

The Highland Parishes in 1698: An Examination of Sources for the Definition of the Gaidhealtachd

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Any definition of the geographical area of the Scottish Highlands will reflect whatever criterion is used. This area has often been defined on the basis of the Gaelic language: the Highlands have corresponded to the Gaidhealtachd—the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland. Dividing the Gaidhealtachd from the non-Gaelic-speaking parts of Scotland (notwithstanding the urban areas of Gaelic speech both past and present) has been the concept of the Highland Line. This has often been taken as the border of the Gaelic language area (Speitel 1980). The Highland Line was considered by W. F. Skene (1881: 3.285–6) to run from near Balmaha to Aberfoyle and on to Callander; from Callander it followed the Grampians to Crieff and Dunkeld; crossing the River Isla north-west of Alyth, it proceeded along the west side of Glenmuick to Ballater; northwards still, it embraced Strathdon and Strathavon and, passing through Strathspey, it reached the sea at the mouth of the River Nairn (see Fig. 2, p. 86). Earlier assessments of the area of the Highlands seem to have been based more on prejudice than on fact. The Gaidhealtachd was often equated with 'barbarity and incivilitie' (Reg. Privy Coun. X. 671–2). Several sources do exist, however, the study of which provides some knowledge of the geographical extent of the Highlands as a language area for the last few years of the seventeenth century. It is the examination of these sources that is the basis of this paper.

The Sources Outlined

The sources are in the form of lists. They are four in number and have been reproduced in Tables I to IV respectively (pp. 65–73). The two source lists of particular interest here are entitled 'An Account of the Parishes in the Highlands. 1698' (hereafter A.P.H.), which constitutes Table III, and 'A More Particular List of the Highland Parishes' (hereafter M.P.L.H.P.), which makes up Table IV. Both these lists appear in the Kirkwood Collection in New College Library, Edinburgh (Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.2.: 24–31). They have also been transcribed at a later date in the Irish Bible MS in the National Library of Scotland (N.L.S. MS821). Table I appears in the Irish Bible MS and in Maclean (1924). Table II appears only in the Register Minutes of the Synod of Argyll for 1693 in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

It is here suggested that they are all related sources and are primarily concerned with the distribution and delivery of the Irish Bible in Gaelic Scotland in the last years of the seventeenth century. Through the examination of these lists, the paper has two objects. The first, of less importance, is to add a little to our knowledge of the processes and patterns behind the distribution of the Irish Bible in Scotland in the late seventeenth century (Durkacz 1978). The second, of more importance, is to outline what is thought to be the earliest formal representation of the Gaidhealtachd or Gaelic-speaking Highlands in Scotland.

The two people involved most deeply with the delivery of these Irish Bibles were James Kirkwood and Robert Kirk (MacLean 1924). The Kirkwood Collection is, in part, the papers and correspondence of the former. It is here argued that the A.P.H. and M.P.L.H.P. lists are a form of checklist for this distribution, originating through Kirk, but more significantly, as the paper hopes to show, probably used only by Kirkwood after the death of Kirk in 1692.

Tables I and II are additional evidence to support the claim that the A.P.H. and M.P.L.H.P. sources were compiled as 'checklists' to supervise the distribution of the Irish Bibles. It is the examination of these later lists, themselves based on the information in the earlier sources, that provides the basis for an understanding of the spatial extent of the Gaidhealtachd in the late seventeenth century.

Background to the Sources: The Irish Bible in Scotland

Before turning to an examination of the extent of the Gaidhealtachd for this period, some background to the sources is necessary. Robert Kirk, a Gaelic scholar of great standing, was minister at Aberfoyle in Perthshire. Kirk it was who was largely responsible for implementing the distribution of Bishop Bedell's Irish Bible and Donellan's New Testament¹ (Maclean 1924: *passim*). Links with these Irish scriptural texts had been through Colin Carwhin, writer to his Majesty's signet in Edinburgh. It was Carwhin who first received 207 Bibles in the Irish type-face in July, 1688 (Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.1.fo.5). Difficulties arose with their distribution, even of so small a number (Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.1., 4 Sept. 1688), and indeed only 108 of the 207 are known to have reached their destination (Maclean 1924: 342).

Kirk, aided by Kirkwood, Carwhin and others, realised the importance of a Bible for every Gaelic-speaking pulpit in the Highlands, but some parties did not. Kirkwood's reply to the doubters was his *Answer to the Objections against Printing the Bible in Irish, as prejudicial to the Design of Extirpating the Irish Language out of the Highlands of Scotland* (Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.2). It convinced many sceptics of the need for widely available scriptural texts in the Gaelic language. Once financial problems had been overcome, Kirk, in January 1688, began the task of transcribing Bedell's Bible and Donellan's New Testament, both in Irish type-face, into the Latin type. By mid-1689, Kirk was in London supervising the printing of the Latin-type

Irish Gaelic Bible for use in the Highlands. By 1690 the General Assembly had approved an 'Overture anent the Irish Bible' (Acts Gen. Ass. 1843:XI.227; Durkacz 1978).

Kirk was directing distribution of these Irish Bibles by 1691 (Maclean 1924:349). As late as 1697, however, many ministers in the north were still unaware of how to obtain the Bible (Maclean 1924:351). Kirkwood's response was his *Memoriall About the Irish Bibles* (1697) which informed many ministers of the procedures for procural of Kirk's Bible. The *Memoriall* led to the circulation of 1770 Bibles, 420 New Testaments, and 540 Catechisms (Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.1.; N.L.S. MS821:224-5. See Table I). Altogether 3,000 Bibles, 1,000 New Testaments and 3,000 Catechisms were printed. It is from this period that these sources date.

TABLE I*
Account of Books Already delyvered. Anno 1698

	Bibles	New Testaments	Catechisms
To Synod of Argyle	1000	300	000
Presbeterie of Dumbarton	0060	20	120
to Culloden for 6 parishes near Inverness	0060	000	000
Item to my Lord Murray	0100	000	120
Item to the Presbeterie of Tayne	0100	000	100
Item to Sir John Monroe for the Presbeterie of Ross	0150	000	000
Item to ye Parishes in Perthshire, Dumbarton and Caithness	<u>0300</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>200</u>
	1770	420	540

*(N.L.S. MS821:229; Maclean 1924:366)

The Sources Examined

Table I shows the number of texts distributed and the places to which they had been delivered by 1698. As this Table suggests, the distribution of the Irish Bible was probably proportional to the demand within the Gaelic-speaking parishes. It may also have been a decision on behalf of the central distributing authorities, in response to demand from each local area. In one instance, we even know the individuals to whom the Bibles were ultimately delivered, as the Kirk Session Records of Kingarth Parish in Bute note the receipt of '. . . twentie small Irish Bibles . . . and one big one for the Church itself, from the store at Inverary' (S.R.O. CH 2/219/1, 28 June and 26 July 1696).

That the Synod of Argyll seems to have been the administrative centre for the

distribution of these texts in the western Highlands and Islands is suggested by the information contained in Table II, the 1693 'Argyll List'.

The information contained in Table II appears in the Register Minutes of the Synod of Argyll for 26th of June 1693 (S.R.O. CH 2/557/3:113). It states unequivocally that it is a list to be used by the 'Committee appointed for Distributing ye Irish Bibles . . .', and directs them to send twenty bibles '. . . to each parioch following . . .' *i.e.*, those listed in Table II. This source provides reasonably good evidence that such parish-by-parish lists were part of the mechanism

TABLE II*

Parishes within the Synod of Argyll that were to receive the Irish Bible, post-1693.

[Enumeration and spelling as in the original MS.]

