII, pp. 14-16. Cp. also p. 20.

71. Ibid., pp. 16, 29.

72. Ibid., pp. 25-6.

73. Cp. here Ray's observation in 1662 of the Scottish gentry "who love liberty and care not to be so strictly tied down". Brown, Early Travellers In Scotland p. 239.

74. George Reid (ed.), The Diary of Andrew Hay of Craignethan 1659-60 (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society, 1901), vol. XXXIX.

75. Ibid., pp. 13-24.

family prayers, a quick meal, and a solemn procession to the church.[76] After the various public services, Hay returned home to private meditation, family prayers, and catechizing. Only rarely was this routine modified as when he attended a baptism or a funeral.[77] In spite of what would seem extreme severity to a twentieth-century mind, he could say of the Sabbath, "I found this a favourable day to my soule, and the Lord gave me good allowance in duties, blessed be he".[78]

It would appear, therefore, that some of the faithful strictly observed a complete Sabbath while many others were content to attend service, and then engage in various employments, entertainments, or recreations. Kirkton's glowing account of a Scotland that was "a heap of wheat set about with lillies", and a place where the only complaint of profane people was "that the government was so strict they hade not liberty enough to sin",[79] must be taken largely as pious sentimentality. In records of the time--private, civil, and ecclesiastical--there is clear evidence that vice and scandal of all types were quite common. It would be fair to say, that during the period 1638-60 the Sabbath was no more circumspectly observed than it was in the First or Second Episcopate. There was still quite a separation between the theory of the Confession of Faith and the practice of the Scottish people. Only time would help to narrow this gap.[80]

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76. At church Hay often heard Sabbatarian doctrines preached. On Christmas Day, 1659, for example, he heard Mr. Alexander Livingston of Biggar preach on Leviticus 23 giving "directions concerning holy days to be keeped, the Sabbath, 4 ends of God's appointing the Sabbath". Ibid., p. 222.

77. Ibid., pp. 138-9. Sabbatarian teaching had not yet categorically condemned such activities on Sunday.

78. Ibid., p. 63.

79. James Kirkton, The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Year 1678 (Edinburgh, 1817), p. 50.

80. For a balanced estimate of the weaknesses and strengths of this period see the interesting article by J. L. Ainslie, "The Church and People of Scotland 1645-60", Records of the Scottish Church History Society, vol. IX, pt. 2, pp. 37-60.

(4) 1660-88 - Familiarizing

Conflicting views have long been extant concerning the effect of the Second Episcopacy on Church discipline in general and Sabbath observance in particular. Contemporary Presbyterian writers castigated the Episcopalian regime for espousing heterdox ideas about Sunday observance, and accused the Bishops of tolerating and even fostering Sabbath breaking amongst the Scottish people. Thus the General Assembly of 1690 lamented:

> And alas! It is undenyable, there hath been under the late Prelacie, a great decay of Piety, so that it was enough to make a man nicknam'd a Phanatic, if he did not run to the same excess of Riot with others...The wonted care of Religious sanctifying the Lord's Day is gone, and in many places the Sabbath hath been, and is, shamefully prophaned.[81]

In more recent times, however, Church historians have come to view the Episcopalian regime of 1660-88 in a new light. G. D. Henderson, for example, long advocated the proposition that there was no dramatic change in the discipline of the Church when the Bishops were restored. Henderson asserted that the remarkable continuation of the essential Scottish nature of the Church during this period, characterized by active Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk Sessions, had long been overlooked.[82] G. B. Burnett echoed the sentiments of Henderson when he stated that "There is no sufficient evidence for the allegation sometimes made that Episcopacy allowed the people considerable latitude and was more indulgent in regulating their moral 'walk and conversation' than

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81. ACA, 1690, pp. 228-9. Many other illustrations of this nature can be found in H. G. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1901), pp. 270-1. In the nineteenth century this general estimate of Episcopal rule was still the commonly accepted one. Typical of this is the article by W. L. Hetherington, "Historical Notices on the Subject of Sabbath Observance Showing its Influence on the Prosperity of Churches", in The Christian Sabbath (Edinburgh, 1852), pp. 283ff.

82. Henderson, Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland, p. 92f. See also Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 314 where support is given to this contention.

was Presbytery".[83] This view can be said to be the prevailing one amongst scholars today.

One must be prepared, however, to recognize and accept truth in both interpretations. There is evidence to indicate that strict discipline was maintained and that the Sunday was circumspectly observed. Yet it is also possible to demonstrate a breakdown of the pristine vigour of the preceeding Covenanting period running concurrently with the previously mentioned severity of discipline. It is this paradoxical nature of the Second Episcopate that makes it difficult to analyse, and explains why so many have stumbled in their attempts to defend or to defame it. Both insights must be kept in tension if a proper perspective is to be obtained, for anti-Sabbatarian and Sabbatarian attitudes contined in the minds of the Scottish people.

The Bishops themselves have often been accused of gross profanation of the Sabbath. Wodrow's anecdote about Archbishop Fairfoull's Sunday card playing and drinking, though possibly apocryphal, is nevertheless suggestive of the fact that not all of the Scottish Bishops were strict Sabbatarians.[84] Such stories must be read, however, with a critical eye as anti-Episcopalian prejudice is quite evident.

The conforming clergymen often found themselves being accused of Sabbath breaking, particularly when Presbyterianism was reinstated. The Synod of Galloway suspended the minister of Buittle in 1688 for two offences, one of which was "drinking with Caigton upon the Lord's Day in the time of divine service, when he himself ought to have been preaching".[85] James Craig of Kilcarn

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83. G. B. Burnett, The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland (Edinburgh and London, 1960), pp. 172-3.

84. Robert Wodrow, Analecta Or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences; Mostly Relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians (Edinburgh, printed for the Maitland Club, 1843), vol. I, p. 36. The veracity of Wodrow's anecdote about Fairfoull should be compared with John Lawson's evaluation of the story as "gossip" and a "vile falsehood". J. Lawson, The Episcopal Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution (Edinburgh, 1844), p. 692.

85. Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 2nd series, p. 163ff.

was libelled for sending two horses to Glasgow on Sunday to bring home wrappers for his mother's burial gown, and Mr. Gillespie of Drymen was accused of "having on the Sabbath Day borrowed or hired three horses and pastured them in his own meadows in order to load his turf on Monday".[86] Rev. Robert Kirk of Balquidder publicly proclaimed that he did not frown upon Sunday recreations provided that the Church services were well attended.[87] As such incidents could be greatly multiplied it is not surprising to discover in some parishes at least, that people were not being furnished with good leadership with regard to Sunday attitudes and activities.

The general effect of the Restoration of Charles II on the Scottish Church was not limited to the clergy. The inevitable reaction from the severity of the Covenanters, especially the Protester group, and the enforced military rule of Cromwell, made its impact on the common people also. Bishop Burnet observed a change in the general tenor of morality about this time.

> With the restoration of the king a spirit of extravagant joy being spread over the nation, that brought with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety; all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overran the three kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals.[88]

In such a cultural milieu Puritanism found the going difficult in the enforcing of a strict Sabbath observance. Some headway had been made in suppressing Sunday games and plays, but an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1661 dealing with the "Profanation of the Sabbath", indicates that the people

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86. Eunice Murray, The Church of Cardross and its Ministers (Glasgow, 1935), pp. 81-2.

87. D.B. Smith (ed.), "Mr. Robert Kirk's Note-book", Scottish Historical Review (July, 1921), vol. XVIII, no. 72, p. 243.

88. Gilbert Burnet, History of My Own Time (Oxford, 1897), vol. I, p. 166. A similar estimate of this reaction can be found in W.L. Mathieson, Scotland and the Union (Glasgow, 1905), p. 252ff. Cp. also, Henderson, Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland, p. 141. Drinking on Sunday was always a great problem facing the Kirk Sessions. Cf. the situation at Mauchline in 1675 in Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 1st series, pp. 325-6.

had not yet been convinced of the necessity of a complete cessation of manual labour for a twenty-four hour period. While ratifying all the previous Acts on the subject, this Act discharged:

> all salmond-fishing, going of salt-pans, milns, or killies; all hiring of shearers, carrying of loads, keeping of mercats, or using any sorts of merchandise on the said day, and all other prophanation thereof whatsoever.[89]

The necessity of such a law is made evident by a perusal of the Kirk Session and Presbytery records of the time. At Arbroath in 1672 there is mention of frequent travelling and labouring on Sunday, and in 1683 the situation does not appear to have improved.[90] The Kirk Session of Cambuslang in 1680 was confronted with the "horrid abuse and profanation of the Sabbath at Clyde Millne, and carousing and walking through the growing corn".[91] In Perthshire the merchants of Alyth were ordered not to sell wares to anyone on the Sabbath except "neidful tobacco or bread",[92] indicating that other items were being sold. The Exercise of Alford in 1682 lamented that timber was being carried on Sundays in order to make the Monday markets in time.[93] In spite of all the strenuous efforts on the part of the Church courts all over Scotland, Sunday

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89. A Collection of the Laws in Favour of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 210. In 1663 an Act was passed discharging Monday and Saturday markets in Royal Burghs, indicating the failure of previous legislation on the subject. The Act of 1661 was renewed in 1672 and the local Kirk Sessions were given the power to appoint a baillie to collect the fines and enforce the laws. Cf., R. Renwick, Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland, vol. II, p. 145. Sunday sports, though on the decline, were still enjoyed. James Nimmo, a Covenanter, relates how in 1667 he was tempted to play "wt thm at games on the saboth dayes". W.G. Moncrieff (ed.), Narrative of Mr. James Nimmo Written for His Own Satisfaction (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society, 1889), p. 6. In 1687 Thomas Boston was enticed by his friends to go to Duns-law on the Lord's Day and "when on the head of the hill to play pins". Thomas Boston, A General Account of My Life (London, 1908), p. 6.

90. G. Hay, A History of Arbroath to the Present Time (Arbroath, 1899), p. 246.

91. James Wilson, A History of Cambuslang a Clydesdale Parish (Glasgow, 1899), pp. 245-6.

92. J. Meikle, An Old Session Book (Paisley, 1918), p. 101.

93. Thomas Bell (ed.), Records of the Meeting of the Exercise of Alford 1661-1688 (Aberdeen, New Spalding Club, 1897), p. 335.

labour, especially after the hours of worship, was still quite common at the Revolution Settlement.

From the Diary of Erskine of Carnock further evidence can be presented to support the contention that Sunday was not well observed during the Second Episcopate. From his account of a Sunday in Edinburgh in 1684 it would appear that not everyone was sitting behind closed doors singing Psalms. Carnock records as follows:

> I heard no preaching. About three afternoon, being at the foot of a yard in the Castlehill, I saw many people walking on the long road and on the riggs and North Loch side, for it was a pleasant day, tho frost, and it seems people made use of it as a day for recreating their bodies, but not for souls recreating exercise. When I came home, being near the street, I could have no quietness, for the playing and crying of bairns on the street, some swearing even in time of sermon.[94]

The complaint of Erskine of Carnock about the perambulations of the Edinburgh citizenry on Sunday and their evident disregard for its strict observance is confirmed by local Kirk Session Records. At St. Cuthbert's in 1670, of ten people cited for various offences, only one appeared. In 1681 twenty-four people were cited and not one paid any attention.[95] The same situation prevailed at the West Kirk where only seven people appeared before the Kirk Session in 1681 for Sabbath breaking, although three times that number had been duly cited.[96] Erskine's observations cannot, therefore, be readily dismissed

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94. Walter MacLeod (ed.), Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock 1683-87 (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society, 1893), p. 45. In nearby Dunfermline in the same year parents were urged to restrain children from running in the streets on Sunday. See E. Henderson, Extracts from the Kirk-Session Records of Dunfermline 1640-1689, p. 75. At Dumfries in 1664 the Town Council was concerned about people walking idly from house to house and gossiping on Sunday. See Rogers, Scotland Social and Domestic, p. 343.

95. George Lorimer, The Early Days of St. Cuthbert's Church Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1913), pp. 208-9.

96. George Lorimer, Leaves from the Buik of the West Kirke (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 47. Offences were primarily for drinking during the hours of worship.

as mere puritanical hyperbole.[97]

If it is true to say that Sunday was not strictly observed in all parts of Scotland during the Second Episcopate, it is not because the courts of the Church failed to make an energetic effort to enforce Sabbatarian ideals. At Tyninghame near Dunbar in 1660 and 1661 various people were summoned before the elders for such minor offences as taking the cream off milk on Sunday or quietly playing at a game of "turners". One man, who was audacious enough to attempt to open his shop on Sunday, received corporal punishment in the form of a severe lashing.[98] The Kirk Session at South Leith was enjoined in 1668 to have "specialie care to see the Lord's day be strictlie observed",[99] and the records show that they were zealous in carrying out the enjoinder. At Peebles in 1682 a certain William Allen was banished for "cairding, dyeing, and gaming and breaking of the Sabbath day". If he dared to return he was warned that he would be publicly "burnt on the cheek".[100] Such was the severity of the Kirk Session discipline in many parts of Scotland during the second

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97. Although Carnock so quickly condemns the Edinburgh populace for abuse of the Lord's Day, he himself was not above putting Sunday to secular use.. Frequently his Diary makes mention of travelling, visiting, and newspaper reading on Sunday. On one occasion, while dining with friends on a Sunday evening, Carnock was challenged for reading a "gazette" as a breach of the Lord's Day. "The person mockingly alledged I scrupled at other things but cared not to do the like of that. I could not altogether justifie this in myself, or the too great curiosity some have in seeking after and reading of news on the Lord's day." MacLeod, op. cit., p. 59. Cp. also pp. 3, 6, 67, 70, and 96.

98. A.L. Ritchie, The Churches of St. Baldred (Edinburgh, 1881), p. 85. This was by no means a solitary case in this parish.

99. Henderson, Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland, p. 146. Cp. also George Murray, Records of Falkirk Parish (Falkirk, 1888), vol. I, pp. 232-4.

100. The Presbyteries or "Exercises" also demonstrated an interest in Sunday observance. The Exercise of Alford frequently dealt with the subject, and the Presbytery of Paisley in 1675 protested against the running of ferry boats on the Sabbath. Cf. William Metcalf, A History of the County of Renfrew (Paisley, 1905), p. 291; Bell, Records of the Meetings of the Exercise of Alford, pp. 42, 44, 61, 62, and 64. The Presbytery of Dunkeld deposed Rev. Alexander of Balnoavis for "giving great scandal by travelling on the Sabbath frequently". James Hunter, The Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld 1660-1689 (London, 1917), vol. I, p. 283. See also, Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife 1611-1687, p. 181.

rule of the Bishops.[101]

In addition to the Church courts various business and professional groups displayed an interest in enforcing the proper observance of Sunday. Included in the Guild Rules at Musselburgh in 1669, for example, was the stipulation that "There shall no man of this society break the Sabbath day, or be found drunk, or breaking and abusing any of the Lord's most Holy laws, under the penalty of twenty pounds Scots money".[102] The "Bonnetmaker Craft" in Dundee in 1665 made its members liable to a fine of 40s. if they should break the Sabbath in any way, and in 1683 further enumerated such sins as hanging out bonnets, clothes, or fish to dry; carrying water, gathering kail in time of sermon, or going to a neighbour's house during Church hours without a lawful excuse.[103] The Shoemaker Trade in the same city provided that any apprentice found breaking the Sabbath day was to be punished with forty stripes in the presence of the Deacon and the brethren.[104] Such activities on the part of lay groups proved very effective, and were precursors to the Societies for the Reformation of Manners that were instituted in Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[105]

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101. See James Buchan, A History of Peeblesshire (Glasgow, 1925), vol. II, p. 174, and Meikle, An Old Session Book, pp. 94-104.

102. R.M. Stirling, Inveresk Parish Lore from Pagan Times (Musselburgh, 1894), p. 223.

103. James Rollo, Dundee Historical Fragments Chiefly Ecclesiastical (Dundee, 1911), 212.

104. The Guildry and Trade Corporations were quite insistent that members attend divine worship and keep the Lord's Day holy. Examples of this can be found in Alexander Wardon, Burgh Laws of Dundee, with the History, Statutes, and Proceedings of the Guild of Merchants and Fraternities of Craftsmen (London, 1872), pp. 386-7.

105. For a discussion of the history of these societies and their effect upon Sunday observance see below, pp. 37 and 39-40.

The Diary of Erskine of Carnock has been cited to show how loosely Edinburgh observed Sunday during this period. In order to see the other side of the picture it is necessary to look at another Diary. Josiah Chorley, a young Englishman who studied at the University of Glasgow in 1671-72, recorded how the Lord's Day was observed during his residence at the University. The contrast between his description of Sunday observance and that of Erskine's is most striking. On this subject Chorley notes:

> The Lord's Day is strictly observed, all the scholars called to the several classes, where, after religious exercises, all attend the Primar and Regents to church, forenoon and afternoon, and in the same order from church. Then in the evening, called again to the classes and then come under examination concerning the sermons heard, and give account of what was appointed the foregoing Sabbath in some theological treatise...and then to supper and chambers; so that there is no room for vain ramblings and wicked prophanations of the day, if we were so disposed.... There is a comely face of religion appearing throughout the whole city in the private exercises thereof in the families, as may appear to any that walks through the streets; none being allowed either in or out of church time, to play or saunter about; but reading Scriptures, singing Psalms, etc. to be heard in most houses.[106]

Although Chorley's idyllic presentation of Sunday observance in Glasgow is reminiscent of Kirkton's glowing account of the golden days during the Covenanter ascendency, and must accordingly be modified by comparison with other sources, it is nevertheless evident that Glasgow was more tightly controlled on Sunday during this period than was Edinburgh.[107] Such evidence would make one suspect that where Covenanting influence was the strongest, as in the West of Scotland, the Sabbath was more strictly observed. In the East,

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106. Cited in David Murray, Memories of the Old College of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1927), p. 549. Cp. Chorley's account with the supplementary evidence given by A. McGeorge, Old Glasgow: The Place and the People (Glasgow, 1880), p. 197. Here it is suggested that the observance of the day was at least partly superficial.

107. The concern of the Glasgow Town Council for a strict observance of Sunday is evidenced in an enactment of 1664 when the celebration of the King's birthday and Restoration was to take place on a Sunday. The Council took steps to see that the day was observed "modestlie and civillie without ony kynd of profanitie". J.D. Marwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow (Glasgow, printed for Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1905), vol. III, p. 30.

where the Reformation influence was still strong and Episcopacy not without its adherents, there tended to be more freedom of activity. Depending, of course, on the individual theology of any particular minister or Kirk Session, such a generalization of the status of Sunday observance in this early period is fairly accurate.

Summary Statement

From 1560 to 1610 the emphasis was on the founding of Sabbatarian thought in the minds of the Scottish people. Pre-Reformation efforts at Sabbath legislation had proved of little effect and the people needed to be energized by a Biblically based and Fourth Commandment centred Sabbatarianism. The period 1610-38, while outwardly anti-Sabbatarian in many respects, was inwardly a time of fostering of Sabbatarian doctrine in the hearts of the people. The seeds sown at the Reformation were carefully and tenderly nurtured. With the overthrow of Episcopacy in 1639 and continuing to 1660 the keynote was that of formulating a doctrine of the Sabbath. Attempts were made to enforce its outward observance and to inculcate its precepts. The Second Episcopate (1660-88) was a period of familiarizing the Scottish people with the Puritan conception of the Sabbath. Church discipline was maintained, although imperfectly in places, and the Westminster doctrine of the Sabbath slowly woven into the fabric of Scottish life.

CHAPTER II

SUNDAY OBSERVANCE IN SCOTLAND 1689-1730

PERIOD OF DEFENCE

The Revolution Settlement marks an epoch in the history of the Church of Scotland. After one hundred and thirty years of controversy, a stable order in Church and State was at last established. Sovereignty resided henceforth, not in the person of the monarch, but in the nation; and the King held his office by the will of the nation. The Confession of Faith was recognized in a civil statute to be the authoritative interpretation of the doctrine of the Church, and strict allegience to its teaching was required. The system of Church courts, culminating in the General Assembly, was re-introduced, and gradually assumed the form which was from this time to distinguish it. While Scottish Presbyterianism underwent a gradual process of far-reaching change in the eighteenth century, nevertheless, at the outset the tone and pattern of Church life reflected the past as much as they anticipated the future.[1]

The re-introduction of Presbyterianism had immediate effects upon Sunday observance. Religious and civil authorities combined forces to defend the sanctity of the Sabbath. The streets were patrolled during church hours; delinquents were sought out in their own homes; all forms of labour were con-

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1. For a more complete discussion of the nature of the Revolution Settlement and its effect upon Scottish Church life see: Hume Brown, Surveys of Scottish History (Glasgow, 1919), pp. 106-7; Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, p. 261ff; Andrew Campbell, Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland (Paisley, 1930), pp. 17-21; Gerald Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason (Pelican Books, 1960), p. 81ff, or any of the other standard works. Although Presbyterianism was the recognized form of government, not everyone was a staunch Presbyterian. Had the religious opinions of the country been permitted to adjust themselves, it is probable that Episcopacy would have prevailed north of the Tay; in Fife and along the east coast a moderate Presbyterianism might have developed, while in the western shires the opinions of the extreme Covenanters would have been asserted.

demned; recreation or relaxation was frowned upon; and family worship, a neglected practice in many communities, was a duty impressed upon everyone. Never before had such a concentrated effort been made "to keep the Sabbath holy".[2]

Because of the many indications of extreme asceticism in early eighteenth-century Sabbatarianism, historians like Henry Grey Graham, Henry Buckle, and William Lecky (to name only a few), have painted grim pictures of Scottish Church life during this period. Lecky said: "Every element of brightness and gaiety on that day was banished, every form of intellectual and aesthetic culture was rigidly proscribed."[3] Buckle found more freedom in the Spanish Inquisition than in the Kirk Sessions,[4] and Graham, particularly vehement in his denunciation of Scottish Sabbatarianism, portrayed Sunday as a day of gloom, restraint, and oppression.[5] The general impression given by those historians, and others who followed in their steps, still colours most contemporary writing.

It is the contention of this thesis that a more balanced and objective approach to post-Revolution Sunday observance is needed. While there is much to indicate that Sunday was strictly observed between 1689 and 1730, there is also much to suggest that this observance was far from perfect. In order that a more complete coverage of available material can be given without boring repetition, it is proposed to consider: (I) the enforcement of Sunday observance,

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2. Sabbatarians looked back on this period and called it the "Golden Age" of Sabbath observance. This view is expressed by J.P. Lilley, The Lord's Day and the Lord's Servants (Edinburgh, 1891), pp. 182-3, among others.

3. William Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1901), vol. II, pp. 334-5.

4. Henry Buckle, History of Civilization in England (London, 1861), vol. II, p. 344.

5. Henry Grey Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1901), pp. 314-21. The main criticism of Graham's book is that he tends to interpret all his material in the light of Victorian Sabbatarianism. What he disliked in the Sabbatarianism of his own day, he managed to find and criticize in the early eighteenth-century sources.

and (II) the nature of Sunday observance. The first section thus deals primarily with means, while the second section is essentially concerned with results.

(I) The Enforcement of Sunday Observance

(A) Civil Law

After the Revolution Settlement the Church was not slow to call upon the aid of the civil powers to enforce her moral discipline. The Church believed that the civil magistrate should use his coercive power to vindicate her discipline from contempt. Especially with regard to Sunday observance did the Kirk seek the aid of the strong arm of the law. How successful these attempts were--from Parliament down to local law enforcement agencies--will now be discussed.

(1) Scottish Parliament

Even in the days of Episcopacy Parliament had passed enactments favourable to Sabbatarian interests. After 1689, however, the frequency of such legislation dramatically increased. In 1691, 1693, 1695, 1701, and 1705, laws, usually under the general heading of "Profaneness" were passed. Various secular activities were condemned and procedures set forth by which offenders should be punished. For the convenience of the reader, the pertinent sections of these laws can be found in Appendix I.[6]

The repetition of these laws, however, is an indication that they were not being obeyed. There is obviously no need to repeat and confirm a law that is already being successfully applied. The preamble with which most of the laws begin: "Notwithstanding the former laws, the crime has increased", tends to

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6. See below, pp. 250-2

substantiate this.[7] Legal authorities have found only one prosecution in the higher courts during the years 1689-1730. This was the case of a certain Captain Moodie who forced a ferryman to cross the Pentland Firth one Sunday afternoon in 1712. No decision was reached by the Court.[8] Thus the laws of the Scottish Parliament relating to Sabbath observance reflect more the aspirations of the Sabbatarians than they do their achievements.[9]

(2) Justices of the Peace

For the tasks of putting enactments against cursing, swearing, and Sabbath profanation into execution, the Justices do not appear to have displayed much enthusiasm. In 1709 the Kirk Session of Auchtermuchty could not persuade the local Justice Court to compel a Sabbath breaker to submit to sessional discipline.[10] In 1711 the Presbytery of Deer wrote to the Justices "to oblidge certain persons to compear before the Session", but there is no evidence that the request was heeded.[11] The records of the Justices of the Peace of Lanarkshire, which cover the years 1707-23, reveal that not one case of Sabbath breaking was taken under consideration.[12] Although an occasional prosecution does occur

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7. A careful examination of the above mentioned Acts will show that this is a legitimate inference. For a more complete discussion of this point see: James Dobie, Remarks on the Law of Scotland Relative to the Observance of the Sabbath (Glasgow, 1833), pp. 9-10.

8. Ibid., p. 9. See also David Hume, Commentaries on the Law of Scotland Respecting Crimes (Edinburgh, 1819), 2nd. ed., vol. I, pp. 563-4.

9. By 1700 the Scottish Parliament was having second thoughts about passing more Sabbatarian legislation. When the Act Against Profaneness of 1701 was being discussed, some of the members of Parliament were opposed to setting up "soveraign judges in every parish, created by the church". Hume of Crossrig noted: "I observed a tameness in many to press the Act". See David Hume of Crossrig, A Diary of the Proceedings in the Parliament and Privy Council of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1828), pp. 21-6, and 41-2.

10. Auchtermuchty Kirk Session Records, 10th July, 1709.

11. G.D. Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder (London, 1935), p. 111.

12. Charles Malcolm (ed.), The Minutes of the Justices of the Peace for Lanarkshire 1707-1723 (Edinburgh, 1931), pp. liv-lv. The same was true of the Midlothian Justices. See pp. 83-85. In 1721 the Presbytery of Brechin reported: "We have no Justices of Peace or other Judges in this corner, because of the Disaffection of the Gentry". Brechin Presbytery Records, 3rd May, 1721.

in other records, it is doubtful whether taken as a whole, the Justices greatly aided the Sabbatarian cause.[13]

(3) Baron's Courts

The Baron's Court was an anomalous institution. The Baron was an exception to the sound rule that one ought not to be a judge in his own cause, for a large proportion of the business in his court consisted in proceedings at his instance against his vassals and tennants. If the Baron happened to be a Sabbatarian, the people under his care would be certain to feel the weight of his authority in maintaining outward decorum and peace on Sunday. At the Barony Court of Stitchell in 1697, for example, two men were found guilty of "a Ryott and profanation of the Sabbath day", and were fined "fyfty pounds Scots money".[14] John Clerk, the Baron of Penicuick, ordered his officers to go at intervals through "the heill houses of Loanhead in tyme of public worship and mark who are at home and what is their carriage".[15] Sunday trading at Gleneagles in Perthshire was brought to a sudden end when Baron Mungo Haldane dispersed the local merchants at sword-point.[16] Although these courts played only a minor role in Scotland's history, it is nevertheless interesting to observe how they were employed to suppress various forms of Sabbath breaking.

(4) Local Magistrates

On paper at least, Town Councils seem to have been ready and willing to support the Church in her attempts to enforce Sunday observance. The Edinburgh

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13. In 1710 the Presbytery of Dundee prosecuted a Sabbath breaker in a Justice Court in Dundee and secured a decree against him. See George Hay, History of Arbroath to the Present Time (Arbroath, 1899), p. 254.

14. George Gunn (ed.), Records of the Baron Court of Stitchell 1655-1807 (Edinburgh, 1905), p. 125. See also pp. 21 and 33.

15. John Gray (ed.), Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (Edinburgh, 1892), pp. 241-2 where other examples are given. Cp. also NSA, vol. I (Newton), p. 564fn. where an excerpt from the Baron's Court of Edmonstoun is given.

16. Alexander Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey and of his Brother James Alexander Haldane (Edinburgh, 1840), 7th ed., p. 6.

Town Council, for example, passed Acts relative to Sunday observance in 1693, 1699, 1701, and 1709, and threatened their rigorous execution.[17] In other towns and cities like Glasgow, Peebles, Stirling, Lanark, and Elgin, to name only a few, similar Acts were passed.[18] Kirk Sessions frequently obliged local magistrates to attend their meetings and to inflict civil penalties on guilty parties.[19] Constables or Baillies were appointed to patrol the streets and to arrest anyone guilty of breaking the peace of the Sabbath. A pecuniary reward for each offender brought to justice was an added incentive to these guardians of the Sabbath.[20]

Nevertheless, the ability of the local magistrates to suppress Sabbath breaking has been greatly exaggerated. Their threats were not feared, nor their wishes followed, to the extent that a writer like Henry Gray Graham, for example, has contended. In the period 1689-1730 most Scottish towns continued to give strong indications that Sabbatarianism, far from being a universal

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17. A detailed account of these Acts is given in Robert Chambers, Domestic Annals of Scotland (Edinburgh and London, 1861), pp. 344-5, and The King's Plous Proclamations for Encouragement of Piety and Vertue (Edinburgh, 1727), pp. 52-3.

18. Examples of Sabbatarian legislation in the above mentioned localities can be found in the following sources: Robert Renwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow 1691-1718 (Glasgow, 1908), vol. IV, pp. 164, 337, and 442; James Buchan (ed.), A History of Peeblesshire (Glasgow, 1925), vol. II, p. 174; Robert Renwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of Stirling 1667-1752 (Glasgow, 1889), p. 117; Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Lanark (Glasgow, 1893), pp. 247-8 and 265-6; and William Cramond, Extracts from the Records of the Kirk Session of Elgin (Elgin, 1897), pp. 312, 316, 328, and 332.

19. In 1698 the Kirk Session of Elgin noted: "It is thought fitt that the minister go to the Town Council the next time they shall sit after this and require some of the Magistrates to sit in session always with us". Cramond, Extracts from the Records of the Kirk Session of Elgin, p. 316. In 1710 the Greyfriars Kirk Session rebuked a woman guilty of selling drink during the "tyme of sermon" and referred her "to the magistrat who being porson took her into custodie whill she payed a.... fyne to the Kirk". Greyfriars Kirk Session Records, 11th December, 1710.

20. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 315-16. In 1690 the Glasgow Town Council ruled that whoever served drink after 10 p.m. or during church hours should be fined 60 shillings Scots, "whereof one halfe to the informer and the other to be applied to the use of the poor". Renwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, vol. IV, p. 442. Similar provisions were made in other localities. See Robertson and Swan, South Leith Records, 2nd Series, p. 4.

characteristic of the inhabitants, was a doctrine espoused and practised by a small but powerful minority. A look at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and a few other localities will illustrate this point.

In 1693 the Town Council of Edinburgh passed an "Act Against Prophaneness" prohibiting all persons within the city and suburbs "to brew, or to work any other handiwork, on the Lord's Day, or to be found on the streets, standing or idly walking, or to go in company or vague on the Castle-hill, public yards, or fields".[21] With minor variations this Act was repeated in 1699 and 1701, indicating that the magistrates had not yet been able to enforce it.[22] In 1705 the General Assembly lamented "the great prophanation of the Lord's day, by multitudes of people vaging idely upon the streets of the city of Edinburgh, pier and shore of Leith, in St. Ann's Yeards, and the Queen's Park, and in diverse places of the West Kirk Paroch, and on the Links of Leith, and other places, especially about Edinburgh...."[23] Four years later the Town Council acknowledged "that the Lord's Day is still profaned by people standing on the streets, and vaguing to fields and gardens, and to the Castle-hill; also by standing idle gazing out at windows, and children, apprentices, and other servants playing on the streets".[24]

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21. The King's Pious Proclamations for Encouragement of Piety and Vertue, p. 47. People were also forbidden to "bring in water from the wells to houses in greater quantities than single pints". See Graham's characterization of Sunday in Edinburgh in The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 92-3.

22. Ibid., pp. 52-5. The magistrates' interest in enforcing their own laws was short lived. In 1704-5 the Society for the Reformation of Manners in Edinburgh, sent one of their members "to enquire when the going through the streets with constables stopt, and to note that the same may again be put into execution".

23. AGA, 1705, pp. 13-14. See also Robertson and Swan, South Leith Records, 2nd Series, pp. 5-6 and 11. In 1707 an application was made to the magistrates to stop the giving out of letters from the post office on Sunday "because of the great abuses occasioned thereby and concourse of people reading the news letters both on the streets and in taverns and coffee houses". As usual nothing was done about it.

24. The King's Pious Proclamations for Encouragement of Piety and Vertue, p. 55. See also Chambers, Domestic Annals, vol. III, pp. 313, 422-3, and 483 for other interesting examples.

In spite of these efforts people continued to ignore the threats of the magistrates and clergy. In 1724 the General Session of Edinburgh reported little improvement in the observance of Sunday. The entry for 9th June reads as follows:

> It was represented to this meeting by several of the reverend ministers and other members, that immorality was grown to a very great height, particularly the profanation of the Lord's-day, by people crowding upon the streets to the Castle-hill, the Grayfriars church-yard, the High-school yard, and other places in time of Divine service, as well as other times in the day; which being considered by this meeting, they named the following members, viz. the Rev. William Mitchell, & c. as a committee to wait upon the honourable magistrates upon Tuesday next, to concert proper measures that may most effectually suppress immoralities, particularly the profanation of the Lord's-day.[25]

The results of the consultation with the magistrates was a further promise to patrol the streets and to punish Sabbath breakers. In 1728, thirty-five years after the "Act Against Profaneness" of 1693, the General Session of Edinburgh summed up the results of their long and tedious efforts to enforce Sunday observance. The entry of 3rd September, 1728 reads:

> It is hereby humbly represented to the General Session of Edinburgh, that the customary way of going through the streets on the Lord's-day by the several Sessions, in their journey, proves of little use, and does not answer the end intended; for they can only be in one part of the town at one time, and cannot know of the irregularities that may be in other parts of it.[26]

So it was that the inhabitants of "Auld Reekie" evaded attempts to make them conform to civil and ecclesiastical law. It was one thing to make a law, and yet another to enforce it.

Glasgow, located as it was in the Covenanting belt, seems to have responded favourably to Sabbatarian legislation. Unlike Edinburgh and other East

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25. Cited in Report from Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day (London, 1832), p. 305. Other interesting Kirk Session records are given in the same source.

26. Ibid., p. 305. See also the discussion in Chambers, Domestic Annals of Scotland, vol. III, pp. 344-5.

coast towns, there is no indication of widespread resistance to Sabbatarianism on the part of the townspeople. When Edmund Calamy spent a Lord's day in Glasgow in 1709, he was greatly impressed with the religious atmosphere that seemed to pervade the city. The church he attended was filled with "divers of the nobility", "the Masters and scholars of the university", "the magistrates", and many "citizens and strangers".[27] Although Graham's description of Sunday in Glasgow in the early eighteenth century is slightly exaggerated, some credence must be given to the tradition that "one might trundle an apple down the High Street on a Sabbath evening, and no one would be on the street to pick it up--all at worship or within doors".[28]

This is not to say that Glasgow was totally devoid of Sabbath breakers. It had its share of them. In 1690 the Glasgow Town Council passed an Act which forbade drinking in taverns (except between sermons), and warned against selling or buying "kaill-pot herbs or milk in the streets on the Sabbath day".[29] A year later it was necessary to caution those who "wander on the Sabbath, or stand before their door", and in 1695 the Act of 1690 was renewed.[30] In 1701 another Act was passed threatening punishment for those who were "unnecessary walking abroad and travelling", "vaging or standing idle upon the streets", or in the "church yeards or feilds", "doeing any servile work by selling and buying either in shopes or houses", or "bearing of things from place to place un-

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27. Edmund Calamy, An Historical Account of My Own Life (London, 1830), vol. II, pp. 210-11.

28. James Primrose, The Mother Anti-Burgher Church of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1896), p. 21. See Graham's description in The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 157-8.

29. Marwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1663-1690, p. 442.

30. John Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs (London and Glasgow, 1856), p. 175fn. See also NSA, vol. VI (Glasgow), pp. 118-19. The fact that the Act was renewed is an indication that it was not being obeyed, at least to the satisfaction of the religious powers in Glasgow.

suitable to that holy day".[31] This last Act must have been relatively successful, for it was not repeated, nor is any other legislation forthcoming on the subject of Sabbath observance until 1744.[32]

Elsewhere it was evident that magistrates, though capable of pious platitudes about reverence and respect for the Lord's Day, were not always faithful in enforcing Sabbath laws. At Elgin, for example, the magistrates promised in 1698 to stop the traditional Sunday fruit and vegetable market. In 1733 they again "assured the Session of their assistance" in stopping the market, and in 1736, being once again informed that the Sabbath was "profained...by buying of fruit in gardens", they solemnly promised the Kirk Session their assistance.[33] At Mauchline in 1706 it was necessary to cite the magistrates themselves as Sabbath breakers, thus indicating how Sabbatarian they were in outlook.[34] At Forfar in 1720 it was reported that "the scandals of drunkenness and Sabbath-breaking are too prevalent", and the magistrates were to be consulted once again.[35] In 1721 the Presbytery of Brechin complained that the sin of Sabbath-breaking "does much abound in this Corner among all Ranks and that Methods used by Pres-

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31. Renwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1691-1717, p.337. See also Barony Kirk Session Records, 18th May, 1701, 5th April, 1702, and 9th January, 1709. From 1709 to 1738 there is no mention of Sabbath breaking in the Barony records, indicating that the problem of Sunday observance in that parish was not very difficult to handle.

32. Renwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1739-1759, pp. 180-1. Unfortunately the records of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr and the Presbytery of Glasgow were lost in a fire near the end of the eighteenth century. This somewhat weakens the effectiveness of the argument from silence.

33. Cramond, Extracts from the Records of the Kirk Session of Elgin, pp. 316, 328, and 332. The market was still in operation in 1762. See p. 339.

34. Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 1st Series, pp. 257-8. At a later date the Elgin Kirk Session referred Baillie S. to the presbytery "for gross profanation of the Lord's day by assembling in a publick inn with several people to consult and advise about who should be magistrates and members of the Town Council the ensuing year...." Cramond, op. cit., p. 342.

35. McPherson, Strathmore: Past and Present, p. 250. Cp. also Auchtermuchty Kirk Session Records, 2nd April, 1710.

byteries have hitherto been ineffectual".[36] A fair estimation of the general situation can be found in the words of William Wishart, a minister in Edinburgh in the early eighteenth century. "It is complained of, and not without ground, that though we have excellent laws against Vice and Prophaneness, yea so excellent that it is a question if any Nation in the World hath better; Yet these Laws are not put to due and vigorous Execution by inferior Magistrates, at least by many of them."[37]

(5) Societies for the Reformation of Manners

The fact that private citizens felt the need to enforce the laws against profaneness is a further indication that local magistrates were not doing a very effective job. The first Scottish Society for the Reformation of Manners was organized in Edinburgh in 1699 under the leadership of Sir David Hume of Crossrig. Throughout Scotland twenty societies were started, six of which were located in Edinburgh.[38] The societies applied pressure on the local officers to be diligent in their duties, and brought to their notice any crime or sin that needed immediate attention. They were particularly insistent that Sunday should be strictly observed. Efforts were made to close the taverns, to stop idle wandering and other recreations, and to suppress all forms of labour on Sunday. Once again the repetitive nature of their requests and on-

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36. Brechin Presbytery Records, 3rd May, 1721. See also Thomas Mair, Records of the Parish of Ellon (Aberdeen, 1876), pp. 160-1, and George Murray, Records of Falkirk Parish (Falkirk, 1888), vol. II, pp. 120ff.

37. William Wishart, A Discourse of Suppressing Vice and Reforming the Vicious (Edinburgh, 1702), p. 3. Cp. also Patrick Walker, Biographia Presbyteriana (Edinburgh, 1837), vol. I, p. xl.

38. Sir David Hume of Crossrig, Domestic Details, pp. 69-71; Wodrow, Analecta, vol. IV, p. 93; Charles Rogers, Social Life in Scotland From Early to Recent Times, vol. II, p. 252, and William Maitland, The History of Edinburgh from its Foundation to the Present Time (Edinburgh, 1753), p. 471. The number two society in Edinburgh formed the nucleus of men who were instrumental in starting the Scottish SPCK at a later date. This is discussed in Maitland's above mentioned history.

actments indicates that the success of their ventures was greatly limited.[39]

(B) Ecclesiastical Law

(1) The General Assembly

Between 1690 and 1726 no less than fifteen Acts were passed containing specific recommendations about Sabbath observance.[40] In most instances these Acts were concerned with enumerating the prevalent forms of Sabbath desecration and exhorting the lesser judicatories of the Church to be dilligent in punishing offenders. At other times they reprimanded the civil authorities for their failure to put laws relating to profaneness into execution. Occasionally the Assembly referred to the Commission specific cases of Sabbath breaking sent to it by the lower courts of the Church. Outside of these items little else of any importance was done to encourage Sabbatarianism.[41]

(2) Synods and Presbyteries

These bodies acted as liaisons between the Kirk Sessions and the General Assembly. Their responsibilities were: (1) to see that Kirk Sessions faithfully put Sabbath laws into execution; (2) to represent the Kirk Sessions before the Lords Commissioners of Justiciary; and (3) to keep the General Assembly informed about the status of Sabbath observance within their bounds and to suggest

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39. The efforts of the Edinburgh societies to promote Sabbath observance can be found in detail in the Register of the Resolutions and Proceedings of a Society for Reformation of Manners & c. (Laing MSS III, №339, University of Edinburgh Library). The societies discussed such items as: whether magistrates appointed by the Heritors and Kirk Sessions could summarily punish Sabbath breakers; whether members of the societies could with or without a constable enter the private dwellings of suspected persons; whether parents could be fined for the profanation of the Lord's day by their children, and whether the societies could appoint constables who might legally apprehend offenders and conduct them to prison.

40. Extracts from these laws are given in Appendix II of this work, pp. 253-5.

41. AGA, 1710, p. 21. See also the Records of the Commission of the General Assembly, especially 11th July, 1705, and 29th August, 1705. The records of the Commission are in manuscript form in the Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh.

remedial legislation.[42] In addition to these general principles, the Synods and Presbyteries, but more particularly the latter, ruled on cases referred to them by the Kirk Sessions. Usually these cases dealt with Sabbath breaking on the part of prominent people, obstinate offenders, or situations too complex for sessional understanding. Thus in 1698, when other attempts had failed, the Synod of Fife sought "to interpose their authorito" to stop the working of salt pans within its bounds.[43] In 1717 the Presbytery of Edinburgh censured two ministers for travelling on Sunday while returning from England,[44] and the Presbytery of Aberdeen in 1729 dealt with the minister of New Machar who was accused, among other things, of powdering his wig on the Sabbath.[45] An unrepentent Sabbath breaker at Bendochy in 1721 was referred "to the reverend presbytery of Miggle to determine therein, in such a way as may either make the said W.R. obsequious to discipline, or bring him under ecclesiastical censure".[46] In 1794 the General Assembly ruled that Kirk Sessions should refer all cases of Sabbath breaking to the Presbytery before taking any action whatsoever.[47]

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42. Cf. AGA, 1697, pp. 15-16; 1699, pp. 12-13; 1701, p. 29, and 1708, pp. 20-1.

43. Selections from the Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar 1641-1698 (Edinburgh, 1837), p. 100. Cp. also pp. 7 and 10. In 1713 the Synod of Angus and Mearns deposed a minister for breaking the Sabbath by smoking and frequenting change houses and causing his servants to work. See Records of the Synod of Angus and Mearns, 22nd October, 1713. In 1724 the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale intervened to stop the running of stage coaches within its bounds. See Records of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, 2nd November, 1724.

44. J. Warrick, The Moderators of the Church of Scotland 1690-1740 (Edinburgh and London, 1913), p. 251. See also Chambers, Domestic Annals of Scotland, vol. III, p. 397.

45. Campbell Fraser, Thomas Reid (Edinburgh and London, 1898), p. 31. See also Tyninghame Kirk Session Records, 5th October, 1704.

46. NSA, vol. X (Bendochy), p. 118. For other examples see: J. Hewison, The Isle of Bute in the Olden Time (Edinburgh and London, 1845), vol. II, pp. 280-1, and Hay, History of Arbroath to the Present Time, pp. 254-5.

47. AGA, 1794, (Abridgement), Sess. Ult. See also Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder, p. 122.

(3) Kirk Sessions

It was on the shoulders of the local elders, however, that the burden of enforcing Sabbath observance fell. This was done with different degrees of leniency and severity, depending on how much the elders chose to exercise the elastic and judicious principle of "sessional discretion". In general, however, the Kirk Sessions followed the procedure set forth in the Form of Process. Although this did not become Church law until 1707, it did not innovate, but simply codified what was already general practice. In Chapter III, "Concerning Swearers, Cursers, Profaners of the Lord's Day, Drunkards, and other Scandals of that Nature", the following procedure is recommended:[48]

(1) Ordinarily, the guilty person for the first fault should be spoken to in private by the Minister or an elder, and admonished, and, on promise (from a sense of guilt) to amend, the process should be stopped.

(2) If a person relapses the second time, he is to be brought before the Session and judicially rebuked. If he promises to amend his ways the process once again stops.

(3) If, however, there is no response on the part of the individual, the Session should proceed to lesser excommunication and suspension from sealing ordinances, until signs of remorse or repentance are evidenced.

(4) In cases of prolonged obstinacy higher excommunication may be employed, but only if there seems to be no chance whatsoever of reclaiming the individual.

With minor variations the Kirk Sessions adhered to the suggested steps. Normally first offenders were dealt with kindly, and their names rarely grace the pages of Kirk Session records. At Tyninghame in 1700, for example, when an elder reported that he saw some people bringing in water on Sunday, he was appointed "to give ym a rebook in name of the Session with certification, that if they be found doing the lyke againe, a severer course will be taken with

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48. The Form of Process is discussed in great detail in Ivo Clark's book, A History of Church Discipline, pp. 138-62.

them".[49] In 1705 the Barony Kirk Session in Glasgow summoned a man to appear before them for excessive drinking on Sunday, noting that "he had been previously warned about such behaviour".[50] The Elgin Kirk Session in 1697 privately warned five men who had fished with spears the previous Lord's Day, never to do it again.[51]

When private admonition proved ineffective, Kirk Sessions proceeded to give offenders a sessional, or, depending on the exact nature of the offence, a public rebuke. At Eastwood in 1692 a man guilty of bringing in peats on Sunday morning was given a rebuke by the moderator "with certification if he fell in the like again he should be publicly censured".[52] The Kirk Session of Auchtermuchty gave two women a sessional rebuke for cutting kail in the time of public worship, and warned them that "if they were found guilty of such practices [again] , this censure should be more public".[53] A man who openly drove his cattle on Sunday and sought to avoid the discipline of the Dailly Kirk Session, was not only publicly rebuked, but was required to pay £20 Scots "just in case he should be found guilty thereafter".[54] In most instances, however, Sessional discipline did not go beyond a private rebuke before the elders, or a public one before the congregation.

In rare cases, usually when a moral issue was connected with the particular instance of Sabbath breaking, the pressure of lesser excommunication was applied. One example of this can be cited. At the Barony Church in Glasgow in 1707, a

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49. Tyninghame Kirk Session Records, 6th October, 1700. Cp. also entry for 7th March, 1701, where the same procedure is followed.

50. Barony Kirk Session Records, 29th July, 1705.

51. Cramond, Extracts from the Records of the Kirk Session of Elgin, p. 315.

52. Eastwood Kirk Session Records, 30th August, 1692.

53. Auchtermuchty Kirk Session Records, 9th April, 1704.

54. Dailly Kirk Session Records, 28th November, 1704.

young couple, guilty of "immodest and unchast carrige together in the Barony Ch. in time of sermon", were publicly rebuked and given the lessor-excommunication until they showed signs of repentence.[55] Only one case of higher-excommunication has been found, but there may have been others. In 1702 the Synod of Galloway, upholding a sessional ruling, passed the sentence of "greater excommunication on Archibald Blair of Broomhill for being guilty of habituall drunkenness...breach of the Sabbath Day, contemning the ordinances, fighting with other men, and disobedience to his parents".[56]

It is almost beyond questioning that post-Revolution Kirk Sessions were strict guardians of the Sabbath. To say otherwise is to flaunt obvious facts. In spite of this, the vituperative condemnation of the Sabbatarianism of the Scottish elders by a historian like Graham hardly does justice to the truth. Before condemning the elders as tyrannical Sabbatarian despots, one should give due consideration to some mitigating factors.

For one thing, elders frequently found their authority questioned when they attempted to force people to "sanctify the Sabbath". Contrary to popular opinion, the average citizen did not always meekly submit to sessional discipline. When the Glasgow Town Council passed an "Act Against Prophaneness" in 1701 prohibiting various activities on Sunday, it was necessary to append the following strictures: "The saids magistrats and counsell doe strictly prohibite and discharge all abuseing of or doeing or offering of any violence or indignitie to ministers, elders, deacons, or any other of the persons who shall be searching in houses or otherwayes...."[57] In 1703, when a Leith elder approached

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55. Barony Kirk Session Records, 5th July, 1707.

56. Records of the Synod of Galloway, 21st October, 1702.

57. Renwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1690-1718, p. 337. In 1694 the Kirk Session of St. Cuthbert's in Edinburgh ruled "that when elders and deacones goes through to search their bounds, whoever shall keep their dooros closs and not give access shall be holden as guiltie". St. Cuthbert's Kirk Session Records, 19th April, 1694.

a gentleman on the street one Sabbath day and "admonished him to goe to ye Church and sanctifie the Sabath, he refused obstinately by several huffio expressions". When the elder persisted the man drew his sword and threatened to run him through. The Town Guard was called, but the offendor "retired to ye Links before the gaird came; where was a great many gavening whom it was impossible for us to command so wee did forbear pursuing him any more".[58] A man in Forfar found guilty by the Kirk Session in 1724 for "gathering in his lintseed bolls with his coat off and a belt about him during divine service", refused to do pennance before the congregation, "and would not even acknowledge a breach of the Sabbath, thinking the less of himself for even waiting on the Session". The last report of his activities is that "he continued obstinate".[59] In other parishes there were many people who refused to let the elders determine how they should spend the Sabbath—ecclesiastical or civil discipline notwithstanding.[60]

Furthermore, the elders themselves often showed reluctance to become the "Sabbath consciences" of their parishioners. When asked to give the names of Sabbath breakers in their districts, the elders frequently replied that "they had no delations".[61] In 1718 the parishioners of Maybole in Ayrshire complained to the Presbytery of Ayr that the Kirk Session ignored "immoralities on the streets and in taverns at untimely hours, in drinking, swearing, and the lyke

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58. Robertson and Swan, South Leith Records, 2nd Series, p. 9. See also p. 11.

59. Alan Reid, The Royal Burgh of Forfar (Paisley, 1902), p. 141. Cp. also William Wilson, Airlie A Parish History (Coatbridge, 1917), p. 322.

60. For other examples of this see: Auchterarder Kirk Session Records, 3rd September, 1704; Cleish Kirk Session Records, 10th July, 1720; James Tait, Two Centuries of Border Church Life (Kelso, 1889), pp. 15-16; and Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 1st Series, pp. 321-8.

61. Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder, pp. 116-17. Henderson gives a fair and balanced appraisal of sessional discipline in this work which is very difficult to criticise.

whether on the Lord's day or other days...."[62] At Kilmarnock in 1699 it was deemed necessary to fine any elder absent from his attendance at the Church door 4s. Scots.[63] It is also evident that many elders were not enthusiastic "searchers" of the town on Sunday, for they needed frequent reminders and exhortations to do their duty. The elders at Auchterhouse (Angus), for example, were ordered to patrol the streets in 1707, 1708, 1712 (twice), 1717, 1721, and 1722. There are numbers of similar situations in other parishes.[64]

It must also be remembered that Kirk Sessions were not incapable of mercy and charity in their dealings with Sabbath breakers. Provision was made for works of necessity. In 1699 the Elgin Kirk Session excused a woman for carrying water and doing household chores on Sunday because she was caring for a sick sister.[65] The fairmindedness of the Kirk Session of Kilmacolm (Renfrewshire) was revealed in 1723 when a farmer and his wife, charged with carrying in straw on the Lord's Day, were dismissed "considering the unblameable character of them both".[66] The elders recognized their own human frailties and temp-

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62. Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 1st Series, pp. 211-12. In 1724 the Kirk Session of Forfar nominated and elected four men to the eldership with the left-handed compliment that they "were as fit as could be found in the town". Reid, The Royal Burgh of Forfar, p. 141.

63. Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 2nd Series, p. 18. In 1714 the parish of Coylton complained of the same fault on the part of the elders.

64. Mason Inglis, An Angus Parish in the Eighteenth Century (Dundee, 1904), pp. 88-108. At Elgin the injunction to search the streets was repeated in 1695, 1710, 1720, and 1730. At Tyninghame the order was given in 1700, 1701, 1707, 1712, and 1713. The same characteristic is evident in most of the Kirk Session records that the writer has consulted. Each time the tenor of the act indicates that the practice had been abandoned for some time previous. In some parishes it was not the custom to "search" every Sunday. In 1712, for example, the Dailly Kirk Session instructed the elders to search "in time of divine service upon Sabbaths now and then as should appear necessary". Dailly Kirk Session Records, 6th April, 1712.

65. Cramond, Extracts from the Records of the Kirk Session of Elgin, p. 320.

66. Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder, p. 121. They were, however, given a sessional rebuke.

tations to mis-spend the Lord's Day, and were willing, in some measure at least, to take into consideration individual personalities and extenuating circumstances.[67]

The attitude of Kirk Sessions to Sabbath observance, therefore, while rightly called "strict", can hardly be termed "tyrannical" or "despotic". The elders were human beings, men of their time, and may sometimes have misjudged or erred in their sense of proportion or been carried away by zeal. G.D. Henderson succinctly characterizes them in the following terms:

> In reading Session records at all periods one is frequently struck by the evidences of common sense, patience, affectionate interest and shrewd understanding on the part of elders. They knew the people intimately and were themselves intimately known. They recognized the hardened sinners; and though they had no training in psychology and no legal education and often forgot the purpose of discipline, and were crude in their methods, charges were fairly tried without haste, and with a fair mingling of justice and mercy.[68]

The exact nature of the effectiveness of Sabbath observance enforcement during the years 1689-1730 must remain a moot point. In any given area it would vary according to the theological disposition of the minister and the Kirk Session, and the co-operativeness of the civil authorities. It is probably true to say, however, that the enforcement of Sunday observance was not as strict as some contemporaries desired, nor as harsh as some later generations imagined.

(II) The Nature of Sunday Observance

A convenient way in which to discuss the nature of Sabbath observance following the Revolution is to see the impact it made on various aspects of Scottish life. Although they have obvious points of contact, the following areas in which Sabbatarianism manifested itself will be discussed: (A) the

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67. At Carstairs in 1699 an elder, John Gray, was suspended for bringing in loads of barley on Sunday morning. Carstairs Kirk Session Records, 16th July, 1699. At Ellon in 1724 a man was suspended from the eldership "for leading in some corns in the dusk of the Sabbath evening". Mair, Records of the Parish of Ellon, p. 161.

68. Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder, p. 107.

home, (B) the Church, and (C) the school.

(A) Sunday Observance in the Home

Like charity, Sabbatarianism began at home. Within the family circle its attitudes and ideals were readily fostered. The advice of John Willison, writing to encourage Sabbath sanctification was directly to the point: "If you would recover decaying piety in the land, and banish cursing, swearing, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, & c...then begin with your own family; set up prayer and religion therein.... The way to make a clean street is, for every house to sweep before its own door".[69] Sabbath observance began not with the opening Psalm at the Kirk, but when the person first rose from his bed; and it ended, not with the benediction at the close of the service, but with the final prayer before the eyelids closed in sleep.

In most religious homes the Sabbath was a day of high and austere solemnity. An Englishman, travelling in Kircudbrightshire in the early 1720's, was greatly impressed with the strictness of family Sabbath observance. His account is well worth recording here:

> They all pray in their families before they go to church, and between sermons they fast; after sermon, everybody retires to his own home, and reads some book of devotions till supper, which is generally very good on Sunday, after which they sing psalms till they go to bed. There is no dinner prepared on the Sabbath, and, in inns, travellers are obliged to put up with bread and butter, or a fresh egg, or fast till after the evening sermon, when they never fail of a hot supper.[70]

The Sabbath routine in the home of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees (d. 1713), was similar.

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69. Willison, A Treatise on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, p. 133. On pp. 161-322 Willison gives in great detail the duties and obligations incumbent on the person who takes Sabbath sanctification seriously. For an insight into the rationale of Presbyterian Sabbatarianism this work is perhaps the best single volumne available.

70. John MacKay, A Journey Through Scotland in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to his Friend Abroad (London, 1729), 2nd ed., pp. 3-4.

> The private chaplain read prayers at nine in the morning. At ten the whole family walked to church. At half-past twelve they were home again; and at one the chaplain read prayers. After a light lunch they returned to church at two. At four the chaplain instructed the children and servants. At five they dined. At eight the Lord Advocate himself read prayers; and this ended the labours of the day.[71]

Such procedure on Sunday, said Miss Mure of Caldwell, "was the common order in all well-regulated houses up to 1730".[72]

Unfortunately not all eighteenth-century homes were "well regulated". Family worship, for example, was far from being commonly practised. In 1700 the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr passed an Act "exhorting heads of families to set up the worship of God in their houses", and "reproving those who neglect it".[73] At Auchterarder in the same year it was sadly noted "that many in this place have a bad custom of going to their neighbours houses and discussing Carnall affairs" on Sunday.[74] In 1718 the Presbytery of Dundee reported that on Sunday

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71. George Omond, The Lord Advocates of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1883), vol. I, p. 279.

72. William Mure, Selections from the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell (Paisley, 1883), Part I, vol. I, p. 260. John Ramsay gives the following description of the way in which Lord Forbes (1685-1747) observed Sunday. "I have been told that in session time, both in Edinburgh and at Stoneyhill, he made it a rule to devote a great part of Sunday to solitude and meditation. After attending divine service in the forenoon, he took a solitary airing in his coach upon the sands for an hour or two, being all the while intent upon some speculation. On coming home he committed his thoughts to writing, and was no more seen until supper-time, when he had a few friends--of whom Mr. Frederick Carmichael, then minister of Invgask,...was commonly one. Had we minutes of their table-talk...it may be presumed the President and his friends had as few idle words to answer for on their Sabbath evening conversations as any men; for these breathed the love of God and goodwill to men". Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, vol. I, pp. 61-2. See also p. 23.

73. Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 1st Series, p. 204. The Act was repeated in 1733. See pp. 255-6. See also Stirling, Inveresk Parish Lore from Pagan Times, pp. 162-3, and Cramond, Extracts from the Records of the Kirk Session of Elgin, p. 321.

74. Auchterarder Kirk Session Records, 2nd June, 1700. In spite of the warnings from the elders the practice continued.

"sundry servile work was performed in particular houses, as gathering of kail, casting out of ashes, and such like things".[75] The report of the "searcher" at Leith in 1715 could be duplicated in most Scottish parishes. During his rounds he observed:

> That in William Elder his house, Gairdner there, they were roasting meat in time of sermon, and also people drinking in his yeard; That there were people drinking in John Alexander his house in Restalrig.... That there was Company drinking in Hermanus Vanartsen his house in Abbayhill; That Euphem Somervell spous to Robert Duncan was sweeping her stair in time of sermon and a little lass bringing ale from the Changehouse; That in James Couston his house in Restalrig he saw some young people, particularly William Robertson.[76]

At Inverask in 1708 it was necessary to "seriously dehort people from sitting idle at their doors on the evenings of the Lord's Day",[77] and at Auchterhouse in 1721 the elders were warned to "notice who misspend the Sabbath accordingly at home".[78] Thus in many homes the Sabbath was employed as a day of relaxation rather than one of religious edification.

(B) Sunday Observance in the Church

Public worship was the highpoint of the Sabbath. The gathering together for fellowship, instruction, and exhortation on the Lord's Day was regarded as a sine qua non. Ordinarily worship consisted of a morning service followed, after an interval, by a second service. There can be no doubt that those who attended Church absorbed a great deal of Sabbatarian theology. Even if Sabbath observance was not a recurring theme from the pulpit, the frequent intimations and warning on the subject, and the example of people being publicly

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75. Hay, History of Arbroath to the Present Time, p. 254.

76. Robertson and Swan, South Leith Records, 2nd Series, p. 31. See also Auchtermuchty Kirk Session Records, 9th April, 1704; Tait, Two Centuries of Border Church Life, p. 15; and Cramond, Extracts from the Records of the Kirk Session of Elgin, pp. 327-8.

77. Stirling, Inverask Parish Lore from Pagan Times, p. 165.

78. Auchterhouse Kirk Session Records, 11th August, 1721.

rebuked, would be sufficient to alter the habits of many worshippers.[79]

Nevertheless, within the very framework of the Church itself the Sabbath was continually broken. Because modern Church life is so well ordered and formalized, one should not assume that such was the case in the eighteenth century. For all its severity Sunday at the Kirk had its lighter moments--moments when the dignity and solemnity of the day were forgotten. To such moments attention will now be given.

(1) During the Service

When the Psalmist urged the people to "make a joyful noise unto the Lord", he did not have in mind some of the sounds that were uttered in Presbyterian Churches. In 1701 the Kirk Session of Dunblane complained of herds and boys who made a "disturbance during divine service in the lofts".[80] At Falkirk in 1711 two women appeared before the Session for "tryving together about a chair in the church".[81] In 1723 the Church of Keith reported that "A.G. and J.E. were guilty of unseemly behaviour in laughing and throwing clods and stones in time of worship, and of cutting and giving one another apples in church".[82]

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79. For a good description of the routine of the church service during this period see Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 1st Series, pp. 56-116. Also of interest is James Walker's comments on the preaching of Sabbatarianism (or lack of it) on the part of Evangelical clergymen. See The Theology and Theologians of Scotland Chiefly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Edinburgh, 1888), pp. 181-3.

80. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 326n. A similar situation existed at Jedburgh in 1729. See James Watson, Jedburgh Abbey: Historical and Descriptive (Edinburgh, 1894), 2nd. ed., p. 92.

81. Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder, p. 126. Cp. also Auchterarder Kirk Session Records, 7th November, 1703; Eastwood Kirk Session Records, 23rd May, 1697, and James Meikle, The History of Alyth Parish Church (Edinburgh, 1933), p. 154.

82. Graham, op. cit., p. 289. In 1704 the Brechin Kirk Session found it a great abuse that in time of worship "a multitude of common people and beggars" convened and stood at the church door. See J.C. Jessop, Education in Angus (London, 1931), p. 66.

The atmosphere of worship was also broken when people decided to leave before the service was finished. Thus the minister at Preston-Kirk complained in 1697 "that many made a great disturbance in the kirk by going out before the blessing; therefore ordens that the north door be lockit by the officer till efter the blessing, and that he stand at one door, his son at another, and suffer none to go out".[83] At Kilmarnock in 1698 the Session ruled "that none move out of their seats, nor presume to go out of church, until sermon be ended, prayers said, psalms sung, and blessing pronounced".[84] Even at the end of the eighteenth century such disturbances were not unknown.[85]

The Communion service, usually held only once a year, was often a scene of confusion and disorder. Even in the first quarter of the eighteenth century the Church was not blind to the inherent evils of the administration of the Lord's Supper that were to produce ultimately the "Holy Fair" of the days of Robert Burns.[86] Eighty years before Burns wrote his satire Bishop Sage penned these striking words: "Such undigested, disorderly, confused, and mixed convocations--for who knows not that hundreds, generally strangers to one another, who have no sense of, no concern for, no care about, serious re-

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83. Ritchie, The Churches of Saint Baldred, pp. 127-8. Complained Thomas Boston in 1710 to his parishioners: "I cannot get you pleased with short enough preaching: though some of you make it short enough, what with your sleeping, what with your leaving it, even when there is no milking, and some will sit at the door all the afternoon, that they may get away when they think they have got enough of it". Memoirs of the Life, Time, and Writings of the Reverend Thomas Boston (Edinburgh, 1776), Appendix, p. 1.

84. Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 2nd Series, p. 407.

85. In the Diary of John Wightman one finds the following entry: "4th November 1798--Preached at Kirkmichael.... Kirkmichael church well attended considering the indecency of the weather. Infested much with the barking of dogs, and other annoyances, people going out and coming in frequently". David Hogg, Life and Times of the Rev. John Wightman (London, 1873), pp. 54-5. See also Thomas Salmon, Borrowstounness and District (Edinburgh, 1913), p. 448, and Glasgow Courier, 20th June, 1793 for other examples.

86. The General Assembly passed Acts relating to the observance of Communion in 1701, 1712, and 1724. See George Burnet, The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1960), pp. 214-15.

ligion, may meet on such occasions for novelty, for curiosity, for intrigues, not to be named, for a thousand sinister ends."[87] Church records confirm the basic accusations of Sage. In 1710 the Presbytery of Edinburgh warned the local churches to deal severely with those who flocked to the various churches at Communion time "upon pretence to hear sermon in ye churchyeard", and further recommended that the sacrament be observed twice a year.[88] Shortly after the Revolution the Kirk Session of Dundonald in Ayrshire found it necessary to order: "For better marking that there be no misbehaviour athort the Kirk either before their approaching to the table or return from it, let A.R., J.B., W.Y., sit in the most eminent and convenient place of the Kirk and see that none mak dinne with their feet".[89] At Falkirk in 1723 three elders were authorized "to take care yt yr be no disorder in the isle, and yt none climb over the ravel" when the elements were being distributed.[90] It was with sadness that the pious Robert Wodrow observed in 1724 that the Communion in Glasgow had been "followed with noise and offence for several years".[91] Thus in many churches when the bread was broken the Sabbath was often broken along with it.

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87. John Sage, Works (Edinburgh, 1844), vol. I, pp. 370-1.

88. William Bryce, History of Old Greyfriars Church Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1912), vol. II, pp. 84-6; Burnet, op. cit., pp. 215-16. At South Leith in 1706 the Kirk Session found that "David Williamson was guilty of entertaining people on the Sabbath day the Sacrament of ye Lord's Supper was celebrate at Corstorphine there was a great noise of people in his house...." Robertson and Swan, South Leith Records, 2nd Series, p. 14.

89. Gillespie, Dundonald: A Contribution to Parish History, vol. II, p. 523.

90. George Murray, Records of Falkirk Parish (Falkirk, 1888), vol. II, p. 124. At Cleish in 1718 the elders were advised to come early to the sacrament so "that throng and disorder may be avoided in the kirk as much as can be". P.T. Hall, The Kirk of Cleish (Edinburgh, 1957), p. 83.

91. Wodrow, Analecta, vol. III, p. 238. Cp. Barony Kirk Session Records, 29th July, 1705; Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 1st Series, p. 174, and Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, vol. II, p. 26.

(2) During the Interval

Having refreshed his soul at the morning service, the worshipper was free, in the time before the second service, to refresh his body. In most communities the local inn was off-bounds only during the hours of worship. At other times one was free to drink--provided one stayed within the bounds of moderation.[92] The temptation to linger in the warmth and conviviality of the inn long after the second service had begun was great, and many succumbed to it. At Minnigaff in Kirkcudbrightshire in 1701 the Kirk Session lamented: "Some persons drink so long betwixt sermons on ye Sabbath day, so yt they either come too late, or else stay wholly from the afternoon's sermon...."[93] The Forfar Kirk Session was confounded by two men who swore on oath that while they had indulged in three chapins of ale between sermons, the last had been finished "before the first psalm was ended". The matter being deemed " a little intricat", it was remitted to the Presbytery.[94] In parish after parish Sunday drinking was a problem that engaged the attention and concern of the Church as it sought to keep the people steadfastly in the ways of Sabbath

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92. At Mauchline in 1709, for example, it was recorded that "the minister is to be minded next Sabbath to intimate to all inns in town not to give drink to excess to any...especially to souldiers". Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 1st Series, p. 318. In Glasgow, regulations were more strict. An Act of the Town Council in 1701 forbade the "haunting of tavorns or ale houses any tyme of that day (except for refreshment betwixt sermons)". Renwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow 1690-1718, p. 337. In 1701 an Act of the Town Council of Edinburgh forbade inn keepers to furnish food and drink except between sermons and between 6-8 p.m. See the King's Pious Proclamations & c., pp. 52-3.

93. NSA, vol. IV (Minnigaff), p. 133fn. In 1702 the situation had not improved so the Session, "understanding yt some persons repair to Minigoff after sermon on ye Sabbath, and are too ready to tarry too long in alehouses, they enact yt about an hour after ye close of ye sermon on Sabbath days, ye officer toull ye bell to give warning to all to repair to yr severall dwellings...." Ibid.

94. Reid, The Royal Burgh of Forfar, p. 140. See also Neil Meldrum, Forteviot the History of a Strathearn Parish (Paisley, 1926), pp. 141-2.

sanctification".[95]

Another form of Sabbath "desecration" that took place during the interval was the reading of secular announcements, sometimes by the minister, but most frequently by the beadle. The Church saw the bad effects of this practice and tried to stop it. In 1718 the Kirk Session of Forfar complained that "the intimation of roups...prove occasion to people to break the Sabbath by unnecessary talking thereabout", and resolved to "discharge the same in all time coming".[96] At Auchterhouse in 1720 the beadle was "discharged to cry anything at the church door on Sabbath, till he first acquaint the Minister and receive his orders".[97] In 1726 the Presbytery of Dundee forbade "the crying of roups and wad-shootings" as violations of the sacredness of the Lord's Day.[98] In spite of such enactments the practice continued--in some places until well into the nineteenth century.[99]

During the remaining time provided by the interval, many people--too many in the eyes of the Church--engaged in neighbourhood gossip or transacted secu-

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95. The following sources provide a fair indication of the scope of excessive tippling on Sunday. Barony Kirk Session Records, 2nd February, 1701; Auchterarder Kirk Session Records, 12th February, 1710; Tyninghame Kirk Session Records, 13th June, 1706; Eastwood Kirk Session Records, 24th June, 1691; Dailly Kirk Session Records, 19th December 1692 and following entries; Hay, History of Arbroath to the Present Time, pp. 245-7; Inglis, An Angus Parish in the Eighteenth Century, p. 84; Hall, The Kirk of Cleish, p. 146; Campbell, Balmerino and its Abbey, p. 439; and Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 1st Series, p. 211.

96. Reid, The Royal Burgh of Forfar, p. 140.

97. Inglis, An Angus Parish in the Eighteenth Century, p. 93.

98. Hay, A History of Arbroath to the Present Time, p. 254. In 1755 roups and sales were still being cried at Mauchline. See Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 2nd Series, p. 384.

99. In 1835, the Kirk Session of Forteviot in Perthshire, "observing that several extraneous persons make a practice of intimating roups and other things about the kirk gate, and that there is frequently great disturbance occasioned thereby", did "prohibit and forbid this". Meldrum, Forteviot, The History of a Strathearn Parish, p. 124. See also Dobie, The Laws of Scotland Relative to Sabbath Observance, pp. 11-12; Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 2nd Series, p. 384fn.; and Moody Stuart, Recollections of the Late John Duncan (Edinburgh, 1872), pp. 32-3.

lar business. "It is very sad", said John Willison, "to hear people in the church-yard this day, talking about their markets, corns, cattle, and other worldly subjects."[100] At St. Cuthbert's in Edinburgh, the Kirk Session took to their consideration "the great abuse of the multitude of people lying in the church yeard befor and betwixt sermons",[101] and in 1710 the Auchterhouse elders censured two men "for debateing about a bargain in the churchyaird on the Sabbath day".[102] At Montrose it was ruled that "whatsoever person or persones sall be found talking and discoursing in the churchyard, and not being in the church ane littel eftir the second bell, sall pay preciselye four schillings Scots".[103] Nevertheless, much to the chagrin of the ministers and elders, the practice continued, for people came to church not only to meet their God, but to meet their friends.[104]

(3) At Baptisms, Weddings, and Funerals

The christening of a child often resulted in a breach of the Sabbath. Following the sacrament it was customary to have a celebration at the home of the parents which often led to heavy drinking and gay entertainment. John Willison, while contending that the Lord's Day was the proper time for baptism, also added: "As to the feasting part of this solemnity, I do not think it proper

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100. Willison, A Treatise on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, p. 285. For an exposition of the proper behaviour during the interval see, p. 263ff.

101. Lorimer, The Early Days of St. Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh, p. 214. In order to ameliorate the situation the Session arranged to "provide two schoolers everie Lords day quo may by question and answer repeat the Assembly's Catechism the one half in the forenoon and the other half in the efternoon".

102. Inglis, An Angus Parish in the Eighteenth Century, p. 59.

103. James Low, Memorials of the Church of St. John the Evangelist (Montrose, 1891), p. 171.

104. For other examples see: Auchtermuchty Kirk Session Records, 6th August, 1704, and 3rd September, 1704; Waddell, An Old Kirk Chronicle, p. 39; Salmon, Borrowstounness and District, p. 448; and J.G. McPherson, Strathmore: Past and Present (Perth, 1885), p. 250.

on the Lord's day: This may well be delayed till the day after."[105] Evidently many did not delay the celebrations, for in 1695 the Kirk Session of Greenock ordered that "persons having their children baptized on the Sabbath day abstain from keeping banquets and conveening people at such occasions on that day, whereby much idle discourse and sin may be invited".[106] For similar reasons the Kirk Session of Kilmarnock in 1701 appointed children "to be baptized on the weeklie sermon day, except in case of necessity". This was not very effective for in 1720 the same Session again ordained "that none make or hold feasts at baptizing their children on the Lord's Day".[107] In 1736 the Presbytery of Penpont complained of the "too great gatherings at some baptisms, too great preparations made for them, and too much drunk at them...."[108] As the century progressed, however, private baptism became more common and days other than Sunday were utilized for its administration.[109]

Weddings sometimes encroached on the sanctity of the Sabbath. Although marriage was seldom solemnized on Sunday, the proclaiming of banns and the kirking of the bride had an adverse effect upon Sabbath observance.[110] In 1716, for

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105. Willison, A Treatise on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, p. 167.

106. Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 2nd Series, p. 228. See also Muro, Selections from the Family Papers at Caldwell, Part I, p. 265.

107. Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 2nd Series, p. 228.

108. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 298fn. In October 1723 James Henderson in Balmorino was cited to appear before the session for having "a numerous meeting at his Banquett that Sabbath-day's evening his child baptized...". Campbell, Balmerino and Its Abbey, pp. 462-3. See also Barony Kirk Session Records, 26th December, 1744.

109. Graham, op. cit., pp. 298-9. Sunday baptisms were still common. In 1792 one Glasgow church reported that twenty children were baptized at one service. See Glasgow Courier, 13th November, 1792.

110. Some parishes did have Sunday weddings. At Glenbervie in 1765 the Session "having taken under their consideration the tendency that marriages on the Lord's Day had to the prophanation of said day, enacted that no marriages for the future should be solemnised upon the Lord's Day in this parish". George Kinnear, The History of Glenbervie (Laurencekirk, 1910), p. 76. See also Scots Magazine, vol. XX (November, 1758), p. 611, and Glasgow Courier, 19th October, 1793.

example, the Kirk Session of Monkton, "finding that people in giving in their names to be proclaimed in order to marriage, sit frequently too late upon the Saturday night at drink, and incroatch upon the Lord's day...they have made an Act discharging any bookings to be upon the Saturday, in all tyme coming".[111] On the Sunday when the newly married couple first attended church a celebration, similar to a baptismal feast, was held. Thus the Kirk Session of Glenbervie resolved "to discountenance marrying on Saturday and kirkings in alehouses on Sundays for the future, as much as lay in their power".[112] Nevertheless, in some parishes the kirking of the bride on Sunday continued to be an occasion of great merriment and celebration.[113]

The Sunday funeral often conflicted with the best interests of Sabbatarianism. Throughout the seventeenth century Sabbath interments were common. As long as they did not conflict with the hours of worship nothing was done to stop them.[114] Even John Willison, strict Sabbatarian that he was, did not forbid attending Sunday funerals, but merely advised: "Let your words and carriage be grave, and suitable to the occasion; abhor that levity and frothiness

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111. Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 2nd Series, p. 157n. In 1707 the Auchterhouse Kirk Session made a similar ruling. See Inglis, An Angus Parish in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 40 and 73.

112. Kinneor, The History of Glenbervie, p. 76. Cp. also Hay, History of Arbroath to the Present Time, p. 254.

113. In 1746 the pious George Brown of Glasgow noted that a young couple "had spent the Sabbath wherein they were cried in much unbecoming jollity...." George Brown, Diary of George Brown Merchant in Glasgow 1745-53 (Glasgow, 1856), p. 90. See also NSA, vol. VIII (Rosneath), p. 133 and vol. III (Crawfordjohn), p. 506 where it is reported that public entertainments on Sunday in connection with weddings continued until "within these very few years". (c. 1830).

114. In 1648 the Presbytery of Strathbogie permitted Sunday funerals as long as "public worship be not impedit nor prejudged". John Stuart (ed.), Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, p. 88. At Strathmore in 1650 the minister intimated that "when people shall bury their dead upon the Lord's Day, they doe it timouslie; in the winter season before the sermon, and in the summer time after the afternoon's service". J.G. McPherson, Strathmore: Past and Present, p. 119.

which many shew at such occasions."[115] It was the "levity and frothiness", i.e., the heavy drinking and carousing, that led the Church to discourage them from being performed on Sunday. Thus after the Revolution the Kirk Session of Carriden "ordained that none were to be buried between sermons, especially in the summer time",[116] and the Kirk Session of Aberdour did the same.[117] Little mention of Sunday burials is made in subsequent Kirk Session records so one can assume that they ceased to be a significant problem. In the industrialized society of the nineteenth century, however, they once again came under Sabbatarian scrutiny.[118]

(4) Miscellaneous Considerations

A few other aspects of Church life relating to Sabbath observance call for consideration. The first of these concerns what were known as "Silent Sabbaths". A shortage of ministers and pulpit supply meant that many parishes often had no public worship around which to centre their observance of the Sabbath. When ministerial guidance was lacking, Sunday observance suffered. The minister at Mid-Calder showed his concern about a "Silent Sabbath" when he intimated to his congregation in 1692 "that he was called to be at the West Kirk of Edinburgh, next Lord's Day, and exhorted them that they would be very careful of the Sabbath and repair to other adjacent kirks".[119] There was evi-

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115. Willison, A Treatise on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, p. 290. As it was not the custom for a minister to attend a funeral much was left to the discretion of the mourners as to how it should be conducted. See Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 52-4, and pp. 300-1fn.

116. Salmon, Borrowstounness and District, p. 435. Cp. also Hay, The History of Arbroath to the Present Time, p. 256.

117. William Ross, Aberdour and Inchcolme (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 272. In this parish funerals were conducted even during the hours of worship--much to the displeasure of the minister and Kirk Session.

118. See below, pp. 173-5.

119. McCall, The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Mid-Calder, p. 253.

dently a fear on the part of the minister that when the cat was away the mice would play!

There were various reasons for "Silent Sabbaths". Often, as above, it was due to the fact that the minister was away on Church business. At Auchterarder between February and August 1706, the entry "No Sermon" occurs fourteen times--the pastor being sick.[120] The minister of Mauchline was absent from his pulpit in 1732 eleven Sundays in a row "being gone to London on necessary business". In the same year he went to Edinburgh and remained away thirteen weeks, during seven of which there was no preaching.[121] Other circumstances such as fires, battles, or bad weather occasioned "Silent Sabbaths". The great fire in Edinburgh in 1700 so disturbed the decorum of the day "that the people of the city were in no case to attend any sermon or public worship upon it".[122] The Battle of Sherriffmuir in 1715 took place on Sunday as did many less important skirmishes.[123] Weather was always a factor to be considered. Thus the Kirk Session of Logie-Pert in Aberdeenshire reported: "No Sermon because of the stormy and snowie day".[124] Such items may appear trifling, but they are presented simply to correct the false impression that in the "old days" Church services were more regular and orderly than they are at present. In actual fact there is less break in the continuity of public worship now than there was 250 years ago.

Secondly, a few words are necessary about the status of church attendance. The historian Henry Gray Graham comes to the conclusion: "To attend church was

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120. Auchterarder Kirk Session Records, loc. cit.

121. Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 1st Series, pp. 107-8.

122. Willison, A Treatise on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, pp. 92-3.

123. For example, the Quakers were attacked on Sunday at Linlithgow in 1688, Glasgow in 1691, and Hamilton in 1692. See Burnet, A History of Quakerism in Scotland, pp. 123-4. See also Chambers, Domestic Annals of Scotland, vol. III, p. 493.

124. Logie-Pert Kirk Session Records, 2nd February, 1736.

no question of choice: it was a matter of compulsion".[125] One wonders how correct an assertion this is. The records of the time indicate that church attendance was far from being universal. The "dyshaunters of the ordinances" must have constituted a goodly number of people--far more than is commonly imagined. Either that or the Kirk Sessions of the time were making "much ado about nothing".[126] Some insight into the church-going habits of the people can be gained from the description of the parish of Ettrick given by Thomas Boston in 1710. Far better than impersonal Kirk Session records it illustrates the concern of a pastor for a flock not very regular in church attendance. Said the pious author of the Four-Fold State:

> Our parish is not great, but our congregation is less, by reason of the principles, passions, and prejudices, of not a few. But yet smallest of all is the company of ordinary hearers; when those are taken off that come once in twenty days, a month, or six weeks; who are taken up with their beasts all the summer in the fields, and sleep at home with them all the winter; yet some whose faces I seldom if ever can discern, but when I surprise them at their houses, though I tell publicly in the congregation that I am to be that way. Weep over the slighting of the preaching of the word among us. Some that have not far to come, will loiter away Lord's days at home; though if they would come little further than half-way from their own houses, they might possibly sometimes hear the sound of my voice.[127]

The modern pastor, plagued with the problem of sporadic attendance, can find some solace in Boston's lament. Evidently the "old worthies" of the Kirk had to deal with people who were as lukewarm about Church life as many are today. One wonders if the attitude expressed by Andrew Reid of Auchterarder, an

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125. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 315.

126. Every parish had its share of "habituall absentees". For a few examples of this see: Auchterhouse Kirk Session Records, 3rd March, 1717; Ratho Kirk Session Records 1694-96; Tyningham Kirk Session Records, 7th February, 1700, 2nd May, 1700, 21st October, 1705; Willison, A Treatise on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, p. 117, 262-4, and 288; Wodrow, Analecta, vol. I, p. 12; and Cameron Lees, St. Giles' Edinburgh, Church, College, and Cathedral (Edinburgh, 1889), p. 249.

127. Memoirs of the Life, Time, and Writings of the Reverend Thomas Boston, Appendix I, p. 1.

habitual absentee, was not that of countless others. When in 1704 Andrew was admonished by an elder for his continued absence from Church he replied that "he would stay at home or come to church when he pleased, and that if there had been another with him he would have caused a single member of the Session return and not so as he came".[128]

(c) Sunday Observance in the School

The three R's of traditional education were supplemented in Scotland by a fourth--Religion. In the parochial and burgh schools the young scholars had religious principles engrained into them. The schoolmasters had to pass rigid theological examinations and were expected to exercise a religious influence over their pupils seven days a week. At Preston-Kirk, for example, the schoolmaster was obliged to "gather his scholars on the Sabbath morning before sermon, and pray with them and then take them to the church with him, when, after he hath sung a psalm, the catechism must be repeated by two of them--one asking and the other answering".[129] It was further required that "he must enjoin such as can write to write the sermon, and on Monday morning cause his scholars give an account of what they mind thereof, and subjoin some pious exhortations and advices to them".[130] Even when the Sunday services were over the students remained under the watchful eye of the schoolmaster. Thus in 1711 the schoolmaster at Peebles was required to take particular notice that the children

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128. Auchterarder Kirk Session Records, 3rd September, 1704. See also Robertson and Swan, South Leith Records, 2nd Series, p. 9.

129. Ritchie, The Churches of Saint Baldred, p. 129. Cp. also Tyninghame Kirk Session Records, 17th May, 1703. Many other examples of this practice are given in James Grant, History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland (London, 1876), pp. 427-8.

130. Ritchie, op. cit., p. 129. Looking back on his school days John Clerk of Penicuick reminisced: "One thing indeed contributed mainly to make me write ill, which was an exercise about that time common in schools, to write long notes of sermons after the Minister. This practice, however, served a little to fix our attention and keep us from doing worse things". Gray (ed.), Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, pp. 10-11.

"keep within doors on the Lord's day in the afternoon".[131] Although the routine varied slightly from place to place, there can be little doubt that where the schoolmaster took his duties seriously Sunday was as fatiguing a day for the pupils as any other day of the week.[132]

In the colleges and universities of Scotland student life on Sunday was well regulated and ordered. The Commission of Parliament that visited the colleges and universities in 1695 recommended that "the master and students of the severall colledges be oblidged carefully to attend the publict worship together on the Lord's day; and that after the afternoones sermon the regents and students convoen in their severall classes, and that the students give an accompt to their regents of what they have heard that day".[133] At Glasgow, students were further required to attend an evening lecture, a custom that continued well into the eighteenth century.[134] Elsewhere students were carefully supervised so that no occasion for "Sabbath prophanation" was given.[135] In the process of time these stringent rules were relaxed. Nevertheless, far on into the century scholars were required to attend the college church; and their ways, their speech, and their morals were carefully regulated.

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131. Buchan, A History of Peebleshire, vol. III, p. 648. See also Grant, History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland, p. 434.

132. For a fuller discussion see: Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 417-77, and Alex Wright, The History of Education and of the Old Parish Schools of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1898), pp. 269-70.

133. Cosmo Innes (ed.), Fasti Aberdonenses (Aberdeen, 1854), p. 375. The schoolmaster at Glasgow gave the following account of how the grammar school was conducted: "Every Sabbath morneing the scholars conveens in the school, and after prayers the master walks to the Kirk with them; and after sermon returns to the school, whor he and his Doctors spend two hours in exacting ane account of the sermons and preaching and proponing Catechetic questions...." Munimenta Almæ Universitatis Glasguensis (Glasgow, 1854), p. 537.

134. Wodrow, Analecta, vol. IV, p. 185; Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, vol. I, p. 277fn. At Aberdeen, David Fordyce, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic at King's College gave similar lectures.

135. At Edinburgh in 1704 students were summoned to their class rooms "after sermon" to be examined in sacred subjects. See Graham, op. cit., p. 460.

Having said all this, it is only fair to present the other side of the story. In spite of the provision for supervision of children on Sunday, many of the youths employed Sunday as a holiday instead of a holy day. In 1701 the Auchterarder Kirk Session complained that youths were profaning the Sabbath "by playing at the fotball and such like exercises".[136] At Hawick two boys were cited for a breach of the Sabbath "by ryding upon stilts, thereby causing crowds of bairns to follow them".[137] In 1716 the minister of Galashiels complained that due to the smallness of the church many of the young people were "scarce every allowed to set a foot in the kirk", and spent the day "playing at home or in the fields".[138] Similar incidents were commonplace in many Scottish parishes.[139]

It is also naive to assume that every schoolmaster, simply because he had promised to supervise his pupils on Sunday, would do so. Some felt that the Sabbatarianism of the time was over strict. Mr. William Halliday, schoolmaster of the parish of Auchtertool, was one of these. One Sunday evening in 1706 he was audacious enough to take his pupils out for a walk after supper. His excuse for so doing was that he "had a pain in his head", and "desired to take the air". The Kirk Session was suspicious of his excuse, and it was recommended that they keep "an eye on the said Mr. Halliday".[140] In 1728 the schoolmaster of Lochlee in Brechin Presbytery was charged with Sabbath breaking. His plea that "thro a gross Mistake of Memory" he mistook Sunday for Thursday was

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136. Auchterarder Kirk Session Records, 9th November, 1701.

137. Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder, p. 132.

138. Robert Hall, History of Galashiels (Galashiels, 1898), p. 123.

139. Cf. Tyninghame Kirk Session Records, 7th March, 1701; NSA, vol. I (Corstorphine), p. 238; Hay, History of Arbroath, p. 254.

140. A. Stevenson, The Kirk and Parish of Auchtertool (Kirkcaldy, 1908), p. 173. In 1732 the schoolmaster at Dumbarton was charged with brewing malt on Sunday. See Chambers, Domestic Annals of Scotland, vol. III, p. 582.

not accepted as valid by the brethren of the Presbytery.[141] Even university teachers and regents were not flawless Sabbatarians. One pious St. Andrews' student recalled with horror how one Sunday morning his regent ordered his servant to grind him some snuff while he sat with friends and discussed secular business.[142] Thus the standard of Sabbath observance desired was not always the standard obtained--rules and regulations notwithstanding.

It is relatively easy to condemn Post-Revolution Sabbatarianism as being legalistic and Pharisaical. The records of the time lend themselves to such an interpretation. They are concerned almost entirely with outward acts, and little, if anything is mentioned about inner motivations. Much is made of breaking the Sabbath, but nothing is said about the contrary sin--spiritual pride in its rigid observance. Such charges are easy to make and difficult to refute.[143] While it is not possible to exonerate Sabbatarianism from the charge of legalism laid against it, one should not therefore assume that all Sabbatarians were legalists. On the contrary, most expositions of Sabbatarian theology stressed the necessity of avoiding formalism and externalism in observing the Lord's Day. John Willison, whose Treatise on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, was read and re-read in countless Scottish homes, often emphasized this in his writing. One passage from his book can be cited as typical.

> Study to be denied to all your Sabbath prayers and performances. Beware, my friends, of secret trusting to them, as any piece of righteousness before God; for that will spoil all, like the dead fly in the apothecary's ointment. Say

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141. Brechin Presbytery Records, 20th March, 1728. In 1716 the minister of Maryton in the same parish reported that "they still kept school in the church where the boyes broke the windows". Evidently discipline was not too strict.

142. Stirton, Crathie and Braemar A History of the United Parish, p. 178.

143. Cf. Clark, A History of Church Discipline, pp. 147-8.

> therefore this day after ye have done all, We are unprofitable servants". Look above all, as if you had done nothing at all, to the righteousness of Christ to answer for all. See that ye join nothing of your own with this perfect righteousness, in the point of your justification and acceptance with God; for this is both dishonourable to Christ, and dangerous to yourselves; therefore beware of it. There is a natural popery in the minds of all; we much incline to stand upon our own legs, and to have something of our own to found upon.144

It is unfortunate that the gulf between theoretical and practical Sabbatarianism was so great. The Church's attempts to coerce people into observing the Sabbath ultimately resulted in more harm than good. It produced on the one hand, hypocrites who went through the motions of outward observance while inwardly they had no heart for it; and on the other hand, individualists who rebelled against the authoritative approach of the Church--individuals who might have been won by a more indirect approach. The historian has the advantage of hind sight denied to the contemporary, and must therefore be charitable in his assessment of the motives and methods of Sabbatarians. In an age when the extremes of morality and viciousness existed side by side, they did what they thought best to promote a true and lasting respect for the day of rest.

Summary Statement

Between 1689 and 1730 a concentrated effort was made to impress upon the Scottish people the importance of "Sabbath sanctification". Civil and religious judicatories passed laws and acts to secure a strict observance of Sunday, believing that mere moral suasion was not sufficient to produce the desiredresults. Kirk Sessions in particular took upon themselves the role of defenders of the Sabbath, and did much to promote an improvement of Sunday habits amongst

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144. Willison, loc. cit., p. 303. Cp. also pp. 336 and 354. A fair appraisal of the type of Sabbatarianism espoused by Willison and his contemporaries can be found in Webb Pomeroy, "John Willison of Dundee (1680-1750)" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1953), pp. 117-23.

the parishioners. Nevertheless, in the home, the Church, and the school, Sunday observance was far from perfect. In spite of threats, warnings, exhortations, and pleas, many people continued to work and play when they were supposed to rest and pray. The "Golden Age" of Sabbath observance was in many ways one of tarnished brass. Much remained to be done to make Sabbatarianism a truly national characteristic.

CHAPTER III

SUNDAY OBSERVANCE IN SCOTLAND 1730-1760

PERIOD OF DECLINE

As the fourth decade of the eighteenth century commenced, transformations in Scottish social and religious life were taking place. Due to increasing intercourse with England, one of the results of the union of parliaments, the foundations of a more cosmopolitan society were being laid. By 1730 the material prosperity which by the close of the century was to transform Scotland into a commercial and industrial nation, had begun. Deism and rationalism were making inroads into the theological scene, and the old Covenanting spirit was gradually being replaced by a more moderate one. Referring to the period around 1730, Elizabeth Mure of Caldwell said: "Religion was just recovered from the power of the Devil and fear of Hell, taught by our mothers and Grandmothers. At this period those terrors began to wear off and religion appear'd in a more amiable Light...."[1] The Secession of 1733 was a sign that a new generation had sprung up which had had no experience of the Covenanting struggles, and, in the enjoyment of Hanoverian security and growing prosperity, was coming to dislike "enthusiasm", the deadly sin of the eighteenth century.[2]

In such an atmosphere Sabbatarianism could not flourish, but was forced to yield to the pressures of changing times. Nevertheless Sabbatarianism was

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1. Mure, Selections from the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell, Part I, p. 269.

2. Cf. the comment of John Clerk of Penicuick in 1748: "I have, I think, no reasone to wish my self one bit more inclined to Religion than I am. Enthousiastick notions, superstition, and singularity in Religious points are my utter aversion." Gray, Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, p. 216. See also Brown, Surveys of Scottish History, pp. 106-7.

too firmly established to be immediately discarded as a religious belief or even a social convention. Unlike Jonah's gourd, it did not come up in a night and wither in a night. Up until 1760, said Thomas Somerville, "Not to attend church was considered disreputable, and seldom occurred.... The Sabbath was generally observed with scrupulous strictness."[3] It was only in the latter part of the eighteenth century that the disintegration of the forces of Sabbatarianism became unmistakably evident. Prior to that time there was still much to suggest that Scotland was a "Sabbath loving" country.

Only four aspects of Sunday observance during this period call for detailed analysis in such a survey as this. Of vital importance are the following items: (1) changing attitudes of Kirk Sessions towards Sunday observance, (2) evidences of decline in town and home, (3) the nature of Sunday observance amongst dissenters, and (4) sources of Sabbatarian strength. By briefly discussing these subjects it is hoped that the most significant developments will be covered.

(1) Kirk Sessions and Sunday Observance

After 1730 Kirk Sessions concerned themselves primarily with two aspects of discipline--sexual sins and Sabbath breaking. So predominant are the sins of fornication, adultery, and "uncleanness", however, that Sunday observance merited only scant attention. The records of the Kirk Session of Rutherglen (1730-60), for example, reveal only two cases of Sabbath breaking, both involving drinking to excess.[4] At Irongray in Dumfriesshire during the same years there is no mention of Sabbath breaking, the only variation from the sexual theme being one case of slander and two of drunkenness.[5] The Falkirk Kirk Ses-

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3. Thomas Somerville, My Own Life and Times (Edinburgh, 1861), pp. 364-5. Cp. also Mure, Selections from the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell, Part I, p.268.

4. There are some gaps in these records but none of significant length.

5. Samuel Duncan, "Irongray in the Eighteenth Century", Transactions of the Dumfriesshire-Galloway Society, vol. XX (1907), p. 61.

sion, which in previous years had made repeated attempts to enforce Sunday observance, evidenced a sharp decline in its Sabbatarian fervour. In the period 1740-50 there is only one instance of Sabbath desecration--a flagrant breach of the peace by three women on Sunday afternoon.[6] At Alyth in Perthshire the Kirk Session dealt with Sabbath observance only once between 1737 and 1772. This occurred in 1750 when two bakers in the town set their mill "a grinding of their wheat on the Lord's Day".[7] In most Kirk Session records of the period the same declining interest in Sunday observance can be traced. Few cases are handled and few offenders are punished.

One reason for the decline of sessional authority was the Toleration Act of 1712.[8] This Act forbade magistrates to enforce Church censures or even summonses, thus greatly weakening the hand of the elders in the enforcement of discipline. Although it is true that many magistrates never did enforce Church discipline, the threat of civil penalty for failure to observe religious laws was a restraining factor to many people. Robert Wodrow, describing the Scottish scene to Cotton Mather in America in 1713, complained: "The magistrate's concurrence in obliging obstinate offenders to compear before our judicatories is removed, and the most vicious persons, when prosecuted for scandals, have no more to do but tell us they are not of our communion. Thus truth is fallen in our streets, and lewdness abounds."[9]

As Wodrow suggests, another cause of the apparent slackening of discipline

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6. Murray, Records of Falkirk Parish, vol. II, p. 149. Murray interprets the lack of Sessional concern about Sabbath observance as "evidence of the easier habits and broadening ideas of the times".

7. Meikle, An Old Session Book Being Studies in Alyth's Second Session Book, p. 229.

8. AGA, 1712, p. 23. See also Clark, A History of Church Discipline, p. 188ff, and Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder, p. 112.

9. Wodrow, Correspondence, vol. I, p. 390. See also Henderson, op. cit., p.115.

in the eighteenth century was that the Session had begun to lose its authority over the whole parish, especially when Secession had become a possibility. The most careless section of the populace dared to refuse discipline or slipped through between the various Kirk Sessions. As early as 1704 the General Assembly noted that "some persons when challenged for scandal do turn Popish or pretend to do so to avoid censure".[10] In 1720 a woman under discipline at Bellie escaped by joining the "illegal English service meeting in Gordon Castle".[11] The Kirk Session of Cleish found its authority questioned in 1724 by a parishioner who protested, that not being of the Communion of the Established Church, he was not liable to the censures of its judicatories.[12] In 1758 the Associate Synod meeting in Edinburgh discussed the problem that persons charged with offences "do in order to escape censure withdraw from us".[13] Many other instances could be cited, but perhaps the most amusing one occurred at Fetteresso (Kincardine) in 1748, where a man threatened with excommunication simply replied: "What care I! The Pope of Rome excommunicates you every year, and what the waur are ye o' that?"[14]

Indicative of the decline of the power of Kirk Sessions is the increasing boldness with which the barbers plied their trade on the Lord's Day. Earlier in the century people were reluctant to employ them on Sunday, and when they did so it was done surreptitiously. The fear of exposure to religious criticism

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10. AGA, 1704, p. 11.

11. Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder, p. 140. In 1731 the Yester Session complained that a woman had had an illegitimate child baptized by an Episcopal minister in Fife. Ibid.

12. Hall, The Kirk of Cleish, p. 140.

13. Henderson, op. cit., p. 140.

14. Ibid.

or to civil punishment kept such work to a minimum.[15] By 1740 matters had at least slightly changed. A minute from the Kirk Session of South Leith is illuminating.

> 3 June 1742--David Ferguson being cited and called compeared and being examined upon the Searchers information confessed the facts but alleged he was under a piece of necessity to dress wigs and shave on the Lord's day least he should lose his customers and thereby his bread because the whole Society of Barbers are guilty of the like practices. He was sharply rebuked and exhorted to take care not to prophane the Lord's day that way for the future.[16]

In Montrose, enactments against Sunday barbering were passed in 1725, 1727, 1731, and 1734, yet in 1738 the Kirk Session sadly admitted that "the scandalous practice of sheaving and dressing and carrying wiggs through the streets upon the Lord's Day is as common as ever".[17] In 1741 when the barbers agreed to self-imposed fines for all members working on Sunday, the Town Council and the Kirk Session thought it best to let the matter rest. As long as prominent people felt it below their dignity to appear on Sunday without a properly dressed wig or an immaculately shaved chin, there was little hope that barbers would rest on the Sabbath.[18]

Although sessional discipline obviously declined, it certainly did not completely collapse. It is not uncommon to find Kirk Sessions dealing severely

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15. In 1695 at Dailly in Ayrshire two men were rebuked for shaving on the Lord's Day. Turnbull, A South Ayrshire Parish, pp. 90-1. At Edinburgh in 1701 the practice was denounced by the Town Council, and in 1708 the barbers of Kelso were forbidden to "carry or give out wigs from their shops on the Lord's Day". Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder, p. 121. Barbering on Sunday does not seem to have been a prominent concern of Kirk Sessions, however, until nearer 1730.

16. Robertson and Swan, South Leith Records, 2nd Series, pp. 60-1. The barbers promised to fine members not resting on the Sabbath, but from all indications it was not enforced. See pp. 61-2.

17. Edward Pinnington, "Glimpses of Old Scots Parish Life", Scottish Historical Review, vol. IV (July, 1921), p. 64.

18. Ibid., p. 71.

with people accused of breaking the Sabbath. At West Calder in 1733 a man and woman were publicly rebuked for carting a load of dung on Sunday.[19] A Glasgow man who had "given great offence to the Neighbourhood by working without necessity among his corns" on Sunday during the harvest of 1741, humbly appeared before the elders, admitted his guilt, and was given a sharp rebuke.[20] In 1747 the Rutherglen Kirk Session forced a recalcitrant Provost, guilty of drinking to excess on Sunday, to submit to Church discipline by referring his case to the Presbytery of Glasgow.[21] The Kirk Session of St. Vigeans in Arbroath summoned a large number of fishermen to "compear" in 1739 on a charge of violating the Fourth Commandment. When they declined to come, the minister conferred with a powerful local landlord who exerted his influence to bring the offenders to justice. As a concession to the changing times, however, they were rebuked in their seats instead of in the public place of repentence.[22] As late as 1762 the Kirk Session of Elgin rebuked a woman "for carrying home some things in her lap on Sabbath night which she had bought at market".[23]

Even after 1730 the streets continued to be patrolled on Sunday by the elders and the bailies. "Searching" was still practised at Arbroath in 1755 and continued in Glasgow until late in the century.[24] At Perth the practice continued until 1775, and at Montrose a Kirk Session minute of 1781 records that

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19. West Calder Kirk Session Records, 21st October, 1733. See also 31st August, 1735, 12th March, 1736, and 17th September, 1740.

20. Barony Kirk Session Records, 9th December, 1741, and 13th January, 1742.

21. Rutherglen Kirk Session Records, 8th January, 1747, 12th January, 1747, and 26th July, 1747. It must be admitted, however, that the Kirk Session took action only because it had been reported to them that the townspeople were saying: "If the like drinking and swearing had been in their houses or poor peoples houses, they would have been called to the session before this time".

22. Hay, History of Arbroath to the Present Time, p. 256.

23. Cramond, Extracts from the Records of the Kirk Session of Elgin, p. 339.

24. Hay, op. cit., p. 257. For the situation in Glasgow see below, pp.103-9.

elders, accompanied by a town and Kirk officer, were "to observe and report such as shall be found breaking the Sabbath".[25] Although the effectiveness of these visitations is open to question, it must be admitted that they reflect the concern and determination of individual Kirk Sessions to enforce Sabbath observance.

(2) Decline of Sunday Observance in Town and Home

In Edinburgh, especially after 1707, great changes were taking place in its social life and customs. "The Union with England", said Elizabeth Mure of Caldwell, "carried many of our nobility and gentry to London. Sixty of the most considerable people being obliged to pass half of the year there would no doubt change their Ideas. Besides many English came to reside at Edin^r... this intercourse with the English opened our Eyes a little...."[26] Writing in 1757, a Moderate clergyman, Robert Wallace, noted how Sunday observance in Edinburgh had changed since 1707. "I will also allow that Sunday is not so strictly observed as before the Union with England & that there are some particular persons in different stations of life who do not come so regularly to church & they may be said to pour greater contempt on publick worship than persons of the same rank did in some former periods...."[27] A pamphlet published in Edinburgh in 1741 confirms the generalizations made in the previous quotations. The writer laments that many people in Edinburgh are "actually working at their ordinary Employment as on other Days, tho' they take care to do it more private

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25. Pinnington, "Glimpses of Old Scots Parish Life", pp. 69-70.

26. Mure, Selections from the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell, Part I, p.266. Andrew Drummond, a Scottish banker who went to London in 1758, records that "on Sunday I put on a good coat and sword, and kept company that drank claret". Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, vol. II, p. 299.

27. Robert Wallace, "Address...on...the Tragedy Called Douglas" (Laing MSS II 6202, Edinburgh University Library), p. 13. Cp. also Scots Magazine, vol. XXI (September, 1759), pp. 495-6.

and concealed". Some are accused of "playing at Games, such as Cards, Dice & c. both in Times of and after publick Divine Worship".[28] After complaining about the usual excessive drinking in taverns, the writer sadly notes that there are those who make Sunday "pass pleasantly away, ly in their Beds, or keep their Rooms, and employ their Time in reading Play-Books, or some lascivious Novel or Romance", and those who engage in "idle walking up and down the Fields a great Part of the Day, in Cabals, employing their Time in Discourse noways religious".[29] Such were the habits of at least some of the inhabitants of Edinburgh after 1730.

Even Glasgow felt some of the effects of the changing times. By 1750 trade and commerce had grown to the extent that it was said "every child was at work, and not a begger was to be seen".[30] As early as 1729, however, Robert Wodrow had noticed the detrimental effects of this new commercialism on religion and morals. Writing in that year he said:

> I hear lamentable accounts of the grouth of most corrupt and loose principles at Glasgou among the young people, merchants, and others; and do not wonder at it. Ther is little care taken in their education and founding in the principles of religion; they never wait on catechising; they have multitudes of corrupt books among their hands; and clubs, wher everything that is serious is ridiculed.[31]

In the same year Wodrow reports a specific case of Sabbath breaking at Glasgow

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28. Four Short Treatises Against Deism...and Profanation of the Sabbath, or Lord's Day (Edinburgh, 1741), p. 23. In May of 1749 it was announced that a stage-chaise was in operation between Corstorphine and Edinburgh that ran four times on Sunday. This is certainly an indication of a relaxation of Sabbatarian standards, at least in Edinburgh. See Scots Magazine, vol. XI (May, 1749), p.222

29. Four Short Treatises Against Deism...and Profanation of the Sabbath, or Lord's Day, p. 24. Cp. also Scots Magazine, vol. XX (July, 1758), p. 386, and pp. 700-1. In 1737 the Presbytery of Linlithgow lamented "the open prophaining of the Lord's Day, not only by idleness but by unnecessary words and works about our worldly employments and recreations". Murray, Records of Falkirk Parish, vol. II, pp. 138-9.

30. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 129. For a discussion of life in Glasgow see pp. 127-45.

31. Wodrow, Analecta, vol. IV, p. 51. See also p. 205. With this compare Chambers, Domestic Annals of Scotland, vol. III, p. 487.

and records his judgment on the incident.

> A very sad accident happned at the Muir Hough. The day was Sabbath; and the English souldiers at Glasgou, as well as too many others, are ill keepers of that holy day. Three of them, who, they say, had a woman in common, came out of toun to walk on the Sabbath afternoon. They came out toward the Coal Heughs in the Muir of Glasgou. Ther was an old coal-pitt railed about, but the rail was old. One of the souldiers, in a bravado, would look into it, and trust to the rail. When he leaned to it, being rotten, it gave way, and he fell forward into the Hough, and some say, was first brained.... I wish idlers of the Sabbath would take warning.[32]

In order to combat this dangerous trend the civil and religious authorities took action in 1744. Visitation of the streets, which had evidently stopped some years previous, was re-instituted. The "overseers" were to pay particular attention to (1) "such publick houses as entertain company drinking on the Sabbath day, either in time of publick worship or unnecessarily at other times," and (2) "persons who prophane the Sabbath by idle vagueing in the streets or fields".[33] From what is known of Glasgow about 1760, it can be assumed that this Act was conscientiously enforced and generally obeyed. Glasgow continued to observe and to protect its sacred Sabbath.[34]

The strict Sabbath routine common in most "well regulated" homes prior to 1730, was gradually relaxed. Especially in the upper class homes was this re-

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32. Wodrow, Analecta, vol. IV, p. 87. In 1734 a Glasgow barber, John Carse, confessed "that upon a Sabbath day, he shaved and dressed two gentlemen in the house of Collector Wood, and likewise dressed Principal Campbell's son's hair, with several other gentlemen, all upon the Sabbath day". For this he was fined ten pounds Scots. See James Tennent (ed.), Records of the Incorporation of Barbers, Glasgow (Glasgow, 1930), 2nd. ed., pp. 169-70. See also Barony Kirk Session Records, 9th December, 1741, 25th July, 1742, 20th May, 1744, and 26th December, 1744.

33. Renwick, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow 1739-59, pp. 180-1. In the same year the Town Council ordered that the Fair Week in July should continue for six days instead of eight so that the "Sabbath interveening in these eight days" should not "stop and interrupt the course of the fair...." Ibid., p.161.

34. See below, pp. 103.

laxation of Sabbatarian standards most noticeable. First affected was Church attendance. In 1759 a contributor to the Scots Magazine complained:

> I have of late years observed, that it is the custom of several gentlemen, especially during the summer-session, to return from town, on Saturday, to their friends in the country; and whether from the fatigue of the riding, or some other cause, I have always observed, that they very seldom if ever go to church on Sunday...because of this the family does not attend nor do the servants.[35]

The tradition of having only a cold and skimpy dinner on Sunday in Presbyterian homes was also being modified. In the Ochtertyre House Book, a record of the daily activities of the Murray family, supposedly strict Presbyterians, the following menu on a Sunday in 1737 is given:

> Dinner--Skink and tripe, beefe rost, hams boyld, tongues and lure, hard fish and a plumb pudding, calves head hasht and pease, partridge and collery, turkeys rost and larded, goos rost, pidgeons rost, tarts and collard pigs, beefe for servants. Supper--Beefe in stakes, veall rost, pidgeon in a pye, spinnage and eggs, artichokes, puddings, smoakt beefe and pickles, fowls for broth.[36]

Thus the old saying: "If you would live well on Sunday you must take an Episcopalian dinner and a Presbyterian supper", was rapidly becoming anachronistic. Even Presbyterians were coming to believe that the injunction to "rest" on the Sabbath did not apply to their stomachs.[37]

(3) Dissenters and Sunday Observance (a) Episcopalians

Scottish Episcopalians as a rule expressed more liberal views with regard

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35. Scots Magazine, vol. XXI (September, 1759), pp. 495-6. Cp. also Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, vol. I, pp. 184-7, and Barony Kirk Session Records, 7th April, 1738.

36. Ochtertyre House Books of Accomps (Edinburgh, 1907), p. 83. Other Sunday entries record the delivery of fish and fowl, and once, the killing and butchering of a sheep. See pp. 69, 122, and 133. With this compare the meagre fare of Foulis of Ravelston in 1706: "For bread, ealll, and brandie at ye kirk, 6 shillings". The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston (Edinburgh, 1894), p. 446.