Argyll Presbyterie

1. Clachandysart
2. Kill_____ [name illegible]
3. Inveraray
4. Killmichael of Glasrie
5. Killmartine
6. Craignish
7. Knapdaill

1. Kintyre Presbyterie

2. Killcallmonell
9. Killean
10. Campbelltoun
11. Southend
12. Kilbride in Arran
13. Kilmorrie yr
14. Killbaroio in Ila
15. Killdalton yr
16. Jura e Colonsa

Cowall Presbyterie

Lochgoill head	17
Strathghuire	18
Killmodan	19
Killfinan	20
Dunoone	21
Innershilan	22
Rothsay	23
Kingarth	24

Lorne Presb.

25. Killmellford
26. Killbrandon &c
27. Killmore &c
28. Ardchattan &c
29. Lismore &c
30. Killmalie in Lochaber
31. _____ in Lochaber
32. Killcolumkill in Mozbern
33. Ardnamurchan _____ &c
34. Killninian in Mull
35. Killfushyane in Mull
36. Kirkaboll e Soroby on Tyrie.
Sky and Lewis Presb.
37. South Uist
38. North Uist
39. Hares
40. Stornnay in Lewis
41. Ness in Lewis
42. Killmory in Trotonish
43. Snizort
44. Brascadall
45. Glenelg
46. Kilmorie in Duitinish
47. Sleit

*S.R.O. CH 2/557/3., 26 June 1693 (p. 113)

for the distribution of the Irish Bible. Such lists were probably drawn up at the behest of administering Synods and Presbyteries, themselves perhaps operating under command from a centralised authority. Twenty-one Bibles were allotted to Kingarth parish: if, on that analogy, we suppose that was the number allowed for each of the forty-seven listed places in Table II, this totals 987—an estimate not far removed from the total of 1,000 listed alongside the Synod of Argyll in Table I. Using only this information here, it is reasonable to suppose that about twenty may have been the usual number for delivery to each parish. This point, and the place of these earlier source lists, are discussed below. Let us now turn to a consideration of the A.P.H. and M.P.L.H.P. lists (Tables III and IV).

The source list entitled 'An Account of the Parishes in the Highlands' (Table III) gives a total of 180 parishes under 14 separate districts. A note below this particular source makes it clear, however, that it omits a great many 'transition parishes', the population of which areas must have been at least partly Gaelic in terms of language. The M.P.L.H.P. list (Table IV), gives the actual names of the 180 parishes presented only by district in Table III. In many cases, the M.P.L.H.P. list also includes the ministers of those parishes. (This information is absent from both the 1693 'Argyll List' and the A.P.H. 1698 source.) Using the parish and ministers' names, it is possible to build up a composite picture of the Gaelic-speaking parishes for 1698. It will be seen, however, that these sources, especially the 'More Particular. . .' list (Table IV), contain several curious anomalies. Close attention needs to be paid to them before understanding their actual geographical extent.

TABLE III*

An Account of the Parishes in the Highlands. 1698

In Argyle and the Isles	82
In Pearthshyre	09
In Caithness	04
In Badanoch	04
In Strathspey	08
In Southerland	08
In Strathnaver	03
In Ross	21
In Murray	17
In Lochaber	02
In Brae of Marr	03
In Monteith	06
In Strathern	07
In Dumbartonshyre	<u>06</u>
(Total)	<u>180</u>

* N.C.L. Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.2. :23; N.L.S. MS821:249-50.

TABLE IV*
A More Particular List of the Highland Parishes. 1698

[This table follows as closely as possible the form of the list in the Kirkwood Collection, except for the addition of the right hand column which gives the modern parish name and, where necessary, a number to locate it on the map (Fig. 1, p. 85).]

<u>Cowall Presbyterie</u>			
[Parish]	[Minister]	[Parish name today]	
1 Killmorich	} Mr Hugh Browne	Kilmorich	1
2 Lochgoyl's head		Lochgoilhead	2
3 Stratheurre	} Vacant	[Strachur and	3
4 Strathlauchlane		[Strathlachan	4
5 Killfinan	} Vacant	Kilfinan	5
6 Killmodan		Kilmodan	6
7 Killmune	} Mr Campbell	[Dunoon and	7 & 8
8 Dunoon		[Kilmun	
9 Inverchaolan	Mr Bruce	Inverchaolain	9
10 Rothesay in Bute	} Vacant	Rothesay	10
11 Kingarth in Bute	Mr J. Stewart	Kingarth	11

Kintyre Presbyterie

- 1)
 2) The Isle of Arran has 4 parishes served by two Ministers; at present there is but one
 3) Minister Mr Alex Maclean at Kilbride.
 4)

In Kintyre itself are ten parishes, viz.

5 Killblean	—	Parts of Southend	
6 Killkallumkille	} Mr Douglas Campbell	parish	
7 Killchorran in Cambletoun	—	Parts of Campbeltown	
8 Killchislane and Kilmichall	} vacant	parish	12
9 Kilkeneth		Pt. of Killean & Kilchenzie	
10 Saddell	} Mr John Cunisone	Saddell & Skipness	13
11 Killean		Pt. of Killean & Kilchenzie	
12 Killkallumonell		Pt. of Kilcalmonell & Kilberry	
13 Skipnish	} vacant	Skipness & Saddell	14
14 Kilberry		Pt. of Kilcalmonell & Kilberry	
15 Killernadall in the Isle of Jura		Jura	
16 Colinsa	} Mr John McSuine	Colinsay	
17 Gigha		Gigha & Cara	
18 Kilmarna	} Mr David Simpstone	Kilfinan	15
19 Killchoman	} In Islay	Kilchoman	
20 Killdalton		Kildalton	
21 Killnastan		} vacant	Killarow

* N.C.L. Kirk. Coll. L.5.1.6.1.2. : 24-31; N.L.S. MS821 : 251-63.

TABLE IV (*contd.*)

<u>Argyle Presbyterie</u>		
[Parish]	[Minister]	[Parish name today]
1 Kilmichael in Inverlussa	} Mr Duncan Campbell	[North 16
2 Killmhivocarnock		[Knapdale
3 Kilmichael in Glasrie	} Mr Daniel Campbell	Kilmichael Glassary 17
4 Killimuire		In Kilmichael Glassary? 18
5 Lothgear		In Kilmichael Glassary? 19
6 Killmartin	} Mr Dougal Campbell	Kilmartin 20
7 Killchrenan		[Kilchrennan and 21
8 Dalaich	Mr John Lindsay	[Dalavich
9 Clachandysart in Glenorchie	Mr Dougall Lindsay	Glenorchy & Inishail 22
10 Inverary	Mr Patrick Campbell	Inverary 23
11 Craignish	Mr John Darrock	Craignish 24
<u>Lorn Presbyterie</u>		
1 Killatan	} vacant	[Kilchattan and 25
2 Killbrennan		[Kilbrandon 26
3 Killinver	} Mr Pat McLauchlane	[Kilninver and 27
4 Killmelford		[Kilmelford 28
5 Killmore	} vacant	[Kilmore and 29
6 Killbride		[Kilbride 30
7 Killespickayroll	} Mr Colin Campbell	[Muckairn (and 31
8 Ardchattan		[Ardchattan)
9 Kilmaluag in ye Isle of Lismore	} Mr Alex McKalman	[Lismore and 32
10 Appine		[Appin
11 Kilmali	} vacant	Kilmallie 33
12 —		Ardgour
13 Killkallumkill	} vacant	Morvern
14 Kinlinver		Morvern

There are but these two parishes in the great countries of Morvine and Kingerloch. In Ardnamurchan, Sunard Mudart and Morire 2 parishes viz,

15 Killchoan		Ardnamurchan
16 Islandinan	} vacant	Araisaig
17 Killinichan	} vacant	[Kilfinichen and
18 Killvicewin		[Kilviceon
19 Killmoire	} vacant	[Kilninian and
20 Killnemair		[Kilmore
21 Tirrye		Tiree
22 Iona ye Cathedral of the Isles		Iona (incl. in Kilviceon)
23 Coll	} vacant	Coll

TABLE IV (*contd.*)Skye Presbyterie and Long Isle Presbyterie (those marked*)

[Parish]	[Minister]	[Parish name today]
1 Southmost Isle*		S. Uist
2 Barra Isle*	} Mr Angus MacDonald vacant	Barra
3 N. Uist*		N. Uist
4 Dunvegan	} Mr Dougall McFerson	Incl. in Duirinish
5		Duirinish
6 Brackadall	} Mr John Beton	Bracadale
7 Killmuire		Killmuire
8 Snizirt Raasa		Portree
9 Slait		Sleat
10 Strathwordail	} Mr Martin McFerson	Strath
11 Egg with adjacent Isles		Small Isles
12 Harris*		Harris
13 St. Kilda* with ye pendicells	} Mr John Campbell Mr Donald Morisone	(Incl. in Harris par.)
14 Nesse*		Mr Kenneth Morisone
15 Eye (in Lewis)		Barvas
16 Glenelg	vacant	Stornoway Glenelg

In Caithness

1 Lochron	Mr Nicol Beaton	Latheron
2 Hakerig	Mr N. Cuming	Halkirk
3 Thurso	Mr Innes	Thurso
4 Rea	Mr John Munro	Reay

Southerland

1 Downan	Mr James Hey	Kildonan
2 Loth	Mr Hector Pape	Loth
3 Clein	vacant	Clyne
4 Golspy	Mr Walter Dennie	Golspie
5 Rogart	Mr John Mcley	Rogart
6 Dornach	vacant	Dornoch
7 Creich	Mr Hugh Ross	Creich
8 Culmaly	vacant	Incl. in Golspie

Strathnaver

1 Farr	vacant	Farr
2 Durness		Durness
3 Kintail	Mr Hugh Munro	Kintail (in Tongue par.)
4 Assine	Mr Alex Cray	Assynt

(All these are in the Diocese of Caithness)

TABLE IV (contd.)

In the Diocese of Ross, Tain Presbyterie

[Parish]	[Minister]	[Parish name today]	
1 Losquin	—	Rosskeen ?	
2 Kincardin	Mr Hector Fraser	Kincardine	
3 Eddertoun	Mr Arthur Sutherland	Eddertoun	37
4 Tain	Mr Robert Ross	Tain	38
5 Tarbet	vacant	Tarbat	
6 Fern	Mr Duff	Fearn	
7 Nigg	Mr James McKenzie	Nigg	
8 Loggy	Mr Kenneth McKenzie	Logie Easter	39
9 Killmuire Easter	Mr Donald Forbes	Kilmuir Easter	40

Chanony Presbyterie

1 Cullicacken	Mr James Houstone	Resolis	41/42
2 Suddy	Mr Thomas Fraser	} Knockbain	43
3 Kilmuire Wester	Mr John McKenzie		44
4 Kilornan	Mr John McKenzie	Killearnan	45
5 Ardersire	Mr Lachlin McKlean	Ardersier	46

Dingwall Presbyterie

1 Alvies	Mr John Fraser	Alness	
2 Kiltern	Mr Wm. Stewart	Kiltearn	47
3 Dingwall	Mr John McLay	Dingwall	48
4 Fotterty	Mr John McKenzie	Fodderty	49
5 Contain	Mr Angus Mousone	Contin	
6 Urray	Mr George Cuming	Urray	50
7 Urqhurt	Mr Andrew Ross	Urquhart & L. Wester	51
8 Killmorack	Mr Wm. Fraser	Kilmorack	

Murray Diocess that hath these presbyteries viz Inverness Presbyterie

1 Kill-chuimnan	Mr Robert Irvine	In Boleskine and Abertarff	52
2 Bolloskin	Mr Thomas Houstone	Boleskine & Abertarff	
3 Dorris	Mr Thomas Fraser	Dores	53
4 Urqhart	Mr Robert Courin	Urquhart & Glenmoriston	54
5 Gleorritly	Mr Hugh Fraser	Kiltarlity & Convinth	55
6 Wardlaw	Mr James Fraser	Kirkhill	56
7 Inverness	Mr Hector Mackenzie	Inverness	57
8 Petty	Mr Alex Downie	Petty	58
9 Kroy	Mr Hugh Fraser	Croy & Dalcross	59
10 Daviot	Mr Michael Fraser	Daviot & Dunlichty	60
11 Moy	Mr Alex Cumin	Moy and Dalarossie	61

Forres Presbyterie

1 Kalder	vacant	Calder	62
2 Ardclach	Mr Pat Grant	Ardclach	63
3 Edincilly	Mr Dow Cuming	Edinkillie	64

TABLE IV (*contd.*)Presbyterie of Abedar containing Badanoch and Strathspey

[Parish]	[Minister]	[Parish name today]	
1 Laggan	vacant	Laggan	
2 Alva	Mr Tho. Mcpherson	Alvie	
3 Kingusich		Kingussie	65
4	Mr Donald Tailor	(Kingussie)	
(All these are in Badenoche, ye 8 following are in Strathspey)			
5 Rothiemurchus	Mr Donald McKintosh	Rothiemurchus	66
6 Duthell	Mr D. M. above supplies	Duthil	67
7 Kincardin	vacant	[Abernethy and Kincardine	68
8 Abernethy	vacant		69
9 Cromdal	vacant	Cromdale	70
10 Inverallan	Mr Thomas Grant	Pt. of Cromdale	71
11 Knockando	supplied to the said Mr Thomas	Knockando	72
12 Inveraven and Strathdoun	vacant	Sep. parishes of same name (Strathdon)	
<u>The Lordship of Lochaber hath 2 parishes</u>			
1		Kilmallie	
2	vacant	Kilmonivaig	
<u>Perthshire</u>			
1 Killin	Mr Robt. Stewart	Killin	
2 Kenmuire	Mr Comrie	Kenmore	73
3 Farthingall	Mr Robertsons	Fortingal	
4 Weem	Mr Duncan Menzies	Weem	74
5 Logaret	Mr Mungo Murray	Logerait	75
6 Blair	Mr Robt. Campbell	Blair Atholl	
7 Kirkmichael	Mr Jon Pearson	Kirkmichael (Perth)	76
8 Muilline	Mr Balnares	Moulin	77
9 Dow	Mr McCarter	Dowally in Dunkeld & Dowally?	78
<u>Dumbartonshire</u>			
1 Inchcalloch		Buchanan	79
2 Tarbart		Arrochar	80
3 Luss		Luss	81
4 Row		Rhu	
5 Roseneath		Roseneath	82
6 Drymen		Drymen	
<u>Brae of Marr in the Presbyterie of Kincardin of Nile</u>			
1 Glen-muick		[Glenmuick, Tullich & Glengairn Crathie and Braemar	
2 Tullich			
3 Brae Marr	} Mr Ja. Robinson		

TABLE IV (*contd.*)

<u>Montieth in Dumblane Presbyterie</u>			
[Parish]	[Minister]	[Parish name today]	
1 Balquhidder	vacant	Balquhidder	83
2 Aberfoill	vacant	Aberfoyle	84
3 Callender	vacant	Callander	85
4 Buchanan	} these 3 last need ane Irish preacher tho they have none	Buchanan	86
5 Kilmadock		Kilmadock	
6 Port		Port of Menteith	
<u>Strathearn in ye Presbyterie of Auchferarder</u>			
1 Comrie		Comrie	
2 Monivaird		Monzievaird & Strowan	87
3 Monzie	} Most of ye people of these 6 parochs doe not understand ye English, tho they have no Irish preachers.	Monzie	
4 Foulis		Fowlis Wester	88
5 Muthill		Muthil	89
6 Strowan		Monzievaird (Pt. of)	
7 Crieff		Crieff	90

As stated above, the A.P.H. list includes fourteen separate geographical areas of the Scottish Highlands, totalling 180 parishes (Table III). Most of these areas are easy enough to identify today in terms of the parishes contained within them, even though boundaries have changed over time. *Lochaber*, for example, while it roughly corresponds to the parishes of Kilmallie and Kilmonivaig, is an area that seems to be defined more by local custom and understanding than by 'outside' parochial or county limits. One finds a similar situation when trying to identify the parishes included in *Badenoch*, *Menteith*, or *Strathspey*, all of which were areas whose boundaries were understood rather than officially defined. It is fortunate in these latter cases that the M.P.L.H.P. list (Table IV) notes which parishes were included in the relevant districts.