37. See, for example, Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 26.

to Sunday observance than their Presbyterian counterparts. They preferred to call Sunday the "Lord's Day" in lieu of the "Sabbath", thus denying the applicability of the Fourth Commandment.[38] They also permitted a wider range of activities on Sunday than the Presbyterian deemed proper. Significantly enough, it was a "Presbyter of the Episcopal Church of Scotland" who advocated Sunday recreations after Church hours, and prompted John Willison to reply with his famous work, A Treatise on the Sanctification of the Sabbath.[39] In the homes of lairds of the Episcopalian persuasion, therefore, one could expect to find a more genial atmosphere, less religious austerity, and less Sabbatarian rigour.

The Episcopalian not only resented the Sabbatarianism of his Presbyterian brother, but sometimes overtly resisted it. So the Kirk Session of South Leith discovered one Sunday when they tried to force an Episcopalian gentleman to attend Church. He forthrightly rebuked the elders with the following words:

> God damn him if any man required him to goe to church or challanged him after such a manner that he would run him through. And being reproved for swearing did insist more and more in cursing and swearing most wickedly and Damning his soull and all ye presbiterians, And without any provocation further than a sober and Christian reproff and admonition, drew his sword or Cutle and threatened to stab any man that would command him to goe to church, Adding that he would rather be damned or goe to hell than goe to Church and said he hoped that in a little tyme the English litergie and Book of Common Prayer should be in our churches, and that it was just about to be done, and that such as wee were should be trod upon.[40]

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38. In 1712, for example, an anonymous Episcopalian, criticizing the Scottish Presbyterians wrote: "I shall mention but one other of their inconsistencies, tis that of their Judaical, if not Pharisaical Observations of the Lord's Day (which they call the Sabbath). This they set up most rigidly as their characteristic, though they pretend to admit of nothing as a principle, nor allow of any stated practice ecclesiastic, for which they have not a positive command in the Holy Scriptures.... I humbly think they must either take the observation of the first day of the week as the Lord's Day or weekly Easter from the authority of the church; else it would puzzle them to get clear observation of the seventh day or Jewish Sabbath from the morality of the fourth commandment by any positive gospel precept". Strange News From Scotland or Scotch Presbyterian Piety Evidently Prov'd & c. (London, 1712), p. 10.

39. Willison, loc. cit., pp. 132-3.

40. Robertson and Swan, South Leith Records, 2nd Series, p. 9.

For his harsh words the man was taken prisoner by the Town Guard, "yet before sermon was done Capt. Richardson did liberat him without knowledge or consent". Some of his influential Episcopalian friends had evidently secured his release--much to the chagrin of the elders.[41]

Frequently those who attended the "meeting house" were accused of being haphazard in their observance of Sunday. At Coldingham in 1694 three Episcopalian gentlemen were chargod with "misspending the Lord's Day" by drinking during the hours of worship. The men contended that they were merely "refreshing themselves", and the Kirk Session, on the promise of the tavern owner not to serve them drink again, released the men.[42] Robert Wodrow was shocked at the conduct of the Episcopal congregation at Glasgow. Writing to a friend in 1713 Wodrow commented: "I find it is very ordinary for those of Mr. Cockburn's meeting to spend a good part of the Sabbath evening at cards. It is a pity they cause not the Book of Sports to be reprinted, and the old order anent it read at their meeting".[43] Later in the century John Ramsay described a Sunday spent in the home of an Episcopal clergyman as a time "seasoned with kindness and strokes of wit and pleasantry".[44] The picture that John Galt gives in his Annals of the Parish of the Episcopalian laird's Sunday conviviality, and the Episcopalian lady's fondness for tea drinking and book reading is probably not

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41. Ibid., p. 9. The elders were to speak to the Duke of Argyle who seems to have been responsible for the quick release of the man.

42. Chambers, Domestic Annals of Scotland, vol. III, pp. 92-3.

43. Wodrow, Correspondence, vol. I, p. 442. Referring to the same group Wodrow complained that they spent their time after church "in the alehouse from four of the clock till after ten. An odd conclusion to a Sabbath and communicating". Ibid., p. 442.

44. Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, vol. I, p. 341. For a nineteenth-century example of an Episcopalian Sunday see: Robert Mackenzie, Almond of Loretto (London, 1906), pp. 101-6.

far from the truth.[45] At any rate, one could not accuse them of being Pharisaical in their observance of the Lord's Day.

In spite of what has been said one must be aware of the fact that many Episcopalians held a deep reverence for the Lord's Day and sought to observe it quite strictly. The biographer of Thomas Ruddiman, the Edinburgh printer and an attender at the Episcopal meeting-house in Gray's Close from 1700-57, notes how the well-known scholar spent his Sundays. Ruddiman worked at his books seven hours a day, "Sunday alone excepted, which, in the preference of his family, and with the help of the Reverend Mr. Harper, was dedicated to the service of God".[46] The advice that Francis Masterson, a devout Episcopalian, gave his son could have come from the lips of any dedicated Presbyterian. Said the dying Masterson: "And ever keep good company, and be not withdrawn by debosht comerads to mutch drinking, whoring, or gaming, but above all Fear God and keep ye Sabbath day, For this is a very ungodly Generation."[47]

(b) Seceders (Burghers and Anti-Burghers)

The Secession of 1733 was not motivated by the desire to bring forth new ideas or opinions. Rather it was a determination to preserve more purely the creed and practices of a by-gone age that precipitated the separation from the Established Church. The Secession therefore drained from the Evangelical party of the Established Church most of its hottest, if not best, blood. Men like the Erskines, Moncrieff, and Fisher desired a return to orthodox theology and stringent discipline. Hence it is not surprising to discover, that amongst the dissenting clergymen and their adherents, were to be found the most devout and dedicated Sabbatarians--men and women whose love for the Sabbath exceeded that of most average citizens.[48]

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45. Galt, loc. cit., p. 262.

46. George Chalmers, The Life of Thomas Ruddiman (London, 1794), p. 276.

47. Scottish Miscellany, vol. I, p. 488.

48. Cf. W.L. Mathieson, Scotland and the Union (Glasgow, 1905), p. 273ff.

By their preaching, teaching, and example, Secession ministers stressed the strict observance of the Sabbath as one of the marks of a true Christian. Thomas Boston, who was of the same school of piety, often expressed remorse for a youthful violation of the Fourth Commandment, and as a parish minister sought to inculcate a strict observance of Sunday in the hearts of his flock.[49] Ebenezeer Erskine categorically stated from the pulpit: "I am ready to judge that folk's acquaintance with God himself is known by the regard they show to his holy day."[50] George Lawson, professor at the Seceder seminary, began "the duties peculiar to the Sabbath at six o'clock on the Saturday evening... and the Lord's day he kept with the greatest strictness...."[51] The catechetical work of James Fisher, which first appeared in 1753, spoke of the holy resting of the Sabbath as "not only an abstaining from our work or labour, but an entering by faith...into the presence and enjoyment of God in Christ, as the only rest of our souls...."[52] Examples of the fervency with which Seceder ministers observed and enforced Sabbatarianism can be greatly multi-

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49. Boston's attitude toward Sabbath observance is illustrated in the following incident which took place when he was at Clackmannan in 1697. Boston was the chaplain and tutor in a family and was not too happy with the state of religion in the home. "I remember that one Saturday's night they had set on a fire in the hall for drying their clothes they had been washing, not to be removed till the Sabbath was over. Grieved with this as a profanation of the Lord's day, I spoke to the gentlewoman, who, insinuating that she had not done without orders what she had done, refused to remove them; whereupon I spoke to the lady, who soon caused remove the clothes and disposed of them otherwise. In like manner on a Lord's day, word being sent me that my pupil was not going to church that day, I went and inquired into the matter, and he was caused to rise out of his bed; and both the mother and son went to church that day". Thomas Boston, A General Account of My Life, pp. 28-9.

50. James Gilfillan, The Sabbath Viewed in the Light of Reason, Revelation and History (Edinburgh, 1862), 2nd. ed., p. 161.

51. John MacFarlane, Life and Times of George Lawson 1749-1820 (Edinburgh, 1862), 3rd. ed., pp. 404-5.

52. James Fisher, The Assembly's Shorter Catechism Explained. By Way of Question and Answer (Edinburgh, n.d.), 3rd. ed., p. 274.

plied.[53]

The people seem to have absorbed something of the love of their leaders for the Sabbath. Stories of their devotion to its observance abound, but only a few can be cited. William Anderson was employed at the Carron Iron Works which were then newly started. Old William was a stern Sabbatarian, and on one occasion, when sent for on Sunday to repair a part of an engine, refused to come until midnight was past. His master was at first furious, but ultimately conceded the noble conscientiousness of the man--more from an admiration of the independent spirit than the religious conviction it displayed.[54] When the Duchess of Kent, enjoying a visit to Scotland, requested a Secceder baker to supply her with a certain type of biscuit on the Lord's Day, he replied that he "would not sell biscuits on Sunday even for the Queen herself".[55] A traditional story from Logiealmond parish reflects the strictness of the Secceders. Sandy Christie, so the story goes, once visited an old crony at Corroddie on Sunday and found him baking. "Prezze yir preeveleges, man", said Sandy. "A body can dee naething doon the wy for thae curst Secceders."[56] So it was that the reputation of the Secceders spread--a people set apart with a peculiar obligation to honour God's holy Sabbath.

Secceder Kirk Session records, however, present a more balanced assessment of the Secceder's love for the Sabbath. While showing the strictness of the Kirk Sessions, the records also reveal the imperfections of the people. Around

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53. See, for example, James Inglis, An Account of the Special Services Held in Celebration of the Centenary of the West United Presbyterian Church Johnstone (Johnstone, 1892), p. 33; John Riddell, Levenside Church (Paisley, 1911), p.52; Robert Mackenzie, John Brown of Haddington (London, 1918), p. 21; and Rogers, Social Life in Scotland from Early to Recent Times, vol. II, p. 223.

54. George Gilfillan, Life of the Rev. William Anderson (London, 1873), p. 15.

55. W.L. Calderwood and D. Woodside, The Life of Henry Calderwood (London, 1900), p. 111.

56. David Forrester, At the Edge of the Heather (Edinburgh, 1895), p. 51. See also p. 25.

1735 the Associate congregation at Kirkcaldy was faced with the puzzling problem as to "whether the suffering of yarn to lie on the grass during Sabbath exposed to the influence of the heavens, while no servile work is done, or watching to prevent it being stolen, is a breach of the Fourth Commandment". It was ultimately decided that the practice should be discontinued.[57] Going to the Established Church was considered to be a gross breach of the Sabbath as William Walker of Abernethy discovered one day in 1757.[58] At Inchinnan in 1741 a man was censured for breaking the Sabbath by "being three hours out of his own house on the Lord's Day".[59] Another man faced sessional displeasure for not rebuking his son who sold a pistol on a Sunday at the time of the rebellion in 1745.[60] In 1786 an East Lothian Burgher Session summoned William Goodal and his sister Betty because they were wandering about the fields near East Linton on Sunday afternoon.[61] As late as 1802 a Glasgow woman was forced to submit to Church discipline because she had dared to spin some yarn on the Sabbath day.[62]

Nevertheless, the manner in which Seceders generally observed Sunday set the standard for others to follow. The description of a Seceder Sabbath about 1750 in the parish of Stitchel illustrates this point.

> In the congregations of the Secession the public service began at eleven o'clock, and consisted of a preface on the Psalm, a lecture, and a sermon, with singing and pray-

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57. Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder, p. 122.

58. D. Butler, The Ancient Church and Parish of Abernethy (Edinburgh, 1897), p. 454.

59. Robert McClelland, The Church and Parish of Inchinnan (Paisley, 1905), p. 118. In 1761 the Associate Session in Aberdeen admonished a man "for walking in the fields in time of divine service", declaring that it was "no excuse that he was feeling ill". Henderson, op. cit., p. 123.

60. Inglis, op. cit., p. 21.

61. R.F. Turnbull, Haddington West United Presbyterian Church (Haddington, 1896), pp. 36-7.

62. John Magowan, Blackfriars United Free Church (Glasgow, 1901), p. 41.

> ers but no reading of chapters, and the whole was not concluded until two o'clock. A family who had to travel six miles on foot, as many did, [was] compelled to leave home at nine, and could not get back till four in the afternoon. Everything was done without hurry or bustle. The services in the meeting-house were long, but they were regarded as savoury and satisfying. On the road people walked in companies discussing theological questions; the services of the day furnishing material for discourse on the homeward journey. It was not unusual to kneel together on the purple heather while one or other of them led the rest in prayer. Having reached home and partaken of a late dinner, the household gathered round the master, who catechised the children, and then the servants. Everyone was expected to tell what could be remembered of the services at "the meeting". Then they were asked the questions of the Shorter Catechism, the whole of which were usually gone over in two successive evenings. The remainder of the time was spent in reading a sermon or in conversation regarding religious matters; and the evening was closed with family prayers.[63]

James Gilfillan, writing in 1862, was not far from the truth when he maintained that it was in the Secession where "the Sabbath was peculiarly respected, and by which an impulse was given to religion in the Mother Church...."[64]

(c) Glasites and Relief Church

These denominations played a part in the development of Scottish history out of proportion to their size, and their attitude toward Sunday observance and its enforcement is both interesting and significant, especially as it relates to the principle of voluntaryism in religion. The words of John Glas are particularly relevant and are worth recording:

> Now, though professors of the Christian faith may be cut off, by Christ's discipline, from the congregation of his people, for forsaking the assembling to the Lord's supper, or breaking his sabbath, even as they who did not eat the passover, and brake the sabbath, were cut off from Israel...

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63. Tait, Two Centuries of Border Church Life, pp. 147-8. Other examples can be found in the abovementioned parish histories.

64. Gilfillan, The Sabbath Viewed in the Light of Reason, Revelation and History, pp. 454-5. Writing in 1810, Irvine of Dunkeld said: "I think the members of the Secession are, generally speaking, more attentive to the sanctification of the Lord's Day than others. I am afraid some of us are rather lax in this respect, and God knows I do not exempt myself from blame". Cited in Lilley, The Lord's Day and the Lord's Servants, p. 183.

> the constraining of other people, by secular power, to sabbatize, who know not, nor live the meaning of it, and cannot profess what is professed in it, has laid them under a necessity to lie to God, and to hypocrise in resting from their works, and has served to the profanation of the Lord's sabbath; even as his supper would be greatly profaned by compelling those who are not his disciples to eat it.[65]

Because the voluntaryism of the Glasites was combined with an attitude to social pleasures that was far removed from the puritanical spirit common in Evangelical circles in the eighteenth century, the Glasites soon were accused of being lax in their attitude toward Sunday observance. The criticism of Archibald McLean, a Baptist minister in Edinburgh in the last half of the eighteenth century, is typical of many. Referring to the Glasites he says:

> Under the notion of avoiding what they call Pharisaism, they frequently slide into the opposite extreme of laxness, and conformity to this present world in many respects.... The first day Sabbath they acknowledge, but are so careful to avoid all pharisaical strictness in observing it, that they frequently use pretty much freedom on that day, and their conversation is too often rather trifling and amusing than spiritual and edifying.[66]

Although there is some basis to what McLean says, one must be careful in making generalizations about the Sabbath observance of the Glasites. Little is really known about this aspect of their religious practices. The impressions of the Rev. James Hall who visited a Glasite family in Dundee in the opening years of the nineteenth century, do not suggest that the Glasites were particularly lax in their observance of Sunday.

> We had public prayers in the morning, went to church soon after, as also in the afternoon, and about four had dinner; the veal, &c. having been roasted the day before, as our landlord and entertainer would have thought it a crime of the deepest die to permit his servant to cook anything on Sunday.... In about a minute, the boy, who was in livery, came round with a wicker-basket full of well-thumbed psalm books and laid one before each of us. Having sung a psalm

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65. John Glas, Works (Perth, 1782), 2nd ed., vol. II, p. 394. In other aspects of his Sabbatarianism Glas was quite orthodox.

66. Archibald McLean, Works (London, 1823), vol. VI, p. xxxvii.

> drunk the punch, as our entertainer expressed it, to warm the cold dinner, and finished some bottles of excellent port and Madeira, we all sallied out, a third time, to church, to hear the evening lecture. When we returned, we had tea and coffee, then family prayers and supper, with strong beer and wine; and after all, a good dose of rum punch to make us sleep.[67]

The Relief Presbytery, constituted in 1761, is another example of a body with voluntary inclinations. The Relief Church which developed was considered to be lax in doctrine and discipline, and had as a peculiarity the doctrine of open communion. It is not surprising, therefore, to find two elders from the Anderston Relief Session writing in 1780 to complain that the judicatories of the Relief Church, on the local, Presbytery, and Synod level, "tolerated and encouraged, nay, justified and approved of...the most alarming abuse and profanation of the Lord's day...."[68] The case, which involved a complaint that several members of the Anderston congregation made "a great noise and disturbance on the Sabbath night", was discreetly handled, as none of the courts of the Church was anxious to be overstrict in prosecuting what was felt to be a very minor aspect of Christian behaviour.[69]

(4) Sources of Sabbatarian Strength

Although Sunday observance declined in the years between 1730 and 1760, it did not completely collapse. Certain forces were at work to mitigate the effect of the deterioration of Church discipline and the introduction of a rationalistic theology. They will very briefly be discussed under the headings of (1) Societies for the Reformation of Manners, (2) Praying Societies, and

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67. James Hall, Travels in Scotland by an Unusual Route (London, 1807), vol. I, pp. 275-6. In his unpublished thesis, "John Glas (1695-1773)" (University of Edinburgh, 1936), J.T. Hornsby contends that it was due to Glas's views on the lawfulness of pleasures that he and his followers were charged with moral laxity. See, for example, pp. 167-8.

68. John Ewing and James Fyfe, An Appeal from Sundry Sentences of Several Judicatories of the Relief Church in Scotland... & c. (Glasgow, 1783), p. iv.

69. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

(3) parish revivals.

(a) Societies for the Reformation of Manners

Although the societies founded in Edinburgh died out shortly after the Union of Parliaments in 1707, others, particularly in the West of Scotland, continued to flourish until after the middle of the century. In 1729 Robert Wodrow mentions the existence of societies at Paisley, Greenock, and Port Glasgow.[70] John MacLaurin, an Evangelical minister in Glasgow who died in 1754, was an ardent supporter of these groups. He encouraged Church people to inform the magistrates when they saw anyone breaking the laws against profaneness.[71] Although the success of these groups was not as great as some might have wished, they nevertheless performed the function of keeping before the public eye any failure to enforce Sabbatarian legislation.

(b) Praying Societies

In many places where the lamp of religion burned low, little societies that met once a week sprang up, and kept the flame of Evangelical religion bright and glowing. At the weekly meeting devout people assembled to meditate, pray, and study the Bible. By means of this spiritual discipline a warm and personal faith was fostered. In the Diary of Alexander Johnstone of Kirkland (1723-26), the following description of a meeting of a Praying Society in Edinburgh is given:

> Met with the society for prayer, who had appointed this day from ten in the morning to six at night to be spent in religious duties for our own sins and the sins of the land of our nativitie, and they ordered me to begin qch I did by singing a part of the 51 psalm, and reading the 3 chapter of Jeremiah.[72]

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70. Wodrow, Analecta, vol. IV, p. 93.

71. W.H. Goold (ed.), Works of John MacLaurin (Edinburgh, 1860), vol. I, pp. xv-xvi.

72. Thomas Miller (ed.), "The Diary of Alexander Johnstone of Kirkland", Scottish Church History Society (1932), vol. IV, Part III, p. 271.

The evangelical atmosphere of the Praying Societies proved to be beneficial in encouraging a strict observance of the Sabbath. When the pulpit was vacant and supply could not be obtained, members of the society met for "spiritual exercises", and invited others to join with them.[73] Sometimes they joined hands with the Societies for the Reformation of Manners to seek the enforcement of Sabbath laws. One of the regulations of the Praying Society at Portmoak, for example, specified that the members "study to curb and restrain vice, and promote holiness and religion".[74] Evidently many Praying Societies were engaging in the reformation of manners to the extent that they were neglecting their prayers. Thus John Warden, writing in 1746, urged the various societies to confine their "endeavours after public reformation...to prayers and good example.... For a society meeting to set up for censors on the conduct and manners of persons, who are not members of the society, is both dangerous in itself, and inconsistent with the intent of their followship".[75] In spite of such admonitions it is quite probable that Praying Societies continued to exert pressure in their own communities as guardians of morality and religion.

(c) Parish Revivals

From the piety of the Praying Society came the spirit of revival. The most famous of these revivals was the Cambuslang "Wark" of 1742. Under the leadership of a simple and earnest parish minister, William McCulloch, signs of deep emotion expressing itself in bodily agitation were witnessed. The fame of the movement attracted crowds from far and near. Willison, Webster, MacLaurin and many others came to assist, including the English evangelist

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73. John Warden, The Duty and Advantage of Religious Societies Proven from Scripture and Reason (Glasgow, 1770), p. 87.

74. Donald Fraser, The Life and Diary of the Reverend Ebenezer Erskine (Edinburgh, 1831), pp. 523-4.

75. Warden, op. cit., p. 76.

George Whitfield whose impassioned oratory swayed a multitude estimated at 30,000. This was the high-water mark of the revival, and the excitement gradually subsided. In many cases the effect was short-lived, but there is ample evidence to suggest that many people had been permanently influenced for the good.[76]

Those who felt the Spirit of God at Cambuslang and were converted developed new attitudes toward Sabbath observance. Testimonies from the converts at Cambuslang indicate what an important part Sabbath observance played in their newly discovered spirituality. Alexander Roger, a youth of about fifteen confessed: "Having none to reprove me, I went into habits of profane swearing, of Sabbath breaking, and of lying.... I was given to card playing and other games; and I continued in this hardened state till it pleased the Lord to show me my sin and danger."[77] Archibald Smith, a mason, said: "I find a very great difference in my state from what it was before. Formerly I had not relish for the Sabbath and its ordinances; now I weary for both."[78] A few years after the revival, Robert Shearer, a lad of nineteen, sincerely stated: "I long for the Sabbath and other occasions of hearing the gospel."[79] Many others, young and old, male and female, expressed similar feelings, and indicated their firm resolve to honour the Lord's Day with public and private worship.[80]

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76. A general description of this revival can be found in Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, pp.292-3. See also Arthur Fawcett, "The Scottish Evangelical Revival of 1742 With Special Reference to Cambuslang" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1952), esp. pp. 84-112, and pp. 251-80 where the results of the revival are given.

77. Duncan MacFarlan, The Revivals of the Eighteenth Century Particularly at Cambuslang (London and Edinburgh, n.d.), p. 140.

78. Ibid., p. 209.

79. Ibid., p. 156.

80. Ibid., pp. 142, 152-3, 157, 168, etc. See also John Gillies, Historical Collections Relating to Remarkable Periods of the Gospel (Kelso, 1845), pp. 439-61.

One further example will be sufficient to demonstrate the impact of revivalism on Sunday observance. In the Diary of George Brown, a Glasgow merchant and member of John MacLaurin's church, there are detailed accounts of how he observed the Sabbath. Brown had been at Cambuslang and sentimentally looked back on the days of the "Wark" as a period when "Sabbath days were very delightsome to me".[81] The revival continued, however, to make an impression on Brown as he sought to manifest in his life a love for the duties of the Sabbath. Typical is his description of a Sunday in November 1745.

> Sabbath Day, Nov. 3--Rose a little after 7 in the morning; fair, wind east, then prayed and then joined in family worship, and then read the 2nd chap. of Job. When I arose I found my heart very much out of order for the duties of the Sabbath.... I went to God by prayer, and under great confusion made known my conduct to Him.... Went to North West Church and heard Mr. M'Laurin lecture and preach. In the interval of publick worship I reflected on what I had been hearing and wrote down some heads of the sermon. Went to church in the afternoon; heard sermon on the same text as forenoon; returned and thought over the sermon till 5 o'clock at night; then joined in family worship; then supped and retired, and thought again over the sermon, and wrote down heads of it. Then I called on the Lord by prayer, and rose and went and joined in family worship again. Then I retired again, and read the 2nd chap. of Romans over several times. I concluded the Sabbath with humble confession of sin, thankfulness to God for actions of the Sabbath.... Then I committed my soul and all my concerns to God, and went to bed at 12 o'clock at night.[82]

Such were the ways of the devout Christians of the period.

Summary Statement

During the period 1730 and 1760 there was quietly going on a movement which slowly disintegrated the austere religious character of Scottish Sabbatarianism. Intercourse with England, an increase in trade and commerce, the beginnings of Moderatism, and the breakdown of Kirk Session discipline, all contributed to the new trend. Efforts by the Societies for the Reforma-

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81. Diary of George Brown Merchant in Glasgow 1745-53 (Glasgow, 1856), p. 187.

82. Ibid., pp. 8-10.

tion of Manners, the Praying Societies, and the various local revivals to counteract the effect of the new forces were not adequate. While Sunday was decently observed in most homes, there was an increasing tendency to relax rigid rule and standards. The Secession of 1733 was a clear indication that a new age had begun--an age in which Sabbatarianism could play no great part, but was forced to yield to a freer and more liberal spirit.

CHAPTER IV

SUNDAY OBSERVANCE IN SCOTLAND 1760-1800

PERIOD OF DEFAULT

In 1760 Scotland stood on the threshold of a new age. George III was beginning his long and eventful reign, and the war with France was rapidly nearing its completion. The opening of the Carron Iron Works signalled the beginning of the movement from the simple agrarian way of life to the complexities of an industrialized society. About 1760 the prolonged struggle between the Moderate and Evangelical parties within the Scottish Church culminated in the ascendency of the pro-rationalistic anti-enthusiastic section of the clergy. In such a cultural milieu Sunday observance underwent some remarkable transformations as it adapted itself to this new and exciting period. Before one can examine in detail how Sunday was observed, however, it is necessary to consider two factors dominating all life and thought--Moderatism and Industrialization.

Moderatism

Essentially Moderatism was an attempt to adapt Christianity to the tone of existing society, and at the same time to the current thought of the period.

> The line [they] the Moderates took with reference to theology was to adapt it to ordinary human reason as the arbiter of all belief which the human mind was bound to accept; and in this attempt it was necessary to reduce the Christian mysteries to a minimum and to give first place to the ethical system which was extracted from the Christian books. In the case of the Christian religion, as prescribing a code of conduct for its believers, the line was also that of accommodation. The standard of Christian living

> must be such as was compatible with the pleasures of the world, asceticism and spiritual excitement being assumed to be the most dangerous enemies of a reasonable faith.[1]

With such a philosophical background, it is not surprising to discover that Sabbatarianism with all its puritanical overtones came under the disapproving eye of Moderate clergymen. The Moderates, however, chose to ignore rather than to oppose Sabbatarianism directly.[2] While they never explicitly rejected the theology of the Westminster Confession of Faith concerning the nature and origin of the Christian Sabbath, they preferred to stress the utilitarian value of one days rest in seven. Their ground for a proper observance of Sunday was therefore more pragmatic than theological, showing affinity with the earlier Knoxian concept.[3]

The Moderates frequently mentioned the practical values of Sunday observance in their writings. William Leechman of Glasgow in a sermon entitled, "The Obligation and Reasonableness of Public Worship", emphasized this aspect of Moderate teaching.

> As the institution of the Sabbath and assembling for Public Worship have already been shewn to have a natural tendency to improve the morals and manners of mankind, let an institution so highly useful be regularly observed by the higher, as well as by the lower, ranks of men; by the younger, as well as by the older. Let it ever be considered that true policy, true patriotism, friendship, and beneficence to men, good-manners, and a deference to human authority--all concur with the principle of duty as Christians, to engage us to observance and reverence the Lord's Day, and not forsake the assemblies for Christian worship which are held on that day.[4]

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1. Hume Brown, Surveys of Scottish History (Glasgow, 1919), pp. 108-9. Cp. also Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, pp. 286-308 for a good summary of developments taking place under the direction of Moderatism.

2. Cf. Blaikie's observation that "the fault with the Moderates is not so much that evangelical truth is opposed, as that it is ignored". William Blaikie, The Preachers of Scotland from the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1888), p. 219.

3. See above, pp. 2-3.

4. William Leechman, Sermons (London, 1789), vol. I, pp. 420-1. Cp. also pp. 436-7

Expressing similar sentiment, Hugh Blair, minister of St. Giles from 1758 to 1800 said, "It must at the same time, be agreeable to every humane mind to think, that one day in seven is allotted for rest to the poor from their daily labours."[5] Adam Smith spoke in corresponding terms: "Rest assured that the Sabbath as a political institution is of inestimable value independently of its claim to divine authority."[6] When an attempt was made to operate stills on Sunday in his parish, George Hill expressed his feelings in a letter to his friend Alexander Carlyle. Said Hill: "I am in principle, a Sabbatarian, very much confirmed by my abhorrence of the breach, and inclined to go along with the sentiments of the people amongst whom I live... I think I shall feel myself disposed to concur in any prudent measure for preserving in the minds of the people their present reverence for the Sabbath; without which, I believe, they would become irreligious, & of course, profligate and faithless."[7]

The Moderates always tempered their statements about the practical values of the religious observance of Sunday with a warning against the undue stress of the rites and ceremonies of the external institutions of religion. Blair criticized those who thought that a strict and scrupulous observance of Sunday would make them more acceptable to God.[8] Hill, while extolling the benefits of Sunday observance, cautioned his audience to "beware, however, of

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5. Hugh Blair, Sermons (London, 1794), vol. IV, p. 235.

6. John Rae, Life of Adam Smith (London, 1895), p. 343. Sentiments comparable to that of Smith can be found in the following sources: William Creech, Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces (Edinburgh, 1815), p. 208; David Dalrymple, Annals of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1776), vol. I, p. 39; and Four Short Treatises Against Deism, Cursing and Swearing, Drunkenness, and Profanation of the Sabbath or Lord's Day (Edinburgh, 1741), p. 22.

7. Unpublished MSS letter of George Hill to Alexander Carlyle, 25 June, 1793, in the collection of Carlyle's letters at the University of Edinburgh. Hill requested the advice of Carlyle on this subject, but Carlyle's reply does not, unfortunately, seem to have survived.

8. Blair, Sermons, vol. IV, p. 243.

rendering the Sabbath a day of gloom, of restraint, and of weariness in your families".[9] Thus the Moderates tried to utilize the best features of the institution of the Christian Sabbath while at the same time shying away from any puritanical notions of how the day should be observed.

By their own examples the Moderates sought to break down the social restrictions associated with Sunday observance. Alexander "Jupiter" Carlyle, minister at Inveresk from 1748-1805, took pride in maintaining that it was due to the more enlightened views of the Moderate party that practices once frowned upon had become acceptable. Writing in the Old Statistical Account Carlyle reminisces about the changes taking place with regard to Sunday observance since the middle of the eighteenth century.

> Clergymen, in those days, were sometimes libelled for dancing and playing at cards, even in private homes; as well as for shaving or dressing their hair, or dining in a neighbour's house on the Lord's day. Happily these fictitious vices, an easy abstinence from which gave credit to the whole train of artificial virtues in a false and hypocritical character, are now no more; and clergymen and their families are on the same footing in respect to all innocent amusements, with persons of the same rank in any other profession.[10]

In his fascinating Autobiography Carlyle demonstrates that he felt free to do many things on Sunday that the more strict Evangelicals would not permit. He was not averse to travelling when the occasion demanded it. Once he managed to "hitch" a ride from a passing post-chaise in an attempt to get

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9. George Cook, The Life of the Late George Hill (Edinburgh, 1820), pp. 334-5. One should compare here Cook's view on the theology and observance of Sunday. He appears to have gone further than the earlier Moderates by asserting that whoever neglects the Lord's Day "sins not indeed against the fourth commandment, but against the law written onthe heart of every dependent and intelligent being, and against an ordinance which was sanctioned by the first ministers of Christ, who were endowed with miraculous powers, and were sent forth by their great Master to lead men unto all truth." George Cook, A General and Historical View of Christianity (Edinburgh, 1822), vol. II, pp. 321-2.

10. OSA, vol. 16, no. I (Edinburgh), pp. 34-5fn. See also Somerville, My Own Life and Times, pp. 375-6 where similar views are expressed.

to Glasgow.[11] Carlyle also enjoyed his claret on Sunday, and relished an evening stroll especially when he was away from home.[12] In later years it was his custom to delight in the good company of friends and fellow ministers when the services of the day were finished.[13] It has been contended that Carlyle, in the closing years of his life, left the discharge of his ministerial duties to an assistant and spent the Sabbath at the Musselburgh race course. Reliable substantiation of this accusation has not been found so the veracity of the statement must be questioned.[14]

Another source of information about the Sunday habits of Moderates is the "Journal" of Robert Heron, a young Moderate probationer who lived in Edinburgh from 1789 to 1798. Heron's conduct on Sunday would have shocked even the mildest of Sabbatarians. One example from his "Journal" will suffice to show his free and easy attitude toward Sunday observance. On Sunday 27th September, 1789, the following entry was made:

> Had been disturbed with noise at the door during the night; and therefore did not get up till nine. Did not pray. Under my hairdresser's hands finished the second volume of the Connoisseur. Trifled away the forenoon with Piorri's Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson, the European Magazine, & the Monthly Review....At breakfast, however, I read a chapter, & over a bowl of broth at two o' clock, another. Preached in the afternoon in a very indifferent manner in the College

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11. Alexander Carlyle, Autobiography (Edinburgh, 1861), 3rd. ed., pp. 97-8. Cp. also, Ruxton Fraser, St. Mary's of Old Montrose (Edinburgh, 1896), p. 216, for the attitude of another Moderate minister.

12. Carlyle, Autobiography, pp. 103-4, and 155. Especially when he travelled in England did Carlyle feel free to adopt the more liberal customs of his Southern neighbours. Cf. pp. 162-8. Thomas Somerville, another Moderate clergyman, makes mention of a trip to London in 1769 when he was "particularly flattered by an invitation to make one in the company of a celebrated literary party at a Sunday's dinner". Somerville, My Own Life and Times, pp. 142-3.

13. Carlyle, Autobiography, pp. 277 and 328. Cp. also Graham, Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 364-5.

14. This accusation is made by Keith Leask in his biography of Hugh Miller (Edinburgh, 1896), p. 41. Leask seems to be taking his information from some earlier work, but as there is no documentation, I have not been able to trace it any further.

> Church. After sermon rode out with Mr. Butterworth's son...Ate a cold dinner. Chatted with him and his family and two friends; and after tea, returned to town with his son behind me...Wrote a little of a paper...After that this Journal.[15]

Also interesting are the Sunday activities of George Ridpath of Stitchel. In his Diary, which covers the years 1755-61, one can note how a minister of Moderate influence observed Sunday in a rural parish. Although Ridpath rarely fails to mention that he has "something prepared for tomorrow", there is no suggestion of special preparation for "the Holy Sabbath".[16] On Saturday night he mentions that he "slept on the last Satire of Horace", or even "Salmon's Universal Traveller".[17] The minister of Stitchel frequently dinedout on Sunday and enjoyed the "good deal of entertaining talk" around the table.[18] The newspaper, a forbidden item in Sabbatarian homes, was read on Sunday afternoon or evening.[19] Ridpath often attended Sunday funerals and used them as an excuse to continue his journey for business or social reasons.[20] Although he did not actively flaunt Sabbatarianism, Ridpath certainly could not be called its most zealous advocate!

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15. Robert Heron, "Journal of My Conduct 1789-98", (Laing MSS III, No272), University of Edinburgh Library, (n.p.). With this compare the entry made on 20th September, 1789. In other places Heron mentions taking walks on Sunday, even during the time of the morning worship service, and on 11th July, 1790 notes that he paid eighteen pence for a hired horse and enjoyed a ride through the countryside. Unfortunately this manuscript is fragmentary as Heron was not faithful in making his entries. Otherwise it would be quite worthy of publication.

16. Balfour Paul (ed.), Diary of George Ridpath of Stitchel 1755-61 (Edinburgh, 1922), pp. 24, 26, 29, etc.

17. Ibid., pp. 54 and 65.

18. Ibid., p. 134. Cp. also pp. 60, 96, 134, 281, and 365.

19. Ibid., p. 92.

20. Ibid., pp. 95 and 201 with which compare p. 267.

In both theology and practice, therefore, the Moderate ministers of the eighteenth century paved the way for the breakdown of the strict observance of the Sabbath. However, as time passed, some began to have qualms about the increasing freedom of the new age. Leechman, for example, warned his listeners that there was reason to fear that "we have run from one extreme into another. In the room of the bigotry and gloom of our ancestors, we have sunk into a shameful indifference to divine things".[21] What had been done, however, could not be undone, and the optimistic rationalism of the Moderates continued to be a determining factor in Scottish Sunday observance until the reaction at the time of the French Revolution.

Industrialization

Once Scotland had recovered from the initial handicap of the Union with England in 1707, she settled down to a steady advancement in the fields of business and industry. With the opening of the Carron Iron Works Scotland entered into a period not merely of vast expansion in agriculture and industry, but of a fundamental revamping of her whole economic and social organization. The shift from a scattered domestic economy, wherein the basic integrity of the family unit was maintained, to the factory system, where the people, mainly women and children, worked under the supervision of others and were forced to keep pace with machinery, had an immediate and lasting effect on Sunday observance. The problems arising from the attempt to harmonize an essentially agrarian-centred Sabbath with the multiplicity of complicating factors of an industrialized

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21. Leechman, Sermons, vol. I, pp. 414-15. Robert Wallace, a Moderate minister and contemporary of Leechman, spoke of Sunday observance in the following terms in a letter written in 1757. "I approve of the antient method of observing the Lord's Day whether this is strictly commanded I will not determine att present butt whether it is or not I think it is very profitable. I neither pay nor receive visits on Sunday. I spend most of it att church or in cherishing in my own soul a more lively sense of Religion and morality. I wish others would follow my example. (Laing MSS, II, 620^2, University of Edinburgh Library), p. 13.

society are still being experienced by the Church today.[22]

The first faint stirrings of industrialization, however, did not have a completely unsalutory effect upon Sunday observance, especially amongst the labouring people. The early factory owners often displayed a beneficent paternalism towards their employees, attended worship regularly, and expected their workers to do the same. A "good character" was, from the factory manager's point of view of personality, a strong recommendation for anyone seeking employment. If a person could supply a reference from a clergyman stating that he was a regular attender at Sunday worship and a faithful member of the Church, he was more likely to secure employment than the man who had no religious affiliation.[23]

David Dale, who opened mills at New Lanark in 1785, is a good example of a factory owner who was paternalistic toward his employees. Dale took a personal interest in the educational and religious training of the town's inhabitants, and instituted a Sunday School that all the masters and assistants attended. Provision was made for those of independent persuasion, and often sermons were given in Gaelic for the Highlanders employed there.[24] A sharp watch was kept to insure that Sunday was quietly and decently observed, partly because of religious concern, and partly because the owner wanted his employees to be sufficiently rested to resume work on Monday morning. Dale's successor, Robert Owen, wanted a wider range of recreational facilities for his workers on Sunday, but finding public sentiment

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22. Henry Hamilton, The Industrial Revolution in Scotland (Oxford, 1932), pp. 108-30.

23. William Hodgkins, Sunday: Christian and Social Significance (London, 1960), p. 89ff.

24. OSA, vol. 15, no. I (Lanark), pp. 40-1. See also Stewart Mechie's discussion of this and similar measures in The Church and Scottish Social Development (London, 1960), p. 7ff.

not favourable to such innovations, he compromised by instituting week day diversions.[25]

In many other parts of Scotland similar experiments in the supervision of the religious and moral lives of the employees were undertaken. When John Ramsay visited a lead mine village near Carden in 1790, he found that the company employed a full time minister who had a flourishing congregation.[26] William Gillespie, who had a cotton factory in the Barony Parish of Glasgow, engaged a master to teach the children through the week, and supported a place for public worship which the people regularly attended.[27] After the Adelphi Cotton Mill at Doune was placed under the direction of Benjamin Flunders, a provision was made for religious instruction, with the result that the local minister noted a startling improvement in the external decorum of the community.[28] Thus in many instances the first effects of the Industrial Revolution encouraged Sabbath observance, and brought many people under the guidance and supervision of the Church.[29]

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25. Robert Owen, A New View of Society (London, 1818), 4th ed., pp. 77-8. "The Sabbath", said Owen, "in many parts of Scotland, is not now a day of innocent and cheerful recreation to the labouring man; nor can those who are confined all the week to sedentary occupations freely partake, without censure, of the air and exercise to which nature invites them, and which their health demands". Ibid., p. 78. In 1828, Abram Combe, influenced by Owens's teaching, organized the Orbiston Settlement near Bellshill. The working people were free to follow their ordinary occupations or seek their own amusement on Sunday. The experiment was short lived and came in for much criticism from Sabbatarian sources. See NSA, vol. VI (Bothwell), pp. 780-2; and Frank Podmore, Robert Owen A Biography (London, 1906), vol. II, p. 368.

26. John Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1888), vol. II, pp. 321-3.

27. OSA, vol. 12, no. X (Barony of Glasgow), p. 116fn.

28. OSA, vol. 20, no. III (Kilmadock), pp. 88-9.

29. Cp. also OSA, vol. 20, no. VII (Soxn), p. 180; OSA, vol. 14, no. XXIII (Canoby), p. 431; and OSA, vol. 14, no. XXXIII (Linlithgow), pp. 554-5

Nevertheless, it was not long until these beneficial effects began to wear off. As the gulf between employer and employee became greater, the influence of the former over the latter tended to be less significant. The countryside was soon filled with the "base degen'rate dregs of yonder smoky town", as the poet John Struthers expressed it.[30] When the Old Statistical Account was written (c. 1795) many of the writers bore witness to the dramatic changes taking place in Sunday habits as a result of industrialization. The miners at Duddingston, for example, worked three days and then spent the rest of the week "in absolute idleness, or in sottish indulgence".[31] When Robert Haldane visited Montrose in 1797 he was saddened by the multitude of young children who were sent to the local cotton factory, neglected by their parents, and permitted to crowd the streets on Sunday.[32] Wherever manufacturing settlements developed Sunday observance gradually declined.[33]

As industrialization increased Sunday work became more common. In an agrarian society the Church had been able to deal with this, but with new industry springing up, it found itself unable to cope with groups of people who were encouraged or forced to labour on Sunday. In 1772, for example, it was reported to the Kirk Session of Carriden that the nearby coal works of Grange had worked on the previous Sunday, and "that even the cart-horses were employed carting bricks, and other materials to a fire engine". Members

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30. John Struthers, The Poor Man's Sabbath (Glasgow, 1805), 2nd ed., p. 7. See also John Galt's Annals of the Parish, pp. 177-81 for his description of the fictional village of Cayenville.

31. OSA, vol. 18, no. XIII (Duddingston), p. 384.

32. Alexander Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of His Brother James Alexander Haldane (Edinburgh, 1840), 2nd ed., p. 148.

33. See, for example, OSA, vol. 5, no. XXII (Cathcart), p. 356; OSA, vol. 20, no. III (Kilmadock), p. 87ff; OSA, vol. 3, no. LXIV (Bonhill), pp. 448-9; OSA, vol. 13, no. XXIX (Dunfermline), p. 479; OSA, vol. 14, no. XVII (Govan), p. 107ff; and OSA, vol. 8, no. VIII (Carluke), p. 140.

of the congregation complained that they were being placed at an economic disadvantage by those who worked seven days. The Session agreed to summon the "Sabbath breakers" to hear their reasons for the necessity of such labour. Only a few of the men summoned "compeared" and those who did, upon the promise that they would not work on Sunday again, were dismissed without any disciplinary action.[34]

Another interesting case of Sunday work occurred in 1781 when the Presbytery of Dumbarton was faced with a similar problem involving the printed cloth factories at Cordale, Dalquhurn, and Cardross. Because previous warnings against the watering of cloth on Sunday had been ignored, the Presbytery intimated that all who took part in this activity would be denied Church privileges. If this proved to be ineffectual an appeal to the civil courts was to be made.[35] The watering of cloth nevertheless continued, and the civil courts refused to interfere in the matter. Finding themselves in an embarrassing position, the Presbytery finally decided, "as to the affair of Dalquhurn Printfield, the Presbytery having considered the same, agree to retire it from their Minutes".[36] The Sunday labour continued unabated--a testimony to the change in spirit of the new age, and to the inability of the old to suppress it.

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34. Carriden Kirk Session Records, 13th December and 20th December, 1772. See also Thomas Salmon, Borrowstouness and District (Edinburgh, 1913), p. 448. In 1806 in connection with the running of a stage coach in Edinburgh on Sunday the testimony was given that "At glasshouses, ironworks, coalpits, which are drained by steam engines, and at great distilleries, many servants are employed on Sundays, without any interference of the civil magistrate". See Court of Session Papers, vol. 461, "Memorial for James Douglas Vintner and Postmaster at the Blackbull Inn, Edinburgh...Against William Scott, Procurator-Fiscal of the Sheriff Court of Edinburgh", (Edinburgh, 1806), p. 16.

35. Eunice Murray, The Church of Cardross and Its Ministers, p. 132. These printfields were established in 1768 and at the time of the writing of the OSA were reported to have employed 993 people. See OSA, vol. 3, no. LXIV (Bonhill), p. 445.

36. Murray, op. cit., p. 132.

Having briefly sketched the trends of Moderatism and Industrialization, it is now in order to proceed to an examination of the effects of these movements in different parts of Scotland. This can be done by surveying the changes taking place in (1) Glasgow, (2) Edinburgh, and (3) other areas of Scotland.

(1) Sunday Observance in Glasgow

Visitors to Glasgow in the early 1760's were highly impressed with the religious atmosphere that pervaded the city. The Covenanting spirit had always been the keenest in the West, and one of the outstanding characteristics of this spirit was a desire, or more correctly, a passion for the "sanctification of the Sabbath". Bishop Pocoke, who came to Glasgow in 1760, gave the following complimentary summary of his impression of the Sabbath he spent there.

> They perform divine service in a most decent and solemn manner, chanting the hymns and singing the psalms extremely well insomuch that I think I never saw divine offices performed with such real edification. The people here and at Paisley keep Sunday with great strictness. They all attend divine service, and are not allowed to walk out on a Sunday in company. They have no holydays and this preserves them perfectly sober and industrious, and if it could be kept to, it is certainly a very good regulation, even in a political point of view.[37]

In 1764 Thomas Reid confirmed this when he reluctantly admitted that Glaswegians appeared to be more religious than Aberdonians, although he complained that this tended to give Glasgow a "gloomy enthusiastical cast".[38] The critical eye of John Wesley discerned that Glasgow possessed much of the "form of religion", even though he greatly feared that its "power" was very much on the

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37. Daniel Kemp (ed.), Tours in Scotland 1747, 1750, 1760 by Richard Pocoke, Bishop of Meath (Edinburgh, 1887), vol. I, p. 51.

38. Thomas Reid, Works (Edinburgh, 1849), 2nd ed., p. 40.

wane.[39]

In 1765, however, an event took place that was to have a catalytic effect on the break up of the strictly observed Glasgow Sabbath. It had long been a custom to have "compurgators" or "bum-baillies" patrol the streets, especially during the time of worship, to ensure that no one was out walking. Even those who had few religious principles deemed it advisable to remain indoors rather than tempt the wrath of one of the baillies. On 9th June, 1765, however, two respectable Glasgow merchants dared to walk on Glasgow Green during the hours of worship, and were arrested and fined ten pounds Scots. The charge against them was "the prophanation of Sabbath day and walking in publick places for pleasure and recreation on that day in time of Publick Worship".[40] The men, Peter Blackburn and Robert Scott, took their case to the Court of Session and won a decision against the Glasgow magistrates for an "unwarranted exercise of authority", thus bringing the compurgatory system to an end.[41]

With the power of the magistrates curbed, it was not long until people became more daring in walking abroad on Sunday. In order to stop this and

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39. Thomas Jackson (ed.), Journal of John Wesley (London, 1903), vol. III, p. 198. During the years 1763-6 William Leechman of Glasgow could count on a large attendance at his Sunday evening lectures by students and townspeople. Leechman, Sermons, vol. I, p. 79.

40. "Unextracted Processes of the Court of Session" located in Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh (Adams-Dal, B/4/64). The pleas on behalf of both parties make interesting reading for anyone concerned in following up the subject of Sabbath legislation. As these records were never printed one must read the originals at the Record Office.

41. There has been much confusion as to the date of the cessation of this compurgatory system in Glasgow. Graham notes that this "tyrannical practice was continued till 1780" in his Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 157fn. His source for this information is given as the NSA, vol. VI, p. 231. This reference, however, states only that the practice continued "until about the middle of the century". Obviously Graham secured the information about the date 1780 elsewhere than the NSA. Most likely he found the date 1780 in John Strang, Glasgow and Its Clubs (London, 1856), p. 110fn, and mistakenly put down the NSA reference as the ultimate source of his information.

at the same time to circumvent the Court of Session ruling, the magistrates in 1784 petitioned the fourteen Incorporations of Tradesmen in the city to appoint one man from their number to patrol the streets on Sunday. There were to be four divisions of searchers, each group accompanied by a peace officer

> for the purpose of reporting to the Magistrates the names, designations, and places of abode of every person who shall appear upon the Streets or Lanes of this city in crowds for idle or licentious purposes, that effectual measures may be taken for convicting and punishing every offender with utmost rigour of the law.[42]

It should be noted that the searchers of 1784 were more limited in power than the "bum-bailies" of earlier times. Their duty was to break up the crowds that threatened to disturb the peace and quiet of the town, and not to stop all walking on Sunday. No record of the success of this venture has been preserved, but other evidence suggests that Glasgow had some form of Sunday patrolling up to the second decade of the nineteenth century.[43]

By 1790 the metamorphosis of the Glasgow Sunday was complete. When Robert Heron visited Glasgow in 1792 he found that its citizens showed very little regard for Sabbath observance. Heron's account of a typical Lord's Day, although lengthy, is worthy of insertion as it dramatizes the change that had taken place since Bishop Pocoke visited there in 1760.

> As I proceeded, I saw some instances of the licence of a Glasgow Sunday. The time was, when the inhabitants used to sanctify the Lord's day with peculiar solemnity, even with a degree of superstitious reverence. None

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42. In the Report From Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day published in 1832, the Rev. Duncan Macfarlan of Renfrew stated that the practice of patrolling the streets of Glasgow by elders and other concerned citizens continued "till within a dozen years ago". (i.e. 1820). Cf. p. 229 of the report. He is not very certain in his testimony, but from what he says it is likely that he is referring to the efforts of Societies for the Reformation of Manners that flourished briefly at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. See below, pp.127-8.

43. Harry Lumsden, History of the Skinners, Furriers, and Glovers of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1937), p. 80fn. The tradesmen appear to have been unanimous in their support of the magistrates' petition. Cp. James and Ralston Ness (eds.), The Incorporation of Bakers of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1948), 2nd. ed., p. 73, and Harry Lumsden and H. Aiken, History of the Hammermen of Glasgow (Paisley, 1912), pp. 141-2.

might neglect due attendance at church: none might saunter carelessly through the streets: convivial enjoyment could be indulged in, only under the mask of religion...Those days are past. In the progress of its population, industry, and refinement, Glasgow has lost much of its ancient piety. All ranks of its inhabitants seem now to consider Sunday as a day they may lawfully dedicate to amusement. The more worthless and licentious part of the labouring artizans spend the evening of a Saturday, all Sunday, and the forenoon of Monday, in that dissipation and riot, the means of which, the wages of the foregoing week have enabled them to purchase. Those of this class whose manners are somewhat less profligate, make Sunday excursions into the country, visit with their friends and acquaintances, and cheer themselves with a dinner more comfortable than ordinary. There is yet a third division of men in the same situation, who indeed go to church for some part of the day, and perhaps read a page or two of the bible, or some other pious book at home, but think it reasonable to give the far greater part of the day to amusement of what they deem an harmless nature. The manufacturers and merchants, if obliged to spend the forenoon in their counting rooms, make a point, however, of appropriating the afternoon and evening to convivial enjoyment,--- with abstraction of short interval, in which rising, in gay spirits, from the table, they repair to the Tontine Coffee House to talk over the news of the day, and the transactions of the week, and to make up parties for supper, or for some future dinner. If, happily, not detained by business in the forenoon, they make parties to ride out into the country, and to dine at some inn, or perhaps at the villa of some friend, or of the rambler's own. The dinner is a gay one; the conviviality being novise, commonly return, in tip-top spirits, to town.---Those restrained by the sanctity of the day, and the party clerks, shopmen, and apprentices make this no less a day of recreation than their masters. On the Sunday, the clerk and the shop-man hire horses, put on boots and spurs, and sally out like so many knights errant, to exhibit themselves as gentlemen, on the highways, and at the inns and country villages. Having but one day in seven, on which to act this high character, they are willing to make the most of that seventh day. They accordingly ride out in the most furious manner, if they have been learning to sit on horseback, bespatter the foot passengers, accost and abuse every civil stranger they may happen to

> meet, get drunk at the inns, swear at the landlord and waiters, and return homewards in all the glory of drunkenness, vulgarity, and insolence.[44]

Even before Heron wrote his colourful but slanted account, an anonymous pamphleteer was lamenting the breakdown of Sunday observance in Glasgow. The dramatic changes that had taken place were portrayed by means of a conversation between a local citizen and a former resident who had returned in 1787 after an absence of fifty years. After a lengthy discussion of the raucous activities of Saturday night, the conversation leads into a description of Sunday itself.[45] Groups of children run and play in the streets during the time of worship.[46] Adults are engaged in carrying water from the town wells and performing other household tasks.[47] The Tontine Coffee House is filled

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44. Robert Heron, Observations Made in a Journey Through the Western Counties of Scotland in the Autumn of 1792 (Perth, 1799), 2nd. ed., vol. I, pp. 381-3. For a later, but similar account of a Glasgow Sunday in the late eighteenth century see, Strang, Glasgow and Its Clubs, pp. 177 and 230fn. Compare also, OSA, vol. 5, no. XXXVII (Glasgow), p. 535; John Struthers, Poetical Works and Autobiography (London, 1850), vol. I, pp. lxxvi-vii; and John Dunlop, Autobiography (London, 1932), p. 5.

45. The Former and Present State of Glasgow Contrasted, A Dream Wherein Several Symptoms of the Degeneracy and Apostacy of this Once Famous City are Mentioned (Glasgow, 1787), pp. 6-7. The newspapers of the period substantiate this picture of a Saturday night in Glasgow. "On Saturday night and Sunday morning the streets in the west end of town were disturbed by a set of lawless and disorderly people, many of whom were in the habit of sailors". Glasgow Courier, 25th October, 1791. Cp. also Glasgow Courier, 12th November, 1791, 15th November, 1791, and 20th December, 1791.

46. The Former and Present State of Glasgow Contrasted & c., p. 12. The magistrates frequently legislated against such activity on Sunday. In 1781, for example, they ruled "that all parents and masters shall do their utmost to prevent their children and apprentices from going about in an idle manner on Sunday, and particularly from appearing in the streets or closes during divine service, the Magistrates being determined to punish all such offenders in the most exemplary manner". See Glasgow Mercury, 22nd November, 1781. This Act was repeated in 1783 and 1786. With this compare Glasgow Courier, 26th April, 1792.

47. The Former and Present State of Glasgow Contrasted, p. 12. Cp. Glasgow Mercury, 25th December, 1783, where the watering of horses during divine service is strictly forbidden.

with business men drinking coffee and reading newspapers or letters.[48] At the close of the day people stroll about, stand in groups and talk, or listen to the military band perform on Glasgow Green.[49] The conversation is concluded with a plea that Sunday Schools be instituted to remedy the situation.