The M.P.L.H.P. source is the more detailed and on closer examination, seemingly the more riddled with inconsistencies. This larger list should probably be seen as the aggregate of other such smaller and perhaps more regularly occurring lists drawn up by the respective Synods of the Church of Scotland. In examining both the 1693 'Argyll List' and this larger source list, we must not assume that the status of Gaelic and the extent to which it was being spoken at this period was the same throughout these listed parishes. The use of Gaelic as a devotional language is not necessarily evidence that it was used outside that domain. It is reasonable to suppose that regional variations in the extent of Gaelic-speaking would have existed in the Gaidhealtachd of this period, especially along the border areas. For example, despite Gaelic being the language of the majority of the people, English was preached at Kilmorack in 1651, Contin in the 1650s, Kiltearn in 1654, Dores in 1671, and Wardlaw (Kirkhill) in 1672 (Mackay 1925:43). Related to this is the important

question of the different social status of the languages. The point here is simply that the Gaidhealtachd was not monolingual in Gaelic, and regional and social variations existed. Kirkwood in his *An Answer to the Objection*. . . . makes this point with reference to several parishes which have ' . . . corners of Gaelic speech . . . ' in the Central Highlands (N.L.S., MS.821:219. See also S.R.O., CH 1/2/24/1, part 2, ff. 66–8). Of those he mentions, only Little Dunkeld is absent from those parishes listed in the *Dumbartonshire, Monteith in Dumblane Presbyterie*, and *Strathern in ye Presbyterie of Auchterarder* sections of the M.P.L.H.P. list (Table IV).

To return to this list in particular, two main questions are at once evident. Firstly, why was the compiler seemingly so unaware of the merging and dividing of parochial names and boundaries that occurred in earlier years of the seventeenth century? Had the compiler been involved in Scottish Church, and especially Highland Church, affairs, he would surely have known of at least some of the changes in the parish names in, for example, the Kintyre peninsula, and should also have been aware of the merging of parishes in the Ardnamurchan area. The uniting of some of the Highland parishes was a response to the shortage of administering clergy, particularly Gaelic-speakers, despite attempts by the General Assembly to provide incentives for Gaelic-speaking divinity students to administer in the Highlands (Durkacz 1978). Persons concerned with the distribution of the Irish Bible to the Highlands would surely have known of some of these changes. Had the compiler been someone in the position of Kirkwood, however, it is quite conceivable that he would have had to ask advice about the places which should receive the Irish Bible. It is here suggested that it was Kirkwood who was responsible for the distribution of the Irish Bible in Scotland in so far as he probably drew up the M.P.L.H.P. source list. Kirkwood it may have been, who, as the motive force behind the 1698 list, erred in recording chapels and existing churches of which some were not parish churches *per se*. We must not, however, apportion 'blame' too readily, for the compiler of the 1698 list, be it Kirkwood or not, may have done no more than copy from earlier lists the contents of which would naturally have reflected local knowledge of suitable sites for the receipt of scriptural texts.

Further, when one considers the extent of the Gaelic-speaking areas in the Highlands as shown by later sources for periods in the eighteenth century, the M.P.L.H.P. list omits several areas included in these later compilations (Selkirk 1806: App. V, lvi–lxi; Walker 1808: 28–9. See also Price 1976–8: 561–8; 1979: 234–47). The Sutherland of 1698 is complete but for an area corresponding to Lairg parish (Fig. 2). Absent also are several parishes in the Wester Ross area, despite the fact that churches existed there at this period. One possible reason for their non-inclusion in the M.P.L.H.P. list for 1698 may be that the Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland appears only to have existed from 1693 to *c.* 1700, and in its short life was much involved in the local aspects of Presbyterianism (Maclean 1935). It is possible that this presbytery's Bible 'distribution-delivery list' was never written, or that it

never arrived, or that the ministers never received notice of the availability of the Bibles. It is also possible that the area as a whole was recognised as *terra incognita* by the centralising authorities for the distribution of the Bibles. Any of these possibilities is conceivable. It does, however, seem unlikely that Kirk's Bible never reached these parts, despite the ungodliness that appeared to be the pressure behind the formation of the Presbytery of Gairloch in 1724 (Murchison 1966).

Another area one might reasonably have expected to be included in the M.P.L.H.P. list is the Banffshire parish of Kirkmichael in the East Central Highlands (see Fig. 2). It may, however, have been included in the transitional parishes mentioned but not named as a footnote to the A.P.H. list (see above, p. 67). Certain parts of eastern and central Perthshire are other areas that one might have expected to be in the Gaidhealtachd at this period. It is possible that these were the 'border parishes . . .' to which Kirkwood referred.

The M.P.L.H.P. list thus repays close examination. Several corroborating sources have been used in the study to check the parish name and the name of the minister at the given date of 1698. Two of the major sources for verification of name of both parish and minister are Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiana Scotia* (New Edition 1915-28) and Cosmo Innes' *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (2 volumes in 3, 1851-5). The examination of, and the evidence for criticism of, the inconsistencies in the M.P.L.H.P. list is derived largely from these two sources. (The verifying references are abbreviated in parentheses immediately following the parish name to save a proliferation of footnotes). McKinlay (1894), Watson (1904), and McKerral (1948) have also been used in the examination of this source.

The comparison with Scott's *Fasti* (F.E.S.) and Innes' *Origines* (O.P.S.) show that inconsistencies arise from the fact that several parishes in the total of 180 were united by the early or middle years of the seventeenth century. They also arise from the compiler's recording not the actual parish *per se*, but the number of administered chapels and churches within one parish. Such administrative misrepresentations may, as suggested above, be in accordance with someone in the position in which Kirkwood found himself after the death of Kirk in 1692.

The 'More Particular List of Highland Parishes' Examined

The parishes are examined in the order in which they appear in Table IV, itself as near a copy of the original as is possible. Some of the parish names are obvious and need no comment. The numbers in the extreme right hand column correspond to the number on the parish base map (Fig. 1, p. 85).

Killmorich parish was united to Lochgoilhead before the sixteenth century although it is not a united parish now (F.E.S. :4.37; O.P.S. :II(I), 82). *Stratheurre* and *Strathlauchlane* appear to have been united about 1650 (F.E.S. :4.44), yet they are here listed as separate parishes. This is possibly because they both retained parish

churches within the one united parish after the merger, which again suggests that the list was a form of check for the distributors of the Irish Bible who would send Bibles to each *administered place of worship*. That local 'Committees for the Distribution of the Irish Bible' did exist is shown by the evidence presented in Table II. The possibility of these Committees being responsible to a central authority—perhaps directly to Kirkwood himself—and the fact that the central authority drew up the lists as 'parishes' in the M.P.L.H.P. may be one reason behind the incorporation of all places of worship within the term '*Highland parishes*'. This may, for example, explain why Arran has four 'parishes' in the list served by one minister, Mr Alex Maclean, at Kilbride, although the maps in Innes' O.P.S. show only two parishes, but four chapels and four 'parish' churches.

The first of the parishes listed under the *Kintyre Presbyterie* section presents an interesting problem. In 1617 a Commission of Parliament united the three parishes of Kilcholumkill, Kilblaan, and Kilchievan which today make up the south end of Kintyre (F.E.S.:4. 66-7). In 1671 Kilchievan was severed from this union and was joined to Kilchiaran, Kilchuslan, and Kilmichael. Since then, the two united parishes of Kilcholumkill (Killkallumkille in the M.P.L.H.P. list) and Kilblaan have been commonly known as Southend. The others formed what was to become Campbelltown parish. As early as 1621, the parishioners of the three old parishes had petitioned Parliament to get a new church built to serve all three congregations. (McKerral 1948:40). This again suggests that some of the names recorded in the M.P.L.H.P. list of 1698 are the names of chapels and churches to which a minister came irregularly, rather than actual parish churches to which one minister of the administering clergy was formally attached. It is also thought likely that the Acts of Union and dis-Union of some of these parishes were almost at once 'dead letters' in the sense that no new parish church was built to serve the new congregations. The continued use of some places of worship that had, prior to their union, been autonomous parishes, may have misled the final compositors of the 1698 list into including all sites of religious worship rather than the parish church. The Argyll list for 1693 seems to list all extant congregations in the Kintyre region, although it also uses the names 'Campbelltoun' and 'Southend'.

Kilkeneth is Kilchenzie, as Mr. John Cunisone was minister in the latter from 1672-87, and again from 1692-7 (F.E.S.:4. 59). Kilchenzie was united to Kilmarow in Kintyre at the time of the Reformation, and united to *Killean* before 1636 (O.P.S.:II(I). 20). This is another parish that should have been incorporated under a different parish name by 1698, yet remained apart from such incorporation at least in the list, if not in terms of local knowledge.

The western portion of *Killkallumonell* and *Kilberry* are now united and in 1753 the other half of *Killkallumonell* was united with part of *Killean* to form *Saddell* and *Skipness*. The list records *Saddell* and *Skipness* as separate parishes when they were not strictly so. Again the list is recording the names of chapels and churches *within*

parishes rather than parishes *per se*. No obvious parish of that name exists today. There is only one *David Simpstone* (Simson), minister, who fits the date of this list, even though, as Table II shows, the date for compilation of the list or lists which may have provided the basis for the M.P.L.H.P. source is not necessarily fixed at 1698. The David Simson in question was admitted to Southend in succession to his father on the 25th of February 1690 (F.E.S.:4. 73). The father was minister at Southend from 1672–86 and died there before the 31st of July 1697. The David Simson here was admitted to the charge at Kilchoman in Islay on the 22nd of May 1692, and died there on 9th of May 1700. *Kilchoman* is here listed as included in Islay. It is, however, unlikely that *Kilmarna* was Kilchoman or was even on Islay at all. The evidence suggests an Argyll location (Watson 1926:291). Watson in quoting from the *Old Statistical Account* (XIV:258) states that ‘. . . Ardmarnoch in Kilfinan parish, Cowal, had a chapel of St. Marnock with a churchyard . . .’ This must remain the most likely location for *Kilmarna* in the list. It has been positioned as such in Figure 1 (p. 85, no. 15). The relation of David Simpstone to this parish or chapel must however remain unsolved here.

Kilmichael in Inverlussa, in the Presbytery of Argyle, was a mission station in the parish of North Knapdale, itself here listed as *Killmhivocarnock* (F.E.S.:4. 15). Scott’s *Fasti* gives the name ‘. . . North Knapdale, or Cill Mo Charraig’, and states that at ‘. . . Drumnacraig near Kilmichael Inverlussa are the remains of an ancient chapel of St. Michael’ (F.E.S.:4. 15). There were two parish churches, one at Kilmichael Inverlussa and the other in the parish at Tayvallich. This lends further support to the hypothesis that the compiler was in some cases taking the number of administered churches as indicative of parishes, rather than the actual number of parishes proper.

Killimuire and *Lothgear*, administered to by Daniel Campbell, present another point of interest. Daniel Campbell was minister at Kilmichael Glassary from 1691 to 1727 (F.E.S.:4. 6–7). A chapel is marked at Kilbride near Lochgair on Innes’ O.P.S. map. Scott’s *Fasti* lists three chapels in the parish of Kilmichael Glassary of which the above is one. The others are at Killevin near Cratae on Loch Fyne and St. Columba’s at Cill and Iubhair on Loch Awe (F.E.S.:4. 6–7). If *Lothgear* is Loch Gair today and *Lochger* on the O.P.S. map, and there seems little reason to doubt this, then it is again conceivable that the compiler or copier of the 1698 list is including chapels within his lists, and not strictly parishes. This would give *Lothgear* the status of a mission station or chapel within the then existing and listed parish of *Kilmichael Glasire* (Kilmichael Glassary). *Killimuire* has perhaps the same condition attached to its inclusion as *Lothgear* as a ‘Kylmor’ is marked as a chapel two miles south-east of Lochgoilhead in the same parish of Kilmichael Glassary (O.P.S. maps). *Killimuire* and *Lothgear* have been included as such in Figure 1, numbers 18 and 19.

Kilchrenan and Dalavich (*Dalaich* in list) were united in 1661 by the Act Recissory (F.E.S.:4. 91). *Dalaich* was confirmed as Dalavich by F.E.S.:4. 91 which gives John

Lindsay as minister there from 1652 to 1669, and again from 1692 to 1699. *Clachandysart* was the old name for Glenorchy (F.E.S. :4. 86). Glenorchy and Inishail were united in 1618, but severed again in 1650 until 1661. Until 1668 they formed part of the Presbytery of Inverary, of old called the Presbytery of Cowal. On the 12th of May 1668, these parishes were annexed to the Presbytery of Lorn. The 1693 'Argyll List' (Table II), makes the error of including Clachandysart in 'Argyll Presbyterie', when by terms of formal statute, it should be included in the Presbytery of Lorn. No explanation is forthcoming except that it may be the case that the compilers of both the 1693 'Argyll List' and the 1698 M.P.L.H.P. list were unaware of these changes, or that the changes themselves had little actual meaning locally and probably even less in terms of which parishes were to receive the Irish Bible. It is also possible that the 1698 list perpetuated an error made in the earlier 1693 listing.

The first two entries in the M.P.L.H.P. list for the Presbytery of Lorn are *Killattan* (Kilchattan) and *Killbrennan* (Kilbrandon), united sometime in the seventeenth century (F.E.S. :4. 88). *Killinver* and *Kilmelford* were united sometime before 1550 (F.E.S. :4. 96). They are further examples of the seeming unawareness of parochial mergings on the part of the compiler. Interest in the actual date of compilation of the 1698 list is increased by the fact that the listed minister Pat McLauchlane (McLauchlan) was deposed in 1697 for failing to conform at the Revolution, and the Synod declared the parish vacant from 26th October 1697 to sometime in 1702. This is further evidence to suggest that the list was compiled, if only in a rough form, some time before 1698, and possibly from a number of lists similar to the 1693 'Argyll List'.

Killmore and *Killbride* were united soon after the Reformation but each retained their churches, suggesting again that extant chapels and churches were being recorded here rather than actual parishes (O.P.S. :II(I). 108). *Killespickayroll* was the old name for Muckairn and was united to Ardchattan in 1637 (O.P.S. :II(I). 132). *Kilmaluag* included Appin (excluding Glencoe), the island of Lismore, and the district of Kingairloch in Morvern, and the part of Appin here called Elainmunde is now divided between Lismore and the parish of Kilmallie. *Killkallumkill* and *Kinlinver* are the two parishes which are '. . . in the great countries of Morvine and Kingerloch' (Table IV). The two parishes *Killchoan* and *Islandinan* correspond to the two parishes mentioned in the statement 'In Ardnamurchan, Sunard Mudart and Morire 2 parishes' (Table IV). Ardnamurchan occurs as Kilchoan in 1623, 1667 and 1671 in the *Argyl Inventory* and in the 1695 *Retours* (O.P.S. :II(I). 194). Elanfinan (*Islandinan*) is given as being co-extensive with Sunart. (O.P.S. :II(I). 198). Arisaig appears to have consisted of the districts Mudart, Arisaig, and South Morar and was at one time united to Ardnamurchan (O.P.S. :II(I). 200).