In the newly found freedom of Glasgow there was no stigma attached to Sunday travelling. In 1783 the Glasgow Mercury advertised that a coach for Carlisle and London would leave "every Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday evenings at eight o'clock".[50] By 1787 one could travel to Edinburgh, Paisley, Greenock, and various other places.[51] The social columns of the newspapers frequently carried such items as the following: "On Sunday arrived at Star Inn Capt. M'Queen and Lady";[52] or "Sunday afternoon Lt. General Lord Adam Gordon set out from the Abbey to visit the forts and garrisons in the north".[53] The road from Dumbarton to Glasgow, particularly in good weather, was crowded on Sunday as people exercised their right to travel when and where they pleased. Time was precious and none of it could be wasted by breaking one's

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48. The Former and Present State of Glasgow Contrasted, p. 12. Cp. Glasgow Mercury, 23rd July, 1778. Robert Pease, an Englishman travelling in Scotland in 1795, noted what he saw at the Tontine Coffee House one Sunday in December of that year. "We arrived at Glasgow and went to our old Inn the Tontine.... Almost all the English, Scotch, and Irish Papers are taken in here, altho it was a Sunday there might be 2 or 300 Persons in it". Peter Barber (ed.), "Journal of a Traveller in Scotland 1795-96", Scottish Historical Review, vol. XXXVI (April, 1957), p. 41.

49. The Former and Present State of Glasgow Contrasted, p. 9. Sunday concerts were not a nineteenth-century innovation, for military music was played in Glasgow and other parts of Scotland during this period. Soldiers often drilled and marched on that day. See Glasgow Mercury, 10th September, 1778, p. 287.

50. Glasgow Mercury, 5th August, 1784.

51. Nathaniel Jones, Jones' Directory or Useful Pocket Companion for the Year 1787 (Glasgow, 1887), pp. 24-6. See also Jones' Directory for 1789, pp. 81-2, for a listing of the various stages arriving and departing at Glasgow.

52. Glasgow Courier, 9th July, 1793.

53. Glasgow Courier, 4th August, 1792. See also Glasgow Courier, 19th February, 1793, 10th November, 1791, and 8th December, 1791 for other similar examples.

journey to rest on Sunday. It was far easier to break the Sabbath and travel.[54]

Other activities can be cited. Barbers were active at their occupations on Sunday, and the streets were busy with young apprentices running back and forth to their clients.[55] When taking a Sunday walk one did not have to worry about "searchers" as much as "robbers". The newspapers of the time are filled with accounts of assults taking place on that day.[56] The Clyde, in addition to providing shipping facilities, proved to be a popular place for a Sunday afternoon swim on warm summer days.[57] Thus in the years between 1760 and the end of the century Glasgow's vaunted holy day degenerated into its most popular holiday.

(2) Sunday Observance in Edinburgh

The situation in Edinburgh did not differ greatly from that in Glasgow. During the latter part of the century "Auld Reekie" had become the "Modern Athens" of Scotland, and most of the intellectual and literary accomplishments of the period found their provenance there. With the restraints of the previous age gone, and the glamour of a new society ever before them, the inhabitants of Edinburgh did their best to dispel the gloom associated with the

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54. Heron, Observations Made in a Journey Through the Western Counties of Scotland, vol. I, p. 376.

55. The Former and Present State of Glasgow Contrasted, p. 9.

56. Entries of the following nature were not uncommon in the Glasgow newspapers. "On Sunday evening about nine o'clock, a gentleman was attacked on the walk of the Green immediately opposite to Charlotte-street". Glasgow Courier, 4th June, 1793. Cp. also Glasgow Courier, 26th June, 1792, 9th March, 1793, 10th December, 1793, and Glasgow Mercury, 4th November, 1788.

57. There were so many accidental drownings in the Clyde that efforts were made to instruct people in the proper method of artificial respiration. One irate citizen wrote the following words in 1792. "It is surprising that no other accident happened on Sunday, for the river, though large, was perfectly clear, and so warm, that multitudes of the young waded along its banks in every direction". Glasgow Courier, 28th August, 1792. See also 7th August, 1792. With this compare the account in the Scots Magazine, vol. LXII (August, 1800), p. 573.

puritanical Sabbath.[58]

William Creech, the Edinburgh bookseller, describes how rapidly the external observance of Sunday deteriorated between 1763 and 1783.

> In 1763 it was fashionable to go to church. Sunday was strictly observed by all ranks as a day of devotion; and it was disgraceful to be seen on the streets during the time of public worship. In 1783 attendance at church was greatly neglected and particularly by the men; Sunday was by many made a day of relaxation; and the young people were allowed to stroll about at all hours. Families thought it ungenteel to take their domestics to church with them. The streets were far from being void of people in the time of public worship; and in the evenings were frequently loose and riotous; particularly owing to bands of young apprentice boys.[59]

Many of the citizens of Edinburgh employed Sunday as a travel or work day. Creech states that it was possible for a person to leave Edinburgh "after divine services", stay a whole day in London, and be back in Edinburgh again on Saturday at six in the morning.[60] Ships regularly sailed from Leith,[61] and various other types of transportation could be rented for

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58. For an excellent summary of life in Edinburgh during its "Golden Age", see the work of Michael Joyce, Edinburgh: The Golden Age 1769-1832 (London, 1951).

59. William Creech, Letters Addressed to Sir John Sinclair, Bart. Respecting the Mode of Living, Arts, Commerce, Literature, Manners & c. of Edinburgh in 1763, and Since That Period, in OSA, Appendix, vol. VI, p. 609. One should compare here the impressions of Topham when he visited Edinburgh in 1774-5. "During the time of kirk", he said, "you scarcely see anybody in the streets, or loitering away the time of prayer in wantonness or excess". Edward Topham, Letters From Edinburgh Written in the Years 1774 and 1775 (London, 1776), pp. 190-1. See also Matthew Henry, A Serious and Seasonable Advice to Those that Spend the Sabbath Idely (Edinburgh, 1771), p. 5. If the reader did not find this pamphlet valuable he was told to "read it gratis, keep it clean, and return it when called for"!

60. Creech, Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces, p. 68. This stage would be the Edinburgh, Carlisle, and London coach that set out from Hugh Cameron's Cowgate Hotel every Thursday, Tuesday, and Sunday evenings at seven o'clock. See Edinburgh Evening Courant, 17th June, 1780.

61. "On Sunday sailed from Leith Roads, the Duchess of Buccleugh, Fame, and Elizabeth, as transports bound for Fort George.". Glasgow Courier, 7th November, 1793. Cp. also Glasgow Mercury, 12th April, 1781 and 10th January, 1782.

the day.[62] In 1770 the Edinburgh Town Council ruled that "twenty scavengers shall be obliged, every sabbath-morning, to clean the pavement on each side of the street by sweeping, and also cleaning the gutters...".[63] While working on a Sunday afternoon in 1790, James Nasmyth, the famous engineer, conceived the idea of riveting by compression rather than by blow of a hammer. He appropriately called it his "Sunday Rivet".[64] There was much work done at the Post Office and the ever present barbers openly carried on their trade much to the chagrin of the pious members of the community.[65]

Sunday was also a time for visiting friends and holding celebrations and parties. Lord Cockburn often went to an elderly woman's home in Bunker's Hill, where between sermons he enjoyed Scotch broth, cakes, "and many a joke from the old lady".[66] Others, even more daring, organized card parties for Sunday afternoon and evening.[67] When the King's Birthday occurred on a Sun-

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62. Edinburgh Advertiser, 17th February, 1795. Cp. also Heron, "Journal of My Conduct 1789-98", entry for 11th July, 1790.

63. Scots Magazine, vol. XXXII (Appendix, 1770), p. 713. Even though the streets were cleaned on Sunday it was still not possible to secure fresh water. The water caddies never worked between Saturday night and Monday morning. See the account of their work in Cockburn, Memorial of His Time (Edinburgh, 1856), p. 355ff.

64. Samuel Smiles, James Nasmyth, Engineer (London, 1883), p. 48.

65. Creech, Letters Addressed to Sir John Sinclair, Bart., in OSA, vol. VI, Appendix, p. 593. See also Letters on Important Subjects Addressed to the Ruling Elders of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1792), p. 74.

66. Cockburn, Memorials of His Own Time, p. 58. Cp. also Martha Somerville, Personal Recollections from Early Life to Old Age of Mary Somerville (London, 1873), p. 34; and Barber (ed.), "Journal of a Traveler in Scotland, 1795-96", pp. 37-8 where the writer mentions that on Sunday "the streets of Edinburgh and Leith walk, were fill'd with immense Crowds".

67. Among the unpublished MSS of Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk is a "Letter Addressed to Mr. Mirror", dated Perthshire, April 1, 1779. The writer, who had supposedly been away from Scotland for twenty years, was shocked at the changes taking place in the observance of Sunday. "I little dreamed" he complained, "that it would have been possible for Presbyterians to have so far lowered the ideal of morality of the Sabbath as to have played at cards on any part of that day". Cf. Graham, Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 121-2fn.

day, the flag was displayed at the castle, a round of shots was fired, and the Defensive Band assembled in the Parliament House and marched in procession to the High Church.[68] Clubs met on Sunday evenings in taverns where the atmosphere could hardly be called religious. The Chrochallian Fencible Club,[69] the Pious Club,[70] and the Sunday Club,[71] were some of the better known ones. When the magistrates attempted to prosecute tavern owners for advertising Sunday club meetings, the Jezebel Club responded with this sarcastic intimation:

> A gala meeting of the Jezebel is to be held at the rendezvous on Sunday next after evening service, on business of importance.— Supper not to be on the table till full three minutes after twelve, to prevent censure of the superstitious and scrupulous for breaking the Sabbath, and no swearing will be permitted till the tenth bumper.[72]

Even in Evangelical circles the Sunday evening supper was not eschewed. Sir Harry Moncrieff delighted to see his friends after family worship when the whole party would sit down to the "roasted hens, the goblets of wine, and his powerful talk".[73] Nineteenth-century Sabbatarians found it difficult to justify the actions of men like Moncrieff who saw no inconsistency between

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68. Edinburgh Advertiser, 24th September, 1782, and 20th January, 1795.

69. D.D. McElroy, "The Literary Clubs and Societies of 18th Century Scotland", Unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1952), vol. I, p. 545.

70. Robert Chambers, Traditions of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1825), vol. II, p. 252; and Rogers, Social Life in Scotland, vol. II, p. 387.

71. Rae, Life of Adam Smith, p. 327. Rae mentions that James Boswell was invited to such a Sunday gathering by Alexander Webster, but I have not been able to locate the source of his information. He is probably correct in making this assertion, however, as Webster appears to have been fond of such entertainment. See Graham, Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 358.

72. Creech, Fugitive Pieces, p. 47. For the action of the Edinburgh magistrates see the Glasgow Mercury, 5th December, 1782. For other types of Sunday parties see Scots Magazine, vol. LI (December, 1789), pp. 615-16, and Glasgow Courier, 1st November, 1791.

73. Cockburn, Memorials of His Own Time, p. 42.

Sabbath sanctification and Sunday suppers.[74]

(3) Sunday Observance in Other Areas

On the East Coast and in the Borders the example of anti-Sabbatarian Edinburgh was readily followed. Kirkmewton experienced the "refinement, scepticism and licentiousness" of the nearby metropolis.[75] At Kirkcaldy and Dysart the lament of poor church attendance, especially of the higher classes, was raised by local clergymen.[76] In Borrowstounness the complaint was similar, while at Jedburgh the decadent state of the parish church greatly affected church attendance.[77] In 1789 a writer complained that the streets of Kelso were

> crowded with young people on the Lord's day; and if a sensible spectator should venture to mention to these young geniuses their pernicious misconduct, he may expect to receive banter, and be loaded with the severest invective, such as hypocrite, enthusiast, a fellow of narrow conscience and contradictious spirit, and such like.[78]

In Dundee and Montrose the fields and gardens, especially in the summer season, were "crouded with people, as if it were a Fair or Market" on Sundays.[79]

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74. See, for example, the discussion in The Future Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1870), p. 161ff. where the anonymous Victorian writer admits that Cockburn's statement about Monorieff's Sunday suppers "surprised me considerably".

75. OSA, vol. 9, no. XXVII (Kirkmewton), p. 414.

76. OSA, vol. 12, no. XXXV (Dysart), p. 519ff., and OSA, vol. 18 (Kirkcaldy), pp. 49-50.

77. OSA, vol. 18, no. XVI (Borrowstounness), p. 444, and OSA, vol. 15, no. XXVII (Bedrule), p. 578. See also OSA, vol. 5, no. XIV (Mains), p. 228.

78. John Mason, Kelso Records (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 71-2. See also Scots Magazine, vol. LVII (June, 1795), p. 407.

79. A graphic portrait of Sunday observance in these areas is given in a contemporary pamphlet by Alexander Jackson, A New Treatise on the Due Observation of the Sabbath (Aberdeen, 1778), pp. 22-5. By 1790 one cannot see too much improvement. See OSA, vol. 5, no. II (Montrose), p. 47, and OSA, vol. 8, no. XI (Dundee), p. 238. See also Glasgow Mercury, 19th September, 1787.

In the West the impulses of the new age were also evident. When Wesley visited Greenock in 1772 he observed a great increase in "cursing, swearing, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and all manner of wickedness".[80] Robert Heron's trip to Dumbarton in 1792 prompted him to comment on the orderly procession of people coming from the church service, but his observations on the drinking and travelling taking place in the afternoon were not very complimentary.[81] In the small village of Cairn near Stranraer and in other coastal towns, cattle from the Irish coast were often unloaded on Sunday, causing much bustle and confusion even in the time of public worship. It was only by the unceasing efforts of Rev. Mackenzie of Portpatrick that the practice was eventually stopped.[82]

In Ayrshire the minister of Kirkmichael reported a great drop in church attendance,[83] and a dissenter at Symington in the parish of Dundonald satirized the Established Church for its poor attendance in the following words:

> Although our Kirk it grows but thin,
> Yet you hay' haud your splore--
> We never rang our bell like you,
> And got but half a score.[84]

In spite of all that Robert Burns had to say about Sabbatarianism at Mauchline, it was not as strict and severe as it had been in earlier times. In 1786 the Kirk Session of Mauchline issued a warning to the congregation which is indicative of the laxity that had developed with regard to the observance of

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80. Wesley, Journal, vol. III, p. 434. Cp. OSA, vol. 8, no. XIV (Stirling), pp. 293-5.

81. Heron, Observations Made on a Journey Through the Western Counties of Scotland, vol. I, p. 374.

82. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 295-6.

83. OSA, vol. 6, no. XV (Kirkmichael), p. 110.

84. Gillespie, Dundonald: A Contribution to Parochial History, vol. II, p. 390.

Sunday.[85]

> The Kirk Session of Mauchline are informed that the Lord's day is grossly profaned in this place by both men and women, particularly the younger sort, meeting together in parties and cabals after sermon, and are seen walking and traversing the fields and highways in an indecent manner on the evening of that holy day. The Session therefore think it is their duty to warn the people of this congregation, young and old, against the sin of Sabbath-breaking, and earnestly exhort parents, and heads of families to command their children, servants, and all within their gates, to keep holy the day of the Lord as he has commanded, and particularly to refrain from the profanation of this holy day by idly vaguing together and by profane worldly conversation.[86]

There was another form of Sabbath breaking that had become so inextricably associated with Church life, especially in the West of Scotland, that any attempt to suppress it brought down the immediate wrath of the people. This was the summer communion service or "Occasion" satirized by Burns in the "Holy Fair". Although these sacramental meetings were often great scenes of devotion and piety, too frequently piety was overshadowed by profligacy. Much to the chagrin of earnest and sincere ministers, the "Sacred Solemnity" became an opportunity for the open profanation of the "Sacred Day". An eye-witness, probably John Witherspoon, sets forth a vivid and caustic account of such a sacramental gathering.

> At first you find a great number of men and women lying together on the grass; here they are sleeping and snoring; some with their faces toward heaven, others with their

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85. While giving Burns all due credit for daring to speak out against what he felt to be distortions of religious zeal, one must remember that Burns himself enjoyed the relative freedom of an age that encouraged a less stringent observance of Sunday. When, for example, the poet was turned away from the Carron Iron Works on Sunday and denied the privilege of viewing its "works", it was not because of any Sabbatarian principles that he was refused admission. It was only because he did not have the necessary recommendation that the porter at the gate refused to let him pass. See the explanation of this in the OSA, vol. 19, no. II (Falkirk), p. 95.

86. Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, 1st Series, p. 320. The Mauchline "Black List" of 1782 did not contain one Sabbath-breaker out of a list of over sixty persons. Evidently the Kirk Session was not dealing with them.

> faces downwards and covered with their bonnets; there you will find a knot of young fellows and girls making assignations to go home together in the evening or to meet at some ale-house; in another place you will see a pious circle sitting on an ale barrel, many of which stand on carts for the refreshment of the saints.... When you get a little nearer the speaker, so as to be within reach of the sound, if not the sense of his words—for that can only reach a small circle, even when the preacher is favoured with a calm, and when there is a wind stirring, hardly a sentence can be heard distinctly at a considerable distance—in the second circle, you will find some weeping and others laughing; some pressing nearer the tent or tub in which the parson is sweating, bawling, jumping, beating the desk. Others, fainting with the stifling heat or wrestling to extricate themselves from the crowd; one seems very devout and serious, the next moment is scolding or cursing his neighbour for squeezing or treading on him; in one instant after his countenance is composing to serious gloom, and he is groaning, sighing, and weeping for his sins; in a word, there is such an absurd mixture of the serious and the comic, that were we convened for any other purpose than that of worshipping the God and governor of nature the scene would exceed any power of face.[87]

One need not rely on the evidence of such an obviously slanted report, however, for information concerning these summer gatherings. At Kilmacolm in 1756 the Communion Sunday was marred by scenes of riot and revelry near the local tavern.[88] Hugh Miller described an "Occasion" near Glasgow in 1792 where the shouting from the ale-house nearby almost completely drowned out the voice of the preacher.[89] In 1790 the minister at Old Monkland said: "In the

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87. Letter from a Blacksmith to the Ministers and Elders of the Church of Scotland in Which the Manner of Public Worship in that Church is Considered, Its Inconveniences and Defects Pointed Out, and Methods for Removing Them Humbly Proposed (London, 1791), pp. 11-12.

88. James Murray, Kilmacolm. A Parish History (Paisley, 1907), 2nd. ed., pp. 136-7. The story is told of Rev. John Brown, minister of Kilmacolm in 1788, who was approached by a deputation of local innkeepers inquiring if he intended to celebrate communion that summer. The spokesman for the group said with great frankness, "If there was to be nae Sacrament we wanted to ask if ye wad gie a subscription to get up a horse race to mak' some steer aboot the toun". Ibid., p. 138fn.

89. Hugh Miller, Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1835), p. 419.

present manner of dispensing that holy ordinance, there is great need of reform. Owing to the crowds which assemble much irregularity takes place."[90] As late as 1815 John Lockhart, viewing a sacramental Sunday near Glasgow, was appalled at the contrast between the scene near the pulpit and the activities in the nearby ale-houses and fields.[91] It was not until the Victorian era that this practice died out. In the few places where the custom continued, the excesses of the previous century seem to have been avoided, and the devout sacramental celebrations in the country churches expressed a simpler, more sedate, and more wholesome type of piety.[92]

One could continue presenting illustrations of the various types of activities common on Sundays in the latter part of the eighteenth century. They would all demonstrate that the prevailing atmosphere was anti-Sabbatarian, thus encouraging a more individualistic, and therefore less authoritarian concept of Sunday observance. In order to prevent a distorted picture, however, it is only fair that some indications of continuing Sabbatarian sentiment be recognized.

Continuing Sabbatarianism

It was Sabbatarian pressure that stymied the attempts to introduce a Sunday delivery of mail in Glasgow in 1759-60. The response of the citizens indicated that many had no desire to accept this encroachment on the peace and

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90. OSA, vol. 7, no. XXXVIII (Old Monkland), p. 377.

91. John Lockhart, Peter's Letters to his Kinfolk (Edinburgh, 1819), 3rd. ed., vol. III, pp. 320-37. Lockhart noted: "After sitting for an hour or two, I walked out to breathe the fresh air, and in passing through the place, was quite scandalized to find such a deal of racketting and mirth going on so near the celebration". Ibid., p. 320.

92. For a concise summary of the gradual cessation of the evils associated with these occasions, see George Burnet, The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland 1560-1960, pp. 254-7.

quiet of the Lord's Day.[93] In April 1759 the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr petitioned the Convention of Royal Burroughs to prohibit Sunday mail deliveries, but were not successful in their application.[94] Local business groups also frequently indicated their disapproval of Sunday work. Typical was the resolution of the Skinners Craft drawn up in 1760.

> Considering that the Postmaster General has ordered the packett to come into this city on the Sabbath morning and being informed that the post office is kept open all that day, and severall persons, shakeing off all reverence of God, His laws touching Sabbath sanctification, &c, from a mistaken notion of promoteing their own secular interest dare and presume to call at the post office for letters & newspapers, read & consider the same, make answers to their letters, which occasion great crowds of people unnecessary to walk up and down the streets, and the Lord's Day is or will be turned in a great measure to a day of civill business.....[95]

The matter was brought before the General Assembly of 1760 and a plan was devised whereby satisfaction was given to the Glasgow and Paisley representations. In addition a committee was set up to consider arrangements for other

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93. From a contemporary pamphlet it is ascertained that the normal course of the mail previous to 1745 was for it to arrive on Monday morning about 9 a.m. After the rebellion of 1745, however, it began to arrive about three or four on Monday morning. Soon the arrival was set ahead to eleven, then eight on Sunday night. Newspapers were given out immediately upon the delivery of the mail, but it was not until 1758 that letters were handed over to those who would pay an additional penny postage. In 1759 there was an abortive attempt to have the mail arrive at nine a.m. on Sunday. Finally, on the 27th of April, 1760, the mail arrived on Sunday morning, letters and newspapers were delivered, and the mail despatched in the evening. See A Mirror for Sabbath-Breakers Being a Friendly Expostulation with the Inhabitants of Glasgow, on Occasion of Turning the Sabbath into a Post Day (Glasgow, 1760), pp. 3-4. With this compare The Law of God and the Laws of the Realm for the Observation of the Sabbath Exhibited in Public View (Glasgow, 1759).

94. Scots Magazine, vol. XXI (May, 1759), p. 270. The petition for the change of the postal delivery is given in the Scots Magazine, vol. XX (April, 1758), p. 209.

95. Harry Lumsden, History of the Skinners, Furriers and Glovers of Glasgow, pp. 159-60.

towns complaining of the Sunday mail.[96] At the conclusion of the discussion, however, a motion to omit a warning against "growing sabbath profanation" was defeated--an indication that Sabbatarians were already in the minority amongst the leaders of the Church.[97]

Barbering also evoked expressions of Sabbatarian feeling. In 1778, for example, the barbers of Glasgow, "considering that the Lord's day was much profaned by the journeymen and apprentices of freemen Barbers shaving and dressing upon the Sabbath", recommended that the magistrates take preventative measures.[98] Ten years later the Presbytery of Edinburgh asked the Town Council to suppress Sunday barbering, but was informed that the "council could come to no determination upon it".[99] In 1794-5 the barbers of Glasgow and Edinburgh decided to adopt more stringent rules with regard to Sabbath labour, and enlisted the aid of their respective presbyteries to insure enforcement.[100] Although the results achieved were not great, the perseverence and concern shown by those involved indicated that many people in Scotland still held a deep respect for the sanctity of the Sabbath.[101]

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96. AGA, 1760 (Index), Sess. 9. The plan for Glasgow provided that the mail from Edinburgh should not arrive until 8 p.m. at which time it would simply deposit and collect the mail and immediately leave. The mail from the West would not arrive until 7 p.m. The Post Office was not to be opened until after the departure of both these posts when letters could be claimed. No formal delivery was to be made until Monday morning. See the discussion in Scots Magazine, vol. XXII (May, 1760), p. 259. The compromise remained in effect until 1787 when the regulations were changed. See John Brown, Free Thoughts Upon the Late Regulation of the Post (Edinburgh, 1787), pp. 1-18; Glasgow Mercury, 14th February, 1787; and Scots Magazine, vol. XLVIII (February, 1787), pp. 100-1. A Sunday mail service commenced in Glasgow in 1788. See Glasgow Mercury, 6th February, 1788.

97. Scots Magazine, vol. XXII (May, 1760), p. 260.

98. Tennent, Records of the Incorporation of Barbers of Glasgow, pp. 170-1.

99. Scots Magazine, vol. L (February, 1788), p. 99. See also Graham, Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 365fn. where some interesting pamphlets relating to this subject are cited.

100. Tennent, op. cit., pp. 171-3. See also Scots Magazine, vol. LVI (October, 1794), p. 653.

The establishment of Sunday Schools provides another illustration of the continuing interest in Sabbath observance. It was not until 1787 that Sunday Schools were brought to the attention of the public, although they did exist in some localities prior to that time.[101] On 27th September, 1787, resolutions were laid before the magistrates of Glasgow by the general session "anent the education of youth and a scheme for exercise of poor boys on the Sabbath days before the forenoon and after the afternoon sermons".[102] A month later the "Sabbath Exercises" were officially opened with a procession of about four hundred well scrubbed and neatly dressed boys, solemnly led by the magistrates and religious leaders of the town.[103] In the same year the "Society for the Promoting of Religious Knowledge Among the Poor" was formed in Edinburgh with Church support. In addition to distributing Bibles and other religious publications, the society gathered young children on Sunday evenings and instructed them in Christian principles.[104] The first impulses for Sunday Schools, therefore, were not independent of clerical supervision, but had the sanction and approval of the Church.[105]

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101. A Course of Lectures on Sabbath Schools, pp. 1-4. In 1782 a school was established in the Barony Parish of Glasgow and one in Aberdeenshire in the same year. See also Alan Reid, The Royal Burgh of Forfar, p. 421.

102. Robert Renwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, vol. VIII, p. 257, and Scots Magazine, vol. XLIX (December, 1787), p. 619. A similar venture was undertaken in Inverkeithing where the Town Council ordered Sunday Schools to be organized "in order to keep boys and girls off the street and from the shore on Sunday". William Stephen, The Story of Inverkeithing and Rosyth (Edinburgh, 1938), p. 70.

103. Scots Magazine, vol. XLIX (December, 1787), p. 619. Cp. also Glasgow Mercury, 31st October, 1787, and 7th November, 1787.

104. A Course of Lectures on Sabbath Schools, pp. 5-6. Some of the efforts of this group are given in the OSA, vol. 6, no. LVII (Edinburgh), p. 576.

105. This is not to say that all ministers favoured Sunday Schools. The minister at Old Monkland said, "Sunday schools seem not to be unexceptionable institutions; for, how pious soever may be the intention of their promoters, they undoubtedly weaken the authority of parents, and tend to make them negligent in their duty". OSA, vol. 7, no. XXXVIII (Old Monkland), p. 376. See also Glasgow Mercury, 5th December, 1787.

Love for the "sanctification of the Sabbath" never died in the hearts of Evangelical clergymen. True, their Sabbatarianism had mellowed, but it was nevertheless a principle from which they would not retreat. Robert Walker, one of the ministers of the High Church (St. Giles) in Edinburgh from 1754-83, provides an example of this evangelical piety. His two sermons on "Sabbath Observance" are masterpieces of Puritan theological exposition, and throughout reveal Walker's deep reverence for the Lord's day. Finding the basis for Sabbath observance in the Fourth Commandment, he affirms that "until we view the Sabbath as a divine institution, we shall never either pay to it that regard which it deserves, nor reap any spiritual advantage from the most exact outward observance of it."[106] Walker concludes his second sermon with the following words:

> Let us all be persuaded to pay a proper regard to this divine precept. If we have any concern for the glory of God, for the honour of our Redeemer, for the welfare of our country, or for our own comfort and happiness, either in this world or in the world to come, let us make conscience of the important duties of the Lord's day, that after having finished our course on earth, we may be fixed as pillars in the temple above, and may spend an eternal Sabbath in the presence of God and of the Lamb.[107]

As long as such preaching could emanate from the pulpit of the High Church of Edinburgh, Sabbatarianism would never die, but only slumber, awaiting its resuscitation in the wake of the Evangelical Revival.

Summary Statement

Between 1760 and 1800 two trends emerged as dominant in Scottish life. The one, Moderatism, worked from the top to the bottom; first affecting the clergy who then influenced the thoughts and actions of the people. The other,

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106. Robert Walker, Sermons on Practical Subjects (Edinburgh, 1784), vol. III, p. 155.

107. Ibid., vol. III, p. 192. For similar views see Creech, Fugitive Pieces, pp. 185 and 247-99.

Industrialization, started primarily with the poorer classes, and worked its way up through the existing social strata. As is evident from life in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other places, these two factors combined to bring about a rapid change in Sunday observance. Restrictions were largely removed and people enjoyed a freedom previously unknown. The continuing Sabbatarianism was not sufficient to offset the dramatic changes taking place in the social and religious life of Scotland. The last forty years of the eighteenth century, a period that has been called the "midnight" of the Church, were truly the "high noon" years of anti-Sabbatarianism in eighteenth-century Scotland.

CHAPTER V

SUNDAY OBSERVANCE IN SCOTLAND 1800-1830

PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION

In order to appreciate fully the developments taking place during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, one must forego a rigid chronology and begin with 1789. Of that year, John Galt, in his Annals of the Parish, makes Rev. Micah Balwhidder declare: "This I have always reflected upon as one of our blessed years....There was a hopefulness in the minds of men, and a planning of new undertakings, of which, whatever may be the upshot, the devising is ever rich in the cheerful anticipations of good". These words clearly state the drift of affairs and the spirit of a period which was characterized by the Industrial Revolution, the French Revolution, the Romantic Revival, and the Evangelical Revival. The eighteenth-century spirit was dying and in its place was rising a new and modern age. With the new age came a dramatic change in the observance of Sunday by the Scottish people--a change initially brought about by the impact of the Revolution in France.

The French Revolution

"Everything", said Lord Cockburn, "rung and was connected with the Revolution in France; which, for above 20 years, was, or was made, the all in all. Everything, not this or that thing, but literally everything, was soaked in this one event".[1] Once the initial optimism in the possible results of the revolution had passed, there was a dread that the streets of Scottish towns

1. Cockburn, Memorials of His Own Time, p. 80.

would flow with blood as had the streets of Paris.[2] So great was the dread that people sought security in the religious beliefs of a past generation, hoping that religious conversion would offset the effects of political revolution.[3] It was the French decree of October 1793, instituting a new calendar and substituting the Decadi for the Christian Sunday, that struck a note of terror into the hearts of Scotsmen who held any respect for the institution of the Sabbath. This feeling of concern about the French Assembly's action was expressed by the editor of the Glasgow Courier a month after the October declaration had been issued. "Among the many extraordinary events which the French Revolution has produced", he wrote, "none has excited greater surprise and abhorrence than the late decree of their convention abolishing Sunday."[5]

The General Assembly of 1794 reflected the changing sentiment of the Church in the publication, "Admonition and Information Respecting the Profanation of the Lord's Day". This document, which contained an abstract of the existing Sabbath laws along with the opinion of the Solicitor-General, Robert Blair, concerning the validity of those enactments, summed up the Assembly's

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2. Cf. the reaction of Thomas Somerville, a Moderate minister. "At the commencement of the French Revolution I had too precipitately expressed my wishes for its success, and hailed it as the dawn of a glorious day of universal liberty and happiness....The atrocities committed in Paris in August and September 1792 opened my eyes, and converted my joy into bitterness and sorrow;" Somerville, My Own Life and Times, p. 264.

3. Meikle, Scotland and the French Revolution, pp. 203-10. See also George M. Trevelyan, British History in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1922), p. 52f.

4. Sophia Maclehose, "The Separation of Church and State in France", Scottish Historical Review, vol. IV (April, 1907), p. 302. Sunday was not officially restored in France until 1802. See C.S. Philips, The Church in France 1789-1848 (London, 1929), p. 33ff.

5. Glasgow Courier, 23rd November, 1793. Cp. also OSA, vol. 16, no. XX (Petercoulter), p. 393; OSA, vol. 16, no. X (Buittle), pp. 134-5; OSA, vol. 10, no. XXXI (Kirkconnell), pp. 458-9; and OSA, vol. 9, no. XXI (Tongland), p. 324 for similar expressions of fear of French principles taking root in Scotland.

attitude in these words:

> And the General Assembly, impressed with the warmest sense of gratitude to the Divine Author of our faith, for the appointment of that day which was made for man, and reflecting with much satisfaction upon the advantages which the people of this country have derived from the devout observance of the Lord's Day by which they have long been distinguished, do earnestly beseech and admonish all ranks to resist, by their example and their influence, every violation of that day, and every attempt to diminish the veneration in which it is held: in particular, they admonish parents, as they value the most essential interest of those who are dearest to them; and masters and heads of families, as they desire to preserve their servants from those habits and practices which are most destructive of the good order of society, to employ every method which appears to them most winning and effectual for rendering the stated returns of the Lord's Day subservient to the instruction and improvement of the children, apprentices, and servants over whom they have influence.[6]

Where once the various courts of the Church had been disinterested they now began to show concern for the proper observance of Sunday. In 1793 the Presbytery of Glasgow published a warning to its constituents against the possible adoption of French principles.[7] The Presbyteries of Perth, Cupar, and Edinburgh inserted resolutions in various newspapers exhorting the people to practise "a sacred observance of that venerable day, which will ever remain precious to Christians, which commemorates the most important, the most joyful events recorded in the annals of the universe".[8] This was followed in 1794 by overtures to the General Assembly from the Presbytery of St. Andrews and the Synod of Perth and Stirling with a view to stopping Sunday work.[9] In 1798

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6. AGA, 1794 (Abridgement), Sess. Ult. Blair's opinion of the existing Sabbath laws, particularly Act 1661 c. 18; 1672, c. 22; 1693; c. 40; 1695, c. 13; and 1701, c. 11, was that there was "no defect in the law as it stands, if duly executed". The General Assembly, however, recommended that Kirk Sessions or individuals did not attempt to instigate any prosecution without the special advice and consent of the Presbytery of the bounds.

7. Glasgow Courier, 9th February, 1793.

8. Glasgow Courier, 31st December, 1793.

9. AGA, 1794 (Abridgement), Sess. 8. Cp. also the statement of the Synod of Fife in the Scots Magazine, vol. LVI (April, 1794), p. 233.

the Synod of Fife requested advice from the Assembly in putting down the practice of distilling spirits on the Lord's Day.[10] As a result of all these petitions and indications of interest in the cause of Sabbath observance, the General Assembly in 1798 organized a permanent committee under the leadership of Dr. Blair, to keep the Church informed on the subject, and to suggest more effective measures for coping with all types of Sabbath breaking.[11]

From pulpits as well as Church courts came invectives against French irreligion and anarchy. The upper classes were warned about the necessity of setting the proper example for those on the lower rungs of the social ladder. William Taylor, minister of the High Church in Glasgow, emphasized this point in a sermon delivered in 1794.

> It is alleged that not a few of those among us who are distinguished by birth or fortune have deserted our churches, and show too little respect for the Christian Sabbath. Perhaps some have acted in this manner merely through inconsideration. The state of public affairs will admit of this apology no longer. The man who will not give his countenance to Religion, and Religious worship, may come to be accounted an enemy to the Cause.[12]

Even Moderate ministers reacted to the French Revolution in no uncertain terms. Sunday observance was seen to be a stabilizing factor in time of political and religious uncertainty. Hugh Blair's sermon of 1793, delivered in response to the October decree abolishing Sunday in France, was summarized by the editor of the Glasgow Courier in the following terms:

> A very seasonable discourse on this subject was preached by Dr. Blair on Sunday last.... We can only say that the Dr. treated the point with his usual clearness and energy,

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10. AGA, 1798 (Abridgement), Sess. 9. When the distillers appealed their case to the House of Lords in the same year their request to operate stills on Sunday, even on a limited basis, was dismissed as "a gross indecency". See Scots Magazine, vol. LX (July, 1798), p. 506.

11. AGA, 1798 (Abridgement), Sess. 9.

12. William Taylor, French Irreligion and Impiety Alarming to Christians (Glasgow, 1794), p. 35. Cp. also Scots Magazine, vol. LIX (February, 1797), p. 141.

> enlarging on the flagrant enormity of such an impious decree, stating the ends for which the Sabbath was appointed, and the benefits which arise both to individuals and to society from the observance of it. He concluded by reminding his hearers, that all who retained any regard for the Christian faith were now particularly called upon to show their reverence for that sacred institution, and publicly to express their zeal in the cause of religion.[13]

Such preaching was not without its immediate and long range effects. The upper classes in particular responded to the challenge of being exemplary in their religious conduct. "I saw then", said an eye-witness, "individuals of great political influence in Edinburgh, who for many years before had never entered a church door, ostentatiously walking up the High Street of Edinburgh, with Bibles in their hands, to attend public worship".[14] Pews once unoccupied were now filled, and churches with dwindling congregations now found themselves overcrowded. Such a situation did not last long, but while it did, it provided enough impetus to overcome the anti-Sabbatarian inertia that had settled over Scotland during the latter part of the eighteenth century.[15]

Another result of the reaction following the French Revolution was the formation of various informal societies to encourage the proper observance of the Sabbath.[16] Petitions were circulated amongst the higher classes of society

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13. Glasgow Courier, 23rd November, 1793. Cp. also OSA, vol. 5, no. XXI (Fettercairn), p. 335; and Religion the Glory of a Nation. A Sermon Preached Before a Lodge of Free Masons January 8, 1790 (Glasgow, 1790).

14. George Combe, Notes on the United States of North America During a Phrenological Visit in 1838-39-40 (Edinburgh, 1841), vol. III, pp. 232-3.

15. Ibid., p. 234. Said an Edinburgh elder: "I have lived to see some of these political supporters of the altar desert its shrines, and return to their habits of religious indifference, but their children not only did not fall away from the principles which had been instilled into them, but sometimes nearly broke the hearts of their parents by advancing into wild fanaticism, which the latter never contemplated without disgust". Ibid., p. 235.

16. These societies were patterned after ones already existing in England. See A Brief Account of the Society for Preventing the Profanation of the Sabbath (London, n.d.), p. 1; Hodgkins, Sunday: Christian and Social Significance, p. 79. Cp. also AGA, 1798 (Abridgement), Sess. 9, where mention of correspondence with William Wilberforce on the subject is made.

urging them to enter into a solemn agreement to "keep the Sabbath holy". One such petition, consisting of six articles of self-denial, was published in the Edinburgh Advertiser in 1798. The signers of this petition promise:

> That they neither shall give nor partake of hot dinners upon the Sabbath.
>
> That they neither shall give nor attend Routes, Assemblies, or concerts upon the Sabbath.
>
> That they shall neither ride out nor travel on horseback, nor in carridges upon the Sabbath.
>
> That they shall exert themselves to suppress all manners of employment and worldly business upon the Sabbath.
>
> That their servants shall not be suffered to go abroad upon the Sabbath.
>
> That they shall, with their households, begin, and conclude the day with solemn prayer to the Almighty; and attend Divine service at least twice in the course of the Sabbath.[17]

Here, in embryonic form, are all the essential characteristics that went to make up what was later called the "Victorian Sabbath". The brief experiment with anti-Sabbatarianism had ended in failure, and from 1800 to the latter part of the nineteenth century Sabbatarianism was to gain strength. True, the ardour of the initiators of such Sunday observance schemes might wane, but what they had begun others would complete. Nothing but the scepticism of an age yet unknown would impede the progress of Sabbatarianism in the hearts

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17. Edinburgh Advertiser, 3rd April, 1798. See also Scots Magazine, vol. LX (April, 1798), p. 290. A similar, but less stringent declaration was also in circulation about the same time. It reads as follows: "We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being sensible of the great importance of the Religious Observance of the Lord's Day, to the interests of Christianity and Civil Society, do declare that we hold it highly improper, on that day, to give or accept invitations to Entertainments or assemblies, or (except in cases of emergency, or for purposes of charity) to travel, or to exercise our worldly occupations, or to employ our domestics or dependents, in anything interfering with their public or private Religious duties and, as example and a public declaration of the principles of our own conduct, more peculiarly at this time, may tend to influence the conduct of others, we do hereby declare our resolution to adhere, as far as may be practicable, to the due observance of the Lord's Day, according to the preceding Declaration". Edinburgh Advertiser, 6th April, 1798.

and minds of the people.

Before leaving the immediate effects of the French Revolution, it is interesting to notice how the Sabbath was observed in a middle class home in the closing years of the eighteenth century. The newly discovered piety of the age is illustrated in the reminiscenses of George Combe, who was born in Edinburgh in 1788. In retrospect, Combe had this to say of his boyhood Sunday's in Edinburgh:

> On Sundays all labour, but that which was unavoidable was suspended in the house and brewery. In the latter the horses and cows were attended to; and in malting and in the fermentation of worts, such labour was applied as was necessary to prevent the processes of nature from running to waste, but no more. We went to church from 11 A.M. to 1 P.M., came home at 1 and had lunch; went to church again at 2 and remained in it till 4 o'clock. We then had dinner; at 5 commenced learning a portion of the Shorter Catechism, and, when older, the Larger Catechism, with the "proofs" or texts on which it was founded, and also six verses of a hymn or Psalm by heart. We had a hurried tea at half-past 6 or 7 o'clock, and again settled to learn our tasks: at 8 o'clock we were summoned to repeat them, and well scolded, but not beaten if we could not say them correctly. Then we rehearsed the portions of the catechism previously learned; and concluded by sitting around the table and reading each a verse of the New Testament in turn, until we had read as much as was equal to a chapter for each.... No family prayers were said, and this I believe arose from my father's modesty.... We were all ordered, however, to say our prayers privately; and as I had a conscience, I prayed before going to bed, silently, to the best of my ability.[18]

By 1802, however, the year in which Sunday was re-instituted in France, the direct influence of the French Revolution upon Scotland ended. Instead of the fear of Jacobinism the dread of invasion permeated all levels of society. Certainly the Revolution continued to have a prominent place in the

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18. George Gibbon, The Life of George Combe (London, 1878), vol. I, pp. 37-9. There are many other interesting examples of Sunday home life covering this general period. The interested reader can consult the following sources: Alexander Nicolson, Memoirs of Adam Black (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 378f; Thomas Guthrie, Autobiography (London, 1874), vol. I, pp. 19-22. A typical Seceder Sabbath of this time is outlined in George Gilfillan, The History of a Man (London, 1856), pp. 13-17, and (of a little later date) Andrew Thomson, Life of Principal Harper (Edinburgh, 1881), pp. 70-1.

minds of many people, and undoubtedly it still influenced the religious sentiments of society; but from this time, for all practical purposes, the reaction to the French Revolution became increasingly subordinate to the positive influence of the Evangelical Revival.

The Evangelical Revival

The revival of Evangelical Christianity brought the Church into a new phase of its existence. The complacency of the Moderate gave way to the restlessness of the Evangelical. One of the manifestations of Evangelical religion was the emphasis placedon Sabbath observance. What had been born of fear was now fostered by love, and once again Sabbath observance--cherished by some, despised by others, but escaped by none--became a distinguishing characteristic of Scottish life.

(1) Revival of Presbytorial Concern

Slowly and surely the courts of the Church, especially the presbyteries, began to suppress secular activities on Sunday. The Glasgow and Edinburgh Presbyteries, for example, combined efforts to stop the running of stage coaches between the two cities on Sunday, a practice initiated in the eighteenth century.[19] In 1801, the Presbytery of Glasgow delegated a committee consisting of Robert Balfour, Alex Renkin, and Stevenson McGill to confer with the Glasgow stage owners.[20] The committee reported that "after much serious conversation", the owners were "willing to discontinue running stage coaches on the Lord's day so far (as they express themselves) as their own particular interests are concerned, and to correspond without delay with their partners on the road and at

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19. See above, pp. 108 .

20. Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 4th February, 1801. See also Cleland, Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and County of Lanark, p. 156, where a brief sketch of the controversy is given.

Edinburgh, in order to their likewise agreeing to do the same".[21] The Edinburgh owners, however, failed to co-operate as readily as did the Glasgow proprietors. In 1806 the Presbytery of Glasgow noted that stages between Edinburgh and Glasgow were still running,[22] and in the same year the Presbytery of Edinburgh, under the leadership of Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, started legal proceedings against James Douglas of the Black Bull Inn, Edinburgh to bring the practice to a halt.[23] In spite of the fact that the Court of Session ultimately ruled that it was legal to run stages on Sunday, the practice was soon voluntarily suspended--a testimony to the increasing power of Sabbatarianism.[24]

Although less successful, the Presbytery of Annan was as determined as the Presbyteries of Glasgow and Edinburgh to put down unnecessary Sunday activities. Its particular problem was extensive salmon fishing. In 1804 resolutions were presented in Presbytery urging ministers to be watchful for such activities in their respective parishes, and to inflict ecclesiastical penalties on those who persisted in fishing on the Lord's Day.[25] The matter was

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21. Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 4th February, 1801.

22. Ibid., 5th February, 1806.

23. Minutes of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 27th November, 1805. Cp. also "Memorial for James Douglas, Vintner and Postmaster at the Blackbull Inn, Edinburgh, for Himself and Other Owners & c.", in Session Papers, vol. 461 (n.p.).

24. The Court of Session ruled to "sustain the reasons of advocation, recall the interdict and dissern". Cf. "The Additional Petition of Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, and the Rev. David Ritchie, for themselves, and as a Committee appointed by...the Presbyteries of Edinburgh and Glasgow", in Session Papers, vol. 473, p. 21ff. Cp. also Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 25th March, 1807. The immediate causes of the cessation of the stages appear to have been the death of Douglas shortly after the trial in 1807, and the subsequent bankruptcy of the firms involved. It was, nevertheless, a moral, if not a legal victory for the Presbyteries involved. See the interesting discussion of this case at a later date in Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Report of Proceedings at the Special and Eighteenth Half-Yearly Meetings of the Company (Glasgow, 1846), p. 35.

25. Minutes of the Presbytery of Annan, 1st August, 1804.

brought before the General Assembly in 1804 and 1805, and the following interim decision was reached.

> No effectual redress of this grievance can be obtained without a new legislative provision; and that considering the heinous nature of this offence against religion and public decency, the Assembly should appoint a committee to communicate with the Lord Advocate respecting the propriety of bringing a bill into Parliament, which, if passed into a law, may effectually prevent the continuance of this breach of the Sabbath.[26]

In the meantime, the Presbytery was advised to exert its influence to keep the problem under control, and to encourage a deeper respect for the Sabbath.

(2) Revival of Sunday Schools

Unlike other facets of Sabbatarianism, Sunday Schools were hampered, rather than helped, by the reaction following the French Revolution. Under the leadership of such men as James and Robert Haldane, Sunday Schools began to develop independently of the Church of Scotland, and to incur censure as being part of the whole democratic movement associated with Jacobinism.[27] Accordingly, the General Assembly in 1799 issued a Pastoral Admonition in which the work of these itinerant missionaries and Sunday School organizers was strongly condemned.[28]

For a while it seemed as though anti-revolutionary sentiment would sup-

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26. AGA, 1805 (Abridgement), Sess. Ult., and Minutes of the Presbytery of Annan, 3rd February, 1805, and 3rd July, 1805. The existing laws relating to Sunday fishing called for fines to be paid in Scots money, only one twelvth the value of sterling.

27. Cf. the letter of Dr. Porteous of Glasgow written in 1797. "Many of us have reasons to believe, that the whole of this missionary business grows from a democratical root, and that the intention of those who planted it was to get hold of the public mind, and hereafter these societies may employ its energy as circumstances may direct". Cited in Meikle, Scotland and the French Revolution, pp. 208-9. One should compare the arguments of the missionaries as in Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and His Brother, James Alexander Haldane, pp. 124-54.

28. AGA, 1799, pp. 38-42. See also the report of the same year concerning "Vagrant Teachers and Sunday Schools", pp. 43-5.

press the development of Sunday Schools, but as the fears of the people diminished, the schools began to flourish. In 1812 the Presbytery of Edinburgh instituted parochial Sabbath Schools in every parish and their numbers rapidly increased.[29] A riot in Aberdeen on 1st January, 1812, convinced the ministers and magistrates that Sunday Schools should be opened in every parish in the city.[30] The "Sabbath School Union for Scotland" was formed in 1816 with the three-fold purpose of seeking to "promote and encourage the formation of Sabbath Schools in every part of the country where their establishment was required--to select and publish suitable books and tracts--and to form a central point of information on every subject connected with the religious instruction of the rising generation."[31]

As the century progressed Scottish ministers became less sceptical about the value of these schools, and began to institute them in their parishes.[32] Laymen like David Stove and William Collins of Glasgow,[33] and Thomas Fairrie of Greenock,[34] are typical of the many pious individuals who sacrificed time and energy to make Sunday Schools a success. One will never be able to estimate the contribution these schools made to the growth of Sabbatarian feelings amongst the young people of early nineteenth-century Scotland. It would be fair to say, however, that had these schools died out, the inculcation of Sabbatarian principles would have been greatly hindered.

29.. NSA, vol. I (Edinburgh), p. 685.

30. A Course of Lectures on Sabbath Schools, p. 6. Cp. NSA, vol. XII (St. Fergus), p. 210.

31. A Course of Lectures on Sabbath Schools, p. 7. By 1825 the Union could claim 1,577 schools and 80,190 scholars.

32. Cf. John Brown, The Testimony of Experience to the Utility and Necessity of Sabbath Schools (Edinburgh, 1826), pp. 15-69.

33. William Fraser, Memoir of the Life of David Stove (London, 1868), p. 11ff, and Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development, pp. 36-7.

34. NSA, vol. III (Greenock), p. 461.

(3) Revival of Personal Piety

As the children of the 1790's became the adults of the 1820's it became increasingly evident that Scotland, as far as Sabbatarianism was concerned, was entering a new era. The Moderate minister, George Cook, noticed about this time "a tendency in many most sincerely religious persons throughout Britain to revive Jewish notions, and to distinguish the Lord's Day by the almost exclusive epithet of the 'Sabbath'".[35] Lord Cockburn fondly recalled the more amicable days of the latter part of the eighteenth century, and found them to be in striking contrast to the contemporary nineteenth-century scene. His words provide an excellent summary of the change that had taken place by 1830.

> There is no contrast between those old days and the present that strikes me so strongly as that suggested by the difference in religious observances; not so much by the world in general, as by the deeply religious people. I know the piety of my mother and her friends, the strict religious education of her children, and our connections with some of the most distinguished of our devout clergymen. I could mention many practices of our old pious which would horrify modern zealots.... In nothing do these differences appear more striking than in matters connected with the observance of Sunday. Hearing what is often confidently prescribed now as the only proper mode of keeping the Christian Sabbath, and then recollecting how it was recently kept by Christian men, ought to teach us charity in the enforcement of observances, which to a certain extent, are necessarily matters of opinion.[36]

In the pages of her Diary, Janet Sinclair, later Lady Colquhoun, reveals how Sabbatarianism came to play an important role in her life. Under the influence of an evangelical minister in Edinburgh, Dr. Walter Buchanan, Miss

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35. Cook, A General and Historical View of Christianity, vol. II, p. 319. With this compare also The Religious Condition of Christendom (London, 1853), p. 448.

36. Cockburn, Memorials of His Own Time, pp. 42-3.

Sinclair experienced a spiritual rejuvenation that led her to take the Christian faith more seriously. As part of the expression of this new way of life, she found it necessary to forego Sunday entertainments and to spend the day in public worship and private devotion.[37] Although one must read the entire Diary in order to appreciate the total impact of Sabbatarianism upon her life, one example is sufficient to illustrate this point. On 5th September, 1824 the following entry was made:

> Last Lord's-day I was in Edinburgh, having gone for medical advice.... Attended St. George's with benefit; but, alas! I have to record an act of transgression in return for the Lord's mercy towards me. I was living at the British Hotel, and Mrs. _____ asked me to dine with her after sermon. We never accept invitations on Sabbath; but somehow I agreed, as we were to remain only two days in Edinburgh, and the following one was to be spent with my father's family. It did not occur to me that I had done wrong, till I found how the evening was employed, and then all the objections to my going occurred in full force; my own loss of spiritual feeling; example to others; the remark of one asked to meet me, but who did not come, and which stung me to the quick,---'I am sure I may do what Lady C. does;' O Lord, pardon this wilful offence, and may I never thus spend thy holy day again.[38]

Sir Andrew Agnew is another example of a person whose life was changed by the adoption of Sabbatarian principles. Agnew was born in Ireland in 1793, educated at Oxford, and in 1809 took possession of his paternal grandfather's

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37. James Hamilton, A Memoir of Lady Colquhoun (London, 1854), 4th ed., pp. 14-20. It was her brother, Sir George Sinclair, who turned down a dinner invitation of King William IV because the gathering was to be held on a Sunday evening. See pp. 162-4.

38. Ibid., p. 143. For a similar story see, Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey and His Brother James Alexander Haldane, p. 23ff. John Dunlop, the noted temperance reformer, wrote in his Diary on February 19th, 1815: "Dined out. It is quite out of the question to be a real Christian & dine out on Sunday. Everything goes wrong. Strict measures for the minute, specific, and particular observance of the Sunday in all its parts is inevitable, is essential. See John Dunlop, Autobiography (London, 1932), p. 52.

estate, Lochnaw, in Wigtonshire.[39] In his early life he showed little concern for the Sabbath. He travelled, wrote letters, and entertained parties of friends.[40] Gradual signs of change came about in 1819 when Agnew became interested in a local Sunday School and began to have family worship in his home. On 6th July, 1828, he was persuaded to hear the elder Dr. McCrie preach at an afternoon worship service. The Doctor spoke on the text Exodus 20:8: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy."[41] This was the turning point in Agnew's life. Later he was to devote all his time and energy to the cause of Sabbath observance, particularly advocating new legislation in Parliament. It was in this period, however, that Agnew's spiritual foundations were established for the battle that lay ahead.[42]

Businessmen, representatives of the rising middle class, were also attracted to the Sabbatarianism of the times. John Henderson of Park, who started as a drysalter in Glasgow and later became an East India merchant in London, gave huge sums of money to promote Evangelical Christianity in general, and Sabbatarianism in particular.[43] He maintained several religious newspapers, and on one occasion spent £4,000 in sending a copy of a publication to all the railway workers in the United Kingdom in the hope of convincing them of the sinfulness of Sabbath labour.[44] Henderson was instrumental in organizing the Evangelical Alliance and sponsored the "Working Men's Essays on the Sabbath". Largely through his and similar lay efforts, Sabbatarian ideals and principles

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39. Thomas McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew (Edinburgh, 1852), 2nd. ed., pp. 1-2.

40. Ibid., pp. 82-3. Cp. also p. 31.

41. Ibid., pp. 87-9.

42. See below, pp. 156-8.

43. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. XXV, p. 403.

44. Ibid., p. 403.

were made known to all levels of society.[45]

Clergymen also shared in the revival of Sabbatarianism. Murray McCheyne, for example, notes in his Diary that he will "never visit on a Sunday evening again".[46] In looking back on his childhood he painfully recalls that his youthful Sabbaths were not very seriously spent. "Many a delightful walk I have had--speaking my own words, thinking my own thoughts, and seeking my own pleasure on God's holy day".[47] Frequently he records his delight in the strict observance of the Sabbath as when he says: "Lord, what a happy season is a Sabbath evening! What will heaven be!"[48] It was through the personal witness of ministers like McCheyne that the church-going populace of Scotland became convinced of the necessity of adhering to a strict religious observance of the Sabbath day.