Killinichan and *Killvicewin* occur today as Kilfinichen and Kilviceon on the Island of Mull (O.P.S. :II(I). 314). It seems likely that the next two names in the list, *Killmoire* and *Killnemair* are what is today the united parish of Kilninian and Kilmore on Mull, which would have included Ulva (F.E.S. :4. 114; O.P.S. :II(I). 317,

320). Early in the seventeenth century, the three parishes of Kilfinichen, Kilviceon, and Kholumkill (Iona) were united (F.E.S. :4. 110). This may again suggest that the compilation included names still in local use and also places to which the clergy administered although the churches may not have had formal status as parish churches. The absence of the Mull parish of Torosay is puzzling. It is possible that neighbouring clergy had some form of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over this parish. It is surely the case that Torosay received the Irish Bible. Although Gaelic was undoubtedly the dominant language at the time here, this parish has not been represented as a 'Highland parish' here defined (see Fig. 2).

The remainder of the 1698 list is less difficult to deal with as the names are almost in their modern form or are recognisable as such. Where this is not the case, the provision of the minister's name proved invaluable in tracing the parish concerned. In the section entitled *Skye Presbyterie and Long Isle Presbyterie*, the *Southmost Isle* is here South Uist. The presence of the name *Dougall McFerson* enabled the un-named parish below this to be identified as Duirinish, where a Dugald McPherson was minister from 1684 to 1717 (F.E.S. :7. 168). *Killmuire* on Skye was anciently named Kilmaluag (O.P.S. :II(I). 349). The M.P.L.H.P. list is correct in uniting *Snizirt* and *Raasa* (Snizort and Raasay) for not until 1726 was Raasay disjoined, and with a part of Snizort, formed into the parish of Portree (O.P.S. :II(I). 346). The parish of *Eye* (in Lewis) is included in Ness parish. Together they form the modern parish of Stornoway (O.P.S. :II(I). 381). It is likely that Stornoway, Gress, Ey(e), Lochs, and Uig were all one charge at this time (F.E.S. :7. 203). They have been represented as such in Figure 2.

Although the spelling of *Lochron* and *Hakerig* is confusing, they have been identified, through the minister's names, as Latheron and Halkirk in Caithness. The parish of *Downan* administered to by *James Hey* is the Sutherland parish of Kildonan, whose minister was James Hay, a native of Morayshire, from 1673 to 1705 (F.E.S. :4. 90). The last entry of the section entitled *Southerland*, that of *Culmaly*, is another possible incorporation of a parish church within the lists without the compiler being aware of the mergings. F.E.S. :7. 86 has '. . . Golspie, of old Culmally . . .'; and the map at the end of O.P.S. :II(I) makes Culmally contiguous with what is now Golspie. McKinlay (1894:113) records that 'Kilmallie' church was the parish church of Golspie until 1619.

The parishes of *Farr* and *Durness* are roughly the same as today's parishes of those names. Mr Hugh Monro (Munro) is given as the minister for Durness from 1663 to 1698 (F.E.S. :7. 102), although he appears in the 1698 M.P.L.H.P. list alongside *Kintail*. The *Kintail* in this list is not the modern parish of that name in Wester Ross, which had a minister called Donald MacRae for the period in question (1681-1719) (F.E.S. :7. 152). The *Kintail* here included in the *Strathnaver* section of the M.P.L.H.P. list is Ceanntail 'Ic Aoidh (Kintail of Mackay), a chapel between the Kyle of Tongue and Loch Craggie in Sutherland. It appears as 'Kuntail' in the map of Strathnavernia in Blaeu's *Atlas of Scotland* (1654 edition). It is possible that at the

time that the 1698 list was drawn up Mr Hugh Monro had some sort of jurisdiction over the *Kintail* here enumerated.

The name *Losquin* suggests no easy modern counterpart. It was at first thought to be a corruption of Lochbroom, Lochalsh, or Lochcarron. Occurring as it does, however, in the section *Diocess of Ross, Tain Presbyterie*, is likely to be in Easter Ross. Watson (1904: 69) citing evidence from Irish place-names, suggested the possibility of the *-quin* suffix being derived from an Irish Gaelic root *cuinche* (the arbutus tree). It is possible given this etymology and its listed position that *Losquin* is a corruption of 'Loscuin' or 'Roscuin' and that it is equivalent to the modern parish of Rosskeen. This must, however, remain uncertain.

James Houstane is given as the minister of the united parish of Cullicudden and Kirkmichael which together now form the parish of Resolis in Ross-shire (O.P.S.:II(I). 552). These two parishes were united in 1662 (Acts Parl. Scot.:VII. 439-40). This again raises a question about the compilation of the M.P.L.H.P. Does the compiler mean us to include Kirkmichael when listing Cullicudden as *Cullicacken*? The same may be asked above of Inishail with regard to the listed name *Clachandysart*—should we understand *Clachandysart* to include Inishail? We may consider whether it was generally understood that the parish was a united one and is listed only by the first constituent name or whether the compiler was genuinely unaware of these parochial unions and was thus not acquainted on a detailed level with particular parishes in several of these areas. It is, of course, impossible to be correct upon these questions, but it is probably the former: that the name should be read as including the parish with which it was united. Certainly *Moy*, which was united to Dalarossie about 1500 (F.E.S.:7. 475), and *Daviot*, united to Dunlichity in 1618 (F.E.S.:6. 450), are here listed without their constituent partner names. Unless we are to argue for an unrealistically early date of compilation for these lists and the 1698 list in particular—and we have seen this to be unlikely—it seems that the given listed name subsumes its partner name within it. This is the more reasonable if we allow that the 1698 list was composed from several smaller lists such as the 1693 'Argyll List'. The authors of these local lists would probably not have used the full terminology for particular chapels or churches.

Alvies is Alness in Ross-shire, James Fraser being minister there from 1695 to 1711 (F.E.S.:4. 26). *Kill-chuimnan* in the *Murray Diocess . . . Inverness Presbyterie* section is another interesting name. The *Kill-chuimnan* here included in the 1698 list is the modern parish of Boleskine and Abertarff. It is not Glenelg parish which was at one time also known as 'Kilchuimen' or 'Kilchuimin' (McKinlay 1894:88), for the simple reason that Glenelg appears earlier in the M.P.L.H.P. list. In 1688, Killchuimin was joined a second time to Boleskine having been disjoined from it in 1676 and originally united with Dores and Boleskine in 1616 (F.E.S.:6. 445. See also Groome 1894-6:1. 90). *Gleorritly* is the parish of Kiltarlity and Convinth in Inverness-shire, Hugh Fraser being minister there from 1672 to 1712 (F.E.S.:6. 469). *Donald Tailor*, entered

alongside a gap in the 1698 parish listings, was a session clerk at Foveran in February 1678. Although he officiated as a preacher in Kingussie till 1701, he was never minister there (F.E.S.:6. 365). This is an example of recording administering clergy rather than actual *quoad sacra* parishes. The gaps under *Lordship of Lochaber* correspond to the parishes of Kilmonivaig and Kilmalie. The similarity of general format and this individual case in particular between the 1693 and 1698 sources, *i.e.* the gap in both lists alongside *in Lochaber* which corresponds to Kilmonivaig, is further evidence to support the hypothesis that the 1698 list was compiled from earlier local lists of which the 1693 'Argyll List' may be a good example.

The Perthshire parishes are easily identified apart from *Dow* which has here been included as Dowally in east central Perthshire. No 'McArthers', 'MacArthurs', or McArthurs' appear in *Fasti* for this period or place, but its position in the list may warrant its tentative inclusion as Dowally. It has been included as such in Table IV, and in Figures 1 and 2.