It is in the life of Thomas Chalmers, however, that one can see the finest and most wholesome expression of the Sabbatarian spirit that was developing in early nineteenth-century Scotland. Chalmers illustrates the best of two worlds--the scholarship and love of learning of a Moderate, and the personal piety and devotion of an Evangelical. Unfortunately, only the rare and gifted individual could maintain this delicate balance of a cool mind and a warm heart. The disciples of Chalmers copied the letter of his Sabbatarianism without fully appreciating its spirit.

Prior to his conversion experience Chalmers showed indifference to Sunday observance. He travelled, visited friends and enjoyed other pleasures on the

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45. See the account of Henderson's life in the Glasgow Herald, 2nd May, 1867.

46. Andrew Bonar, Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 12.

47. Ibid., pp. 48-9.

48. Ibid., p. 56. Compare also Marjory Bonar, Andrew A. Bonar, D.D. Diary and Letters (London, 1893), p. 77.

day of rest.[49] After 1811 a gradual change took place, and he began to be more particular about his conduct on Sunday and to express his appreciation of what he termed "Sabbath solitude".[50] Chalmers always tried to be exemplary without binding himself to the prevailing notions of what could properly be done on Sunday. He maintained, for example, that there was nothing intrinsically wrong with walking "fearlessly abroad", and recognizing "in the beauties of nature the hand that has graced and adorned it".[51] It was his custom to employ a private conveyence and to engage in solitary walks, as is indicated in a letter written to Capt. Burnett of Monboddo in 1843.

> I have been forcibly reminded of the last delicious Sabbath in your place, and which I so exceedingly enjoyed after the service was over, from the time that Mrs. Burnett received me in her carrige, and throughout the whole of that evening, when I was so much regaled, both by my solitary walks around your house, and at the return of all its much valued inmates.[52]

Sunday for Chalmers was not characterized by gloom, but rather by a joyful quietness, beneficial to the best interests of man--both body and soul.

The Christian Sabbath was always viewed as a means and not as an end in itself. Although Chalmers founded his belief on the Fourth Commandment, he realized that meaningful Sabbath observance went much deeper than a mental assent to a portion of the Decalogue. He was willing to waive this Scriptural

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49. William Hanna, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers (Edinburgh, 1853), vol. I, pp. 76, 109, and 118. His practice of travelling on Sunday continued long after his conversion experience. See William Hanna (ed.), A Selection from the Correspondence of the Late Thomas Chalmers, (Edinburgh, 1853), pp. 128, 161, and 425.

50. Cf. his words to a friend in 1844: "But when one can have a quiet and solitary Sabbath with a clear and quiet conscience, I know of few things more exquisite". Hanna, A Selection from the Correspondence of the Late Thomas Chalmers, p. 513. See also Thomas Chalmers, Sabbath Scripture Readings (Edinburgh, 1848), vol. II, pp. 2-3.

51. Chalmers, Works (Glasgow, n.d.), "Congregational Sermons", vol. II, p. 278.

52. Hanna, A Selection From the Correspondence of the Late Thomas Chalmers, p. 425. Cp. also pp. 128 and 161.

basis and

> rest the perpetuity of the Sabbath law on this affirmation, that, while a day of unmeaning drudgery to the formalist, it is, to every real Christian, a day of holy and heavenly delight,--that he loves the law, and so has it graven on the tablet of his heart, with a power of sovereignty upon his actions, which it never had when it was only engraven on a tablet of stone, or on the tablet of an outward revelation,--that wherever there is a true principle of religion, the consecration of the Sabbath is felt, not as bondage, but is felt to be the very beatitude of the soul,--and that, therefore, the keeping of it, instead of being viewed as a slavish exaction on the time and services of the outer man, is the direct and genuine fruit of the spiritual impulse on the best affections of the inner man.[53]

It was the spirit of legalism that warped and twisted the true meaning of Sabbath observance.

> It is this accursed spirit of legality which turns Sabbath service and every other service, into a heartless thing of distaste, disquietude, and most unproductive anxiety; and never will this day be kept aright, till, out of the new-born desires of an evangelized heart, it be kept, not as a fast to afflict the soul, but as a feast to regale it--not as a service of desert for which you obtain the friendship of God, but as a service of grateful commemoration in return for the friendship that has been already proffered, and already been accepted of.[54]

In Chalmers's mind the argument for the validity of the Lord's Day rested on the experience of those who have tasted its blessedness. The Fourth Commandment was not viewed as an external law to be applied, but as an internal voice to be appreciated. By permitting personal conscience to work out the details, Chalmers upheld the essentials of Sabbatarianism without being committed to its excesses. Whatever one's theological position may be one cannot but admire the sincerity and earnestness of Christians like Chalmers who

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53. Chalmers, Works, "Congregational Sermons", vol. II, p. 272. Cp. also FCAP, 1864, Appendix XX, pp. 3-4.

54. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 285-6. Chalmers's contrast of a legalistic and spiritualized observance of the Sabbath is quite vivid. See pp. 276-89.

infused new life and meaning into an old institution. All too quickly the amorphous, resilient, and introspective Sabbatarianism of the early nineteenth century vanished, leaving in its place a rigid, unyielding, and impersonal representation.[55]

(4) Revival in Corporate Life

As personal Sabbatarianism developed in the nineteenth century, it naturally made an impact upon the cultural milieu. Cities and towns began to observe Sunday quietly and religiously. A "Sabbath breaker" in a rural area found himself ostracized because of his disrespect for the Lord's Day. Even before 1830, as the effects of the Evangelical Revival became generally felt, Scotland was settling down to what was later called the "Victorian Sabbath".

Glasgow, for example, had greatly changed since Robert Heron noted its hedonistic appearance in 1792. When John Lockhart visited there in 1815 he discovered that Sunday was very strictly observed. He summed up his impressions in the following terms:

> One of the most remarkable features which I have observed in the manners of the Scottish people, is their wonderfully strict observance of the Sabbath--and this strictness seems to be carried to a still greater height here than even in Edinburgh. The contrast which the streets afford on this day, to every other day in the week, is indeed most striking. They are all deserted and still during the hours of divine service, as if they belonged to a City of the Dead. Not a sound to be heard from end to end, except perhaps a solitary echo answering here and there to the steps of some member of my own profession [law] --the only class of persons who, without some considerable sacrifice of character, may venture to be seen abroad at an hour so sacred![56]

In his Old Glasgow Essays, John Mitchell suggests that most people in Glasgow about 1837 "kept Sunday very quietly, and made arrangements to make it for serv-

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55. See the discussion in James Hessey, Sunday, Its Origins, History, and Present Obligations (London, 1860), p. 299. Robert Cox differs from Hessey on this point, but does not provide much evidence for his personal opinions about Chalmers. See Cox, The Literature of the Sabbath Question, vol. II, p. 340.

56. Lockhart, Peter's Letters to his Kinfolk, vol. III, pp. 265-6.

ants too a day of rest".[57] When Francis Trench, an English clergyman, visited in 1845, he was greatly impressed by the scene around the Trongate and Argyle Street, where dense throngs of people silently made their way to the morning worship service.[58] Gone were the Sunday amusements, excursions, and parties of the previous period. Instead there was a solemn, and at times sombre, religious observance of the Sabbath.

Other places were affected by the revival of Sabbatarianism. The Dundee Town Council in 1824 issued a proclamation lamenting various forms of alleged Sabbath breaking, and attempted to enforce regulations dealing with the openning of public houses, the carrying of water from public wells, and the assembling of groups of people on the streets.[59] The police force in Paisley, with the support of local religious groups, began a campaign to ensure an orderly Sunday, particularly with regard to stopping heavy drinking.[60] From many other parts of Scotland, both urban and rural, came indications that Sunday

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57. John Mitchell, Old Glasgow Essays (Glasgow, 1925), p. 161.

58. Trench's observations of Sunday in Glasgow are interesting. "The Sunday appeared to me admirably kept. My expectations were highly raised as to the due observance of the Sabbath in Scotland; and on this, my first occasion of being able to judge as an eye-witness, I can undoubtedly testify that all my expectations were abundantly fulfilled. I looked up the long line formed by the Trongate and Argyle Street, just at the time when the chief stir might have been expected, and I could not see one single vehicle abroad.... At each hour of public worship the people were to be seen crossing one another in dense throngs on their way to services; the men, even to the class of manual labourers, clad for the most part in good habiliments of black cloth". Francis Trench, Scotland: Its Faith and Its Features (London, 1846), vol. I, pp. 77-8.

59. James Rollo, A Century's Record of Ecclesiastical Life in Dundee (Dundee, 1902), pp. 60-1. In 1826 the Town Council attempted to enforce these local Sabbath laws by arresting a number of young girls who had drawn water from the public wells during the time of divine service. Because of legal technicalities the prosecution was not successful. Many of Dundee's population felt that the Sabbath had been more profaned by dragging the girls to the police station than by carrying water from the wells. See Ibid., pp. 61-2.

60. NSA, vol. VII (Paisley), pp. 189-90. The statistics on arrests for "Sabbath profanation" show that from 1807, when there were no such arrests, the total by 1834 amounted to 252. Most of these arrests were for excessive drinking on Saturday night and Sunday morning.

observance had greatly improved. Personal sentiments, to a large extent, were becoming national characteristics.[61]

Qualifications on the Success of the Evangelical Revival

Nevertheless, in all honesty, one must admit that there is another side to the picture. It would be foolish to assume that as soon as the Evangelical Revival gained momentum, all anti-Sabbatarian practices ceased. On the contrary, there is much evidence to suggest that there was need for continual reformation of the Sunday habits of the nation. A consideration of various contemporary sources will enable one to maintain a proper perspective of the overall developments taking place in the early nineteenth century.

(1) City Life

Glasgow may be taken as a case in point. Two visitors, John Lockhart and Francis Trench, have previously been cited as witnesses to the fact that Sunday there was observed in a remarkably strict manner.[62] Yet two local residents, James Weir, writing in 1808, and Gavin Struthers, writing in 1830, did not share these sentiments. Weir compiled a list of Sunday activities common to Glasgow that he felt ought to be suppressed. They included such items as the following: (1) mail coaches arriving and departing, (2) the Post Office and other places of business open, (3) strolling in the streets and drawing water, (4) military band music, (5) inns and taverns open all day, (6) crowds gathering at the Cross or the Tontine Coffee House on Sunday evening, (7) swimming or

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61. The minister at Stonehouse, for example, reported that "The due observance of the Sabbath is likewise a characteristic mark of the inhabitants of Stonehouse. The hallowing of the Sabbath day is here most scrupulously attended to by all ranks of persons, both in town and parish; and except in going to and from church, you will hardly see a person on the street".. NSA, vol. VI (Stonehouse), p. 476. Cp. also, NSA, vol. II (Pencaitland), p. 357; NSA, vol. II (Hutton), p. 156; NSA, vol. II (Coldstream), p. 212; and NSA, vol. II (Selkirk), p. 5.

62. See above, p.140.

skating on the Clyde, and (8) driving of cattle in town and country.[63] Struthers's list was almost identical and indicates that the passing of twenty-two years had not wiped out all traces of secularism on the Lord's Day.[64] Especially in the poorer districts of Glasgow was Sunday neglected. A great number of people living in back wynds and slums had little or no concern about observing Sunday in a religious manner. As late as 1846 the Rev. John Smith gave this eye-witness account:

> No. 93 High Street, better known by the name of the Pipe-house close, a most densely-peopled locality, contains about 150 families, and taking five as the average in each, it will give 750. A friend of mine stood about an hour the other Sabbath morning, looking at a wee pawn in the close, and in that short period he saw no fewer than 50 persons pop in. In an entry near by he saw men, women and children stripping their coats, petticoats, jackets, frocks, shoes, etc. Nearly opposite the pawn there is a spirit-cellar which, under the name of selling milk, catches, with scarcely an exception, all the wee pawn dupes, and wrings from them the last farthing. Attached to this spirit-cellar there is a dunghill which yields a great revenue. It frequently overflows and then all around is one scene of filth and pollution.[65]

As the century progressed efforts were made to reach the un-churched masses of Glasgow. Henry Calderwood of the Greyfriars U.P. Church rented the Tontine Reading Rooms and gave a religious address to the large group of men who spent Sunday smoking, gossiping, and playing cards.[66] Robert Buchanan of the Free Tron Church opened the Wynd Mission in 1844 and by 1850 had a full time mission-

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63. James Weir, An Alarm of Danger: Being a Testimony Against and Lamentation Over, the Open Profanation of the Holy Sabbath in the City of Glasgow...Wherein Occasion is Taken to Speak of some other Prevailing Iniquities Such as the Profaning of the Divine Name & c. (Glasgow, 1808), pp. 12-58.

64. Gavin Struthers, An Address to the Inhabitants of Glasgow in Reference to Sabbath Profanation (Glasgow, 1831), pp. 6-29. See also Glasgow Broadside (Glasgow, 1890), vol. II, (n.p.) where the description of a riot on Sunday in Glasgow in 1822 is given.

65. John Smith, The Grievances of the Working Classes, and the Pauperism and Crime of Glasgow & c. (Glasgow, 1846), p. 9.

66. W.L. Calderwood and D. Woodside, The Life of Henry Calderwood (London, 1900), pp. 101-2.

ary at work and an attendance at the Bridgegate Schoolroom of over 200 people.[67] Norman MacLeod of the Barony Church held evening services for the poor to which no one was admitted except in his everyday working clothes.[68] Similar activities gradually improved the situation in Glasgow, but one must be aware of the fact that while the main streets were silent and empty on Sunday, the back wynds and lanes often presented an entirely different scene.[69]

In other metropolitan areas the situation was analagous. The back wynds of Edinburgh and Dalkeith presented disturbing pictures of poverty and drunkenness, along with antipathy to religion in any form. Blackfriars Wynd in Edinburgh did not differ greatly from Glasgow's Pipe-house Close,[70] and Norman MacLeod described Dalkeith's "Little Dublin" as a place of "poverty, ignorance, and squalor, easy to reach so long as the question was one of almsgiving, but which it appeared almost impossible to reform".[71] From Dundee

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67. Norman L. Walker, Robert Buchanan, D.D. An Ecclesiastical Biography (London, 1877), pp. 304-6. In a speech before the Free Presbytery of Glasgow in 1851, Buchanan said: "My deliberate conviction is, that one half of the population of this great city are living in utter neglect of the ordinances of God's house--that their Sabbaths are spent in idleness and sin--that this alarming state of things is incessantly and rapidly increasing, and that nothing is done which even pretends to be a remedy for this enormous and overwhelming evil". Ibid., p. 317. See also Robert Buchanan, The Spiritual Destitution of the Masses in Glasgow; its Alarming Increase, its Fearful Amount, and the Only Effectual Cure (Glasgow, 1851).

68. Donald MacLeod, Memoir of Norman MacLeod, D.D. (London, 1876), vol. II, p. 57.

69. For a concise treatment of this general situation see Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development, pp. 24-46.

70. George Bell, Day and Night in the Wynds of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1849), p. 18ff. See also George Bell, Blackfriars Wynd Analyzed (Edinburgh, 1850). At a much earlier date Henry Mackenzie complained that "in the time of public worship on a Sunday, not only are the public walks crowded, but idle and blackguard boys bawl through the streets, and splash us with their games...." Henry Mackenzie, An Account of the Life and Writings of John Home (Edinburgh, 1822), pp. 42-3fn. See also Thomas Guthrie, The City Its Sins and Sorrows (Glasgow, 1859), esp. pp. 68-92 where the work in the Pleasance section of Edinburgh is described; and Gilfillan, The Sabbath Viewed in the Light of Reason, Revelation, and History, pp. 561-2.

71. MacLeod, Memoir of Norman MacLeod, D.D., vol. I, p. 212.

came equally disturbing reports of heavy drinking, poor church attendance, and neglect of family worship.[72] Such was the other side to city life in early nineteenth-century Scotland.

(2) Industrialization

The Evangelical Revival and the Industrial Revolution made uneasy yoke-fellows. The latter movement tended to "depersonalize" the individual with its concern for the machine rather than for the man. The former encouraged the development of conscience and personal responsibility to a point that at times bordered on morbidity. It was only natural that Evangelicism and industrialization should become involved in a long and bitter struggle for the souls of men. By 1830 the general pattern of this conflict was already quite clear.

The Committee Report on the Conditions in Factories, published in 1832, provided abundant evidence that industrialization was making an impact on religious institutions. Sunday observance was singled out as an unfortunate victim of the changing times. It was not uncommon, for example, for factories to operate until 11.30 p.m. on Saturday, and then resume work on Monday at 12.30 a.m.[73] When one worker who was forced to labour under such conditions was asked how he and his companions spent Sunday, their one day of freedom, he replied, "We used generally to go to bed all Sunday."[74] One factory owner in

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72. Bonar, Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, p. 599. See also Report of the Committee of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on Sabbath Observance (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 10-11.

73. Report from the Committee on the Bill to regulate the Labour of Children in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom (London, 1832), p. 373. Cp. also p. 387. A similar situation existed in the woollen mills in Roxburghshire. See NSA, vol. III (Wilton), p. 80; and NSA, vol. VII (Neilston), p. 338.

74. Report from the Committee on the Bill to regulate the Labour of Children &c., p. 387. See also NSA, vol. X (Perth), p. 90, NSA, vol. VII (Greenock), p. 429; NSA, vol. VIII (Mulravonside), p. 205; NSA, vol. VIII (Cumbernald), p. 148; and NSA, vol. XI (Brechin), p. 135. Cp. MacLeod, Memoir of Norman MacLeod, D.D., vol. I, p. 125 for a description of Newmilh in 1838.

Dundee, in order to ensure that his youthful employees would not run off, locked them in a room and would not permit them to attend public worship or Sunday School.[75] The operation of mills at Bonnington, Canon Mills, and Water of Leith, particularly in the summer months, made it impossible for many workers to attend church or to practise family worship.[76] True, many of the larger works stopped production on Sunday, but as the Industrial Revolution entered a new phase after 1830, Sunday labour, in a myriad of forms, became more and more common.

(3) Miscellaneous Activities

There were many other activities that encroached on the tranquillity of the Scottish Sabbath. Sunday drilling and military music, for example, legacies from the wars with France, proved difficult practices to suppress. In the period before 1815 Sunday military parades were common wherever troops were stationed.[77] The marching music on such occasions attracted great crowds of people who, after the music was finished, repaired to the nearest tavern for refreshment.[78] In 1833 the Glasgow Town Council made "a respectful application" to the commanding officer of the local barracks, "requesting the sus-

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75. Report from the Committee on the Bill to regulate the Labour of Children &c., pp. 369 and 389. Such conditions did not, of course, exist in all Scottish factories. In many places encouragement was given to children to attend church or Sunday School. Compare, for example, NSA, vol. VIII (Clackmannan), pp. 135-6, and NSA, vol. VIII (Balfron), p. 294.

76. Report from Select Committee on Sabbath Observance, p. 200.

77. Ibid., p. 288. See also NSA, vol. VII (Paisley), p. 304. In 1805, Rev. Alexander Paterson of Dundee noted in his Diary, "How is such a day as this, as well as the Sabbath of the Lord profaned by military parades, and the crowd which it assembles". Alexander Paterson, Sermons (Aberdeen, 1810), p. xxxvii.

78. Report from Select Committee on Sabbath Observance, p. 288. Further information on this subject can be found in Robert Burns, Historical Dissertations on the Law and Practice of Great Britain and Particularly of Scotland, with Regard to the Poor (Edinburgh, 1819), 2nd ed., p. 243. Thus Sunday concerts are not a modern innovation but were common before, but not during, the late Victorian era.

pension of all/military music on Sundays, at the barracks or elsewhere within the city".[79] As late as 1839 the Presbytery of Edinburgh complained of the Sunday evening military music and marching at Piershill Barracks where huge crowds gathered to enjoy the entertainment.[80] By mid-century, however, religious forces had succeeded in bringing these practices to a halt.

Cattle driving on Sundays was another ancient custom that survived well into the nineteenth century. Despite the ancient laws forbidding Saturday and Monday markets, it was not uncommon to have great fairs and markets on those days, thus encouraging cattle dealers to travel with their herds on Sunday in order to be ready for the markets.[81] In 1818 the Presbytery of Glasgow petitioned the Town Council, "calling the attention of the magistrates to the profanation of the Sabbath by the practice of driving cattle and sheep along this city on that day, and even during the hours of divine service".[82] Different attempts were made to alter the market day from Monday to Thursday, but it was not until 7th November, 1833 that the day was officially changed in Glasgow.[83] In other localities the practice continued for many years.[84]

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79. Renwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, vol. XI, pp. 614 and 625. Cp. also Edinburgh Advertiser, 30th May, 1823.

80. Report of the Committee of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on Sabbath Observance, p. 12. In 1839 the Presbytery received a reply from the commanding officer of the barracks stating that there was "no reason to deviate from the established custom of employing the regimental band in the Barrack Square on the afternoon of Sunday, for the amusement of the officers".

81. Cf. OSA, vol. 18, no. I (Kirkcaldy), p. 55; NSA, vol. I (Glenorchy), p. 322; NSA, vol. II (Yester), p. 172; NSA, vol. V (Stevenson), p. 464; NSA, vol. III (St. Boswell's), p. 113; and NSA, vol. X (Dunkeld), p. 989.

82. Renwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, vol. X, pp. 425-6, and 428-9. See also p. 685. Writing in 1831, Gavin Struthers complained that the cattle buyers "visit the different resting-places near to the suburbs, examine the cattle and sheep; and higgle and drink, and buy, on the Lord's Day". Struthers, An Address to the Inhabitants of Glasgow in Reference to Sabbath Profanation, p. 22.

83. Renwick, op. cit., vol. XI, pp. 582 and 592.

84. As late as 1850 attempts were still being made to change the Falkirk cattle market from Monday to Tuesday. See the discussion of this in Cox, Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties, p. 316fn.

It was in connection with this practice that an interesting case of Sabbath breaking occurred in 1822. In April of that year, Rev. Thomas Turnbull, minister of Anwoth in Kirkcudbrightshire, brought to his Kirk Session's attention the fact that "an immensely insulting, and wanton violation of the sanctity of the Lord's day" had taken place.[85] A servant of a certain Mr. Brown had been seen at about five in the evening driving a cart loaded with hay, his purpose being to feed some cattle that had arrived at the farm early on Sunday. All that the Kirk Session desired was that Brown should appear before the Session and acknowledge that "he was sorry for what had happened on Sunday 28th April, and that he would endeavour to prevent the like happening again".[86] Brown stubbornly refused to present himself, and the case was referred to higher judicatories. The Synod of Galloway ruled that the Anwoth Session should not censure Brown in this matter, so Turnbull, in 1824, carried the case to the General Assembly. After much discussion the Assembly ruled that since there was cause to think that the cattle were not expected, the work of carting hay could be considered a work of necessity. Brown, therefore, received no censure, but the Assembly recorded that it "highly approved of the conduct of the Kirk Session of Anwoth in watching over breaches of the Sabbath, such as that which was in this case apprehended".[87] Such a decision illustrates the flexibility of the early nineteenth-century Sabbatarianism. While being interested in protecting the Sabbath from unnecessary labour, it was always willing to give wide range to "works of necessity", a spirit all too

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85. Anwoth Kirk Session Records, 12th May, 1822.

86. Anwoth Kirk Session Records, 19th May, 1822. See also the entries for 8th June, 1823, 22nd June, 1823, and 29th June, 1823 where this subject is discussed.

87. AGA, 1824 (Abridgement), p. 40. In the debate on the subject William Inglis affirmed that "there was but one opinion in the Assembly as to the keeping sacred the Sabbath, and that they would watch with the most scrupulous anxiety to put down or check any infringement that might be attempted on the privliges of that holy day". See the discussion in the Edinburgh Advertiser, 1st June, 1824. Inglis was chairman of the Sabbath Observance Committee of the Assembly.

uncommon in the later Victorian era.[88]

In spite of all the attempts to stop Sunday barbering, the practice continued. In 1821 the Incorporation of Barbers in Glasgow memorialized the Lord Provost to sanction the interference of the police in putting down Sunday barbering.[89] As the situation did not improve, the barbers in 1834 again urged the Superintendent of Police "to use every influence to stop the grief".[90] The civil authorities of Dundee intervened in 1835 to prevent a barber from forcing his apprentice to shave customers on Sunday morning--the case being one of the few instances where Sabbatarian interests were upheld.[91] Only as tonsorial services became less necessary, however, did this aspect of Sunday labour cease to be a problem.

Small shops and stores, especially those selling perishable goods, kept their doors open on Sunday as on any other day. The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr reported in 1840 that in the lanes and obscure streets, and even in a few of the larger ones, "the sale of provisions on Sabbaths is very generally prac-

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88. Another interesting example of the latitudinarianism of early nineteenth-century Sabbatarianism is to be seen in a case involving James Wright, minister of Maybole and Kirkbuide in Ayrshire from 1770 to 1812. In 1807 Wright caused a stir by announcing to his people after morning service "that he conceived a favourable opportunity to save the crops, then in imminent danger, was vouchsafed by Providence, from a temporary change of weather, and therefore that those who chose to devote the afternoon to that work of necessity, might in his opinion, do so without violation of the Sabbath". A complaint was made to the Presbytery, but on appeal the Synod did not, in view of the circumstances, disapprove of his suggestion. See Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae (Edinburgh, 1920), vol. III, p. 53, and Scots Magazine, vol. LXX (November, 1808), p. 875. Cp. also Hay, History of Arbroath, p. 255 for another case with different result.

89. Tonant, Records of the Incorporation of Barbers of Glasgow, p. 173. In 1822 seven Glasgow hairdressers were fined 5s. each at the Police Court for working on Sunday.

90. Ibid., pp. 173-4.

91. Cox, Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties, p. 353; and Rollo, Ecclesiastical Life in Dundee, pp. 63-4. In spite of the fact that the apprentice did not have to shave customers on Sunday, the boy's master continued to do so as formerly. The decision, therefore, appears to have reference only to the compulsory nature of the work. Had the apprentice chosen to shave customers on Sunday there would have been no legal impediment in his way to do so.

ticed".[92] It was not until 1839 that the open air market near Holyrood House in Edinburgh was closed for the sale of milk and fruit,[93] and up to 1848 fruits and sweetmeats were sold to Sunday visitors at Cambuskenneth Abbey in Stirlingshire.[94] Chemist shops were open on the basis of necessity, but often sold items that went far beyond medicinal needs.[95] In this respect, if in no other, the twentieth century is more Sabbatarian than the nineteenth; for there are probably fewer places of business open on Sunday today than there were one hundred years ago!

There were other problems relating to Sunday labour that called for attention. Since they come into prominence in the next period of consideration, discussion of them will be deferred until that time. It is sufficient to say that all was not quiet and peaceful behind the scenes of early nineteenth-century Sabbatarianism. What is important to remember, however, is not that such problems existed, but that they were considered abnormal and in need of reform. In principle, if not yet in practice, Scotland was committed to the ways of Sabbatarianism.

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92. Report on the State of Sabbath Observance Within the Bounds of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr (Glasgow, 1840), p. 6. In 1857 it was reported that 1,382 shops were open on Sunday in Glasgow--an increase of 341 since 1855. These figures are difficult to believe, but from all indications seem to be substantially correct. See Eighth Report of the Proceedings of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association, p. 7.

93. Report of the Committee of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on Sabbath Observance, p. 14.

94. Rogers, Social Life in Scotland, vol. III, p. 399. In August of 1848 this practice was ended largely by the efforts of Mr. Peter Drummond, an energetic burgess of Stirling.

95. Report on the State of Sabbath Observance Within the Bounds of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, p. 7. See also the discussion in McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew, p. 358. Agnew played a prominent part in seeing that the markets and shops of Edinburgh were closed on Sunday, and in many ways he was quite an effective worker in this cause.

Summary Statement

The reaction that followed the French Revolution proved to be amenable to Sabbatarian interests. The strict religious observance of Sunday was seen as a stabilizing factor in a society that feared the possible results of democratic expressions from the lower classes. Accordingly, many people, especially the well-to-do, tried to set a good example by attending church, abstaining from public entertainments on the Sabbath, and encouraging personal piety in the home. Once the fear of a revolution began to wane, the revival of evangelical religion took up the slack. With its rise, Sabbatarianism, greatly aided by the Sunday School movement, flourished. In the lives of people like Agnew, Henderson, and Chalmers, the results of this revival can be clearly seen. A love for the Sabbath was inculcated. Every true Christian, it was assumed, would be a strict observer of the Lord's Day. As a result, the externals of Sunday observance were more in evidence in both city and country. Nevertheless, Sunday was not perfectly observed. Old customs and habits died slowly and attempts to hasten their demise did not always succeed. By 1830, however, Sabbatarian strength had been consolidated and the effects of the laxity of the eighteenth century greatly neutralized.

Chapter VI

SUNDAY OBSERVANCE IN SCOTLAND 1830-60

PERIOD OF CONTROVERSY

About 1830 there were many indications that Scotland was passing into a new era. The second stage of the Industrial Revolution commenced about this time, and the decade 1830-40 saw the metal industry gain quickly on the textile and soon surpass it. Political reform was in the air as is evidenced by the passing of the First Reform Bill in 1832. The General Assembly of 1832 was the last one in which the Moderate party could claim a decided majority, indicating the tremendous strides the Evangelical party had made in consolidating its power and influence. When Thomas Chalmers preached the funeral sermon of Andrew Thomson in 1831 he confidently asserted: "The tide of sentiment has turned. The evangelical system has of consequence risen prodigiously of late years, in the estimation of the general society".[1] As Scotland stirred commercially, politically and religiously, the Victorian age officially commenced.

In the midst of all these provocative events Sabbatarianism did not remain quiescent, but responded with alacrity to the challenge of the new age. Having consolidated its strength during the first thirty years of the century, it was now prepared to enter wholeheartedly into conflict with the secularism of the time. As the two forces met head on, it became evident that the issues would not be quickly resolved, but that a prolonged struggle would be necessary to determine the ultimate victor. It was not long until the battle began in

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1. Thomas Chalmers, A Sermon Preached in St. George's Church, Edinburgh... on the occasion of the Death of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson (Glasgow, 1831), 2nd ed., p. 15. For a general introduction to this period of Scottish history see J. R. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-1874 (Edinburgh, 1927), pp. 19-20, and W. H. Marwick, Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland (London, 1936), pp. 17-25.

earnest.[2]

The report of the General Assembly's Sabbath Observance Committee in 1832 caused a mild sensation amongst Sabbatarians and indicated to them the areas where reform was most needed.[3] Dr. John Lee, convenor of the Committee, had received reports from various presbyteries suggesting that the Sabbath was far from being strictly observed. The following quotation from an abstract of this report will reveal something of the nature of Sunday activities in Scotland about 1832.

> In by far the greater number of returns it is stated with much concern that the evil has reached an alarming magnitude. The forms in which it is said chiefly to prevail in populous places, are the following: the general neglect of Divine ordinances, and various abuses connected with this neglect (such as wandering in the fields, meeting together in public houses, large parties of young people for various amusements, bathing openly and offensively in fine weather, plundering of field produce while farmers are at church, forming parties for skaiting on the ice in winter, meeting together in each other's house for gossip and tipling); giving and receiving party dinners; allowing domestic servants to visit their friends and spend the afternoon of the Sabbaths in joining parties of amusement; the hiring of coaches without necessity to go to church in towns, and thus preventing the hackney-coachmen from ever having an opportunity of being in the forenoon or afternoon diets of worship within the walls of the House of God; the employment of various kinds of vehicles, particularly about watering places; sailing of boats and steam vessels, and merchant ships leaving the

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2. Glasgow Herald, 25th May, 1832. In July of 1832 the "Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day" met in London under the leadership of Sir Andrew Agnew. Although the report dealt primarily with Sunday observance in England, Agnew invited men like Duncan Macfarlan of Renfrew, John Lee, and William Bridges to testify concerning the situation in Scotland. The publication of this report in August 1832 provided further information about the prevalence of Sabbath breaking on a national scale. The testimonies of the Scottish representatives can be found in the Report from Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, pp. 195-203, 227-41, 258-61, and 267-90. In the Appendix No. 3, pp. 299-306, some interesting Kirk Session minutes relating to Sabbath observance are cited.

3. About this time presbyteries took more of an interest in Sabbath observance and formed committees to deal with local aspects of the problem. See, for example, Duncan Macfarlane, A Treatise on the Authority, Ends, and Observance of the Christian Sabbath (Glasgow, 1832), p. 266, and Cleland, Statistical Tables Relative to the City of Glasgow, p. 114.

> harbours; waiting on the floating of timber down rivers; the keeping going of printing presses on the Sabbath; the paying of wages in one or two places mentioned in the returns; the driving, and occasionally the private sale of cattle and sheep, especially in the neighbourhood of towns where markets are held on Monday; in some parishes where iron works have been established, the smelting of iron, and other chemical manufactories; the fishing of salmon, &c.[4]

The immediate result of the presbytery reports was the Pastoral Admonition on the Sanctification of the Sabbath issued by the General Assembly in 1834.[5] Church members were warned about their obligations to "keep the Sabbath holy", and the doctrinal basis for Sabbath observance was developed at some length. The Fourth Commandment was viewed as the locus classicus, a belief shared by most members of the Evangelical party. A selection from this document will illustrate its overwhelming Sabbatarian orientation.

> We call upon all, in every rank, to consider seriously in how many ways the command to sanctify the Sabbath is disobeyed in thought, in word, and in deed. Even among those who have prepared their hearts to seek God, it must be confessed that there is no small danger of suffering the mind to be unduly occupied on this holy day with vain imaginations and worldly cares; and that though idle and foolish talking may not be deliberately indulged, the conversation is not always with grace, seasoned with holiness, and many things are inconsiderately done, whereby the profane may be countenanced and encouraged in their worldly-minded pursuits, and weak brethren offended or made to stumble. But whatever may be the estimation in which you are held, and whatever the stations which you occupy, we cannot forbear to remind you, that all violations of the Fourth Commandment are utterly inconsistent with the principle of the doctrine of Christ, which you are bound to adorn, and, with the example of Christ, which it is your highest honour and interest to follow; and that those gross acts of profanation are especially perilous, which, while they betray contempt of the Divine

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4. Report from Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, p. 285. See also, pp. 286-90. (The abstract has been incorporated into the Committee Report.)

5. Glasgow Herald, 2nd June, 1834. In 1833 the Associate Synod issued a similar Pastoral Admonition. See Address on Sabbath Sanctification, to the People Under their Charge (Edinburgh, 1834). With this compare Samuel Gilfillan, Address to the Second United Associate Congregation of Stirling (Stirling, 1827) where similar views are expressed.

> Law-giver, have a manifest tendency not only to grieve and wound every serious spirit, but to ensnare and mislead the giddy and careless, and thus ultimately involve them in everlasting ruin.[6]

The increasing sensitivity of the General Assembly with regard to "Sabbath sanctification" was illustrated by its protestations against the custom of holding Sunday parades and dinner parties when the Assembly was in session. In June 1832 the Glasgow Herald reported that progress was being made in stopping the traditional procession of dignitaries to church.

> For the last two Sundays his Grace the Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly has dispensed with the usual procession, going privately to and from church in the afternoon. We understand that his Grace is extremely anxious, as far as possible, to meet the wishes of the clergy in this matter; and that it is not unlikely that the customary parades during the Assembly will be eventually done away with altogether.[7]

Such time-sanctioned traditions were not, however, discarded overnight. In 1834 complaints were made that they still continued. The Moderator was instructed to confer with the Lord High Commissioner, and on 30th May, 1834, it was formally announced that the public processions and parties would be discontinued, although private gatherings were not to be censured.[8] The Sabbatarians in the Assembly had made their point, held firm, and emerged victorious.

Having once tasted victory, it was only natural that they would widen their area of activities. Dr. John Lee, addressing the Assembly in 1834, rejoiced at such an instance of improvement in the observance of the Sabbath,

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6. AGA, 1834 (Abridgement) p. 76. This should be compared with the "Admonition and Information Respecting the Profanation of the Lord's Day" issued by the General Assembly in 1794. A comparison of the two documents reminds one that Sabbatarianism has not remained static, but had gradually regained much of the Puritan theology that had been de-emphasized at the end of the eighteenth century.

7. Glasgow Herald, 1st June, 1832.

8. Glasgow Herald, 30th May, 1834. Cp. also Glasgow Herald, 26th May, 1834.

> but could not conceal that there were instances of depravity that were perfectly shocking. It was the duty of all members of church, and all professors intrusted with the education of youth, to inculcate a strict and proper observance of the Sabbath, as being the sole and only means of building up Zion.[9]

The desire to "inculcate a strict and proper observance of the Sabbath" soon became manifest in many ways. For the sake of clarity they can be divided into seven main areas: (1) Sunday Legislation, (2) Sunday Travel, (3) Sunday Postal Work, (4) Sunday Drinking, (5) Sunday Funerals, (6) Sunday Protection Societies, and (7) Miscellaneous Efforts. Obviously these items are not mutually exclusive, but they are distinct enough to merit individual consideration. By looking at them in some detail one can better appreciate the militant spirit of Victorian Sabbatarianism while at the same time assaying its strengths and weaknesses.

Sunday Legislation

In spite of Robert Blair's opinion in 1794 that the existing Sabbath laws were adequate, it soon became evident that while this was true in theory, it was not so in practice.[10] The ancient Act of 1661 was ruled irrelevant when the Presbytery of Edinburgh attempted to enforce it against the barbers in 1795.[11] The unsuccessful attempts of the Presbytery of Annan to enforce the old laws in the years 1803-5 only confirmed the fact that they had fallen into desuetude.[12] Although the subject of new Sabbath legislation was frequently discussed during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, the General Assembly operated on the principle that presbyteries should employ "every pru-

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9. Glasgow Herald, 2nd June, 1834.

10. AGA, 1794 (Abridgement), sess. ult. In 1794 and 1795 bills relating to the observance of the Sabbath were brought into the House of Commons without success. See the discussion in Cox, Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties, p. 336.

11. AGA, 1795, (Abridgement), sess. 9.

12. AGA, 1804, (Abridgement), sess. 5.

dent means, by their ministerial persuasions and influence, to prevent the Profanation of the Lord's Day within their bounds".[13]

In June 1832, however, Sir Andrew Agnew, the M.P. for Wigtonshire, moved in the Commons that a committee be appointed "to inquire into the laws and practices relating to the observance of the Lord's day".[14] The committee was organized, and after extensive interviews and gathering of evidence, printed its findings in August 1832. The result was that a movement was initiated, under the guidance and leadership of Agnew, to secure the passage of new legislation in the Commons favourable to Sabbatarian interests.

On 20th March, 1833, Agnew first introduced a "Bill for the Better Observance of the Sabbath" which related primarily to the metropolis of London.[15] In June of the same year, however, he asked permission "to bring in a bill to amend the laws relating to the observance of the Lord's day in Scotland".[16] The object of this bill was simply to accommodate the existing statutes to the change of circumstances, and to raise the fines from "punds Scots" to modern currency. The introduction of the bill was granted, but discussion of it was postponed until the following session.[17]

In 1834 the Scottish Bill was again presented, but met with defeat in May

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13. AGA, 1806 (Abridgement), pp. 41-2

14. McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew, p. 129

15. Cox, Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties, pp. 336-8. Space does not permit an examination of all the vicissitudes of the legislative history in connection with the observance of the Sabbath. The reader is referred to, John Baylee, History of the Sabbath (London, 1857), pp. 222-37 and W. B. Whitaker, The Eighteenth Century English Sunday (London, 1940), pp. 255-74. Whitaker's work is perhaps the most objective study available.

16. McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew, pp. 182-3.

17. Ibid., p. 183. Cp. also Report from Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, p. 259. The General Assembly's Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day in 1834 did not favour Agnew's bill because it was not explicit enough and left too much to the discretion of the judges hearing the cases. The report of this committee is found in the Report from Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, opposite p. 306

of the same year.[18] Attempts were made in 1836 and 1837, but the bills presented never went beyond the second reading.[19] The death of William IV in 1837 dissolved Parliament, and in the resulting elections Agnew was defeated by a Liberal opponent.[20] No one could match the zeal and perseverance of Sir Andrew, and his Scottish Bill, on which so much time and effort had been expended, "was left like a stranded vessel, high and dry on the beach, where it may be considered as still lying—a monument, at once, of the impulsive zeal of its author, and of the receeding tide of a nation's piety."[21] With the end of Agnew's term in the Commons came the cessation of any unified activity to secure the wholesale revision of the existing Scottish statutes relating to Sabbath observance. After 1837 any legislative activity has concentrated on specific items, such, as the running of trains or the closing of public houses. The grand scheme of a new code of Sabbath laws geared to fit the contemporary scene was no longer considered feasible.[22]

Sunday Travel

(1) Trains

Scotland's first railway, in the modern sense, was the Monkland-Kirkintilloch line which opened in 1826. It was in the 'forties, however, that the

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18. McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew, p. 227.

19. Cox, Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties, p. 357-8. It was Agnew's attempt to insert a clause forbidding Sunday railway travel in Scotland that brought the bill to its downfall in 1837.

20. McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew, p. 317. The Dumfries Courier of 29th July, 1837 summed up the results of the election by stating, "The political career of the Knight of Lochnaw is thus closed, aye, closed for ever."

21. McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew, p. 317. A few bills were presented in 1838, but they also met with defeat.

22. The interested reader is referred to the following works which present a comprehensive view of the problem relating to Sunday legislation in the nineteenth century. Hugh Barclay, An Outline of the Law of Scotland Against Sabbath Profanation (Glasgow, 1866): James Dobie, Remarks on the Law of Scotland Relative to the Observance of the Sabbath (Glasgow, 1833). Barclay favours legislative attempts and Dobie takes the opposing view.

"railway mania" reached its height. Glasgow and Edinburgh were connected by a direct line in 1842, and in 1848 the main lines of the Caledonian and Scottish Central Companies were completed. The North British extended its lines beyond the Tay and by 1852 there was a service between Aberdeen and Inverness. As the century reached the half-way mark, therefore, railways were no longer to be regarded as the exclusive preserve of the mineral field or as a subordinate part of the canal system, but had established themselves as an alternative and competing mode of transport for passengers and goods.[23]

The first clash of Sabbatarianism with the railways occurred in the late 1830's when the Edinburgh and Dalkeith Railway Company initiated a Sunday passenger service. The Presbytery of Edinburgh held a pro-re-nata meeting and resolved to apply for an interdict. This was refused, but the railway directors voluntarily withdrew the service.[24] Thus, as the 'forties began, there were no passenger trains operating on Sunday, Only mail trains were permitted.[25]

Not long after the Glasgow-Edinburgh line opened in 1842, however, a service consisting of two trains from each terminus, stopping at all the intermediate stations, was inaugurated.[26] A pamphlet war ensued in which those favouring

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23. Henry Hamilton, The Industrial Revolution in Scotland (Oxford, 1932), pp. 244-52.

24. Report of the Committee of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on Sabbath Observance, p. 3. See also Alexander Marjoriebanks, Mistaken Views Regarding the Observance of the Sabbath (London, 1840) 7th ed., pp. 1-5. The interdict desired by the Presbytery was refused by the Lord Ordinary. It was therfore religious and not legal action that kept the line closed on Sunday.

25. In 1843 when there were eight lines open in Scotland only the Glasgow and Edinburgh advertised Sunday trains. See John Baylee, Statistics and Facts in Reference to the Lord's Day (London, 1852), p. 213.

26. The Sunday service consisted of "Trains from each end at ½ past 7 a.m. and ½ past 5 p.m. stopping at all the stations". John Willcox, Guide to the Glasgow and Edinburgh Railway (Edinburgh, 1842), p. 117. Cp. also Glasgow Post Office Directory 1842-3, Appendix, p. 165. As an incentive to travel on Sunday the company offered reduced rates. In 1845 the fare on a week day between Glasgow and Edinburgh was 4s. and on Sunday 3s.10d. See account of this in Jack House, The Romance of Murray (Glasgow, n.d.), p.9.

Sunday travel claimed the precedent of passenger accommodation on the stage-coaches that carried the Sunday mail, and maintained that trains, running outside of church hours, provided a necessary and beneficial service.[27] Those opposed to Sunday trains countered that they were not necessary or desirable, and that their operation was opposed to the spirit of the Fourth Commandment.[28] Many Sabbatarians boycotted trains on week-days as a form of protest.[29] As the trains continued to run it was decided to employ more drastic measures. Primarily through the aid of John Henderson of Park and Sir Andrew Agnew, large numbers of proxy votes in the Glasgow and Edinburgh Railway Company were obtained. In a hotly contested vote in 1846 a majority was awarded to the Sabbatarian party and the control of the Company passed into its hands.[30]

Soon after the change of directorship the Glasgow Herald announced that "On and after Sunday, the 15th day of November next, the passenger trains on Sunday will be discontinued".[31] The Sunday mail was to be carried as

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27. For this point of view see, Sunday Trains on the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway: Reasons Why We Voted for the Resumption of Sunday Trains (Glasgow, 1847); Sunday Railway Travelling (Edinburgh, 1847); and Cox, Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties, pp. 1-16.

28. The following pamphlets state the main points made by the Sabbatarians in regard to the running of Sunday trains. Robert Haldane, On the Proposed Desecration of the Sabbath by the Directors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway (Edinburgh, 1842); James Lewis, The Necessity and Mercy Plea for Sabbath Trains Tried and Disposed of (Edinburgh, 1847); and Oliver Alexander, A Defence of the Universality and Perpetuality of the Sabbath (Edinburgh, 1852). The Bibliography should be consulted for similar works.

29. Even Thomas Chalmers refused to use the railway as a form of protesting against Sunday travel. See McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew, pp. 372-3, and Hamilton, A Memoir of Lady Colquhoun, p. 219. Various memorials protesting against Sunday trains were drawn up to indicate public resentment and feeling. Statistics on these memorials can be found in The Witness, 16th March, 1847.

30. Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Report of Proceedings at the Special and Eighteenth Half-Yearly Meetings of the Company 1846, pp. 43-51. Ten proxy ballots, involving 115 votes, were contested, but the examiners ruled that they should be interpreted as favouring the discontinuation of Sunday trains, thus giving the Sabbatarian party a majority of 152 votes.

31. Glasgow Herald, 21st October, 1846. Cp. McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew p. 388.

usual, a fact that offered some consolation to the defeated party. With a Sabbatarian directorship in control the Glasgow-Edinburgh line remained shut on Sunday until 1865 when a merger with the North British line brought about a change in policy. For twenty years Sabbatarianism had been strong enough, however, to keep the line closed--a testimony to its strength and determination.[32]

Because the Glasgow-Edinburgh line discontinued its Sunday service in 1846, some have mistakenly assumed that there were no Sunday trains in Scotland until 1865.[33] Such was not the case. It was possible much earlier to travel between Glasgow and Edinburgh via the forks of the Caledonian Company's line at Carstairs, although this did involve a change of trains.[34] The North British line always maintained a variety of local and long distance trains on Sunday particularly in the Edinburgh district.[35] The Scottish Central eliminated

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32. An indication of the strength of Sabbatarianism within the Established Church at this time is revealed in an incident that took place in 1847. Dr. Muir, the convener of the General Assembly's Sabbath Observance Committee, proposed a motion categorically condemning Sunday trains, and found it countered "with the running of railway carriages for the accommodation of passengers on the morning and evening of the Lord's Day, at such hours as shall not interrupt the observance of public worship. Robert Lee and a few other ministers supported the alternate motion, but it was defeated by a vote of 105:21. For accounts of this see Glasgow Herald, Robert Lee (London, 1870), vol. I. pp. 129-30.

33. This is the impression given, for example, in J. R. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-1874, p. 5. From conversations with other interested persons it is evident that this impression is still widespread.

34. The Caledonian line maintained a Carlisle to Glasgow and Carlisle to Edinburgh service throughout its history. Two trains each way on Sunday were normally run. See Murray's Guide (January 1850), pp. 40-1; (July 1854), p. 58, and Glasgow Post Office Directory 1849-50, Appendix, p. 66, 1854-55, Appendix, p. 136, and 1856-57, Appendix, p. 104. In order to travel from Glasgow to Edinburgh on a Sunday one could leave Buchanan Street Station at 9.5 a.m., and travel to Carstairs. There one could wait for the arrival of the Carlisle to Edinburgh train, board it, and arrive in Edinburgh at 1.15 p.m. Thus the journey would take a little over four hours.

35. In the month of December, 1851, for example, the North British had 64 regularly scheduled passenger trains departing from or arriving at termini. This number did not include the many luggage or excursion trains that often ran on Sunday. See Baylee, Statistics and Facts in Reference to the Lord's Day, pp. 54-6 where information regarding other lines is given. Cp. also Murray's Guide (January 1850), pp. 44-50; (January 1854), pp. 78-81, and July 1864), pp. 94-8. For evidence regarding unscheduled excursion trains often run by the North British see William Wilson. Memorials of Robert Smith Candlish (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 386. See also AGAF, 1847, p. 44.

its local service, but continued to run passenger trains to and from England.[36] It was only the exception such as the Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock line that not only refused passengers, but declined to carry the mail as well.[37] Sabbatarianism could not bring the Iron Horse to a complete halt, but had to be content that relatively few trains actually operated on Sunday.

(2) Other land travel

In addition to trains other public conveyances such as coaches, carriages, and omnibuses operated on Sunday. In 1832 John Lee mentioned that the custom of hiring coaches or hackney carriages on Sunday had greatly increased in the Edinburgh area.[38] In fact one of the regulations of Edinburgh hackney carriages was that "at least one fourth of the coaches attend at the stand, east end of Princes Street on Sunday,

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36. In February of 1848 the shareholders of the Scottish Central met at Perth and resolved that "no work of any kind whatever should be performed on that line on the Lord's Day", Extract from Report of Meeting of the Scottish Central Railway Company, (Perth, 1848), p. 4. This ruling was reversed in 1849, but virtual closing of the line attained in 1850. While passengers could book through from Perth to London on a Sunday, they had to book on the Aberdeen line for local service. See Murray's Guide (July 1854), pp. 68-70.

37. The Greenock mail was conveyed by stage coach so it was a matter of exchanging one form of Sunday travel for another. See Extract From Report of Meeting of the Scottish Central Railway Co., 29th February, 1848, p. 10.

38. Report From Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, p. 275. Cp. also NSA vol. X (Moulin), p. 661, and Murray, The Church of Cardross and its Ministers, p. 140. Most of the activity in regard to private carriages was confined to the period just proceeding and just following divine worship for in 1854, George Combe, the noted Edinburgh phrenologist, observed, "We are the only individuals apparently who venture in such a desecration, as they call it, of the Lord's Day, for we very rarely meet a carriage on the road". Gibbon, Life of George Combe vol. II, pp. 261-2.

from ten morning to ten at night".[39] In Glasgow a regular omnibus service was maintained. These cumbersome vehicles made their way to such points as Rutherglen, Partick, Renfrew, Govan, Botanic Gardens, and Hillhead.[40] In 1865 the Free Synod of Glasgow and Ayr was still attempting to stop them from rumbling through the quiet streets on the Sabbath.[41] Only when trams were introduced did omnibuses stop running.

(3) Ships

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ships entered and departed from Scottish ports on Sundays in spite of efforts to stop them.[42] In the early years of the nineteenth century the practice diminished, but with the arrival of the age of steam any simple remedy to the problem was precluded. Ships of all shapes and sizes began to invade the Sabbath calm of the Scottish

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39. New Edinburgh Almanac and National Repository for 1826, p. 68; Willcox, Guide to the Glasgow and Edinburgh Railway (Edinburgh, 1842), p. 124. One Glasgow Hackney cab owner estimated that a typical Sunday's work in the early 1850's consisted of 215 lifts, 115 of which were to or from places of public worship—the remaining 100 being chance hires. On a Sacramental Sabbath the proportion of hires to places of public worship was about 5-1 against chance lifts. See Remonstrance & Appeal by Two Hundred of the Carriage and Cab-Drivers of Glasgow, Respecting their Employment on the Sabbath Day (Glasgow, n.d.), p. 5. In 1855 a large section of the Glasgow cabmen were successful in obtaining some respite from Sunday labour. See Demonstrations Soiree of the Cabmen, Coach Drivers, and Horse-Keepers of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1855) for the details of this. In regard to the use of Sunday carriages for private use one should consult, Allan Clark, Scriptural Authority as to the Observance of the Jewish and Christian Sabbath (Glasgow, 1848), p. 30; Philip, A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell on the Sabbath Question, p. 20; and Thomas Smith, Memoirs of James Begg (Edinburgh, 1888), vol. II, p. 425.

40. Glasgow Post Office Annual Directory 1853-54, Appendix, p. 106. The designation given to these vehicles was "Sunday Omnibuses to and from Church." Cp. Cox, Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties, p.355 ff.

41. Scotsman, 13th April, 1865. The editor of the Scotsman suggested that the reason for the omnibuses in Glasgow was that there was no train service available. Cp. also FCAP 1870, appendix xxi, pp. 13-14, where the problem is discussed.

42. AGA, 1646, p. 313. To cite only one example, the Kirk Session of South Leith noted in 1717 "that since the late Rebellion, the passage boats do pass on the Sabbath dayes—Refers to the Magistrates to take some effectual course to restrain the same". Robertson and Swan, South Leith Records, p. 33.

waters.[43] On the Clyde cargo ships, tug boats, and pleasure steamers combined to make Sunday a day of bustle and activity.[44] Elsewhere ferry boats were in continual operation. The ferry between Fife and Midlothian calling at Newhaven, Pettycur, and Burntisland, and the one at Queensferry made three crossings on Sunday.[45] The service between Dundee and Newport was even more frequent and was often utilized by pleasure-seekers as a way of escape from the grimness of town life.[46] An attempt to stop the Dundee-Newport ferry in 1828 proved unsuccessful as the local Sheriff was unwilling to enforce the ancient Sabbath laws.[47] After the unfavourable decision of 1828 Sabbatarians made little attempt to stop them from plying the waters on Sunday.

Efforts to stop pleasure steamers, however, proved to be more successful.

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43. Cf. Robert Ponton, A Letter to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh and Leith, Particularly Ship Owners; On a Subject Connected with the Sanctification of the Sabbath with Practical Remarks (Edinburgh, 1816), pp. 1-4.

44, Macfarlan, A Treatise on the Authority, Ends, and Observance, of the Christian Sabbath, pp. 234-244. Cp. also, Report From Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, p. 235. When the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr reported on Sabbath observance in 1840, the Glasgow committee reported on the river traffic on Sundays as follows: "From Dec. 23rd, 1838, to Dec. 22nd, 1839, there were not fewer than 365 steam vessels arrived at the Broomielaw on Sabbath, and 277 departed; that the average of Sabbath arrivals, in each month throughout the year is 30 and 5/12, and of departures 23. The average of arrivals each Sabbath is 7 and of departures about 5⅓. To these must be added a daily average of 15 sailing vessels drawn by tugs: so that the total yearly average of arrivals and departures on Sabbath will be 1422, and for each Sabbath 27...the Liverpool and Irish steamers very often make their arrivals on Sabbath; creating, with their vast crowds of passengers, an immense stir about the quay." Report on the State of Sabbath Observance Within the Bounds of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, pp. 9-10. Complaints were still being made of these practices in 1862. See FCAP, 1862, p. 47.

45. Willcox, Guide to the Glasgow and Edinburgh Railway, pp. 122-3. Cp. NSA, vol. XII (Aberdeen), p. 67.

46, Willcox, Guide to the Glasgow and Edinburgh Railway, pp. 122-3. See also Report From Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, p.200

47. Rollo, A Century's Record of Ecclesiastical Life in Dundee, pp. 62-3. Another account of the case is given in Cox, Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties, pp. 354-55.

After the brief experiment of running the Bangor Castle on the Clyde in 1831, there were no regularly scheduled pleasure steamers until June 1853.[48] In that year the Emperor commenced Sunday excursions and boldly proclaimed its times of sailing in the local newspapers.[49] The Established Presbytery of Glasgow immediately protested, but was forthrightly rebutted by the steamship company in a lengthy theological argument.[50] Although the Emperor was depicted by one Churchman as "a ghost...creeping about the shores of the Clyde on the Sabbath, welcome nowhere and unwelcome everywhere",[51] the truth was that the ship was so popular that additional steamers had to be run.[52] The reason for their popularity was that a person could travel on one of these "floating public houses" and qualify as a bona fide traveller. When the Passenger Vessel's Licenses (Scotland) Act was passed in 1882 prohibiting the sale of drink on Sunday, the

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48. In 1829 a sailing was inaugurated from Rothesay to Greenock at half past eight on Sunday morning, returning to Rothesay at eleven o'clock forenoon. This was primarily for the mail, but passengers were accepted. James Williamson, The Clyde Passenger Steamer (Glasgow, 1904), p. 54 and 89 ff. Cp. NSA, vol. IV (Port Patrick), p. 147. Occasional sailings to such places as Lochgoilhead, Arrochar, and Dunoon in connection with the Summer Sacraments were quite common. Many people joined these excursions and spent the day in recreation and drinking, much to the disgust of the local populace. See, MacFarlan, A Treatise on the Authority, Ends, and Observance, of the Christian Sabbath, p. 243; Report on the State of Sabbath Observance Within The Bounds of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, pp. 9-10, and Report of the Committee of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on Sabbath Observance, p. 13.

49. Glasgow Herald, 18th April, 1856. Williamson says that the Emperor was the first steamer to take up Sunday sailing on the Clyde, but the Bangor Castle antedated her by twenty years. The Emperor normally left Glasgow at 9.30 a.m. calling at Greenock, Gourock, Kilmun, and Dunoon, returning in the afternoon. See Williamson, The Clyde Passenger Steamer, p. 89.

50. The Sunday Steamer. Remonstrance of the Established Presbytery of Glasgow with the Answer of the Owners of the Steamer Emperor (Glasgow, 1853).

51. Glasgow Herald, 30th May, 1856

52. Two or three additional steamers often ran on Sunday on the Clyde. See Thirty-Sixth Report of the Proceedings of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association, p. 27. For example, in 1866 a local newspaper announced, "On Sunday first, 20th May, the Commodious, Safe Steamer, 'Cardiff Castle' will sail for Renfrew, Bowling, Greenock, Gourock, and Rothesay... leaving at foot of the Quay, South Side, at half-past 10 Morning; Returning in the afternoon". Glasgow Herald, 17th May, 1866.

pleasure steamers were rapidly withdrawn from service.[53] In 1886 the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association proudly reported that none had run on the Clyde during the past year.[54] In this aspect of Sunday sailing the Sabbatarian cause could claim victory, although other types of ships continued to ply the waters unaffected.

Sunday Postal Work

The Post Office had long been a place where work was done on Sunday. As early as 1707 an application was made to the magistrates of Edinburgh "to stop the giving out of letters from the post office on the Lord's Day, because of the great abuses occasioned thereby and concourse of people reading the news letters both on the streets in taverns and coffee-houses".[55] Throughout the eighteenth century complaints continued to be lodged, but as has been shown, the situation became worse instead of better.[56] As the population increased and commercial life became more complex in the nineteenth century, Sunday postal work became more intensified.

Post offices in Victorian Scotland were scenes of bustle and activity during a large part of Sunday. In 1852 it was estimated that upwards of 1700 men

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53. Thirty-Third Report of the Proceedings of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association, pp. 17-19. See also Thirty-Fourth Report, p. 20, and FCAP, 1876, p. 225.

54. Thirty-Seventh Report of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association, p. 32. In 1898, however, the Clyde sailings were resumed. See FCAP, Appendix xxi, p. 8, The situation on the East coast was not the same. Particularly did the boats running from Leith to Aberdour give offence to Sabbatarian interests. See Thirty-Eighth Report, p. 24; John Kelman, The Sabbath of Scripture (Edinburgh, 1869), pp. 1-5. When the Harbour Commissioners of Kirkcaldy passed a bye-law in 1888 forbidding steam vessels to enter the harbour between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m., the Galloway Steam Packet Company took the case to court and won a favourable decision. See Thirty-Eighth Report, p. 17

55. "Notebook of the Society for the Reformation of Manners", 5th May, 1707. (Laing MSS) III, 339. See also R.H. Stevenson, Chronicles of Edinburgh 617-1851 (Edinburgh, n.d.), p.321.

56. See above, p. 117-119

were required to keep the postal system functioning on Sunday, approximately 400 of whom were employed in the Edinburgh area alone.[57] In large cities such as Glasgow or Edinburgh mail could be collected by calling at the post office during stated hours on Sunday.[58] In some places there was actually a home delivery, such being the case at Duddingston in 1862.[59] There was always a mail collection from a central box in town, and the mail trains were dispatched with amazing regularity.[60] Even in the small towns and hamlets Sunday was the busiest day of the week for the harried postmaster, as people frequently collected their week's mail after the Church service.[61]

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57. Philip, A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell on the Sabbath Question, p. 24; Oliver, A Defense of the Universality and Perpetuality of the Sabbath, pp. 77-8. See also Baylee, Statistics and Facts in Reference to the Lord's Day, pp. 71-6

58. Glasgow Post Office Directory 1842-3, Appendix, p. 85. In Glasgow the Post Office was open from 8-10 a.m., 1.15-1.45 p.m., and 4-6 p.m. for the delivery of mail, the acceptance of pre-paid letters and the sale of stamps. By 1850 the hours of opening had been reduced to 9-10 a.m. In 1879 the Glasgow Post Office announced that the Poste Restante was intended "solely for the convenience of strangers and travellers having no permanent abode in Glasgow"; Glasgow Post Office Directory 1879-80, Appendix, p. 3. Cp. also Matthew Sproull, Paisley Commercial Directory for 1848-1849, p. 93 where similar regulations are given.

59. FCAP, 1862, p. 47. James Begg led the movement to stop this practice and had limited success. In 1888 it was reported that 20 towns still had door to door delivery on Sunday. FCAP, 1888, Appendix xxi, p. 3.

60. In 1846-7, there was a collection of mail at all the boxes at 7.30 p.m. with the exception of Queen Street where the mail was picked up at 7.30 a.m., 4 p.m., and 9 p.m. See Glasgow Post Office Directory 1846-47, Appendix, p. 3. The arrival and departures of mail coaches and trains can be found in most of the Post Office Directories of the period. See, for example, Glasgow Post Office Directory 1841-42, Appendix, p. 77. For later Post Office Regulations see Oliver and Boyd New Edinburgh Almanac 1866, p. 129

61. Report From Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, p. 277. In some rural communities, although the mail arrived on Sundays, none was dispatched. See NSA, vol. VIII (Rosneath), p. 127. The description of the mail delivery at Rossdhu about 1850 is interesting. The local Postmaster would carefully scrutinize the mail and distribute only personal letters. Any newspapers, books, or parcels were put back again to await "a lawful day of issue." See L.B. Walford, Recollections of a Scottish Novelist (London, 1910), p. 128. Cp. also, McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew, pp. 206-7.

When Sir Edward Lees, the Postmaster General, described in great detail the Edinburgh mobs that crowded Waterloo Place every Sunday morning in quest of letters and parcels, a movement was initiated to alter the situation.[62] It was Sir Andrew Agnew who once again took the lead in opposing Sabbath labour. In 1838 he gathered a group of prominent Edinburgh businessmen and encouraged them to sign a memorial protesting against Sunday postal work.[63] By visiting the managers of the Edinburgh banks and other business establishments, Agnew secured written promises that they would not attempt to collect their mail on Sundays. Agnew's success was only transitory, however, as the practice of collecting and distributing mail on Sunday continued.[64]

On the 30th May, 1850, a bill was passed in the House of Commons providing "that the collections and delivery of letters shall in future entirely cease on Sundays in all parts of the kingdom".[65] Although an attempt was made to rescind the bill, it failed. Accordingly, on 23rd June, 1850, the collection and delivery of letters and newspapers throughout the United Kingdom stopped, and the Sabbatarian cause seemed to have won a signal victory. Unfortunately for the Sabbatarian party the cessation of Sunday mails had been effected too quickly, and many details with regard to re-scheduling trains and workers had been left undecided. Consequently, at the suggestion of the Commons, a commission was set up to inquire how far postal labour could be reduced without discontinuing the delivery and dispatch of letters on Sunday. On 10th August, 1850 the commission recommended a return to the old system of postal

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62. James Bridges, Sabbath Defence Tactics (Edinburgh, 1849), 2nd edition, p. 6. An anonymous poet, writing in 1849, described how the men "anxious wait the expected mail, To bring the longed-for budget—dearer far, To them the intelligence how trade proceeds, And how the foreign markets, than the voice of Heaven..." Sabbath in Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1849), p. 28.

63. McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew, pp. 344-5.

64. Ibid., p. 345. See, for example, Wilson, Memorials of Robert Smith Candlish, p. 433.

65. Baylee, Statistics and Facts in Reference to the Lord's Day, p. 248.

work, and accordingly the delivery of letters was resumed on Sunday, 1st September, 1850.[66] The noble experiment had failed, not only because of lack of organization, but because business and industrial pressure groups demanded a continual communication with the outer world.

Sunday Drinking

The problem of excessive drinking, especially on Sunday, did not develop overnight. Like other problems it had its roots in antiquity. Since the Reformation the Kirk had been attempting, with varying degrees of zeal and success, to limit the consumption of liquor on the Sabbath. In spite of these efforts the inn occupied a prominent place in most communities, often adjacent to the church. Scenes of drunkenness and riot, at first only infrequent, became, as industrialization increased, more and more common. As the nineteenth century dawned it became clear that steps would have to be taken to curb the excesses of an age that knew little of temperance or restraint.[67]

From all parts of Scotland came testimonies that the problem of Sunday drinking was rapidly becoming intolerable. Just before the middle of the nineteenth century Inveresk reported eighty-five licensed houses doing a thriving business on Sunday.[68] The minister at Bothwell stated that "the ale houses have the most unhappy effects on the condition and morals of the people and are occasionally the scenes of riot and Sabbath desecration."[69]

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66. Ibid., p. 249.

67. See above, pp. 54

68. NSA, vol, I (Edinburgh), p. 303. See also, NSA, vol. II (Prestonpans). p. 316, and George Bell, Blackfriars' Wynd Analysed (Edinburgh, 1850), pp. 14 and 30.

69. NSA, vol. VI (Bothwell), p. 804. Cp. Also NSA, vol. VI (Old Monkland), p. 634.

The story was the same in Maybole in Ayrshire,[70] Stirling,[71] and Arbroath.[72] Reports issued by the Presbytery of Edinburgh in 1839 and the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr in 1840 tend to corroborate the testimony of the New Statistical Account as to the demoralizing character of Sunday drinking in Scotland.[73]

Because such a situation had developed one should not conclude that the Church had been disinterested or inactive. As early in the century as 1803 the Presbytery of Glasgow had appointed a committee to deal with the problem of Sunday drinking.[74] Often local patrons, under the influence of Church leaders, used their power to keep many taverns closed, except for a few hours between Church services.[75] Some municipalities, such as Glasgow and Edinburgh, passed local acts regulating the activities of public houses on Sundays.[76]

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70. NSA, vol. V (Maybole), p. 372. Cp. NSA, vol. V (Girvan), pp. 397-8.

71. NSA, vol. VIII (Stirling), p. 448. See also NSA, vol. VIII (Muiravonside), p. 205, NSA, vol. VIII (Dollar), p. 119, and Scottish Guardian, 26th October, 1849.

72. NSA, vol. XI (Arbroath), p. 107. See also NSA, vol. XI (Leslie), p. 122, and NSA, vol. IX (Kirkcaldy), p. 770.

73. Report on the State of Sabbath Observance Within the Bounds of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, p. 4.

74. "Minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow", 13th March, 1803, p. 374. A complaint had been given to the Presbytery that "The Sabbath is greatly prophaned in different parishes by openly selling liquor and other things in their shops". On 3rd August, 1803 the committee reported that some success had been attained. Cp. also Scots Magazine, vol. LXV, (March, 1803), p. 219.

75. NSA, vol. I (Newton), pp. 586-7. The principal resident heritor managed to close fourteen inns within the bounds of the parish.

76. Testimonies and Statistics in Reference to the Working of the Public Houses Act (Glasgow, 1857), p. 12. By enforcing local acts, Duncan McLaren, provost of Edinburgh, was able to close many unnecessary taverns. See the account of his action in J.B. Mackie, The Life and Work of Duncan McLaren (London and Edinburgh, 1888), pp. 307-8.

Kirk Sessions not infrequently dealt with the problem,[77] and it was not unknown for public house owners, out of Sabbatarian convictions, to close their establishments on Sunday.[78] In spite of all these efforts, the temperance problem in general, and the Sunday drinking problem in particular, was at mid-century, far from being solved.

It was, in fact, an attempt to regulate Sunday drinking that actually caused the situation to get out of hand. The Home Drummond Act, passed in 1828, provided, among other items, that licences should be granted on the condition that the holders did not all sell during the hours of divine service. This was taken to mean that public houses therefore could remain open except during Church hours, and the law courts confirmed this interpretation.[79] The odd result was that the power of the local magistrates in controlling Sunday drinking was greatly diminished. The description in Glasgow following the Home Drummond Act can be taken as typical. Referring to the public houses, the writer says:

> Hundreds of them opened at the same hour on Sunday as on week mornings, and kept them open till the last toll of the Bell for Divine Service, at 11 forenoon, when the customers were turned out to the street, many of them in a state of intoxication, and this while the people were passing to church! They again opened between 1 and 2 o'clock,

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77. The Kirk Session at South Leith in 1842 petitioned the magistrates and the police to keep a close watch on the town especially between the hours of 8 and 11 on Sunday morning to arrest those drunk and disorderly. Robertson and Swan, South Leith Records, p. 147. In 1836 the Kirk Session of St. Bernard's in Edinburgh considered the case of a grocer who was "in the habit of keeping his shop open for the retail of spirits, &c on the Sabbath evenings". Because he would not stop the practice he was a year later suspended from privileges of the Church. Upon promise to serve articles of refreshment only between Church services, he was re-instated. See John T. Smith, Sketch of St. Bernard's (Edinburgh, 1907), pp. 121-3.

78. Such, for example, was the situation at Cockenzie and Port Seton in Haddingtonshire and Kilmarnock in Ayrshire. See NSA, vol. II (Tranent), p.303, and NSA, vol. V (Kilmarnock), p. 564.

79. MacFarlan, A Treatise on the Authority, Ends, and Observance, of the Christian Sabbath, p. 219. For a contemporary account of this law and its effects see Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development, p. 96ff.

> and then from 4 to 12 at night their doors were kept standing open, and the publican was seen coat off behind his counter, and his customers going out and in as publicly as on other evenings.[80]

Clearly drastic action was necessary to rid Scotland of this social evil. Temperance and abstinance societies had been formed as corrective influences, but they did not possess sufficient strength to secure the necessary remedial legislation. It became evident that only a combination of forces would be successful in effecting a change, and in Sabbatarianism the Temperance movement found its needed ally. By stressing the deplorable scenes that took place on the Sabbath it was possible to enlist the sympathy and concern of many who would otherwise have remained disinterested spectators.[81]

The result of the combination of Temperance and Sabbatarian interests was the Forbes Mackenzie Act which came into force in June 1854. Dr, Stewart Mechie has succinctly stated its outstanding provisions as follows:

> the abolition of the system of selling liquor in grocers' shops for consumption on the premises; the closing of all public houses, not specially licensed as hotels, between the hours of eleven in the evening and eight in the mornings and the abolition of the sale of liquor throughout the entire Sunday, except in hotels, and there only to bona fide travellers.[82]

After the passing of this Act the interests of religion and those of social reform became ever more closely allied as they sought for other avenues of ex-

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80. Testimonies and Statistics in Reference to the Working of the Public Houses Act, p. 11. See also Extract of Act of Council Relative to the Better Observance of the Sabbath (Glasgow, 1840), (n.p.).

81. Writing in 1849 Hugh Crawford said, "The advocates of the Temperance movement, then, should be also the advocates of the Sabbath movement, and Sabbath preservers should also become Temperance reformers. We hope soon to see greater consistency in this matter among professing Christians than what is at present exhibited." Hugh Crawford, Times Peerless Gem (Glasgow, 1849), p. 69. John Dunlop and Andrew Agnew frequently discussed the necessity of working together to achieve their desired ends. See Dunlop, Autobiography, pp. 83 and 156, and McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew pp. 256-60

82. Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development, p. 97.

pression.[83]

Although the Forbes Mackenzie Act was not perfectly enforced, it was nevertheless a notable success. Duncan McLaren gathered information on the effectiveness of the Act and concluded that "the number of cases of drunkenness alone and drunkenness combined with crime was 165 per cent greater on Sundays under the old law than under the new in the chief towns of Scotland, including a population exceeding a million."[84] One minister, typical of many others, testified that "the new act has produced a degree of quiet and order on our streets on week mornings and in particular Sabbath days, which must be apparent to all the citizens".[85] To the Forbes Mackenzie Act, therefore, can be attributed much of the credit for providing Scotland with the external quiet and dignity of its Victorian Sabbath. Without such a legislative enactment it could never have been attained.

Sunday Funerals

Throughout the eighteenth century Sunday funerals, although not being encouraged by the Church, enjoyed a great deal of toleration provided they did

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83. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-1874, p. 81.

84. J.B. Mackie, The Life and Work of Duncan McLaren, vol. I, p. 309. In spite of this evidence one should not conclude that all Sunday drinking ceased. Drinking clubs or "shebeens", as they were popularly called, sprang up all over the lowlands of Scotland after the passing of the Forbes Mackenzie Act. See, for example, J.P. Lilley, The Lord's Day and the Lord's Servants, pp. 161-2; Minutes of Conference on Sunday Trading &c. Between the Magistrates of the City of Glasgow and the Representatives of Other Municipalities (Glasgow, 1900), p. 15-37; and Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland for the Year 1902, (Edinburgh, 1903), pp. 1150-3. While the front doors of public houses were closed, rear entrances remained open for those not able to meet bona fide requirements. See Scotsman, 13th May, 1865, and A Letter to the Rev. James Gibson, M.A., of Glasgow, on Saturday Evening Observance, Sabbath Funerals, &c. (Glasgow, 1856), p. 4; and James F. Leishman, Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843 (Paisley, 1921), p. 184.

85. Testimonies and Statistics in Reference to the Working of the Public Houses Act, p. 12. The testimonies are so similar that there is no need of repeating them at any length. The interested reader may refer to the above mentioned pamphlet for further documentation of this point, or consult Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development, pp. 96-9.

not conflict with the hours of worship. John Willison, the strict Evangelical minister of the early eighteenth century, saw nothing wrong with Sunday funerals, but warned the people that they should "abhor that levity and frothiness which many show at such occasions".[86] Unfortunately, in the latter part of the eighteenth and early days of the nineteenth centuries Willison's admonition was not heeded. The excessive drinking, absence from Church services, and necessary employment involved in Sabbath funerals caused Sabbatarians to seek effective means to divert them to other days of the week.[87]

In spite of feeling against Sunday burials the Presbytery of Edinburgh reported in 1839 that "the practice of interring the dead on the Lord's Day, has of late years, among certain classes of society, greatly increased".[88] The reference to "certain classes" was directed primarily to the poorer classes whose long hours of work made it an economic necessity to employ Sunday, their only free day, in laying their dead to rest. Most working men were not in a position to lose nearly half a days' pay in attending a funeral, nor could they expect their friends and neighbours to do the same. Once again Sabbatarianism and the Industrial Revolution came into conflict.

On the whole the Church proceeded cautiously and tenderly in its attempts to stop Sunday funerals. The plight of the working man was realized and given due consideration. This fact is illustrated in the report of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr issued in 1840. At that time the committee reported that

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86. Willison, A Treatise on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, p. 290.

87. An interesting description of the mode of conducting funerals about 1830 in Glasgow is given in Cleland, Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and County of Lanark for the Government Census of 1831, pp. 226-7. Cp. also the situation that James Begg encountered when he came to Liberton in 1835. Smith, Memoirs of James Begg, vol. I, p. 312.

88. Report of the Committee of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on Sabbath Observance p. 9. In the month of January, 1837 at the West Church of Edinburgh there were 66 Sabbath funerals. The average attendance was about fifty per burial plus about fourteen men engaged in the necessary work involved. Ibid., p. 16.

> Workmen are in many cases not allow'd to leave their work, so as to unite with their neighbours and friends in burying their dead: And this renders the proposal of any directly restrictive measure, apparently hard and unfeeling... Your committee would therefore recommend that ministers and elders should in the first instance reason with their people on the subject and refuse their countenance on such occasions, except in cases of necessity, and farther adopt such prudent and proper means, as the circumstances may require.[89]

By discouraging rather than violently opposing Sunday burials, Sabbatarians had the satisfaction of seeing the frequency of these occasions gradually diminish. Due in part to the success of the "cabmen" in their protest against Sunday labour, the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association noted in 1857 that "burying the dead on the Lord's Day is decreasing every year, and there is now only 15 persons employed, on an average, every Sabbath, in attending funerals at the various cemetaries through the city".[90] After this time little mention is made of Sunday funerals so one may safely assume that they ceased to be a significant concern of Sabbatarians.

Sunday Protection Societies

During the Victorian Era many extra-ecclesiastical organizations were formed all committed to the concept of a stricter observance of the Sabbath. These lobby or pressure groups were effective instruments in expressing and channelling Sabbatarian principles, and, as they reached beyond denominational bounds, actually served ecumenical interests. By focusing attention on matters of common concern, they unified and strengthened the witness of Victorian

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89. Report on the State of Sabbath Observance Within the Bounds of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, pp. 10-11. In 1840 the Kirk Session of South Leith agreed "to arrange with the Session of North Leith regarding the putting a stop to Sabbath Funerals except in cases of necessity, as they had reported, that the Session was agreeable to it". Robertson and Swan, South Leith Records, p. 144. Only occasionally did the issue of Sunday funerals flare up into overt controversy. See, for example, the account of James Gibson's speech opposing Sunday burials in the Glasgow Herald, 11th April, 1856, and the reply to this in A Letter to the Rev. James Gibson, M.A. of Glasgow, on Saturday Evening Observance, Sabbath Funerals, &c., pp. 1-10

90. Eighth Report of the Proceedings of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association, p. 7.

Sabbatarians.

The various informal Sunday protection societies that had been formed shortly after the French Revolution appear to have been short-lived. In 1832 Duncan MacFarlane testified that he did not know of any in existence at that time.[91] There is a reference to such a society in Paisley in 1848, but it may be considered the exception to the rule.[92] By 1830, therefore, the way was open for the founding of non-sectarian groups wanting to insure the strict religious observance of Sunday on a public as well as a private level.

As early as 1824 David Nasmith of Glasgow had founded the "Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement" on an un-denominational basis.[93] A "Young Men's Association for Prayer and Religious Purposes" started in Glasgow in 1838, and the "Edinburgh Sabbath Morning Fellowship Union" came into existence in 1841.[94] These groups, however, were only concerned with Sabbath observance in a secondary way, as the stress was laid upon the cultivation of individual piety, especially Bible study and prayer. In January 1839, Sir Andrew Agnew, the perennial leader in Sabbath reform, took the lead in establishing "The Scottish Society for Promoting the Due Observance of the Lord's Day".[95] This was followed in 1841 by the "Glasgow Young Men's Society for Opposing Secular Labour on Sunday",[96] and the more famous "Sabbath Alliance"

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91. Report from Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, p.229.

92. Sproull, Paisley Commercial Directory for 1848-1849, p. 102. The society gives its date of origin as 1757.

93. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-1874, p. 52.

94. Ibid., p. 53. The working of such societies on a local level can be seen in Smith, Sketch of St. Bernard's pp. 145-6.

95. Report of the General Meeting of the Scottish Society for Promoting the Due Observance of the Lord's Day (Edinburgh, 1839) pp. 1-7. This group later merged with the larger Sabbath Alliance. See Baylee, Statistics and Facts in Reference to the Lord's Day, p. 234.

96. Baylee, Statistics and Facts in Reference to the Lord's Day, p. 209. Similar associations were formed in other Scottish towns. Cf. McCrie, Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew, p. 401, and The Witness, 16th January, 1847.

in 1847, the latter largely under the auspices of the newly formed Free Church.[97] In 1849 the "Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association" was organized and became active in distributing tracts and circulating memorials in favour of Sabbath legislation and reform.[98] The "Pleasant Sunday Afternoon" group developed towards the end of the century, but most later organizations were of an international, rather than national character.[99] By 1908 the number of Scottish Sabbath societies had decreased to three, and today only the "Lord's Day Alliance" remains.[100]

It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of these Sabbath protection societies. Certainly they fulfilled the function of keeping various aspects of the Sabbath problem constantly before the eyes of the Scottish people. To what extent, however, they represented public opinion one can never precisely state. Perhaps the groups were, as their enemies suggested, more vocal than numerous. Nevertheless, that they could flourish in spite of opposition is some indication that they did not lack adherents.[101] As various Sabbath reforms

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97. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland, 1843-1874, p. 69. This group was an outgrowth of the Evangelical Alliance which was formed in 1846. As there was much disagreement on the basis of Sabbath Observance within the Evangelical Alliance, the entire problem was turned over to the northern or Scottish division, and given the title "Sabbath Alliance". Even then there was difficutly in securing any great degree of unanimity on the subject. See The Religious Condition of Christendom (London, 1852), p. 124, and the Scottish Guardian, 29th May, 1847.

98. Gilfillan, The Sabbath Viewed in the Light of Reason, Revelation, and History, p. 444.

99. George Adam Smith, The Life of Henry Drummond (New York, 1898), pp. 496-7. For example, the International Congress on the Lord's Day was founded in 1876, and the Sabbath Observance Prayer Union Society in 1878. See Robert Mackenzie, (ed.), The World's Rest Day Being an Account of the Thirteenth International Congress on the Lord's Day (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 1. Cp. Lilley, The Lord's Day and the Lord's Servants. p. 194.

100. Mackenzie, The World's Rest Day &c., p. 268. The groups listed were the Lord's Day Alliance of Scotland, the Scottish Sabbath Protection Association, and the Edinburgh Working Men and Women's Christian Sabbath Society.

101. See Cox, Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties, pp. 367-400., for a discussion of this point, although his bias on this subject must be taken into consideration.

were accomplished and the reality of the need for co-existence with an increasingly industrialized society became more and more evident, the raison d'être of these groups became more tenuous, and gradually, but not without a struggle, they ceased to have much effect on public life.

Miscellaneous Efforts

It is significant that many who wished to protect the Sabbath from secular influence often proved to be instrumental in initiating social improvements of far-reaching consequences. These derivational benefits of Sabbatarianism, which in the passing of time have become almost entirely disassociated from the movement, deserve at least a brief mention. Although they have obvious points of tangency with what has previously been discussed, they merit individual attention as their effects are still being felt.

(1) A shorter working week

It was a recognized fact that Sunday labour and the religious observance of the Sabbath were incompatible. A man could not be engaged in secular employment on Sunday and at the same time be expected to attend public worship or lead family devotions. This principle was recognized in a pamphlet published in 1850 protesting against the work of bakers in Greenock "sponging" bread on Sunday. The anonymous writer said:

> The hours set apart by a Benevolent Creator, for the moral and physical improvement of man, are in this trade completely set aside. The labour, of the other days of the week instead of being mitigated, is thus rendered irregular and incessant, till the poor operative sinks under the accumulated weight. How can these seventy-three men and boys ever be expected to compose their minds, and enter the house of God. When they have to perform this labour morning and afternoon, will not they be jaded and weary, and sink down to sleep.[102]

It was unfortunate that while Sabbatarianism helped to secure more leisure for

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102. An address on the Evils of Sabbath Labour, as Practiced by the Bakers of This Town; Together with some Facts Regarding Their Protracted Hours of Labour (Greenock, 1850), p. 12. On this general subject see Marwick, Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland pp. 153-9.

the working man on Sunday, it could not effectively cope with the problem of utilizing that leisure for religious purposes.

The movement to make the Saturday half-holiday a national practice was also supported by Sabbatarians who acknowledged that one could not observe Sunday when it was necessary to work late into the evening of Saturday to earn a living wage. James Bogg so far as to advocate a boycott of business establishments that did not comply with the Saturday early closing. In a discussion of the subject Bogg said:

> Nothing would tend more to "sweeten the breath of society", and protect the day of God, than for every minister at present to throw his influence in favour of the Saturday half-holiday, and all similar wholesome movements on the part of the working classes.[103]

The fact that Sabbatarianism took the side of the trade unions in their struggle for survival was soon forgotten as Sunday was often selected as the day to discuss labour problems. Such are the anomalies of history.[104]

(2) Regulation of payment of wages

In Victorian times wages were customarily paid on Saturday night at the close of the working week. Often times payment was made in public houses, where, in order to secure change, it was necessary to purchase a drink.[105] This lead to week-end debauches and mismanagement of family funds. Sabbatarians therefore urged that employers pay on Friday or Tuesday so that Sunday might be kept free from the encroachments of buying and selling. Once again the best interests of the working man were taken into consideration by those who sought to promote

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103. Smith, Memoirs of James Bogg, vol. II, pp. 202-3, and FCAP, 1871, p. 28.

104. FCAP, 1890, Apendix XXI, p. 5. See also Hodgkins, Sunday: Christian and Social Significance, pp. 117-19.

105. John Dunlop, Artificial Drinking Usages of North Britain (Glasgow, 1836), 4th ed., pp. 25-6. Cp. MacFarlane, A Treatise on the Authority, Ends and Observance of the Christian Sabbath, pp. 216-18.

Sabbath observance.[106]

(3) Housing for the poor

Even the movement for better housing for the poorer classes was not without its Sabbatarian ramifications. When people lived in cramped and unsanitary quarters they could not be expected to find the opportunity to observe Sunday in a quiet and peaceful manner. How was it possible, the Rev. William Mackenzie of the North Leith Free Church, argued, to obey the command of our Lord "When thou prayest enter into thy closet and shut the door", when a person lived in a one room house?[107] James Begg, writing in his Happy Homes for Working Men, and How to get Them, affirmed that "the general principle is, that the family system, like the Sabbath law, being an institution of Paradise, is essentially connected with the permanent well-being of man. No mere extension of barrack accommodation will therefore cure the evil which exists. Man must not only have a covering, but a HOME."[108] It was not mere coincidence that Sabbatarians were connected with movements for better housing. Rather it was a realization that in providing a decent place in which to live they were indirectly helping to "keep holy" the day they loved so well.

Summary Statement

About 1830 there arose, in the words of Dr. John Lee, "a desire to inculcate a strict and proper observance of the Sabbath". This desire manifested itself in a variety of ways and brought Sabbatarianism into sharp conflict with many aspects of Victorian society. The period 1830-60 saw

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106. See NSA, vol. II (Prestonpans), p. 313, and NSA, vol. V (Dorn), p. 141. Cp. also MacFarlane, op. cit., pp. 215-17.

107. Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development, p. 123.

108. James Begg, Happy Homes for Working Men, and How to Get Them (Edinburgh, 1866), preface, p. iv. See also FCAP, 1862, pp. 187-97, and Witness, 17th January, 1849.

prolonged controversies over Sunday travel, postal work, funerals, drinking, and similar activities. The most signal accomplishment of Sabbatarianism was its alliance with the Temperance movement to correct the abuses of Sunday drinking, although some of its secondary achievements were significant in their own right. Attempts were made to secure more stringent Sabbath laws, and although they proved to be unsuccessful, they did manage to arouse interest and concern for the better observance on Sunday. Although controversy did not always tend to enhance their position in society, the early Victorian Sabbatarians displayed an eagerness to defend their holy day from all foes. Their militant spirit and zeal during this period of controversy was the highwater mark of Sabbatarianism in Scotland.

CHAPTER VII

SUNDAY OBSERVANCE IN SCOTLAND 1860-1900

PERIOD OF COMPROMISE

As the 'sixties began an uneasy calm settled over the previously turbulent scenes of Sabbatarian controversy. True, Sabbath protection associations periodically denounced the running of various modes of public transport, and often expressed concern that so many shops should be permitted to remain open on the Lord's day. Nevertheless a large part of the Church-going populace of Scotland knew little of such activities — at least not from personal experience. The Sabbath had become such an integral part of Scottish religious life that friend and foe alike could hardly contemplate an existence without its all pervading influence.

About 1860, however, two books on the subject of the Sabbath were published which were to provide the intellectual framework for the last major crisis in the history of Scottish Sabbatarianism. The first book, a moderate and forward looking production, was the Bampton Lecture for 1860 entitled, Sunday: Its Origin, History and Present Obligations, by the Rev. Dr. Hessey, headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School and preacher at Gray's Inn, London.[1] Backed by solid learning Hessey sought for a via media between the extremes of Puritan Sabbatarianism and Roman Ecclesiasticism, and his work, more than any previous publication in English, shook the foundations of the Sabbatarian theory. Hessey

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1. Another work, previously cited, which contributed to the success of Hessey's able book, was Robert Cox's Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties, first published in 1853. Writing in 1866, Robert Candlish said, "If only men would calmly study some other books besides Mr. Cox's and Dr. Hessey's the same opinions which we as a nation have held, will continue to prevail." Lectures for the Times (Edinburgh, 1866), p. 106. Such a statement coming from a well known leader in the Free Church is indicative of the ferment caused by these two works.

differentiated between the Sabbath, "a positive Jewish institution, ordained of God through Moses", and the Lord's day, "a positive Christian institution, ordained of God through the Apostles".[2] The ironical tone of Hessey's presentation did much to win many adherents to his "Dominical" theory of Sunday observance.

The second book relating to Sabbath observance which appeared in Scotland about the same time was The Sabbath Viewed in the Light of Reason, Revelation, and History, by the Rev. James Gilfillan, United Presbyterian minister of Comrie. It was reportedly fourteen years in preparation, but the result was hardly indicative of the time and labour involved. Gilfillan's work was largely a compilation of what had been said by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century divines without much reference to modern developments in Biblical understanding. Typographical and other errors did not tend to enhance the impact of the book which had been long awaited by the Scottish religious world. Nevertheless Hessey and Gilfillan were carefully read and pondered in most Scottish manses, and opinions were formulated that would soon be given an opportunity for expression.[3]

Evidences of Sabbatarian Strength

(1) In the Home

While outward events might fluctuate, the routine in most religious homes in Scotland around 1860 varied little. Two Church services in addition to family worship and catechetical instruction were included in the normal schedule. These were the days of drawn window blinds, shutting out the very sight of the world and all its fascinations from Sabbath-keeping families; days of silent Sunday streets when an evening walk was thought to be dangerously frivolous.

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2. Hessey, Sunday: Its Origin, History and Present Obligations, p. 190.

3. For a discussion of the significance of these two works see Fleming, A History of the Church of Scotland 1843-1874, pp. 212-13.

The Sabbath acquired an almost sacramental nature, and in most religious circles, its strict observance was deemed an outward sign of inward piety and zeal.[4]

L.B. Walford, whose Victorian childhood was divided between Aberdeenshire and Edinburgh, describes in detail how her Sundays were spent. While the family was residing in Aberdeenshire the children began the day by gathering outside the mother's bedroom and singing hymns before breakfast. After this they had prayers followed by a reading from the Bible or some religious publication which engaged their attention until Church time. Following the Church service the family returned home for the events of the afternoon.

> Arrived back from church at Blackhall, we all, down to the youngest, accompanied by our tutors and governesses, dined in the dining-room-- a thing we never did on any other day of the week. As there were usually guests besides, we were often a very large party, and the Sunday dinner, albeit in the middle of the day, was a merry meal....The meal over we were free to do as we chose throughout the long afternoon... We were indeed expected to read "good" books, but the supply was varied, and how much or how little we perused was not inquired into; we were not looked after; we were not herded; we walked or sat at our own sweet will.... The chief event of the Sunday took place at six o' clock. At that hour we all assembled in the dining room for an evening service.[5]

When the short evening prayer service had ended the children were free to go outside, but the sound of the gong summoned them to yet another meal-- the Sunday supper.

> If we relaxed a little at supper, however, there was no chance of doing so throughout the evening which followed. It was of the nature of a Sunday school, and none were exempt from attending and contributing to it. We had to

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4. J.M. Reid, Kirk and Nation (London, 1960), pp. 148-9 provides a modern characterization of the Sabbatarianism of this era.

5. L.B. Walford, Recollections of a Scottish Novelist (London, 1910), p. 34. For a description of Sunday in an Aberdeenshire manse during the same period see W.R. Nicoll, My Father, an Aberdeenshire Minister, 1812-1891 (London, 1908), p. 91.

> repeat hymns or sing them... we had divers Biblical exercises....Even after we broke up at night [mother] reassembled all her children, sons as well as daughters, yet again for further exhortation and prayer within her own chamber.[6]

The above was the normal routine when the family was in Blackhall Castle in Aberdeenshire. It was Sunday amid beautiful surroundings and under summer skies. Sunday in the city was more grim and confining.

> We went to Edinburgh, as soon after we began to do, for the winter and spring months, the same domestic routine was observed, but with additions and subtractions. We were taken twice to church-- the one service following hard upon the other-- and we had no afternoon outlet. The days, short and dark, did not admit of our going out after dinner, whose hour was altered to four o'clock; also we had no guests beneath our own roof, neither did we ever see a single fresh face from without. The door-bell never rang. No one would have been admitted, if it had.[7]

Although Miss Walford admits that "those were terrible Sundays indeed", she hastens to correct the impression that they were totally unrewarding: "We were so far from being uninfluenced by our parent's example, or incapable of being advantaged by their teaching, that the impress of both was indelible."[8] Although Sunday in a Victorian home may appear grim and forboding to the twentieth-century mind, it must be remembered that through its rigorous and austere routine religious conceptions were painstakingly developed.[9]

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6. Walford, op. cit., p. 38. Other examples of the Scottish Victorian Sabbath in the home can be found in the following sources: Philip Adam, The Evangel in Gowrie (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 426-31; A.K. Stewart, A Long Look at Life by Two Victorians (London, n.d.), pp. 30-40; and A.M. Stuart, Life and Letters of Elizabeth, Last Duchess of Gordon (London, 1865), pp. 222-9.

7. Walford, op. cit., p. 39. Walford's account of Sunday in Edinburgh should be compared with the accounts in Hessey, Sunday: Its Origin, History, and Present Obligations, pp. 473-4, and Marcus Dods (ed.), Early Letters of Marcus Dods 1850-64 (London, 1910), Introduction, pp. 20-1. In these works the account of Walford is substantiated.

8. Walford, op. cit., p. 39.

9. See the relevant discussion in Hodgkins, Sunday: Christian and Social Significance, pp. 108-9.

(2) In Society

Sabbatarianism continued to give other indications that it possessed strength and vitality. The attempt to open the Edinburgh Botanic Gardens to the public on Sunday afternoons in 1863 revealed that concern for the protection of the Sabbath was not a dead issue. Fourteen thousand people petitioned for opening the gardens and 36,000 against it.[10] The decision lay with the Crown and the matter eventually came before Parliament. With the various Assemblies and Synods of the Scottish Churches protesting against the opening, the House of Commons by a majority of 13 votes ruled that the gates should be kept closed.[11] Objections by men like Robert Story and William Milligan of the Established Church fell on deaf ears, for public opinion was still on the side of the restrictive policies of the Sabbatarians.[12]

Other examples of Sabbatarian strength can be cited. When efforts were made to introduce a clause into the Glasgow Police Bill in 1861 permitting the sale of milk and bread on Sunday before 10 a.m. and after 5 p.m., the reaction was almost spontaneous. Without hesitation the Town Council struck theclause from the draft of the Bill by a vote of 28:9.[13] In Edinburgh in 1863 the visit of the Channel Fleet to the port of Leith occasioned

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10. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-1874, p. 155. See also Smith, Memoirs of James Begg, vol. II, pp. 342-3.

11. FCAP, 1863, pp. 312 and 325-9; AGA, 1863 (Abridgement), p. 70, and Smith, Memoirs of James Begg, vol. II, p. 343.

12. In the discussion relating to petitioning Parliament to insure closure of the Botanic Gardens on Sunday Story said, "It was a mockery to appoint, year after year, a Sabbath Observance Committee, as if that were the great point to which the Assembly considered it right to direct its attention". Milligan commented, "Different opinions as to observing the Sabbath might be entertained by the most sincere and devoted Christian men." Their protests did, however, secure the deletion of the phrase "contrary to the 4th Commandment" from the petition sent by the Established Church. See Glasgow Herald, 3rd June, 1863, and Memoir of Robert Herbert Story, p. 77. Cp. also AGAF, 1863, pp. 328-9, and FCAP, 1863, Appendix XX, pp. 7-8 for Free Church reaction.

13. FCAP, 1861, Appendix XIII, p. 2.

a public inspection of the vessels on Sunday afternoon. Vociferous protests from Sabbatarians secured a promise from the Admiralty that it would not happen again. Even the Royal Navy had to bow to the wishes of Sabbatarian Scotland![14]

Although elders no longer perambulated the streets on the Sabbath as they had done in an earlier age, other methods proved to be equally efficient. When two noted prize fighters attempted to have a Sunday afternoon encounter in one of the Glebe fields of Govan in 1862, Matthew Leishman, dressed in full ministerial garb, "strode into the ring, and after rebuking the crowd for their desecration of God's day and threatening the leaders with a Sheriff's Warrant, ordered them all off the ground, and they went-- like lambs".[15] In Edinburgh in 1865 an indignant citizen complained of the restrictions imposed upon Sunday recreation by members of the Edinburgh police force.

> I chanced to pass St. Margaret's Loch, which to my astonishment, I found guarded against the profanation of Sunday sliding by ten or twelve policemen. I counted ten, and rather think there were a dozen, perambulating in pairs around the margin of the pond....Is Sunday sliding a statutory offence in Scotland?[16]

It would be foolish to imagine, therefore, that the bastions of Scottish Sabbatarianism suddenly came crashing down about 1860. Concern for the Sabbath in Scotland was too deep rooted to permit that, and fear of a "Continental Sunday" inhibited even the more liberal minded individuals from encouraging a relaxation of Sabbath standards. Although the numerical strength of Sabba-

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14. Smith, Memoirs of James Begg, vol. II, pp. 359-60. Cp. also FCAP, 1864, Appendix XX, pp. 1-2. A similar event took place again in 1888. See FCAP, 1889, Appendix XVI, p. 7.

15. James F. Leishman, Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843 (Paisley, 1921), pp. 219-20.

16. Scotsman, 30th January, 1865. Cp. Lilley, The Lord's Day and the Lord's Servants, p. 161. One earnest Sabbatarian suggested that the lamplighters of Edinburgh be spared the necessity of Sunday labour by lighting the lamps on Saturday night and extinguishing them on Monday morning. "But what", he exclaimed, "is the expenditure of a few pounds compared to the relieving the poor lamplighters of their Sunday toil?" See Scotsman, 15th September, 1865.

tarianism was waning, its influential power was still great.[17] Thus because he had been deemed "a benighted Anti-Sabbatarian" Marcus Dods expressed fear that such an appellation would "considerably damage" his future career.[18] In 1860 it was only the venturesome personality who dared to speak boldly against the institution of the Scottish Sabbath, and even then he risked the loss of friendship and social standing.

The "Sabbath War" of 1865-66

The tranquility of the Sabbath was disturbed early in 1865, however, by the North British Railway Company. Previous to 1865 the North British had run an occasional goods train on Sunday, but in January of 1865 a regular service was put into effect in addition to the usual passenger trains. Andrew Thomson, at a meeting of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Edinburgh in February 1865, reported that there were four goods trains operating on the North British line on Sunday. One left at 12:30 a.m bound for Berwick; one at 2 a.m. for Carlisle; and one at 7 p.m. for Fife which later separated into two sections. These, he announced, were in addition to the nine passenger trains going to various points in Scotland.[19]

Although evidence indicated that the North British was not the only offender in this matter (the Caledonian and the Glasgow and South Western were also culpable), it was, because of its prominent place in the transport world,

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17. Even a man like David Brewster, a confirmed anti-Sabbatarian in theory, did not denounce the efforts of Sabbatarians to control Sunday activities because of his fear that "Continental" attitudes would be introduced. See Margaret Gordon, The Home Life of Sir David Brewster (Edinburgh, 1870), 2nd edition, p. 324.

18. Dods (ed.), Early Letters of Marcus Dods, p. 314. Writing to his sister in 1863 Dods mentions that one Sunday afternoon in Stirling he "sauntered about the garden to give my leiges an idea of my Sabbatarian principles". Ibid., p.313.

19. Scotsman, 8th February, 1865.

singled out as the enemy of the Scottish Sabbath. Presbyteries and synods of all denominations protested against the practice of running goods trains on the Sabbath, and mass public meetings were held in most large cities to encourage united action against the North British.[20] All these efforts proved to be of no avail, however, as the Company steadfastly refused to be moved from its policy that goods trains were now a necessity in the ever increasing complexity of an industrialized society.[21]

The agitation might have ended at this juncture as the running of goods trains on Sunday on the North British and other lines was in fact a fait accompli. Fuel was added to the smouldering embers of Sabbatarian resentment, however, by a rumour in the spring of 1865 that there would soon be an amalgamation of the North British and the Glasgow and Edinburgh Railway Companies. The latter's line had been closed to Sunday traffic since 1846, and as long as it remained so, Sabbatarians could always hope that others would follow its example. Now, it was feared, even this testimony against Sunday travel might be silenced as anti-Sabbatarian members of the North British infiltrated the control and ownership of the Glasgow and Edinburgh Company.

When the amalgamation was being discussed at a meeting of the Glasgow and Edinburgh Company shareholders in the spring of 1865, the Rev. James Meiklem of Glasgow inquired whether a union with the North British would ultimately mean the resumption of Sunday trains. The chairman, Mr. Peter Blackburn, replied, "There is nothing whatever in the agreement with the North British that

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20. For accounts of some of these meetings see Scotsman, 5th January, 1865, 11th January, 1865, 2nd February, 1865, 8th February, 1865, 23rd February, 1865, 5th April, 1865, and 4th May, 1865.

21. See the reasoning of the directors of the North British Railway Company when confronted by Sabbatarian groups in Scotsman, 6th January, 1865, and 24th March, 1865.

puts it in their power to compel us to run trains on Sunday."[22] This assurance from a man of Sabbatarian principles seemed to quiet the fears of the opponents of Sunday trains, and accordingly, the amalgamation was approved, effective 1st August, 1865.[23]

No sooner had the merger been completed than rumours began to circulate that in spite of assurances to the contrary, Sunday trains would soon be reinstated on the Glasgow-Edinburgh line. The Scotsman, always in favour of a wider range of Sunday activities, cheerfully gave substantiation to the deepest fears of the Sabbatarian party late in August 1865.

> It has now become known that the Edinburgh and Glasgow section of the NBR will soon be opened for Sunday passenger trains. The service will begin, we understand, on Sunday week, the 3rd September; and will consist of a parliamentary train from Edinburgh to Glasgow at seven in the morning, and five in the evening. Besides these, fast trains, being continuations of the mail trains from the south, will leave Edinburgh at nine a.m. and Glasgow at 8.30 p.m.[24]

The gauntlet had been thrown down and the Sabbatarian forces which had hitherto prevented the running of passenger trains on the Glasgow-Edinburgh line, took up the challenge with alacrity. Huge public meetings, similar to the ones held in protest to the running of the goods trains on the North British line, were held in Glasgow and Edinburgh.[25] Sabbath protection associations

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22. Scotsman, 15th March, 1865. As a matter of historical interest Mr. Blackburn, chairman of the Glasgow and Edinburgh line, was the great-grandson of the man who took the magistrates of Glasgow to court in 1765 for permitting the bailies to search Glasgow Green on Sunday during the time of worship. Sic transit! See above, p. 104.

23. Scotsman, 13th April, 1865, and 23rd August, 1865.

24. Scotsman, 24th August, 1865. For further details of this service and the minor variations from the above proposed operation, see Scotsman, 1st September, 1865.

25. Even after the re-introduction of Sunday trains the meetings continued and were well attended. See Scotsman, 6th September, 1865, 5th October, 1865, 17th November, 1865, 5th December, 1865, and 19th December, 1865.

circulated memorials protesting against the proposed re-introduction of Sunday trains, and presbyteries and other religious organizations once again "sounded the tocsin" against the railway directors.[26] The directors, however, ignored all the complaints and patiently awaited the public reaction when the Sunday service was resumed.

Sabbath morning, 3rd September, 1865 dawned clear and bright. A reporter for the Scotsman took up his position at the North British railway station in Edinburgh ready to give a first-hand account of the departure of the first Sunday passenger train to run directly between Edinburgh and Glasgow in twenty years. Much to his chagrin there was no commotion or disturbance as the various trains arrived and departed. Approximately seventy passengers left with the 8.a.m. train, and only about twenty with the 9 a.m. train. The morning train from Glasgow carried about 100 passengers, and the evening one about 120. Only in the evening, when a crowd gathered outside the station in Edinburgh to hear a street preacher shout to the departing travellers, "There they go to hell at a penny a mile!" was the quietness of the day disturbed. Sunday trains on the Glasgow-Edinburgh line had come to stay.[27]

In spite of the fact that Sabbatarians had not been able to stop the re-introduction of Sunday trains on the Glasgow-Edinburgh line, they were not ready to give up their cause. The united front they had presented in fighting their battle was encouraging, and hopes were maintained that the situation might yet improve. Then on the 16th November, 1865, Dr. Norman MacLeod, minister of the Barony Church in Glasgow, made his memorable three and a half hour speech in opposition to the Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow's Pastoral Letter

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26. Scotsman, 31st August, 1865.

27. Scotsman, 4th September, 1865. See also Glasgow Herald, 4th September, 1865.

on the subject of Sabbath Observance.[28] The appearance of MacLeod as a protagonist on the other side was the great sensation of the time, and it did more than any other single item to disturb, if not yet alter, the prevailing opinion as to the evil of Sunday trains. The "Sabbath War" had begun in earnest.

MacLeod, with all the fervour of his Celtic temperament, overstated his case in such a way that he was left open to misunderstanding and criticism. In reality he said little more than Robert Lee had on the floor of the General Assembly in 1847, or Story and Milligan with regard to the opening of the Botanic Gardens in 1863.[29] Nevertheless the newspapers were quick to emphasize the remarkable assertions that the respected Doctor had made, especially the more destructive passages of his oratorical efforts. The Scotsman, for example, included in its account of the speech the following words:

> If you ask me, then, to keep the Sabbath law, you must prove to me, as being under law to Christ, that I am to keep it as contained in the law of life which is in Christ, or as sanctioned or enacted by the Master. What precept, what duty imposed on me as a Christian, do I fail to find in Christ, that I must go back to an earlier stage of His kingdom and government in order to find it? Where, then, is His authority for keeping the Sabbath law of the 4th Commandment after His resurrection? In vain I ask! It has died out with the old economy. The Passover has gone, without even formal abrogation, and we have the Lord's Supper; circumcision has died out, and we have baptism; the Sabbath has died out, and we have the Lord's day.... The Sabbath has sunk gradually beneath the horizon, as

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28. Compared to much of the Sabbatarian literature and pronouncements of the time the Pastoral Letter of the Established Presbytery of Glasgow was quite innocuous and was moderately stated. The text of the Letter is given in the Report of Proceedings of the Established Church Presbytery, Glasgow, November 16, 1865 (Glasgow, 1865), pp. 6-8. MacLeod's speech is to be found in The Lord's Day: Substance of a Speech Delivered at a Meeting of the Presbytery of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1865), pp. 7-48.

29. See above, pp.151&186. This statement is not intended to detract from the intrepidity of MacLeod, for there can be little doubt that he was speaking out against what was popular opinion, especially in the religious world. Nevertheless, especially to Lee, history has not given due credit. Almost twenty years before MacLeod ventured forth his condemnation of the worst features of Sabbatarianism, Lee had risked his reputation for the same cause.

> His worship and the first day of the week have risen with himself from the grave; while high above all times and seasons, all days, weeks, months, and years, rises Jesus Christ himself as my life-- its sources, its expressions, its end, its all in all![30]

Because of his polemic against the institution of the Scottish Sabbath, Macleod became to many sincerely religious people an object of suspicion and dislike. His biographer reported that Macleod's desk "was loaded with letters remonstrating with him abusing him, cursing him. Ministers of the Gospel passed him without recognition: one of these, more zealous than the rest, hissed him in the street".[31] A satirical poem published anonymously in 1866 indicates the hostility felt toward him and all those who advocated a relaxing of Sabbath standards. In the poem entitled Norman's Blast: A Rejected Contribution to Good Works", Macleod is accused of attempting to nullify the Ten Commandments and all standards of moral conduct.

> When Tulloch, Lee, and you agreed
> To start a free-and-easy creed,
> You've nobly dared, and taen the lead
> An' fired the heather.
> But ere the breeze blaws up, tak heed,
> An' slack your tether.
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> .....

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30. Scotsman, 17th November, 1865 and 22nd November, 1865. Cp. also Glasgow Herald, 21st November, 1865. In spite of what he said in his speech, Macleod had a profound respect for the strict observance of Sunday. He questioned not the fact of Sunday observance, only the motivating factors behind it. In 1863, for example, he said: "I will yield to no man living my profound thankfulness for the Lord's Day and all its sacred influences: nor do I wish, God forbid, to weaken them, but to strengthen them." Macleod, Memoir of Norman Macleod, vol. II, p. 142. See also vol. II, pp. 17, 24, and 118 for similar sentiments on the part of Macleod.

31. Ibid., vol. II, p. 190. Not all who opposed him went to such extremes in expressing contempt. It was with reluctance that a man like Archibald Charteris entered the lists against his friend. See Arthur Gordon, The Life of Archibald Hamilton Charteris (London, 1912), pp. 97-100. This was also the case with regard to Matthew Leishman. See Leishman, Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843, pp. 206-7. Opposition from other leaders was firm but fair. See, for example, W.L. Calderwood and D. Woodside, The Life of Henry Calderwood (London, 1900), p. 115, and Norman Walker, Robert Buchanan, An Ecclesiastical Biography, p. 503.

Now all fast lads and lasses free,
Who love a lark and Sunday's spree,
Let's drink to him wha bears the gree
Amang the crowd;
Fill up a bumper--three times three--
Norman MacLeod![32]

There were many others in Scotland, especially amongst the clergy, who shared MacLeod's desire to suppress a Judaistic interpretation of the Lord's Day, but even these men lamented the fact that he had been so spectacular and provocative in his presentation. Eadie of the United Presbyterian Church wrote to MacLeod, "I have always held and preached a similar doctrine as to the relation of the Fourth Commandment to the Lord's Day."[33] Tulloch,[34] Lee,[35] Milligan,[36] and Burns,[37] all defended his basic principles. MacLeod Campbell, writing to his eldest daughter in December 1865, referred to Norman's outburst in the following words:

> While I am fully persuaded that he is right as to the passing away of the Sabbath known by that name in Scripture, and the coming in of the Lord's Day as the day to be marked as a religious day in the Christian Church, I would not have felt any call to disturb men's minds on the subject, but have felt it is enough to raise the spiritual tone of their observance of Sunday, and to

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32. Norman's Blast: A Rejected Contribution to "Good Works" (Edinburgh, 1866) pp. 4 and 7.