Inchcallioch in Dumbartonshire is the last parish to present difficulty. Innes (O.P.S.:I. 32) writes that, '. . . Inchcailyoch (*sic*) gave its name to an ancient parish, including the whole of the present parish of Buchanan . . .' Buchanan parish is also recorded in the 1698 list under the section *Monteith in Dumblane Presbyterie*, yet is elsewhere recorded as 'Buchanan of old Inniscailloch' (F.E.S.:3. 333). The lands of Buchanan were taken from Luss in 1621 and annexed to Inniscailloch. In 1643, the parish church was removed from its site on an island in Loch Lomond and erected in a more accessible situation at Buchanan. It is again likely that the compiler or co-ordinator of the list was not familiar with the actual parishes in question, and that he was recording all administered places of worship.

The suggestion made above that the 1698 M.P.L.H.P. list enumerates some of the united parishes only by their first name is further substantiated when considering *Glen-muick* in the list. This is properly 'Glenmuick, Tullich and Glengairn' so it is possible that it was listed solely as *Glen-muick* on the understanding that the reader would know it by the full name. The remaining parishes listed present no difficulty in recognition.

Conclusions and a Note on the Maps of the Highland Parishes in 1698

Let us review the problems associated with the source entitled 'A More Particular List of Highland Parishes', and attempt to weave together some of the loose threads resulting from the examination of these sources. Firstly, the compiler in listing separately several parishes which had been united for some time before 1698, and in recording administered places of worship as actual *parishes* whether or not they were parish churches, seems to have been unaware of much of the geography of the Highlands. It is true, however, that old territorial names often lasted beyond their date of supposed legal extinction as in the case of the name 'Shire of Tarbet' which

lasted until 1705 in the records despite its having been removed for administrative purposes in 1633 (Mitchell 1886:47–8). Such seeming ignorance should not, as we have seen, be necessarily directly attributable to the compiler of the 1698 list, as he may have copied from earlier and more locally derived lists.

Secondly, local names or terms do not appear and whilst this is a relatively minor point, it may suggest that the authors of the earlier lists upon which the 1698 M.P.L.H.P. list was probably based were aware of the need for conciseness and precision in their lists, particularly if they knew that their lists were to be drawn up into a master-copy by someone less familiar with the Highlands.

Thirdly, the use of the first name when the parish is a united one may suggest a form of 'short-hand' but may also suggest the reliance of both sets of list-authors on the intuition of the persons for whom the lists were intended. Fourthly, and to return to an earlier point on the likely number of Bibles for each parish, the total edition number of 3,000 is too small if we allow that each parish received about 20 Bibles, as was the case in the Kingarth example (see above, p. 65). In one other case, the united parishes of Aberlour and Abernethy also received twenty Irish Bibles together with twenty-four New Testaments (S.R.O.:CH2/271/4. 187). The allocation of this number of Bibles thus occurred in at least two instances. An allowance of about twenty per parish throughout the Highlands would, however, give a total of 3,600. It is probably the case that each area (Synod or Presbytery) received a number of Bibles proportionate to its individual needs. But it may be that some parts of the Gaelic-speaking Highlands did not receive the Bible at all; so it is difficult to say whether the twenty delivered to Kingarth in 1696 and to Aberlour and Abernethy in 1707 are representative of a Highland-wide pattern. In passing, it is also interesting to note that however aware of the problems of transport or delivery and distribution such Committees may have been, many of these Bibles did not arrive at their destinations until nearly a decade later, and the time-lag may have been greater the further North one went (S.R.O.:CH 1/2/25/2, fo.221(1704); fo.223 (June 13 1706)).

An assessment of the actual date of compilation of the M.P.L.H.P. list would then place it between 1693 and 1698. In view of the probable impetus given both to the ministers concerned, and to those actually distributing the texts by Kirkwood's *Memorialls*, it is likely that the 1698 date for the M.P.L.H.P. list is what we would now understand as the 'official report' date and that the seeds, in the form of smaller lists such as the 1693 'Argyll List', had been sown some five or six years earlier. It is curious nevertheless, that both *Killfinan* and *Killmodan* are listed in Table IV as vacant, yet John McLaurin was minister there until his death in March 1698 (F.E.S.:4. 30). Daniel McLaurin was admitted to the charge at Killmodan sometime after the 26th of September 1698 (F.E.S.:4. 44). These two facts suggest that the period in which the M.P.L.H.P. list was drawn up may have been between March and late September of 1698.

It is unlikely that the actual compiler of the 1698 list will ever be known—it may, of course, have been Kirkwood himself, or more likely, someone under his direct supervision. In view of the consistency with which some 'errors' were copied from earlier to later lists, *i.e.*, from the 1693 to the 1698 list, it is thought likely that earlier enumerations must have provided the basis for this more extensive compilation. Despite the several inconsistencies, and some of the doubts attached to its analysis, these sources, and particularly the 1698 M.P.L.H.P. do give an idea of the processes of distribution of the Irish Bibles and of the geographical extent of the Gaidhealtachd (even if only in part) for the last years of the seventeenth century.

Mapping the parishes from the M.P.L.H.P. was made more difficult in view of the problems of assessing the position of the parish boundaries. Using the maps at the back of Innes' *Origines*, it was possible to correlate today's parish boundaries with those of the seventeenth century, and thus to postulate the likely position of parochial boundaries for 1698. The Argyll-shire maps in particular proved very useful in plotting the parishes listed under the Presbyteries of Cowall, Argyll and Lorn and the section for the Kintyre district. As has been noted above, one or two of the parishes in north Scotland and Ross-shire that one might legitimately have expected to be in a list of Highland parishes for this period have not been incorporated in the list (see above, p. 74). These areas, usually understood to be part of the Gaidhealtachd, have been here incorporated in Figure 2 as 'Highland parishes, possibly under ecclesiastical jurisdiction from adjacent Synods or Presbyteries'.

To make it easier to identify the extent of these 180 or so 'parishes', Figure 1 is a parish base map of the M.P.L.H.P. names. It also shows the 1698 Gaidhealtachd boundary, or Highland Line, as does Figure 2. The numbers in Figure 1 correspond to the numbers to the right of some of the parishes in the M.P.L.H.P. listings in Table IV. Such enumeration was necessary to ease legibility in Figure 1. It should be noted that the numbers in this column of the 1698 list (Table IV) correspond *only* to the numbers in Figure 1 and not to the numbers on the left of the various sections in Table IV which appear in the original manuscript. The crosses in Figure 1 refer to the probable site of the relevant chapel or church.

The Gaidhealtachd boundary or Highland Line derived from consideration of the 1698 'More Particular List of the Highland Parishes' is, as may be seen from Figure 2, reasonably consistent with Skene's line especially for Dumbartonshire, Stirlingshire and south east Perthshire, but it is perhaps less so as it moves through north east Perthshire and into the east central Highlands. However, it again follows Skene's general positioning until it reaches the sea near Ardersier.

The examination of the historical geography of the Highlands of Scotland is important enough in itself. It is hoped that this paper has provided a useful assessment of what is probably the earliest source material for understanding the geographical extent of the Gaelic-speaking parishes in Scotland. Despite the several inconsistencies, it is here argued that the 'More Particular List of the Highland

Parishes', and the maps derived from its study, should be taken as the earliest formalisation of the geographical position of the Gaidhealtachd.

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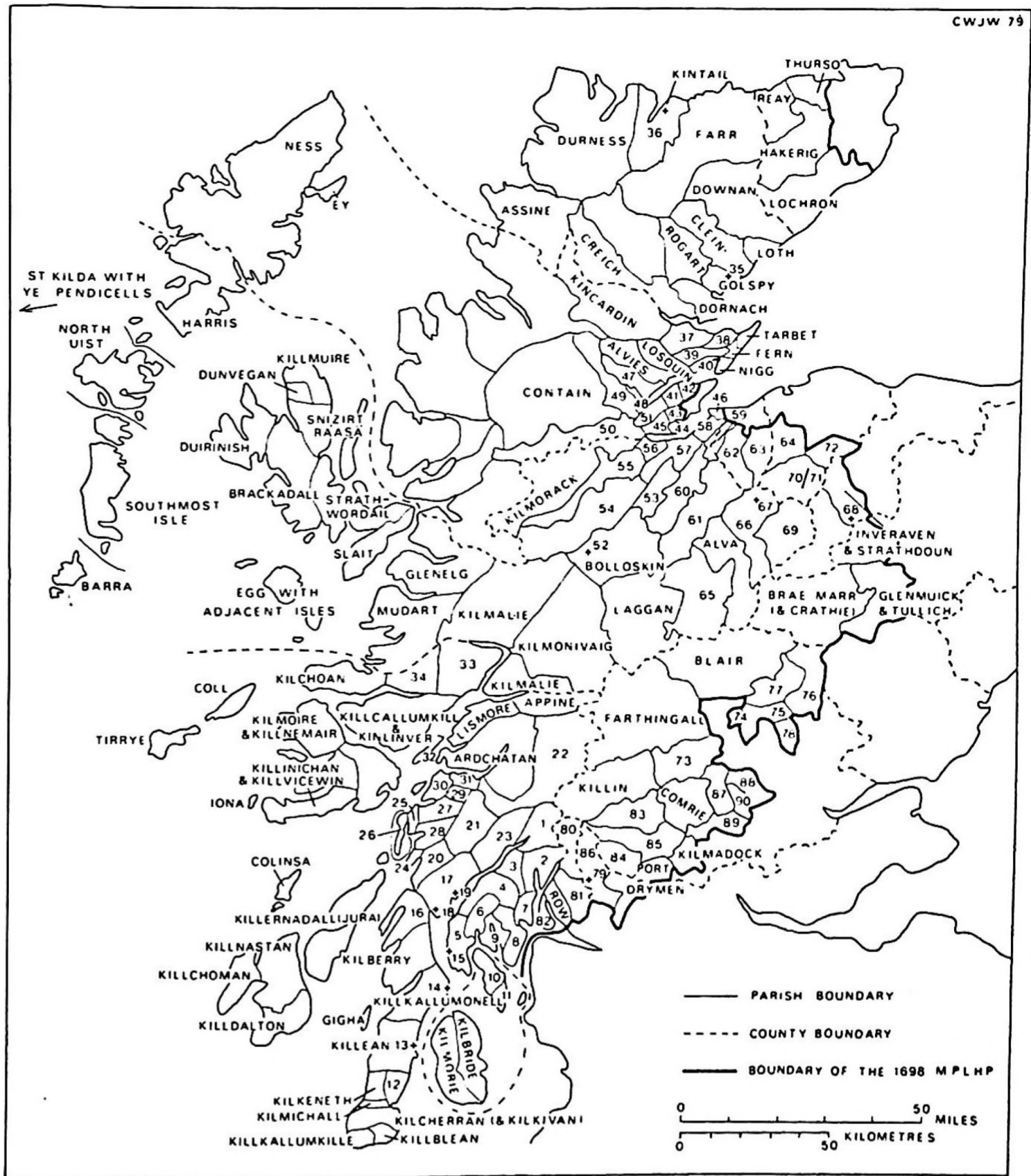


Fig. 1. Parish base-map for the 1698 Highland parishes

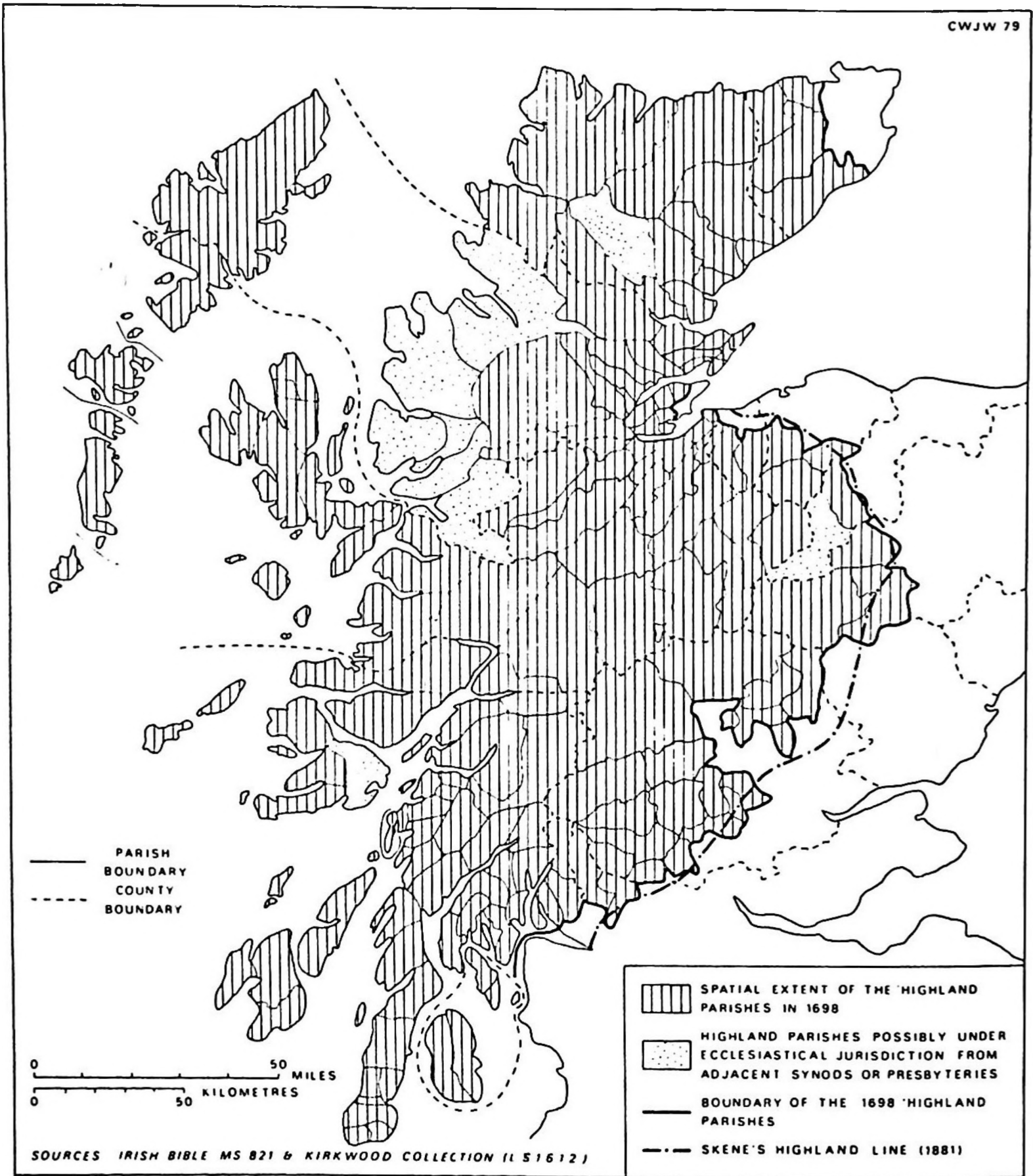


Fig. 2. The geographical area of the Highland parishes in 1698

NOTES

- 1 The New Testament was published in Irish Gaelic by Nehemiah Donellan in 1603, and the Irish Bible (Old Testament) by Bishop Bedell in 1685 (Maclean 1924: 337).
- 2 I am grateful to Mr Ian Fraser of the School of Scottish Studies, the University of Edinburgh, for help in tracing the Cowal location as the most likely for *Kilmarna* in the M.P.L.H.P. 1698 list.

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