33. James Brown, Life of John Eadie (London, 1878), pp. 165-66. Cp. also Scotsman, 25th November, 1865, and 28th November, 1865 for similar sentiments.

34. Margaret Oliphant, A Memoir of the Life of John Tulloch (London, 1888), 2nd edition, p. 220.

35. Story, Life and Remains of Robert Lee, vol. II, pp.190-2. Lee was inclined to regret the "somewhat injudicious language which Dr. M'Leod had used in speaking of the obligations of the Fourth Commandment".

36. William Milligan, The Decalogue and the Lord's Day (Edinburgh, 1866), pp. 116-51.

37. Burns seconded MacLeod's motion on the floor of Presbytery recommending that the Pastoral Letter be referred back to the Committee that had issued it. See Report of Proceedings of the Established Church Presbytery, Glasgow, November 16, 1865, p. 37.

> free it from superstitious gloom. And this is what really he would have desired. But now things will not settle down to what is desirable without his wading through a sea of troubles.[38]

The "sea of troubles" through which MacLeod Campbell predicted Norman MacLeod would have to wade, proved to be nothing more than a fordable stream. MacLeod's personal reputation and high Christian character saved him from becoming a victim of the ecclesiastical courts. His presbytery was satisfied with pronouncing and recording an admonition, and the General Assembly of 1866 did not move for censure.[39] By 1868 the animosity aroused over his speech had so subsided that he was receiving invitations to speak at Free Church missionary meetings, and in 1869 he was honoured by being elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Established Church. Twenty years earlier it is doubtful whether such a result could have occurred. In spite of the furor that was raised immediately following his speech, the treatment of MacLeod was itself an indication that times were changing.[40]

Evidences of Sabbatarian Compromise

Although the Sabbath tradition in Scotland was too strong to be undermined in one assault, it suffered a mortal blow in the "Sabbath War" of 1865-66. Not only had Sunday trains been tacitly accepted as necessary in an industrialized age, but the Sabbath and its relationship to the Fourth Commandment had been publicly questioned by a leading figure in the Established Church. The resulting discussions, more frequently characterized by their propensity to generate heat than by their ability to produce light, raised questions in

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38. Donald Campbell, Memorials of John MacLeod Campbell (London, 1877), vol. II, p. 115. See also vol. II, p. 117.

39. MacLeod appears to have feared the worst, but was willing to suffer for his cause. See MacLeod, op. cit., vol. II, p. 283, and W.S. Bruce, Reminiscences of Men and Manners During the Past Seventy Years (Aberdeen, 1929), pp. 140-2.

40. See discussion in Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-74, p. 215ff. Cp. also MacLeod, Memoir of Norman MacLeod, vol. II, pp. 204-5.

the minds of sincerely religious people as to the validity of the Church's traditional stand on Sabbath observance. It was not long after Sabbatarianism's foundations had been shaken that its superstructure began to topple. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate this generalization.

(1) Changing attitudes toward Sunday travel

The re-opening of the Glasgow-Edinburgh line to Sunday traffic in 1865 was the signal for others to follow in its stead. The Glasgow and South-Western Company which had lines in Nithsdale and Galloway, introduced Sunday trains in 1869 in spite of vigorous opposition.[41] The Caledonian and North British rapidly increased their Sunday train services and the Glasgow and Greenock Company, which had not run a train on Sunday in all of its forty-four year history, capitulated to the trend of the times in 1884.[42] By the end of the century the number of Sunday trains was still increasing and people were less reluctant to use them.[43]

The introduction of horse-drawn trams in Glasgow in 1879 showed that the Churches would no longer categorically condemn the use of public transport on Sunday as they had previously done. In the Established Presbytery of Glasgow, a report submitted by the Sabbath Observance Committee in January 1879 justified Sunday tram service because of the "altered condition and exigencies of modern society", and as "a timely and partial concession to the growing wants

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41. FCAP, 1870, p. 298. Earlier attempts to open the line on Sunday had failed. See Glasgow Herald, 1st June, 1866; FCAP, 1868, Appendix XXIX, pp. 1-2, and FCAP, 1869, Appendix XXI, p. 2.

42. Thirty-Fifth Report of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association, p. 16. The service provided the continuation of the London mail from Glasgow to Greenock at 5 p.m.

43. For statistics regarding Sunday trains at the end of the century see Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland 1902, pp. 1146-50.

and wishes of the population".[44] Only the "indiscriminate" running of trams was condemned and the Committee's report was accepted with only token opposition. In the Free Presbytery of Glasgow, the Sabbath Observance Committee presented a severe condemnation of Sunday trams and urged that ministers in the Presbytery warn their congregations not to use them or any other mode of travel on the Lord's Day. Dr. Bruce, however, objected to the harsh terms of the report and stated that he was not able "to affirm as authoritatively as the report did, that there was no necessity for these cars...and in connection with that, he thought the report went a little too far in asking the Presbytery to instruct ministers to urge that their people act in a particular way".[45] Other ministers rose to support Dr. Bruce, and as a result the report was amended to read that ministers should be "recommended" not "instructed" to take the course of action prescribed in the Committee's report. Sabbatarianism, even within the Free Church, was mellowing to the extent that the definition of "works of necessity" was becoming increasingly liberal in its application to specific circumstances in contemporary society.

(2) Opening of recreational facilities

As leisure time on Sunday became more common the public began to clamour for more recreational facilities. Baxter Park in Dundee opened on Sundays in 1863 in spite of protests from the local Free Church ministers.[46] The Edin-

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44. David Pirrot, The Sabbath, the Tramway Cars, and the Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland (Glasgow, 1879), pp. 8-9. The trams stopped running on Sunday near the end of 1879, but resumed operations in 1880. In 1882 there were 18 Sunday runs beginning at 10.30 a.m. and ceasing at 4.30 p.m. The numbers rapidly increased and by 1885 there were 492 scheduled runs. For further information consult, Thirty-Sixth Report of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association, p. 16; Glasgow Herald, 29th January, 1879, 3rd March, 1879, and 5th March, 1879. Sunday trams did not run in Edinburgh until 1900. See FCAP, 1900, Appendix, XXI, p. 2.

45. Glasgow Herald, 6th February, 1879.

46. Rollo, A Century's Record of Ecclesiastical Life in Dundee, pp. 6-7. Cp. also Scotsman, 9th March, 1865.

burgh Botanic Gardens which Sabbatarian pressure had kept closed in 1863, opened on Sunday afternoon in 1889.[47] Towards the end of the century museums in Edinburgh and Glasgow opened on Sunday after the morning services were completed, and many "half-day hearers" gazed at their displays.[48] An organization such as the "Sunday Society", which was formed in Glasgow in 1880, sponsored scientific lectures on Sunday afternoon, and by 1884 had expanded its programme to include vocal and instrumental concerts.[49] In 1882 the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association took cognizance of Scotland's growing anti-Sabbatarian tendencies and prophetically warned its members that "our opponents are united and energetic, and unless we take equally extensive and energetic measures to secure complete organization, the consequences might be most disastrous to the moral well-being of Scotland".[50] Pleasure seeking on Sunday continued to increase, however, and little could be done to stop it.

(3) Miscellaneous

Evidence that was gathered by the Free Church's Sabbath Observance Committee in 1887 indicated that a widespread departure from the standards of early Victorian Sabbatarianism had taken place. From all parts of Scotland (the Highlands excepted) came reports such as the one given by the Free Presbytery of Dundee.

> In regard to Sabbath observance now as compared with what it was 20 or 30 years ago, there can be no question that it has greatly deteriorated. The attendance on public wor-

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47. FCAP, 1890, Appendix XXI, pp. 1-2.

48. FCAP, 1896, p. 149. A committee from the Established Church visited the Edinburgh Industrial Museum which had opened to the public on Sunday in 1902 and reported that the Sunday opening had "not interfered with the attendance at our churches, and that they have seen nothing in connection with it likely to disturb the decorum one is accustomed to associate with the Lord's Day". Report on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, pp. 1128-9.

49. Thirty-Third Report of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association, pp. 11, 14-15.

50. Thirty-Eighth Report, pp. 26-7.

> ship in the afternoon has sensibly decreased within the last five years in most of the Dundee churches.... There seems to be little doubt that the old reverence for the sacredness of the Lord's Day is breaking down, and that this, along with the depressed state of religious life throughout our country at the present time, is one of the main causes of neglect of public worship. It may be true that the old ideas about Sabbath observance were sometimes narrow, exaggerated, and even Pharisaic, and that a larger and more liberal interpretation was needed of what might be done and left undone on the Sabbath-day. But no one can view, without regret and alarm, the progressive secularizing of that day which God has set apart for His special service, and without due observance of which deep spiritual religion can never flourish in a country or in individual souls.[51]

Although other information exists that would further illustrate the decline of Scottish Sabbatarianism, there is no need to go into it in any more detail. Rather than continue this line of approach, however, it is deemed more important to consider the reasons why the decline in Sabbatarian feeling took place when it did. By analysing individually the primary forces exerting pressure on Sabbatarianism, one can better understand and appreciate the changes taking place in the theory and practice of the movement.

Contributing Factors to Sabbatarian Compromise

(1) Changing attitudes toward the Westminster Confession of Faith

Much of the success of Sabbatarian theology was due to the fact that the phraseology of the Confession of Faith had acquired a quasi-sanctity, readily taught by Sabbath Schools and catechetical instruction in the home. When some Church leaders began to question the reliability of the Confession of Faith

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51. FCAP, 1888, Appendix XXI, p. 16. See also FCAP, 1887, Appendix XXI, pp.1-10, and FCAP, 1892, Appendix XXI, pp. 1-12. A similar appraisal of the decline of Sabbatarianism can be found in "Some Results of Scotch Theology", Scottish Review, vol. II (1883), p. 120. As early as 1865 the editor of the Scotsman said, "It cannot be doubted for a moment that the popular sentiment regarding the sacredness of the first day of the week has been very much modified in Scotland during the course of the last thirty years.... We have domestic tea parties, we have conversation on the Sabbath on every kind of subject, we have Sunday walking and Sunday jaunting, which are not in harmony with the law as laid down by the Churches". See Scotsman, 5th January, 1865.

and to suggest that it was not binding upon Christians in the same sense as the Bible, an effective instrument of Sabbatarian teaching was first weakened and then ultimately lost.

The "Sabbath War" did more than anything else to compel attention to the Church's Standards. Norman MacLeod saw the possible consequences of his position on Sunday trains and communicated his feelings to a close friend.

> The smaller question is fast merging into the higher one of whether we are to gain a larger measure of ministerial liberty in interpreting those points in our Confession which do not touch the essentials of the Christian faith. If the Assembly passes without my being libelled, I shall have gained for the Established Church, and at the risk of my ecclesiastical life, freedom in alliance with law, and for this I shall thank God.[52]

In 1866 Dr. William Wilson of the Free Church said: "No Confession of Faith can ever be regarded by the Church as a final and permanent document. She must always vindicate her right to revise, to purge, to add to it. We claim no infallibility for it, or for ourselves who declare our belief in the propositions which it contains....It is the Word of God which abideth forever".[53] Others were emboldened to exercise a greater latitude of conscience in interpreting the statements of doctrine set forth in the the Confession of Faith. The last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century say many precedent making cases in the battle to secure ministerial and lay freedom with regard to the Subordinate Standards of the Church.[54]

(2) The Development of Biblical Criticism

It was only natural that the inquisitive spirit that doubted the veracity of the creedal statements would turn its attention to the source of the creeds--

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52. MacLeod, Memoir of Norman MacLeod, vol. II, p. 191. Cp. also pp. 203-4.

53. FCAP, 1866, p. 8.

54. The developments of this movement are sketched in Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1875-1929, pp. 8-25.

the Bible. Biblical criticism in Victorian Scotland was in its infancy, but even at this time it was making an impact on theology. A.B. Davidson's Commentary on Job in 1861, was the harbinger of a new age in Scottish Biblical studies.[55] Other works followed and by 1874 John Tulloch could speak of "the rise of a new spirit of thought unconnected with the old standards", which he further described as a "rapidly growing movement".[56] Such a critical and analytical approach to the Bible was to prove the undoing of much that was considered essential to Sabbatarian theology.

Sabbatarians had always placed much stress on the relation of the institution of the Sabbath to the Creation narratives in Genesis and to the giving of the Ten Commandments in Exodus and Dueteronomy. When Biblical scholars began to suggest that the Creation passages were mythological, and that the Decalogue had pagan parallels more provincial than celestial in origin, much of the basis for an Old Testament founded doctrine of the Sabbath was destroyed. Thus when Walter Smith was being tried by the Free Presbytery of Glasgow in 1865 for his modernistic approach to the Bible, one astute presbyter stressed the implications of Smith's Biblical criticism. "It sweeps away", he asserted, "any authorative rule or law by which we are bound in the observance of the Sabbath. The Fourth Commandment, as such is abolished."[57]

The life of William Robertson Smith is a prime example of how biblical criticism gradually softened strict Sabbatarian principles. As a young student Smith debated in his mind the correctness of a Sunday afternoon

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55. A.B. Davidson, A Commentary on the Book of Job (London and Edinburgh, 1862), pp. ix-liv.

56. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-1875, p. 221. Cp. also W.R. Taylor, Religious Thought and Scottish Church Life in the Nineteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1900), p. 12ff.

57. Glasgow Herald, 23rd May, 1866.

walk, and even went so far as to admonish his father for sending letters that reached him on the Sabbath.[58] His strict observance of the Sabbath changed as he delved deeper into its doctrinal basis. Finding that "the hand that penned the Levitical legislation" could be traced "even in the book of Genesis...to the Creation itself for the law of the Sabbath",[59] he became more receptive to Hessey's view that the Lord's Day and the Sabbath were two different institutions.[60] Accordingly, Smith did not insist on the complete cessation of activity on Sunday, but wrote letters and enjoyed a quiet afternoon stroll.[61]

The long term effect of biblical criticism was to involve ministers and laymen in larger theological issues, and correspondingly cause them to give less attention to the problem of Sabbath observance. J.P. Lilley, Free Church minister from Arbroath, writing near the end of the century lamented this situation. "In these days", he said, "it seems to be larger theological questions, such as those connected with the future issues of sin and grace, or the problem of Higher Criticism, like the origin and composition of the Pentateuch, that are absorbing the thoughts of preachers and students."[62] As the Victorian era drew to a close the truth of Lilley's utterance became increasingly evident. Concern for the observance of Sunday played only a minor role in the religious developments of the twentieth century.

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58. J.S. Black and G. Chrystal, The Life of William Robertson Smith (London, 1912), p. 86.

59. William Robertson Smith, The Old Testament in the Jewish Church (London and Edinburgh, 1892), 2nd edit., p. 322. See also pp. 319 and 447.

60. See Smith's article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (9th ed., 1889), entitled "The Sabbath". Cp. also Dods, Early Letters of Marcus Dods, pp. 216, 225, 246, and 272 where a similar change can be noted.

61. Black and Chrystal, The Life of William Robertson Smith, p. 493.

62. Lilley, The Lord's Day and the Lord's Servants, p. 254.

(3) Voluntarism and Desuetude of Sabbath Laws

The Voluntary Controversy, which came to prominence in the nineteenth century, had as one of its main issues the power and duty of the civil magistrate to enforce laws relating to religion. The adoption of Voluntary principles by people of Sabbatarian convictions tended to make them dubious of the movement to secure a stricter observance of the Sabbath through legislative channels, and encouraged the breakdown of communication and co-operation within the Sabbatarian movement. James Begg sadly commented that the Voluntary principle "always comes in between our friends and a fair consideration of the question before them...whether it is right or wrong that the State should protect the Sabbath as we ask, giving all freedom to worship God according to the conscience".[63] At a time when unity was a necessity, Sabbatarianism found itself involved in an internal conflict that could not be resolved, but actually grew more pronounced.[64]

The views of a typical Voluntary Sabbatarian are expressed in the writings of Ralph Wardlaw, the distinguished Congregationalist minister and author. In his Systematic Theology Wardlaw traces the history of his personal conversion to the Voluntarist principle, and daringly follows the logic on his position to its ultimate conclusion. Wardlaw argues that:

> The results of the entire abrogation of human laws in reference to Sabbath observance, and of again, throwing all things loose, as in "the beginning of the Gospel;" and of leaving this, as well as every other religious observance and duty, entirely to the operation of principle, are so problematical, and the change contemplated is so great and extensive, that one cannot but feel a measure of apprehension. Yet I am more and more inclined to think that consistent anti-Establishment principles will hardly admit of a halt, short of this point.... After all, the benefits of which we fear the

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63. Smith, Memoirs of James Begg, vol. II, pp. 200-1.

64. It is not felt necessary to go into any detail in sketching the history of the Voluntary movement. The interested reader can consult, John MacPherson, A History of the Church in Scotland (Paisley, 1901), p.370ff, or Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, pp. 325-8.

> loss are more outward than spiritual... Human laws and customs of society make formalists, just as persecuting and coercing statutes make hypocritical professors.... And so there is not less throughout the country amidst the general outward decencies of the Sabbath, than if things were left to themselves, and men allowed to appear in their true colours: the genuine spiritual people of God keeping their spiritual rest; the external decencies of others being spontaneous and not constrained, and the rest pursuing their vocations in the service of mammon.[65]

As Voluntaryists questioned the moral validity of Sabbath laws judges and magistrates scrutinized their legal standing. The many unsuccessful attempts to enforce these laws in the nineteenth century indicated that judicatories generally held the view that the laws had fallen into practical, if not theoretical desuetude. A mention of a few of the more prominent cases will show that this was true. The cases of Jobson v. Larbert and Phillips v. Innes have previously been cited and need no further comment.[66] In the case of Jennings v. Burnett in 1852, the verdict of the Glasgow Police Court fining Jennings one guinea for keeping his shop open on Sunday was squashed by the High Court of Justiciary on the grounds that the Police Court had no jurisdiction in the matter.[67] In 1870 the Dundee Burgh Magistrates were unsuccessful in prosecuting a man and wife for contravening ancient laws by selling merchandise on Sunday evenings.[68] When the Harbour Commissioners of Kirkcaldy

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65. Ralph Wardlaw, Systematic Theology (Edinburgh, 1857), vol. III, pp. 455-6. With this view compare that of William Cunningham who espoused the belief that it was possible to maintain a concept of "protective legislation" without infringing on Voluntary principles. See Robert Rainy and James Mackenzie, Life of William Cunningham (London, 1871), pp. 79-80. See also the discussion in Alexander MacEwan, Life and Letters of John Cairns (London, 1895), p. 508.

66. See above, p.149 .

67. Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland 1902, p. 1135.

68. Ibid., p. 1135. See also Rollo, A Century's Record of Ecclesiastical Life in Dundee, pp. 75-8.

passed a bye-law in 1888 forbidding steam vessels to enter the harbour on Sunday between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m., the Galloway Steam Packet Company took the case to court and won a favourable decision.[69]

By the beginning of the twentieth century it had become evident even to the most avid Sabbatarian that it was a waste of time and energy to seek prosecution on the basis of the ancient Scottish statutes. Reporting to the General Assembly of the Established Church in 1902, Mr. J.L. Gemmill of Glasgow summarized by stating: "I am certain that the courts of law would now hold that the old Acts of the Scottish Parliament have lapsed through desuetude, and I do not think there is any liklihood of the civil authorities prosecuting under these Acts."[70] Speculation as to the validity of these laws finally ended in 1906 when the Scottish Law Revision Act repealed most of them.[71]

(4) Continuing Industrialization of Society

As the tempo of the Industrial Revolution increased in the nineteenth century, factory and mill owners were prompted to keep production going seven days a week. If actual production was suspended on Sunday, maintenance work or repair work was carried out. In 1875 the Free Synod of Glasgow and Ayr issued a well documented report in which it was estimated that there were 150 iron works in Scotland, 125 of which remained in continual operation.[72] Frequent

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69. Thirty-Eighth Report of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association, p. 17.

70. Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland 1902, p. 1146. See also Lilley, The Lord's Day and the Lord's Servants, p. 246.

71. Viscount Dunedin (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Laws of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1933), vol. XIV, pp. 266-7. The laws repealed were: 1503, c. 83; 1592, c. 124; 1593, c. 163; 1663, c. 19; 1672, c. 22; 1690, c. 25; 1693, c. 40; 1695, c. 13; 1696, c. 31; and 1701, c. 11.

72. Sabbath Labour at Iron Works: Two Reports by the Sabbath Observance Committee of the Free Synod of Glasgow and Ayr (Glasgow, 1875), pp. 1-14. See also Ninth Report of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association, p. 10.

protests against Sunday work met with antipathy on the part of ambitious owners and resentment on the part of workers, who wanted the extra money the work provided. The Church gradually adopted the proposition that much of the labour performed on Sunday was of a "necessary and unavoidable" nature, and its policy shifted from outright opposition to all forms of Sunday work, to the desire to see it contained within reasonable bounds. At least this is the general impression gathered from reading reports of various presbyteries in the Established Church on the subject in 1902.[73]

Furthermore the Industrial Revolution tended to engulf people with an intense pre-occupation with material betterment. The industrial developments of the nineteenth century fostered a concern for the "here and now" rather than an interest in the "yonder and hereafter". The achievements in the realm of material prosperity dulled the cultivation of personal piety. As the modern age dawned, this intensification of secularism greatly altered the way in which Sunday was observed, and caused many to look back wistfully to the time when machines and factories were unknown.[74]

(5) Breakdown of Scottish Insularity

The nineteenth century saw an end to theological provincialism. After 1830 it became fashionable for young men to spend some of their years of preparation for the ministry in a foreign country, Germany being the most popular choice. Abroad the young Scot met, perhaps for the first time, Christians who did not hold the prevailing Scottish view on the observance of Sunday. While it is true that the fear of a "Continental Sunday" was still great, the long term effect of intercourse with the Continent was the inculcation of more liberal ideas, especially with regard to the theology and

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73. Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland 1902, pp. 1063-1128.

74. On this general movement see Hodgkins, Sunday: Christian and Social Significance, pp. 113-62.

and practice of Sunday observance. The two years that Norman MacLeod spent in Germany in 1834-5 contributed to his antipathy to the Judaistic elements evident in the Scottish Sabbatarianism of his day.[75] Marcus Dods, who also expressed anti-Sabbatarian views in later life, noted while travelling in France in 1854 that "they seem to use Sunday here very much as we use Saturday", although he did affirm that the contrast between France and Scotland was so great "that the shock will scarcely be got over in the short time we are here".[76] William Robertson Smith, writing from Germany in 1867, revealed the problems that faced a Scottish student who wanted to maintain a strict observance of the Sabbath in the face of a "Continental Sunday".

> A little before seven a German student called and asked me to walk with him. I walked down to the Scottish Church with him, and had some talk about our way of keeping the Sabbath, which he admitted had advantages. I am not quite sure how I ought to do in such cases. In this instance my course was clear, as I had to go to church at any rate, but ought I in other cases to refuse to walk on Sabbath afternoon, or rather to walk and try to use such conversation as is suitable for Sabbath? [77]

As much as any other single factor the rapport between Scottish and Continental theologians hastened the end of dogmatic Sabbatarian theology and rigid Sabbatarian practices.

Closer to home, the influences of England and Ireland on Sunday observance were not to be discounted as unimportant. James Gilfillan blamed "imported people and customs from England and Ireland for impairing the religion and Sabbath observance of Scotland", and condemned the "corrupting power of English wealth and Irish poverty".[78] Commercialism from the south and Roman Catholicism

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75. Macleod, Memoir of Norman MacLeod, vol. I, pp. 51-61.

76. Dods, Early Letters of Marcus Dods, p. 65. See also p. 66.

77. Black and Chrystal, The Life of William Robertson Smith, p. 86. Cp. also Walter W. Blackie (ed.), A Scottish Student in Leipzig 1839-40 (London and Glasgow, 1932), pp. 44-5, and Bonar, Memoir and Remains of Robert Murray M'Cheyne, p. 251.

78. Gilfillan, The Sabbath Viewed in the Light of Reason, Revelation, and History, p. 158.

from the West greatly altered Scotland's observance of Sunday as social assimilation continued to take place on a large scale.[79]

(6) Poor Church Accommodation

Especially in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century was this an acute problem. After the Disruption of 1843 the situation began to improve, but nevertheless it remained an obstacle to those who hoped to impress strict Sabbatarian principles on the people. Young people grew up without ever seeing the inside of a church while seats, often belonging to persons not even residing in the parish, remained vacant.[80] Inconveniently located churches, victims of shifting population due to industrialization, made attendance at Church difficult and encouraged absenteeism.[81] It is paradoxical that when Sabbatarianism was at its strongest in Scotland, and people were constantly being encouraged to be strict in their observance of the Lord's Day, it was impossible for many to find a seat in the parish church.

(7) Social Exclusiveness of Sabbatarianism

Although in theory Sabbatarianism proclaimed a gospel to all classes of people, in practice its greatest strength--and its greatest weakness--lay in the middle class. At either end of the social scale Sabbatarianism was never very successful, but constantly looked to the middle class "for the influence

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79. See the discussion in Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-74, pp. 156-7. See also Glasgow Herald, 17th May, 1866. While making this point it is also true to say that fear of Roman Catholicism was a factor in maintaining a decent outward observance of Sunday. To be anti-Sabbatarian was in effect to be pro-Roman. Thus Sabbath observance was hailed as an obvious distinguishing characteristic between Protestant and Catholic. This point is stressed in John Lorimer, The Protestant or the Popish Sabbath? A Word of Warning from the Word of Prophecy and the History of the Christian Church (Edinburgh, 1847), pp. 1-10.

80. See NSA vol. XI (Dundee), p. 43; NSA, vol. I (Newton), p. 580; NSA, vol. VII (Port Glasgow), p. 71; and NSA, vol. VIII (Old Kilpatrick), p. 32fn.

81. NSA, vol. I (Crichton), p. 60; NSA, vol. V (Dalrymple), p. 284; NSA, vol. VII (Eastwood), p. 46; and NSA, vol. VIII (Drymen), p. 110. See also the discussion above relating to the conditions of the poor within the larger cities in the nineteenth century, pp. 142-5.

of example, and decided opinion" with regard to Sunday observance.[82] Writing in 1855, David Agnew, son of Sir Andrew Agnew, noted that "the middle and lower classes...are the best living examples of Sabbath observance. The upper classes (especially men of standing) defer to their wishes as to external quietness, even where they differ from their opinions. But the large masses in our cities are without pastoral instruction and influence".[83] In spite of frequent attempts to break through this social stratification, Sabbatarianism remained essentially a bourgeois-centered movement, and tended to neglect those outside of that class.[84]

(8) Concentration of Sabbatarianism in the Free Church

Not long after its inception the Free Church assumed the role of the official "Defender of the Sabbath". Men like Candlish and Begg accused the Established Church of being lax and indifferent and urged their brethren to take up the cause of Sabbath observance.[85] One of the first acts of the Free Church was to form a committee "to watch over the subject of Sabbath Desecration, not only as it occurs in the case of railways, but in all the different forms in which it may present itself".[86] Acts, resolutions, and pastoral admonitions were issued from the various courts of the Free Church with almost monotonous regularity throughout the nineteenth century.[87]

Free Kirk Sessions, unlike their Established counterparts, did not miss

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82. MacFarlan, A Treatise on the Authority, Ends, and Observance of the Christian Sabbath, p. 231.

83. The Religious Condition of Christendom 1855, p. 460.

84. For further discussion of this point see, Hodgkins, Sunday: Christian and Social Significance, pp. 101-7.

85. AGA, 1842 (Abridgement), p. 78.

86. AGAF, 1843, pp. 71 and 115.

87. See, for example, AGAF, 1844, p. 35; AGAF, 1845, pp. 5-6; and AGAF, 1848, p. 49. Similar petitions and warnings were frequently omitted throughout the century.

many opportunities to impress their flock with the importance of a strict observance of the Sabbath. James Robertson, a compositor on the Glasgow Herald, and a member of the Gorbals Free Church, was excluded from Church privileges in 1865 because it was necessary for him to work on Sunday afternoon preparing Monday's paper.[88] In another case a Free Church elder was forced to resign from his eldership because his work necessitated him to inspect two miles of track on Sunday morning before Church.[89] Even clergymen could not escape the watchful eye of Free Kirk Sessions if they happened to do or say anything in opposition to "Sabbath sanctification".[90]

In spite of the fact that the initial impact of the Disruption consolidated and particularized Sabbatarian strength, its long term effect was to isolate the more strict adherents of Sunday observance from the main stream of Scottish religious life. As was the case in the Secession of 1733, the Disruption removed the most hot blooded Evangelicals, and consequently the most zealous Sabbatarians, from the Established Church. The broad front of Sabbatarianism was thus confined to a narrower, although admittedly deeper, channel of expression. Once again it became the trademark of dissent-- a factor that hastened rather than hindered its decline in the last half of the nineteenth century.

(9) Formalism and Rigidity of Sabbatarianism

Even at its best Sabbatarianism tottered precariously on the brink of Pharisaism. The Rev. James Walker, himself a dedicated Sabbatarian, reluctantly admitted that "the Sabbath is the thing among us in which the pharisaic

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88. FCAP, 1866, pp. 44-69. See also Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-74, pp. 217-18.

89. Details of this interesting case can be found in the following issues of the Scotsman: 1st November, 1865; 6th November, 1865; 18th November, 1865; 23rd November, 1865, and 2nd December, 1865.

90. Fleming, op. cit., pp. 218-20. See also Glasgow Herald, 29th May, 1866, and FCAP, 1867, pp. 80-174.

tendency and conscience find the readiest exercise. It is our chief opportunity for religious display. And no doubt we have had our share of the miserable thing".[91] In spite of continued attempts to avoid legalism the truth was that this perversion of Evangelical teaching was an all too common phenomenon in Victorian religious circles.

As Sabbatarianism grew progressively rigid, unyielding, and dogmatic in its approach, Sunday observance came to be viewed as an end in itself, rather than a means to an end. Sunday routine was dictated more by social convention than by Sabbatarian conviction with the result that the Sabbath was a day to be endured instead of a day to be enjoyed. As the inner vitality of Sabbatarianism waned it gradually lost its appeal. The gloom and restriction of the Victorian Sabbath was a heritage that the twentieth century first reluctantly bore and then rapidly disavowed.

One example of the formalistic tendencies in Victorian Sabbatarianism was its attitude toward taking a walk on Sunday. Thomas Guthrie, for example, argued that there was no possible excuse for one walking abroad as physical exercise played no part in the observance of the Sabbath.[92] James Gibson, a Free Church minister in Glasgow, ranked walking on Sunday afternoon in the Necropolis as one of the highest forms of "Sabbath desecration".[93] A visitor to Edinburgh in 1860 noted that the only way a person could obtain the indulgence of a walk on Sunday was "by frequenting a Church as distant from his own dwelling as his walking powers will allow".[94] Only towards the end of the century did a softening take place and a Sunday walk become a decent and

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91. Walker, The Theology and Theologians of Scotland, Chiefly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, p. 184.

92. Guthrie, Autobiography, vol. I, pp. 17-23.

93. Glasgow Herald, 11th April, 1856.

94. Hessey, Sunday, Its Origin, History, and Present Obligation, Appendix, p. 300. Thus Robert Story reported that as a young man "on Sunday evenings, a favourite resource was to walk across the moor to service at Craigrownie--more for the walk than the service". Memoir of Robert Story, p. 14.

and respectable family activity.[95]

It would be unfair, however, to say that Sabbatarianism did not have its better side. E.H. Plumptre, an Englishman, stressed the favourable aspects of Sabbatarianism while at the same time taking cognizance of its weaknesses. Writing in 1866 Plumptre says:

> I am far from thinking that even the Jewish form which the observance of the Lord's Day assumed in Scotland has been without a great preparation of good, and in spite of its theoretical defectiveness it was perhaps the position without which the good could not have been obtained. It has done in the education of the Scotsman what it did in the education of the Israelites. It has preserved their distinctness, their nationality, their sense of reverence for home life and family worship. Any attempt to revolutionize its observance in Scotland would be a fatal breach of the historical continuity of the national life and a wilful abandonment of what has proved itself a blessing.[96]

Whether or not one agrees completely with Plumptre, it is nevertheless true to say that the benefits derived from the more wholesome aspects of Victorian Sabbatarianism should be gratefully recognized and willingly accepted as part of the totality of Scotland's religious heritage.

Summary Statement

After 1860 a combination of factors began to exert pressure on Victorian Sabbatarianism with the result that its hold on religious people was gradually reduced. The "Sabbath War" provided indications of changing sentiments as Norman Macleod emerged more a hero than a villain. Not long after this public parks and museums began to open on Sundays and various forms of public transport increased. Theological developments such as Biblical criticism and con-

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95. See, for example, the Scotsman, 8th February, 1860; Lilley, The Lord's Day and the Lord's Servants, p. 109; and Hay, History of Arbroath, p. 256.

96. Cited in Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-74, pp. 214-15fn. A similar view is expressed by Frederick Maurice in The Ten Commandments Considered as Instruments of National Reformation (London, 1866), p. xvii.

tact with the Continent modified the dogmatism of the Sabbatarians, while the Industrial Revolution altered the habits and outlook of the common people. Evangelical piety reached its high water mark in the Disruption and then, confined within the bounds largely of the Free Church, it made less and less impact upon Scottish life. Although Victorian Sabbatarianism lingered on well into the twentieth century, its roots had been cut, and the flower that remained was symbolic not of life, but of death.

CHAPTER VIII

SUNDAY OBSERVANCE IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Sunday observance in the Highlands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries differs enough from that of the Lowlands to warrant individual consideration. While Lowland Scotland was reaching its apex of strictness in the period 1689-1730, the Highlands were at that time still characterized by strong anti-Sabbatarian tendencies. In the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries when the Industrial Revolution had such a detrimental effect on Sabbath observance in the Lowlands, the Highlands, unaffected for the most part by industrialization, became increasingly Sabbatarian both in theory and practice. Although Lowland Sabbatarianism became less stringent after 1865, the Sabbath was very strictly observed in the Highlands until well into the twentieth century. Even today many Highland communities observe and defend the Sabbath with old-time fervour and zeal. For convenience of analysis the developments in the Highlands during these two centuries can be divided into three main periods: (1) 1689-1745, (2) 1745-1800, and (3) 1800-1900.

(I) 1689-1745 Consolidation (Period I)

When Presbyterianism was re-established in 1689 there was little celebration of the event in the Highlands. Above the famous "Highland Line" people

remained aloof and disinterested in the progress of Lowland religion.[1] The Reformation had scarcely affected the Gaelic speaking inhabitants of the North as they remained geographically isolated from, and religiously inimical to, the austerity of Puritan influenced religion. When Morer toured the North of Scotland in 1689 he reported: "Their religion, as to outward profession, is for the most part after the establishment of the kingdom; yet too many not only retain the Irish language, but the Irish religion; and not a few profess no religion at all, but are next door to barbarity and heathenism".[2] The decisions of kings and Parliaments made little impress upon the clan chiefs who could determine what king, what government, or what religion his vassals should obey. Habit and tradition, superstition and belief, all went back to a faith even older than Catholicism, for a thousand years in the Highlander's sight, as in his Makers's, were but as yesterday.[3]

In spite of the Sabbatarianism of the early Celtic Church and the untiring efforts of clergymen from the Reformation to the Revolution to have Sunday strictly observed, the Highlander of 1689 showed little respect for the Cain Domnaig, or "Law of the Lord's Day".[4] He attended church or chapel in the

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1. A modern writer defines the Highland Line as follows: "It runs across the north side of the Clyde Valley, then north and east through Perthshire and Angus, and so around the east side of Scotland to the coast. Reaching the boundary of the counties of Sutherland and Caithness, it turns northwest to end of the northern shore near the Pentland Firth, leaving Caithness as a remote outpost of the Lowlands". Ian C. Graham, Colonists From Scotland: Emigration to North America 1707-1783 (New York, 1956), p. 2. For the purposes of this paper Caithness is considered an integral part of the Highlands.

2. Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland, p. 269.

3. For a background of the conditions in the Highlands in the eighteenth century see Graham, Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 205-10; Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. II, pp. 255-60; and John MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland (Aberdeen, 1951), pp. 10-79.

4. The pre-Reformation Sabbatarianism of the Celtic Church is discussed at length in Donald Maclean, The Law of the Lord's Day in the Celtic Church (Edinburgh, 1926), esp. pp. 37-58. The Sabbath was strictly observed from Saturday evening until Monday morning, during which time any form of labour was forbidden.

morning with more or less regularity; but the remainder of the day was given up to other pursuits. The Highlander drove his cattle, brought home fuel, baked bread, fished, played shinty, and put the stone on Sunday. He also married, christened, and buried on the Lord's Day, notwithstanding the frequent protestations of the presbyteries. Sunday was a day of freedom and not restriction; of gaiety and not gloom. A closer look at some of these activities will clearly demonstrate what little part "Sabbath sanctification" played in the Highlander's life prior to the Presbyterian conquest of the North of Scotland.[5]

Sunday Activities

(1) Sports

The Sunday exercises in which the Highlanders indulged were not primarily spiritual ones. It was reported that the people of Nigg shortly after the Revolution "every Sunday forenoon attended church but the evening of the day was devoted to the common athletic games of the country".[6] In Olrig in 1705 Sunday "knottie" (shinty) amongst the children of the parish was so common that parents were called before the Kirk Session and ordered to restrain their offspring from playing the game in the future.[7] In Laggan, as late as the ministry of Duncan MacPherson (1747-57), athletic games were common on the Sabbath, and in

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5. For some indication of the Church's attempts to promote Sabbath observance during the period 1560-1689 one should consult the following sources: William MacKay (ed.), Records of the Presbyteries of Inverness and Dingwall 1643-1688 (Edinburgh, 1896), pp. xxiv-xxv; Duncan MacTavish (Ed.), Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1639-1661 (Edinburgh, 1944), vol. I, pp. 10, 19, 200, and vol. II, pp. 99-100. See also two books by William MacKay, Sidelights on Highland History (Inverness, 1925), pp. 45-50, and Urquhart and Glenmoriston: Olden Times in a Highland Parish (Inverness, 1914), 2nd. ed., pp. 390-91.

6. Hugh Miller, Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1835), p. 145.

7. Donald Beaton, Ecclesiastical History of Caithness (Wick, 1909), p. 142. At Inverary in 1705 children were censured for "rowing up and down in a boat during service hours". Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder, p. 123

Wester Ross the practice did not die out until after 1745.[8] Only gradually did the Highlander substitute the Sabbath exercise of the soul for the exercise of the muscle, though by the end of the eighteenth century Sunday sports were no longer a pressing problem to ministers and Kirk Sessions.[9]

(2) Drinking

In common with their Lowland brethren the Highlanders found it difficult to resist the temptation to spend long hours in the local tavern on Sunday. At Inverness in 1695, because "Severalls...in time of Devyn Service went to the tavern houses, and there drank to excess...", the Kirk Session decided to punish retailers selling liquor during Church hours, and appointed elders, with two of the "borrow officers" to go through the town "in tym of Divine Service" and arrest any offenders.[10] In 1708 the Canisbay Kirk Session made complaints about the excessive drinking especially after divine service.[11] At Forres in Morayshire it was lamented in 1712 that "servants meet in... houses, promiscuouslie drinking, vainly and idely spending the Sabbath to

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8. Alexander MacPherson, Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands (Edinburgh and London, 1893), p. 236. Cp. also MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, p. 46.

9. Writing in 1792 the minister at Moulin in Perthshire said: "It is observable that those gymnastic exercises, which constituted the chief pastime of the Highlander 40 or 50 years ago, have almost totally disappeared.... These games are now practiced only by schoolboys, having given place to the more elegant, though less manly, amusement of dancing, which is become very common, especially on holidays". OSA, vol. V, no. 3 (Moulin), p. 72. Cp. also OSA, vol. V, no. 12 (Unst), p. 201.

10. Alexander Mitchell (ed.), Inverness Kirk Session Records (Inverness, 1902), p. 37. The situation did not greatly improve for it was necessary to renew the Act in 1721. See pp. 143-4. With this compare NSA, vol. XIV (Pettie), p. 408fn., and Lochgoilhead Kirk Session Records, 9th January, 1698.

11. Beaton, Ecclesiastical History of Caithness, p. 139. See also p. 145 for a similar situation at Wick. Cp. also John Donaldson, Caithness in the 18th Century (Edinburgh and London, 1958), pp. 31-2.

the great dishonour of God".[12] As late as 1729 the Kirk Session of Kingussie reported that "it has been a prevailing custome in the Parish for people to assemble together in taverns, especially after divine service, to remain till late at night".[13] The Rev. Alexander Pope of Reay, who discovered that "the inn was more frequented on Sundays than the Church" used physical force to change matters. Ale and whisky drinking on Sunday evenings was stopped, and in its place there was a prayer meeting.[14] Although efforts to stop Sunday drinking were not one-hundred per cent successful, they were effective in procuring a certain measure of temperance reform and Sabbath quietude in most Highland communities.[15]

(3) Labour

The Highlander's attitude to work on the Lord's Day was similar to that of the Episcopal parson of Nigg who "chanced to meet the girls of a fishing village returning home laden with shell-fish", and "only told them that they should strive to divide the day so as to avail themselves both of the church and the ebb".[16] At any rate, Kirk Session records belonging to the early Presbyterian regime show that many forms of Sabbath labour were common. People were censured for "carrying peats", "loading corn", or "holling beesbykes".[17]

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12. Robert Douglas, Annals of the Royal Burgh of Forres (Elgin, 1934), p. 73. Cp. also OSA, vol. III (Fordice), p. 64, and John Stirton, Crathie and Braemar (Aberdeen, 1923), p. 226 for similar examples.

13. MacPherson, Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands, pp. 34-5. Tavern keepers were to be fined if they served customers more than "one chapine apiece" on the Lord's Day. A similar situation existed at nearby Dalraddy. See p. 69.

14. Donald Sage, Memorabilia Domestica (Edinburgh, 1889), p. 34. Cp. also p. 44.

15. See the general discussion of this subject in MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, pp. 46-7.

16. Miller, Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland, p. 144.

17. Cf. Mitchell (ed.), Inverness Kirk Session Records, pp. 143-4; MacPherson, Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands, p. 35ff, and MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, p. 47.

A minister reported to Caithness Presbytery in 1699 that his people "carried burdens out of ebbs in frequent numbers, more than would be sometyme found in the church", and lamented that they "could not now be conveniently suppressed".[18] Ferrymen were prohibited from working on Sunday (although they continued to do so) except in cases of extreme necessity, as is evidenced by the Act of the Synod of Ross and Sutherland in 1721.[19] The Session at Lochgoilhead kept a sharp lookout for fishing activity and frequently rebuked Sunday anglers.[20] Even kitchen work had to be suspended as Annie MacPherson of Knockachalic discovered when she was sessionally rebuked for "baking a little bannock for an herd" on the Sabbath.[21] It would appear that Sunday labour continued to plague Kirk Sessions throughout a large part of the eighteenth century. By 1800, however, it occurred only in isolated instances and no longer characterized entire communities.

(4) Fighting

The leisure time that Sunday provided was often utilized to settle arguments by means of physical force. When Aeneas Sage began work at Lairg in 1714 he discovered that "the churchyard, even on the Sabbath, often exhibited scenes of violence and bloodshed".[22] At Inverness in 1722 two men fought to "the ef-

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18. Beaton, Ecclesiastical History of Caithness, p. 229.

19. Colin MacNaughton, Church Life in Ross and Sutherland (Inverness, 1915), p. 107. This was still a problem in 1769 for the Synod of Ross brought the matter to the attention of the General Assembly in that year. See AGA, 1769, (Index), Sess. 9.

20. Lochgoilhead Kirk Session Records, 20th August, 1693, 13th May, 1699, 8th June, 1699, 2nd July, 1699 & c. A similar situation existed at Kingussie. See MacPherson, Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands, pp. 36-7.

21. MacPherson, op. cit., p. 37. See also p. 70. At Lochgoilhead in 1692 two women were censured for "carrying burdens" on the Sabbath. Lochgoilhead Kirk Session Records, 28th June, 1692.

22. Sage, Memorabilia Domestica, pp. 9-10. The local sheriff invested Sage with the power to inflict corporal punishment. Cp. also NSA, Vol. XV (Lairg), p. 59.

fusion of Blood" over the right to a seat in the church,[23] and in 1730 the Kirk Session of Kingussie censured two men, who immediately after divine service, "fell a-scolding about eating of corn, and yrafter did beat and burise one anoyr until they were separated bye the neighbours".[24] After 1745 such disorders diminished in frequency as the Highlander, becoming more civilized, learned to employ peaceful methods of arbitration.

(5) Visiting, Gossiping, etc.

After the Revolution efforts to stop "extravaging" on the Sabbath Day, "particularly servants and children" in the Inverness area met with only limited success.[25] At Crief in 1707 the Kirk Session lamented the "unnecessary walking in the fields, and idle talking" of the people, "notwithstanding of sundrie admonitions and reproofs".[26] In the same year elders of Nigg took action to stop the people from visiting the well of Rarichies on Sabbath afternoon by posting guards.[27] Many churches forbade the reading of secular proclamations on Sunday as it often caused people to stay out "in the Kirkyaird in time of sermon discussing worldly affairs".[28] Parishoners were urged to

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23. Mitchell, Inverness Kirk Session Records, p. 88. At Crathie in 1701, a man being examined for a breach of the Sabbath told the elders that "Jo. Mchardie threatened him with a drawn dager, as James McHardie, servitor in Crathie, could witness". Stirton, Crathie and Braemar, pp. 203-4.

24. MacPherson, Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands, p. 36. For a similar case see G.D. Henderson, The Scottish Ruling Elder, pp. 121-2.

25. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 38. In 1721 the Inverness Kirk Session "recommended to the Elders to take Notice of their own Bounds on that day Sunday that there be no open abuse of Idle Crouds or Wandering of People on their parts of the Streets". See p. 136.

26. Alexander Porteous, The History of Crieff from the Earliest Times (Edinburgh and London, 1912), pp. 118-19.

27. NSA, vol. XIV (Nigg), p. 21fn. See also James MacKinlay, Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs (Glasgow, 1893), pp. 280-313.

28. Stirton, Crathie and Braemar, pp. 239-40. In 1729 the Synod of Ross and Sutherland passed an Act forbidding "public proclamations at church doors, after Divine Worship, concerning merchants goods to be sold and horse races to be run". MacNaughton, Church Life in Ross and Sutherland, p. 131.

return home quickly and quietly after the services of the day were finished, and to "sanctify the Sabbath" in the privacy of their homes. It was with great difficulty that the naturally gregarious Highlander submitted to the will of the Church, and refrained from these forms of "Sabbath desecration".

(6) Baptisms, Funerals, and Weddings

Customs intimately associated with Church life were difficult to suppress. Sunday baptisms were frequently the source of revelry and disorder as a celebration always followed the christening. As late as 1778, for example, John Mill, the pious evangelical minister in the Shetlands, expressed his revulsion at the "daft mirth" that often followed a Sunday baptism.[29] Prior to 1689 it was not uncommon to have weddings or funerals on the Lord's Day, despite legislation to the contrary. The Synod of Moray ordained that "ministers exhort from burying on the Sabbath", and that "hereafter no minister leave his own flock to go to burials on the Sabbath unless the necessity be approven by the Presbytery".[30] The Sunday funeral was soon a thing of the past, but excesses with regard to its week day observance prevailed well into the nineteenth century.[31] The custom of performing weddings did not linger long after 1700, but the practice of "kirking the bride" continued to prove offensive to Sabbatarians.[32] At the end of the eighteenth century the minister at Avoch in Rossshire reported: "Marriages are still concluded in the stile of ponny weddings. People make merry for two or three days till Saturday night. On Sabbath, after returning from church, the married couple give a sort of dinner or entertain-

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29. Gilbert Goudie (ed.), The Diary of John Mill (Edinburgh, 1889), p. 84.

30. MacKay, Sidelights on Highland History, p. 11.

31. See MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, pp. 50-1, and E. B. Ramsay, Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character (Edinburgh, 1859), pp. 34-5.

32. MacKay, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

ment to the present friends on both sides".[33] Only in relatively modern times did these Sunday activities cease to be a part of the social life of the Highlander.

(7) Communion Services

As was true in the Lowlands, the "holy fair" was a blot on Highland religious life. Most parishes had Communion only once a year and precautions had to be taken to insure a quiet and orderly sacramental "Occasion". Thus the elders at Craignish in Argyllshire ruled in 1755 that "on every Sacrament Sunday Two Elders be ordered to walk round the Church and Congregation & into the houses of Ardfern in order to prevent Irregularity on that Day..."[34] Such efforts were not always successful, for when Thomas Pennant toured the Highlands in 1769 he observed some of the "Occasions" and reported:

> There are sometimes three thousand communicants, and as many idle spectators. Of the first, as many as possible crowd on each side of a long table, and the elements are sometimes rudely shoven from one to another; and in certain places, before the day is at an end, fighting and other indecencies ensue.[35]

As late as 1821 Donald Sage witnessed a Communion service in Ross-shire where he saw "old and young, male and female, rushing forward to the table, jostling each other rudely in order to get a seat, and boys, not much over fourteen years of age, tittering and laughing, and throwing bread in each other's faces".[36] It was well into the nineteenth century before these undesirable features of the communion service were completely removed.

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33. OSA, vol. XV (Avoch), p. 636fn.

34. Burnet, The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland, p. 249.

35. Thomas Pennant, A Tour in Scotland 1769 (Warrington, 1774), 3rd ed., p.89. Pennant is liable to exaggeration, however, and should be compared with the traveller John Knox, who in 1786 described the Highlanders at a Communion service as "quiet, well disposed people". See A Tour Through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in 1786 (London, 1787), p. 67.

36. Sage, Memorabilia Domestica, p. 347.

Such were the habits and customs of the typical Highlander on Sunday in the early eighteenth century, and in some places, even in the early nineteenth century. Contrary to popular opinion, the Sabbatarianism of the modern Highland community did not always exist, but was only achieved by a slow evolutionary process. Having surveyed the anti-Sabbatarian tendencies prevalent in the Highlands in 1689 and afterwards, it is now in order to examine the methods by which the change was wrought in the lives of the people as old ways were given up and new ways adopted.

Agents of Highland Sabbatarianism

Under what John MacInnes has aptly termed "militant Presbyterian Evangelicalism" can be classified all of the means by which Sabbatarianism came to the Highlands. Those who left the relative comforts of Lowland life to endure the hardships of Highland existence were motivated by missionary fervour and evangelical zeal and piety. What the early reformers had failed to do they were determined to accomplish. Their task was almost overwhelming, but by perseverence and resoluteness their goals were achieved, and the Highlands slowly became an organic part of Scottish religious life.

(1) The Evangelical Clergymen

Perhaps the most important agents of Sabbatarianism were the Presbyterian ministers who were sent out to replace the Episcopalian incumbents. Their lot was not an easy one, for in most parishes they were looked upon as intruders and often "rabbled" by Episcopalian sympathizers. The experiences of the unhappy presentee to Dingwall in 1704 form a fair sample of the sufferings of many brethren. One Sunday morning he looked out the window of his manse and saw a mob approaching with "battons, stones, and clods". His house was surrounded and his chamber door fastened with nails. When he attempted to reason with his attackers, he was greeted with a shower of stones. At last, having made his escape and having begun service in the church, he was interrupted by

the Episcopal rabble, nearly "choked and throttled", and carried off amid the uproar of the mob who cried, "King Willie is dead and our King is alive."[37] Not until 1716 did a Presbyterian preach in peace in Dingwall. In parish after parish in the North of Scotland, the successor of the dead or deprived Episcopal incumbent was refused access to his church, assaulted, or forced to flee for his life.[38]

Gradually, however, these difficulties were overcome as most of the Evangelical clergymen worked on the principle of becoming "all things to all men" that they "might by all means save some".[39] This was especially true with regard to Sunday observance. If force was necessary they did not hesitate to use it. Rev. Aeneas Sage of Lochcarron agreed to fight a recalcitrant Sabbath breaker one Lord's Day morning, and in a brief skirmish put him to flight. He then served warning to other offenders that if they persisted in disobeying his wishes they would meet with the same fate.[40] Another Presbyterian minister who was attempting to stop archery contests on Sunday found that actions spoke louder than words. When one bow and arrow enthusiast left the service early to pursue his recreation, the minister left the pulpit, took up another bow, followed him, and shot an arrow into his thigh. After forcing the man to return to the service and listen to the conclusion of the sermon, the minister kindly bound his wound! That was said to be the end of Sunday sports at Strathnairn.[41]

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37. Graham, Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 272-3.

38. For other examples see: MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, pp. 31-9; and Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, vol. II, p. 561.

39. Cf. I Corinthians 9:22.

40. OSA, vol. 13 (Lochcarron), p. 555fn.

41. James Fraser, "Strathnairn in the Olden Times", Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, vol. X, p. 261.

Methods other than force were used by the Evangelical ministers. Sometimes errant Sunday shinty players were induced to attend church by being bribed with a gift of snuff.[42] Where bribery did not work, gentle exhortation proved to be effective. Daniel Bethune (minister at Rosskeen from 1717-54), for example, discouraged Sabbath breaking in his parish by personally visiting everyone in the community, and kindly instructing them in the ways of Sunday observance. Once, accompanied by the church officer, he visited a woman who had never attended church and did not even recognize him. The officer became angry with the woman and admonished her for cutting cabbage on the Sabbath. Bethune interposed and said he was sure she would not make the same mistake again. At this point the man of the house returned and the officer rebuked him for having been at the Sunday market in Tain. By kindly and gentle words Bethune won the confidence of the couple, and received a promise from them never to do the like any more.[43]

It must also be said that the Evangelical clergyman earned the trust of his people by being impartial in his enforcement of Sabbath observance. Even his own family was not exempt from Church discipline. Once the wife of John MacKay (minister at Durness from 1707-14), sent her servant girl to get some water on Sunday afternoon. The neighbours reported it to MacKay and he laid the case before the Session. The elders decided that the servant girl should stand in the presence of the congregation with water kits over her shoulders, and that the minister's wife should be warned privately. MacKay would not tolerate such obvious favouritism, and at his insistence the wife stood alongside the servant and was publicly rebuked.[44] In 1718, Elias MacPherson, son of the

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42. Sage, Memorabilia Domestica, p. 12.

43. John Noble, Religious Life in Ross (Inverness, 1909), pp. 181-3.

44. Adam Gunn and John MacKay, Sutherland and Reay County (Glasgow, 1897), pp. 349-50.

minister at Pitourie, was brought before the Kirk Session for "carrying a load of malt upon his horse on the Lord's Day". He was found guilty "in not keeping the whole Sabbath day holy, and judging his excuse to be none other than subterfuge, he was rebuked and appointed to satisfie discipline".[45] By refusing to be "respecters of persons" the Evangelical clergymen did much to advance the cause of Sabbath observance in their respective parishes.

(2) Kirk Sessions

Whenever an Evangelical clergymen became established in his parish, he immediately sought to enlist the aid and support of the Kirk Session in suppressing Sabbath profanation. When elders were ordained at Inverness in 1707 they promised to be "enemies to sin, especially the sins of the place particularly such as abounded most yr in such as uncleanness, swearing, drunkenness, profaneness, and Sabbath-breaking".[46] However, elders were difficult to find as few men were able or willing to meet the necessary qualifications for office. As there was no eldership at Kingussie in 1724, the minister was instructed to get "a legal one quam primum".[47] As late as 1727 there were only four elders within the bounds of the Presbytery of Tongue.[48] In other Presbyteries the situation was quite similar thus greatly hindering the progress of Evangelical

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45. MacPherson, Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands, p. 68. Unfortunately discipline was not always so impartially administered. In 1722 a group of influential gentlemen went on a drunken escapade through the parishes of Tain, Logie-Easter, Kilmuir Easter, and Rosskeen on a Sunday. This fama clamosa was submitted to the Commission of the General Assembly and the men were let off with a Presbyterial rebuke. Reading between the lines, it is evident that a good deal of influence, both in Edinburgh and in the Presbytery of Tain, was employed on their behalf. For an account of this see: MacNaughton, Church Life in Ross and Sutherland, pp. 105-12.

46. Mitchell, Inverness Kirk Session Records, p. 32.

47. MacPherson, op. cit., p. 196. No elders could be secured at Glamis in Perthshire c. 1716-19. See John Stirton, Glamis A Parish History (Forfar, 1913), p. 91.

48. MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, p. 44.

religion.[49]

In order to overcome the deficiency in the number of elders, men were selected for reasons which would scarcely have appealed to the more conventional Evangelicals of later times. Daniel Bethune "waited on the leader of the game of shinty...induced him to become an elder...committed to him the task of suppressing Sunday shinty. This the young man did, threatening his comrades with the weight of his arm unless they respected the Lord's Day and went to Church".[50] Alexander Pope of Reay "chose as elders, not only the most decent and orderly, but also the strongest men in the parish, the qualification of strength being particularly necessary for the work which they had to do".[51] One zealous elder, Maclean of Coll, stood one Sunday at the cross roads where one way led to the parish church, the other to the Roman chapel. With his big yellow stick he knocked down all who chose to go "extravaging" down the chapel road. From this temporarily effective argument Presbyterianism became known in those parts as "the religion of the yellow stick".[52] Fortunately as the century progressed physical force became less necessary, and the elders confined their activities to moral suasion and rebuke. Wherever there was a zeal-

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49. For example, early in the eighteenth century Rev. Charles Keith of Wick in Caithness Presbytery reported "that he had severall insuperable difficulties and crushing grievances in the said paroch, having none to strengthen his hands there in the exercise of church discipline...but on the contrary that his hands were much weakened by heritors and elders". Beaton, Ecclesiastical History of Caithness, p. 299.

50. Noble, Religious Life in Ross, p. 185. See also p. 105.

51. Sage, Memorabilia Domestica, p. 34. One of their most memorable feats was to bind hand and foot a certain strong man of the parish and carry him to church so that he might do public pennance for the sin of keeping a mistress.

52. Marion Lochhead, The Scots Household in the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1949), p. 153. At Wick in Caithness in 1722 five men were brought before the Session "charged with frequenting Mary Chapell the first Sabbath after the new moon and particularly of being there this day fortnight, and superstitiously bowing and kneeling about the chappell, thereby prophaning the Lord's Day". John Donaldson, Caithness in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 34-5.

ous Evangelical spirit in any parish, the credit was in a large degree due to the influence and example of the members of the Kirk Sessions.[53]

(3) The "Men"

The "Men" were an order of Evangelical laymen, venerated for their godliness, who exerted great influence in Highland communities. Frequently they were elders, but often their membership included many others.[54] At the weekly "Fellowship Meetings" (extensions of Lowland Praying Societies), the spiritual lives of the lay religious leaders were fostered. Often the meetings took place on Sunday evening. "Portions of Scripture read in church were read over, and the texts rehearsed from which the sermons had been preached. All present were invited to state as much of the sermons as they remembered...."[55] John MacInnes affirms that the "Men" were eminently the guardians of the Sabbath. "It is probable", he says, "that many of the refinements of the Evangelical law of the Lord's Day emanated from them."[56] It was said of one such "Man", Robert Findlator: "His Sabbath observance was never surpassed or even equalled by anyone, clerical or lay".[57] In the Scottish classic Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush, Ian MacLaren describes the fictional parish of Auchindarroch as a place where the "Men" ruled with an iron hand and no one shaved on the Sabbath. There can be no doubt that MacLaren's fictional Lachlan Campbell of Drumtoety

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53. See the discussion of the role of the Highland Eldership in promoting Evangelical piety in MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, pp. 44-5.

54. Ibid., p. 213. For more information about the role of the "Men" in Highland life consult: John MacInnes, "The Origin and Early Development of "The Men", Scottish Church History Society, vol. VIII, (1942), Part I, p. 16ff; and "Puritanism in the Highlands--'The Men'", Quarterly Review, vol. LXXXIX (1851), pp. 307-332.

55. MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, p. 213.

56. Ibid., pp. 216-17.

57. Ibid., p. 217.

had a real life counterpart who firmly upheld Sabbatarian principles.[58] Even today the "Men" continue to exert influence over popular religion in Lewis, Harris, Skye, and certain areas of the Highland mainland. As in the days of old, they continue to be champions of Sabbath observance and do their best to "keep the Sabbath holy".[59]

(4) Missionaries and Catechists

The little army of evangelists and educational missionaries that developed in the eighteenth century proved to be an effective fighting force in the Church's campaign to promote Sunday observance. In order to perform their duties, however, it was necessary for them to undergo tremendous hardships. They had a salary of £25 or at most £30 a year, had no stated dwellings, and had personally to bear the expenses of their almost incessant itineration. John Knox, the traveller, summed up the lives of the missionaries in the following terms:

> They must attend rigidly, and in all kinds of weather, to their duty.... They must set out early in the morning, and travel on foot for a number of miles, frequently under violent winds, rains, snow or hail.... When they arrive at the field appointed for preaching, they find themselves drenched with wet, shivering with cold, and alike exposed to all the inclemencies of weather during the time of service, and on their journey back to their comfortless huts. The missionary repeats the journey of the morning; struggles to get under covering during daylight; and in this manner he performs his ministerial duty, from one year to another.[60]

The catechists, although not so much on the move as the missionaries, shared their plight of low salary and poor working conditions.[61]

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58. Ian Maclaren, Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush (London, 1895), 9th ed., p. 103.

59. MacInnes, op. cit., p. 220.

60. Knox, A Tour Through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in 1786, pp. clx-clxi.

61. The work of the catechist is dealt with at length in MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, p. 209ff.

The difficulties they encountered did not deter them, but rather spurred them on to greater effort. Through their labours Sabbath observance was greatly encouraged as a few examples will illustrate. In Lochaber, the country of the Camerons, a mass movement towards Romanism was checked by Alexander MacIntosh, the local catechist. "He seized the Roman Catholics travelling with loaded horses on the Lord's Day", and "brought the people to pay a due regard to the Sabbath".[62] Hugh Campbell, missionary to Kilmuir Easter, found the people of Kintail "much poisoned against the present establishment", but after much hard work was permitted to conduct family worship in the homes, and hopefully reported that "some few did Convene to sermon on the Lord's Day".[63] Wherever they went these pioneering spirits of Presbyterianism took with them a love for the Sabbath that touched and changed the hearts of the people.

(5) Teachers

Of the various types of Highland schools that developed in the eighteenth century, the ones that had the most direct influence on Sunday observance were the Scottish SPCK schools and the Sabbath Schools. The SPCK teacher needed not only intellectual qualifications, but had to evidence understanding and acceptance of the principles of evangelical religion. In order to qualify as a teacher it was necessary to be "a person of piety, loyalty, prudence, gravity, competent knowledge and literature", and one who would seek to "correct the beginnings of vices, and particularly lying, swearing, cursing, profaning the Lord's Day, stealing, etc."[64] The influence of the SPCK teachers was great.

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62. Ibid., pp. 203-4.

63. Ibid., p. 198.

64. Ibid., p. 239. In 1714 the General Assembly approved the work of the SPCK teachers who, "by convening the Scholars and such others as are pleased to attend on the Lord's Day, and reading the Holy Scriptures to them, and a Sermon out of a book, praying, singing Psalms in the Forenoon, and Catechizing in the Afternoon: and by the Example of the Scholars, there is an Emulation begot in those of riper years; whereas before the Lord's Day was little regarded in such places, when the Ministers were absent". AGA, 1714, p. 23.

It was recorded of Dugald Buchanan, the poet and SPCK teacher who settled at Rannoch in Perthshire, that "by the great interest he showed in people some were induced into a better observance of the Sabbath".[65] One Sabbatarian schoolmaster, Mr. Murdoch of Kinetlos, "reproved some men whom he saw carrying goods on Sabbath evening" during the Jacobite uprising in 1746. Because they happened to be moving rebel goods "they suspected him, and afterwards, on broad day light, insulted and threatened him".[66] The teachers were not easily cajoled into relaxing their Sabbatarianism, however, and by their persistent efforts scholars under their care were taught to respect the more delicate nuances of Sabbatarian theology and practice.[67]

After its success in the Lowlands, the idea of Sunday Schools was soon taken up in Evangelical parishes in the Highlands. There were four Sabbath Schools in Inverness in 1798, while one was established at Tain in the same year.[68] The "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home" established schools throughout the Highlands, although their effectiveness was hampered by the suspicion that they had political or denominational motives.[69] The Church was able, in a fairly short time, however, to absorb the Sunday School movement into its own body, and by 1834 there was a total of 344 Sabbath Schools in the five Highland Synods.[70]

In the first half of the eighteenth century, therefore, great strides were taken in the development of Evangelical religion in the Highlands. Con-

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65. The Diary of Dugald Buchanan (Edinburgh, 1836), p. xviii. See also p. 28.

66. John Stuart (ed.), "The Diary of Rev. John Bisset 1746", The Miscellany of the Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1841), vol. I, p. 397.

67. See MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, pp. 256-50.

68. Ibid., p. 257.

69. Ibid., p. 257.

70. Ibid., p. 258.

sequently Sunday observance improved although it was still a far cry from the strictness of the Lowlands during the same period. At mid-century much remained to be done.

(II) 1745-1800 Consolidation (Period II)

The battle of Culloden put an end, once and for all, to the chief cause of political unrest that had afflicted Scotland for half a century. The King de facto had triumphed over the King de jure, and the authority of the House of Hanover could not be questioned even by those who still believed that the House of Stuart had a better moral right to reign. Along with settling the unrest the end of hostilities brought the Highlands more in touch with the Lowlands, and promoted trade and commerce beyond the once inaccessible "Highland Line". The clan system was crushed and the Disarming Act changed lazy vassals into sturdy workmen. The '45 Rebellion, therefore, was a blessing in disguise, for in its aftermath came all the benefits that helped make Scotland, for the first time in its history, a united country.[71]

As a result the Highlands stood open as never before to the message and messengers of Evangelical Christianity. With renewed zeal the hardworking ministers, missionaries, teachers and catechists, spread their gospel to every remote parish in the North. By the end of the century the results of their labours were evident. Parish after parish reported that religious feeling was high and Sabbath observance strict.

The most important factor in Highland Sabbath observance in the period 1745-1800 was the spread of the Lowland revival movement northwards. While the Highland revivals never equalled the ones at Cambuslang or Kirk of Shotts, "they displayed a chronic vigour which enabled them to influence and mould the

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71. See the discussion of this in Graham, Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 205-6; Audrey Cunningham, The Loyal Clans (Cambridge, 1932), p. 506; and Brown, Surveys of Scottish History, p. 112. With this compare OSA, vol. 4, no XIV (Kirkhill), p. 120, and OSA, vol. 13, no. XI (Abernethy and Kinchardine), p. 148.

spiritual life of a number of parishes throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century".[72] Signs of revival were evident in Easter Ross as early as 1724, but other localities such as Tongue, Kilbrandon, Kilchattan, and Ardclach in Nairnshire, did not feel its effects until late in the century. Balfour of Nigg described the fruits of the parochial revival in a letter to Robe of Kilsyth near the middle of the century.

> Worship is kept in all the families of the parish except three or four. The Lord's Day is very solemnly observed. After public worship is over, there are meetings in all parts where neighbouring families join in prayer, reading and repitition of sermons.... The ordinary diets of worship are punctually attended...the Kirk Session has little to do but to inform and consult about the religious concerns of the parish.[73]

Thus wherever revivalism flourished Sabbatarianism greatly benefited.

In general, visitors to the Highlands in the last half of the eighteenth century were impressed with the Sabbatarianism of the common people. Pennant, who toured in 1769, observed that the fishermen of Inverary approached shore on week days accompanied by "the chearfull noise of the bagpipe and dance", but "on the sabbath, each boat approaches the land, and psalmody and devotion divide the day".[74] The Frenchman, Faujas De Saint Fond, stopped at Dalmally on his way to Oban in 1784, and noted "the grave and reflective air" of the inhabitants on the Sabbath.[75] The description of a Sabbath day in Evangelical Strathnaver towards the end of the century illustrates the progress that had been achieved in establishing Sabbatarian habits in the lives of the people.

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72. MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, p. 154.

73. John Gillies, Historical Collections Relating to Remarkable Periods of the Gospel (Kelso, 1845), p. 453. See also MacInnes, op. cit., p. 158.

74. Pennant, A Tour in Scotland 1769, p. 219. Cp. also R. Burt, Letters From A Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London (London, 1754), vol. II, pp. 177-8.

75. B. Faujas De Saint Fond, A Journey Through England and Scotland to the Hebrides in 1784 (Glasgow, 1907), vol. I, p. 264.

> The household is up early, for many of them are seven or eight miles from the church. After breakfast, and family worship, they are ready to start. At last, the leading Christians leave their houses; all the rest assemble round them, and a portion of Scripture being named, religious conversation begins. The younger people are silent; but they listen with deep interest while one venerable man after another speaks from a full heart about the love of Christ to perishing sinners and the work of the Spirit in the soul. When halfway to church, they sit down to rest, and after singing a few verses to one of their pleasant airs, prayer is offered up for the out pouring of the Spirit, and for a blessing on the Word they are to hear and for Christ's presence with his servant who is about to speak in His name. At last the groups unite, and 800 people assemble in the House of God.... When the service is over, the several groups return each to their own hamlets, and after taking the necessary food, they meet in the house of one of the leading men. He begins with prayer and praise; he then makes the people repeat all they remember of the sermon they have heard, throwing in practical remarks of his own...after a portion of the Catechism has been repeated, and the service closed with prayer, the people retire to their own homes to worship God in the family.[76]

In spite of the progress made after the '45 vestiges of disregard and disrespect for Sunday observance remained. Only where there was no break in the succession of able and devoted Evangelical preachers and teachers, did the moral conduct and religious observance of the people remain high. Elsewhere other factors came into play that retarded the spread of Sabbatarianism

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76. Angus MacGillivray, Sketches of Religion & Revivals of Religion in the North Highlands During Last Century (Edinburgh, 1849), p. 28. See also Gunn and MacKay, Southerland and Reay County, p. 360; OSA, vol. 8, no. IX (Canisbay), p. 156; and OSA, vol. 13, no. XXXIV (Lochcarron), p. 560. Not all communities observed Sunday as strictly as Strathnaver. When Mrs. Grant of Laggan first attended a Church service at Kilmore near Oban in 1773 she was not at all impressed with the Highlander's attitude toward Sabbath observance. Writing to a friend she said: "It is by no means a Jewish Sabbath that is kept here; it would be bold even to call it strictly a Christian one; be that as it may, it is a very cheerful one....when service was over, we were ushered into a kind of public house, where it seems all the genteel part of the congregation...usually meet, converse, and take refreshment, while their horses are preparing, & c. People come to church not solely, I fear, to hear the glad tidings in church, but to meet friends in this good humoured, kindly way, after sermon". J.P. Grant (ed.), Letters from the Mountains (London, 1845), vol. I, pp. 34-8. Compare also the description of a Sunday at Glenglye at the head of Loch Lomond in 1803. Dorothy Wordsworth, Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland A.D. 1803 (Edinburgh, 1874) 2nd ed., pp. 112-13.

and left many parishes devoid of any great concern for Sabbath observance. The most important factors can now be mentioned.

(1) Lingering of old customs

Pagan and Roman Catholic traditions died slowly. Superstition was common in most of the more isolated communities. The custom of visiting holy wells on the first Sunday of May to receive a miraculous cure was still in vogue as late as the middle of the nineteenth century in some parts.[77] When William MacKenzie was settled at Tongue in Sutherlandshire in 1769, the churchyard was still used as a market place on Sunday afternoon, and excessive drinking was a prevailing sin. Only by strenuous efforts did he manage to improve the situation.[78] Battles continued to occur in the churchyard on the Sabbath, and Sunday labour, though less common than at the beginning of the century, was still a matter for some concern.[79]

(2) Increasing Intercourse with the Lowlands

Although the Industrial Revolution did not sweep over the Highlands as it did in the Lowlands, contacts with the outer world were more frequent after

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77. NSA, vol. XIV (Avoch), p. 382, and NSA, vol. X (Fortingal), p. 538. Other examples of superstition are given in OSA, vol. 5, no. IV (Logierait), pp. 82-3; OSA, vo. 8, no. XXII (Duffus), p. 399, and OSA, vol. 10, no. XXIX (Tiry), p. 413.

78. Gunn and MacKay, Sutherland and Reay County, p. 359; NSA, vol. XV (Tongue), p. 174. Late in the eighteenth century it was still the custom to advertise secular transactions on Sunday. John Grant, an elder in the Kildonan Church in Dornoch Presbytery, disapproved of this and asked the minister and session to stop it. They refused to do anything so he resigned his office and left the congregation. See Kenneth MacDonald, Social and Religious Life in the Highlands (Edinburgh, 1902), p. 119.

79. At Pottie in 1772 "the tenants and herdsmen of Wester Dalyiol gathered in a mob, and buckled together in such a tumultuous manner as caused the effusion of blood before they parted, which is said to be contrary to the rules of Christianity and decency on the Lord's Day". NSA, vol. XIV (Pottie), p. 410. Cp. also OSA, vol. 6, no. XXXIII (Eddorachlis), p. 302, and OSA, vol. 10, no. XXXV (Campbelton), p. 570.

the '45.[80] The road building of General Wade which began in 1726, opened 260 miles of main Highland routes, and encouraged strangers to view first hand the rugged beauty of Highland scenery. The visitors often encouraged local residents to break the Sabbath. When Johnson and Boswell toured the Highlands in 1773, they travelled on Sunday to take advantage of the good weather, which necessitated their entourage of Scotsmen to do the same.[81] Near the end of the century the minister of Inverary lugubriously pointed out the effects of the breakdown of Highland isolation.

> It is certain...that daily resort and frequent intercourse with their southern neighbours, though attended with many beneficial consequences, yet has unfortunately been productive of one evil; namely, that a less strict regard to the institutions of religion, seems to be gradually gaining ground, through the secret, but powerful influence of bad example, in the conduct of the greater numbers of those... who, from all parts of Britain, as well as from other countries, come to view a place, so highly deserving the attention of every traveller of curiosity, taste, or observation. Whatever respect these strangers may shew to the religion of their country, when at their respective homes, they seem to consider it here, as a matter of indifference, whether, as travellers, they may not employ Sunday as a day of amusement or of travelling.[82]

As late as 1832 Sunday "tourism" was still on the increase. Visitors hired various kinds of conveyances and went "jaunting about from place to place, so that the inhabitants of the country...have very much ceased to understand what

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80. In the few localities where there was some industry the effect on Sunday observance was notable. The minister at Muckairn in Argyllshire, for example, lamented the presence of a smelting plant which was "the reverse of favourable to the observance of the Sabbath". NSA, vol. VII (Muckairn), p. 519.

81. Boswell noted: "It was a beautiful day, and although we did not approve of travelling on Sunday, we resolved to set out, as we were on an island from whence one must take occasion as it serves". R.W. Chapman (ed.), Journey of Samuel Johnson and James Boswell to the Western Islands of Scotland and Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides (Oxford, 1924), p. 276. Johnson's view of the use of Sunday is interesting. "It should be different", he observed, "from another day. People may walk, but not throw stones at birds. There may be relaxation, but there should be no levity". See p. 202.

82. OSA, vol. 5, no. XVIII (Inverary), p. 307.

a Scottish Sabbath is".[83]

(3) Lack of Ministers and Poor Condition of Churches

The dearth of preachers and the lamentable condition of the parish churches discouraged a regular and strict observance of the Lord's Day. At Lochbroom in Ross-shire in 1794 it was reported that "many do not hear so much as one sermon a year, which is also the case with different parts of some neighbouring parishes".[84] Similar reports indicated that infrequent worship services hindered religious development in many areas of the Highlands.[85] Even when ministers were available the run-down condition of the parish church forbade its use except in the most favourable weather. Such was the case at Clyne in Sutherlandshire in 1795.[86] Well into the nineteenth century complaints about the poor condition of churches and their unfavourable effects upon Sunday observance are common. Only after the Disruption of 1843 did the scene greatly improve as the Free Church undertook an extensive building programme to accommodate its growing membership in the Highlands.[87]

(4) Moderatism

As was true in the Lowlands, Moderatism tended to soften the impact of Evangelical Sabbatarianism. The "worldliness" of the Highland Moderates was frequently invoked as a major deterrent to Evangelical piety and discipline.

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83. Report From Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day 1832, pp. 233 and 271. See also NSA, vol. X (Moulin), p. 661; NSA, vol. XV (Dornoch), p. 12; and NSA, vol. XV (Tongue), p. 178.

84. OSA, vol. 10, no. XXXII (Lochbroom), p. 471.

85. OSA, vol. 18, no. XXXIII (Saddel and Skipness), p. 488; OSA, vol. 13, no. XXI (North Uist), p. 314n; OSA, vol. 13, no. XLII (Glassary), p. 661, to mention only a few. Cp. also Noble, Religious Life in Ross, p. 278.

86. OSA, vol. 10, no. XXIV (Clyne), p. 302.

87. NSA, vol. VII (Tiree and Coll), p. 210; NSA, vol. XIV (Urquhart and Glenmoriston), p. 49; NSA, vol. XIV (Kingussie), p. 76; (Alvie), p. 94; (Glenelg), p. 140; and (Duirnish), p. 354.

As MacInnes succinctly comments, "Such a charge is dangerously easy to make and difficult to refute".[88] Stories of the Moderate ministers' disregard for the Sabbath are common. One Moderate clergyman reportedly said to some of his parishioners who wanted to buy a bull from him: "You may see the animal as you go home from church on Sunday and judge of his good points for yourselves".[89] Even the remote Islands felt the effects of Moderatism. Speaking of the condition of the Presbytery of Lerwick in Shetland in 1787, the Evangelical minister John Mill said:

> Sad experience teaches how much the Ministers of the Church of Scotland are degenerate and fallen from the strictness of former times, owing mostly to worldly minded men creeping in yearly by forced settlements...Here the clergy are generally so lax in principle and practice that when I spoke of Privy Censures they opposed the same. They have laid aside examinations of their youth and Communicants, and admit Scandalous persons to Sacraments.[90]

By the end of the eighteenth century Moderatism had made such an impact on Highland life that Evangelicalism was badly in need of "a fresh impulse of the spirit". Only in the revivals of the nineteenth century did the "fresh impulse" come.[91]

Sunday Observance in the Islands

In order to complete the picture of the status of Highland Sunday observance in the eighteenth century, some attention must be given to the Islands. No attempt will be made to be exhaustive in coverage. Only the bare outline

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88. MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, p. 106.

89. MacDonald, Social and Religious Life in the Highlands, pp. 85-6.

90. Goudie (ed.), The Diary of the Reverend John Mill, pp. 81-2. See also Sage, Memorabilia Domestica, p. 315; and MacInnes, op. cit., p. 113ff.

91. MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, pp. 127-8. On this subject MacInnes is particularly interesting and helpful. Most of the earlier writers violently opposed the Moderates and were reluctant to find anything good or worthwhile in their ministries. MacInnes attempts to be more fair about the whole matter.

can be given.

(1) Orkney and Shetland

When the Rev. John Brand toured Orkney and Shetland in 1700 as a member of the General Assembly's Commission to the Highlands, he was shocked to discover how few Presbyterian principles had been understood, let alone accepted, by the inhabitants. "Ignorance of the Principles of our Holy Religion", he said, "doth greatly prevail among the Commonalty, so that as one of their ministers...told me, Not one of a hundred in some of their Parishes can read".[92] Due to a lack of ministers people had a worship service only infrequently. This situation, Brand affirmed, "nurseth ignorance; Occasioneth much Sin, especially horrid prophanation of the Lord's Day, by strangers as well as by inhabitants".[93] Some improvement in the observance of Sunday was achieved largely through the efforts of the "Ransalmen", honest men (often elders), appointed by the local Bailies to provide law and order. In assuming office the "Ransalman" was instructed to "take particular notice in your neighbourhood anent keeping the Sabbath day, and if you find any breach thereof that you report the same".[94] However, when John Mill came to Shetland in 1743 he found the Sabbath poorly observed, and "the people generally rude and ignorant".[95] In 1797 when Robert Haldane visited the Orkneys he reported that some parishes had not heard a sermon in eight years, and others, lacking ordained ministers, were almost as

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92. John Brand, A Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pentland-Firth & Caithness (Edinburgh, 1883), p. 84.

93. Ibid., p. 132.

94. James Wallace, A Description of the Isles of Orkney (Edinburgh, 1693), p.89. The name "Ransalman" is derived from the fact that they had the right, upon suspicion of theft, to take some of their neighbours and enter a private home, even at night, to make a search for the stolen goods (which is called "ransalling"). They could fine up to ten pounds Scots or turn the offender over to the Bailie. See also George Low, A Tour Through the Islands of Orkney and Shetland in 1774 (Kirkwall, 1879), p. 114.

95. Goudie (ed.), The Diary of the Reverend John Mill, p. 12. Mill was diligent in his attempts to make his people Sabbatarians. See pp. 29, 49, 57, and 136.

spiritually destitute.[96] Even as late as the writing of the New Statistical Account (c. 1840), complaints of infrequent worship and poor Sabbath observance are common.[97]

(2) The Hebrides

In the Hebrides too Sunday was far from being strictly observed. John Lane Buchanan, a missionary and catechist who occupied the Harris station from 1782-90, paints a grim picture of the spiritual life of the island in his Travels. After commenting on the weak and ineffective Church courts and the poor quality of ministers and elders, Buchanan continues:

> With regard to the great mass of the people, so much of their time is taken up in temporal avocations, in ploughing or digging their arable spots of land, rearing cattle, making kelp, cutting peats, driving cattle for their masters, and other services, that it is not in their power to assemble regularly together, in a fit frame for public worship: not to mention that it is chiefly on the Sundays, after the labour of the preceeding week is over, that their masters chuse to send them on errands to distant countries and islands. Poor hard-working people, who, for want of time on the Saturday nights, are obliged to carry home their implements of husbandry from their masters houses to their own cottages, every Sabbath morning, can hardly be supposed to travel fifteen miles more backward and forward, to hear a sermon.... Indeed worldly cares and occupations, though not bodily labour, break in too often on the religious exercises of the clergy themselves as well as of the people.[98]

When the Rev. Alexander MacLeod was settled in Uig, Lewis, in 1824 he found that most of his people were not Sabbatarians. At the close of his first Church service, he saw to his horror a man at the door with a jar of whisky and a roll of tobacco which he was selling to the congregation.[99] MacDonald

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96. Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane...and James Alexander Haldane, pp.160-1.

97. NSA, vol. XV (Walls), pp. 21-2; (Sandwick), p. 63; (Firth and Stenness), p. 66; and (Shapinshay), p. 78.

98. John Lane Buchanan, Travels in the Western Hebrides from 1782-90 (London, 1793), pp. 220-1.

99. MacDonald, Social and Religious Life in the Highlands, p. 97. Cp. also NSA, vol. XIV (Strath), p. 312.

of Ferintosh, whose evangelistic zeal took him to the remote Isle of St. Kilda in 1822, found fishing and hunting on Sunday a common practice. When McDonald reproved them for breaking the Lord's Day, the people are related to have said: "Oh yes, yes, sir, did we but know that it was a sin we should not have done it".[100] Thus the spread of Sabbatarianism to the lonely and remote outposts of civilization off the coast of northern Scotland was very slow. Indeed, it was not until the last half of the nineteenth century that its doctrines and practices became anyway characteristic of community life.

(III) 1800-1900 Period of Conquest

In the form of parochial revivals which had had limited success in the eighteenth century, Evangelical religion completed its conquest of Highland life in the first half of the nineteenth century. From one parish to another the revival movement spread like wildfire. Preaching stressed "the fundamental doctrines of Christianity", and people were addressed "as sinners under the sentence of death, and who had not yet obtained mercy".[101] Entire communities, once "held in the deadening grip of the black frost of moderatism", saw the frost yield, and "fresh life burst forth, and the land that was desolate become like the Garden of Eden".[102] To its teaching and practices the Highlanders, almost to a man, gave their hearts.

Traditionally revivalism implied Sabbatarianism, and the revival movement that swept over the North of Scotland after 1800 was no exception to this general rule. Wherever the warm and intensely personal religion of revivalism

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100. Sage, Memorabilia Domestica, p. 403. See also NSA, vol XIV (Barray), p. 210.

101. Alexander Stewart, Account of a Late Revival of Religion in a Part of the Highlands of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1800), p. 15

102. Alexander Macrae, Revivals in the Highlands and Islands in the Nineteenth Century (Stirling, 1905), pp. 2-4.

took hold, Sabbath observance immediately improved. After a series of revivals at Campbeltown, for example, "the village corner, where, on Sabbath mornings, the football matches of the preceeding day had been discussed, and plans were made for the poaching raids of the day, was now deserted, the lads being at church in town".[103] At Moulin, where revivals occurred from 1799-1805, the change in the Sabbath habits of the people was pronounced. The minister, Rev. Alexander Stewart, reported:

> The external effects of a general concern about religion have appeared in the behaviour even in those who do not seem to have experienced a change of heart. While the younger people attended a Sabbath school, those who were grown up used to spend the evening of that day sauntering about the fields and woods in gossiping parties, or visiting their acquaintances at a distance, without improving their time by any profitable exercise. Now there is hardly a lounger to be seen; nor any person walking abroad, except going to some house or meeting where he may hear the Scriptures read.[104]

Due to a revival at Latheron in Caithness in the early part of the nineteenth century the local minister proudly announced: "The sanctity of the Sabbath is universally upheld. Scarcely a movement is to be seen during that sacred day excepting to or from the places of public worship, which are remarkably well attended. Family worship is also greatly practised".[105] So it was in various parts of the Highlands in the first half of the nineteenth century.[106]

The tremendous rise in Evangelical feeling in the Highlands reached a climax in the Disruption of 1843. Although dissent had never been popular in

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103. Ibid., p. 49. Similar examples are cited on almost every page of Macrae's book. Although his bias is evident there is no reason to question his assessment of the effect of revivalism on Sabbath observance. For a more balanced treatment of the subject, however, see MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands, pp. 162-6.

104. Stewart, Account of a Late Revival of Religion in a Part of the Highlands, pp. 34-5.

105. NSA, vol. XV (Latheron), p. 95.

106. See, for example, NSA, vol. XIV (Harris), p. 157; (Inverness), pp. 34-5; and NSA, vol. XV (Durness), p. 97.

the Highlands, when the 451 ministers "went out" in 1843, practically the entire population of the North of Scotland forsook the parish churches and "went out" with them.[107] As one Freechurchman later expressed it: "It was satisfactory to have it acknowledged on all hands, that the North virtually belonged to the Free Church".[108] With the establishment of the Free Church and its great influence over the people, Sabbatarianism became synonymous with Highland life. In a manner reminiscent of the Israelites of old, the Highlanders perfected their Sabbatarian casuistry and applied with remarkable impartiality its teachings.

Anecdotes and stories about the strictness of the Highland Sabbath, apocryphal and otherwise, abound. Although they must be read with a critical eye, they nevertheless convey something of the high regard paid to the Sabbath by the average Highlander. One such story from the pen of Osgood MacKenzie, who was brought up at Inverewe in the period shortly after 1843 will suffice.

> My uncle, who had quite a model farm on Isle Ewe, with a byre of thirty pedigree Ayrshire cows, required turnips to be barrowed to them twice a day, but on Sunday the cattleman could not think of using a barrow, as it was on a wheel; so, in his best Sunday suit, he carried in all the muddy turnips for the cows in armfuls, and though a martyr to turnips in this world, he looked to being recompensed accordingly in the world to come! I also well remember how my dear mother, when we lived at Gairloch, always went to her school at Strath, about two miles away, to teach her Sunday class. She might start going there by daylight, but in winter it would be pitch dark before her return. My mother had a favourite old servant who always accompanied her, and who also taught a class. Now, it was necessary to have a small hand-lantern for coming home, and this old Peggy was quite willing to carry when lighted, but nothing would induce her to carry it unlighted, so the lantern had to find its way down to the school some day during the week, otherwise there would be no lantern to light them on their way on Sunday night.[109]

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107. See Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, pp. 351-2.

108. FCAP, 1884, p. 38.

109. Osgood H. MacKenzie, A Hundred Years in the Highlands (London, 1921), pp. 197-8. A number of similar anecdotes, personal and second-hand, are recorded in Archibald Geikie, Scottish Reminiscences (Glasgow, 1908), pp. 119-38.

In case one is inclined to be sceptical as to where fact ends and fancy begins in anecdotal material, further confirmation of the strictness of the Highland Sabbath after 1843 can readily be produced. The Presbytery Reports issued by the Free and Established Churches in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries bear witness to the vitality of Highland Sabbatarianism. While Lowland presbyteries were lamenting the encroachment of industrialization and the break down of church attendance, Highland presbyteries repeatedly intimated that Sabbath observance had never been stricter. The Free Presbytery of Tain reported in 1884: "Sabbath observance, temperance, church attendance, and morality, are as a rule, all that could be wished".[110] In the same year the Free Presbytery of Lochcarron announced: "It is believed that family worship is general, the Sabbath is well observed, and intemperance almost unknown".[111] As late as 1902 reports from the Established Church revealed a high level of Sabbath observance. The Presbytery of Lorn began its report: "In all the rural parishes within the bounds the Sabbath day is well kept".[112] Dingwall's report consisted of one sentence: "Sunday labour is practically unknown, and Sunday is in general suitably observed within the bounds of Presbytery".[113] Tongue proudly announced: "The Lord's day is observed with great strictness everywhere within the bounds".[114] The fact that these reports were issued by bodies that were extremely sensitive to the mildest forms of "Sabbath desecration", makes their testimony even more impressive.

Another indication of the seriousness with which the Highlander of the nineteenth century observed Sunday is the "Strome Ferry Riots" of 1883. Because

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110. FCAP, 1884, Appendix XX, p. 23.

111. Ibid., p. 34. The reports from Caithness, Tain, Dingwall, and Chanonry Presbyteries are given on pp. 16-43. Almost without exception it is mentioned that the Sabbath is "religiously kept".

112. Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland 1902, p. 1098.

113. Ibid., p. 1125.

114. Ibid., p. 1125. Other reports are given on pp. 1098-1127.

goods trains were being loaded with fish on Sunday in order to reach the London market in time, the people of the community took the law into their own hands and prevented the landing of the fish and the loading of the trains.[115] The authority of the police was resisted, and as a result ten men were arrested, tried at the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh, found guilty of "mobbing and rioting and resisting the authorities", and sentenced to four months in jail.[116] Thus did the zeal of the Lord consume the earnest defenders of God's "Holy Day". Although the Sunday traffic continued, the moral victory belonged to those who were willing to suffer for what they considered to be God's will.[117]

The sanctity of the Highland Sabbath remained proverbial well into the twentieth century. When H.V. Morton toured the Highlands in 1929 he found little relaxation of Sabbatarian standards. "You can feel the Sabbath in the Highlands of Scotland", he said, "just as in cities you can feel a fall of snow: the world is wrapped in a kind of soft hush; normal early morning noises are muffled or absent".[118] Even today evidences of Sabbatarianism are not lacking. In 1960 David MacBrayne, Ltd. planned to have a sailing from Stornoway at 11p.m. on Sunday night, but the opposition of the local Free Church minister and his congregation proved too strong. The sailing was delayed until 12.15 a.m. in

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115. Although minor incidents had occurred previously, the climax was not reached until 1st June, 1885. See FCAP, 1883, Appendix XXI, p. 3.

116. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

117. The offenders received much sympathy from the public. Sums of money were spent in defending them and due to public pressure their prison terms were reduced to four months. See Smith, Memoirs of James Begg, vol. II, p. 335ff. For a more successful Sabbatarian venture see: Noble, Religious Life in Ross, pp. xxv-xli.

118. H.V. Morton, In Search of Scotland (London, 1929), 4th ed., p. 224. Morton's attempt to purchase hypo from a chemist shop on Sunday makes entertaining reading. Although admonished publicly for making such an audacious request, he was later privately told: "If ye still want the hypo, come roond tae the back door". See p. 227.

order to prevent any profanation of the Sabbath.[119] In January 1962 a petition signed by 11,000 out of the 16,000 adult population of Lewis and Harris was sent to the government requesting the insertion of a "no Sunday work" clause in all contracts relating to the proposed NATO Base at Stornoway Airport.[120]

Times have changed, however, in the Highlands. In many places the hush that once prevailed in the glens is broken by the roar of long-distance lorries, the endless stream of sightseeing buses (at least in the summertime), and the various shapes and sizes of private transportation. In the spring and summer hikers make their way to challenging summits or couples stroll arm in arm along the roadside. Television is beginning to make its presence felt, and the complaint is made by some ministers that even the "faithful" prefer its company on Sunday to that of the small group of "hearers" in the parish church. While supplying at the churches of Cairndow and Lochgoilhead in Argyllshire for about four months, the writer had some opportunity to view first hand how the Sabbath was observed. Many activities were undertaken that would have been condemned only a generation ago. Watching a farmer start his tractor and proceed down the glen to perform some obviously "necessary" task, it seemed certain that the spirit of one of the old worthies buried in the Kirkyard cemetery must have stirred in righteous indignation, and in a voice heard only by God and His angels solemnly intoned: "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it Holy".

Summary Statement

Efforts to make the Highlands of Scotland Sabbatarian did not begin in earnest until the re-establishment of Presbyterianism in 1689. From that time until about 1745 Evangelical ministers, missionaries, teachers, and catechists

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119. Glasgow Herald, 25th October, 1960.

120. Glasgow Herald, 6th January, 1962. See also Glasgow Herald, 31st January 1962.

enjoyed only limited success in converting the uncivilized Highlander to the ways of Puritanism. After the Rebellion of 1745, however, the situation improved, and by the end of the eighteenth century much progress had been made. Nevertheless, many people remained outside the pale of Sabbatarian influences. It took the long series of revivals which occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to convert the people into avid Sabbatarians. After 1843 the effects of the revivals became increasingly evident. The Highland Sabbath became proverbial and was known the world over. Even today many parts of the Highlands still observe Sunday very strictly, reminding one of the effectiveness with which the Sabbatarians of old impressed their message on the minds and in the hearts of the people.

EPILOGUE

In the "hurrying years" of the twentieth century Sunday observance gradually deteriorated. The invention of the automobile, the increasing amount of leisure time afforded to all classes, the effects of two world wars, and other factors, hastened the demise of the Victorian Sabbath. As the twentieth century progressed there was confusion in the minds of the leaders of the Church of Scotland as to the proper emphasis that should be given to Sunday observance. The question of a wider range of activities on Sunday was frequently raised, and the General Assembly studied and pondered the meaning of Sunday observance in a modern age. In May of 1962 a committee is expected to report to the General Assembly its findings on this subject. From this report it is hoped that the Church will be able to glean some insight into the practical and theological aspects of Sunday observance. On the subject of Sunday observance, however, the Church of Scotland is far from unanimous in its thinking. In general the doctrine of a Fourth Commandment centred Sabbath has fallen into disrepute. While Free Church ministers staunchly defend this position, it is doubtful whether a majority of the Church of Scotland clergy would accept all the theological ramifications of "Sabbath sanctification". What has happened is that Scotland has attempted to live by the maxim that without being Sabbatarian, it should determine to abide by its Sabbath-keeping character. This concept of compromise with the past is rapidly waning and something more vital and positive must replace it. How this is to be accomplished is not for the historian to say, but it is hoped that by profiting from the mistakes of the past the Church of the present and of the future will preserve what is good, discard what is harmful, and thereby produce a concept of Sunday observance that is faithful to the basic tenets of the Christian faith, and satisfying to the deepest needs of mankind.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

AN ABSTRACT OF ACTS OF SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT
RELATIVE TO SABBATH PROFANATION 1690-1707

1690 William and Mary c. 25 "Act Against Profaneness"

Our Soverign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen's Majesties, and three Estates of parliament, considering how much it concerns the honour and glory of God, and the peace, welfare, and prosperity of the kingdom, that all vice and profaneness be punished and suppressed, and virtue and godliness encouraged; do therefore, with advice and consent of the three Estates of parliament, revive, renew, and confirm all laws and acts of parliament made before, against cursing, swearing, drunkenness, fornication, and uncleanness, profanation of the Lord's day, and mocking and reproaching of religion, and the exercises thereof, and particularly the act dated the eleventh of September, 1672 years, intituled Act against Profaneness, with the whole acts therein mentioned, and manner of execution therein prescribed; requiring, likeas their Majesties hereby premptorily require all magistrates, officers, and others concerned, to put the said acts to exact and punctual execution, with all care and diligence, as they will be answerable.

1693 William and Mary c. 40 "Act Against Profaneness"

Our Soverign Lord and Lady, taking to their serious consideration the profanity and immoralities that so much at present abound, and how much it concerns the glory of God, the honour of the Protestant religion, and the good and peace of the kingdom, that they be repressed and restrained; do, therefore, with advice and consent of the Estates of parliament, hereby ratify and revive all acts of parliament formerly made against Sabbath-breaking, profane and idle swearing, drunkenness, or other immoralities whatsoever, ordaining the same to be put to strict execution with all diligence. And for the better effectuating thereof, do hereby empower and ordain every presbytery within this kingdom, to appoint one or more within their respective bounds, whom they shall think fit to choose, to take notice of the forsaid vices and immoralities, and to delate and prosecute the persons guilty thereof before the magistrats of the bounds, conform to the tenors of the saids acts; and allowing to them out of the fines and penalties that shall be incurred, not only their whole charges and expenses of the said prosecutions, but also such further rewards as the lords of their Majesties' privy council shall think fit.

1695 William and Mary c. 13 "Act Against Profaneness"

Our Soverign Lord and Estates of parliament, considering that the twenty-fifth act of the second session of this current parliament, intituled Act against Profaneness, and the acts generally and particularly therein ratified, has not taken the wished effect, through the negligence of the magistrates, officers, and others concerned to put the same in execution; do hereby authorise, and strictly require and enjoin all sheriffs and their deputes, stewarts and their deputes, bailies of bailiaries and regalities and their deputes, magistrates of burghs royal and justices of peace, within whose bounds any of the sins forbidden by the said laws shall happen to be committed, to put the said acts to exact and punctual execution at all times, without necessity of any dispensation, and against all persons, whether officers, soldiers, or others, without exception; with this certification, that such of the saids judges as shall refuse, neglect, or delay to put the said laws in execution, upon application of any minister or kirk-session, or any person in their name, giving information and offering sufficient

probation against the offender, that every one of the saids judges so refusing, neglecting, or delaying, shall, toties quoties, be subject and liable to a fine of one hundred pounds Scots, to be applied for behoof of the poor of the parish where the scandal complained on was committed; declaring hereby, that the agent for the kirk, the minister of the parish, or any other person having warrand from him, or from the kirk-session within the parish whereof the scandal complained on was committed, shall have good interest to pursue, before the lords of session, any of the foresaid judges who shall happen to refuse, neglect, or delay to put the saids laws against prophaneness to exact and punctual execution, who are hereby ordained to proceed summarily without the order of the roll; and that shall be a sufficient probation of their refusal, neglect, or delay, if the pursuer instruct by an instrument under a nottar's hand, and witnesses thereto subscribing, and deponing thereupon, that he did inform the saids judges of the said scandal, and offered a sufficient probation thereof, unless the judge so pursued condescend and instruct, that within the space of ten days, and that at the day of compearance he was ready and willing to have taken cognition and trial of the scandal complained on, and instruct and condescend on a relevant reason why the saids laws were not put in execution against the person complained on.

1696 William c. 31 "Act Against Profaneness"

Our Sovereign Lord, with advice and consent of the Estates of parliament, ratifies, renews, and revives, all former laws and acts of parliament made against drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, swearing, fornication, uncleanness, mocking and reproaching religion, and the exercises thereof, and generally all the laws made against profaneness, and ordains the same to be put to full and vigorous execution. And, farther, considering how much profanity and immorality do abound over all the nation, to the dishonour of God, reproach to religion, and the discredit and weakening of the government, notwithstanding of the many good laws that have been made against profaneness: therefore, and for the better, more expedite, and effectual execution of the said laws, statutes and ordains, that in every parish where either sheriff, sheriff depute, lord of regality, or regality depute, or baillies or baillie deputes, stewarts or stewart deputes, or magistrates of burghs, happen to reside, they shall, and are hereby obliged and required to put the said laws against profanity and immorality to due and full execution, at the instance of any person whatsoever who shall pursue the same, certifying them, if they failie therein, either by themselves or their deputes, to be by them nominate for the said parish, the lords of His Majesty's privy council will appoint and nominate baillies in that part to judge and execute the laws in their place. And as to such parishes wherein none of magistrates forsaid, having ordinary jurisdiction, do reside, His Majesty, with advice and consent forsaid, statutes and ordains, that, in every such parish, the forsaid persons having ordinary jurisdiction over the same, shall appoint deputes for the said parishes, with the power, and for the end forsaid, such as shall be named to them by the heritors and kirk-session thereof for that effect: certifying the forsaid magistrates, that if they refuse to grant the said deputations when required, they shall not only be liable in the sum of one hundred pounds, but that the lords of council will grant the said deputations by them refused. And His Majesty, with consent forsaid, discharges all vocations of the said processes against profanity and immorality, to be intented before the said judges and deputes in the said parishes simpliciter, and likewise all suspensions of their sentences, without consignation or liquidate discharges. And further ordains, that in case of calumnious suspending, the lords of session decern a third part more than is decerned for expenses; and ordains the fines to be instantly paid to the parish collectors for the poor, or the party to be imprisoned, till sufficient caution be found for payment of the said fines, or otherwise to be exemplary punished

in his person, in case of inability to pay the fine: and that no pretence of different persuasion in matters of religion, shall exeem the delinquent from being censured and punished for such immoralities, as by the laws of this kingdom are declared to be punishable by fining. And, lastly, it is declared, that nothing in this act shall hinder or impede all ordinary magistrates and judges to exerce their jurisdiction in the premises as accords. And His Majesty and the said Estates of parliament recommend to the lords of privy council, to take such further effectual course, as shall be found requisite for restraining and punishing of all sorts of profanity and wickedness; and for encouraging and rewarding of such as shall be employed in the execution of the said laws, either out of the fines that shall be uplifted for the foresaid transgressions, or otherwise as they shall think fit. And does hereby strictly require and command all persons to whom it doth or may belong, to perform their duties in the premises punctually, as they will be answerable.

1701 William c. 11 "Act Against Profaneness"

Our Soverign Lord, for the better and more effectual repressing of profaneness and immorality, with advice and consent of the Estates of parliament, ratifies, renews, and revives all former laws and acts of parliament made against drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, swearing, fornication, adultery, and all manners of uncleanness, mocking and reproaching religion, and the exercise thereof, and generally all other laws mades against profaneness. (Then follows a review of the Acts of 1693, 1695, and 1696) And farder, all ministers and kirk-sessions, and heritors concerned, are hereby required and ordained to do and act their parts faithfully in the premises, as they will be answerable; and in case any person shall be excommunicate for not answering, or for not obeying and satisfying the church, when processed before them for profaneness and immorality, or in case that any person cited on the account foresaid, shall be declared by the church to be contumacious, then, and in either of these cases, His Majesty, with advice and consent foresaid, statutes and ordains, that upon application made by a presbytery, provincial synod, or General Assembly, to His Majesty's privy council, representing the same, the lords of privy council shall represent the said matter to His Majesty, that he may be duly informed anent the foresaid person found guilty or contumacious as said is, as a person not fit to be employed or continued in any place of public trust, civil or military.

APPENDIX II
AN ABSTRACT OF THE ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
RELATIVE TO SABBATH PROFANATION 1690-1715

1690 Act 7 Sess. 12. (Overture)

That it be recommended to kirk-sessions and presbyteries, carefully to put in execution the acts of former General Assemblies against profanation of the Lord's Day, and particularly by unnecessary sailing and travelling.

1694 Act 13 Sess. 14. "Act Against Profaneness"

The General Assembly of this national church, taking into serious consideration, &c. doth therefore exhort and require, that ministers, and all who fear God, have in their hearts a deep humbling and soul-affecting sense of these evils, and be much in prayer and supplication before God on this account; and that all the ministers of this church preach plainly and faithfully against these vices, and denounce the threatened judgments of God against such evid doers; and deal earnestly and much with their consciences, to bring them to a conviction and sense of sin and danger...And recommends to ministers and kirk-sessions, that none be ruling elders who make not conscience of this necessary and unquestionable duty. And likewise the General Assembly recommends to all ministers and kirk-sessions that they carefully apply to the several magistrates of their bounds, that the acts of parliament against profaneness may be put into execution, and particularly the act of parliament, June 15, 1693.

1697 Act 11 Sess. 8 . "Act Against Profaneness"

(Largely repeats the Act of 1694--Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions are urged to enforce laws against profaneness)

1699 Act 7 Sess. 2. "Act Against Profaneness"

6. The General Assembly recommends to the kirk-sessions and presbyteries, the vigorous, impartial, and yet prudent exercise of church discipline against all immorality, especially drunkenness and filthiness, cursing and swearing, and profaning the Lord's day, which too much abound; and that they apply to the magistrate for the execution of the good laws made against immorality and profaneness.

7. That seeing it is observed, that in burghs, those of greatest resort, as in Edinburgh, many sit too late in taverns, especially on the Saturday's night, and men of business pretend they do it for relaxation of their minds, through which they neglect the public worship on the Lord's day in the forenoon, and others attend the worship drowsily; therefore the General Assembly recommends to all ministers, where such sinful customs are, to represent to the people, both publicly and privately, the sin and evil thereof; and to call them to redeem that time which they have free from business, and to employ it for converse with God about their soul's state, and in preparation for the Sabbath, which will yield more delight than all sensual pleasures can do. And the General Assembly beseecheth and exhorteth all magistrates of burghs, to be assistant to ministers, in inquiring into, and reforming such abuses.

1704 Act 11 Sess. 10 "Act Against Profaneness"

The General Assembly, for the effectual restraining of profaneness and immorality, and obtaining the exact execution of the laws against them, do hereby recommend to the commission to be nominate by them, that they appoint some of their number, with the clerk, to draw up an abstract of all the acts of Assemblies to that purpose, both before and since the late Revolution, which, being revised and approven by the commission at their quarterly meeting in June, may by them be ordered to be printed, together with the abstract of the acts of parliament against profaneness, in a small volume, and each presbytery is hereby enjoined twice a year, at least, at diets appointed in hunc affectum, to read these, and to inquire at each minister what is done by him for the execution thereof. And every synod is hereby ordained to take a strict account of presbyteries, their diligence and faithfulness therein; and the General Assembly hereby likewise recommends to all presbyteries, to think seriously what may be farther needful for restraining of wickedness, and advancing of piety and the kingdom of Christ in the nation, and send in their overtures concerning the same to the next General Assembly, who may take these to their serious consideration, and make this their chief and first work.

1705 Act 9 Sess. 12 "Act Against Profanation of the Lord's Day"

The General Assembly taking to their serious consideration the great profanation of the Lord's day, by multitudes of people vaging idlely upon the streets of Edinburgh, pier and shore of Leith, in St. Ann's Yeards, and the Queen's Park, and in diverse places of the West Kirk Paroch, and on the Links of Leith, and other places, especially about Edinburgh, and that by persons of all ranks, many whereof are strangers, as the same hath been represented to them by the commissioners from the presbytery of Edinburgh, in the name and by the appointment of that presbytery; and considering also what hath been represented by several brethren, anent the profanation of the Sabbath in other places of the nation, by unnecessarily travelling and otherways; and the General Assembly being deeply sensible of the great dishonour done to the holy God, and of the open contempt of God and man, manifested by such heaven-daring profaneness, to the exposing of the nation to the heaviest judgments: Therefore they do, in the fear of God, earnestly exhort all their reverend brethren of the ministry, and other officers of the church, to contribute their utmost endeavours in their stations, for suppressing such gross prophanation of the Lord's day, by a vigorous and impartial, yet prudent exercise of the discipline of the church, and by holding hand to the execution of the laudable laws of the nation against the guilty, in such way and manner as is allowed and required by law; and because the concurrence and assistance of the civil government will be absolutely necessary for the better crushing and restraining this crying sin, the General Assembly do hereby appoint their commission to be nominate by them, to address the right honourable the lords of Her Majesty's privy council, that their lordships may be pleased to give such orders, and take such wisdom as they shall judge most effectual.

1706 Act 13 Sess. ult. "Act and Recommendation Against Profaneness"

The General Assembly seriously exhorts all Magistrates, Ministers, and others in their respective Capacities, to hold hand to the execution of the Laws against profaneness...and particularly it is hereby recommended to Ministers and kirk-sessions to apply to the Civil Magistrate in that matter, as the Law allows and requires; and upon the inferior magistrate's neglect or refusal to put the Laws against Profaneness in execution, and the kirk-session, with the concurrence of their presbytery, complain to the Government for redress according to Law.

1708 Act 12 Session Ult. "Act for the Better Observation of the Lord's Day"

Forasmuch as ministers from diverse parts of this national church do represent that there is a general profanation of the Lord's day by travelling thereupon, carrying goods, driving cattle, and other abuses, to the great scandal of religion, and manifest breach of many good laws and acts of parliament and General assemblies, which the General Assembly of this church being desirous to prevent, in so far as is competent to them; therefore they did, and hereby do appoint, each presbytery within this church, to nominate two or three of their number to attend the lords commissioners of justiciary at their first circuit that falls to be in their bounds, and to represent to their lordships the profanation of the Lord's day by the foresaid wicked and sinful practices; and the General Assembly does seriously recommend to the same lords of justiciary, to take such effectual courses as they in their wisdom shall think fit, to restrain and punish the foresaid abuses, which the Assembly will acknowledge as a singular service done to God and his church; and they do in the meantime enjoin all the ministers of this church from their pulpits, to advertise their people among whom such practices are, of the great hazard their immortal souls are in by such courses, and that if they continue therein there will be a necessity to represent to the lords justices all transgressors of the laws made against profaning of the Sabbath, and warn them to abstain therefrom in time coming: And further, the General Assembly enjoins ministers and church judicatories to take care that former acts of Assembly made against breach of the Lord's day be observed, and not only to proceed with ecclesiastical censures, but to apply to the justices of the peace in their bounds, and other magistrates, for putting in execution the good laws already made against the breach of the Sabbath and other immoralities.

1714 Act. 5 Session 3 "Act for the Better Execution of the Laws Against Profaneness".

(Renews all the former Acts and orders an abbreviate of the previous laws plus Queen Ann's Proclamation of 1708 to be printed and read from pulpits)

1715 Act 13 Session 12 "Act for the Better Execution of the Laws Against Profaneness

(The Act of 1714 is renewed with the addition of the Proclamation of George I)

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